

*Xiaojian Zhao and
Edward J.W. Park, Editors*



ASIAN AMERICANS

An Encyclopedia of
Social, Cultural, Economic,
and Political History



Asian Americans

Asian Americans

AN ENCYCLOPEDIA OF SOCIAL, CULTURAL,
ECONOMIC, AND POLITICAL HISTORY

Volume I: A–F

XIAOJIAN ZHAO AND
EDWARD J. W. PARK,
Editors



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Contents

List of Entries, vii

Preface, xix

Acknowledgments, xxi

*Introduction: Asian Americans in the Twenty-First
Century*, xxiii

Chronology, xxxi

THE ENCYCLOPEDIA, I

Primary Documents, 1255

Selected Bibliography, 1343

Editors and Contributors, 1351

Index, 1361

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List of Entries

- Adopted Asian Americans
- Agbayani, Benny
- Aguila, Chris
- Ah Quin Diary
- Ah Yup, In Re* (1878)
- Ahn, Philip
- Ahn Chang Ho
- Aikido in America
- Akaka, Daniel K.
- Alexander, Meena
- Ali, Agha Shahid
- Ali, Saqib
- Alien Land Laws
- “Aliens Ineligible for Citizenship”
- Allen, Horace Newton
- American Coalition for Filipino Veterans (ACFV) Incorporated
- American Missionaries in Postwar Japan
- American-Style Concentration Camps
- Angel Island Immigration Station
- Anti-Asian Miscegenation Laws
- Anti-Asian Violence, History of
- Anti-Chinese Riot and Expulsion in Seattle (1886). *See* Seattle Anti-Chinese Riot and Expulsion of 1886
- Anti-Chinese Riot in Tacoma. *See* Tacoma Anti-Chinese Riot of 1885
- Anti-Hate Crime Laws
- Anti-Japanese Movement in Hawaii
- Anti-Trafficking Movement
- Aoki, Richard
- Ariyoshi, George R.
- Artists in New York (1900–1940)
- Asian American Adoptees. *See* Adopted Asian Americans
- Asian American Artists in New York (1900–1940). *See* Artists in New York (1900–1940)
- Asian American Athletes and Christianity. *See* Athletes and Christianity
- Asian American Campaign Finance Scandal of 1996
- Asian American Campaign Strategy. *See* Campaign Strategy
- Asian American College Students. *See* College Students
- Asian American Comparative Collection (AACC)
- Asian American Identity. *See* Authenticity in Asian American Identity
- Asian American Labor in Alaska
- Asian American Labor Movement. *See* Labor Movement
- Asian American Legal Defense and Education Fund (AALDEF)
- Asian American LGBT Activism. *See* LGBT Activism
- Asian American Movement (AAM)

- Asian American Muslims
- Asian American 1.5 Generation. *See* 1.5 Generation Asian Americans
- Asian American Political Alliance (AAPA)
- Asian American Sites and Museum Exhibits (Pacific Northwest and Great Basin)
- Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders (AAPIs) in Higher Education
- Asian Americans for Action (AAA)
- Asian Americans in Hollywood. *See* Hollywood, Asian Americans in
- Asian Ethnic Banks
- Asian Immigrant Women Advocates (AIWA)
- Asian Law Caucus
- Asian Music in America
- Asian Pacific Heritage Month
- Asian Religions and Religious Practices in America
- Athletes and Christianity
- Authenticity in Asian American Identity
- Bacho, Peter
- Baek, Cha Seung
- Balcena, Bobby
- Bangladeshi Americans
- “Barred Zone.” *See* Immigration Act of 1917 and the “Barred Zone”
- Barroga, Jeannie
- Bartlett, Jason
- Bellingham “Anti-Hindu Riot” (1907)
- Bemis, Polly (Lalu Nathoy): Perspective 1
- Bemis, Polly (Lalu Nathoy): Perspective 2
- Bhutanese Americans
- Boat People
- Boggs, Grace Lee
- Buddhism in Asian America
- Buddhist Churches of America (BCA)
- Bulosan, Carlos
- Bunker, Christopher Wren and Bunker, Stephen Decatur
- Bunker, Stephen Decatur. *See* Bunker, Christopher Wren and Bunker, Stephen Decatur
- Burlingame Treaty of 1868
- Cambodian Americans
- Cambodian Community in Lowell, Massachusetts
- Cameron House
- Campaign Strategy
- Cao, Lan
- Cao Zishi
- Cayetano, Benjamin
- Cha, Theresa Hak Kyung
- Cham in America
- Chan, Jeffery Paul
- Chan, Kenyon
- Chan, Sucheng
- Chandrasekhar, Subrahmanyam
- Chang, Diana
- Chang, Iris
- Chang, Michael
- Chang, Sarah
- Chang and Eng (The Siamese Twins)
- Chang-Díaz, Franklin Ramón
- Chao, Elaine L.
- Charr, Easurk Emsen
- Chaudhary, Satveer
- Chawla, Kalpana
- Chay Yew
- Chen, Chin-Feng
- Chen, Joan
- Cheng, Lucie
- Chern, Shiing-Shen

- Cheung, King-Kok
- Chiang, Yee. *See* Yee Chiang
- Chin, Frank
- Chin, Vincent
- China Daily News, The (CDN)*
- China Lobby
- Chinatown, New York
- Chinatown, 1982 ILGWU Strike. *See* 1982 ILGWU Strike in New York's Chinatown
- Chinatown Gangs in the United States
- Chinese American Baseball
- Chinese American Childhood
- Chinese American Community Organizations
- Chinese American Funerary Rituals
- Chinese American Youth in Multiethnic Chicago
- Chinese Americans
- Chinese Americans and World War II
- Chinese Christians in America
- Chinese Confession Program
- Chinese Cuisine in the United States
- Chinese Exclusion Acts (1882–1943)
- Chinese Exclusion, Repeal of (1943)
- Chinese Fisheries in California
- Chinese Garment Workers in San Francisco
- Chinese Hand Laundry Alliance of New York (CHLA)
- Chinese Herbal Medicine
- Chinese Immigrant Cemeteries
- Chinese Immigrant Workers in Multiethnic Chicago
- Chinese in the U.S. Civil War
- Chinese Language Schools in the United States
- Chinese Lion Dance in the United States
- Chinese Mining in America
- Chinese New Year Parade
- Chinese Railroad Workers
- Chinese Restaurants in the United States
- Chinese Students in the United States since 1960
- Chinese War Brides
- Chinese War Brides Act. *See* War Brides Act (1945)
- Chinese World (Sai Gai Yat Po)*
- Chinese-Vietnamese Americans
- Ching, Fong
- Cho, Margaret
- Choi, Susan
- Chouinard, Bobby
- Chow, Amy
- Chu, Judy
- Chu, Steven
- Chung, Connie
- Chung, Eugene Yon
- Churches and Ethnic Identity
- Clay, Bryan
- Cohota, Edward Day
- College Students
- Comfort Women
- Committee of 100 (C-100)
- Concentration Camps. *See* American-Style Concentration Camps
- Conger, Hank
- Contemporary Filipino American Communities. *See* Filipino American Communities (Contemporary)
- Contemporary Japanese American Communities. *See* Japanese American Communities (Contemporary)
- Dalai Lama. *See* Tenzin Gyatso (14th Dalai Lama)
- Dandekar, Swati
- Dardelle, Antonio
- Dawson, Toby
- Dear Wing Jung v. United States of America* (1962)
- DeSoto, Hisaye Yamamoto

- Dinh, Linh
- Dīpāvali
- Divakaruni, Chitra Banerjee
- Draft Resistance in Internment Camps
- Draves, Victoria “Vicki” Taylor Manalo
- Du, Miranda
- Duong, Wendy N.
- Eaton, Edith Maude. *See* Sui Sin Far
- 80/20
- Espineli, Geno
- Ethnic Communities in Hawaii
- Ethnoburb
- Eu, March Fong
- Evangelicals and Korean American Community Formation
- Evangelicals on the College Campus
- Evora, Amanda
- Ex Parte Mitsuye Endo* (1944)
- Filipina War Brides
- Filipino Agricultural Workers
- Filipino American Baseball
- Filipino American Communities (Contemporary)
- Filipino American Communities (Historical)
- Filipino American Community Organizations
- Filipino American Domestic Workers
- Filipino American National Historical Society (FANHS)
- Filipino American Newspapers
- Filipino American Youth Cultures
- Filipino Americans
- Filipino Americans in World War II
- Filipino Cuisine in the United States
- Filipino Cultural Night. *See* Pilipino Cultural Night (PCN)
- Filipino Farm Labor Union (FFLU)
- Filipino Federation of America (FFA)
- Filipino Language Movement (FiLM)
- Filipino *Pensionados*
- Filipino Piecemeal Sugar Strike (1924–1925)
- Filipino Repatriation Act (1935)
- Filipino Transnationalism
- Filipino Women and Global Migration, History of
- Filipino World War II Veterans
- Filipinos in Hawaii
- Fong, Hiram
- Fong Yue Ting v. United States* (1893)
- Fujita, Scott
- Fung, Edward
- Future Prospects of Asian Americans
- Gabriel, Roman
- Geary Act (1892)
- Gee, Margaret (Maggie)
- Gender, Race, and Class in Political Participation
- Ghadar*
- Ghadar Party
- Glass Ceiling Debate
- Golf, Asian and Asian American
- Gong, Lue Gim
- Gonzalez, N.V.M.
- Gotanda, Philip Kan
- Goyal, Jay
- Goyle, Raj
- Graphic Novelists
- Graves, Danny
- Guam, U.S. Presence in
- Guthrie, Jeremy
- H-1B Visa
- Ha Jin

- Hagedorn, Jessica
- Haley, Nikki Randhawa
- Harada, Tsuneo “Cappy”
- Harada House
- Hawaii, Ethnic Communities in. *See* Ethnic Communities in Hawaii
- Hawaii, Filipinos in. *See* Filipinos in Hawaii
- Hawaii, Japanese Americans in. *See* Japanese Americans in Hawaii
- Hawaii, Multiracial/Multiethnic Experience in. *See* Multiracial/Multiethnic Experience in Hawaii
- Hawaii, Plantation Workers in. *See* Plantation Workers in Hawaii
- Hawaiian Cuisine
- Hawaiian Religion. *See* Native Hawaiian Religion
- Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders. *See* Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders
- Hayakawa, Samuel Ichiyé
- Hayakawa, Sessue (Kintaro)
- Hayslip, Le Ly
- Hells Canyon Massacre (1887)
- Hindus in the United States
- Hirabayashi v. United States* (1943)
- Hirahara, Naomi
- Hirayama, Satoshi “Fibber”
- Hirono, Mazie K.
- Hmong American Women
- Hmong of Minnesota and California
- Ho, David
- Ho, Fred (Fred Wei-han Houn)
- Hollywood, Asian Americans in
- Honda, Mike
- Houston, Velina Hasu
- Hsüan Hua
- Hu, Chin-Lung
- Huang, Guangcai (Wong Kong Chai or Chae)
- Hula
- Hwang, David Henry
- I Wor Kuen (IWK)
- Ichioka, Yuji
- Iijima, Kazu Ikeda
- Iko, Momoko
- Immigration Act of 1917 and the “Barred Zone”
- Immigration Act of 1924
- Immigration Act of 1990
- Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952. *See* McCarran-Walter Act of 1952
- Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986
- Inada, Lawson Fusao
- Independent Chinese Language Newspapers during the Cold War
- Indian American Community Organizations
- Indian Americans
- Indian Cuisine in the United States
- Indian Denaturalization Cases
- Indian Ethnic Economy
- Indian Exclusion
- Indian Women in America
- Indians in American TV and Film
- Indigenous Groups and the Asian American Experience
- Indochina Migration and Refugee Assistance Act of 1975
- Indonesian Americans
- Inouye, Daniel K.
- Itliong, Larry
- Jaisohn, Philip
- Jang, Jon
- Japan Bashing

- Japanese American Baseball
- Japanese American Christianity
- Japanese American Citizens League (JAACL)
- Japanese American Communities (Contemporary)
- Japanese American Community Organizations (Historical)
- Japanese American Draft Resistance. *See* Draft Resistance in Internment Camps
- Japanese American Transnational Families
- Japanese American Women in the 1930s
- Japanese Americans
- Japanese Americans in Hawaii
- Japanese Americans in Japan
- Japanese Exclusion
- Japanese Farm Workers in America
- Japanese Immigrant Press
- Japanese Immigrant Women
- Japanese Language in Asian American Studies
- Japanese Transnational Identity
- Japanese War Brides
- Jen, Gish
- Jindal, Piyush “Bobby”
- Judo in America
- Kahanamoku, Duke
- Kao, Charles K.
- Katipunan ng mga Demokratikong Pilipinos (KDP)
- Kawamoto, Evelyn Tokue
- Keller, Nora Okja
- Khorana, Har Gobind
- Kibeï
- Kim, Derek Kirk. *See* Graphic Novelists
- Kim, Elaine H.
- Kim, Jay
- Kim, Richard Eun Kook
- Kim, Ronyoung
- Kim, Young Oak
- Kingston, Maxine Hong
- Kochiyama, Yuri
- Kogawa, Joy
- Konno, Ford Hiroshi
- Kono, Tommy
- Kooskia Internment Camp
- Korea, U.S. Punitive Action in (1871)
- The Korea Times*
- Koreagate
- Korean American Churches
- Korean American Community Foundation (KACF)
- Korean American Ethnic Economy
- Korean American Farmers in the United States
- Korean American LGBT Movements in Los Angeles and New York
- Korean Americans
- Korean Americans and Transnationalism
- Korean Americans in Hawaii
- Korean Americans in the Cold War
- Korean and Korean American Golf
- Korean Aviation School in America (1920–1921)
- Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA) and the Korean American Community
- Korean Cuisine in the United States
- Korean Immigrant Women in America
- Korean Independence Movement in the United States
- Korean National Association (KNA)
- Korean-Black Relations
- Koreatown
- Koreatown Immigrant Workers Alliance (KIWA)
- Korematsu, Hirabayashi, and Yasui Coram Nobis* Cases
- Korematsu v. United States* (1945)
- Kuo, Hong-Chih

- Kwan, Michelle
 Labor Movement
 Lahiri, Jhumpa
 Lai, Him Mark
 Lam, Tony
 Lang, Ping
 Lang Lang
 Lao American Ethnic Economy
 Lao Americans
Lau v. Nichols (1974)
 Law-Yone, Wendy
 Lee, Ang
 Lee, Bruce
 Lee, C. Y.
 Lee, Chang-rae
 Lee, Dai-ming
 Lee, Don
 Lee, Hazel (Ah Ying)
 Lee, Kyung Won (K. W.)
 Lee, Min Jin
 Lee, Robert G.
 Lee, Rose Hum
 Lee, Sammy
 Lee, Tsung Dao
 Lee, Wen Ho
 Lee, Yan Phou
 Lee, Yuan Tseh
 Leong, Russell
 LGBT Activism
 Li, Choh Hao
 Li, Yi
 Lim, Genny
 Lim, Shirley Geok-lin
 Lin, Jeremy
 Lin, Maya
 Lin, Tung-Yen (T. Y.)
 Lin, Yutang
 Lincecum, Tim
 Little India and South Asian Communities
 Little Saigon and Vietnamese American Communities
 Liu, Henry
 Lo, Lormong
 Locke, Gary
 Los Angeles Riots (1992)
 Louganis, Greg
 Lowe, Pardee
 Lu, Ed
 Luce-Celler Act of 1946
 Ma, Yo-Yo
 Maharishi Mahesh Yogi
 Malaysian Americans
 Manlapit, Pablo
 Manzanar Children's Village (1942–1945)
 Manzanar Riot (1942)
 Marshall, Charles K. *See* Cao Zishi
 Matsui, Doris O.
 Matsui, Robert T.
 Matsunaga, Masayuki "Spark"
 McCarran-Walter Act of 1952
 McCunn, Ruthanne Lum
 Mehta, Zubin
 Meng, Grace
 Minami, Dale
 Mineta, Norman
 Mink, Patsy Takemoto
 Misaka, Wataru
 Moon Festival
 Mori, Toshio

- Moua, Mee
- Mukherjee, Bharati
- Multiracial Asian Americans
- Multiracial/Multiethnic Experience in Hawaii
- Mura, David
- Murayama, Milton
- Nagano, Kent
- Nagasu, Mirai Aileen
- Nakanishi, Don T.
- Nambu, Yoichiro
- Nathoy, Lalu. *See* Bemis, Polly (Lalu Nathoy)
- National Civil Rights Movement Against Anti-Asian Violence. *See* Chin, Vincent
- National Maritime Union (NMU) and Chinese Seamen
- Native Hawaiian Religion
- Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders
- Ng, Poon Chew
- Ngor, Haing S.
- Nguyen, Dat
- Nguyen, Dustin
- Nguyen, Jacqueline H.
- Nguyen, Madison (Phuong)
- Nhat Hanh, Thich
- Ni, Fu-Te
- Nichibei Shimbun* (Japanese American News)
- 1982 ILGWU Strike in New York's Chinatown
- Noguchi, Isamu
- Odo, Franklin
- Ohno, Apolo Anton
- Okada, John
- Okihiro, Gary
- Okubo, Minè. *See* Graphic Novelists
- Omachi, George Hatsuo "Hats"
- Omi, Michael
- 1.5 Generation Asian Americans
- Ong, Han
- Onizuka, Ellison
- Otsuka, Julie
- Ozawa, Seiji
- Ozawa v. United States* (1922)
- Page Law (1875)
- Paik, Nam June
- Pak, Gary
- Pakistani Americans
- Pan-Asian American Coalitions
- Parachute Kids
- Park, Richard
- Park, Tongsun
- Park Yong-man
- Parque, Jim Vo
- Pei, I. M.
- People v. Hall* (1854)
- Phan, Aimee
- Pierce, Joseph
- Pilipino Cultural Night (PCN)
- Plantation Workers in Hawaii
- Polamalu, Troy
- Political Participation. *See* Gender, Race, and Class in Political Participation; Political Representation
- Political Representation
- Poon, Lim
- Prostitution in Late Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century Asian Immigrant Communities
- Radical Organizations
- Ramakrishnan, Venkatraman
- Redress Movement. *See* Excerpt from the Civil Liberties Act (1988)

- Refugee Act of 1980
- Refugee Camps and Southeast Asian Migration
- Religion and Its Social Function in the Japanese American Community
- Rhee, Syngman
- Robles, Al
- Romulo, Carlos P.
- Saiki, Patricia F.
- Sakata, Harold
- Sam, Sam-Ang
- Santos, Bienvenido N.
- Sasaki, Sokei-an
- Saund, Dalip Singh
- Saxton, Alexander P.
- Science and Technology
- Scott, Robert
- Scott Act (1888)
- Seattle Anti-Chinese Riot and Expulsion of 1886
- Seau, Junior
- Self-Employment
- Sexuality
- Shimomura, Osamu
- Shin, Paull
- Shin-Issei/Shin-Nisei Identity
- Siamese Twins. *See* Chang and Eng (The Siamese Twins)
- Sikh Temple Massacre (Oak Creek, WI) (2012)
- Sikhism in the United States
- Singaporeans in America
- Siv, Sichan
- Son, Diana
- Sone, Monica
- Soong Mei-ling
- South Asian American Transnational Politics
- South Asian Communities, Little India and. *See* Little India and South Asian Communities
- South Asian Ethnic Identity
- Southeast Asian Academic Achievement
- Southeast Asian American Press
- Southeast Asian American Youth and Crime
- Southeast Asian Archive at the University of California, Irvine, Libraries
- Southeast Asian Migration. *See* Refugee Camps and Southeast Asian Migration
- Southeast Asian Refugee Resettlement, Organizational Leadership of
- Spickard, Paul Russell
- Sri Lankan Americans
- Suburbanization
- Sue, Stanley
- Sui, Anna
- Sui Sin Far (Edith Maude Eaton)
- Sumida, Stephen H.
- Sun Yat-sen
- Sung, Betty Lee
- Survey of Race Relations on the Pacific Coast
- Suzuki, Bob H.
- Suzuki, Daisetz Teitarō (D. T.)
- Suzuki, Shunryū
- Swap Meet
- Sylvanus, Thomas
- Tacoma Anti-Chinese Riot of 1885
- Taekwondo in America
- Tahir, Saghir
- Taiwanese Americans
- Takagi, Dana Yasu
- Takaki, Ronald Toshiyuki
- Tan, Amy

- Tao, Terence
Tape v. Hurley (1885)
 Tarak Nath Das
 Tatupu, Mosiula Faasuka
 Tenzin Gyatso (14th Dalai Lama)
 Tét
 Thai American Organizations
 Thai Americans
 Thai Cuisine in the United States
 Thai Temples
 Thai Town
 Thao, Cy
 Third World Strikes
 Third World Unity
 thúy, lê thi diem
 Tibetan Americans
 Tien, Chang-Lin
 Ting, Samuel Chao Chung
 Tokyo Rose
 Tomine, Adrian. *See* Graphic Novelists
 Tomney, John
 Tongs and Tong War
 Tourist Industries
 Townsend, Raymond Anthony
Toyota v. United States (1925)
 Tran, Ham
 Transnational Political Behavior
 Transnationalism. *See* Filipino Transnationalism;
 Japanese American Transnational Families; Japanese
 Transnational Identity; Korean Americans and
 Transnationalism; South Asian American
 Transnational Politics; Transnational Political
 Behavior
 Trungpa, Chögyam
 Truong, Monique
 Tsao, Chin-Hui
 Tsiang, H. T.
 Tsien, Roger Y.
Tsoi Sim v. the United States (1902)
 Tsunoda, Joyce S.
 Ung, Chinary
United States v. Gue Lim (1900)
United States v. Thind (1923)
United States v. Wong Kim Ark (1898)
 University of California (Berkeley) Asian American
 Studies Collections
 U.S.-Korea Treaty of 1882
 Ut, Huynh Cong “Nick”
 Vera Cruz, Philip
 Victorino, Shane
 Vietnamese American Anticommunism
 Vietnamese American Communities, Little Saigon
 and. *See* Little Saigon and Vietnamese American
 Communities
 Vietnamese Americans
 Vietnamese Americans, Chinese-. *See* Chinese-
 Vietnamese Americans
 Vietnamese Cuisine in the United States
 Vietnamese Ethnic Economy
 Vietnamese Nail Salons
 Vietnamese Women in America
 Villa, José García
 Villafuerte, Brandon
 Vivekananda
 Voting Patterns
 Wang, An
 Wang, Chien-Ming
 Wang, Vera
 Wang, Wayne
 War Brides Act (1945)

- Ward, Hines
 Watsonville Riots (1930)
 Wei Min She (WMS)
 Williams, Sunita L.
 Wong, Anna May
 Wong, Elizabeth
 Wong, Jade Snow
 Wong, Kailee
 Wong, Sau-ling
 Wong, Shawn
 Woo, Hong Neok
 Woo, Shien Biau (S. B.)
 Woods, Tiger
 Workingmen's Parties
 Wu, Chien-Shiung
 Wu, David
 Xiong, Joe Bee
 Yamaguchi, Kristi
 Yamanaka, Lois-Ann
 Yamasaki, Minoru
 Yamashita, Karen Tei
 Yamato Colony of California
 Yamauchi, Wakako
 Yang, Chen Ning
 Yang, Gene Luen. *See* Graphic Novelists
 Yang, Henry T.
 Yang, Qing (Yong Seen Sarng)
 Yao Ming
Yasui v. United States (1943)
 Yau, Shing-Tong
 Yee Chiang
 Yellow Brotherhood (YB)
 Yep, Laurence
Yick Wo v. Hopkins (1886)
 Yoneda, Karl G.
 Yoon, Sam
 Yu Lihua (Helen Yu)
 Yung, Judy
 Yung Wing
 Zenimura, Kenichi
 Zhang, Caroline
 Zhang, Yitang
 Zia, Helen

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Preface

We are honored and humbled to serve as the editors of *Asian Americans: An Encyclopedia of Social, Cultural, Economic, and Political History*. This three-volume encyclopedia is a collaborative effort of more than two hundred scholars from various fields and disciplines. The project is committed to making research results and records about Asian Americans readily available in one reference source, where the interested reader can locate the facts, events, trends, or policies concerning Asian Americans, Asian American history, and Asian American studies. Conscious efforts were made on a number of fronts to reflect some of the important developments in Asian American studies and to cover underrepresented groups. Most of the entries build upon existing literature, whereas new research was conducted to cover understudied areas and topics. We gave special attention to issues concerning race, class, and gender relations, as well as transpacific and transnational dimensions of Asian Americans.

Given the diversity and complexity of the ethnic group and the rapid pace of growth of Asian Americans in a fast-changing world, we recognize that the completion of such an undertaking is only one step to our ever-expanding knowledge of the Asian American experience. The field of Asian American studies is relatively young. We trust this book will create a foundation for the expansion of academic inquiries. By making these records more readily accessible, we hope to reach out to a wider audience and inspire more future research.

Beginning in 2000, the U.S. Census Bureau has identified Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders as an independent race category separate from Asian Americans. Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders have unique histories and experiences of their own, and their affiliations with the United States are quite different from those of Asian Americans. To lump Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders together with Asian Americans is to marginalize these groups of people. Nevertheless, because they had been grouped together with Asian Americans by government agencies and academic institutions, readers are more likely to look for information about them from Asian American reference books. For this reason we have made an effort to include some entries on Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders in this project.

This comprehensive reference project contains approximately 600 entries. Cross-referencing is provided in some entries by the use of *see also* lines. An archive of primary sources in Volume 3 is an important addition to the project, which will enable the student to advance beyond narrative summary of historical research. A detailed chronology in Volume 1 offers a quick glance of historical facts and events. We considered several options of organizing the project but eventually settled on the A–Z

arrangement for easy look-up. In addition to the alphabetical list of entries in the front matter, the index serves as a useful tool for name/subject searching.

Transliteration of Names

The transliteration of personal names in this book is sometimes inconsistent for a number of reasons. In most Asian societies, the family name precedes an individual's given name. Asians living in the United States often invert their family and given names following American and European practice, but some have chosen not to do so. For example, Rhee is the family name of Syngman Rhee, a prominent Korean American community leader and the first president of the Republic of Korea, and Yao is the family name for Yao Ming—the former Houston Rockets NBA star from China who never inverted his family and given name. Different transliteration systems and regional dialects also prevent consistency in translation and conversion. Chinese from Taiwan or pre-1949 China transliterate names according to the Wade-Giles system, whereas those from the People's Republic of China use the pinyin transliteration system, one that has been adopted by most academic institutions and educational programs in the United States and throughout the world.

Acknowledgments

It would not be possible to consolidate such a wealth of scholarship, information, and source materials into one reference book without the contributions of over 200 scholars. To build a diverse and inclusive list of entries, we reached out to accomplished scholars and graduate students in both humanities and social sciences, and we also solicited entries from a large number of writers and independent scholars in law, journalism, political activism, and other fields. Our editorial process is one of community building, through which we enjoyed the luxury of having a productive conversation with a large community of scholars. We sincerely hope this project will help expand such a conversation among scholars and students.

We want to thank everyone who has generously shared their scholarly expertise in their entries as well as their ideas and acts of encouragement. Several colleagues and scholars deserve special acknowledgment for their concrete suggestions in the planning stage of the project, and for their efforts in helping to recruit contributors. Sucheng Chan, who insisted that encyclopedia entries should be comprehensive, definitive, and reliable, not only contributed her own original essays, but also helped secure entries from a number of prominent scholars. Suggestions from Diane Fujino, Pei-te Lien, Ruthanne Lum McCunn, and Zuoyue Wang added invaluable guidance to several subject areas. We also want to thank the University of California, Santa Barbara, and the Dean's Office of the Bellarmine College of Liberal Arts at the Loyola Marymount University for providing a welcoming environment for research and writing. Contributions from our colleagues as well as excellent administrative support from Elizabeth Faulkner, Elizabeth Guerrero, and Arlene Phillips from these two universities are very much appreciated. We also want to thank Katie Do, Fang He, Yanjun Liu, Myung Jin Lee, Andrew Turner, and Tian Wu for their assistance.

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Introduction: Asian Americans in the Twenty-First Century

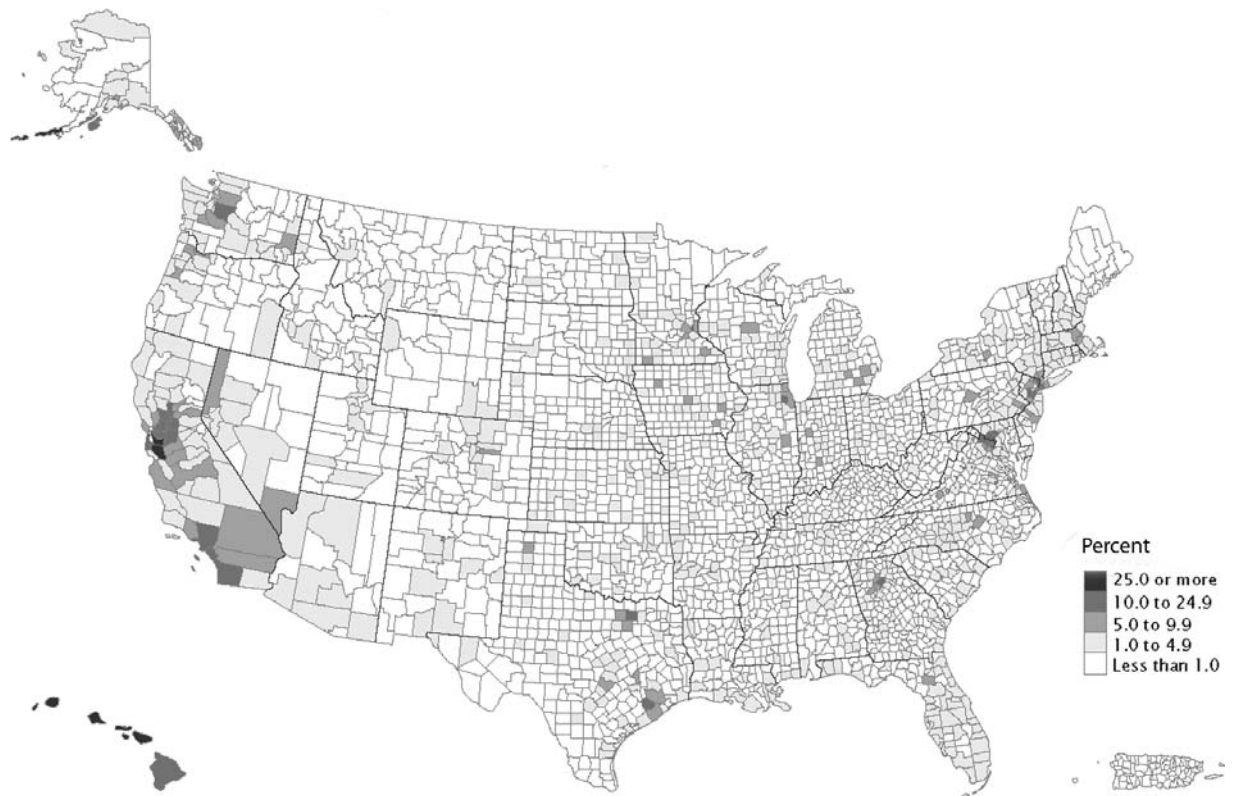
Beginning from the California Gold Rush, Asians have settled in the United States for more than 160 years. The two major groups that arrived first in the late nineteenth century originated from China and Japan. They were joined by immigrants from Korea, the Philippines, and India in the early decades of the twentieth century. Until the late 1960s, however, the Asian population in the United States was small. Between 1951 and 1960, immigrants from Asia accounted for only 6 percent of the total immigrants to the United States. The rate of Asian immigrants began to increase substantially beginning in the 1970s after the Immigration Act of 1965 ended the national origin quota system. Post-1965 Asian immigrants came in large numbers, and they came from many more Asian nations and regions. Most significant changes occurred in the late 1970s and 1980s, when large waves of Southeast Asian immigrants arrived as refugees after the Vietnam War.

Today's Asian America is built by immigrants and their descendants who originated from countries in South Asia, East Asia, and Southeast Asia. In the 1960s, a new generation of Asian Americans, inspired by the Civil Rights Movement, began to organize across ethnic lines in search of a unified front in their struggle for racial equality and social justice. Increasing visibility of Asian Americans as one of the more prominent minority groups in recent decades has had significant impact in political, economic, and social realms; it has also affected race and ethnic relations in the United States in profound and complicated ways.

Population and Distribution

Asian America has become the fastest-growing racial group in the United States, increasing from 3.8 million in 1980 to 6.9 million in 1990, to 10.2 million in 2000, and to 17.3 million in 2010 (including 2.6 million mixed-race individuals). It comprised 5.6 percent of the total U.S. population of 308.7 million. Between 2000 and 2010, the total U.S. population grew by 9.7 percent, from 281.4 million to 308.7 million, whereas the Asian American population increased more than four times faster, with a growth rate of 46 percent. It is worth noting that about 2.6 million people reported to be Asian in combination with other races, which represents 15 percent of the Asian American population. Mixed race Asian Americans is the fastest growing subgroup of the Asian American population.

A high percentage (46 percent) of the Asian American population resided in the West in 2010, constituting 11 percent of the region's total population. Meanwhile,



Asians as a percentage of county population: 2010.

22 percent of the population lived in the South (3 percent of the region's population), 20 percent in the Northeast (6 percent of the region's population), and 13 percent in the Midwest (3 percent of the region's total population). The percentage of the total Asian American population residing in the West had declined recently, however, from 49 percent to 46 percent within a decade. Meanwhile, the proportion of Asian population in the South increased from 19 percent to 22 percent.

Nearly three-fourths of the entire Asian American population resided in ten states in 2010, led by California, home to 5,556,592 Asian Americans. The other states with large populations of Asian Americans were New York, 1,579,494; Texas, 1,110,666; New Jersey, 725,356; Hawaii, 780,968; Illinois, 668,694; Washington, 604,251; Florida, 573,083; Virginia, 522,199; and Pennsylvania, 402,587. All these states have experienced substantial growth of their Asian American population in the past decade. Texas, Florida, and Virginia each enjoyed a growth rate of between 71 to 72 percent, and this pattern continues to show the increasing dispersal of Asian Americans out of their traditional population centers on the West Coast and in Hawaii. Following these states in Asian population growth are Pennsylvania (62 percent), Washington State (53 percent), and New Jersey (52 percent). In comparison, the growth rate is relatively low in Hawaii (11 percent), although the Asian population represents over 50 percent of the entire population. Asians represented 62 percent of Honolulu's population and 51 percent of the population in Kauai. In terms of actual population numbers,

California had the largest gain of Asian American population over the decade, from 4.2 million in 2000 to 5.6 million in 2010. Within California, Asian population constituted more than 25 percent of the total population in four counties, all within the San Francisco-San Jose metropolitan area. Metropolitan areas with the largest population of Asian Americans were Los Angeles (1,884,669), New York (1,878,261), San Francisco Bay Area (1,577,790), Chicago (532,801), Washington, D.C. (517,458) and Honolulu (477,503).

Chinese American, the oldest Asian ethnic group in the United States, was the largest group of Asian America in 2010 (3.8 million). The next two largest groups were Filipinos (3.4 million) and Asian Indians (3.2 million). Given the high rate of immigration in the past decade, these three groups constituted 60 percent of the entire Asian American population. At the same time, since its implementation in 1990, the Diversity Immigrant Visa Program that allows citizens of countries with low rates of immigration to secure permanent residency in the United States have added to the diversity of Asian Americans. In addition to this program, economic and political changes in Asia ranging from rapid development to civil wars have resulted in new immigrant groups from Bhutan to East Timor.

Immigrants constitute a significant majority of adult Asian Americans. According to an analysis of the 2010 census by the Pew Research Center, 59 percent of Asian Americans and 74 percent of its adult population were foreign-born, compared with 13 percent of the total U.S. population. However, there were significant demographic variations within different subgroups. For instance, 75 percent of Korean Americans were foreign born, but only 38 percent of the Japanese American population were immigrants. Among the foreign-born Asian Americans, 54 percent were women. The female-to-male ratio was greater than two-to-one among Japanese immigrants, but males outnumbered females among immigrants from India.

Chinese, next to Spanish, is the most widely spoken non-English language in the United States. In 2010, an estimated 2.8 million people aged five and older spoke Chinese at home. Other Asian languages spoken by a large number of Asian Americans at home are Tagalog, Vietnamese, and Korean. Over half of the foreign-born Asian American population (53 percent) self-reported that they could speak English well, higher than other foreign-born groups in the United States (45 percent).

Socioeconomic Status: Improvement and Gaps

Before World War II, most Asian Americans worked at unskilled and low-paying jobs, often in racially segregated ethnic communities or as migratory agriculture laborers. After World War II, especially since the Civil Rights Movement, Asian Americans have gained access to the mainstream job market; their socioeconomic status has also shown significant improvement. Such improvements have been reported in the Census in every decade since 1970, reinforcing a “model minority” image for Asian Americans.

Asian Americans, however, are not a monolithic population. In the 2010 Census, the estimated median household income for Asian Americans was \$66,286—higher than it was for the overall U.S. population (\$50,831), the non-Hispanic white population (\$56,178), the Hispanic population (\$38,818), and the black population (\$33,137). However, there were wide gaps among different Asian groups. Asian

Indians had a median household income of \$90,711, for example, but the Bangladeshi median household income was only \$48,471.¹ Median household wealth (net worth) for Asian Americans was \$83,500 in 2010, higher than the median household wealth for the overall U.S. population (\$68,529), and higher than it was for Hispanics (\$7,800) and blacks (\$5,730) by large margins. But median household wealth for Asian Americans was significantly lower than it was for non-Hispanic whites (\$112,000). These data on income and wealth should take into account the fact that higher percentages of Asian Americans are urban dwellers concentrated in California, Hawaii, and New York, regions known for their high costs of living. In addition, it is crucial to understand that immigration is a highly selective process. For instance, whereas the median household income of Asian Indians was much higher than that of Hispanics in 2010, the per capita Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of Mexico was over six times that of India (\$10,146 and \$1,514, respectively, in 2011).

Poverty and health insurance rates provide different angles to assess socioeconomic status of Asian Americans. In 2010, about 12.2 percent of Asian Americans were reported by the Census Bureau as living in poverty. In comparison, poverty rates for non-Hispanic whites, Hispanics, and blacks were 9.9 percent, 26.5 percent, and 27.4 percent, respectively. Although poverty rates for Filipino, Japanese, and Indian Americans were relatively low (6, 8, and 8 percent, respectively), 26 percent of Hmong Americans were living below the poverty line. It is worth noting that although 16.5 percent of Asian Americans did not have health insurance in 2009, that rate increased to 18.4 percent in 2010. Nearly a quarter of both Pakistani and Bangladeshi Americans (23 percent) and more than a fifth of Korean (22 percent) and Cambodian (21 percent) Americans were uninsured, whereas the percentage of people without health insurance among non-Hispanic whites, Hispanics, and blacks were 13.5 percent, 30.7 percent, and 20.8 percent, respectively.

Employment patterns for Asian Americans are also complex. Although 48 percent of Asian Americans aged 16 and older were employed in management and professional occupations in 2010, about 17 percent of them worked in service occupations, 22 percent in sales and office occupations, and 10 percent in production, transportation, and moving and shipping occupations. In comparison, only 40 percent of employed Americans held management and professional jobs. Occupational distribution among different Asian groups, however, was diverse. Although two-thirds of Asian Indians held jobs in management and professional occupations, only about a third of Vietnamese Americans did so. Hmong and Cambodian Americans were relatively underrepresented in management and professional positions (20 to 21 percent). Whether Asian Americans with comparable educational levels and professional qualifications are earning the same pay or achieving equal professional advancement opportunities remains to be a serious question. Business ownership rate among Asian Americans continued to grow. In 2007, 1.5 million businesses were owned by Asian Americans, reflecting a 40.4 percent increase from 2002. It must be noted that a large proportion was small businesses, as 44.7 Asian American-owned businesses were in repair and maintenance, personal and laundry services, professional and technical services, and retail trade.

One Asian American group that has usually been overlooked is undocumented immigrants. Undocumented Hispanic immigrants have received most public and

media attention, and they account for approximately three-quarters of the total undocumented population in the United States. The U.S. government officially estimates that about 10–11 percent of the U.S. undocumented immigrants are from Asia, constituting approximately 13–15 percent of the Asian immigrant population. Whether undocumented Asian immigrants have been undercounted remains an open question. If so, their population would have a significant impact on socioeconomic status of the overall Asian American population.

Educational Attainment: Achievement and Gaps

Recognizing both growth and diversity of Asian Americans are especially important in reading statistics of Asian Americans in education. A most remarkable characteristic of the Asian American population is its high level of educational attainment. About 49 percent of Asian Americans aged 25 and older had at least a bachelor's degree in 2010, which was much higher than that of the total U.S. population (28 percent). However, levels of educational attainment for different Asian American groups were uneven. About 70 percent Asian Indian Americans, for example, had at least a bachelor's degree, but only 14 percent of both Cambodian and Laotian Americans held a similar degree.²

The analysis by the Pew Research Center also showed high educational attainment among the new Asian immigrants: 61 percent of the immigrants between the ages of 25 and 64 have at least a bachelor's degree, almost twice as high as non-Asian immigrants. About 81 percent of new immigrants from India held a college degree, but only 17 percent of immigrants from Vietnam had attended college. Further behind immigrants from Vietnam are new immigrants from Cambodia and Laos who have much lower college education attainment.

A higher percentage of Asian Americans 25 and older had graduate or professional degrees than the total U.S. population (20 percent to 10 percent). The Pew Research Center revealed that Asian American students and students from Asia accounted for 25 percent of doctorate degrees granted at U.S. universities in 2010, with considerable numbers in engineering, science, mathematics, computer science, physical science, and life science. Asian or Asian American students also received 20 percent of PhDs granted by U.S. universities in social sciences. These high levels of educational attainment helped Asian Americans find professional jobs. U.S.-trained Asian students from China and India have also been the main beneficiaries of H-1B visa program, which revitalized in 1990, this visa program also provided temporary employment opportunities for foreign-trained Asians in “specialty occupations,” especially in engineering, sciences, and business-related professions. With employer sponsorship, a significant percentage of H-1B visa holders have successfully adjusted into immigrant status. Foreign students from India and China, as well as skilled workers, were the two top-ranked groups to benefit from the program, and they received three-fourths of all H-1B visas granted to Asia in 2011. Indians alone accounted for 56 percent of all the H-1B visas granted by the United States in 2011, whereas those from China received an additional 8 percent. Although considerable numbers of students from Korea, Philippines, Japan, and Taiwan also benefited from this temporary visa program, very few students from other Asian nations were able to do so.

Conclusion

Improved socioeconomic status and increased visibilities of Asian Americans in U.S. politics, educational institutions, and other areas of American life have impacted the development of American society in significant ways. In many parts of the United States, Asian Americans have changed the social landscape of cities and neighborhoods, integrating their customs, values, languages, foods, and institutions. The increasing presence of Asian Americans has enriched the American society, but it has also challenged and strained the nation. Unfortunately, accompanying the drastic demographic changes were also incidents of racial conflict and hate crime, as well as a resurfacing anti-immigrant sentiment. Increasing political participation of Asian Americans has shown impressive results, as more and more of their representatives have been either elected or appointed to political, government, and judiciary posts at local, state, and national levels. In turn, Asian Americans have been able to more effectively pursue political and policy issues that concern them the most: social justice, immigration, health care, public support for education, U.S. foreign relations, and international trade. Their devotion to education and their high enrollment in colleges and universities have had a great impact in educational reform, and many colleges and universities across the United States have established and expanded course offerings in Asian American studies, in Asian history, culture, and languages, and developed educational exchange programs with more and more Asian nations.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, the Census Bureau projected that the Asian American population will grow to 37.6 million by the year 2050, comprising 9.3 of the total U.S. population. The rapid growth of Asian American population of the late twentieth century was the result of large waves of new immigrants from Asia, which became possible after the Immigration Act of 1965 and a host of legislations that addressed the immigration and refugee issues. There is no doubt that new immigrants will continue to come from Asia in significant numbers in the next few decades. In addition to immigration policies of the United States and changing U.S. diplomatic relations with Asian nations, globalization and the development of global economy will play an increasingly important role in determining sources of Asian immigration and directions of Asian migration. Scholars have already noticed that economic development and high living standard in Japan have made emigration less attractive in the past few decades. Korean immigration peaked in the 1970s and 1980s, but it declined in the late 1990s. Although the number of Chinese immigrants continued to grow, the rate of growth has slowed in the past decade. Developments in other parts of the world may also affect Asian migration, as more and more individuals are also paying attention to different opportunities in Europe, Australia, South and Central Americas, Africa, as well as in their neighboring Asian countries. From an Asian diaspora perspective, it would not be difficult to find that Asian emigration has become increasingly multidirectional, in which the United States is one destination (the most attractive one) among many others. Moreover, an increasingly large number of Asian Americans have resettled to Japan, Korea, China, and other Asian nations and many more are moving between Asia and the United States. All these developments will play important roles in shaping Asian immigration and the contours of twenty-first-century Asian America.

Xiaojian Zhao and Edward J. W. Park

Notes

1. Comparison between median household income of Asian Americans is based on tables released by Census Bureau in September 2010, see United States Census Bureau Newsroom, “Income, Poverty, and Health Insurance Coverage in the United States: 2011” (September 12, 2012); comparison between median household income between Asian Indian Americans and Bangladeshi Americans is based on a report from an earlier release from the Bureau, see United States Census Bureau News Release, “2010 Census Shows Asians are Fastest-Growing Race Group” (March 21, 2012).

2. The Pew Research Center’s analysis of Asian Americans, based on the 2010 U.S. Census, selects only six Asian American groups. Many smaller and less well-to-do groups are left out. See, Pew Research Center, *The Rise of Asian Americans*, July 12, 2012.

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Chronology

- 13,000 B.C. to 10,000 B.C.** The first human groups arrive in North America from Asia via Beringia, a large landmass that connects Asia to Alaska.
- 300–750 A.D.** Seafaring Polynesians, probably from Southeast Asia, settle the South Pacific Islands, including the remote northern Hawaii Islands. Taro, coconuts, and bananas are introduced to the islands by the migrants.
- 618–907** Tang dynasty begins in China. Canton centers China’s maritime commerce, where thousands of foreign merchants congregate.
- 900–1000** Filipinos extend trade from Malaysia to China.
- 1127** Southern Song dynasty (1127–1279) begins in China. Chinese shipowners and merchants in the lower Yangzi Delta and along the southern coast become active in international trade. Quanzhou in Fujian province emerges as the center for foreign commerce.
- 1400** Malacca is founded by Parameswara and will soon emerge as a major regional commercial center where Chinese, Arab, Malay, and Indian merchants congregate.
- 1492** Christopher Columbus lands in the New World when looking for a passage to India, bringing European attention to the Americas.
- 1511** A Portuguese fleet conquers Malacca in Malaysia, signifying the beginning of European expansion in Southeast Asia.
- 1521** Ferdinand Magellan arrives in the Philippine Islands, drawing European attention to the islands.
- 1526–1707** The Mughal Empire is founded in India, dominating nearly the entire India subcontinent at its height and controlling a population of nearly 150 million.
- 1543** Japanese encounter Europeans for the first time when some Portuguese land on a small island off the southern tip of Kyushu Island in southwestern Japan.
- 1549** Jesuit Francis Xavier starts Christian proselytizing in Japan. The Catholic missionaries will convert about 300,000 Japanese by the end of the sixteenth century.

- 1560** Oda Nobunaga (1534–1582) begins the unification drive of Japan, ending Ahikaga rule in 1573.
- 1565–1815** Some Filipinos and Chinese sailors and stewards are hired by Spaniards for the Manila Galleon Trade. Chinese luxury goods are shipped to Spain via Manila in the Philippines and Acapulco, Mexico, by galleons, which are large Spanish cargo ships.
- 1565–1898** The Philippine Islands are occupied by Spain, interrupted by a brief occupation by Great Britain from 1762 to 1764.
- 1587** The Spanish galleon *Nuestra Señora de Esperanza* (*Our Lady of Hope*) lands in present-day California on October 18, with a few Filipino crew members on board.
- 1592–1598** Japan invades Korea with the ultimate goal of conquering China. This military aggression ends with the death of the powerful warrior Toyotomi Hideyoshi, leaving Korea in ruins.
- 1598** United East India Company is founded by Dutch merchants in India.
- 1600** The Portuguese establish a colony in Macao.
- 1600–1602** The British East India Company is established. Along with the Dutch United East India Company, this company will emerge as a major player in the early global trade.
- 1603** Tokugawa Ieyasu emerges as the leader of a unified Japan, signifying the beginning of the Tokugawa Shogunate controlled by *Shogun*—military rulers.
- 1606** Anti-Christian decrees are first issued in Japan.
- 1636** The Manchu army invades Korea.
- 1638** Japan begins a period of seclusion, triggered by a rebellion involving about 20,000 Japanese Christians in 1637 and 1638.
- 1640** Japan closes its doors to most Westerners.
- 1664** The Qing Dynasty (1644–1911) succeeds the Ming dynasty (1366–1644) in China. Thousands of Ming loyalists flee abroad after the Manchu conquest. The Qing government forbids individuals to leave the country.
- 1729** The British East India Company ships 200 chests of opium to China, and Chinese emperor Yung Ching issues the first anti-opium edict, providing severe punishment on the sale of opium and the opening of opium-smoking divans.
- 1760** Canton regains dominance in foreign commerce. Western merchants are permitted to trade with government-licensed Chinese merchants through the *cohong* system.

- 1762–1764** Great Britain occupies some parts of the Philippines, but its influence is limited compared to that of Spain. The latter remains the dominant influence on the islands. British influence is limited compared to that of Spain.
- 1763** Some Filipinos working for the Spaniards in the Manila Galleon Trade between the Philippines and Mexico jump ship and settle in present-day Louisiana. They build small communities along the Mississippi River Delta.
- 1776–1783** The American Revolution takes place in British North America in 1776. The original 13 colonies gain independence from Britain in 1783.
- 1778** Captain James Cook (1728–1779), a British explorer and navy commander, arrives in the Hawaii Islands in an attempt to discover the northwest passage between Alaska and Asia. On the islands Cook finds that the indigenous people have built a unique culture of their own, including a highly sophisticated agriculture with irrigation systems. *Kalo* (taro) is the main staple food cultivated by the locals. Farmers and fishermen are ruled by *mo'i* (kings) of various regions on the islands.
- 1784** At Canton harbor, *Empress of China*, a commercial vessel outfitted by New York and Philadelphia merchants, opens trade between the newly established United States and China. The voyage is immensely successful.
- 1785** The presence of Chinese individuals is recorded in Baltimore, Maryland and Pennsylvania.
- 1787** The Constitution of the United States is signed at the Pennsylvania State house in Philadelphia on September 17. The new government will become effective in March 1789, after the Constitution is ratified by each of the 13 colonies.
- 1789** Small groups of Chinese land on Hawaii. Most of those who migrated to Hawaii in the early years are from two Chinese southern provinces of Guangdong and Fujian. Some Chinese migrants have sugarcane cultivation experience and sugar-making skills.
- 1790** The first U.S. Naturalization Act is enacted, stipulating that only “free white persons” can gain American citizenship.
- 1791** The Bill of Rights, consisting of 10 constitutional amendments, becomes part of the U.S. Constitution. These amendments provide civil rights to individuals, including freedom of religion, freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, freedom to bear arms, and freedom from unreasonable searches. The right to a fair trial by an impartial jury is also provided.

- 1802** A Chinese “sugar master” arrives in Hawaii, bringing with him simple sugar-making equipment, including boiling pans.
- 1806** Eight Japanese sailors boarding an American ship arrive in Hawaii. They are the first recorded Japanese who land on the Hawaii Islands.
- 1810** A *mo‘i* (king) of the island of Hawaii, Kamehameha, unifies the Hawaii Islands with the assistance of Western weapons and military advisers, ending wars among different regions and islands.
- 1814–1816** Nepal loses a war against the British.
- 1815** Filipino settlers in Louisiana join French pirate Jean Laffitte in the Battle of New Orleans against the British. This battle will lead to the American acquisition of Louisiana as a state.
- 1819** Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles arrives in Singapore as an agent of the British East India Company, making the island known to Westerners.
- 1820** Protestant missionaries from New England arrive in Hawaii.
Whaling ships begin to arrive in Hawaii’s harbors, accelerating the process of commercialization in the islands in place of a rural, largely subsistence lifestyle and communalism.
- 1824** Singapore is purchased by Great Britain. Within a year the city of Singapore becomes a major commercial port, with trade exceeding that of Malaya’s Malacca and Penang combined.
Through the Anglo-Dutch Treaty, Britain gains possession of Malacca, a major regional commercial center in Malaysia, in exchange for territory on the island of Sumatra in what is today Indonesia.
The British invade Burma (Myanmar) and gain their first foothold. Two more wars of conquest will follow in the next few decades until Burma is completely taken over by the British and annexed into India in 1885.
- 1826** Great Britain forms the Colony of the Straits Settlements based on its strongholds in Singapore as well as Malaya’s Malacca and Penang. In 1867, the Straits Settlements are made a British Crown Colony, which will last until 1946.
Siam (Thailand) enters the Treaty of Amity and Commerce with Great Britain.
- 1830** Three Chinese are recorded in the U.S. Census. This is the first time Asians appear in official government documents.
- 1830–1840** Chinese sugar-making mills are established on the islands of Maui and Hawaii in the 1830s. Within a decade at least half a dozen such mills will be in operation.

- 1831** The first group of Hawaiian students starts their classes at Lāhaināluna, a mission school established to train native teachers. Some of the native students are in their 30s when they enter the institution to learn to read and write.
- 1833** The United States begins diplomatic exchange with Siam (Thailand).
- A small number of Filipinos settle in St. Malo at the mouth of the Mississippi River and establish a fishing village. This village will be destroyed by a hurricane 60 years later.
- 1839** The first Opium War (1839–1842) between China and Britain begins. To crack down on the opium traffic, Chinese imperial commissioner Lin Zexu (Lin Tse-hsu) confiscated and destroyed thousands of chests of opium stored in the English merchants' store-ships in Canton, triggering the war. Britain wins the war and forces China to enter the Treaty of Nanjing in 1842.
- A constitutional monarchy is created by Kamehameha III in Hawaii. It will create its first written constitution a year later and establish a legislature and court system.
- The Chiefs' Children's School, also known as the Royal School, is established in Hawaii.
- 1840** A significant change takes place in the land tenure system in Hawaii, transferring communal land to private hands. Westerners gradually gain access to land for sugarcane cultivation.
- The Kingdom of Hawaii produces its first constitution, providing a basis for representational government.
- Eight Chinese are recorded in the Census.
- 1842** The United States recognizes the Kingdom of Hawaii and sends G. P. Judd (a missionary to Hawaii) as its prime minister to the islands. The growth of the sugar industry in Hawaii will attract great interest from American businessmen.
- The Treaty of Nanjing (Nanking), signed on August 29, concludes the first Opium War between Great Britain and China. China is forced to open five ports for trade, cede Hong Kong to Britain, and grant British subjects extraterritoriality.
- 1843** Manjiro Nakahama, known later as John Mung, is rescued at sea by an American vessel. He is the first Japanese to arrive in the United States.
- 1844** The Treaty of Wang Hiya (Wangxia) between the United States and China is signed on July 3. Americans gain many concessions from China similar to those provided in the Treaty of Nanjing.

- 1845–1847** Organic Acts are enacted in Hawaii, setting terms for the government.
- 1848** Gold is discovered on the American River in north central California. Miners begin to flood in from different parts of the world.
- The Great Mahele—land redistribution—takes place in Hawaii. Privatization of the lands allows the development of sugar plantations on the islands.
- The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo is signed between the United States on May 20, transferring almost half of Mexico to the United States, including parts of California, Colorado, Nevada, and Utah as well as Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas to the United States.
- 1849** Chinese begin to arrive in California during the Gold Rush. Most of the early arrivals are men from Guangdong province.
- 1850** The Taiping Rebellion (1850–1864), one of the largest peasant uprisings in Chinese history, begins.
- The indigenous population declines rapidly after Hawaii’s contact with Westerners. Legislative measures are taken to prevent its people from leaving the islands. The Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society is established to increase the labor supply in Hawaii, and it will take major steps to recruit workers from other countries. This government agency will be replaced by the Planters’ Society and a bureau of immigration in 1864.
- Japanese Hikoza Hamada, also known as Joseph Heco, is rescued at sea by an American sailing ship.
- The Foreign Miners Tax law is enacted in California to make the state “for Americans.”
- Groups of Chinese are invited to participate in President Zachary Taylor’s “grand funeral pageant” in New York.
- The Census records 758 Chinese living in the United States.
- 1851** The first two Chinese district associations are formed in San Francisco by immigrants.
- 1852** More than 20,000 Chinese flock to San Francisco en route to the gold fields of the Sierra Nevada Mountains. Few of these male immigrants bring their wives with them; groups of Chinese women are trafficked to the United States to work as prostitutes against their will.
- Foreign Miners’ Tax law is reenacted, aimed mainly at Chinese.
- 1853** American commodore Matthew Perry sails into Edo (Tokyo) Bay, forcing Japan to enter the treaty of Kanagawa and ending 200 years

of Japanese isolation. Americans gain privileges similar to those they have in China.

- 1854** Chinese in Hawaii organize a funeral society, the first Asian immigrant association.
- 1855** The Married Women Law, the first legislation regarding women's citizenship status, grants an alien woman American citizenship upon her marriage to an American citizen but does not specify whether a female citizen can keep her legal status upon marriage to a foreigner.
- In *People v. Hall*, the California Supreme Court reverses the conviction of George Hall for the murder of a Chinese on the grounds that the conviction is based on evidence provided by Chinese witnesses. Chinese testimony against white individuals will not be allowed until 1872.
- Yung Wing graduates from Yale College and becomes the first Chinese to receive a college degree in America.
- 1856** The second Opium War (1856–1860) between China and a joined force of Great Britain and France begins.
- 1858** France begins its conquest of Vietnam, starting in the south.
- 1859** France begins an effort to conquer Cambodia and Laos.
- A segregated school for Chinese children is established in San Francisco. Classes will be held only in the evenings a year later until its closing in 1871.
- 1860** The Qing government agrees to all terms in the Treaty of Tianjin, originally negotiated in 1858, on the very day the British burn to the ground Yuan Ming Yuan, the summer palace of the Chinese emperor. The new treaty imposes extraordinarily strict terms on China and cedes Jiulong (Kowloon) to Britain.
- The U.S. Census records 34,933 Chinese, which includes 1,784 women.
- 1861** The battle at Fort Sumter in Charleston, South Carolina marks the beginning of U.S. Civil War.
- The Joint Select Committee Relative to the Chinese Population of the State of California praises the Chinese for their contribution of \$14,000,000 to the state's economy.
- 1862** Violence against Chinese increases. One committee report of the California State Legislature reveals that 88 Chinese miners have been murdered, including 11 killed by collectors of the Foreign Miners' Tax.

- 1862**
(*cont.*) Six Chinese district associations join force and organize a federation called *gongsuo*, known by mainstream American society as the Six Chinese Companies. This organization will be renamed as the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association in 1882.
- 1863** British ships bombard the city of Kagoshima in Japan in retaliation for the death of an Englishman.
France claims Cambodia as its protectorate, making it a colony in 1884.
- 1864** Japanese cannons installed at the straits of Shimonoseki are destroyed by joint Western naval forces.
- 1865** About 3,000 Chinese workers are hired by the Central Pacific Railroad Company to construct the transcontinental railroad.
- 1866** Seven French ships appear in Korean waters, pressuring Korea to open its door for foreign trade. American and Japanese will follow in the next few years.
- 1867** Chinese railroad workers strike against the Central Pacific Railroad Company. About 10,000 Chinese are recruited at the time.
- 1868** Burlingame Treaty is signed by the United States and China, securing Americans privileges in China and providing mutual protections for free migration.
Meiji Restoration takes place in Japan, ending its feudal system. The teenage Emperor Meiji is restored as a symbolic figure to paramount status, and reform measures are taken to Westernize and modernize the nation. A conscription law will soon be enacted.
- 1869** Several hundred Japanese laborers are brought to Hawaii, Guam, and California by Americans and others. The 148 Japanese are treated poorly in Hawaii's sugar plantations. The Japanese government will bring 40 of them home and ban emigration.
The transcontinental railroad is completed on May 10, leaving 10,000 Chinese laborers unemployed; many Chinese will find work in agriculture.
- 1870** A new naturalization law extends the privilege to aliens of African nativity and to persons of African descent, but it does not mention the status of alien Asians.
Chinese are officially added to the Census form of the United States. Among the 63,199 individuals recorded, 4,566 are female. About 40 percent of the gainfully employed Chinese find work in light manufacturing industries, others are more likely to be self-employed. Laundry, restaurant, and grocery will become three major businesses in the ethnic economy before World War II.

Chinese become scapegoats as a nationwide recession leads to the rise of unemployment on the West Coast.

- 1871** In Los Angeles’s Chinatown, violence erupts against the Chinese on October 24, killing 15 and injuring an additional 6.
- 1871–1899** A total of 491 Asian Indians have arrived in the United States.
- 1872** The first group of the Chinese Educational Mission, led by Yung Wing, arrive in Hartford, Connecticut.
- 1873–1884** San Francisco’s board of supervisors passes 14 ordinances to restrict Chinese laundry operations, imposing extra financial burdens on Chinese laundrymen.
- 1873** Zun Zow Matzmulla becomes the first Japanese student to graduate from the U.S. Naval Academy.
- 1874** The hula dance, banned in 1830, is reinstated in Hawaii.
- 1875** The Page Law is enacted, forbidding the entry of Chinese, Japanese, and Mongolian contract laborers, prostitutes, and felons. The number of female Chinese immigrants will decline significantly.
- The United States ratifies a reciprocity treaty with the Kingdom of Hawaii, permitting the shipment of sugar to America duty-free.
- 1876** Japan forces Korea to sign the Treaty of Kanghwa, gaining privileges similar to those China and Japan were forced to give to Western powers.
- Joint Special Committee of Congress starts investigation of Chinese immigration and holds hearings in San Francisco; anti-Chinese violence breaks out in Chico, California, killing four Chinese laborers and injuring two.
- 1878** *In re Ah Yup* decision, the court decides that Chinese immigrants are ineligible for citizenship because they are neither white nor black.
- 1879** The University of Santo Tomas, a Spanish university in the Philippines, founds the School of Midwifery, providing higher education for Filipino women for the first time.
- President Rutherford B. Hayes vetoes the Fifteen Passenger Bill, which seeks to allow no more than 15 Chinese on each ship to the United States.
- 1880** The Burlingame Treaty is renegotiated to give the United States unilateral power to “regulate, limit or suspend” the “coming or residence” of Chinese laborers.
- Conflicts between Britain and the Burmese monarch intensify.

- 1880**
(*cont.*) The 1880 Census records a total of 105,465 Chinese in the United States, including 4,779 women.
- 1881** Hawaii's King Kalakaua visits Japan during his world tour and tries to persuade Japan to lift emigration restrictions, but the Japanese emperor is not moved.
- The Chinese government ends the Educational Mission and orders all the teachers and students to return to China immediately.
- Sit Moon, a converted Christian, becomes the first Chinese pastor of a church in Hawaii. Japanese pastors in Hawaii include Miyama Kanichi, Sokabe Shiro, and Okumura Takie.
- 1882** President Chester Arthur endorses the Chinese Exclusion Act on May 6, suspending the immigration of Chinese laborers for 10 years. The law signifies the beginning of a 61-year Chinese exclusion. It also stipulates that no state or federal court shall grant citizenship to Chinese.
- Adm. Robert W. Shufeldt signs the Treaty of Kanghai with Korea, securing for the United States the same privileges that Korea gives to Japan. Korea will sign similar treaties with Great Britain, Germany, Russia, Italy, and France.
- The Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (CCBA) is established in San Francisco, providing leadership for Chinese immigrants.
- 1882–1886** Anti-Chinese agitation gains momentum in Hawaii; some restrictive measures are issued.
- 1884** An amendment to the Chinese Exclusion Act requires each exempt Chinese applicant to present a certificate issued by the government of China.
- A federal circuit court for the district of California turns down two petitions of Chinese women, preventing the entry of wives of Chinese laborers.
- The first Chinese language school in the United States is established in San Francisco.
- American medical missionary Horace N. Allen arrives in Korea.
- 1885** In *Yick Wo v. Hopkins*, the Chinese successfully establish a case in the U.S. Supreme Court against discrimination.
- Chinese in San Francisco battle for the right to public education. In *Tape v. Hurley*, the California Supreme Court rules that children born in California to Chinese parents shall not be denied public education.

Mob violence takes the lives of 28 Chinese and wounds 15 in Rock Springs, Wyoming. In Seattle in Washington Territory, an anti-Chinese Congress orders the evacuation of all Chinese. Tacoma residents evacuate 600 Chinese by force and take them to a railroad station in Lake View. In San Francisco's Chinatown, arsonists set fire to several buildings, killing 13 people.

France annexes Vietnam.

Great Britain gains complete control of Burma and annexes it to India.

Japanese contract laborers begin to arrive in Hawaii in large numbers. These male and female laborers are recruited by American Robert Walker Irwin to work in sugar plantations.

1886 Seattle residents force an evacuation of Chinese, loading 350 Chinese into wagons and taking them to the docks to be shipped away. Violence is prevented with the presence of federal troops. Murder or expulsion of Chinese also occurs at Snake River Canyon in Idaho; Denver, Colorado; Portland, Oregon; Squaw Valley, Coal Creek, Black Diamond, Tacoma, Puyallup in Washington; and many communities in California.

1887 Hawaii's constitution becomes effective, assuring the planters and businessmen of control over the government of the kingdom.

When I Was a Boy in China, authored by Lee Yan Phou (1861–1938), is published.

1888 The Scott Act, another amendment of the Chinese exclusion, is signed into law, denying reentry of Chinese who left the United States to visit families in China.

1889 *Chae Chan Ping v. United States* challenges the Scott Act unsuccessfully.

1890 The McKinley Tariff grants duty-free status to all foreign sugar, depriving the special privilege enjoyed by Hawaiian sugar producers in previous two decades.

The Census records 107,488 Chinese in the United States with a male to female ratio of 26.8 to 1. More than 2,039 Japanese are recorded.

1892 The Geary Act extends Chinese exclusion for 10 years and requires alien Chinese to carry registration cards. Chinese immigrants challenge the law but lose their case (*Fong Yue Ting v. United States*).

Antigovernment demonstrations are staged in Korea led by Tonghak (Eastern learning) movement leaders.

- 1892**
(*cont.*) The first Japanese-language newspaper in Hawaii appears in Honolulu.
- 1893** About 20 Japanese shoemakers in San Francisco organize a Shoemakers' League, which becomes the first Japanese trade association in the United States.
- Hawaii's Queen Liliuokalani is overthrown in January in a virtually bloodless coup led by American, German, and British businessmen. A provisional government is established, and Hawaii becomes a U.S. protectorate. A treaty for annexation of the islands by the United States will soon be negotiated.
- 1894** The Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895) starts in Korea in response to the presence of Chinese military called in by Korean government to suppress the Tonghak Rebellion. Japan wins the war.
- France forms the French Indo-China Union after its conquest of Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos is completed.
- 1895** Recruitment of Japanese laborers to Hawaii becomes a private enterprise.
- 1896** Japanese in Hawaii start the first Japanese-language school in Honolulu.
- An uprising led by the radical Katipunan in Spanish-occupied Philippines takes place.
- 1898** The Treaty of Paris concludes the Spanish-American war; the United States acquires the Philippines, Puerto Rico, and Guam.
- Chinese immigrants win a landmark case, *Wong Kim Ark v. United States*. The U.S. Supreme Court rules that anyone born in the United States is a citizen and that right cannot be taken away.
- The Boxer Rebellion (1898–1901), a Chinese nationalist uprising against foreigners and the Qing government begins. An international expedition of nearly 20,000 soldiers is formed to crackdown the uprising.
- The United States officially annexes Hawaii.
- Japanese farmers in the United States form *kenjinkai*, which are prefecture-based social organizations.
- The first Japanese-language newspaper in the mainland United States, the *Nichibei Shimbun*, is published in San Francisco.
- 1899** The Philippine-American War (1899–1901) breaks out as American military forces begin their occupation of the islands. Casualty of the guerrilla warfare will reach 20,000 Filipinos and 4,200 Americans.

The North American Buddhist Mission in San Francisco is incorporated under the laws of California by Japanese missionaries.

Chinese American Ng Poon Chew starts *Hua Mei Sun Bo* (*Chinese American Morning Paper*), a Chinese language weekly in Los Angeles.

1900

President William McKinley signs the Organic Act into law on August 30 to establish a U.S. territorial government in Hawaii. All islanders become U.S. citizens.

In *United States v. Mrs. Gun Lim*, a federal circuit court rules that wives and minor children of Chinese merchants domiciled in the United States are admissible.

The U.S. Census records 89,863 Chinese on the mainland, including 4,522 women. The population of Japanese reaches 24,326 on the mainland and 60,000 in Hawaii.

Ng Poon Chew and several Chinese Christians publish the first independent community newspaper, the *Chinese-Western Daily* (*Chung Sai Yat Po*, 1900–1950), in San Francisco.

1901

The United States establishes a civilian government in the Philippines after the Philippine-American War. Many Americans will serve in the territorial government and teach in schools.

A new California's antimiscegenation law prohibits marriages between whites and "Mongolians."

A group of Chinese residents in Philadelphia is organized to obtain civil rights in the United States. It calls on Chinese American citizens to vote in elections.

A group of boarding school students in Hawaii organizes perhaps the first Japanese American baseball team.

The Boxer Protocol is imposed on China by Western nations on September 7. Peter Rye becomes the first recorded Korean immigrant to Hawaii.

1902

In *Tsoi Sim v. the United States*, Chinese Americans successfully establish a federal court case, allowing an alien Chinese wife of an American citizen the right to reside with her husband.

Several Japanese businessmen found the Japanese American Industrial Corporation (JAIC), one of the largest labor contracting firms in California.

The Philippines Organic Act is enacted, setting up terms for the civil government.

- 1902**
(*cont.*) Another amendment of the Chinese Exclusion Act extends Chinese exclusion for 10 more years. Immigration of Chinese to U.S territories is also restricted.
- 1903** The U.S. government sponsored the *pensionado* program in the Philippines, providing aid to young students to study in the United States.
- Japanese and Mexican farm workers strike jointly in Oxnard, California, and win. But the American Federation of Labor refuses to accept Japanese laborers.
- Ahn Chang-ho establishes the *Chinmok-ho* (friendship society), the first Korean immigrant community organization on the U.S. mainland.
- Contract laborers from Korea begin to arrive in Hawaii.
- 1904** Another amendment to the Chinese Exclusion Act is enacted, making exclusion of the Chinese permanent.
- The Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905) is fought in Korea. Japan defeats a Western colonial power and emerges as the dominate military power in Asia.
- About 1,200 Japanese plantation workers in Hawaii strike in Waialua and win some of their demands. Another strike was staged by Japanese workers on Lahaina plantation on Maui.
- An American-educated Japanese, Jo Sakai, founds a farming colony near Boca Raton, Florida.
- The Chinese American Citizens Alliance (CACA), an organization of U.S.-born Chinese, is established in San Francisco.
- 1905** *United States v. Ju Toy*, a U.S. Supreme Court decision, affirms that the bureau of immigration has final jurisdiction over entry and deportation issues of Chinese immigrants. The ruling denies Chinese the right to judiciary review.
- Japan declares Korea as its protectorate and prohibits Korean emigration to Hawaii and the United States.
- People in China boycott American goods in response to unfair treatment of Chinese immigrants in the United States.
- The Asiatic Exclusion League, the first anti-Japanese pressure group, is created in San Francisco.
- Korean immigrants establish the Mutual Assistance Society in San Francisco.
- 1906** Hawaiian plantation owners begin recruiting workers from the Philippines. A small group of Filipino workers arrives in the islands.

Abiko Kyutaro (1865–1936), the founder of the *Nichibei Shimbun* newspaper, establishes the American Land and Produce Company and builds a farm community—Yamato Colony—near Livingston, California.

The San Francisco School Board denies children of Japanese descent the right to attend regular public schools, creating a diplomatic crisis between the United States and Japan.

San Francisco is shaken by an earthquake; many buildings and records are destroyed by the quake and fire, including birth certificates. This incident creates an opportunity for Chinese to circumvent exclusion laws. Some Chinese claim they were born in the city and are in fact U.S. citizens and use their newly claimed citizenship to bring wives and children to the United States.

Ninety percent of the Filipinos migrants are Catholic, as a result of the presence of Catholic Church in the Philippines during the centuries of Spanish colonization.

1907

In an agreement with Japan, known as the Gentlemen's Agreement, the United States makes Japan to agree not to issue passports to laborers. President Roosevelt's Executive Order 589 also prohibiting Japanese in Hawaii, Mexico, or Canada from remigrating to the U.S. mainland.

The Expatriation Act stipulates that any American woman who marries a foreigner shall take the nationality of her husband.

Large groups of Asian Indians begin to immigrate to the United States.

The United Korean Society publishes its newspaper, the *United Korean News*, in Hawaii.

The U.S. colonial government establishes its first nursing school in the Philippines. Some Philippine-trained nurses will later travel to the United States for advanced professional education.

Several hundred white workers march to the Asian Indian community in Bellingham, forcing the immigrant laborers to cross the border into Canada.

Korean immigrants in Hawaii create the United Korean Society, providing leadership for all Korean organizations and village councils.

1908

The Korean Women's Association is established in San Francisco.

1909

Japanese plantation workers strike for four months on the island of Oahu, but Hawaii plantation owners refused to negotiate.

The Payne-Aldrich Tariff Act, also known as the Philippine Tariff Act, is enacted, setting terms for imports from the Islands.

- 1909**
(*cont.*)
- Yung Wing, the very first U.S.-educated Chinese scholar, publishes his autobiography, *My Life in China and America*.
- The Japanese Association of America, the most important community organization prior to World War II is established.
- The Korean National Association is established, assuming leadership for Korea's independence from Japan.
- The *New Korea*, a Korean immigrant newspaper, is published by the Korean National Association.
- 1910**
- An immigration detention center is established on Angel Island near San Francisco to screen and interrogate Asian immigrants, especially Chinese.
- Japan annexes Korea.
- The Census counts 71,531 Chinese, 72,152 Japanese, 5,008 Koreans, and 406 Filipinos living on the U.S. mainland.
- A group of Korean immigrants hired to pick oranges in Upland, California are attacked by white workers with rocks and stones.
- Hawaii-born Arthur K. Ozawa, the first Japanese American lawyer, is admitted to the bar in Michigan and Hawaii.
- Japanese picture brides begin to arrive.
- 1910–1924**
- About 500 Korean nationalists flee their country after Japanese annexation and settle in the United States.
- 1911**
- The Filipino Federation of Labor is founded.
- Sun Yat-sen (1866–1925), who attended medical school in Hawaii, founds the Republic of China.
- 1912**
- Kinji Ushijima, better known as George Shima, gains fame as the “Potato King.”
- The Sikhs build their first *gurdwara* in the United States in Stockton, California.
- Hawaiian native swimmer Duke Kahanamoku ties the world record and wins the gold medal in the 100-meter freestyle event at the Olympic Games in Stockholm, Sweden. He will break his own record in the 1920 Olympics.
- 1913**
- The California Alien Land Law is enacted on May 19, prohibiting aliens ineligible for citizenship to purchase or lease land for more than three years for agricultural purposes. Similar laws will pass in Washington, Oregon, Idaho, Montana, Arizona, New Mexico, Nebraska, Texas, Kansas, Louisiana, Missouri, and Minnesota.

Syngman Rhee (1875–1965), the first president of the Republic of Korea, begins to organize his followers for Korea’s independence.

Ghadar, a newspaper by the Hindustan Association of the Pacific Coast, is published.

1914 Sessue Hayakawa, a Japanese stage actor, appears in two movies during his first year in the United States.

Wu Tingfang (1842–1922), a prominent Chinese scholar and diplomat, publishes *America through the Spectacles of an Oriental Diplomat*.

Fifteen Korean farm laborers in Riverside, California, are attacked by a mob and forced to leave the area.

1915 The Ghadar movement takes place; more than 400 Asian Indian immigrants from the United States travel to their homeland to start a revolution for independence.

1917 The 1917 Immigration Act creates an Asiatic Barred Zone, excluding Asian Indians using a geographic criterion.

The Japanese Boys Club and Japanese Girls Club are organized.

1918 A second Japanese farming colony is built in Cressey, California. A new law permits native-born Filipinos or Puerto Ricans who have served in the U.S. military to gain citizenship, but it does not mention servicemen from other Asian groups.

Asian Indians establish the Hindustani Welfare Reform Society in the Imperial Valley to reach all Indian immigrants.

1919 A third Japanese farming colony is established in Cortez, California.

Korean provincial government-in-exile is established in Shanghai, China to lead the Korean independence movement.

A new law allows any person of foreign birth who has served in the U.S. military to petition for naturalization, but it does not specify whether non-Filipino Asians are included.

About 150 Koreans attend the first Korean Liberty Congress in Philadelphia to support the nationalist movement in their homeland.

Second-generation Japanese Americans organize the American Loyalty Club in San Francisco.

1919–1920 A large-scale strike organized by both Japanese and Filipino plantation workers in Hawaii takes place and holds a “77 Cents Parade” in Honolulu.

- 1920** The California Alien Land Law is amended to prohibit aliens ineligible for citizenship from leasing land and from serving as guardians of land under their U.S.-born children’s names.
- The Census records 61,639 Chinese, 111,010 Japanese, 5,603 Filipinos, and 6,181 Koreans in the United States. About 6,400 Asian Indians have arrived in the United States by then.
- The Korean American community establishes the School of Aviation in Willows, California.
- 1921** Japanese immigrants establish a sugar plantation in Texas.
- The United States makes Japan agree not to issue passports to Picture Brides in the so-called Ladies Agreement.
- The 1921 Immigration Act introduces a quota system.
- A federal district court denies the petition of Easurk Emsen Charr, a Korean immigrant, for U.S. citizenship, declaring that the Koreans are part of the Mongol family.
- The first Filipino American newspaper, the *Philippine Independent News*, is published in Salinas, California.
- Filipinos in San Francisco form the Caballeros de Dimas-Alang, a fraternal organization.
- Korean immigrants organize the Comrade Society under the leadership of Syngman Rhee.
- 1922** In *Estate of Tetsubumi Yano*, Japanese Americans win the right to serve as guardians of their American-born children in the California Supreme Court.
- The Cable Act makes an American women’s citizenship independent of that of her husband, contingent upon her husband’s eligibility for naturalization.
- In *Takao Ozawa v. United States*, the U.S. Supreme Court denies an alien Japanese petitioner the right to U.S. citizenship, declaring that he is not Caucasian.
- 150 Filipino nurses form the Filipino Nurses Association (FNA).
- Seventeen-year-old Chinese American Anna May Wong (1907–1961) stars as Lotus Flower in the film *The Toll of the Sea*, after appearing in *The Red Lantern* three years earlier.
- 1923** Japanese Americans lose four cases against alien land laws in the U.S. Supreme Court.
- In *United States v. Bhagat Singh Thind*, the U.S. Supreme Court denaturalizes an Asian Indian, declaring that Asian Indians are not white.

- 1924** The Immigration Act of 1924 is enacted, implementing a racially based quota system to limit immigrants from less desired eastern and southern European countries. Asians are barred.
- Japan changes its rule regarding nationality; children born in the United States of Japanese parents are not necessarily Japanese nationals.
- The Mongolian People's Republic is established.
- In *Cheung Sum Shee et al. v. Nagle*, a U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals allows admission of alien Chinese wives of merchants.
- In *Chang Chan et al. v. John Nagle*, a U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals denies entry to Chinese wives of American citizens.
- The *Chinese Times* (1924–), the newspaper of the Chinese American Citizens Alliance, begins publication in San Francisco.
- Filipino plantation workers in Hawaii strike for eight months.
- Chinese Americans launched a political campaign against new immigration restrictions.
- 1925** In *Toyota v. United States*, the U.S. Supreme Court denies a foreign-born Japanese who have served in the U.S. military the right to naturalization. The high court declares that the limitations based on color and race remain as part of the naturalization laws, but such restrictions do not apply to Filipinos because they are not aliens. This court ruling is significant to Filipino immigrants in the United States.
- Etsu Inagaki Sugimoto publishes *A Daughter of the Samurai* in 1925. A daughter of a *samurai* in feudal Japan, Sugimoto dedicates her book to Japan and America, which she addresses as her “two mothers.”
- The Chinese American Citizens Alliance (CACA), an organization of American-born Chinese, takes the lead lobbying Congress for the admission of Chinese wives of American citizens.
- 1927** James Sakamoto (1903–1955) becomes the first Nisei boxer to fight professionally at the Madison Square Garden in New York.
- 1928** James Sakamoto publishes the *Japanese American Courier* in Seattle, Washington.
- Korean immigrant New Il-Han publishes *When I Was a Boy in Korea*.
- 1930** The Census counts 74,954 Chinese, 138,834 Japanese, and 45,208 Filipinos in the 48 contiguous United States.

- 1930**
(*cont.*)
- A racial riot breaks out in Watsonville, California.
- An amendment of the 1924 Immigration Act is enacted, granting entry to alien Chinese wives of U.S. citizens married prior to May 26, 1924.
- Los Angeles Superior Court Judge J. K. Smith rules that Filipinos are members of the “Mongolian” race.
- The Japanese American Citizens League (JACL), the most influential Japanese community organization formed by American-born children of immigrants, is established.
- Korean immigrant writer Younghill Kang (1903–1972) publishes *The Grass Roof*.
- 1931**
- Japan invades Manchuria in northeastern China on September 18, 1931.
- Chinese in America begin to train pilots for the Chinese Air Force.
- The India Society of America is founded in New York.
- 1933**
- The Filipino Labor Union is founded in November, with a number of branch offices in central California.
- In New York, more than 1,000 Chinese laundrymen form the Chinese Hand Laundry Alliance (CHLA).
- 1933–1934**
- Filipino lettuce pickers in the Salinas Valley of California strike against the growers.
- 1933–1936**
- Chinese sailors in New York join a strike organized by National Maritime Union (NMU).
- 1934**
- President Franklin D. Roosevelt signs the Tydings-McDuffie Act, changing the status of the Philippines from a U.S. territory to commonwealth and restricting migration from the Philippines.
- Garment shop workers in San Francisco’s Chinatown form a Chinese branch of the International Ladies’ Garment workers Union (ILGWU).
- Leaders of the Japanese American Citizens League organize the first Nisei Week festival in Los Angeles.
- Eight second-generation Japanese baseball teams form the Nisei Central Japanese League in California.
- 1935**
- The Grandview Film Company is founded in San Francisco by Chinese Americans.
- A special act is passed to grant U.S. citizenship to about 500 Asian immigrant World War I veterans.

The Filipino Repatriation Act is enacted, offering Filipinos in the United States the opportunity to return to the Philippines.

The Philippine Commonwealth is established.

1936

A bill is introduced to Congress requesting that the privilege of citizens to bring in their wives be extended to all races ineligible to citizenship; it passes the House but fails in the Senate.

Ahn Ik-t'ae (1906–1965), a Korean immigrant living in Philadelphia, completes his composition of the Korean national anthem.

Japanese Americans become active in the electoral politics of Hawaii, winning 9 out of the 39 elected officials for the territorial government.

1937

A group of Chinese workers returning from their summer jobs at Alaskan Salmon canneries organizes the Chinese Workers Mutual Aid Association (CWMAA) in San Francisco.

The Sino-Japanese War escalates.

1938

Hawaii-born Chinese Hiram Fong begins his service in the House of Representatives of the territorial legislature.

The largest Chinese youth organization in New York, the Chinese Youth Club, is established.

1939

Korean Americans picket in Los Angeles against U.S. scrap iron and airplane fuel shipments to Japan.

Chinese American Charlie Low, a native of Nevada, opens the Forbidden City, a nightclub on the outskirts of San Francisco's Chinatown, catering mainly to non-Chinese customers.

The Japanese American 3YSC (Three Year Swim Club) in Hawaii wins its first national team swim title in Detroit, Michigan.

1940

The Census counts 77,504 Chinese and 126,947 Japanese. The Asian Indian population in the United States has declined to 2,045.

The *Chinese Press* (1940–1952), an English newspaper, is established in San Francisco; in New York, members of the Chinese Hand Laundry Alliance publish the *China Daily News*.

Germany, Japan, and Italy enter the Tripartite Pact in September, committing to one another to wage war against any nation that attacks any one of them.

1941

Japan's civilian government of Prince Fumimaro Jonoye is taken over by a military cabinet led by General Hideki Tojo.

The Japanese air force attacks Pearl Harbor, a U.S. naval base in Hawaii, on December 7. The United States declares war on Japan. Germany and Italy declare war on the United States.

- 1941**
(*cont.*)
- France signs an agreement with Japan in July, permitting Japanese troops to move freely through its Indochinese colonies. Japan occupies Indonesia.
- The United States freezes the assets of Japanese immigrants in July.
- The Japanese American Citizens League sends a telegram to President Franklin D. Roosevelt, pledging the loyalty of second-generation Japanese Americans.
- One hundred and sixty Japanese immigrant community leaders in Hawaii are detained in Honolulu after Pearl Harbor.
- 1942**
- President Roosevelt signs the Executive Order 9066, empowering the secretary of war to remove anyone from areas he might designate; Public Law 503 makes it a misdemeanor to violate an order by the secretary of war to leave a “military area”; about 120,000 Japanese in the United States are evacuated and relocated to internment camps.
- Japanese Americans Minoru Yasui, Gordon Hirabayashi, and Fred Korematsu protest curfew and internment orders, but the U.S. Supreme Court will uphold decisions of the government.
- Mass demonstrations erupt at the Manzanar detention camp in California on December 6.
- The National Japanese American Student Relocation Council is established to help interned Nisei to continue their college educations outside.
- Images of non-Japanese Asian Americans begin to improve; opportunities to join the military and work in defense industry become available.
- The *Chinese American Weekly* (1942–1965) starts publication in New York.
- Chinese American Ah Yin (Hazel) Lee Joins the Women’s Flying Training Detachment.
- 1942–1945**
- A total of 15,998 Chinese Americans are recruited to the U.S. military; 214 give their lives.
- Thousands of Filipinos are inducted into the U.S. armed forces; two Filipino infantry regiments are formed. Some 3,600 young Japanese Americans enter the U.S. Army directly from camps. Two all-Japanese infantry, the 100th Infantry Battalion and the 442nd Regimental Combat Team, are formed and later will merge into one.
- 1943**
- The Citizens Committee to Repeal Chinese Exclusion (CCRCE) is formed by a group of Americans.

The repeal of Chinese exclusion acts is signed into law by President Franklin D. Roosevelt on December 17, ending 61 years of Chinese exclusion.

In February, the U.S. government administers a loyalty questionnaire at all 10 detention camps to men and women over the age of 17 to identify and register male Nisei men for the draft; Japanese American internees at Heart Mountain Internment Camp organize to protest the loyalty questionnaire.

Second-generation Chinese American Pardee Lowe publishes *Father and Glorious Descendant*, an autobiographic account of his own experiences.

1944

President Franklin D. Roosevelt signs Public Law No. 405, allowing U.S. citizens to renounce their citizenship in time of war.

One hundred six Nisei soldiers at Fort McClellan, Alabama, refuse to undergo combat training in protest of continued incarceration of their families. Twenty-one of them are sent to jail.

The all-Japanese American 442nd Regimental combat team lands in Italy. The unit suffers 34 percent casualties in action and will become the most decorated unit of its size during the war.

The G.I. Bill of Rights is passed to allow the government to spend federal funds for veterans' education in colleges and vocational schools.

Maggie Gee becomes the second Chinese American women, after Ah Ying Lee, to join the Women Airforce Service Pilots.

Ho Chi Minh forms Viet Minh, a Communist group, and prepares for the seizure of power in Vietnam.

1945

In the *Ex Parte Endo* decision (1945) the court decides that a citizen of undoubted loyalty to the U.S. government should not be held in camp.

The War Brides Act is enacted, granting admission to alien spouses of World War II veterans on a nonquota basis; thousands of Chinese women are reunited with their husbands in the United States.

Japanese Americans are allowed to leave the internment camps and return to their homes on the west coast in January.

The 10th District Court of Appeals overturns the convictions of the seven Heart Mountain Fair Play Committee leaders in December.

Cold War intensifies: the United States drops an atomic bomb on Hiroshima, Japan on August 6; the Soviet Union enters the war

1945
(cont.)

against Japan and moves into Manchuria in China two days later; the United States drops the second atomic bomb the day after in Nagasaki, Japan; Japan surrenders to the United States on September 2; Korea is separated at the 38th parallel with the Soviet Union accepting the surrender of the Japanese north of the 38th parallel and the United States occupies the south.

The Viet Minh liberates North Vietnam from the Japanese and declares the establishment of Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Ho Chi Minh becomes the president; France tries to retake its colonies in Indochina after the Japanese defeat in World War II.

1946

The immigration act passed on July 2 ends exclusion of Filipinos and Asian Indians and grants both ethnic groups naturalization rights.

The Alien Fiancées and Fiancés of the War Veterans Act allow women who plan to marry World War II veterans to gain admission to the United States.

The Chinese Wives of American Citizens Act grants admissions to all alien Chinese wives of U.S. citizens.

The 100th Battalion/442nd Regimental Combat Team parades down Constitution Avenue in Washington, D.C. and receives a Presidential Unit Citation from Harry S. Truman.

A French cruiser shells Haiphong, the port of Hanoi, in late 1946, killing 6,000 civilians and triggering a bitter war against Viet Minh forces.

PFC (private first class) Sadao S. Munemori, who was killed in action during the war, becomes the first Japanese American to receive a Congressional Medal of Honor.

Malayan and Singapore become separate British colonies.

Wing F. Ong, a Chinese immigrant, is elected to the Arizona House of Representatives.

The Philippines gain independence from the United States on July 4.

Nursing training recovers in the Philippines after World War II; some nursing graduates will win scholarships to study in the United States.

Chinese American Gilbert Woo founds the *Chinese Pacific Weekly* in San Francisco.

Filipino American writer Carlos Bulosan publishes his autobiography, *America Is in the Heart*.

The last of the detention camps, Tule Lake in California, is closed on March 20. Japanese American athletic leagues are reorganized.

- 1947** President Harry S. Truman grants full pardons to the 267 Japanese Americans who resisted the military draft during the war.
- The War Brides Act is amended, removing race restrictions and allowing all alien spouses of American war veterans, including the excluded racial groups, to unite with their families.
- Indian resistance to British rule gains momentum under the leadership of Mohandas Gandhi.
- Official diplomatic relations between the United States and Nepal are established.
- 1948** President Truman signs into law the Japanese Americans Evacuation Claims Act on July 2, enabling World War II Japanese American internees to file claims for their financial losses.
- The Displaced Persons Act grants resident status to about 15,000 Chinese in the United States.
- In *The People v. Oyama*, the Supreme Court declares that California's escheat action, which allows the state to seize land of Japanese Americans, is unconstitutional.
- In *Shelley v. Kraemer*, the Supreme Court rules that race-restrictive housing agreements are not to be enforced.
- In *Takahashi v. California Fish and Game Commission*, the Supreme Court lifts racial restrictions on the issuing of commercial fishing licenses.
- A court decision declares California's ban on interracial marriage unconstitutional.
- Burma gains independence, ending 63 years of British colonial rule.
- Filipino American Vicki Manolo Draves becomes the first woman in Olympic history to win both the high (platform) and low (springboard) diving gold medals; Korean American Sammy Lee, wins a gold medal in the men's diving division. Japanese American Harold Sakata from Hawaiian wins the silver medal in weightlifting.
- The new Republic of Korea is established; Syngman Rhee becomes its first president.
- Many Filipino nurses begin to participate in the U.S. Exchange Visitor Program.
- 1949** Communist Chairman Mao Zedong declares the founding of the People's Republic of China, ending a three-year civil war against Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist government forces; Chiang and his followers flee to Taiwan.
- Indonesia gains independence, ending nearly two and a half centuries of Dutch rule.

- 1949**
(*cont.*)
- A political riot takes place in San Francisco's Chinatown; a similar incident occurs in San Francisco's Chinatown.
- Iva Toguri, the so-called Tokyo Rose, is convicted as a traitor of the United States.
- The *China Weekly* (1949–1950), a radical community newspaper, is published in San Francisco.
- 1950**
- The Census counts 150,005 Chinese, 122,707 Filipinos, 326,379 Japanese, and 7,030 Koreans in the United States.
- The United States begins its involvement in the Vietnam War.
- The Federal Bureau of Investigation launches a large-scale investigation in the Chinese American community; progressive youth and workers' groups become the main targets.
- Communist North Korea, backed by the Soviet Union, invades the Republic of Korea in the south on June 25, triggering the outbreak of the Korean War. U.S. troops sent to aid South Korea confront Chinese troops there.
- San Francisco-born Jade Snow Wong publishes her first book, the *Fifth Chinese Daughter*.
- 1951**
- The Communist government in China isolates itself from most of the world after the Korean War.
- The San Francisco Peace Treaty between Japan and 55 other nations is signed in September, allowing Japan to gain independence when U.S. occupation of Japan ends in 1952.
- The United States allows about 5,000 Chinese college and graduate students studying in the states to claim political asylum.
- The Immigration and Naturalization Service begins an effort to link Chinese immigration fraud to Communist activities in Chinese American community.
- Chinese American scientist An Wang starts Wang Laboratories to commercialize the magnet core memory device that he has invented for computers.
- Go For Broke*, an MGM movie based on the all-Japanese American 100th/442nd Regimental Combat Team, is released.
- 1952**
- The California Supreme Court declares that alien land laws violate the Fourteenth Amendment.
- The McCarran-Walter Act amends the 1924 Immigration Act, allocating immigrant quota limits of 2,990 for Asia, 149,667 for Europe, and 1,400 for Africa.

Swimmers Ford Konno and Yoshinbu Oyakawa, both Japanese Americans, win Olympic gold medals at the summer games in Helsinki, Finland; Japanese American Tommy Kono wins the gold for weightlifting; Korean American Sammy Lee wins two gold medals for diving.

1953

Asian women who are spouses of American military personnel begin to arrive from Japan, Korea, and the Philippines as wives of U.S. citizens under the 1952 McCarran-Walter Act.

The Refugee Relief Act allows Chinese political refugees to gain entry and permanent resident status in the United States.

Japanese American Monica Sone publishes *Nisei Daughter*, an autobiographical account of the author's life growing up in Seattle, Washington.

The armistice ending the Korean War is signed on June 23, restoring the prewar division at the 38th parallel. The United States backs South Korea and has no diplomatic relation with North Korea.

France grants independence to both Laos and Cambodia in December in the midst of French-Vietnamese War.

Judo, a form of martial art, is formally recognized as a sport by the Amateur Athletic Union.

1954

The United States enters the Manila pact with members of Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO).

Viet Minh forces defeat the French at Dien Bien Phu, ending eight years of French-Vietnamese War and French colonial rule in Vietnam; Vietnam is partitioned at the 17th parallel, backed by the United States in the South and China and the Soviet Union in the North.

In *Brown v. the Board of Education*, the U.S. Supreme Court declares school segregation unconstitutional.

Japanese Peruvians who are held in U.S. internment camps are allowed to apply for permanent resident status in the United States.

Japanese American Sergeant Hiroshi Miyamura, a veteran of World War II, receives the Congressional Medal of Honor from President Dwight D. Eisenhower for his service in the Korean War.

The All American Overseas Chinese Anti-Communist League is established in New York, which denounces the new Chinese government.

- 1955** The United States begins to increase its military involvement in Vietnam.
- Chinese American James Wong Howe wins an Oscar for cinematography for his work on *The Rose Tattoo*.
- 1956** California alien land laws are officially repealed.
- The government starts a grand jury probe in New York against Chinese immigration fraud, stating through the media that some young Chinese immigrants are probably Communists.
- Dalip Singh Saund (1899–1973), an Asian Indian immigrant, is elected to the U.S. House of Representatives.
- American Harry Holt, later the founder of the Holt Adoption Agency, adopts eight Korean orphans.
- The Justice Department launches the “Chinese Confession Program” to destroy underground networks of Chinese immigration.
- 1957** The Federation of Malaya, established in 1948, gains independence from Britain.
- Chinese American Chen-Ning Yang and Tsung-dao Lee share the Nobel Prize in Physics. Their theory is proved by another Chinese American physicist, Chien-Shiung Wu.
- Japanese American John Okada publishes *No-No Boy*; Chinese American Chin-Yang Lee publishes the best-selling *Flower Drum Song*.
- The Korean Foundation is established to promote higher education among Koreans in the United States.
- 1959** Singapore gains independence from Britain.
- Daniel Ken Inouye becomes the first Japanese American to serve in the United States House of Representatives.
- 1960** A large number of Filipino nurses come to the United States through the U.S. Exchange Visitor Program.
- An average of 2,500 Japanese women, 1,500 Korean women, and 1,500 Filipino women start to arrive each year; many of them are wives of U.S. military personnel.
- The Korean American Association of Greater New York (KAAGNY) is established.
- Chinese American sociologist Rose Hum Lee publishes *The Chinese in the United States of America*.
- 1961** Seiji Ozawa, a world class music conductor from Japan, is appointed as assistant director of the New York Philharmonic.

The first Chinese American movie star Anna May Wong dies at age 56.

Immigrants from Thailand begin to arrive.

1962

A presidential directive by John F. Kennedy allows more than 15,000 refugees from the People's Republic of China to enter the United States.

Japanese American Minoru Yamasaki's Yamasaki Associates is commissioned to design the twin towers of the World Trade Center in New York City.

Daniel Ken Inouye becomes a member of the U.S. Senate in 1962; "Spark" Masayaki Matsunaga is elected to the U.S. House of Representatives from Hawaii; Seiji Horiuchi of Brighton, Colorado, becomes the first Japanese American elected to a state legislature in the continental United States.

Zubin Mehta is appointed as the Music Director of the Los Angeles Philharmonic Orchestra.

1963

Malaysia is formed, consisting of the newly independent Federation of Malaya, Sabah, and Sarawak, as well as Singapore.

Many Asian Americans participate in the civil rights March on Washington in Washington, D.C., on August 28.

Japanese American Yuri Kochiyama begins her involvement in the civil rights movement in Harlem in New York.

Chinese Historical Society of America is established, starting to publish a journal, *Chinese America: History and Perspectives*.

1964

Japan hosts the 18th Summer Olympic Games in Tokyo, the very first Olympic Games in Asia.

Japanese American photographer Yoichi R. Okamoto becomes the head of the White House Photo Office for President Lyndon B. Johnson.

Patsy Takemoto Mink, the first Hawaiian Nisei woman to receive a law degree, is elected to the U.S. House of Representatives.

Korean American Richard E. Kim publishes his first novel, *The Martyred*, a bestseller about the Korean War; Chinese American author Bette Bao Lord publishes *Eighth Moon: The True Story of a Young Girl's Life in Communist China*.

Masanori "Mahi" Murakami, a Japanese baseball player, pitches for the San Francisco Giants.

1965

Singapore separates from Malaysia and becomes an independent republic.

- 1965**
(*cont.*)
- President Lyndon B. Johnson signs a major immigration law on October 3 that abolishes the racially discriminatory quota system and sets a quota maximum of 20,000 for each country, which provides opportunities for family unification.
- A group of young Asian American actors founds the East West Players, the first Asian American theater company in the United States.
- The Filipino American Political Association is established in San Francisco.
- 1966**
- The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution takes place in China.
- The Treaty of Amity and Economic Relations facilitates economic exchange between the United States and Thailand.
- Some Asian American students return to their ethnic communities to organize grassroots activities.
- Japanese American actor Mako is nominated for an Academy Award for best supporting actor.
- 1967**
- In *Loving v. Virginia*, the U.S. Supreme Court declares antimiscegenation laws unconstitutional.
- Japanese American boxer Paul Fujii wins the junior-welterweight boxing championship.
- The involvement of the United States in the Vietnam War deepens.
- 1968**
- Asian Indian American Har Gobind Khorana is awarded the Nobel Prize in Physiology or Medicine for his contribution to controlling protein research.
- 1969**
- The United States expands its war effort in Indo-China, launching a series of air raids in Cambodia; the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency arms 9,000 Hmong tribesmen to fight against the Pathet Lao.
- Largest public protests against U.S. involvement in Vietnam take place; President Nixon announces his program for Vietnamization, promising to withdraw American combat troops.
- Asian American Studies programs are established at San Francisco State University and the University of California, Berkeley as results of student demonstrations; the first Asian American Studies Center is established at the University of California, Los Angeles.
- The Red Guard Party of Chinese Americans publishes a bilingual community newspaper, *Red Guard*, in San Francisco's Chinatown.

Japanese Americans begin organizing pilgrimages to Tule Lake and Manzanar internment campsites.

Chinese for Affirmative Action is founded in San Francisco.

Him Mark Lai, together with Thomas W. Chinn and Philip P. Choy, publishes *A History of the Chinese in California: A Syllabus*; Sociologist Harry Kitano publishes *Japanese Americans*, the first comprehensive account of the experiences of Japanese Americans after World War II.

Filipino American Roman Gabriel, a professional football player with the Los Angeles Rams, wins the Jim Thorpe Trophy.

1970

The Census counts 435,062 Chinese, 343,060 Filipinos, 69,150 Koreans, and 591,290 Japanese.

The Japanese American Citizens League resolves to seek redress for Japanese Americans interned during World War II, signifying the beginning of the redress movement.

Filipino American writer and illustrator Jose Aruego publishes *Juan and the Asuang: A Tale of Philippine Ghosts and Spirits*.

1971

President Nixon's National Security Advisor Henry Kissinger secretly visits Beijing, making the first step toward normalization of U.S.-China relations.

Korean American Herbert Choy is appointed by President Richard M. Nixon as judge to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit.

The *Amerasia Journal*, the first academic journal of Asian American Studies, is published by the Asian American Studies Center at the University of California, Los Angeles.

Chinese American Frank Chin's *The Chickencoop Chinaman* is staged at the American Place Theatre in New York.

Chinese American Connie Chung begins to work at CBS's Washington bureau, becoming the first Asian American and second female nightly news anchor at a major national television network.

1971–1980

About 44,000 Thai immigrate to the United States.

1972

The United States ends a 27-year occupation of the Ryukyu Islands in Japan, of which Okinawa is a part.

Vietnam's Huynh Cong, also known as "Nick" Ut, wins the Pulitzer Prize for photography.

Japanese American Ken Kawaichi and Dale Minami found the Asian Law Caucus.

1973

The Free Chol Soo Lee Defense Committee is formed in San Francisco.

- 1973**
(*cont.*) Japanese American writer Jeanne Wakatsuki Houston, with her husband James Houston, publishes *Farewell to Manzanar*, a recollection of their memories during World War II.
- Bruce Lee (1940–1973), Chinese American action film superstar and martial arts master, dies at age 32.
- 1974** In *Lau v. Nichols*, the Supreme Court declares that failure to provide adequate education for non-English-speaking students is a violation of the Equal Protection clause of the U.S. Constitution.
- Norman Mineta wins a seat in the U.S. House of Representatives and becomes the first Japanese American from the continental United States elected to Congress.
- Chinese American March Fong Eu is elected California secretary of state.
- 1975** The Vietnam War ends with the fall of Saigon on April 30. Ho Chi Minh’s Democratic Republic of Vietnam takes control of South Vietnam.
- Khmer Rouge overthrows the Phnom Penh’s Khmer Republic and assumes power in Cambodia on April 17.
- The Lao People’s Democratic Republic is established on December 2.
- Refugee camps for Vietnamese are established in the Philippines, Guam, Thailand, Wake Island, and Hawaii.
- Large numbers of Southeast Asians are admitted. On March 18 President Gerald Ford authorizes the admission of 130,000 Vietnamese and Cambodian refugees; the Refugee Cash Assistance program of the federal government provides financial assistance to Southeast Asian refugees; the Indochina Migration and Refugee Assistance Act provides federal funds for resettlement programs for Southeast Asian refugees.
- Chinese American Laurence Yep publishes *Dragonwings*, an adventurous story for young readers.
- Ann Kiyomura, a Japanese American, and Kazuko Sawamatsu of Japan win a women’s doubles title at the Wimbledon tennis championship in England.
- 1976** The Socialist Republic of Vietnam is established in 1976.
- President Gerald R. Ford issues proclamation 4417, revoking Executive Order 9066.
- Refugees continue to escape from Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam, finding ways for their first asylum in Malaysia, Thailand, Indonesia, Singapore, or the Philippines.

Japanese American S. I. Hayakawa wins a U.S. Senate seat; “Spark” Masayaki Matsunaga wins a seat in the U.S. Senate after seven consecutive terms in the U.S. House of Representatives; Native Hawaiian Daniel K. Akaka is elected to the U.S. House of Representatives from Hawaii.

Chinese American physicist Samuel Chao Chung Ting shares a Nobel Prize in Physics with Burton Richter.

Chinese American author Maxine Hong Kingston publishes *The Woman Warrior*; Japanese American Michiko Nisuiira Weglyn publishes *Years of Infamy: The Untold Story of America’s Concentration Camps*.

The Organization of PanAsian American women is founded.

1977 President Jimmy Carter appoints Chinese American Thomas Tang to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit.

1978 Vietnam invades Cambodia, intensifying tension with China.

Japanese American Robert Matsui of California wins a seat in the U.S. House of Representatives.

Chinese American architect I. M. Pei gains national and international fame as the East Building of National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C. is completed.

Japanese American jazz pianist Toshiko Akiyoshi is named Best Arranger in the *Down Beat* Readers’ Poll; Chinese American cellist Yo-Yo Ma receives the prestigious Avery Fisher Prize; Japanese American poet Janice Mirikitani publishes her first volume of poetry, *Awake in the River*.

A joint congressional resolution establishes the first 10 days of May as Asian/Pacific American Heritage Week.

1979 The United States normalizes its diplomatic relationship with the People’s Republic of China, ending official ties with The Republic of China in Taiwan.

China launches a border war with Vietnam.

The Association for Asian American Studies is founded.

A monument is erected on Angel Island to commemorate the harsh treatment of early Chinese immigrants.

The Indochina Resource Action Center is founded in Washington, D.C.

Chinese American John Ta-Chuan Fang founds *AsianWeek*, an English-language weekly; Korean American journalist K. W. Lee founds the English-language Korean American newspaper *Koreantown Weekly*.

- 1980** The Census Bureau announces that the Asian/Pacific population in the United States reaches 3.5 million, making up 1.5 percent of the U.S. population.
- The 1980 Refugee Act adopts the United Nation's definition of a refugee and sets an annual quota for refugees at 50,000.
- Asian Indians are counted in the Census as Asians for the first time, as are Guamanians and Samoans.
- George R. Ariyoshi is elected as governor of Hawaii, the first Japanese American to win a governorship in the United States.
- New York's Chinatown History Project is launched.
- Pakistani American Safi Qureshey, along with Thomas Yuen and Albert Wong, establishes AST Research Inc.
- 1981** Twenty-one-year-old Chinese American architect and sculptor Maya Yin Lin's design for the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington, D.C. wins a national contest of 1,420 entries.
- Hate crime against Southeast Asian immigrants begins to surface as more and more refugees enter local communities.
- Chinese American David Henry Hwang's first play, *FOB*, is premiered at Joseph Papp's Public Theater; Ruthanne Lum McCunn of Chinese and Scottish descent publishes *Thousand Pieces of Gold*, a novel based on real life story of a Chinese immigrant woman Polly Bemis.
- The Asian American Journalists Association is founded.
- 1981–1990** About 64,400 Thai immigrate to the United States.
- 1982** Japanese American sculptor and architect Isamu Noguchi receives the Edward MacDowell Medal for outstanding lifetime contribution to the arts.
- Chinese American mathematician Shing-Tung Yao wins the Fields Medal.
- Vincent Chin, a 27-year-old Chinese immigrant in Detroit, is killed by two white auto workers after a fight with them in a nightclub. The American Citizens for Justice is formed in response to the crime and its light sentences for the murders.
- The Amerasian Immigration Act allows children of American military personnel to come to the United States from Southeast Asia, Korea, Thailand, and the Philippines.
- 1983** The Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians concludes that the internment of Japanese Americans was not justified.

South Asian American astrophysicist Subrahmanyan Chandrasekhar shares a Nobel Prize in Physics with William A. Fowler.

Fred Korematsu's case is reversed by the Federal District Court of San Francisco.

Cathy-Lynn Song, daughter of Chinese and Korean immigrant parents, publishes a collection of poetry, *Picture Bride*.

Chinese American Andrew J. C. Cheng opens the first Panda Express fast food restaurant in Glendale, California.

1984

Henry Liu, a prominent Chinese American journalist and the author of a biography of Taiwan's President Chiang Ching-kuo, is assassinated outside of his home in Daly City, California.

The Vietnamese-American Civic Association, Inc. is founded in Boston.

Roger H. Chen, a Chinese immigrant from Taiwan, opens the first 99 Ranch Market store in Westminster, California; C. C. Yin becomes the first Chinese American to own a McDonald's.

Samoan American diver Greg Louganis wins a gold medal in platform diving in the 1984 Summer Olympics in Los Angeles; Tommy Kono, a Japanese American weightlifter, is voted the greatest weightlifter of all time by the International Weightlifting Federation.

Chinese American physicist S. B. Woo is elected as the lieutenant governor of Delaware.

1985

A federal district court in Oregon overturns Minoru Yasui's conviction for violating a curfew order during World War II.

Filipina American Irene Natividad becomes the first Asian American elected to head the National Women's Political Caucus.

Ellison Onizuka becomes the first Asian American astronaut to orbit in space aboard the *Discovery* shuttle; Chinese American physicist Taylor Gun-Jin Wang also travels in space.

Laotian actor Haing S. Ngor wins an Oscar for best supporting actor for his role in *The Killing Fields*.

1986

A federal district court in Seattle overturns Gordon Hirabayashi's 1942 conviction for violating wartime internment orders.

Chinese American Yuan T. Lee shares a Nobel Prize in Chemistry with Dudley R. Herschbach and John C. Polanyi.

Chinese American Sucheng Chan publishes a pathbreaking monograph, *This Bitter-sweet Soil: The Chinese in California Agriculture, 1860–1910*.

- 1986**
(*cont.*)
- Fourteen-year-old Japanese American violinist Midori gains international fame for her performance at the Tanglewood Music Festival in Massachusetts.
- The space shuttle *Challenger* explodes during takeoff. Japanese American Ellison Onizuka perishes along with six other crew members.
- The National Congress of Vietnamese in America is founded.
- 1987**
- The United States recognizes Mongolia.
- The Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 allows aliens who were in the United States before January 1, 1982 to apply for permanent status and eventually become U.S. citizens.
- The Amerasian Homecoming Act allows Amerasians born between January 1, 1962 and January 1, 1976, as well as their family members, to enter the United States.
- Japanese American Patricia Saiki is elected to Congress representing Hawaii.
- Hoang Nhu Tran, a Vietnamese refugee, graduates first in a class of 960 students from the U.S. Air Force Academy and is selected as a Rhodes Scholar.
- Korean American Kim Ronyoung (1926–1987) publishes *Clay Walls: A Novel*.
- South Asian American Navroze Mody is attacked and killed in Jersey City, New Jersey by a group of young men.
- 1988**
- The Civil Liberties Act is signed into law by President Ronald Reagan, requesting that the government issue an official apology to Japanese Americans interned in World War II and compensate each living internee \$20,000.
- Indonesian Chinese American Jahja Ling receives the Arts Conductor's Award from Seaver/National Endowment.
- South Korea hosts the 26th Summer Olympic Games in its capital, Seoul.
- Samoan American diver Greg Louganis wins a second gold medal in platform diving in the 1988 Olympics in Seoul, Korea and takes a second gold medal in springboard diving.
- 1989**
- An agreement between the United States and Vietnamese government known as the Humanitarian Operation allows individuals who have spent three or more years in reeducation camps to come to the United States.

Guam American Manny Crisostomo wins a Pulitzer Prize in Feature Photography.

Twenty-four-year-old Chinese American Ming Hai Loo (Jim Loo) is killed in late July outside a swimming pool in Raleigh, North Carolina in a situation similar to the murder of Vincent Chin.

Eight-year-old Korean American violinist Sarah Chang solos with the New York Philharmonic conducted by Zubin Mehta.

The Coalition of Asian Pacific Americans, a political action committee, is founded.

Cambodian American Sichan Siv is appointed deputy assistant to President George H. W. Bush.

Chinese American Elaine L. Chao is appointed deputy secretary of the Department of Transportation in President George H. W. Bush's administration.

Julia Chang Bloch is appointed U.S. ambassador to Nepal by President George H. W. Bush.

Chinese American Michael Chang wins the French Open tennis tournament, becoming the youngest male and the first American winner of the event since 1955.

Chinese American filmmaker John Woo gains international recognition with the release of *The Killer*, the most successful Hong Kong film in the United States.

Christine Choy and Renee Tajima-Pena's *Who Killed Vincent Chin* is nominated for an Academy Award for best documentary film.

Asian Indian American writer Bharati Mukherjee publishes her novel *Jasmine*; Vietnamese American Phung Le Ly Hayslip publishes her first book, *When Heaven and Earth Changed Places: A Vietnamese Woman's Journey from War to Peace*; Amy Tan, a second-generation Chinese American writer, publishes a best-selling novel, *The Joy Luck Club*; historian Ronald Takaki's *Strangers from a Different Shore: A History of Asian Americans* receives a number of awards and recognitions.

1990

The Census Bureau reports that the Asian Pacific Island population in the United States has increased from 3,500,439 in 1980 to 7,273,662 in 1990. Asian Americans count for 3 percent of the U.S. population. There are 1,645,472 Chinese Americans, 1,460,770 Filipino Americans, 847,562 Japanese Americans, 815,447 Asian Indian Americans, 798,849 Korean Americans, 614, 547 Vietnamese Americans, 149,014 Laotians, 149,047

1990
(cont.)

Cambodians, 94,439 Hmong, and 365,000 Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islanders.

Chinese American Chang-Lin Tien is appointed as the 8th chancellor of the University of California, Berkeley.

Daniel K. Akaka, a native of Hawaii and a congressman, is appointed to fill the Senate seat of “Spark” Masayaki Matsunaga after the latter’s sudden death.

Cheryl Lau, a native of Hawaii, is elected secretary of state of Nevada.

Committee of 100, a group of prominent Chinese Americans, is founded to bridge cultural exchange between United States and China and to provide a forum for issues concerning Chinese Americans.

President H. W. George Bush signs a proclamation designating May as Asian/Pacific American Heritage Month.

Doctor and AIDS researcher David D. Ho is appointed to head the world’s largest AIDS research facility, the Aaron Diamond AIDS Research Center, in New York City, and will become one of the first scientists to discover that AIDS is caused by a virus.

The Hate Crimes Statistic Act allows the gathering and publication of data concerning crimes against persons based on discriminatory characteristics.

Japanese American golfer David S. Ishii wins the Hawaiian Open PGA tournament.

Chinese American award-winning writer Ha Jin publishes his first book of poems, *Between Silences*; Japanese American author and illustrator Allen Say publishes the critically acclaimed *El Chino*.

Chinese American Vera Wang opens her Vera Wang Bridal House in New York City, featuring her trademark bridal gowns.

1991

Vietnamese American Arts & Letters Association is established.

Japanese American Bob H. Suzuki is selected as president of California State Polytechnic University, Pomona.

Major General John Liu Fugh is appointed judge advocate general of the U.S. Army.

Japanese American Steven Okazaki’s *Days of Waiting* wins the Academy Award for best documentary short subject.

Chinese American Gus Lee publishes the semiautobiographical novel, *China Boy*; Asian Indian American Dinesh D’Souza

publishes *Illiberal Education: The Politics of Race and Sex on Campus*.

Patricia Saiki, former congresswoman from Hawaii, is appointed to head the U.S. Small Business Administration by President George H. W. Bush.

1992

The United States withdraws its military facilities at Clark Base, Subic Bay Naval Complex, and several small subsidiary installations in the Philippines.

Chinese American designer and artist Doug Chiang wins an Academy Award for the creation and design of special effects in the 1992 film *Death Becomes Her*.

The Asian Pacific American Labor Alliance is established.

Voting Rights Language Assistance Act requires bilingual voting materials to be made available to citizens speaking a language other than English.

Lillian Kimura becomes the first woman to be elected as president of the Japanese American Citizens League.

Korean American businessman Jay Kim becomes a congressman from California; Chinese American Clayton Fong is appointed deputy assistant to President George H. W. Bush.

Filipino American physician Lillian Gonzalez-Pardo is elected president of the American Medical Women's Association; Native Hawaiian oncologist Reginald C. S. Ho becomes the first Asian American to head the American Cancer Society.

The Los Angeles riots start on the evening of April 29, triggered by the Rodney King incident.

Vietnamese American physicist Eugene Huu-Chau Trinh travels in space as a payload specialist.

Japanese American Kristi Yamaguchi wins a gold medal for women's figure skating at the 1992 Winter Olympics in Albertville, France; Korean American Eugene Chung joins the New England Patriots professional football team.

1993

The United States officially establishes diplomatic relations with the Kingdom of Cambodia. Embargo against Cambodia is lifted a year earlier.

Public law 103 offers a former apology to Native Hawaiians for the overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawaii a hundred years ago.

With 286 Chinese passengers on board, the *Golden Venture*, a human smuggling ship, runs aground in New York Harbor.

1993
(cont.)

Japanese American master sergeant Roy H. Matsumoto is inducted into the U.S. Army Ranger Hall of Fame for his extraordinary service during World War II; Native Hawaiian Frederick F. Y. Pang becomes an assistant secretary of the navy for Manpower and Reserve Affairs.

Asian Indian scientist Arati Prabhakar is appointed to head the National Institute of Standards and Technology by President Bill Clinton.

Samoan American Tiaina “Junior” Seau, San Diego Chargers linebacker, is voted as National Football League Player Association Player of the Year; Hawaii-native Chad Rowan, better known as Akebono, becomes the first American to win the title of Yokozuna (Grand Champion) in Japan.

Chinese American fashion designer Anna Sui wins the Perry Ellis Award for New Fashion Talent; Japanese American Eiko Ishioka wins the Academy Award for best costume design for her work in *Bram Stoker’s Dracula*.

Korean American comedian Margaret Cho becomes the first Asian American to star in her own television series, *All-American Girl*.

P. F. Chang’s China Bistro, Inc., a restaurant chain, is opened for business.

1994

Benjamin J. Cayetano is elected governor of Hawaii.

Chinese American Henry Yang is appointed chancellor of the University of California, Santa Barbara.

Asian Indian American Prema Mathai-Davis is appointed to head the Young Women’s Christian Association.

Asian American comedy troupe “18 Mighty Mountain Warriors” is founded in San Francisco.

The National Association of Korean Americans is found in New York City.

South Korean baseball pitcher Chan Ho Park starts his career in professional baseball in the United States.

1995

The United States officially normalizes diplomatic relations with Vietnam on July 11.

Chinese American Jerry Yang, together with David Filo, found Yahoo! Inc.

The University of California, Santa Barbara establishes the first Asian American Studies Department in a major American research university.

Asian Indian American medical doctor Deepak Chopra founds the Chopra Center for Wellbeing, with Doctor David Simon, in Carlsbad, California.

Chinese American Wayne Wang's independent feature film, *Smoke*, wins the Silver Berlin Bear at the Berlin International Film Festival.

Chinese American Gary Locke is elected governor of the state of Washington.

An estimated 120,000 Thai immigrants and their descendants are living in the United States, including Thai Chinese.

Chinese American historian Judy Yung publishes her award-winning monograph, *Unbound Feet: A Social History of Chinese Women in San Francisco*.

The National Alliance of Vietnamese American Service Agencies is established.

Japanese baseball player Hideo Nomo becomes a Major League Baseball player in the United States as a pitcher for the Los Angeles Dodgers.

1996

Chinese American scientist David D. Ho is named *Time* magazine's "Man of the Year" for his contribution to the basic understanding of the AIDS and his pursuit of therapeutic treatment of the disease.

John Huang, a Democratic National Committee fundraiser and former commerce department official, is alleged to have made illegal campaign contributions to President Bill Clinton.

Asian Indian American Sabeer Bhatia starts HotMail, a web-based e-mail system.

Golfer Tiger Woods, born to a Thai mother and African American father, turns pro and is named Sportsman of the Year by *Sports Illustrated* magazine.

Chinese American figure skater Michelle Kwan captures the first of her five gold medals in World Figure Skating Championship.

Chinese American gymnast Amy Chow and her teammates bring home the first American team Olympic gymnastics gold medal.

1997

Hong Kong returns to China, as a 99-year lease between China and Britain expires.

In 1997, Korean American businessman Jay Kim pleads guilty to accepting illegal campaign contributions and is sentenced to one year probation and a \$5,000 fine.

- 1997**
(*cont.*)
- Chinese American actor Jackie Chan leaves his mark on the Hollywood Walk of Fame.
- The United States and the Vietnamese governments reached an agreement on the Resettlement Opportunities for Returned Vietnamese program, allowing more than 20,000 individuals to come to the United States.
- Rose M. Ochi is appointed to the Department of Justice as assistant attorney general by President Bill Clinton.
- Vietnamese American Lan Cao publishes *Monkey Bridge*, a novel based on Cao's own experience leaving Vietnam.
- Chinese American scientist Steven Chu shares the Nobel Prize in Physics.
- 1998**
- The Justice Department apologizes and offers monetary compensation to more than 2,200 Japanese from Latin American countries who were interned in the United States during World War II.
- Cambodian photojournalist Dith Pran (1975–2008) receives the Ellis Island Medal of Honor and the International Center in New York's Award of Excellence.
- Fred Korematsu is awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom by President Bill Clinton.
- A. Magazine* editors Jeff Yang, Diana Gan, and Terry Hong publish *Eastern Standard Time*.
- 1999**
- Chinese American Jenny Ming becomes the president of Old Navy, a chain of clothing stores owned by Gap, Inc.
- President Bill Clinton signs Executive Order 13125, increasing participation of Federal programs to improve the quality of life of Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders.
- Asian Indian American writer Jhumpa Lahiri's collection of short stories, *Interpreter of Maladies*, is published.
- Chinese American scientist Wen Ho Lee of the Los Alamos National Laboratory of the University of California is accused of stealing U.S. nuclear arm secrets for China.
- Thai Town is officially designated in Los Angeles. Vietnamese American Dat Nguyen becomes a professional football player, signing with the Dallas Cowboys.
- 2000**
- A President's Executive Order legalizes most transactions between Americans and North Koreans.
- The U.S. Census counts 11.9 million people, or 4.2 percent of the entire population as Asian. This number includes 10.2 million

Asian and 1.7 million of mixed ancestry. Sixty-nine percent of all Asians are foreign born. Among the Asian groups, Asian Indian, Pakistani, and Thai are the three groups with the highest proportions of noncitizens. The majority of the foreign-born Asians arrived in the United States in the past 20 years.

The Census counts 1,855,590 Asian Indians in the United States and 75 percent of them are foreign born.

The Census counts 212,633 Cambodians in the United States and 66 percent of them are foreign born.

The Census counts 2,858,291 Chinese in the United States, making Chinese the largest Asian American population group.

The Census counts 2,385,216 Filipinos in the United States; 68 percent of the population is foreign born. The Philippines send more immigrants to the United States each year than any other Asian nation.

The Census reports more than 184,842 Hmong Americans in the United States and 56 percent of the population is born outside the United States. The majority of Hmong Americans are clustered in five states: California, Minnesota, Wisconsin, North Carolina, and Michigan.

The Census records 1,152,324 Japanese in the United States, and the majority of the population (61 percent) is native born.

The Census records 1,226,825 Koreans in the United States, 78 percent of the population is foreign born.

The Laotian population is 196,893 according to the Census, and 69 percent of which is foreign born.

The Pakistani population is 209,273, and more than 75 percent of the population is foreign born.

The Census counts 150,093 Thai people in the United States.

The Census counts 1,212,465 Vietnamese in the United States and 76 percent of the population is foreign born.

For the first time the Census identifies Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders separately from Asian Americans, counting 399,000 individuals.

The National Japanese American Memorial to Patriotism in Washington, D.C. is dedicated during the Veterans Day Memorial weekend.

Pin Chong, a theater director, playwright, choreographer, and video artist, wins an Obie Award for Sustained Achievement.

2000
(cont.)

Korean martial artist Jhoon Rhee is named one of the 200 most famous immigrants of all time by the National Immigration Forum.

Hmong Americans, who are concentrated in agriculture, enter local farmers markets in large numbers. In California, Minnesota, and other states, Hmong vendors provide a variety of fresh produce that are most welcomed by Asian American customers.

Chinese American martial artist Jet Li (Li Lianjie) plays his first Hollywood lead role in *Romeo Must Die*.

The Emmy Awards are established to honor Asian American films and actors in Hollywood.

In a White House ceremony, President Bill Clinton presents the Medal of Honor to 21 Asian American veterans of World War II.

Vietnamese American writer Monique Truong wins a number of awards for her best-selling novel, *The Book of Salt*. The book is a national best-seller.

South Asian American Leaders of Tomorrow is founded in New York City.

Samoan American Junior Seau, linebacker of the San Diego Chargers, is named the NFL Alumni Association's Linebacker of the Year; Ichiro Suzuki, a Japanese baseball player, signs a contract with the Seattle Mariners; Chinese American Charles Wang and his partner Sanjay Kumar purchase the New York Islanders hockey team.

2001

Chinese American Elaine L. Chao is appointed by President George W. Bush as secretary of labor of the United States.

President George W. Bush appoints Cambodian American Sichan Siv to serve as the U.S. representative to the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations.

Thai writer and composer Somtow Sucharitkul debuts his first opera, *Madana*, in Los Angeles.

Indian American director Mira Nair's *Monsoon Wedding* receives a Golden Lion Award at the Venice Film Festival.

Japanese American Mike Honda becomes a congressman from California.

2002

Flossie Wong-Staal is named one of the 50 most extraordinary women scientists by *Discover* magazine.

Madeleine Z. Bordallo becomes the first woman from Guam to be elected to Congress.

Hmong American Mee Moua is elected to the state senate of Minnesota.

Korean American author Linda Sue Park's *A Single Shard* wins the John Newbery Medal in American children's literature.

Japanese American Apolo Anton Ohno wins a gold medal in 1,500-meter short track speed skating at the Salt Lake Winter Olympics.

Yao Ming, a Chinese basketball player, is drafted by the Houston Rockets as the overall number one draft pick of the NBA; Chin-Feng Chen becomes the first Taiwanese athlete to play in Major League Baseball by signing with the Los Angeles Dodgers.

2003

"Dreams and Reality: Korean American Contemporary Art Exhibit to Celebrate 100 Years of Korean Immigration to the U.S." opens at the International Gallery at the Smithsonian Institution.

Katrina Leung is arrested and charged with being a double agent for China during her two-decade career as a highly valued FBI agent.

Bill Moyer produces *Becoming American: The Chinese Experience*, a three-part PBS documentary.

Filipino American Stephen Eagle Funk, a marine reservist in San Jose, resists comeback duty in the war against Iraq.

Asian Indian American astronaut Kalpana Chawla perishes with six of his fellow crew members aboard the Space Shuttle *Columbia*.

Korean American golfer Michelle Sung Wie becomes the youngest-ever winner of the U.S. Women's Amateur Public Links.

2004

About 15,000 Hmong refugees from Wat Tham Krabok, a refugee camp in Thailand, are resettled in the United States.

Best-selling book (*The Rape of Nanking*) writer and Chinese American author Iris Chang passes away at age 36.

Asian Indian American Piyush "Bobby" Jindal becomes a U.S. congressman from Louisiana.

The Union of North American Vietnamese Students Association is founded.

2005

Lang Ping, a former volleyball superstar from China, is appointed as the head coach for the U.S. Olympic Volleyball Team.

Chien-Ming Wang, a former pitcher for the Chinese Taipei national baseball team, becomes a starting pitcher for the New York Yankees.

Chinese American Ang Lee, born in Taiwan, becomes the first Asian American to win the Best Director Academy Award for *Brokeback Mountain*.

- 2006** Thai American Goppat Henry Charoen becomes the mayor of La Palma, California.
- Chinese American mathematician Terence Tao wins the Fields Medal.
- 2007** About 1.5 million businesses are owned by Asian Americans. About 44.7 percent of these businesses are in repair and maintenance; personal and laundry services; professional and technical services; and retail trade. An increasing number of Native Hawaiians and other Pacific Islanders (37,687) have their own businesses; about 45 percent of these businesses are in construction and retail trade.
- Korean American student Seung-Hui Cho guns down 33 people in the Virginia Polytechnic Institute massacre.
- Japanese American Mike Honda is named House Democratic Senior Whip. Asian Indian American Piyush “Bobby” Jindal is elected governor of Louisiana.
- 2008** China hosts the 29th Summer Olympics in Beijing, generating great excitement among Chinese in the United States.
- Japanese American scientist Yoshiro Nambu is awarded the Nobel Prize in Physics; Japanese American scientist Osamu Shimomura and Chinese American scientist Roger Tsien share a Nobel Prize in Chemistry with biologist Martin Chalfie.
- Six Korean American investors purchase a shopping mall in the Little Tokyo section of downtown Los Angeles, with plans to convert it into a Korean American shopping center.
- Chinese American Arthur Dong’s *Hollywood Chinese* wins a Golden Horse Award in Taiwan for best documentary film.
- Bryan Clay, the son of an African American father and a Japanese immigrant mother, brings the United States a gold medal at the Beijing Olympics in the decathlon.
- Several Asian Americans win their bids to Congress, including Filipino American Steve Austria, a Republican, representing the 7th District of Ohio; Republican Joseph Cao, the first Vietnamese congressman, representing Louisiana’s 2nd District; Chinese American Judy Chu, a Democrat, representing California’s 32nd District.
- 2009** A racial incident takes place in a South Philadelphia High School in September. Tensions between African American and Asian American students escalate to widespread violence. As many as 30 Asian American students are physically attacked and many receive treatment in the hospital.

Chinese American Charles K. Kao, who has established a successful career in the United States, Britain, and Hong Kong, shares a Nobel Prize in Physics for his contributions to the study of the transmission of light in optical fibers and for fiber communication.

Indian American Venkatraman Ramakrishnan shares a Nobel Prize with Thomas A. Steitz and Ada E. Yonath in Chemistry for his study of the structure and function of the ribosome.

2010

The U.S. Census counts 17.3 million individuals of Asian descent residing in the United States, which comprises 5.6 percent of the total U.S. population. About 2.6 million of the Asian Americans are of mixed-race heritage. California has the largest concentration of Asian Americans (5.6 million), followed by New York (1.6 million). Hawaii has the highest proportion of Asian Americans (57 percent).

The Census counts 1.2 million Native Hawaiians and other Pacific Islanders, which comprises 0.4 percent of the total U.S. population. About 56 percent of the Native Hawaiians and other Pacific Islanders report multiple races.

The Census counts 3.8 million individuals of Chinese descent residing in the United States. Chinese America is the largest Asian American group. There are 3.4 million Filipinos, 3.2 million Asian Indians, 1.7 million Vietnamese, 1.7 million Koreans, and 1.3 million Japanese residing in the United States.

Median household income for Asian Americans is \$67,022. The median income for individual ethnic groups differs greatly: India Americans, \$90,711; Native Hawaiians and other Pacific Islanders, \$52,776; Bangladeshi Americans, \$48,471.

About 50 percent of Asian Americans aged 25 or older has at least a bachelor's degree, much higher than 28 percent of all Americans of the same age group. About 85 percent of Asian Americans aged 25 and older has at least a high school diploma, similar to the overall U.S. population of the same age group. Twenty-five percent of Asian Americans aged 25 and older has a graduate or professional degree, much higher than all Americans of the same age group (10 percent). Only 4 percent of native Hawaiians and other Pacific Islanders aged 25 and older has obtained a graduate or professional degree.

The poverty rate is 12 percent for Asian Americans and 18.8 percent for Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders. Also, 18 percent of Asian Americans and 17 percent of Native Hawaiians and other Pacific Islanders do not have health insurance.

Five hundred Asian Americans gather in San Francisco City Hall in April, rallying to address Anti-Asian American violence. The

- 2010**
(*cont.*)
- event is triggered by a few recent incidents, which took two lives and injured a third. Eight Asian students at Indiana University are subjected to racial slurs and four are subsequently battered and robbed in November.
- Several Asian Americans win their seats in Congress through special elections, including Bangladesh American Hansen Clark, a Democrat, representing the 13th District in Michigan; Charles Djio, a Chinese-Thai American and a Republican, representing the 1st District of Hawaii; Japanese American Colleen Wakako Hanabusa, a Democrat, representing the 1st District of Hawaii.
- 2011**
- Chinese American Amy Chua, a Yale University Law Professor, published an autobiography on parenting, *Battle Hymn of the Tiger Mother*, generating a heated public debate.
- 2012**
- Chinese American Jeremy Lin, a graduate of Harvard University, becomes a basketball sensation playing for the New York Knicks in the 2011–2012 season.
- A mass shooting takes place on August 5 at a Sikh temple in Oak Creek, Wisconsin, killing six people and wounding four more. The arrested suspect, Wade Michael Page, is a white supremacist.
- Republican Mazie Hirono, a Japanese American, becomes the first Asian American woman U.S. Senator. She is Hawaii’s first woman senator.
- Several Asian American women win their seats for the first time in Congress, including Chinese American Grace Meng, a Democrat and the first Asian American to be elected to Congress from New York’s 6th District; Democrat Tulsi Gabbard, the daughter of a Samoan father and Indian mother, representing Hawaii’s 2nd District; Democrat Ladda Tammy Duckworth, the daughter of a former U.S. Marine father and Thai immigrant mother, representing Illinois’s 8th District.
- Japanese American Mark Allan Takano, a Democrat, wins a seat in Congress, representing California’s redrawn 43rd congressional district in Riverside; Asian Indian American Ami Bera, a Republican, is elected to Congress for California’s 7th congressional district.
- Ang Lee wins the Best Director Academy Award the second time, for *Life of Pi*.
- 2013**
- Chinese American Yitang Zhang, a lecturer at the University of New Hampshire, shocks the mathematical world by proving a landmark theorem in the distribution of prime numbers.

A

Adopted Asian Americans

Historical and Sociological Background

In the last several decades, the adoption of children born in Asia to new parents in the United States has become increasingly common. Various economic, cultural, and demographic factors have contributed to this phenomenon. On the “push” side, an overabundance of children from impoverished areas in Asia combined with a traditional devaluation of girls frequently leads many birth parents to give up their children for adoption. “Pull” factors in the United States and other Western countries include large numbers of couples who are unable or unwilling to conceive children themselves have created a demand for overseas adoptees. Furthermore, inside the United States, the number of children available for adoption, especially infants, has dropped considerably in recent decades and has also led many prospective adopters to look at Asian children.

The practice of Asian-born children being adopted by primarily American (and predominantly White) parents began during the Korean War, as many Americans sought to remedy the plight of growing numbers of children in Korean orphanages by adopting them and bringing them to the United States to live. Studies show that of the 265,524 orphan visas granted by the U.S. State Department between 1948 and 2000, 92,402 of them (34.8 percent) went to children from South Korea. Estimates suggest that anywhere between 110,000 and 150,000 Korean adoptees alone currently reside in the United States, ranging in age from infancy to their 60s.

After the passage of legislation that eased the adoption process, the practice became increasingly common in the 1970s. During this time, several Asian countries experienced political and/or economic upheavals that resulted in the worsening of living conditions for many of their citizens, particularly poor, working class, or rural families, leading many families in vulnerable circumstances to be more willing to give up their infants and young children to be adopted, with one prominent example being “Operation Babylift” that evacuated one thousand Vietnamese children out of the country at the end of the Vietnam War. Also during the 1970s, adoptions from other Asian countries such as China, South Korea, the Philippines, and India began accelerating. Many of these governments also streamlined their adoption procedures to facilitate overseas adoptions.

The U.S. Department of State keeps track of all immigration visas issued to orphans, which are required for international adoptions. Their statistics show that from 1989 to 2008, China sent the most adoptees to the United States on average. But in the latest year that statistics are available (2008), it was surpassed by Guatemala. Also, as shown in State Department statistics, perhaps the most notable trend in recent years is the significant increase of adoptions from African countries such as Ethiopia, Nigeria, Liberia, and Ghana.

Questions about Legal Status of Orphans

The vast majority of these Asian adoptees have been and continue to be girls and this has led to one of the criticisms surrounding such Asian adoptions. Specifically, many feel that because of centuries of deeply engrained

patriarchy and discrimination against women, these Asian countries continue to systematically value the life of a girl much less than that of a boy. Boys are valued more because they can supposedly contribute more labor and have more legal rights. Conversely, when there are too many girls being born, they are too quickly considered “excess property.” Although these criticisms are directed toward the cultural, political, and social systems of the Asian country and not at the adoptees themselves or their American adoptive parents, this gender imbalance continues to be a point of controversy for all parties involved in the adoption process.

In recent years and despite the 1993 passage of the *Hague Convention on Protection of Children and Cooperation in Respect of Intercountry Adoption*, there have been numerous suspicions and controversies regarding child trafficking and whether or not the status of many Asian children as orphans is valid. Allegations include instances when children may have been kidnapped outright, taken from their families through fraud or coercion, or when mothers have been paid money (or given nonmonetary incentives) to relinquish custody of their children for adoption.

In fact, several adoption agencies have been charged with fraud involving improper adoptive activities, and as a result of these issues, the U.S. State Department has imposed significant restrictions on or indefinitely suspended adoptions from certain countries. For example, in April 2008 and in the wake of a State Department report that alleged pervasive corruption and baby selling in Vietnam’s adoption system, Vietnam indefinitely suspended all new adoptions to Americans. A similar moratorium on adoptions from Guatemala was imposed in 2009.

How Adoptive Parents Deal with Racial Differences

On the other side of the adoption process, criticisms have been raised in regard to the cultural appropriateness of such interracial Asian adoptions. On the one hand, many argue that despite the cultural barriers and struggles that Asian adoptees might undergo in the United States, they are still much better off materially and even emotionally than if they stayed in their orphaned situations back in the country of origin. On the other hand, critics of interracial adoption argue that American

political, economic, and military policies through the decades contributed to the push conditions that many Asian countries face. Furthermore, critics feel that non-Asian adoptive parents will “whitewash” these Asian children into white society so that they quickly and perhaps permanently lose their Asian identity and sense of ancestry.

For example, sociologists Jiannbin Lee Shiao and Mia Tuan studied the parenting styles of parents who adopted from Korea. They found that white adoptive parents in their study dealt with the racial differences between themselves and their children by using one of three approaches:

- **Emphasizing the Exotic:** objectifying their children or showing them off as if they were an exotic pet
- **Active Acknowledgment:** recognizing the importance of race and racism in America, encouraging discussion, and careful observation if their children encountered any racially based problems
- **Color-blind:** overlooking, ignoring, or pretending racial differences did not exist

This third approach was the one most commonly used. Within this color-blind approach, many adoptive parents felt that acknowledging racial differences might interfere with the process of integrating their child into their family and their community. Many adoptive parents also did not have the skills to cope with the racial differences between them and their children and used this strategy by default because they were uncomfortable dealing with racial matters, as many such parents had little if any familiarity with racial minorities or cultures other than their own.

Within this color-blind approach, there were often two secondary results. The first was conflating Asian and Asian American—sometimes adoptive parents would occasionally expose their child to Asian culture that might include language classes, going to Asian restaurants, cultural events in their communities, books and other media from or about their country of origin, and even involvement in adoption groups or camps where their children can interact and socialize with other Asian adoptees. But in doing so, many adoptive parents do not distinguish between being

Asian and Asian American. When adoptive parents implicitly assume that being Asian is the same as being Asian American, they frequently forget to educate the child about Asian American issues, as this will be the child's social and cultural environment as long as he or she lives in the United States. In general, many Asian Americans are assumed to be foreigners, even if they were born or raised in the United States.

The other secondary result of the color-blind approach was to frame their child as an "Honorary White." Even if adoptive parents tried to be color-blind, because their social environment was based on white culture, by ignoring racial differences, they ultimately reinforced whiteness. By normalizing whiteness, adoptive parents essentially socialized their children to be white and to see the world from a white perspective. As such, they were unwilling or

unprepared to deal with incidents in which their child was not treated as white and instead, encountered racial prejudice and discrimination based on their Asian physical appearance. Scholars point out that this is not to say that adoptive parents were "bad" parents or that they purposely misled their children into thinking that they were white. Instead, such adoptive parents were a reflection of the white majority culture around them, their thoughts and actions framed by conventional and deeply embedded racial boundaries.

Cultural and Identity Issues Faced by Asian Adoptees

Many Asian adoptees have noted that because they tended to grow up in an almost all-white environment, they never had to think about their ethnic



Cindy Lunte of Moore, Idaho, left, and Wendi Roth of Littleton, Colorado, hold their newly adopted daughters, both from China's Anhui Province, at the White Swan Hotel in Guangzhou, China, October 6, 1998. (AP Photo)

identity—they just assumed they were like everyone else. That is, until they experienced some form of racial prejudice or discrimination from schoolmates, strangers, or even relatives of their adopted family. Because their adoptive families and parents either could not shield them from this almost inevitable process, or could not adequately understand or support their feelings, many of these adopted Asians experienced an “identity crisis.”

This “cultural confusion” frequently involved a viscous cycle in which the parent would unconsciously reinforce whiteness in socializing their child, but on occasion expose them to Asian culture. The child frequently resisted such efforts because Asian culture seemed too different from their “honorary white” lifestyle, and they didn’t want to be seen as different. This resistance to Asian culture reinforced and perpetuated the honorary white status. In this process, many Asian adoptees internalized the anti-Asian racism they saw or experienced. This led many to avoid being associated with anything related to Asians or Asian Americans. This aversion to “Asian-ness” often became harder or at least more complicated when they went to college and came into contact with large numbers of Asian Americans for the first time in their lives, with many feeling uncomfortable or unprepared for sustained interaction with other Asian Americans.

However, this kind of social exclusion is not limited to just whites. In fact, Asian adoptees often encountered intolerance from Asian Americans, who often shunned their attempts to connect with their “roots” because they had lost the ability to speak their native language and/or had little knowledge of their ancestral culture, or if they were perceived to be too “whitewashed.” As many Asian adoptees noted, Asian Americans were not always very inclusive either and could be just as judgmental as anybody else.

Positives Outweighing the Negatives

Although many Asian adoptees have faced this dilemma, this has not been the experience of all Asian adoptees. Rather, many others have enjoyed extraordinary levels of love and understanding from their non-Asian adoptive parents, who have comforted their children when racial discrimination happened and/or

supported their children’s attempts to find their birth parents back in Asia. In addition, many support groups have formed across the country for both adoptive parents of Asian children that allow parents and children to share experiences, support each other, and to learn together about both sides of their racial/ethnic identity.

Furthermore, research has also shown that more recent cohorts of Asian adoptees have been much more open and likely to explore their Asian ancestry and racial identity compared to earlier adoptee cohorts. Similarly, more recent adoptive parents are also more prepared and knowledgeable about racial dynamics involving their adopted children. The Asian American community is also becoming more welcoming to adoptees, particularly as the number of U.S.-born Asian Americans continues to increase, who have more exposure and familiarity interacting with people from diverse racial, ethnic, and cultural backgrounds.

Also in recent years and facilitated by the Internet, many Asian adoptees have formed their own social networks to express and share their experiences and to support others like themselves. These efforts range from personal and group blogs, artistic projects, joint “homeland” trips to reunite with their birth family, support and networking groups, and more formal organizations. In fact, new research suggests that Asian Americans who straddle diverse sets of cultures are happier and report less stress and anxiety when they create their own definitions for fitting in and actively shaping their own identity, rather than passively letting others dictate to them what their identity should be, or trying to gain acceptance into a preexisting and frequently narrowly defined cultural or racial group.

In the end, Asian adoptees represent just how diverse not only American society can be, but also how diverse the Asian American community is as well. As Asian adoption continues to occur, Asian adoptees are likely to be an increasingly prominent feature of the Asian American population and their diverse range of experiences can be seen as resources in bridging different cultural and racial groups, which will become an increasingly important asset as American society increasingly becomes more diverse, globalized, and transnational.

C. N. Le

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Agbayani, Benny (1971–)

Hawaiian-born Benny Agbayani hit his way to Major League Baseball (MLB) respectability in the late 1990s and early 2000s. Possessing Filipino and Samoan ancestry, Agbayani starred for Hawaii Pacific University (HPU) before getting drafted by the New York Mets in 1993. Agbayani worked his way up the minor league ladder and was rewarded with an MLB appearance in a New York Mets uniform in 1998 after batting .310 and slugging 11 home runs for the Mets' Triple A Norfolk club in 1997.

Agbayani played only a few games for the Mets in 1998, but the next year he became a dependable utility outfielder for the National League club. In 1999, Agbayani appeared in 101 games, batted a respectable .286, and showed power by hitting 14 home runs. More respected as a hitter than a fielder, Agbayani's bat helped the Mets on more than a few occasions. Agbayani's 2000 season was arguably his best. He hit 15 home runs, batted .289, and slugged a key home run that propelled the Mets into the 2000 World Series.

Agbayani's career subsequently headed downward. The 2001 season was his last for the Mets. In 2002, Agbayani wandered from the Toronto Blue Jays of the American League to the Colorado Rockies of the National League and returned to the American League to play briefly for the Boston Red Sox. By 2004, he was out of U.S. organized baseball but performed well for Chiba Lotte of the Japanese Pacific League. Agbayani hit 35 home runs and batted over .300 his first year in the Japanese big league. After five

years with Chiba Lotte, Agbayani retired from professional baseball in 2009 and is now residing in his home state of Hawaii after returning to receive his bachelor's degree from HPU.

Joel S. Franks

See also Filipino American Baseball

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Aguila, Chris (1979–)

Possessing Filipino ancestry, Chris Aguila played Major League Baseball (MLB) for parts of four seasons from 2004 to 2008. He has also played Minor League Baseball for several major league organizations since 1997, although he did appear briefly in 2009 for the Japanese major league Fukuoka franchise.

Born in Redwood City, California, in 1979, Aguila was drafted out of high school in 1997 by the Florida Marlins of the National League. He played Minor League Baseball for the Marlins until 2004. During that period, the outfielder demonstrated some power by hitting 26 home runs for three Marlin minor league teams in 2001.

In 2004, Aguila earned a spot on the Marlins' major league roster. He got into 29 games, batting .222, and hitting three home runs. Statistically, 2005 proved to be Aguila's best in the major leagues. He got into 65 games, winding up with a .244 batting average, but no home runs. In 2006, he appeared in 47 games, batted .232, and hit no home runs. Aguila spent all of 2007 in the Minor Leagues, but in 2008 he appeared in eight games for the New York Mets.

Otherwise, Aguila continued to pursue baseball as a professional minor leaguer. He did, however, appear in 14 games for the Fukoaka Softbank in 2009. In 2008, Aguila put together an impressive season for the New Orleans AAA affiliate of the New York Mets. He batted .295 and slugged 29 home runs for the Zephyrs. In 2010, Aguila played Minor League Baseball for three MLB franchises—the Toronto Blue Jays’ Las Vegas affiliate, the Philadelphia Phillies’ Lehigh Valley affiliate, and the Florida Marlins’ New Orleans affiliate. Between those three teams, Aguila appeared in 102 games, hit .240, and powered nine home runs. At 32, it seems doubtful if Aguila will see much more MLB action, if any.

Joel S. Franks

See also Filipino American Baseball

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Ah Quin Diary

The Ah Quin Diary is the first significant writing—in English—by a Chinese immigrant to the United States. Spanning 25 years, from 1877 to 1902, it is considered one of the earliest texts in the genre of Asian American literature and fills a gap in the documentary record of American immigration and labor history.

The writer of the diary, Tan Congkuan (c. 1848–1914), was widely known as “Ah Quin.” Ah Quin was born in the Guangdong Province of China to parents who were probably farmers. In his teens, he likely attended an American missionary school in Guangzhou where he learned to read and write in English and in Chinese. In the 1860s, with struggles in southern China that included flood, famine, economic turmoil, and wars, he immigrated to America, thereby joining the Chinese diaspora.

Ah Quin arrived in San Francisco and worked at various jobs along the coast of California, including helping to set up a Chinese Mission School in Santa Barbara in 1874. In June 1877, on the eve of his departure to Alaska to work as a cook for coal miners, Ah Quin began writing in his diary (which he would continue until a decade before his death). Following Alaska, Ah Quin returned to Santa Barbara for several months before moving to San Francisco, where he worked as a domestic for Army officers, first at Camp Reynolds on Angel Island and later at the Presidio. In 1881 he was drawn to San Diego to serve as a labor broker for the construction of the California Southern Railroad. When there he set up a pawn shop in the front room of his home, which became the base for numerous entrepreneurial adventures.

Because of the laws that restricted Chinese women from immigrating and laws that banned miscegenation between whites and “Mongolians,” most Chinese men during this time period were destined to be bachelors; however, Ah Quin returned to San Francisco and married Ah Sue, who had been rescued from prostitution nearly a year earlier by an organization best known as the Donaldina Cameron Mission Home. She came to live with him in San Diego and tended his pawn shop and took care of their 12 children. In his later years, Ah Quin was a San Diego community leader who served alternately as spokesman, middleman, and translator in functions both official and mundane. In a sign of his American patriotism, when then-U.S. President Benjamin Harrison visited San Diego, Ah Quin managed to be within an arm’s reach of him. It’s not surprising that he named several of his sons after U.S. statesmen (e.g., Thomas, George, Franklin, McKinley). Ah Quin was well known as the informal “Mayor of Chinatown” among non-Chinese and Chinese alike, and he (and later his sons) was instrumental in helping to develop the San Diego Chinese American community at the turn to the twentieth century.

Description of the Diaries

There are 10 extant Diaries, approximately half of the number of volumes that are estimated to have once existed. Ah Quin’s proficiency in English is roughly equivalent to his Chinese literacy, with numerous

idiosyncratic spelling and usage patterns in both languages throughout. The daily entries give us a sense of the texture of Ah Quin's life: what time he awoke each morning and went to bed each night; what he cooked (or ate) for breakfast, lunch, and dinner; what Biblical verses he read or what hymns he sang; whom he visited; and what work he accomplished. Approximately 5 percent of the diary, mostly marginalia, is written using Chinese characters in Ah Quin's village dialect (Toishan) of Cantonese. As important as the daily entries are approximately 152 pages of combined appendices that are written totally or partially in Chinese. These include address lists, personal financial records (e.g., loans, remittances, and payoffs), logs for letters sent and received, and recipes—some for herbal medicine—as well as directions in Chinese for how to make a good broom.

On the one hand, Ah Quin's experience is the experience of the immigrant everyman who negotiates in a new world the difficult and inevitable issues of language, biculturalism, discrimination, nationalism, and identity formation. On the other hand, his is a striking story of success—a Horatio Alger's rags-to-riches tale of the rise of a cook to a businessman, including his secrets of hard work, diligent study, and constant networking. The historical importance of this work is predicated not so much on the achievements of the man, although he was remarkably successful—especially given the hostile racial environment in which he lived—but in the rare representation of the personal voice of a Chinese on the West Coast during this era.

Contributions

Ah Quin's Diary was written in English, at a length and with a degree of eloquence that few people believed possible for a nineteenth-century Chinese laborer; the Diary, *prima facie*, challenges the stereotype of an illiterate Chinese workforce. Beginning in the Pacific Northwest just five years before the federal 1882 Chinese Exclusion Law was passed, the Diary gives us a rare, first-person Chinese laborer's perspective during the Age of Chinese Exclusion. Moreover, the Diary gives life to an undocumented Chinese workforce in the form of 800 or so Chinese friends

who are named throughout its 25-year trajectory. It also contains, perhaps, the best original narrative of Chinatown bachelor life prior to the Great San Francisco Earthquake of 1906.

As a literary document, The Ah Quin Diary pre-dates the published stories of Sui Sin Far and the poems of Sadakichi Hartmann that we are currently using to mark the beginnings of the Asian American literary canon. Its existence shifts the paradigm of Asian American literature by locating the beginnings of this tradition in nonfiction (like most other literatures) rather than fiction and lyric. More important, it pushes back the starting point of Asian American literature to a decade—if not a generation—earlier.

In addition, the Diary contributes in important ways to Chinese Diasporic Studies as an account of an “overseas Chinese.” In particular, it represents a Chinese Christian conversion narrative where Christianity lays a foundation for racial and ethnic adaptation that stands in direct contrast to the leading stereotype of the day of the Chinese as “heathen chinee.”

As is often the case with racialized subjects in America, with The Ah Quin Diary, it is the diary that makes the man, not the reverse. Though Ah Quin was an important figure in San Diego's Chinatown during his lifetime, he was not nationally famous; he did not hold a high political office, make unbelievable amounts of money, or influence great legions of students. But given who he was, a Chinese immigrant during the Era of Chinese Exclusion, he has become famous, influential, and sought-out because of his writing. As possibly the only extended first-person narrative of the oppressed during one of the most tumultuous times in America's racial past, he allows us access to his time and his subject position in a way no other document has done. The Ah Quin Diary is important because it exists, and it tells an (Chinese) American tale of the growth and transformation of an immigrant from everyman to entrepreneur and community leader. The Diaries were passed down through several generations of Ah Quin's descendants until they were donated to the San Diego Historical Society archives where they are currently stored.

Susie Lan Cassel

See also Chinese Exclusion Acts (1882–1943)

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Ah Yup, In Re (1878)

The petitioner was a Chinese immigrant man appealing to become a naturalized American citizen. Little is known about the petitioner himself: he seems to have been otherwise qualified for American citizenship in terms of his physical and mental health, his ability to support himself financially, no criminal record, and a willingness to take an oath swearing allegiance to his new country. If he were a white European immigrant to California, or even if he were of "African nativity," his case would not have appeared before the federal courts. Indeed, even if he were a white immigrant who had simply declared an intention to become an American citizen (one day), he would have been eligible for many of the political and economic privileges afforded to American citizens in California since 1849. Many voters and politicians in California were not American citizens, and yet, because they were white, they participated in mainstream politics and ran successfully for city government, state office, and for seats in Congress.

The petitioner was Chinese, however, and in the California legislature, in the California Supreme Court, and in cities like San Francisco, prominent political

leaders and judges had already insisted that the Chinese should not be allowed to naturalize as American citizens. In 1852, the year when migration from China to California exceeded 20,000 persons, the state of California had approved a Foreign Miner's Tax aimed at Chinese miners. Several legislators in that debate had insisted that the Chinese would always remain "foreign," as they were not white and so should not be naturalized as American citizens. Two years later, in *People v. Hall*, the California Supreme Court invalidated a murder conviction and death sentence against George Hall, because Chinese witnesses had "improperly testified" in his case. Like other states, California criminal procedure said that "no black or mulatto person, or Indian, shall be allowed to give evidence in favor of, or against a white man." The Chinese were most like "Indians," and just as bad, the court said, and the whole idea of Chinese men as American citizens was offensive: "[the Chinese are] a race of people whom nature has marked as inferior, and who are incapable of progress or intellectual development beyond a certain point, as their history has shown."

By the 1870s, anti-Chinese sentiment was popular and widespread. By the end of that decade, anyone running for public office had to take a stand on Chinese immigration, and politicians supportive of the Chinese lost their races. The end of slavery in the United States after the Civil War only heightened tensions among whites, many of whom feared the development of a "wage slavery" within an emergent economic order where capitalists and industrialists could and did employ immigrants, people of color, women, and children for extremely low wages. White men formed unions, demanded political "reforms," and otherwise sought to resist the possibility of being rendered poor and politically powerless. In 1877, in West Virginia, then in Maryland and in Pennsylvania, railroad workers' unions went on strike, violence erupted, and President Hayes sent in federal troops to quell the unrest.

In California during that year, the state was suffering an economic recession, brought about in part by a prolonged drought. White working class unions were especially active in San Francisco, especially the Workingman's Party led by Dennis Kearney. They demanded that the "Chinese Must Go!" because the

Chinese depressed wages for white men, led corporations to favor this cheap labor over “American citizens,” endangered the sanctity of white women and white families, and thus represented the greatest threat to white Christian civilization on the West Coast. In June of that year, the “Kearney Riots” spread throughout California, and widespread violence against the Chinese became common. In this environment, the federal officials became more sympathetic to American citizens who wished to exclude the Chinese entirely, if only because the few federal officials who had been sympathetic to the Chinese were, by now, ridiculed and threatened on a regular basis.

By the time Ah Yup’s petition came before Judge Lorenzo Sawyer in California, in his capacity as a federal Circuit Court judge, only one other Chinese immigrant had successfully naturalized, and this was in New York in 1873, far from the violent anti-Chinese politics of the West Coast. Sawyer proceeded with the present case carefully: he had asked members of the Bar in California for their opinions, and he noted in his own official one that many had opposed the application. He reviewed the relevant federal statutes: in 1802, “[Congress said that] any alien, being a free white person, may be admitted to become a citizen.” The rule in 1802 was a revised version of the Naturalization Act of 1790, one of the first pieces of legislation passed in the new Republic. After the Civil War, Congress said in 1870 that “the naturalization laws are hereby extended to aliens of African nativity, and to persons of African descent.” In the 1870 revisions, Congress omitted the reference to “white persons,” but Sawyer reasoned that Congress had done so “probably inadvertently.” This was because, by 1875, Congress produced another revision: “The provisions of this title shall apply to aliens being free white persons, and to aliens of African nativity, and to persons of African descent.” The omission was not, in fact, inadvertent at all.

Indeed, Sawyer noted within his opinion that Radical Republicans like Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts had insisted that naturalization ought to be possible for all immigrants, irrespective of race. He saw no problem of allowing Chinese American citizens to be naturalized. His opponents from the West, however, had sponsored editorials and cartoons

in response, depicting Chinese men as legislators and judges and governors, thus raising the specter of Americans “ruled by Chinese.” Senator Jackson Morton of Florida warned his colleagues not to allow “a possible immigration of many millions, involving another civilization[,] involving labor problems that no intellect can solve without study and time.” Sumner lost. Sawyer concluded: “It is clear, from these proceedings that congress retained the word ‘white’ in the naturalization laws for the sole purpose of excluding the Chinese from the right of naturalization.”

There were other reasons for the judge’s decision beyond congressional intent. The leading dictionaries that defined “race” and racial groupings had the Chinese under “Mongolian,” not “Caucasian.” In terms of color, the Chinese were not white either, according to leading anthropologists. The judge reasoned: “In popular language, in literature, nor in scientific nomenclature, do we ordinarily, if ever, find the words ‘white person’ used in a sense so comprehensive as to include an individual of the Mongolian race.” Therefore: “The petition must be denied.”

The practice of denying the privilege of naturalization to Chinese immigrants survived until 1943, when Congress revoked formally both the Chinese Exclusion Act and the bar against naturalization. By then, the United States and Nationalist China had formed an alliance against the Empire of Japan during World War II, and so both rules proved politically embarrassing. Still, up until that time, the principle had been extended to deny immigrants from Asia, including Japan, Korea, India, and the Philippines, the same privilege. Ah Yup became an important precedent in the federal courts, cited often to support the idea that Asians should be regarded as “aliens ineligible for citizenship.”

John S. W. Park

See also People v. Hall (1854); Workingmen’s Parties

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Ahn, Philip (1905–1978)

As one of the first Korean Americans born in the continental United States, Philip Ahn is today best remembered as a pioneering character actor in Hollywood motion pictures, someone who played a number of Japanese “heavies” in World War II films before being cast as the wizened guru Master Kan in the cult TV show *Kung Fu* (1972–1975). Born to Korean immigrant parents on March 29, 1905, Ahn would grow to be a prolific Asian American actor who portrayed a diverse cross-section of roles in over 200 films and television programs from *The Good Earth* (1937) and *Love Is a Many-Splendored Thing* (1955) to *Bonanza* (1950–1973) and *M*A*S*H* (1972–1983).

His father, Ahn Chang Ho (a.k.a. “Dosan”), was not only an anticolonial revolutionary, statesman,



Korean American actor Philip Ahn, 1940s. (Photofest)

reformer, educator, and writer, but also a leader of the first Korean immigration wave to hit American shores. Before making a name for himself in the American film industry, Dosan’s eldest son Philip became a leader of the second generation community based in Southern California, organizing the first Korean American youth group (Ipal or Two-Eight Club) and supervising assimilation and social activities of immigrant children during the 1920s. As a teenager growing up in Los Angeles, Ahn began to demonstrate his talent in drama and public persuasion, gifts that he inherited from Dosan, a bell-toned orator who gave many emotive, patriotic speeches in Korea, the United States, Mexico, Manchuria, and China. Young Ahn honed his acting chops in school and church plays. It was Philip’s childhood friend and neighbor Anna May Wong who first introduced him to the world of professional acting. The high schooler was spotted by silent screen legend Douglas Fairbanks, Sr. when he accompanied Anna May to the set of *The Thief of Baghdad* (1924), a film in which the Chinese American actress settled into the role of a Mongolian slave girl. Fairbanks, Sr. gave Ahn a screen test and offered him a minor role. Flushed with pride, Philip hurried home to deliver the good news only to encounter the fierce disapproval of his Korean mother, Helen Lee, who said, “No son of mine is going to get mixed up with those awful people.”

A few years later, in 1935, she was forced to relent when Philip got his second lucky break. As a sophomore majoring in Foreign Commerce at USC, Ahn applied at Paramount Studios for a part-time position in college football pictures, for which many USC athletes and students were hired as extras. Instead of an extra’s role, Philip was given a chance to audition for director Lewis Milestone, who was searching for a Chinese comedian to appear in a Bing Crosby musical titled *Anything Goes* (1936). After hearing the American-born Korean’s immaculate delivery of the English dialogue, Milestone turned him down, saying he was looking for a pidgin English speaker. On his way out, a flash of inspiration shot through Philip’s mind. He sauntered back to Milestone’s desk to inform him: “You like . . . aligh. You no likee me . . . aligh. Me no care. Hip sabee? Me go school . . . aligh.” The director broke into laughter and said, “Okay . . . the

part's yours!" The following year, 1936, saw Philip Ahn appear in five films, playing supporting roles opposite Hollywood's top stars, such as Gary Cooper, Mae West, and Shirley Temple. Ahn's early career was peppered with dynamic supporting roles, and his prewar heyday culminated with two roles as a romantic lead opposite Anna May Wong in the Paramount B pictures *Daughter of Shanghai* (1937) and *King of Chinatown* (1939).

In *Daughter of Shanghai*, Ahn dismantled Oriental stereotypes by playing an FBI agent who helps Wong's character solve a murder case. Their characters emerge as a romantic couple in the film's final scene. Two years later, the screen duo reunited in *King of Chinatown*, a gangster film set in San Francisco's Chinatown, in which Ahn plays a lawyer who romantically pursues Wong's character, a medical doctor. Fan magazine discourse further solidified the myth of an idealized Hollywood Oriental couple by promoting an unverifiable, offscreen romantic union between the two Asian American performers. Wong's response to this rumor was, "It would be like marrying my brother." Neither Ahn nor Wong ever married and both were rumored to be gay, although ethnic newspapers often interpreted Ahn's bachelorhood as the result of his fatherly responsibility to younger siblings as well as his Korean-style piety to the mother, with whom he lived until her death in 1969, only nine years before he succumbed to a fatal bout with lung cancer.

Daughter of Shanghai and *King of Chinatown* represent the only romantic lead roles Ahn played among the 100-odd titles in his filmography. As Hollywood realigned its representational modes with the public consensus of "yellow peril" in the wake of the Pearl Harbor attacks and U.S. involvement in World War II, Ahn became increasingly mobilized as a Japanese impersonator (in lieu of Japanese American actors facing internment). He earned such appellations as "the man we love to hate" or "leering yellow monster" when appearing in a number of anti-Japanese propaganda films, including *Behind the Rising Sun* (1943), *The Purple Heart* (1944), *Back to Bataan* (1945), and *Blood on the Sun* (1945).

Away from the camera, Philip Ahn sought to bridge the United States and South Korea in political,

diplomatic, and cultural spheres. In May 1962, in recognition of his civic contributions, Ahn was installed as honorary mayor of Panorama City in the San Fernando Valley, a post he kept until his death. There, he helped his sister Soorah open an upscale Cantonese restaurant in 1954, which would prosper over the next three decades as the famous "Phil Ahn's Moongate." Between his dual career as a movie and television actor and as a successful restaurateur, Ahn actively worked as a spokesperson of the Korean American community and as a mediator between Korean politicians, diplomats, and businessmen and their American counterparts. In 1969, when Los Angeles was under the governance of his friend Mayor Sam Yorty, Ahn significantly contributed to establishing the Los Angeles-Busan sister city affiliation, a program for which he served as chairman.

As a token of esteem for this overlooked Asian American screen icon, the City of Los Angeles under Mayor Tom Bradley proclaimed November 14, 1984, as "Philip Ahn Day" or "Korean Day," and posthumously honored the actor with a star on the Hollywood Walk of Fame. Among his contemporary actors of Asian descent, only Anna May Wong and Keye Luke have received similar honors.

Hye Seung Chung

See also Hollywood, Asian Americans in; Indians in American TV and Film; Wong, Anna May

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Ahn Chang Ho (1878–1938)

Ahn Chang Ho was one of the most significant figures in Korea's independence movement during the period of Japanese annexation. He traveled extensively across the world, leading and organizing an international network of underground activities working toward the liberation of his country. He was one of the earliest leaders of the Korean American community. Ahn was driven by a lifelong passion for achieving national freedom, which was undeterred by repeated persecution and imprisonment. This shaped his legacy as a practitioner of democracy committed to the practice of constitutional self-government as a means of overcoming colonial oppression.

Ahn was born October 11, 1878, in what is now South Pyongyang, North Korea. His father was a scholar and farmer who taught at the village school (seodang) before his death when Ahn was eight. Ahn studied Chinese classics until he moved to Seoul at the age of 16. There he attended the Underwood School (Gusae Hakdang), a missionary-sponsored institution run by Horace G. Underwood and Reverend F. S. Miller. Ahn remained at the school for four years, over the course of which he was taught English by Underwood, exposed to Westernized education, as well as becoming a teacher and a Christian.

In Seoul, Ahn was also exposed to political ideology and practices of supporting self-governing democracy after becoming acquainted with Seo Jaepil, a prominent reformist. Seo introduced Ahn to the Independence Club, an organization he had founded and that was comprised of reformists and activists working toward their vision of an independent Korea.

Ahn began mobilizing politically at an early age. Throughout his lifetime, Ahn's simultaneous visibility in the public eye as a spiritual leader and invisibility as an underground activist resulted in a legacy defined by complexity and often mystery. He was known to be a gifted orator who could rally the masses by making nationalist ideology and methodology accessible to the public. However, deeply interested in philosophy and education, Ahn was also known to be an intellectual who wrote and drafted countless constitutions for the various organizations and underground associations he established. His grassroots efforts across Asia

and the United States ultimately played a crucial role in consolidating the Korean Provisional Government in 1919. Ahn is remembered in history for a multitude of identities and achievements including a pioneering democrat, revolutionary in exile, military strategist, grassroots organizer, reformist educator, and writer of not only constitutions but patriotic songs (he is believed to have contributed to the national anthem).

In 1902, a time when few Koreans were migrating internationally, Ahn traveled to the United States with his wife Helen Lee. He left with the intentions of furthering his education in theology and education; however, after witnessing two Korean merchants fight upon his arrival in America, he decided to continue his activist efforts as well. Ahn and his wife moved to Riverside, California, where he took evening classes to study the Bible and English at a Methodist church in Los Angeles. His initial community-organizing efforts included running an employment agency placing Korean workers in orchards, an activity in which he sometimes participated himself.

Ahn went on to found the United Korean Association (Kongnip hyophoe) in 1905, which mobilized Koreans in the United States. He wrote a democratic constitution for the organization by applying his knowledge of the American constitution. This document was the beginning of a series of constitutions Ahn would draft, which would often describe in detail a system of separation of powers and checks and balances.

In 1907, Ahn returned to Korea, where he founded the New People Society (Sinminhoe), an underground revolutionary organization that also worked toward strengthening the transnational relationship between Korean Americans and Koreans. Up until Japan's annexation of Korea in 1910, Ahn worked toward establishing branches of the Korean National Association (Kungminhoe), a self-governing organization supporting Korean independence in Russia, Manchuria, and China, as well as strengthening grassroots efforts in America.

After the annexation, Ahn focused his energy on what would eventually become the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea—a government in exile in Shanghai, China. He traveled across Asia and the United States mobilizing Korean National

Association branches and establishing a network of independence activists that began to operate as the central body of the Provisional Government. In 1913 he created “Hungsadan,” a leadership-training society, in San Francisco, California; later on he would also establish the National Representatives of Congress in 1923 and the Korean Independence Party in 1929. For every organization Ahn mobilized, he wrote a commensurate constitution rooted in his core political beliefs emphasizing self-governance and democracy.

The Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea was officially formed in Shanghai in August 1919 in the aftermath of the March First Movement in Korea where massive demonstrations protested Japanese colonial rule; it consolidated three smaller bodies of government in exile in Vladivostok, Seoul, and Shanghai. Ahn accepted the position of chief of the Bureau of Labor and drafted the Provisional Constitution of the Republic of Korea. This constitution delineated a presidential system with three branches of government, was comprised of 8 chapters and 58 articles; it was passed by the Provisional Assembly on September 11, 1919.

Ahn, however, was also vested in militant efforts and had a specific agenda for waging a war of independence. As he traveled from Russia, Manchuria, and to China, Ahn was uniting scattered Korean military groups in systematic preparation for waging a war of independence. Not only did he support democratic government as a means of ending anticolonial struggle, but he also worked toward military unification, formulating military policy and rules, organizing and training leaders, and forming alliances among groups.

Given his activities, it is no surprise that Ahn was closely acquainted with other prominent nationalists including Ahn Jung-gun, Kim Ku, Yi Dong-hwi, Yeo Un-hyong, and Seo Jaepil. In 1926, he returned to Korea where he was continuously arrested and imprisoned by the Japanese authorities—first in connection with Ahn Jung-gun’s assassination of the Japanese Resident General of Korea Ito Hirobumi. In 1937, he was arrested one final time; in poor health, he was released on bail and transferred to the Kyung Sung University hospital where he died on March 10, 1938.

Hyein Lee

See also Korean Independence Movement in the United States; Korean National Association (KNA)

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Aikido in America

Aikido is a Japanese martial art that is practiced in the United States and throughout the world. It is primarily a complementary and defensive style of combat that uses an attacker’s own energy to dispel an oncoming attack. In practice, it is about learning to blend and work together with one’s opponent for reciprocal benefits. The word Aikido loosely translates to “the way of harmony and spirit.” Physical strength and size are not integral to the practice of Aikido, thus it can be performed and effectively used by almost everyone. The throws and falls that are common in Aikido practice can be executed by students of almost any size or weight as they are based on being centered and grounded and emphasize hip rotation, motion, and getting off of the line of attack. Aikido differs from many other martial arts in that it is almost exclusively used for practice, functional application, mental and physical benefits, and is not a competitive art/sport.

Aikido was created by Morihei Ueshiba (1883–1969) who is also known as O-Sensei (great teacher). Aikido was born out of Ueshiba’s training in the older art of Daito-Ryu Aiki Jujitsu, his proficiency with multiple weapons, and spiritual beliefs that focused on being harmonious and being one with the surrounding universe. It is an early mixed martial art form with diverse roots. Aikido is thus not only an empty hand style of combat and self-defense, it also combines the use of joint locks, nerve manipulation, and weapons including the jo (wooden stick), bokken (wooden sword), and tanto (wooden knife). The use of breath, meditation, and mind-body awareness are also vital to the art.

Aikido was first brought to the continental United States and the territory of Hawaii in 1953. The first Aikido dojo outside of Japan was established in Honolulu, Hawaii and is still in use seven days a week. Though there are Aikido dojos throughout the United States, the art is especially popular in the Hawaiian Islands perhaps because of the large local Japanese population and its close ties to Japan.

Currently, there are several styles of Aikido that are practiced and passed down. One of the primary motivators for multiple styles emerging was a conflict that occurred after O-Sensei's death between his son, Kisshomaru Ueshiba, and one of his students, Koichi Tohei. The younger Ueshiba continued to teach his father's style whereas Tohei founded a new style with a differing governing organization. Today, the most common forms of Aikido practiced include Aikikai (Ueshiba's traditional style), Ki Aikido (which derived from Tohei), and Iwama style that merged from Kisshomaru Ueshiba's student, Morihiro Saito. Many high-ranking Sensei teaching in the United States today are only two generations removed from the founder.

Twenty-first-century Aikido in America adheres to many of the traditions that were in use when it was first brought over from Japan over 60 years ago. Students begin as white belts and over the course of several years take promotional tests (kyu tests) to achieve the rank of Shodan (1st degree black belt). Shodan is really the beginning of the students' own personal training where they begin to merge their years of Aikido education with their own understanding of the practice. There are several degrees of black belts that are awarded and each additional degree requires years of training. Unlike many martial arts where a student can accumulate ranks and belts in a relatively short period, Aikido is known for being an art where promotions are given at a slower rate and students must practice for a longer period between each belt.

Advancement in Aikido requires a student to be conversant in the Japanese language as tests are given in Japanese. Students must also have a firm grasp of dojo etiquette. Aikido has no preference for age, gender, culture, ethnicity, or nationality but it adheres strongly to respect for rank. Junior students are expected to take direction from senior students and all

dojo members are expected to follow instruction from their Sensei.

Aikido is sometimes criticized for being too complementary and thus not brutal or effective enough as a fighting art. However, as students progress, they are expected to be able to execute techniques at a faster pace and to fend off multiple attackers and attackers brandishing weapons. Though Aikido is a noncompetitive martial art, many of its forms have the potential to cause serious to fatal injuries. A competitive form of the art would require eliminating many of the techniques.

Valerie Lo

See also Taekwondo in America

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Akaka, Daniel K. (1924–)

Daniel Akaka was a Democrat U.S. Senator from Hawaii, serving in that office between 1990 and 2013. Akaka is also the first senator in the United States of native Hawaiian ancestry, as well as the only Chinese American member currently in the Senate.

Daniel Akaka was born Daniel Kahikina Akaka on September 11, 1924, in Honolulu, Hawaii. Upon graduation from high school, Akaka enlisted in the army and served with the U.S. Corps of Engineers during World War II. His military service extended between 1943 and 1947 in places among Saipan and Tinian. After the war, Akaka studied at the University of Hawaii and received a bachelor of education in 1952. Before becoming a member of the U.S. House of Representatives in 1976, Akaka was first and foremost an educator. He worked as a high school teacher,

vice-principal, principal, and chief program planner for the Department of Education in the state of Hawaii. He also received a Master of Education from the University of Hawaii in 1966.

After working in the Hawaii office of economic opportunity and as special assistant for human resources in the office of the governor George Ariyoshi, Akaka ran for the House seat from Hawaii's second district and was elected into office in 1976. For the next 14 years, Akaka would win six consecutive House elections, extending his term as House representative from 1976 to 1990.

In 1990, Akaka was appointed by Governor John Waihee to the Senate to temporarily fill in for Senator Masayuki "Spark" Matsunaga, who had passed away in April of that year. Akaka was sworn into office on May 16, 1990. Later that year in November, Akaka won the special election to serve out Senator Matsunaga's remaining term (4 years) and has subsequently won all other Senatorial races since then (1996, 2002, and 2008). He left office in early 2013.

As a Senate, Akaka served on a number of committees, including the Veterans' Affairs Committee, the Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs Committee, the Armed Services Committee, the Indian Affairs Committee, and the Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs Committee. Senator Akaka also has extensive memberships in various caucuses, including but not limited to the Congressional Asian Pacific American Caucus and the Senate Army Caucus.

A World War II veteran himself, Senator Akaka (along with Senator Daniel Inouye, also of Hawaii) is a firm supporter of benefits for Filipino veterans, who had fought under U.S. military command, but had not received compensation for their work and dedication. Sponsored by Senator Akaka, the Filipino veterans compensation bill never made it out of the 110th Congress, although the Veterans Benefits Enhancement Act of 2007 passed in both the Senate and the House. Ironically, benefit provisions for Filipino veterans would not materialize until the inclusion of the provisions within the Stimulus Bill. Along with the Stimulus Bill, benefit for Filipino veterans was signed into law on February 17, 2009 by President Barack Obama.

Another noteworthy issue that Senator Akaka championed is sovereign rights for native Hawaiians.

Since 2000, Akaka has endorsed and introduced various forms of a bill that would secure these rights for native Hawaiians. In the 111th Congress, Senator Akaka, along with Senator Daniel Inouye, introduced the Native Hawaiian Government Reorganization Act of 2009, commonly referred to as the Akaka Bill. The bill was endorsed by a Congressional House Committee and the Senate Indian Affairs Committee in December 2009.

A lifelong public servant, Daniel Akaka is not only one of the few Asian Americans that have ever served in Congress; he had been in office for over 30 years. During which time, he received many awards and was honored by various organizations such as the Vietnam Veterans of America, the State of Hawaii, and the University of Hawaii Alumni Association.

Jeanette Yih Harvie

See also Inouye, Daniel K.; Matsunaga, Masayuki "Spark"; Political Representation

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Alexander, Meena (1951–)

Meena Alexander is an internationally acclaimed writer, poet, and scholar. She is a Distinguished Professor of English and a teacher of Creative Writing at Hunter College and the Graduate Center of City University of New York. Her areas of interest and

expertise include poetry, aesthetics, and poetics in transnational and Asian American literature, gender and identity, and migration narratives. She has published several volumes of poetry and also is the author of memoir, fiction, a collection of personal essays and a critical study of English Romanticism.

Meena Alexander was born in Allahabad, India and raised in India and Sudan. She has a BA in English and French from University of Khartoum in 1969 and an MA and PhD in English in 1973 from Nottingham University in England.

Meena Alexander's multiple collections of poetry include *Illiterate Heart* (winner of the 2002 PEN Open Book Award), *Raw Silk* (2004), and *Quickly Changing River* (2008). She is also the editor of the Everyman Library's *Indian Love Poems* (2005). She has written the acclaimed memoir, *Fault Lines* (picked by *Publishers Weekly* as one of the best books of the year in 1993) as well as two novels, one of which is *Nampally Road* (1991). She has published two collections of writings that include short stories, personal essays, and poetry entitled *The Shock of Arrival* (1996) and the *Poetics of Dislocation* (University of Michigan Poets on Poetry series, 2009). She has two academic studies that include *Women in Romanticism*. A book of essays on her work has recently appeared: *Passage to Manhattan: Critical Essays on Meena Alexander* (2009).

She has been the recipient of multiple awards and honors for her work, including the 2009 Distinguished Achievement Award in Literature from the South Asian Literary Association (an organization allied to the Modern Languages Association) for contributions to American literature.

Alexander's works are widely used in women and gender studies, Asian American Studies, studies of poetry, and the study of the South Asian diaspora. Her work in the genres of poetry and memoir explores the bridges and boundaries of creative expression. In her memoir, *Fault Lines*, she interrogates her role as an author with multiple affiliations and identities: "I am a poet writing in America. But [am I an] American poet? . . . An Asian-American poet then? . . . A woman poet, a woman poet of color, a South Indian woman who makes up lines in English . . . A Third World woman poet . . .?" (193) Meena Alexander's work is marked by her ongoing commitment to address

and question the legacy of colonialism and its continuing effects in the era of decolonization and globalization in both transnational and American contexts.

Shilpa S. Davé

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Ali, Agha Shahid (1949–2001)

Agha Shahid Ali was a diasporic Kashmiri poet and professor. Ali penned several volumes of poetry in English and was known for his vast array of literary influences. Ali was mostly raised between Kashmir and Delhi but spent a few years in the United States as a youth when his parents were completing educational work abroad. After coming to the United States for college, Ali spent the rest of his adult life in the United States. As a creative writing professor, Ali held positions in various institutions including University of Massachusetts, Amherst, University of Utah, and New York University. Before his death from cancer in 2001 at the young age of 52, he had published several collections of original poetry, translations of Urdu poet Faiz Ahmed Faiz, and compilations of English language ghazals by a myriad of writers.

Notably, he popularized English-language experimentations with the *ghazal* format, borrowing from a tradition of Urdu poetry based on a series of couplets. In 2000, he published *Ravishing DisUnities: Real Ghazals in English*, a collection of work from various U.S.-based authors showcasing this fusion aesthetic. Yet, he did not exclusively write in this style; many of his edited collections contain ghazals alongside numerous other poetic styles.

The importance of Urdu poetry on his work, however, cannot be understated; one of Ali's most enduring influences was the Urdu poet Faiz Ahmed

Faiz whose work Ali translated in *The Rebel's Silhouette* (1991). Though Ali had pioneered English-language ghazals, he translated Faiz in a lyrical free verse to capture the spirit of Faiz's poetic impulse. His choice to abandon this structure has remained controversial within literary circles, even though Ali included both the English and the original Urdu in his book. His translations remain some of the most widely circulated within the English-speaking world. This compilation reflects Faiz's politically left worldview, including poems written when he was a political prisoner in Pakistan and his well-known composition "Do Not Ask Me for that Love Again," which narrated his story of political disillusionment.

Thematically, Ali's own work explored the textured experiences of diaspora. An early collection, *Half-Inch Himalayas* (1987), contains the seminal eponymous poem, a short musing on seeing the Himalayas shrunk to fit the picture postcard sent to him from Kashmir. In *The Nostalgist Map of America* (1991), Ali poetically explored the social and cultural geography of the United States, poetically narrating a road trip he had taken from one coast to another. Within both of these compilations, Ali mobilized a diverse set of literary references—from classic English writers to Iranian poets. Although Ali wrote specifically from within a Kashmiri diaspora, these references created a historical texture that made palpable the interlinkages between different experiences of displacement and loss. His ability to cull together these distinct literary traditions brought him recognition within the field of creative writing.

Ali's most lasting legacy, however, has been his work that examined the conflict in Kashmir. Violence erupted in Kashmir in 1989 after years of discontent between Kashmiris who claimed they had been systematically disenfranchised by the Indian government. These uprisings and his stunted ability to travel back to (or receive news from) his homeland inspired the poems that became his collection *The Country Without a Post Office* (1997). The poems in this collection are not documentary, per se—they do not attempt to provide a factual account of the insurgency. However, they do utilize fragments of stories (his own and others') to narrate vignettes of life under occupation. The poems grapple with the brutal effects of state

violence on a myriad of levels. Some, like "I see Kashmir from New Delhi at Midnight," reflect on the Indian army's tactics of torture in the infamous Papa II interrogation centers. Others, like "Dear Shahid," conjure the image of the central post office in Kashmir in total disarray—hundreds of letters littered everywhere, neither coming nor going. Yet, even *Post Office* does not candidly express support for any particular political configuration. He instead opted to explore the multiple dimensions of human suffering and loss that itself made a political intervention without explicitly undergirding any party position. At the time of publication, Kashmir conflict was continually framed in the popular press as stemming from an essential conflict between Hindus and Muslims. In poems like "Farewell," Ali intervened in these false binaries by evoking how traditions of Kashmiri Shavisim and Sufism were deeply interwoven. In doing so, he also articulated a set of concerns that were specifically Kashmiri, and not simply leftover conflict from India and Pakistan's bloody partition at the end of British colonialism.

In the years since his passing, Agha Shahid Ali's significance to a transnational South Asian diasporic imaginary has only grown. His posthumous collection *Rooms Are Never Finished* (2002) meditated on the death of his mother from brain cancer (the same disease that would kill him a few short years later) and the journey back to Kashmir with her body. After Ali's own passing, Amitav Ghosh wrote a well-circulated epitaph "The Ghat of the Only World," that was published in numerous locations, including the *Journal of Urdu Studies*. Numerous writers have paid homage to Ali's writings on violence, memory, and affect in their own work on Kashmir. Mirza Waheed and Salman Rushdie both open their respective novels (*The Collaborator* [2011], and *Shalimar the Clown* [2006]) with quotes from *The Country Without a Post Office*. In his memoir on growing up in Kashmir, Basharat Peer also refers to *Post Office*, using Agha's poetry to begin a chapter on memories of torture in the infamous Papa-2 interrogation center. Although most of Ali's impact has been in English-medium audience, his influence has not been exclusively so; in 2002 Srinagar-based poet Shafi Shauq translated *Post Office* into a Kashmiri-language collection of his work entitled

Zuv Chhum Bramaan. From within a small but growing literary tradition that emerged since the Kashmir conflict began, Ali's work has become canonical.

Anjali Nath

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Ali, Saqib (1975–)

Saqib Ali is a software engineer and former state delegate in the Maryland House of Delegates. Between 2007 and 2011, Ali represented the 39th District, which includes Montgomery County. Though he does not consider his Muslim faith to be a defining factor in his political beliefs, he was the state of Maryland's first Muslim elected official.

Saqib Ali was born on January 21, 1975, in Chicago, Illinois. His parents are from India and Pakistan, and he identifies as Pakistani American. Ali studied computer science and earned a bachelor's degree in 1995, and a master's degree in 2001, both from the University of Maryland at College Park.

Ali recalls hearing his family members debating over political issues, but not being involved through voting or other forms of local community engagement. Post 9/11, he wanted to break through the hesitance to become involved in political matters that he sensed in other Muslim Americans. In 2003 and 2004, Ali volunteered as a legislative coordinator for the Howard Dean presidential campaign. He worked full-time for Congressman Chris Van Hollen's reelection campaign in 2004, which he supported largely because of Van Hollen's strong opposition to the Iraq War.

In 2006, Ali ran for the 39th District seat in the Maryland House of Delegates on a platform emphasizing health care access, education funding, and civil rights and civil liberties. Being a political newcomer,

this may have worked in his favor. Senator Patrick J. Hogan and Delegates Nancy J. King and Charles E. Barkley dropped incumbent Delegate Joan F. Stern from their Democratic slate in the primary elections. Saqib won an upset by getting more votes than Stern in the primary and went on to win a seat in the general election. Though Ali did not draw on religion as an issue or cite links between his religion and his political views, at least one individual protested his candidacy with signs making derogatory comments about his faith outside of Ali's home and his campaign headquarters. In the same year, Kumar P. Barve was elected to represent the 17th District, which made Maryland the first state to have two South Asian legislators.

Ali served in the House of Delegates from 2007 to 2011, during which time he was a member of the Environmental Matters Committee, the Washington Suburban Sanitary Commission Matters Committee, and the Montgomery County Delegation. A self-described progressive, Ali's support for gay marriage cost him the backing of some, including that of a friend who refused to continue hosting his campaign website because of this position.

In 2010, Ali ran for State Senate against incumbent Senator Nancy King. King's campaign sent out six negative mailers targeting Ali, including one that accused Ali of receiving money from special interest groups. Ali criticized the mailer for containing a photo in which his entire image, including his skin and facial features, appeared to have been darkened. Though King's campaign claimed that the photo had not been intentionally darkened, other neutral observers argued that King's campaign had also displayed racial insensitivity in other instances. Ali lost to King by a narrow margin.

In 2012, Ali ran for the District 2 seat in the Montgomery County Board of Education, but did not advance past the primaries. He lives in Gaithersburg, Maryland, with his wife, Susan, and two daughters, Sofia and Sascha.

Katie Furuyama

See also Political Representation

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Alien Land Laws

The term, "alien land laws," is actually a misnomer. These laws should more properly be called antialien land laws because their main purpose was to deny certain aliens—those deemed "ineligible to [sic] citizenship"—the right to purchase, transfer, lease, or control agricultural land. "Ineligible" persons referred to immigrants born in Asian countries who were not allowed to become U.S. citizens through naturalization. These laws, passed in California in 1913 and 1920 and amended in 1923 and 1927; in Arizona in 1917; in Washington, Texas, and Louisiana in 1921; in New Mexico in 1922; in Oregon, Idaho, and Montana in 1923; in Kansas and Arkansas in 1925; in Washington (for the second time) in 1937; in Missouri in 1939; in Nebraska, Utah, Wyoming, and Arkansas (for the second time) in 1943; and in Minnesota and Oregon (for the second time) in 1945, were not targeted simply at alien landownership per se. Rather,

by depriving Japanese immigrants of the right to own or lease agricultural land, the laws aimed to keep Issei (first-generation Japanese immigrants) as mere farm laborers—a status they were trying to transcend by leasing land as tenant farmers or even buying land for farms of their own. Anti-Japanese individuals and groups thought that by making the Issei's lives as difficult as possible, the immigrants would sooner or later leave California and other states with significant numbers of Issei farmers. The laws were part and parcel of a multifaceted anti-Japanese movement that spanned the first half of the twentieth century, culminating in the incarceration of both Issei and Nisei, their U.S.-born children living in California, Oregon, Washington, and a section of Arizona during World War II. By enacting these anti-alien land laws, California, in particular, and the federal government engaged in a power struggle that played out within a larger context in which the United States and Japan, two militarily ascendant nations both eager to build empires, competed for hegemony across the Pacific. The competition ended only after Japan was defeated at the end of World War II.

Because "eligibility" or "ineligibility" for U.S. naturalized citizenship underpinned the classification of aliens into several categories, a quick review of U.S. naturalization laws is necessary before discussing the antialien land laws themselves. In 1790 Congress passed the first naturalization law to allow "free, white persons" born in foreign countries who had resided in the United States for at least two years to become naturalized citizens. A 1795 law increased the required period of residency to five years. In the aftermath of the Civil War, the 1868 Fourteenth Amendment declared that all children born in the United States, as well as all foreign-born persons who had been naturalized, were U.S. citizens. The 1870 Naturalization Law made it possible for persons of African nativity or descent to also become citizens but neither the Fourteenth Amendment nor the 1870 law mentioned Asian immigrants—an omission that left their status indeterminate. In 1878 the U.S. Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals ruled on the first "racial prerequisite" case heard in the United States when it decided that Ah Yup, a Chinese "of the Mongolian race," who had petitioned to become a naturalized citizen, was neither a

white nor a black person and hence was not eligible for naturalized citizenship. The 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act reiterated that Chinese did not enjoy the right of naturalization.

Two subsequent California cases, *In re Hong Yen Chang* decided in 1890 and *In re Gee Hop* decided in 1895, revealed clearly that the question of whether Asians had the right to become naturalized U.S. citizens was full of ambiguities. An article entitled “Naturalizing a Chinaman” published in the *New York Times* on November 19, 1887 reported that Hong Yen Chang was a graduate of Columbia University’s Law School. In November 1887 the three men who examined him during his bar examination unanimously recommended that he be admitted to the New York bar. However, two justices in the New York Supreme Court decided he could not be admitted to the bar because he was not a U.S. citizen. The justices were unaware that a special bill had been introduced and passed in the New York state legislature just a week earlier to grant him a certificate of naturalization. After this information became known, the New York State Bar issued him a license to practice law in that state. However, three years later when he applied for a license to practice law in California, the California Supreme Court ruled that “a person of Mongolian nativity is not entitled to naturalization under the laws of the United States and a certificate showing the naturalization of such person by the judgment of any court is void, and cannot entitle him to admission to practice as an attorney in this state; nor will his license to practice in all the courts of the state of New York, issued by the supreme court of that state, avail such applicant” because the documents he possessed had been given to him in violation of the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Law.

In the second case involving a cancellation of citizenship for a Chinese, Gee Hop had been granted naturalized citizenship in 1890 and had obtained a U.S. passport before he left to visit China. Upon his return to the United States in 1895, he was not allowed to disembark from the ship he was on. So he filed a writ of *habeas corpus* to secure his release. The judge who heard his case decided that both his certificate of naturalization and his passport were “facially void” because, as a Chinese, he should never have been given those documents in the first place.

The Chinese did win one victory, however, and it was an important one. The 1898 U.S. Supreme Court decision, *United States v. Wong Kim Ark*, affirmed that children of Chinese ancestry born in the United States were U.S. citizens, regardless of what their parents’ citizenship status might be. That landmark decision upheld the principle that U.S. citizenship is based on *jus soli* (“right of soil,” which means that a person’s citizenship or nationality is determined according to what country he or she is born in), and not *jus sanguinis* (“right of blood,” under which citizenship or nationality is based on the citizenship of an individual’s father).

The right of immigrant Japanese to be naturalized was first considered during the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth. In an 1894 case, *In re Saito*, heard in the U.S. First Circuit Court in Massachusetts, the justices declared that Japanese were “Mongolians” and that “the intent of Congress” was to exclude all races except the Caucasian white race from naturalized citizenship. Two cases involving Japanese heard in Washington State, *In re Yamashita* in 1902 and *In re Buntaro Kumagai* in 1908, as well as a 1910 case considered by the U.S. Fourth Circuit Court in Virginia, *Bessho v. United States*, likewise declared Japanese ineligible for naturalized citizenship.

Takuji Yamashita came to the United States as a teenager, attended Tacoma High School, and graduated after only two years of study. In 1902 he graduated from the University of Washington’s Law School and passed his bar examination with distinction. He applied for a license to practice law but was told that he could not get a license because only U.S. citizens could be admitted to the bar. Yamashita appealed to the Washington Supreme Court, acting as his own lawyer. Although the justices praised the brief he had submitted as a document of “solid professional quality” that contained legal arguments that were “quite original,” they decided that because he was a person of “the Japanese race” he was not eligible to become a naturalized citizen. He fearlessly told the justices that denying him that right contradicted the values “of the most enlightened and liberty-loving nation of them all.” Two decades later Yamashita and Charles Kono formed a corporation, the Japanese Real Estate

Holding Company, and tried to file articles of incorporation for the company in an attempt to challenge Washington State's 1921 Alien Land Law (discussed below). When Washington's Secretary of State Jay Hinkle refused to accept the filing papers, Yamashita took his case to the Washington Supreme Court. When that court ruled against him he appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court. In 1922, in *Yamashita v. Hinkle*, the high court affirmed the Washington Supreme Court's decision. Unable to practice law or to own and run a landholding company, Yamashita earned his living as a businessman. (To right a historic wrong, the Washington Supreme Court admitted him posthumously to the state bar as an honorary member in 2001.)

The Buntaro Kumagai case involved a veteran who had served in the U.S. Army and was theoretically eligible for citizenship under an 1862 law that had been incorporated into the Act of 1901 to allow "any alien" who had served in the army and had been honorably discharged to petition for naturalization. However, the U.S. District Court in Washington decided that "any alien" meant only aliens who were "free white persons," so the court denied Buntaro Kumagai's petition. The Namiyo Bessho case involved another veteran who had served in the U.S. Navy for five years and was honorably discharged. In his application for naturalization he relied on an 1894 law that granted citizenship to "any alien" who had served in either the U.S. Navy or the Marine Corps for five consecutive years and was honorably discharged. The U.S. District Court in Virginia rejected his application, saying that Congress did not intend to include "Mongolians" in the term "any alien." On appeal, the U.S. Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals affirmed the district court's ruling.

In the same period, however, several Japanese did manage to become naturalized citizens. In 1896 Ulysses Shinsei Kaneko, a businessman and labor contractor in Riverside, California became a naturalized citizen. A leader in the Japanese American community, he served as the first president of the Riverside Japanese Association. He was the first Issei to buy land (20 acres) in Riverside in 1897 on which he planted an orange grove. A Christian (that is probably how he acquired "Ulysses" as his first name), he also helped buy land to build a Japanese Methodist Church that

he had cofounded. In subsequent years he worked as an auditor for the City of Riverside, served as a juror, worked as a court interpreter, and was elected to the board of directors of Riverside's Chamber of Commerce—an altogether unusual life trajectory for an Issei in California in the early twentieth century. Masuji Miyakawa, the second Issei to become a naturalized American citizen, graduated from the University of Indiana Law School in 1905. He received his certificate of naturalization the same year. In his application for citizenship, he stated that he was descended from samurai but he would be willing to "expressly renounce such title of nobility in Japan" if he could become a U.S. citizen. In 1907 Tamematsu Matsuki also became a naturalized citizen in Florida. (No biographical information is available about him.)

Such contradictory outcomes underline the fact that the racial assumptions embedded in U.S. citizenship laws were arbitrary, socially constructed, and highly malleable. The pseudoscientific category, "Mongolian," was enshrined not only in federal statutes but also in California's second constitution, adopted in 1879, that stipulated "Mongolians" could not become naturalized citizens. In the racial classification schemes prevalent in the eighteenth, nineteenth, and early twentieth centuries, "Mongolian" referred to the "yellow race"—supposedly one of the world's major "races." The other recognized "races" were the Caucasian "white race," the Negro (or "Ethiopian") "black race," the [Native] American "red race," and the Malay (or Filipino) "brown race." The racial basis of U.S. citizenship laws was not overturned until Congress passed the 1952 McCarran-Walter Act (also known as the 1952 Immigration and Nationality Act).

Thus, at the dawn of the twentieth century the answer to the question of whether Japanese could become naturalized American citizens was still legally ambiguous. Nonetheless, the racial classification, "Mongolian," became part of the ideological foundation upon which the anti-Japanese movement developed. After the United States annexed Hawaii in 1898, Congress passed an Organic Act in 1900 to make Hawaiian laws conform to U.S. laws. Before 1900 contract labor had been legal in Hawaii where more than a hundred thousand Chinese and Japanese contract workers had been recruited to work

in the islands' sugar cane plantations during the second half of the nineteenth century. By that century's end Japanese comprised more than 70 percent of the plantation labor force. Once they were freed from their contracts, an increasing number of them migrated to the U.S. mainland where wages were much higher than in Hawaii. These re-migrants, together with new migrants coming directly from Japan to the continental United States, quickly made the Japanese presence more visible in California, Oregon, Washington, and further inland in the American West. Anti-Asian racial paranoia that had subsided somewhat after the Chinese were excluded in 1882 once again became an important element in the politics of the Western states.

The California state assembly and senate together passed a resolution unanimously in 1905 to warn against the "growing and threatened invasion of our State by Japanese immigrants." In 1906 the San Francisco school board attempted to place Japanese children into segregated schools. When the Japanese government protested, President Theodore Roosevelt, wary of potential military conflict with Japan—a rising military power that had defeated China in the 1894–1895 Sino-Japanese War and 10 years later defeated Russia and completely demolished the latter's navy in the 1904–1905 Russo-Japanese war—intervened and persuaded California's officials to rescind the segregation order. In exchange, the president promised California's officials that he would negotiate with the Japanese government to ask it to prevent any more Japanese laborers from coming to the United States. The agreement the two nations reached in 1907 was called the Gentlemen's Agreement; it went into effect in 1908. Roosevelt also signed Executive Order 589 in 1907 to prohibit Japanese (as well as Koreans over whose country Japan had imposed a protectorate in 1905) going to or were already in Hawaii, Mexico, and Canada from re-migrating to the "continental territory of the United States." This stricture applied to both skilled and unskilled laborers.

Despite the ongoing federal efforts to curb Japanese immigration, in January 1907 California's legislators introduced the first antialien land bill in the state assembly and the state senate passed a resolution denouncing the federal intervention in the school segregation case. However, after receiving a telegram

from the California congressional delegation in Washington, D.C. urging delay in light of the diplomatic negotiations going on at the time between the United States and Japan, the bill did not go forward. A month later, however, a new antialien land bill was introduced in the assembly and the state senate proposed to put a measure on the ballot to ascertain the will of the voters with regard to Japanese immigration and land ownership. Again, President Roosevelt interceded. Not to be thus stymied, five antialien bills, including one to forbid ownership of land by aliens, were introduced in the California legislature in 1909 but these, too, were killed by Governor James Gillett "under the bludgeoning of the big stick in the skilled hands of President Roosevelt," as Franklin Hichborn, chronicler of the California legislature's history, colorfully put it. Equally important, because the final version of the 1909 antialien land bill applied to *all* aliens, European investors and bankers who had purchased arable land or who intended to purchase farmland in California lobbied hard against its passage.

National party politics affected deeply the fate of the proposed antialien land bills. After Hiram Johnson, a Republican, won the governorship in California in 1910, Republican President William Howard Taft summoned him to Washington to request that nothing be done to antagonize Japan when that country and the United States were negotiating what would become the 1911 Treaty of Commerce and Navigation. President Taft also warned Governor Johnson that San Francisco, which was competing to host the 1915 Panama-Pacific Exposition—a huge international trade fair to promote business between East Asia and the United States that would simultaneously celebrate the projected completion of the Panama Canal—would not be considered as a possible site for the exposition if anti-Japanese hostilities broke out there. Johnson understood the warning and impeded the state legislature's efforts to pass an antialien land bill during the 1911 legislative session. However, when Democrat Woodrow Wilson won the presidency in 1912, Governor Johnson, who had run as the vice presidential candidate on the Progressive Party ticket during the 1912 elections, did not feel similarly compelled to help Wilson maintain amicable relations between the United States and Japan. In 1913 five antialien land bills were

introduced in the California assembly and two in the senate. Despite Japan's outcry and U.S. Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan's cross-country trip to California to urge Johnson and California's lawmakers not to pass the legislation, the governor defiantly signed the final version of the bill into law on May 19, 1913, the interests of the promoters of the Panama-Pacific Exposition notwithstanding.

Section 1 of California's 1913 Alien Land Law stated that "all aliens eligible to citizenship . . . may acquire, possess, enjoy, transit and inherit real property, or any interest therein, in this state, in the same manner and to the same extent as citizens of the United States, except as otherwise provided by the laws of this state." Section 2 indicated that "aliens *other than those mentioned in section one* [emphasis added] . . . may acquire, possess, enjoy, and transfer real property, or any interest therein, in this state, in the manner and to the extent and for the purposes prescribed by any treaty now existing between the government of the United States and the nation or country of which such alien is a citizen or subject, and not otherwise, and may in addition thereto lease lands in this state for agricultural purposes for a term not exceeding three years." The remaining six sections stipulated that companies, associations, or corporations in which a majority of the shareholders were ineligible aliens were similarly curtailed. Title to any land purchased illegally would be escheated (confiscated) with title passing to the state of California. Heirs to farmland owned by ineligible aliens could not inherit it; instead, the government would sell such properties, deduct the expenses incurred during that sale, and distribute the remaining money to the heirs. The law was cleverly worded: it avoided identifying who the ineligible aliens were and what their countries of origin might be. This semantic trick allowed Californians to claim that the law did not single out Japanese for discrimination.

Japan and its ambassador to the United States saw through the ruse immediately. Ten days before Governor Johnson signed the bill into law, the Japanese ambassador to the United States, Chinda Sutemi, who had received both his BA and MA degrees in the United States, had earlier served as Japan's consul in San Francisco, and was thus quite knowledgeable about the United States, wrote a letter of protest to

Secretary of State Bryan, calling the alien land law "unfair," "discriminatory," "prejudicial," "inequitable," "repugnant," and "inconsistent with the provisions of the treaty actually in force between Japan and the United States, and is also opposed to the spirit and fundamental principles of amity and good understanding upon which the conventional relations of the two countries depend." Ambassador Chinda argued that the 1913 Alien Land Law was "a discrimination against my countrymen whose *right to become American citizens has not yet been definitely established*." Secretary Bryan responded that the California law was "not political" and was "not part of any general national policy which would indicate unfriendliness . . . between the two nations. It is *wholly economic*. It is based upon the particular economic conditions existing in California as interpreted by her own people, who *wish to avoid certain conditions of competition* in their agricultural activities." Bryan pointed out that aliens in the United States had "the privilege of *suing* in the Federal courts" if they felt their rights had been infringed. Chinda rebutted that the Japanese government was "unable to escape the conclusion that the measure is unfair and *intentionally racially discriminatory*." Bryan asserted once again that "[t]he contest is economic; the racial difference is a *mere mark or incident of the economic struggle*" [all emphasis added].

This diplomatic correspondence, preserved in the archives of the U.S. State Department and housed in the National Archives, prophesied the actions that would be taken in the ensuing decade. Immigrant Japanese would contest their right to become naturalized citizens until they lost decisively in the 1922 U.S. Supreme Court case, *Takao Ozawa v. United States* (discussed below). Legislators in California and other states would find increasingly effective ways to strip Issei farmers of the right to cultivate the soil, thus reducing competition against European American farmers. Issei farmers and European American landowners who wished to lease land to them would go to court repeatedly in efforts to have the anti-alien land laws declared unconstitutional. To those European American landowners who claimed that their lands could not be used productively without Japanese laborers and tenants, the alien land laws' backers

responded that the farm labor shortage would quickly end once the Panama Canal was completed because the canal would enable large numbers of European farm hands to reach California more quickly and cheaply by boat rather than having to travel overland from the East coast to the West. The hoped-for relief in the form of European immigrants substantiated the Tokyo government's argument that the main goal of California's 1913 Alien Land Law was to discriminate against Japanese immigrants solely on the basis of their race.

The racially charged antagonism toward Issei developed in part because they were successful cultivators of the soil. Even more troubling to European Americans was the Issei's alacrity in climbing up the agricultural ladder, moving upward from landless wage laborers to sharecroppers or tenant farmers and finally owner-operators of their own farms. The 1900 U.S. Census counted only 37 farms operated by Japanese on 4,674 acres in California. The 1910 Census showed that there were 1,816 Japanese-operated farms occupying a total of 99,524 acres. Pioneer historian Yuji Ichioka, however, found much larger numbers in Japanese-language sources that indicated Issei (counting owner-operators, sharecroppers, tenant farmers, and contract farmers together) cultivated 17,260 acres in 1902 (almost four times the acreage reported in the 1900 Census), 61,858 acres in 1905, 131,292 acres in 1907 when the first alien land bills were introduced in the California legislature, 194,742 acres in 1910 (almost double the figure in the 1910 Census), and 281,687 acres in 1913 when Governor Hiram Johnson finally signed an alien land bill into law. Between May 19, 1913, when the law was signed, and August 10, when it went into effect, Japanese rushed to form landholding companies as the 1913 law did not prohibit such companies. Of the 141 Japanese-owned companies in existence in California at the end of 1913, 100 held agricultural land; of the latter, 65 had been established hastily in July and early August.

Issei also continued to buy land by placing titles in the names of their U.S.-born children, some of whom were very young. At the same time, they leased increasingly more land from European American landowners who preferred to lease to them because the financial returns from farms cultivated by Japanese

tenants were higher than from those leased to European American tenants. Even though leases were supposed to last only a maximum of three years, official records in California's counties (that I have examined systematically) show that many three-year leases were renewed once, twice, or even three times, in the process bypassing the three-year limitation. During World War I there was an increased demand for food and Issei farmers, as well as farmers of other ethnic origins, prospered. By 1917 Issei farmers in California produced almost 90 percent of the state's celery, asparagus, onions, tomatoes, berries, and cantaloupes; more than 70 percent of its flowers and ornamental shrubs; 50 percent of the seeds of various crops; 45 percent of the sugar beets; 40 percent of the leafy vegetables; and 35 percent of the grapes. These figures reflect the fact that the 1913 Alien Land Law was not strictly enforced both because of the nation's wartime need for food and because Japan and the United States were allies during World War I.

After World War I ended in 1918 the U.S. agricultural economy went into a slump. Not only did prices of farm commodities fall, but many discharged veterans could not find jobs. Such conditions offered anti-Japanese individuals and groups a chance to reenergize the anti-Japanese movement. Their first target was the 1913 Alien Land Law; their ultimate goals were to pressure Congress to pass a Japanese exclusion law to bar not only male laborers but also picture brides and to push through a constitutional amendment to deny U.S. citizenship to children of Japanese ancestry born in the United States. By then, European American farmers and landowners had also turned against prospective Japanese tenants because they, along with Issei owner-operators, were hiring an increasing number of their coethnics as farm workers, thereby shrinking the pool of Japanese agricultural laborers available for hire by European American farmers. No further increase in the number of Japanese farm workers could be expected because the Gentlemen's Agreement had effectively stopped the immigration of Japanese male laborers. Their decreasing numbers meant that Issei farm workers could now demand higher wages, something that greatly troubled European Americans.

The widespread fears felt and the hostility shown by white Californians were most succinctly enunciated

in several essays written by some of the state's major opinion-makers and published in the January 1921 issue of *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. U.S. Senator James D. Phelan, running for reelection in 1920, called the situation a "danger" because the Japanese were "impossible competitors, and drive the white settlers, whose standards of living are different, from their farms." California must take action, he said, because it was a matter of "self-preservation to prevent the Japanese from absorbing the soil, because the future of the white race, American institutions and western civilization are put in peril." Marshall De Motte, chairman of the State Board of Control, charged that neither Japanese immigrants nor their U.S.-born children will ever assimilate because they "to the end hold their allegiance to a foreign imperial government." Both Phelan and De Motte averred that if Japan needed more territory, it should expand in "other parts of Asia." De Motte continued, "This is a white man's country. We cannot take in a race . . . which is not servile in character and can not [sic] live side by side with whites without showing aggression." John S. Chambers, California's state controller, claimed that Japan had a "policy of peaceful penetration, of conquest by colonization, . . . [via a] 'bloodless struggle.'" He observed that whereas the number of Japanese was still small, "it is the manner in which they are located and operate that breathes the danger."

V. S. McClatchy, publisher of the Sacramento *Bee* newspaper, warned about the "non-assimilability" of the Japanese, their "unusually large [sic] birth-rate" and "economic competition." He particularly feared that "their Government claims all Japanese, no matter where born, as its citizens, . . . [Japanese] hold that their Mikado is one living God to whom they owe their very existence, and therefore all obedience." Thus, "in the event of war" between Japan and the United States, McClatchy predicted Japan would "recognize those Japanese as the citizens of Japan" and they would have to serve in Japan's military forces against the United States. In another article published in the *Overland Monthly and Out West Magazine* in 1924, McClatchy said that the Japanese were "alien invaders" trying to "colonize the State" and thus posed "not only a national but an international danger." He then asked

Californians to look at the situation in Hawaii "where by the year 1940, Japanese will control the elections because of the great number of their Hawaiian-born children who will have reached the age of twenty-one." He warned that "the Japanese in California will in time exceed the whites in number" also. He implored Congress to take action before California, Oregon, and Washington fall "under [the] economic and racial control of the Japanese. For unfortunate Hawaii it is already too late." Paul Scharrenberg, a labor leader, quoting a statement disseminated by the executive council of the California State Federation of Labor, declared, "[W]e have no grievance against the Japanese *as long as they remain in Japan*" [emphasis added]. The message was clear: stay out of our white man's country; you are not wanted here.

In light of the fact that the California legislature would not be in session in 1920, the anti-Japanese forces placed an initiative, Proposition 1, on the ballot for the 1920 elections in an effort to close the loopholes in the 1913 Alien Land Law. Various organizations, including the California Oriental Exclusion League, the Los Angeles Anti-Asian Association, the Fourteen Counties Association in the Sacramento Valley, the Americanization League in the San Joaquin Valley, and the Alien Regulation League in the Imperial Valley, organized a campaign to push the measure through. Long-established nativist groups such as the Native Sons and Daughters of the Golden West and the American Legion, as well as the California State Grange that represented the interests of farmers and the California State Federation of Labor that looked out for the well-being of workers, joined the anti-Japanese campaign. The initiative passed with 668,483 votes for and 222,086 votes against it. Ironically, however, U.S. Senator James D. Phelan, who had staked his re-election campaign on his virulently anti-Japanese stance, lost his reelection bid. Both the vote count and Phelan's loss showed that anti-Japanese actions were by no means universally supported in California but the majority vote allowed the initiative to become law.

The 1920 law that would go into effect on December 9, 1920, was longer and more complicated than the 1913 one. Section 1 of the new law repeated verbatim section 1 of its 1913 predecessor. Section 2 was

likewise similar to the 1913 version except the clause allowing ineligible aliens to lease land for three years was deleted. That meant that Issei could no longer lease any land at all. Section 3 stipulated that “any company, association or corporation . . . of which a majority of the members are aliens other than those specified in section one . . . or in which a majority of the issued capital stock is owned by such aliens” could not own or lease land except as prescribed by treaty. Section 4 forbade ineligible aliens or companies, associations, or corporations owned and/or controlled by them to serve as guardians “of that portion of the estate of a minor which consists of property which such alien or such company, association or corporation is inhibited from acquiring, possessing, enjoying or transferring.” Section 5 prohibited trustees from holding titles to land on behalf of ineligible aliens or their minor children.

The remaining sections authorized county superior courts to remove illegal guardians or trustees. Heirs to real property or shares of stock in landholding companies were not allowed to inherit the property or the stocks. Instead, the government would sell the land or the stocks and give the money to the heirs. Any real property acquired illegally would be subject to escheat and become the property of the state of California. Violations of the guardianship and trusteeship prohibitions would be considered misdemeanors punishable by a fine not exceeding \$1,000 and imprisonment not exceeding one year or by both a fine and a prison term. Two or more persons conspiring to transfer real property would be fined up to \$5,000 and/or imprisoned for not more than two years. Every transfer of real property to ineligible aliens would be void and subject to escheat. Guardians of minors would have to file annual financial reports at the office of California’s secretary of state as well as in the offices of the county clerks in the counties where the properties were located. Finally, the legislature reserved the right to amend the law. If “any section, subsection, sentence, clause or phrase of this act is for any reason held to be unconstitutional, such decisions shall not affect the validity of the remaining portions of this act.”

During the run up to the 1920 election, Issei farmers held emergency meetings under the auspices of the Japanese Agricultural Association and the Japanese

Association of America. They set up a land litigation committee and aimed to raise \$25,000 as a legal defense fund, half of which would be collected from the farmers themselves and the other half from Japanese in other occupations. They hired lawyers to help them file 11 lawsuits (nine in California and two in Washington) between 1920 and 1925 to contest the new alien land laws in California and Washington state—six of which reached the U.S. Supreme Court. The first case heard in the California Supreme Court in 1922, *Estate of Tetsubumi Yano*, gave the Issei hope. Hayao Yano, a resident of Sutter County, California, had purchased 14 acres and placed title in the name of his two-year-old U.S.-born daughter, Tetsubumi. He filed a petition in October 1920 (i.e., before the 1920 law went into effect in December) to serve as guardian of her and her estate. Sutter County’s Superior Court denied his petition and Yano appealed to the California Supreme Court, which reversed the lower court’s decision, declaring that section 4 of the law was unconstitutional because it denied equal protection to the child, an American citizen, who had the right to own property. Moreover, the justices said that the only ground for denying guardianship was when a guardian proved “incompetent,” which Hayao Yano was not.

A second case that offered some optimism to the Issei was *In re K. Okahara*, also decided by the California Supreme Court in 1922. The sheriff of Placer County had arrested K. Okahara and Toni Vicencio for violating the 1920 Alien Land Law but they filed for writs of *habeas corpus* and were released from jail. Then Okahara and Vicencio signed an employer-employee cropping contract in which Vicencio turned over 20 acres of farmland to Okahara for the purpose of planting an orchard and growing vegetables. They were to share equally the proceeds from the sale of the crops. The California Supreme Court decided that such a contract was legal. For an employee to do farm work, the justices reasoned, he must be allowed to enter the employer’s land to perform the work but that activity would not involve the transfer of any interest in the land to the employee. Neither could sharing the proceeds from selling the crops be considered a transfer of an interest in the land.

The relief following these two decisions, however, was short-lived for in November 1923 the Japanese lost four landmark cases in the U.S. Supreme Court: *Terrace v. Thompson*, *Porterfield v. Webb*, *Webb v. O'Brien*, and *Frick v. Webb*. Before the high court handed down its decisions in these cases, three important legal developments had occurred that affected the outcome of the cases. First, in the 1922 *Ozawa* case, the U.S. Supreme Court decided that despite Takao Ozawa's sterling qualifications (he came to the United States as a "school boy" and worked as a domestic servant when attending Berkeley High School, then attended the University of California, Berkeley for three years, worked for an American company, was a Christian, married a woman brought up in the United States, sent his children to Sunday school, did not register his children's births at a Japanese consulate, spoke English at home, and did not drink, smoke, gamble, or "associate with any improper persons"), he was not eligible to become a naturalized citizen because he was neither a free white person nor a person of African nativity or descent. Second, in 1923 the California legislature amended the 1920 Alien Land Law to prohibit cropping contracts (allowed under the 1920 law), to forbid an ineligible alien from occupying any agricultural land, and to make escheat proceedings retroactive. That is, even if a Japanese alien had bought a piece of land before the 1920 law went into effect, this land was still subject to confiscation from the date of purchase because the owner, as an ineligible alien, had no right to hold any agricultural land at all, regardless of when he might have bought it. Third, the California legislature also amended Section 175(a) of its Code of Civil Procedures to prohibit aliens who were ineligible for naturalized citizenship from serving as guardians of any estate consisting in whole or in part of land suitable for farming, though such aliens could still serve as guardians of the persons of their minor children. (This was obviously a reaction to the 1922 *Yano* decision.)

The first case the U.S. Supreme Court ruled on, *Terrace v. Thompson*, came on appeal from Washington State. In that state's 1889 Constitution, Article 2, section 33, drew a distinction between aliens who had officially declared their intention to apply for naturalized citizenship who were allowed to own agricultural

land, on the one hand, and aliens who had not made such declarations and thus were not allowed to own farm land, on the other hand. Washington passed its 1921 Alien Land Law to add a prohibition on leasing new land or renewing old leases, again dividing aspiring land or farm owners into declarants and nondeclarants. This law said nothing about aliens ineligible for citizenship; only after a second law passed in 1937 were aliens ineligible to citizenship barred from owning or farming agricultural land in the state of Washington. In contrast, California's laws differentiated aliens who were eligible versus those who were ineligible for naturalization but made no reference to declarants versus nondeclarants.

Frank Terrace was a European American who owned some land in King County, Washington that was "particularly adapted to raising vegetables." He and his family wished to lease that land for five years to a Japanese named Nakatsuka, "a capable farmer" who would be "a desirable tenant." When the Northwest American Japanese Association decided to challenge Washington's 1921 Alien Land Law, it found willing litigants in the Terrace family and Nakatsuka. Fearing the criminal penalties specified in the 1921 law, their lawyer, James B. Howe of Seattle, filed an interlocutory injunction to enjoin the state's attorney general, Lindsay L. Thompson, from enforcing that law against them. (An interlocutory injunction is a decree given provisionally during a legal proceeding to restrain someone from carrying out an intended action.) Attorney Howe claimed that the 1921 law violated both the United States and Washington State constitutions and the 1911 treaty with Japan. He stated that if his clients felt compelled, out of fear, to submit to the law, they would be "deprived of their property without due process of law and denied the equal protection of the law." The U.S. District Court in Washington ruled that the 1921 law did not violate the state constitution, the Fourteenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution, or the 1911 treaty. Attorney General Thompson asked that the complaint be dismissed. Anticipating an appeal, he also questioned whether it was within the jurisdiction of the U.S. Supreme Court to grant Terrace and Nakatsuka the "equitable relief" they sought. Not to be stopped in their pursuit of justice, Terrace, Nakatsuka, and Attorney Howe took the case to the U.S. Supreme Court.

Justice Pierce Butler, who had become an associate justice only on January 2, 1923, delivered the opinion on behalf of the court on November 12, 1923. He discussed both the “due process” and the “equal protection” clauses of the Fourteenth Amendment as they related to the case. He noted that although the due process clause may indeed be invoked to protect the right of the Terrace family to use their land, as well as the right of Nakatsuka to earn a living in a commonly recognized occupation, that protection “does not take away from the State those powers of police . . . to promote the safety, peace, and good order of its people.” Justice Butler then expounded on the equal protection clause that “secures equal protection to all in the enjoyment of their rights under like circumstances.” However, he said that it “does not forbid every distinction in the law of a State between citizen and aliens resident therein.” According to him, a “perfect uniformity of treatment of all persons is neither practical nor desirable, . . . classification of persons is constantly necessary. . . . The rule established by Congress . . . furnishes a reasonable basis for classification in a state law withholding from aliens the privilege of land ownership as defined in the act.”

Justice Butler further argued that Washington’s 1921 Alien Land Law did not violate the 1911 treaty with Japan because “the treaty not only contains no provision giving Japanese the right to own or lease land for agricultural purposes, but . . . the high contracting parties [i.e., Japan and the United States] respectively intended to withhold a treaty grant of that right to the citizens or subjects of either in the territories of the other.” Justice Butler referred to a letter dated July 16, 1913 that Secretary of State Bryan had sent to Ambassador Chinda in which Bryan noted that it was “in accordance with the desire of Japan, the right to own land was not conferred. . . . the right to lease land for other than residential and commercial purposes was deliberately withheld by substituting the words of the treaty ‘to lease land for residential and commercial purposes’ for a more comprehensive clause.” It was indeed true that foreigners had no right to buy any kind of land in Japan though they could lease it for up to 99 years. That fact unwittingly undercut the Isseis aspirations to own farm land in the United States. The U.S. Supreme Court upheld

Washington’s 1921 Alien Land Law as well as the decision of the U.S. District Court in Seattle. Henceforth, any attempt by Japanese to own or lease farm land in Washington would be illegal.

Justice Butler’s reasoning in this case became the blueprint for the other three decisions that he also penned. In *Porterfield v. Webb*, decided on the same day as *Terrace v. Thompson*, a landowner named W. L. Porterfield who had 80 acres in Los Angeles County that were “particularly adapted to raising vegetables” wished to lease that land for five years to H. Mizuno, “a capable farmer and a desirous person to become a tenant.” The Central Japanese Association of Southern California had filed an interlocutory injunction in the U.S. District Court in Los Angeles to enjoin California’s attorney general, Ulysses S. Webb, from prosecuting Porterfield and Mizuno for criminal violations under California’s 1920 Alien Land Law. Porterfield and Mizuno were represented by attorney Louis Marshall of New York, an expert on Constitutional law who had experience arguing cases before the U.S. Supreme Court. The Japanese Association of America and the Central Japanese Association of Southern California had jointly retained him to deal with the land cases headed to the high court. Attorney Marshall argued that should Porterfield and Mizuno be compelled to submit to California’s 1920 law, “whether valid or invalid,” they would be “deprived of their property without due process of law and denied equal protection of the laws.” He contended that “the act is unconstitutional, because it deprives Porterfield of the right to enter into contracts for the leasing of his realty, and deprives Mizuno of his liberty . . . by debarring him from entering into a contract for the purpose of earning a living in a lawful occupation.” Justice Butler, however, determined that Attorney General Webb’s actions were not “arbitrary and unreasonable,” as Marshall had charged. Announcing that this case was similar to *Terrace v. Thompson*, Justice Butler upheld the constitutionality of California’s 1920 Alien Land Law and affirmed the decision of the U.S. District Court in Los Angeles. (Law professor Dudley McGovney has pointed out in an article published in 1947 in volume 35, issue number 1 of the *California Law Review*, that the two cases were not, in fact, identical because the basis for

dividing aliens into different classes was not the same. The California law, but not the Washington state one, based the distinction upon race alone.) Leasing land to Issei farmers from then on would be illegal in California. In subsequent years Japanese Americans would encounter Attorney General Webb repeatedly because he served for 37 years (1902–1938) in that office and was an indefatigable crusader against the Issei efforts to buy and lease farmland as well as their right to earn a living as commercial fishermen.

A week later, on November 19, 1923, Justice Butler delivered opinions in the other two cases, *Webb v. O'Brien* and *Frick v. Webb*. J. J. O'Brien owned 10 acres in Santa Clara County, California and wanted to sign a cropping contract for four years with an Issei named J. Inouye, "a capable farmer." The land litigation committee that the Japanese Agricultural Association and the Japanese Association of America had established jointly in the fall of 1920 acted on behalf of O'Brien and Inouye and applied for an interlocutory injunction to enjoin Santa Clara County's district attorney from taking action against them. The Santa Clara County Superior Court granted the petition but Attorney General Webb appealed and took the case to the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of California located in San Francisco, which reversed the earlier decision. O'Brien, Inouye, and their lawyers filed an appeal and took the case to the U.S. Supreme Court. Attorney Marshall argued that "a contract is necessary so that the owner may receive the largest return from the land, and that the alien may receive compensation therefrom." If O'Brien and Inouye were to be prosecuted, he said, they would "be deprived of their property without due process of law and denied the equal protection." Justice Butler declared that "the state has power to deny to aliens the right to own land within its borders" and the 1920 law did not violate the due process and equal protection clauses of the Fourteenth Amendment nor did it contravene the 1911 treaty with Japan. The justice reasoned that sharecropping violated the 1920 Alien Land Law because "the cropper has use, control, and benefit of land for agricultural purposes substantially similar to that granted to a lessee." In this case, too, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of California's 1920 Alien

Land Law and its 1923 amendment, making cropping contracts illegal from then on.

The last case, *Frick v. Webb*, involved Raymond Frick who wished to sell 28 shares of stock in the Merced Farm Company, which owned 2,200 acres of land, to Satow Nobutada. Frick and Satow sought an interlocutory injunction from the U.S. District Court in San Francisco, which refused to grant them the injunction they asked for. Upon appeal, the case moved to the U.S. Supreme Court. Justice Butler opined that a state may "forbid *indirect* [emphasis added] as well as direct ownership and control of agricultural land by ineligible aliens. The right to carry on trade given by the treaty does not give the privilege to acquire the stock." Declaring that Section 3 of the 1920 alien land did not "conflict with the Fourteenth Amendment or with the treaty," the U.S. Supreme Court once more upheld the constitutionality of California's 1920 Alien Land Law, making Issei ownership of stocks in a landholding company henceforth illegal.

Only three options now remained for Issei farmers: (1) working for wages as farm laborers, (2) buying land in the name of young Nisei (U.S.-born second generation Japanese Americans), and (3) forming land companies in which a majority of the stock holders would be either Nisei or European American lawyers who were paid for this service. The Nisei-owned or European American-owned farms and landholding companies could then hire Issei as laborers, foremen, or managers and pay them wages but not a share of the crops or a portion of the proceeds from the sale of such crops. In the ensuing years, according to U.S. Census statistics, both the number of Japanese-operated farms, especially those cultivated by tenant farmers, and the acreage they farmed fell during the 1920s. The number of tenant-operated farms declined from 4,533 in 1920 to 1,580 in 1930. The number of farms where Issei served as managers, however, greatly increased from 113 in 1920 to 1,816 in 1930. As more and more Nisei came of age during the 1930s, the number of farms with Issei managers decreased from 1,816 in 1930 to only 249 in 1940, whereas the number of farms operated by owners and part owners increased from 560 to 1,487 between 1930 and 1940. The acreage of owner- or part

owner-operated farms increased from 26,152 in 1930 to 67,043 in 1940. It is clear that the Nisei “saved” their families from economic disaster, but it is incorrect to assert, as some historians and economists have done, that the antialien land laws had virtually no negative impacts on the livelihood of Japanese Americans. Even though some three-fifths of the Japanese-ancestry population continued to work on farms until the beginning of World War II, it will never be known what the increases, both in the number of farms and in the acreages they cultivated, would have been if the antialien land laws had never been passed.

The antialien land laws were also applicable to Chinese until 1943, when Congress rescinded all the Chinese exclusion laws and granted Chinese the right of naturalization; [Asian] Indians between 1923, when the U.S. Supreme Court, in *United States v. Bhagat Singh Thind*, denied Indians the right of naturalization, and 1946, when Congress made them eligible for citizenship; and Koreans until 1952, when they and Japanese finally secured the right of naturalization. There was only a handful of escheat cases against immigrant Chinese and Indians but none snared immigrant Korean farmers whose number was very small. In 1916 in Santa Barbara County, an escheat action was brought against Gin Fook Bin, who had a half interest in a residence on a 7,200 square foot lot. (This case, *People v. Gin Fook Bin et al.*, tried in Santa Barbara County’s Superior Court, was never published but a copy of the judgment is on file in the office of the county clerk.) After Eugene Fung, who owned the other half interest, died, Gin defaulted on the mortgage on the property and the individuals who held the mortgage asked the state to escheat it. The county won the case by arguing that Gin was an alien ineligible to citizenship and the United States had no treaty with China similar to the 1911 treaty with Japan that would have allowed him to buy non-agricultural real property. The house and lot were escheated and turned over to the mortgage holders.

In *People v. Indr Singh*, litigated in San Bernardino County’s Superior Court in 1927, a Sikh from Punjab province in India, Indr Singh, had purchased some land in the county in 1917. The county’s district attorney escheated his property in 1926 because the United States did not have a treaty with Great Britain,

at that time India’s colonial master, that allowed Indians to buy land in the United States. However, Attorney General Webb decided that the escheat action would not be carried out if Singh would sell his land to an eligible owner, which he did a few days later. In Imperial County in 1933 the district attorney filed suit against four Punjabi Indians and five European American absentee landowners for conspiracy to evade the 1920 Alien Land Law by forming the California-Nevada Farming Corporation. The Indian farmers were accused of cultivating and living on that corporation’s land illegally. In response, the Indians and European Americans became plaintiffs in *Singh et al. v. People* decided in 1934. According to historian-cum-anthropologist Karen Leonard who has studied this case, during the court proceedings the Indians “refused to state their race, nationality, and place of birth,” making it impossible for the court to prove they were ineligible aliens forbidden to own or lease agricultural land. Though they were convicted and sentenced to prison, they sought a new trial on a technicality, but no new trial ever took place. So the Indians did not have to serve time in prison.

Despite the 1923 landmark U.S. Supreme Court decisions, cases involving Japanese continued to crop up to challenge specific sections of the various alien land laws. In Sonoma County, California a farmer named S. Ikada wanted to buy 31 acres from Bartolomeu and Mary Souza. The Souzas declined to sell because they feared prosecution for violating the alien land law. Their attorney, W. A. Cockrill, offered to hold title to the land that Ikada wanted to buy, which reassured the Souzas. The sale went through but a grand jury indicted Cockrill and Ikada for conspiracy to violate the alien land laws and the Superior Court of Sonoma County convicted them in *People v. Cockrill* in 1923. They appealed to the state’s District Court of Appeal for the Third District headquartered in Sacramento but lost in that venue. The California Supreme Court declined to hear the case, so it was referred to the U.S. Supreme Court in 1925, where Justice Butler once again delivered the opinion. In *Cockrill v. People*, the justice stated that “Ikada furnished the money . . . and . . . took possession of the property. [So] Cockrill had no interest in the land.” He concluded that the 1920 law did not violate either

the Fourteenth Amendment or the 1911 treaty and that “[p]ayment by such aliens for agricultural lands taken in the name of persons not of that class reasonably may be given a significance as evidence of intent to avoid escheat.” The high court affirmed the decision of the lower court.

In San Diego County, the Superior Court charged landowner George Morrison, along with Issei farmers H. Doi and H. Ozaki, for conspiracy to violate California’s 1920 Alien Land Law and its 1923 and 1927 amendments. Attorney Jacob Marion Wright of Los Angeles, a lifelong fighter against inequality, represented the accused. The California Supreme Court, in *People v. Morrison*, found the defendants guilty of conspiracy and sentenced them to two years’ imprisonment because according to the 1927 amendment that had been codified in California’s Code of Civil Procedure, “the acquisition, possession, enjoyment, use, cultivation, occupation, or transferring of real property or any interest therein, or the having in whole or in part the beneficial use thereof by any defendant . . . and the complaint, indictment or information alleges the alienage and ineligibility to United States citizenship of such defendant, the burden of proving citizenship or eligibility to citizenship shall thereupon devolve upon such defendant.” Attorney Wright appealed both cases. The more interesting case involved Morrison and Doi, which made its way to the U.S. Supreme Court.

In the court’s 1934 decision, *Morrison v. People of State of California*, Associate Justice Benjamin N. Cardozo, who delivered the opinion, wrote that although the 1911 treaty with Japan permitted Japanese to buy land for residential or commercial uses, it did not give them the right to buy, lease, control, or otherwise use farmland as individuals or corporations. The existing statutes did not violate the Fourteenth Amendment, the justice proclaimed, when they put the burden of proof on the alien to show whether he was eligible for citizenship. The proof required was “within limits of reason and fairness”; requiring an alien to present such proof would not be “an impairment of his immunities under the Federal Constitution.”

Citing dozens of cases as legal precedents, Justice Cardozo then focused on Section 9 of the 1920 Alien Land Law that stated, “every transfer of real property,

or of an interest therein . . . shall be void . . . [and] shall escheat to the state if the property interest involved is of such a character that an alien mentioned in section two hereof is inhibited from acquiring, possessing, enjoying or transferring it, and if the conveyance is made with such intent to prevent, evade or avoid escheat.” The key issue Justice Cardozo considered was whether a conspiracy had occurred. He pointed out that the burden of proving a potential tenant’s eligibility or ineligibility for citizenship rested solely on the tenant (in this case, Doi) and not on the farm owner (in this case, Morrison). Yet, both men had been convicted. He declared, “Plainly as to Morrison, an imputation of knowledge is a wholly arbitrary presumption” because the law “does not make it a crime to put a lessee into possession without knowledge or injury as to race and place of birth.” Such a transaction would be a crime only if there had been a “willful conspiracy to violate the law. Nothing in the people’s evidence gives support to the inference that Morrison had knowledge of the disqualifications of his tenant.” Moreover, Doi also “was not a conspirator, however guilty his own state of mind, unless Morrison had shared in the guilty knowledge and design.” In other words, a conspiracy could be said to have occurred only if two or more individuals were involved. Justice Cardozo reversed the judgment of the California Supreme Court. He handed down a split decision, striking down Section 9(a) of the 1920 law that prohibited the “taking of property in the name of a person other than” that of an alien ineligible to citizenship (in this instance, Cockrill) if the ineligible alien (in this instance, Doi) had paid for the land or had leased it, as unconstitutional. However, he upheld the constitutionality of Section 9(b) that targeted shares of stock held in the name of a company, association, or corporation if the stocks had been paid for by an alien ineligible to citizenship. That decision let European Americans who sold or leased land to Japanese aliens off the hook, but the ineligible aliens themselves would still be subject to prosecution.

The Japanese did win a few cases outright. In 1925 in *State of California v. Tojuero Togami*, the California Supreme Court decided that leasing land on which to build a health resort and sanitarium would not violate the alien land law because the use to which the

land would be put was not agricultural—the 1911 treaty with Japan explicitly allowed Japanese to buy, lease, or use land for residential and commercial purposes. In *People v. Kosai*, a 1925 case heard in the Washington Supreme Court, the court ruled that making a gift of land to a U.S. citizen even when that citizen was a child did not violate Washington’s 1921 Alien Land Law. The following year, the same court decided, in *People v. Ishikawa*, that in an escheat proceeding the officials who initiate the action must prove that fraud had been committed when an ineligible alien makes a gift of land to his U.S.-born child. Because the court had already ruled that such gifts were not illegal, the justice dismissed the escheat. In *People v. Fujita*, decided in 1932, the California Supreme Court, like its counterpart in the state of Washington, also ruled that buying land as a gift to U.S. citizens—a class of persons that included U.S.-born minor children of Japanese ancestry—was not illegal. In *Jordan v. Tashiro*, the U.S. Supreme Court decided in 1928 that buying land to build a Japanese hospital in Los Angeles was allowable under California’s alien land laws because the land would be used for a commercial purpose.

In the years between 1913 and 1942, relatively few escheat actions were taken because California Attorney General Webb lacked the financial and personnel resources to prosecute, and county district attorneys were busy with other matters and saw no reason to help Webb because they would gain nothing from putting time and energy into such cases. Before 1920, only 11 escheat actions (nine in California and two in Washington) were recorded. Between 1920 and 1940, only 28 cases (16 in California, 8 in Washington, 1 in Oregon, and 3 in Arizona) were recorded. (The actual numbers might have been considerably larger because the only cases that were recorded or published were those in which the verdicts had been appealed.) However, soon after World War II began, California Attorney General Earl Warren, who had succeeded Webb in 1939, asked the legislature to allocate \$200,000 to his office. He claimed that it was necessary to escheat Japanese-held land to minimize the possibility of Issei sabotage on behalf of their homeland, Japan. Offering an incentive to county district attorneys to take action, Warren promised them that

half of the proceeds received from escheat proceedings would be given to the counties in which the escheated land was located. Warren filed 20 escheat actions in one fell swoop in early 1942 before he became too busy to do so as he ran for office as governor of California, an election he won. Robert W. Kenny, who succeeded Warren as California attorney general when Warren became governor, filed another 40 escheat actions before 1945 even though he did not share Warren’s enthusiasm for such prosecution. More often than not, the Japanese lost their land when title was held in the names of their U.S. citizen children but the land had been paid for by the Issei parents. A few families were able to retain their land by settling with the state. To quiet title to their properties, they paid huge sums of money to the state, often almost equal to the amount they had originally paid to buy the land.

One family refused to give in to such blackmail and they won a significant victory. Kajiro and Kohide Oyama had bought six acres in San Diego County and gifted it to their son Fred when he was six years old in 1934. Fred’s father then petitioned to become guardian of both Fred’s person and his estate. The Superior Court of San Diego County approved his request. In 1937 Kajiro Oyama bought another two acres adjoining the original six acres, also in Fred’s name. The San Diego Superior Court again approved this purchase. Unfortunately, Kajiro Oyama failed to file the annual reports mandated by Section 5 of the 1920 Alien Land Law. In early 1942, the Oyamas, along with some 120,000 Issei and Nisei living on the West Coast, were “evacuated” and incarcerated in concentration camps. Although they were thus imprisoned, Attorney General Kenny escheated their eight acres.

In a California Supreme Court hearing, attorneys A. L. Wirin, Fred Okrand, and Saburo Kido represented the Oyamas. Wirin was a civil rights attorney closely connected with the American Civil Liberties Union in Southern California who, for 40 years, defended many individuals, including Japanese, who had been wronged one way or another; Kido was a Nisei lawyer born in Hawaii and one of the founders of the Japanese American Citizens League who served as the organization’s national president in the early 1940s when Japanese Americans were still in

concentration camps. California Attorney General Kenny, Deputy Attorney General Everett W. Mattoon, San Diego County's District Attorney Thomas Whelan, and Deputy District Attorney Duane J. Carnes served as counsel for the state. In its 1946 decision, *People v. Oyama*, delivered by Associate Justice Douglas L. Edmonds, the California Supreme Court ruled that both parcels of "the land conveyed to Fred Y. Oyama" had rightfully been "escheated to the state as of the date of the respective deeds" and that, in doing so, the defendants had not been deprived of due process and equal protection, as the Oyamas' lawyers had argued. Wirin et al. had also argued that because an amendment to U.S. naturalization laws had been enacted to allow aliens who had served "honorably" in the U.S. military during World War II to become naturalized citizens, it meant that had Kajiro Oyama joined the army, he could have become a citizen. Justice Edmonds, however, pointed out that the amendment applied only to those who had already served and not to individuals who might have served or who planned to serve in the future. That is to say, the amendment did "not abolish ineligibility to citizenship of aliens regardless of race." To rebut the claim of the defendants' lawyers that the statute of limitation had passed for the escheat proceeding to occur, Justice Edmonds pointed out that an amendment to the alien land laws had been enacted in 1945 that stipulated, "No statute of limitations shall apply or operate as a bar to any escheat action now pending or hereafter commenced pursuant to the provisions of this act." He concluded that the "property in question passed to the State of California by reason of deficiencies existing in the ineligible alien, and not in the citizen Oyama. The citizen is not denied any constitutional guarantees because an ineligible alien, for the purpose of evading the Alien Land Law, attempted to pass title to him. It is the deficiency of the alien father and not the citizen son which is the controlling factor." For that reason, the court ruled that the escheat proceeding was constitutional.

The Oyamas appealed and took their case to the U.S. Supreme Court. Before the high court was able to consider the case, Californians had voted down Proposition 15 that was on the ballot in the November 1946 elections. Supporters of this proposition had

gathered the requisite number of signatures to put it on the ballot in an effort to validate the various amendments to the 1920 Alien Land Law. Since the 1920 law had been passed as an initiative, its amendments needed to be validated via another initiative. But the people of California voted down Proposition 15, with 797,067 for and 1,143,780 against the measure. They let the world know that a majority of them no longer supported the antialien land laws. After all, the United States and its allies had just won a world war against German Nazism and Italian and Japanese fascism. Both ideologies contained strong racist undercurrents. Consequently, it would be hypocritical for Americans to continue to support laws tinged with racism.

The U.S. Supreme Court heard the *Oyama* case in October 1947 and made its decision in January 1948. That decision is perhaps the most interesting among all the alien land law cases ever argued before the high court, the lower federal courts, and the various state and county courts. In this round, attorney A. L. Wirin continued to represent Kajiro and Fred Oyama *pro bono*; he was joined on the defense team by attorney Dean G. Acheson of Washington, D.C., who would soon be nominated by President Harry Truman and confirmed by the U.S. Senate to become U.S. secretary of state. California's Assistant Attorney General Everett W. Mattoon and Deputy District Attorney of San Diego County Duane J. Carnes, two of the officials who had represented the state of California in *People v. Oyama* before the California Supreme Court in 1946, again represented the state.

What makes *Oyama et al. v. California* (1948) so interesting is that in addition to the six-to-three majority opinion delivered by Chief Justice Fred M. Vinson, there were two concurring opinions that offered additional reasons for overturning the alien land laws—reasons that the chief justice did not discuss—as well as two dissenting opinions. Attorneys Wirin and Acheson presented three issues for the high court to consider: (1) Fred Oyama, an American citizen, had been deprived of equal protection guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment to all persons, regardless of their citizenship status, (2) His father, Kajiro Oyama, had likewise been denied equal protection, and (3) the escheat proceedings had contravened the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. Chief Justice

Vinson determined that Fred Oyama had indeed been deprived of equal protection and that the discrimination against him was “based solely on his parents’ country of origin.” Fred Oyama, he said, “faced at the outset the necessity of overcoming a statutory presumption that the conveyances financed by his father and recorded in Fred’s name were not gifts at all.” Fred, therefore, faced obstacles that “do not beset the path of most minor donees [recipients of donations or gifts] in California. . . . The father’s deeds were visited on the son; the ward became the guarantor of his guardian’s conduct.” Fred “was saddled with an onerous burden of proof which need not be borne by California children generally.” The case “presents a conflict between the State’s right to formulate a policy of landholding within its bounds and the right of American citizens to own land anywhere in the United States. When these two rights clash, the rights of a citizen may not be subordinated merely because of his father’s country of origin.” For these reasons, the chief justice reversed the decision of the California Supreme Court and decided that Section 9(a) of the state’s 1920 Alien Land Law was unconstitutional. (Section 9[a] had already been struck down in *Morrison v. California*, so he was simply reaffirming that decision.) However, Chief Justice Vinson did not address the broader question of whether the entire alien land law was unconstitutional.

The first, relatively short concurrent opinion was written by Associate Justice Hugo Black, with Associate William O. Douglas joining him, who noted that “by this Alien Land Law California puts all Japanese aliens within its boundaries on the lowest possible economic level.” Justice Black noted that the United States “had recently pledged ourselves to cooperate with the United Nations to ‘promote . . . universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.’” He then asked pointedly, “How can this nation be faithful to this international pledge if state laws which bar land ownership and occupancy by aliens on account of race are permitted to be enforced?”

The second, very long, detailed, and passionate concurrent opinion was written by Associate Justice Frank Murphy, joined by Associate Justice Wiley B.

Rutledge. Justice Murphy reviewed the history of discrimination against Asians in the United States so thoroughly that he might very well have been giving a lecture in an Asian American history course. He began by declaring, “The California Alien Land Law was spawned of the great anti-Oriental virus which, at an early date, infected many persons in that state. The history of this anti-Oriental agitation is not one that does credit to a nation that prides itself, at least historically, on being the friendly haven to the tired and the oppressed of other lands.” He then noted that of the 73 recorded escheat actions taken against the Japanese, 59 were begun after Pearl Harbor “during a period when the hysteria generated by World War II magnified the opportunities for effective anti-Japanese propaganda. Vigorous enforcement of the Alien Land Law has been but one of the cruel discriminatory actions which have marked this nation’s treatment after 1941 of those residents who chanced to be of Japanese origin. The Alien Land Law, in short, was designed to effectuate a purely racial discrimination . . . It is deeply rooted in racial, economic, and social antagonisms.” He asked “whether there is a rational basis for the particular kind of discrimination involved” and said the answer was “no.” He continued, “the discrimination stems directly from racial hatred and intolerance. . . . Racism has no justifiable place whatever in our way of life, even when it appears under the guise of ‘plenary power’”—that is, the absolute power of Congress to pass laws. He observed that even though the nation’s naturalization and citizenship laws drew a racial distinction between who could and who could not become citizens, “it does not follow . . . that California can blindly adopt those distinctions for the purpose of determining who may own and enjoy agricultural land. What may be reasonable and constitutional for Congress for one purpose may not be reasonable or constitutional for a state legislature for another and wholly distinct purpose.”

In response to anti-Japanese agitators who claimed that “if ineligible aliens could lease or own farms, it is within the realm of possibility that they might acquire every square foot of land in California which is fit for agriculture,” Justice Murphy cited demographic statistics to show that Japanese formed only a minute percentage of California’s total population and the land

they farmed in 1940 was only 0.7 percent of the arable acreage in the state. Therefore, “such a contention is statistically absurd.” As for the charge that “American farmers cannot compete successfully” against the Issei and Nisei farmers, the justice said, “The success thus achieved through diligence and efficiency . . . does not justify prohibiting the Japanese from owning or using farmlands. Free competition and the survival of the fittest are supposedly vital elements in the American economic structure . . . Certainly from a constitutional standpoint, superiority in efficiency and productivity has never been thought to justify discrimination.” In Justice Murphy’s eyes, “the basic vice, the constitutional infirmity, of the Alien Land Law is that its discrimination rests upon an unreal racial foundation. It assumes that there is some racial characteristic, common to all Japanese aliens, that makes them unfit to own or use agricultural land in California. There is no such characteristic.” The accusations against the Japanese “merely represent social and economic antagonisms which have been translated into false racial terms. As such, they cannot form the rationalization necessary to conform the statute to the requirements of the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.” Justice Murphy concluded, “The Alien Land Law does violence to the high ideals of the Constitution of the United States and the Charter of the United Nations. It is an unhappy facsimile, a disheartening reminder, of the racial policy pursued by those forces of evil whose destruction recently necessitated a devastating war. . . . the penalty of unconstitutionality should be imposed upon the Alien Land Law.” Obviously, the Second World War was very much on his mind.

The first dissenting opinion was penned by Associate Justice Stanley F. Reed, joined by Associate Justice Harold H. Burton. They believed that there has to be a “balancing of constitutional rights; on the one hand, the right of California to exclude ineligible aliens from land ownership and, on the other hand, the right of their citizen sons to hold land.” The Oyamas’ land had been escheated “because of the father’s violation of the law before it reaches the son.” According to Justice Reed, Fred was not singled out for discrimination because “a grantee is a party to a sale of land which the state attacks as being within the proscribed

class must overcome the presumption . . . [regarding] the legality of the transfer.” Fred must bear a burden “not because of descent or nationality but because he has been a party to a transaction which the state challenges as illegal.” Fred was not being discriminated against because “placing more burdens upon some than upon others is not in itself unconstitutional.” The second dissent, written by Associate Justice Robert H. Jackson, stated “[t]hat there is a discrimination in this situation no one will deny.” According to him, “if the Oyama lad . . . received this land from a citizen, he would take it as free of presumption . . . The only discrimination which prejudices young Oyama is the one which makes his father ineligible to own land or be a donor of it.” Justice Jackson closed by stating, “While I think that California has pursued a policy of unnecessary severity by which the Oyamas lost both land and investment, I do not see how this Court . . . can strip the State of the right to make its Act effective.” Unlike Chief Justice Vinson who prioritized individual rights over state rights, Justice Jackson thought state rights could trump individual rights.

In the aftermath of the Oyama decision, Attorney General Kenny dropped all pending escheat proceedings. Still, the standing of the 1920 Alien Land Law and its various amendments remained unclear. The Japanese American Citizens’ League decided to mount a test case in an attempt to challenge the constitutionality of these laws once and for all. Accordingly, an Issei named Sei Fujii, publisher of a bilingual community newspaper in Los Angeles, Kashu Mainichi, who had graduated from the University of Southern California’s Law School, purposely bought a small parcel and took title in his own name in 1948. The Los Angeles County Superior Court instituted an escheat action against Fujii’s property. The United States had unilaterally abrogated the 1911 treaty with Japan in 1939 as war clouds gathered in East Asia (Japan had invaded China in 1937) and had given Japan six months’ notice that the termination would go into effect in 1940. Issei therefore could no longer rely on the right to buy or lease land for residential or commercial uses that the treaty had guaranteed them for almost three decades. Fujii was represented by Attorney Jacob Marion Wright, a long-time crusader for justice who,

over the course of several decades, represented many other Issei and Nisei. Owen E. Kupfer, a lawyer who often teamed up with Wright, also served as defense counsel. California's Attorney General Edmund G. "Pat" Brown, Assistant Attorney General Everett W. Mattoon, and Deputy Attorney General John F. Hassler represented the state of California. Chief Justice Phil S. Gibson of the California Supreme Court delivered the opinion in *Fujii v. California* in 1952.

The chief justice first analyzed the United Nations Charter and then the Fourteenth Amendment. He disagreed with the plaintiff's lawyers that the United Nations Charter had invalidated and superseded California's Alien Land Law: "It is not disputed that the charter is a treaty, and our federal Constitution provides that treaties made under the authority of the United States are part of the supreme law of the land and that the judges in every state are bound thereby. A treaty, however, does not automatically supersede local laws, which are inconsistent with it unless the treaty provisions are self-executing." He thought the United Nations Charter was not a self-executing treaty and would thus require corollary national or state laws to be passed before the charter can become operative. He said that the charter had been "framed as a promise of *future* [emphasis added] action by the member nations. . . . without infringing upon their right to order their national affairs according to the own best ability, in their own way, and in accordance with their own political and economic institutions and processes. . . . The charter represents a moral commitment . . . [but] the charter provisions relied on by plaintiff were not intended to supersede existing domestic legislation, and we cannot hold that they operate to invalidate the Alien Land Law."

Having dismissed the relevance of the UN Charter, Chief Justice Gibson then turned to the claim made by Fujii and his lawyers that the "statutory classification of aliens on the basis of eligibility to citizenship is arbitrary . . . and unreasonable." After reviewing numerous earlier cases, including the rulings in the various alien land law cases that the high court, as well as lower courts, had dealt with, he decided that "[c]onstitutional principles declared in recent years are irreconcilable with the reasoning of the earlier cases and lead us to conclude that the statute violates the

equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment." He considered "the right to acquire, enjoy, own and dispose of property" to be a civil right. He then opined, "By its terms the land law classifies persons on the basis of eligibility to citizenship, but in fact it classifies on the basis of race or nationality." He recalled how Associate Justice Roger J. Traynor had proclaimed, in *Korematsu v. United States*, a case challenging the constitutionality of the internment of Japanese Americans during World War II, that "the classification . . . on the basis of race . . . is 'immediately suspect' and will be subjected 'to the most rigid scrutiny.'" Chief Justice Gibson then argued that it was a "fallacy" to equate the alien land laws to the federal prohibition on the naturalization of Asian aliens because the two types of law are not the same—that is, a naturalization law is different from a property law. "Accordingly, if a state wishes to borrow a federal system of grouping, it must justify the adopted classification in its new setting, and the state's use of the distinction must stand or fall on its own merits." Thus, "there can be no justification for a classification" that denied property rights of certain aliens "not because of anything they have done or any beliefs they hold, but solely because they are Japanese." By a four-to-three decision, the California Supreme Court struck down California's antialien land laws as unconstitutional.

As it turned out, the 1952 *Sei Fujii v. State of California* case, decided on April 17, 1952, might not have been necessary had it been heard in the California Supreme Court *after* December 24, 1952 because on that date the 1952 Immigration and Nationality Act (commonly called the McCarran-Walter Act) passed by Congress on June 27, 1952 went into effect, removing racial barriers to naturalization. The Chinese in 1943 and the Filipinos and Indians in 1946 had already gained the right of naturalization. The 1952 Act made it possible for Japanese and Koreans to become naturalized U.S. citizens also.

Several years before the U.S. Supreme Court struck down California's anti-alien land laws, the Oregon Supreme Court had already struck down that state's antialien land law. In *Kenji Namba v. McCourt*, decided in 1949, the court ruled that Oregon's 1923 Alien Land Law was unconstitutional. In contrast,

even after the *Fujii* decision, the California legislature did nothing to repeal its various antialien land laws until 1956. That year Proposition 13, the goal of which was to repeal California’s alien land laws, was placed on the ballot in the 1956 elections. The proposition passed; so it was the voters, and not California’s legislators, who finally got rid of those discriminatory laws. Not only that, but Proposition 13 also mandated that the legislature appropriate money to compensate those who had lost their land via escheat actions. The legislature had actually passed a law in 1951 to offer redress to U.S. citizens and another law in 1953 to offer redress to *all* the individuals who had been plaintiffs, defendants, or appellants in the various alien land law cases. However, no funds had been appropriated until Proposition 13 forced the legislature to do so. In Washington State the Seattle Chapter of the Japanese American Citizens’ League spearheaded the movement to repeal that state’s antialien land laws by forming a Committee for the Repeal of the Alien Land Law. However, a Washington State Senate Joint Resolution No. 4 to repeal the law placed on the ballot in the 1960 elections was roundly defeated. The JAACL immediately began a new round of organizing so that it could try again in 1962 but Senate Joint Resolution No. 21 on the 1962 ballot, also for the purpose of repealing the state’s anti-alien land law, again failed to pass. A new effort four years later finally succeeded via an amendment to the Washington state constitution placed on the ballot for the 1966 elections. In time, other states with anti-alien land laws also removed them from their statutes. As of May 2012, Florida is the only state remaining that has not yet repealed its anti-alien land law. In the 2008 elections, Amendment 1 on the Florida ballot to repeal the law was voted down, but the Alien Land Law Committee of the Greater Orlando Asian American Bar Association is continuing the fight with the support of the Florida State Bar. Only when that effort succeeds will the last vestige of decades-old, racially discriminatory, and unconstitutional antialien land laws be thrown into the dustbin of history.

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See also Chinese Exclusion Acts (1882–1943); Japanese American Citizens League (JAACL);

Korematsu v. United States (1945); McCarran-Walter Act of 1952; Shin-Issei/Shin-Nisei Identity; *Ozawa v. United States* (1922); *United States v. Thind* (1923); *United States v. Wong Kim Ark* (1898)

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“Aliens Ineligible for Citizenship”

Naturalization is that process through which a noncitizen becomes a citizen. The word, “naturalization,” shares a common Latin root with “nativity,” “nationality,” and “natural,” all denoting “birth”: a “naturalized citizen” is a person whose legal status is the same *as if* he were “naturally born” in his new country. The procedures governing naturalization, including an oath of allegiance, all suggest a person’s “rebirth” as an American citizen, a movement from nonmember to member.

In the United States, Congress passed the first Naturalization Act in 1790, and this has been a model for subsequent naturalization statutes ever since. All applicants for American citizenship had to attest to “good moral character” and prove at least two years of residency in the United States and at least one year of residency within the state where they were petitioning for citizenship. They also had to show that they were “free white persons.” “Good moral character” typically meant a clean criminal record, or at least no

serious criminal convictions. (Before the Revolution, colonial assemblies had complained that Britain was sending too many “criminals” and “paupers” to the New World.) The residency requirements were not always strictly enforced, but the idea was that a naturalized citizen should have acclimated to their new country before exercising full political rights.

The third requirement was the most open to interpretation: “free white person” excluded slaves of African nativity, former slaves, and white persons who were still indentured, people who were not “free.” At the same time, several legislators understood “free white person” to be a rather progressive term that could include a wide range of people from Europe that some Americans did not think were fit for American citizenship, especially Jews, Catholics, Germans, Irish, Italians, and Eastern Europeans. Benjamin Franklin, for example, did not particularly care for the large number of German immigrants in Pennsylvania, many of whom seemed to retain their peculiar customs and language even after living in the “English colony” for years. In Boston and New York, many state and local officials looked down on the Irish, insisting that these impoverished immigrants would destroy democracy if they were allowed to vote. States on the East Coast complained bitterly about the Irish well into the nineteenth century.

Still, in other places, especially in the South and in the West, Germans and Irish could pass into American citizenship relatively easily, and most southern states interpreted and implemented the federal naturalization law as though it should include immigrants who were not strictly “WASPs,” or White, Anglo-Saxon, and Protestant. In districts with large numbers of African American slaves, where “free whites” were especially necessary to police and supervise the slaves, and could perhaps one day enlarge the slaveholding interest themselves, these “suspect whites” became American citizens. Even Native Americans—particularly those who had mixed ancestry, or who had converted to Christianity and held private property—could be recognized as “free white persons” under the Naturalization Act of 1790. They moved from “Indians not taxed” to American citizens who volunteered in state militias, voted for state and federal officials, and held property, including chattel slaves.

In addition, by 1792, 12 of the 13 new states refused to allow “paupers” to vote, and immigrants who were so poor that they had to rely on charities, including churches and almshouses were also typically denied the privilege of naturalization. State governments put considerable pressure on ship captains and freight companies, imposing “head taxes” and other measures designed to curtail the migration of “paupers” from Europe to the United States. Although property qualifications for political rights would decline, the first federal immigration rules were designed to prevent the landing of poor people, convicts, and other “undesirables.” These rules were common throughout the nineteenth century. In 1875, in response to a California statute directed against “lewd and debauched women,” the Page Act forbade the migration of “contract laborers,” ostensibly to make sure that all persons from “China, Japan, or any Oriental country” should enjoy a “free and voluntary” migration to the United States. Another section of the Act declared that “the importation into the United States of women for the purposes of prostitution is hereby forbidden.” Federal judges observed, though, that in San Francisco, these rules were typically directed at Chinese women, while the “bedizened and painted harlot of other countries . . . parade our streets and open her hells in broad day, without molestation and without censure.”

The Page Act was but a harbinger of things to come. Debates about the political position of Asians took a more urgent turn after the American Civil War, after the Radical Republicans successfully ratified the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments, and then, in 1870, they revised the naturalization statutes to include “persons of African nativity.” These rules were designed to guarantee that newly freed black slaves would enjoy their new political rights as American citizens.

But in 1878, Judge Lorenzo Sawyer in *Ah Yup* observed that although “persons of African nativity” and “free white persons” were eligible for naturalization, Chinese were neither, and so were ineligible for citizenship. He noted that the debates in Congress about revisions to the naturalization statutes clearly favored the exclusion of the Chinese for citizenship, and so, after nearly three decades of immigration from

China to the United States, all Chinese were now “aliens ineligible for citizenship.”

The idea that the Chinese were neither white nor African was extended to other groups in other federal cases. In 1889, a federal court said that Hawaiians were not white; still another said in 1894 said that the Japanese were not white; two separate courts in 1916 and 1917 said that Filipinos were not white; and in 1921, a Korean petitioner was denied the privilege of naturalization because yet another federal court said that Koreans were not white. Deciding who was or wasn’t white was often a tricky thing: Armenians were from literally Asia, for example, but because they were assimilated into white society and had a long history of Christianity (among other reasons), the federal courts eventually declared that they were white in 1909, and again in 1925. In 1880, a federal court declared that a biracial person (half white and half Native American) was not white, and in 1912, three separate federal cases came to the same conclusion: biracial people were not white. Syrians and other people from the Middle East were sometimes white, sometimes not; Asian Indians were sometimes white, sometimes not. In 1942, Arabians in a Michigan federal court were declared white; in 1944, Arabians in Massachusetts were declared nonwhite and thus ineligible for naturalization.

Whether an immigrant was “white” or not white had severe consequences, and not just for purposes of acquiring citizenship. Local governments used the term, “aliens ineligible for citizenship,” in a broad set of statutes, for example, to exclude Asians from employment in the public sector—police departments, fire departments, work in city government, and so on, were restricted to American citizens or persons eligible for citizenship. In 1922, Congress passed the Cable Act, which provided that any woman who married an “alien ineligible for citizenship” would acquire the status of her husband, thereby rendering her ineligible for citizenship, or stripping her of American citizenship altogether. Curiously, “aliens ineligible for citizenship” could serve in the American armed forces, but with the exception of Filipino veterans after World War I, other Asians were still ineligible for citizenship even after their honorable discharge. (Congress finally allowed all veterans of World War I to naturalize in 1935.) Politically and economically, “aliens ineligible

for citizenship” were to be kept apart from mainstream American life, and many hoped that such aliens would return to their home countries rather than remain in the United States.

In the early twentieth century, one of the most severe economic disabilities against “aliens ineligible for citizenship” came in the form of “alien land laws,” prohibiting such aliens from owning or even leasing agricultural lands. California was the first state to pass such a rule in 1913, followed by an even stricter version in 1920 that provided for confiscations of land held in violation of the rule. Other states followed: by 1943, Texas, Nebraska, Montana, Idaho, Washington, Minnesota, Missouri, Oregon, New Mexico, Arizona, Louisiana, Wyoming, Arkansas, and Utah had all passed alien land laws that prohibited “aliens ineligible for citizenship” from leasing or owning agricultural land. All of these rules were upheld by the United States Supreme Court in a set of cases in 1923. All worked to limit or eliminate Asians from the lucrative agricultural economies of the United States: in places like Fresno, California, which had both a large Japanese and Armenian immigrant population, nativists were pleased that the Japanese were rendered “ineligible for citizenship,” even as they were annoyed that the Armenians were allowed to pass into American citizenship. Ultimately, however, race-based exclusions in the immigration law forbade all Asians from coming to the United States, first in 1917, and then again in 1924. The “Asiatic Barred Zone” included Turkey and Armenia in the West, India and all of the islands north of Australia in the South, and Mongolia and China in the North and East.

From the mid-1920s through World War II, “aliens ineligible for citizenship” in the United States were technically not “stateless,” but they suffered from many of the symptoms of “statelessness” common to many different ethnic and religious groups throughout the world in the twentieth century. A Japanese immigrant, for example, could never vote in local, state, or national elections, and if he’d lived in the United States for two or three decades, he didn’t and couldn’t vote in Japanese elections either. After so many years, the Japanese consulate did not necessarily “protect” such a person, nor could he necessarily demand help from American officials. Some people

truly had no government: Koreans were subjects of the Japanese emperor after 1910 because Korea as a political entity had ceased to exist. Korean nationals couldn't petition for American citizenship, and although the Japanese state purportedly protected all Korean nationals, a great many Koreans hated the Japanese state, and so many Koreans in the United States did consider themselves "stateless," much in the same way that Jewish residents of Germany or Russia were stateless. Before World War II, Nazi Germany implemented a series of rules that would formally dispossess all Jewish persons of their property, and also eliminate all Jewish from the professions and from other mainstream areas of economic, social, and political life in the Third Reich.

In the United States, Congress gradually amended naturalization rules to allow for Asians to pass into American citizenship during and after World War II. In 1943, Chinese immigrants were allowed to naturalize, in recognition of American alliances with the Nationalist Chinese during the war. In 1946, Asian Indians and Filipino immigrants were allowed to naturalize. In the McCarran-Walter Act of 1952, race-based discriminations in the naturalization statute were completely repealed, even though Senator Pat McCarran of Nevada insisted on retaining immigration restrictions against Asians in that rule. President Truman objected to these restrictions and vetoed the bill; Congress passed the rule over his veto.

The term, "alien ineligible for citizenship," no longer carries a strictly racial meaning; but politically, it remains a forceful concept. The category still exists in practice: persons with serious criminal records and others with questionable moral character are ineligible for citizenship, as are communists, anarchists, and terrorists. More significantly, the category includes an ever-growing population of undocumented aliens—persons who entered the United States "without inspection," persons who received no formal permission to be here. There may be 12 million such persons in the United States now and this population continues to grow. Already, many of these persons are on the margins of American economy and society, and so we continue to live in a society where immigration status remains a major, serious axis of inequality.

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See also Ah Yup, In Re (1878); Chinese Exclusion Acts (1882–1943); McCarran-Walter Act of 1952; Page Law (1875)

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Allen, Horace Newton (1858–1932)

Horace Newton Allen was an American medical doctor and a Protestant missionary during the tumultuous era from 1884 to 1905 of Korean history. During this period, Allen served as one of the most influential advisor to Kojong, the last King of the Joseon Dynasty. Allen was a determined critic of Japanese imperialism in Korea, but Japanese victory over China (Sino-Japanese War of 1894–1895) and Russia (Russo-Japanese War of 1904) sealed the fate of the nation first as a protectorate (1905) and then as a colony of Japan through outright annexation (1910). When Allen openly criticized Theodore Roosevelt administration's support of Japan during the Russo-Japanese War, the U.S. government recalled Allen in 1905 and terminated his diplomatic career. In addition to his role as a diplomat, Allen played a crucial role in bringing American economic interests into Korea after the Korean-American Treaty of 1882 established diplomatic relationship between the two nations. Along with David W. Deshler, Allen is also recognized as a key figure in organizing Korean immigration to Hawaii.

Allen was born in Delaware, Ohio, on April 23, 1858. After graduating from Ohio Wesleyan University in 1881, he received his medical degree from Miami Medical School in Cincinnati, Ohio in 1883. Like many other ambitious and educated young American men in the postbellum era, Allen sought to make his mark in the "new frontier" of East Asia. One year after joining the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in China, Allen arrived in Korea as a physician in the United States Legation on September 20, 1884. His close tie to Kojong began when he successfully administered treatment to Queen Min's nephew, Min

Young Ik, when he was injured during the ill-fated Gapsin Coup that sought to overthrow the Joseon Dynasty. Grateful for his service and impressed with Western medicine, the royal family supported Allen in building the first Western medical facility in Korea that has evolved to become Yonsei University's College of Medicine and its Severance Hospital where his legacy remains prominent to this day.

The Korean-American Treaty of 1882 was followed by similar treaties with Great Britain, France, Germany, and other Western nations and paved the way for opening up Korea's economy to foreign interests. Allen relied on his privileged access to the Korean court to advance American economic interest. In addition to convincing the king to grant a monopoly over Unsan gold mine to his close friend James Morse, he played a crucial role in securing other lucrative concessions to a cadre of Americans friends and business partners including Leigh S.J. Hunt and Solat J. Fassett (mining), Walter D. Townsend (railroad, oil, and lumber), and Lucius H. Foote (pearl and fishing), the first American government minister to Korea. With the support of these American business leaders, the U.S. government appointed Allen as the American minister and consul general for Korea in 1897.

In March 1902, on his return trip from Washington, D.C., to Seoul, Allen met with representatives of the Hawaiian plantation owners in San Francisco and then with the Hawaiian Plantation Association in Honolulu. In Hawaii, the passage of the Organic Act of 1900 abolished the contract labor system and allowed the plantation workers to organize and strike for better wages and working conditions. In Hawaii, the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1886 resulted in Japanese workers dominating the plantation work force. Allen advised the plantation owners of the availability of large numbers of Koreans who were in desperate poverty and their willingness to migrate to Hawaii. Allen's letter to Governor Sanford E. Dole outlined Allen's assurance that Koreans would make an ideal work force in Hawaii. It was probably not lost on plantation owners that Koreans suffered at the hand of Japanese economic domination and that ethnic antagonism between the two groups would be useful in disciplining the Japanese workers in Hawaii.

In Korea, Allen advised the king that sending impoverished Koreans to Hawaii would lessen the burden on Korean government and that remittances would help family member who remained behind. Once he secured government approval, he also relied on the extensive network of protestant missionaries to whip up emigration fever, promising in Hawaii a haven for religious liberty and economic advancement. In November 1902, Allen successfully lobbied the Korean government to grant his friend and business partner, David W. Deshler, who owned a steamer service between Incheon and Kobe, Japan, the concession to transport Koreans to Hawaii. On December 22, 1902, the arrangements made by Allen and Deshler would result in the first shipload of 121 immigrants who left Incheon for Hawaii. They were inspected by Japanese physicians in Kobe, and sailed for Honolulu on *S. S. Gaelic*.

When Allen openly protested U.S. government's policy of nonintervention in Russo-Japanese War that cleared the way for Japan's imperial domination over Korea, Washington recalled him as the U.S. minister and consul general. He died in Toledo, Ohio on December 11, 1932. Along with Horace Grant Underwood, the Presbyterian missionary who founded Yonsei University, Horace Allen left a lasting imprint of U.S. influence during the final days of Joseon Dynasty.

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American Coalition for Filipino Veterans (ACFV) Incorporated

The American Coalition for Filipino Veterans (ACFV) Incorporated has been identified as the largest national lobbying organization for World War II Filipino veterans in the United States. The organization first formed in 1996 in Arlington, Virginia among a group of veterans in their 70s and 80s, whose goals involved obtaining

full recognition of their service during the war and full benefits from the Department of Veterans Affairs (DVA). These veterans discovered that organizing around recognition and benefits was necessary because although the 1990 Immigration Act provided the means to naturalization and American citizenship for the veterans, the Act did not make them eligible for benefits that American veterans receive such as old age pensions or Medicare and were thus limited to Supplemental Security Income. The lack of proper recognition and benefits from the United States government for the service of these veterans have rendered many of them poverty-stricken and thus unable to financially petition for family members to immigrate to the United States.

In the mid-1990s, the organization began to coordinate efforts among other advocacy groups for the Filipino veterans and their families, as well as work tirelessly to garner the support of congressional members. The leaders organized campaigns, conferences, and forums, among other campaign strategies, to encourage Filipino American communities to become involved in helping the veterans achieve their objectives. The leaders also utilized media networks effectively to publicize its campaigns and causes. The organization now has officers, representatives, and members all over the United States, in states such as California, Washington, Hawaii, Nevada, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, and Florida, as well as in the Philippines.

The organization has achieved some important victories for the veterans in their movement toward equity. The first victory is the Supplemental Security Income Extension Act of 1999, which allowed the veterans returning to the Philippines to continue to receive SSI payments with reductions. The Act was to provide sustenance to nearly 7,000 elderly naturalized veterans who were unable to petition family members to immigrate to the United States because of lack of funds and thus decided to return to their homeland to reunite with them. Eric Lachica, director of ACFV and son of a naturalized World War II Filipino veteran, argued that the extension of the SSI payments with reductions will simultaneously save the government money and do the right thing by continuing to support its veterans.

Another important victory is the passage of the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act signed by

President Barack Obama on February 18, 2009. It contained a provision for compensation for the veterans in the form of lump sum payments in the amounts of \$15,000 for the veterans with U.S. citizenship and \$9,000 for those with Philippine citizenship. This provision is entitled the Filipino Veterans Equity Compensation Act and is argued to be reparations for the legacy of the 1946 Rescission Act. This would not have been possible without the efforts of Representative Xavier Becerra (Democrat, California), Representative Bob Filner (Democrat, California), the late Senator Daniel Inouye (Democrat, Hawaii), Senator Daniel Akaka (Democrat, Hawaii), and other members of the Congressional Asian Pacific American Caucus as well as the efforts of other advocacy groups such as the National Alliance for Filipino Veterans Equity and Justice for Filipino American Veterans.

This legislation is considered by many as having met the demands for justice among the Filipino veterans and their families but this lacks full consensus. The Filipino Veterans Equity Movement, which began in the 1990s, initially sought to repeal sections in the 1946 Rescission Act that deny equal benefits regardless of the veterans' nationality. Because the number of elderly living veterans decreases daily, however, they and their advocates have become open to compromises so long as the measures would provide benefits and considerable support for the veterans and their families. The first proposal of lump sum payments in 1998 from long-time advocate Alex Esclamado was criticized by the ACFV as "lacking in principle." The movement leaders believe that these World War II Filipino veterans, naturalized or not, should receive benefits fitting for American veterans. The compromises met in the 2009 legislation were lump sum settlements and the different amounts given to those with American citizenship and Philippine citizenship.

The organization is now working on other issues that have come up since the 2009 legislation. One is the lack of expediency in the Army's National Personnel Records in St. Louis, Missouri in releasing the funds of the Filipino veterans, now in their 80s and 90s, and many of whom are naturalized American citizens. The army's bureaucratic documentation requirements for verification of the Filipino veterans' service during World War II are the issue. In one case,

the Army did not accept the authenticity of 94-year-old veteran Celestino Almeda's 1945–1946 documents from the Philippine Commonwealth Army of the United States, which ironically had been the basis of citizenship acquisition in the United States in the 1990s (ACFV). The organization has been requesting President Obama to issue an executive order to the Secretary of the Army to attend to this matter.

The victories of ACFV are not limited to the material realm. The thoughtful work of its leaders since the mid-1990s has greatly benefited the Filipino veterans and their families, won the support and involvement of community members, and gained recognition for their plight and stories, which have previously remained unknown and unacknowledged by the public. The ACFV has helped organize demonstrations such as the one that occurred on July 12, 1997 when the veterans and their advocates chained themselves to the iron fences at the White House Garden, chanting "We want justice!" Other campaign strategies included hunger strikes and "die-ins" in front of the DVA headquarters. With the help of ACFV, the veterans have been able to share their stories of sacrifice for the United States and the Philippines.

Jimiliz M. Valiente-Neighbours

See also Filipino Americans in World War II

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American Missionaries in Postwar Japan

At the conclusion of World War II in the Pacific Theater, American occupation troops waded ashore in Japan charged with not only rebuilding a war-torn

country but also with ensuring that the tide of militarism would never again rise in Japan. To that end, General Douglas MacArthur was appointed to lead the Occupation as Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, or SCAP, a name that came to be used to describe the entire Occupation Authority in Japan. The United States set the twin goals of democratization and demilitarization for the Occupation in the "Initial Post-Surrender Policy for Japan" document issued in late August 1945. In MacArthur's mind, bringing Christianity to the Japanese would serve both of these objectives. Using the broad powers mandated to him, Douglas MacArthur made Christianizing Japan a central goal of the Occupation and did nearly everything in his authority to facilitate the return of Christian missionaries in Japan.

Although the American government claimed that in the spirit of creating a democratic Japan, the Occupation would promote freedom of religion and thereby remain neutral on religious matters, Douglas MacArthur did not share this vision. Ostensibly, he would maintain that position, but in both public and private exchanges he proclaimed his support for the promotion of Christianity in Japan even if that support contravened official policy. Many Americans believed that Japan's expulsion of Christian missionaries in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries had been one of the factors that led the nation down the path to militarism and conquest. To the leader of the Occupation, Japan's defeat in World War II had left a spiritual vacuum in the country and Christianity represented Japan's best hope for recovery and stability in the future. If Japan became a Christian nation, MacArthur believed that it would not only guarantee peace and democracy within Japan, but would also make the nation a beacon of anticommunism and a loyal friend of the United States.

For MacArthur and those who answered his call, Christianity and democracy were nearly interchangeable concepts. The Supreme Commander believed that Christianity and its values formed the basis of all good peace-loving democracies. Moreover, Christianity represented both the very antithesis of communistic atheism, and a chance to align Japan with American values and to incorporate it into the U.S. sphere of influence. If Japan was to be transformed in this way,

the nation needed Christian faith as a foundation. Thus, Christian missionaries in Japan served the goals of the Occupation and were often perceived as a de facto arm of the Occupation government.

American Christian missionaries coming to Japan, and religious groups in general would find that they had a powerful ally in the Supreme Commander, who was not afraid to use his broad authority to show favoritism toward them or to step beyond the boundaries of religious neutrality. Despite the apprehension of some of his subordinates on this issue, the General pushed ahead and brought those under his command in line to support missionary efforts as well. With the exception of suppressing State Shinto and its negative wartime associations with militaristic ultranationalism, MacArthur believed that as long as he did not obstruct the development of other religions in Japan, that his advocacy for Christianity fell within his mandate to establish and preserve freedom of religion.

However, the dominating faith of Japan had to be dismantled before Christianity could thrive. The earliest steps toward opening the door to Christianity in Japan came on December 15, 1945, when the Occupation Authority issued a directive outlawing State Shinto, which allowed other religions to take root. Emperor Hirohito followed this directive with a proclamation in January 1, 1946 renouncing his divinity.

Within the Occupation, MacArthur designated a unit called the Religions and Cultural Resources Division (RCR) to handle matters relating to the return of Christian missionaries. Many members of this division were themselves religious leaders and missionaries brought in to assist the effort. The RCR kept both a Protestant and Catholic religious advisor on staff to provide guidance, consult with military and civilian leaders, and advance the work of Christian religious groups now welcome in Japan. For MacArthur personally, the Occupation forces themselves would be the first line of Christian influence in Japan. The leader of the Occupation encouraged his troops to pray, read the Bible, and exemplify Christian morals and values for their former enemies. Military chaplains were encouraged to spread the word of God to the Japanese and to seek converts as part of their Occupation duties.

Occupation troops would not have to serve alone as stewards of Christianity for long, as Catholic, Protestant, and nondenominational groups rushed to answer the call to return to Japan. At the start of the Occupation, there were only about 100,000 Catholics and 200,000 Protestants among the Japanese populace. Arriving missionaries pursued numerous different approaches including direct ministry, motion pictures, and the distribution of religious literature to raise these numbers.

Early in the Occupation, only military personnel were allowed to enter Japan. A cadre of American religious leaders on a survey mission representing the various Christian faiths in the United States was the first nonmilitary group permitted to enter Japan. These ecumenical leaders came from the World Council of Churches, the International Missionary Council, and the Federal Council of Churches. After flying in on a military aircraft, they were welcomed into Japan in October of 1945. Other Catholic and Protestant leaders would follow and be lodged by the Occupation in the Imperial Hotel of Tokyo or in U.S. Army facilities.

Because of Japan's state of disarray and poverty immediately after the war, missionaries relied heavily upon assistance from the Occupation Authority to carry out their work. Starvation brought on by a very low-calorie daily diet posed an especially serious problem. To alleviate Japanese hunger, missionaries received permission from SCAP to import food as well as supplies, clothing, and other necessities. Until they could import their own vehicles, fuel, and housing materials, Occupation forces stepped in and provided for these needs.

Father Bruno Bitter, S.J., led the Rehabilitation Committee of the Catholic Church in Japan, which served as the primary body working to establish a strong Catholic footing in Japan. He also served as an advisor to SCAP. Father Bitter hoped to distribute Bibles, prayer books, and other religious texts in Japan, most of which had to be shipped over from the United States and were not widely available in Japanese. To remedy this problem, Bitter secured access through MacArthur to facilities in Japan that would allow him to set up printing presses in-country for these items. With MacArthur's blessing and assistance, Bitter shipped over the raw materials for the

printing operation and accelerated his production and distribution of these Japanese-language materials for the people. To steadily churn out literature, Bitter called upon Catholic professors in the United States and Japan to write columns in these works, all the while assuring them that they had the complete support of MacArthur and his Occupation government.

At the higher levels of Church leadership, the Supreme Commander maintained a long-running relationship and correspondence with Cardinal Francis Spellman, who served not only as Archbishop of New York, but also as Military Bishop of the American Armed Forces. MacArthur arranged for Spellman to travel to Japan shortly after the war ended to give a mass and treated the affair as a state visit from a dignitary. Cardinal Spellman would travel back to Japan in 1948 to observe the work of the American missionaries and assess their progress. He believed that their pursuits were greatly aided and inspired by the sponsorship of the Supreme Commander's office. Whenever Spellman visited Japan, he enjoyed unique access to the highest levels of the Occupation government, including MacArthur himself. The Supreme Commander, as a matter of course, often shielded himself behind an impenetrable bureaucratic wall. However, he welcomed these meetings and sought the Cardinal's counsel and encouraged him to return again in 1950. This exchange illustrated MacArthur's preference for the advice of religious leaders and their privileged capacity to influence the religious tone of the Occupation.

One of the prime examples of that preference came as Catholics in Japan prepared to celebrate the quadrennial anniversary of the arrival of St. Francis Xavier in Japan. In homage to Catholicism's legacy in Japan, a series of festivities were planned to commemorate this event. To underscore the importance of the occasion, which took place in May of 1949, Rome arranged to have the relic of Xavier's right arm shipped to Japan. The presence of such a relic would undoubtedly draw many to the celebration, but the Supreme Commander generated more enthusiasm by encouraging Catholics from the United States and Europe to make a pilgrimage to Japan to attend. He also drew parallels between the work of Xavier and that of the missionaries toiling in Japan at the time. By ennobling the

event, he enhanced the legitimacy of the proceedings for the Catholic Church by ensuring a high turnout.

Protestant organizations like the Southern Baptist Convention would send traditional preaching missions to Japan and would write to Supreme Headquarters to request assistance for their work. Word came down from MacArthur and his staff that SCAP would provide whatever resources necessary to aid the mission of organizations like the SBC. In fact missionary leaders often sought the favor of the Allied command and received unprecedented access to military resources and material. Several times, they were given blanket assurances of assistance, which they did not hesitate to exploit.

Prior to 1948, standard Occupation policy dictated that all missionaries seeking entrance into Japan had to have prior experience in the field. This restriction did not impose incredibly harsh limits on who was granted permission to enter, but by 1948, SCAP altered these rules to enlarge the stream of missionaries arriving in Japan. From that point on, missionaries without experience were welcomed in Japan. Once again, rules were loosened to facilitate the missionary endeavor. Although over 1,000 missionaries answered the call to serve in the first years of the Occupation, as of 1951 the number of missionaries operating in Japan had swelled to 2,500.

The Christianizing crusade in Japan incorporated not only missionaries on the ground, but those groups who focused solely on the dissemination of religious literature as a means of conversion. Their rationale was that spreading the written word of God to as many people as possible could have a longer and more far-reaching impact. Notable groups who pursued this course included the American Bible Society and the Pocket Testament League. Under the auspices of SCAP these groups would send millions of Bibles and religious texts to Japan.

Founded in the United States during the nineteenth century as a part of the time period's religious revivalism, the American Bible Society believed in individual engagement with religion through Scripture study. In 1948, the American Bible Society informed MacArthur that it could not sustain its rate of production and shipment of religious texts for Japanese consumption. Alarmed, the Supreme Commander fired back a

telegram warning the ABS that any decline in the availability of those texts could have disastrous consequences for the Christian movement in Japan. To stave off this eventuality, he offered military transport and facilities to aid their cause. Setting the goal of bringing over 10 million Bibles into Japan, MacArthur paved the way to make this dream a reality. Perhaps an even starker example of his determination in this matter was his encounter with the Pocket Testament League.

The Pocket Testament League's origins also lie in nineteenth-century America. They shared a similar goal with the ABS of spreading Christianity widely through immersion in religious texts like the Bible. As with the ABS, MacArthur challenged the League in 1949 to set higher goals than they had originally intended for their distribution numbers in Japan. He reiterated the goal of over 10 million Bibles for Japanese consumption. To make this possible, MacArthur promised the PTL unfettered access to Occupation resources and concurrently issued an order to his troops to assist the League in any way they might require. Many within the PTL took this as the issuance of a blank check and therefore requested use of transport, storage, and housing facilities, which they mostly received, enabling them to meet their goal.

Missionary groups like the Foreign Missions Conference of North America made up of Presbyterians, Baptists, Methodists, and Lutherans made less traditional overtures for Christianity in the form of religious films. These projects were considered a welcome addition to missionary efforts and so in the summer of 1948, SCAP granted access to filmmakers shooting a film called *Toru*. The movie featured a Japanese war veteran who returned to Japan to find his home destroyed and family dead, whereupon he renounced Shinto. This set the stage for his exposure to Christianity and democracy. As a theme, many of these films aimed to show the Japanese people the fallacy of their past faith contrasted with the promise and opportunity provided by Christianity.

Meanwhile, hoping to secure a Christian presence among the next generation of Japanese leaders, groups like the Lutheran International Walther League in 1949, lobbied to erect Christian youth centers, in this case near the University of Hokkaido campus. It stood to reason that the leaders of Japan's tomorrow would

be educated and so many Christian groups flocked to schools and college campuses to create outreach programs and gain converts. SCAP approved of these initiatives, reasoning that the youth of Japan needed proper guidance in a divided world of competing ideologies. To the IWL and the forces of the Occupation, there was no better guide than Christianity.

This rationale was implemented on an even grander scale in the plans to build a Christian university in Japan. A school such as this offered the chance to secure an influential block of Japanese citizens as a force for Christianity. The establishment of International Christian University involved a massive fundraising campaign to acquire land and begin construction. Inside Japan and back in the United States, the campaign attracted many highly placed supporters like Ichimada Hisato, governor of the Bank of Japan, and former Ambassador Joseph Grew as well as Douglas MacArthur himself, who consented to serve as the campaign's honorary chairman. Catholics already had Sophia University in Tokyo, and Protestant groups moved to match this accomplishment. The ICU endeavor's nobility seemed beyond question once it had added the Supreme Commander to its list of advocates. Numerous Protestant groups united behind this quest. The university was opened in Tokyo in 1953 and remains so to this day.

To many, it seemed that the Japanese people responded to these approaches. Prominent Japanese Christian evangelist Kagawa Toyohiko, who had studied at Princeton Theological Seminary, rose to high stature in postwar Japan as a leader of Japanese Protestant Christianity. The Occupation forces deemed him so important that they overlooked some of his wartime activities, which supported Japanese militarism and war aims. Kagawa embodied what Christian missionaries hoped to create in Japan and his leadership of Japanese Protestantism superseded his sometimes controversial rhetoric.

It seemed that Christianity had even made inroads at the highest levels of the Japanese Government. In May 1947, Katayama Tetsu became the first Christian prime minister of Japan. His actual devotion to the Christian cause was debatable. Nonetheless, the Supreme Commander and Christians the world over lionized him and proclaimed that his election heralded

the religious reorientation of the Japanese people. Katayama's tenure lasted less than 10 months, which dampened the fervor accompanying his brief rise to prominence.

The greatest prize to be won for Christianity remained the Emperor and his family. In the early years of the Occupation, this matter remained shrouded in mystery as the Emperor demonstrated no visible religious preference. Contrary to its earlier patterns, Occupation forces adopted a hands-off policy when it came to Imperial conversion. They did not fear casting their support behind other proselytizing endeavors, but apparently sought to avoid the appearance of manipulating Japan's constitutional sovereign. A huge development occurred in 1948 when the Empress and her daughters began taking religious lessons from a Presbyterian minister. Furthermore, the Emperor called for an audience with several members of the missionary community and held religious discussions with them. Although many in the nation and Occupation held their breath, a Christian emperor was not to be. Rather, Christianity seemed at most a delightful curiosity for the Imperial family. This in some way mirrored the reactions of many in Japan toward Christianity. Others took a more disapproving opinion of Christian missionaries.

Even with the backing of General Douglas MacArthur, American missionaries in Japan did not gain converts in the large numbers they had expected. By the end of the Occupation in 1952, only 200,000 Japanese identified themselves as Protestant and 157,000 as Catholic. This meant that the Protestant population remained exactly the same as it was before the war and that Catholics had made only modest gains from its 100,000-member starting point. In short, less than one half of one percent of the 83 million citizens of Japan at the time considered themselves Christian.

Reasons for the ineffectiveness of this campaign vary and no one factor has been shown to be conclusive. Some scholars believe that Shinto and Buddhism were more deeply historically engrained in the Japanese psyche, and so they gravitated toward those religions. Many Japanese viewed Christianity as an unsavory foreign influence, symbolic of American control. Following centuries of religion endowing persons or concepts in Japanese society with divine

importance, some Japanese adopted a more secular lifestyle. American missionaries may also have mistaken mild curiosity on the part of the Japanese population for genuine interest in conversion, which bloated their conversion estimates. Lastly, the zeal of many of these missionary groups led in some cases to divisiveness and competition, which sullied their image in the eyes of the Japanese. Japan would not be won for Christianity, a religion whose popularity remains somewhat limited to this day.

Brandon P. Seto

See also Japanese American Christianity

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American-Style Concentration Camps

With its entry into World War II, the federal government decided that Japanese Americans on the West Coast of the United States needed to be confined in camps because of military/security risks that this population supposedly posed. This suspicion has since been shown to be unfounded, and in the Korematsu and Hirabayashi *coram nobis* cases of the 1980s the federal government had to acknowledge that its lawyers had deceived the Supreme Court during the 1940s in this regard.

Because it is now regarded as one of the most significant violations of civil and constitutional rights by the government against its own citizens, the imprisonment of over 120,000 persons of Japanese descent in American-style concentration camps during the 1940s is a critically important topic in U.S. history. Even though some scholars have incorrectly speculated that further attention is redundant, the truth is that key issues remain unresolved, and the larger significance of this period continues to be theorized in interesting ways.

To begin with, the terminology used to describe what happened is clouded by misleading words. Following Daniels, we choose to call the episode one of *mass incarceration*, not “evacuation”; Japanese Americans were *prisoners*, not “internees.” They were forced by the U.S. Army into *Wartime Civil Control Authority (WCCA) camps*, not “assembly centers,” and later, under the jurisdiction of the War Relocation Authority, or WRA, they were held in *American-style concentration camps*, not “relocation centers.” The words we use to describe what happened are critical, and so it is important to begin by eschewing government euphemisms.

Contrary to popular belief, the events that led up to mass incarceration did not begin with the bombing of Pearl Harbor. There was, in fact, a history of anti-Japanese sentiment long before that. Historical research reveals that both formal and informal discrimination against Asian immigrants goes back to the earlier anti-Chinese movement of the nineteenth century. In response to Japan’s military activities in countries like Korea and Manchuria, domestic intelligence operations focusing on the Japanese American community began as early as the 1920s in Hawaii and in the 1930s on the U.S. mainland. After the Pearl Harbor attack, the FBI, Navy, and Army consolidated their lists, and the FBI raided select homes and imprisoned more than 2,000 Issei (first-generation immigrants) in Justice Department “internment camps” (a technical term that appropriately designates camps where aliens are imprisoned), thus depriving the community of key leaders.

Afterward, the head of the Western Defense Command, General John L. DeWitt, established military zones, imposed curfew, and passed over 100 additional orders restricting people of Japanese ancestry. Early removal was cruelly enforced in sites such as Terminal Island, south of Los Angeles in February 1942, and in Bainbridge Island in Seattle’s Puget Sound in March 1942. Individuals and families in these locations, including some mothers whose husbands had been arrested by the FBI, were forced to leave within 48 hours. On February 19, 1942, President Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066, which did not name people of Japanese ancestry specifically but allowed the Army to detain any person

or group construed as a threat to national security. The Japanese American Citizens League, or JACL, urged compliance with removal and incarceration to prove the community’s loyalty to the United States. Although wholesale resistance was not possible, many blamed the JACL for overaccommodating because, by the end of the war, not one person of Japanese ancestry had been convicted of either sabotage or espionage.

In very quick order, the Army, under the guise of the Wartime Civil Control Administration, or WCCA, rounded up over 110,000 Japanese Americans on the West Coast and confined them in 16 temporary camps euphemistically called “assembly centers.” These temporary camps were often located on local race tracks or fairgrounds. Within a year, people were transferred to one of ten more permanent camps that were set up in desolate parts of the interior. These camps were managed by a civilian agency, the WRA.

Initial conditions in the WRA camps were harsh. Pregnant women and people with any kind of infirmity were put at risk because medical personnel and supplies were very limited. Even those who were able-bodied resented the camps. In addition to being ripped off and run out of their homes and communities by government authorities, people’s distress had to do with conditions that ranged from inadequate facilities to poor food, overcrowding and an egregious lack of privacy. There was dissent over such things as low wages, rigid rules and regulations, as well as the exclusion of Issei elders from the limited amount of self-government the WRA allowed. From the beginning, there were many forms of popular resistance on the part of ordinary individuals. As a result, life in camp was often tense. To make matters worse, misguided WRA policies did little or nothing to help the overall situation.

One of the bungled government moves was the implementation of the compulsory “loyalty questionnaire” in 1943, which attempted to identify so-called “disloyal” persons. Anyone who was deemed suspicious was subsequently sent into “segregation” at the WRA camp at Tule Lake. In many cases, the people identified as disloyal were merely trying to stand up for their rights. Second-generation Nisei with pro-American sentiments were encouraged to either join the military if they were eligible or to resettle to the

interior states of the U.S. mainland even though the war was still in progress. Approximately, one-third of the WRA camp residents did resettle before the war ended. In terms of military service, more than 30,000 Japanese American men and women served in one capacity or another by the end of the war, joining different branches of the U.S. Army, including the famed 442nd Regimental Combat Team and the 100th Battalion, the Military Intelligence Service, and the Women's Army Corps, among others.

Resettling, as a whole, during and after the war presented many critical challenges to each generation. What sparse research there is indicates that many had to endure poverty and discrimination during the 1940s and even into the 1950s. By the 1970s, progressive Nisei who were influenced by the Civil Rights Movement and the creation of Asian American Studies programs, joined forces with their third-generation children. Together the two generations formed a plethora of grassroots organizations and galvanized the larger community to expose the injustices that the WRA camps had wrought. In the end, the passage of the Civil Liberties Act of 1988 was a tangible victory after a hard-fought battle for Redress (an apology) and Reparations (monetary payment for damages done). Only about half of those imprisoned received payment, however, because many Issei were deceased by the time the bill was signed and were thus rendered ineligible for monetary compensation.

What issues surrounding mass incarceration remain for students and researchers to address in the new millennium? Three thematic areas stand out:

1. The utility of particularistic accounts—that discuss each camp in isolation—is now very limited. At one level, this is because the basic features of the WCCA and WRA camps have already been described. Concomitantly, past accounts have been guilty of overgeneralizing about Japanese Americans as a whole. As a result we lack information about intragroup diversity. Japanese American women's experiences in camp, in terms of background and generation, are a narrative that remains underexplored. Class issues in camp adjustment and resettlement are understudied.

Mixed-race children have received little attention, and GLB (Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual) individuals have been virtually ignored.

2. South of the border, the U.S. State Department worked with the Peruvian government to seize over 1,800 persons of Japanese ancestry, who were taken from their homes and communities and confined in the Department of Justice internment camp at Crystal City, Texas. In Mexico, on the other hand, Mexican authorities sought to concentrate people of Japanese ancestry in the northern states as well as in Baja California to two cities in the central Mexican highlands. Although policies varied from country to county, many of the initiatives against Japanese Latin Americans appear to have been unduly influenced by the U.S. State Department.

Because the Nikkei (persons of Japanese ancestry, overseas) seized in 13 Central and South American countries and sent up the United States have never been adequately compensated, the issue of full-scale Latin American Japanese and Redress/ Reparations continues into the new millennium. Here, "The Crusade for Justice," a Northern California community-based organization, has done an outstanding job. To date, the full story of Japanese Latin Americans, who were subject to rendition (i.e., seizure) has never been written; full compensation for losses has been denied and so justice is still very much pending.

3. The gradual passing of the Nisei generation is pushing a wide range of issues to the forefront. Scholars like Donna Nagata, artists and writers, as well as community members, have asked "what is the long-term impact of the camps" on subsequent generations? The answer is not yet clear, in part because discussion over the best methodologies of measurement is ongoing. That in itself is an important area of continuing study, if only because there is variation within generation cohorts. Thus it is hard to say, with authority, what the Nisei generation's response to the camps actually

was. It depends on many things, including the gender, age, and background of the individual involved; what camp the person was in; and even what transpired with their family and at a personal level in the difficult years of resettlement once the war was over.

Concomitantly, there is also debate over what memories of incarceration are presented, who presents them, and how best to record and communicate them. Museums and historical societies, the foremost of which is the Japanese American National Museum, have engaged the issue of preservation for over three decades now. Recent legislation such as Public Law 109–441, which provide federal funds to preserve actual camp sites and buildings, have energized the camp-specific organizations such as the Friends of Minidoka and the Heart Mountain Wyoming Foundation. Preservation, however, inherently entails issues of representation, and so the construction of memorials and “interpretive learning centers” have raised a wide range of issues having to do with representation, including terminology, context, diversity, and impact.

Similarly, community-based organizations like the Nikkei for Civil Rights and Redress (NCR) have successfully drawn attention to how the persecution and challenges facing Muslim Americans bear an unfortunate resemblance to those faced by the Issei and Nisei during the 1940s. NCR’s response to a number of the issues raised, herein, has precisely to do with making the history of mass incarceration relevant to our lives today. In other words, the Japanese American experience of mass incarceration must not be reduced to a static history lesson. This vital piece of American history has ongoing significance. Its continued study is vital to the understanding of minorities, domestically and globally, today.

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See also Japanese Americans; Manzanar Children’s Village (1942–1945); Manzanar Riot (1942)

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Angel Island Immigration Station

From 1910 to 1940, over 1 million people passed through the port of San Francisco on their way into or out of the United States. The Angel Island Immigration Station, located in the San Francisco Bay, served as the processing and detention center for an estimated 300,000 immigrants. One of almost 20 immigration stations operating around the United States in the early twentieth century, the immigration station on Angel Island was the main Pacific gateway into and out of the country. The majority of the newcomers came

from China, and the immigration station's history of detaining Chinese immigrants is most well known. But there were also immigrants from over 80 different countries who passed through Angel Island, including Japan, India, Korea, Russia, Mexico, the Philippines, Australia, New Zealand, and Germany. Of the 300,000 estimated detainees, there were approximately 100,000 Chinese, 70,000 Japanese, 8,000 South Asians, 7,500 Russians, 1,000 Koreans, 1,000 Filipinos, and 400 Mexicans. Many came for work or to join family already here. Others hoped to find refuge from the revolutionary violence, colonialism, or persecution ravaging their homelands.

Like Ellis Island, the Angel Island Immigration Station was one of the country's main ports of entry for immigrants in the early twentieth century. But although Angel Island was popularly called the "Ellis Island of the West," it was very different from its counterpart in New York. Mainly a processing center for European immigrants, Ellis Island was characterized by American immigration laws that restricted, but did not exclude, European immigrants. In fact, one of the goals of Ellis Island was to begin the process of turning European immigrants into naturalized Americans. Angel Island, on the other hand, was the chief port of entry for Asian immigrants and was characterized by American immigration policies that excluded Asians and barred them from becoming naturalized citizens. Most European immigrants processed through Ellis Island spent only a few hours or at most a few days there, whereas the processing time for Asian, especially Chinese, immigrants on Angel Island was measured in days and weeks.

Building the Immigration Station

Although the immigration station on Angel Island did not open until 1910, its history is rooted in the United States' passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. This law barred Chinese laborers, allowed only members of elite "exempt" classes to enter, and required the inspection of newly arriving Chinese immigrants. Those who met the admission requirements were allowed to enter the country; those who did not were detained until they could be deported or until a final decision on their cases was made. For many years,

Chinese immigrants were detained in the two-story "detention shed" built on the Pacific Mail Steamship Company wharf in San Francisco. Numerous complaints about the unsafe and overcrowded conditions at the shed convinced federal government officials to construct a permanent immigration facility. With the successful operation of Ellis Island in mind, lawmakers suggested that San Francisco build a similar immigration station on an isolated island. Angel Island, the largest island in the San Francisco Bay, was seen as a logical choice. Architect Walter J. Matthews modeled the San Francisco facility after its New York counterpart, designing a station that grouped together buildings that were devoted to specific functions, such as administration, medical, and detention. The Angel Island Immigration Station opened January 21, 1910. The first immigrants arrived for processing the next day.

Immigrant Experiences on Angel Island

Although the station was designed to address the port of San Francisco's unique position as the primary entry point for Chinese into the United States, an increasingly diverse group of immigrants began to arrive on Angel Island during and after World War I. A complex set of immigration laws regulated their entry and treated immigrants differently based on their race, nationality, gender, and class. Contract laborers, anarchists, those "likely to become a public charge," and others were excluded under general immigration laws. A diplomatic accord, known as the "Gentlemen's Agreement" between the United States and Japan, also effectively ended the immigration of Japanese and Korean laborers beginning in 1908. The 1917 Immigration Act's "Asiatic Barred Zone" barred South Asians. The Quota Act of 1921 and the Immigration Act of 1924 limited total annual admissions and set temporary quotas for each immigrant group based on their national origins. The economic depression of the 1930s sharply curtailed all immigration into the United States, and at the same time, there was an increase in arrests and deportations of immigrants already in the country, particularly Filipinos and Mexicans. As the United States continued to close its door to an ever-widening group of immigrants, regulation of immigration on Angel Island became a complex, multifaceted

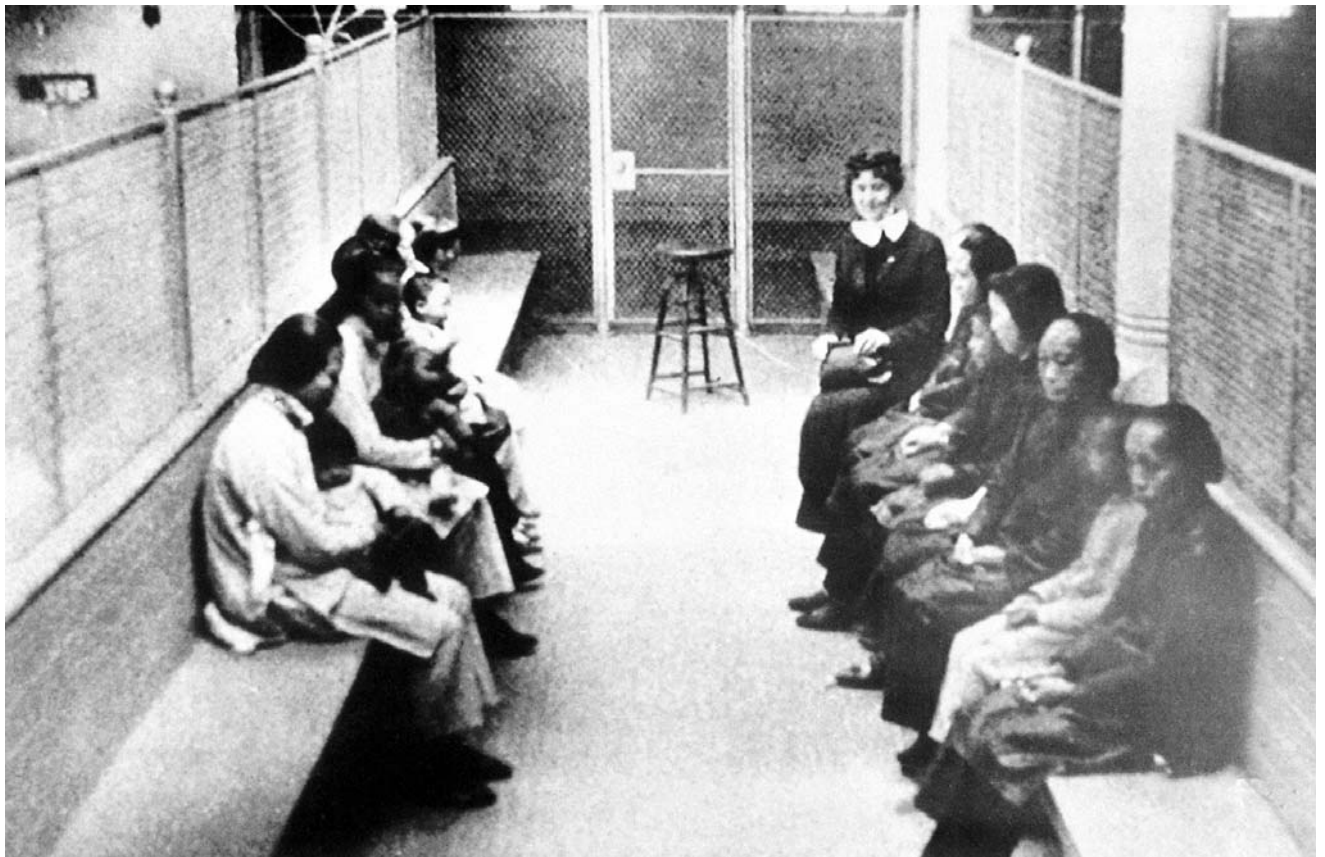
process. The Angel Island Immigration Station also played a key role in removing and deporting immigrants already in the United States, particularly during the Filipino repatriation campaign of the 1930s.

The Angel Island Immigration Station employed a large staff of immigrant inspectors, stenographers, guards, clerks, deckhands, transportation employees, engineers, telephone operators, plumbers, carpenters, laundrymen, guards, and cooks. Missionaries and representatives of immigrant and social service organizations made regular visits to the immigration station to offer religious services, occasional cultural programs, English classes, and comfort and assistance to immigrant detainees. Methodist deaconess Katharine Maurer, known as the “Angel of Angel Island,” served Angel Island immigrants for 28 years.

There were some common inspection, medical, and detention procedures that immigration officials followed for all new arrivals. However, immigration

regulation on Angel Island also varied—sometimes dramatically—across groups. There was a strict policy of racial segregation separating whites and Asians, and international relations, histories of colonialism, and domestic hierarchies of race, ethnicity, class, and gender in U.S. immigration policy all influenced how different immigrant groups came to Angel Island and how they fared once there.

Chinese immigrants were judged solely through the terms of the Chinese exclusion laws, which barred Chinese laborers, but allowed for certain “exempt” classes, like merchants and U.S. citizens to enter or re-enter the country. Japanese, Koreans, and South Asians eventually became excluded by race-based laws, such as the Gentlemen’s Agreement and the “Asiatic Barred Zone” in the 1917 immigration law, but they were also subjected to class-based and general immigration laws that barred “persons likely to become a public charge” and others. Until 1935,



Chinese and Japanese women and children wait to be processed as they sit in a wire mesh enclosure at the Angel Island internment barracks in San Francisco Bay in the late 1920s. (AP Photo)

Filipinos could enter the country without an entry visa as U.S. nationals and were rarely brought to the immigration station. For Russian immigrants, class, nationality, and political convictions, but not race, were the criteria for exclusion. Immigrants with wealth, education, and powerful friends from all backgrounds almost always faced less scrutiny than their fellow countrymen and entered the country after only minimal inspections. Women of all backgrounds were judged by evidence of their morality, their role in their families, and their race. Women traveling alone or who had checkered sexual pasts encountered more difficulties than others traveling with their husbands who were deemed to be “respectable.” For some immigrants, race, class, and gender-based laws worked together to either open the gate to America or keep it closed.

Immigrants actively challenged their treatment on Angel Island and their exclusion from the country, but the ways that they did so also differed. Some, like the Chinese, Koreans, and Russians, were able to marshal strong ethnic organizations to come to their defense. Chinese were the most active litigants and routinely hired the best lawyers to represent their cases to the U.S. government. Jewish refugees relied on a highly organized network of religious and other organizations to come to their defense. Others like the Japanese depended on their home governments as a counterweight to American discrimination. Many, such as Mexicans and Filipinos, called on family and friends to verify their claims for admission. Others, like South Asians, had fewer ethnic organizations and an unresponsive, or even hostile, home government that facilitated their exclusion from the United States.

Immigrant Detention

An estimated 70 percent of all passengers arriving in San Francisco were brought to Angel Island; the remaining passengers, including returning residents and citizens, were landed directly from the steamships. Of those detained on Angel Island, nearly 60 percent were detained up to three days. This rate of detention contrasts dramatically with those for Ellis Island, where only 10 percent of all arrivals were detained for legal reasons and another 10 percent were detained for medical treatment. Disparities in immigrant

detention on Angel Island also existed. Seventy-six percent of Chinese applicants were ferried over to the island, compared to 38 percent of non-Asians. Compared to other groups, Chinese also had the highest rates of detention. Chinese comprised 70 percent of those who spent any time on Angel Island, and their average detention was 10 days. Quok Shee, who was detained there from September 1916 to August 1918, holds the record for the longest known detention at the immigration station.

Immigrant detainees were housed in two separate buildings. Whites and Asian women were generally housed in separate detention quarters in the administration building. A separate “European” recreation yard was attached. Asian men were housed in a separate two-story detention barracks building that could house 300 to 400 males and 100 females at one time. It had its own recreation yard for Asian detainees.

Immigrant detainees faced a mundane routine of anxious waiting that could last days, weeks, and even months and years. There was little privacy or recreation, and detainees vehemently complained about the overcrowded and unsanitary conditions and the poor quality food at the station. Some Chinese detainees, who faced higher rates of detention and longer detention periods than other groups, expressed their frustrations through poetry written or carved into the barracks walls.

One poem written by an anonymous Chinese detainee, expresses the common feelings of frustration, anger, and sadness that many detainees felt on Angel Island.

I clasped my hands in parting with my
brothers and classmates.
Because of the mouth, I hastened to cross the
American ocean.
How was I to know that the western
barbarians had lost their hearts and reason?
With a hundred kinds of oppressive laws,
they mistreat us Chinese.

Chinese were the most prolific writers at the immigration station. Researchers have discovered 310 Chinese poems and inscriptions. But other immigrants also left their mark on the detention barracks walls.

There are almost one hundred additional slogans and inscriptions in Japanese, Korean, Russian, Punjabi, and English.

National Historic Landmark

The Angel Island immigration station was abandoned for many years after a 1940 fire destroyed its administration building. But in the 1970s, community activists organized to save the immigrant barracks from destruction after a California state park ranger discovered Chinese poetry carved into the barracks walls. Under the leadership of the Angel Island Immigration Station Historical Advisory Committee, the process of restoring the immigrant detention barracks began. Community historians and scholars also started interviewing former immigrant detainees, documenting the Chinese poetry found on the barracks walls, and preserving the history of the immigration station. In 1983, the immigration barracks was opened to the public as an interpretive center. The immigration station was designated a National Historic Landmark in 1998. State and federal funding supported additional restoration efforts. In 2009, the restored immigration barracks and immigration station site reopened to the public, and in 2010, the immigration station marked its centennial with events on and off the island.

No longer known just for its importance to Chinese American history, the Angel Island Immigration Station National Historic Landmark is now recognized for its centrality to American immigration in the past, present, and future.

Erika Lee

See also Chinese Exclusion Acts (1882–1943); Immigration Act of 1917 and the “Barred Zone”; Immigration Act of 1924; Japanese Immigrant Women

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Anti-Asian Miscegenation Laws

The first antimiscegenation act dates back to colonial America in 1661 when Maryland passed a law banning

interracial marriage between whites and blacks. Through this form of racial regulation, lawmakers sought to limit the interactions between free whites and slaves. Although the sanctions were never uniformly instituted at a federal level, over the course of the next three centuries, 38 states in the country exercised some variation of antimiscegenation laws. In the case of Asian Americans, the legislations lodged against the members of the Asian community were often rooted in fear of economic competition, the desire to protect the political interests of whites, and the social perception of the inability of Asian immigrants to assimilate. Mostly, marital jurisprudence was instituted as a way to prevent intermarriages between white women and Asian men.

Beginning in the 1860s, a series of antimiscegenation laws were instituted with the purpose of regulating marriages between the Asian immigrant population and the dominant white public. Historically, the mid-1800s witnessed the arrival of people of Chinese descent in large numbers. The quest for gold in the American West attracted many from overseas who came to America with hopes of securing wealth and fortune. As temporary workers, or sojourners as they were called, many of these Chinese men had arrived intent on finding riches and then returning home. As such, the American public and lawmakers did not view these Asian workers as capable of being assimilated into American society. Because the majority of the immigrants were male, the Chinese population experienced an overwhelmingly disproportionate male to female ratio. In 1870, for instance, there were 14 Chinese men for every Chinese woman. As a result, as bachelor communities dotted the maps of the American West, it raised concern on behalf of white America of the need to police their mobility and residency as well as their ability to marry.

Compounded by the increasingly anti-Chinese sentiments that emerged during the 1860s, the Chinese then became the first Asian ethnic group to encounter legal sanctions against their marriage to whites. In 1861, a physician from Nevada by the name of Dr. John S. Pugh requested legal acts to forbid and criminalize any Chinese-white marriages. With the passage of this prohibition by the leading Union Party, Nevada became the first state in the country to legally

interdict unions between a white person and an Asian person. Idaho, Oregon, Arizona, and Wyoming soon followed suit by enacting similar judicial limitations on mixed marriages. These legal steps taken to demarcate racial lines were part of a growing practice in the 1860s of extending the illegality of interracial marriages beyond whites and blacks. For instance, Section 3 of Arizona's 1865 Territory Laws states, "All marriages of white persons with negros, mulattoes, Indians, or mongolians are declared illegal and void" (Sohoni 2007: 8). For most of the nineteenth century, "Mongolian" and "Chinese" often appeared on state regulations to communicate the restrictions placed on Chinese bachelors.

During this period, political parties were fundamental to the successful passage of these laws. Unionists in Nevada and Oregon advanced proposals barring the Chinese whereas the Democratic parties in Idaho and Wyoming in addition to the Republicans in Arizona endorsed similar legislations. There existed little apprehension about the inclusion of the Chinese on this type of racial regulation. Many of the barriers set against the Chinese were enacted with the goal of preventing marriages between Chinese men and white women. To agitate public antagonism against this population, newspapers such as *Harper's Weekly* conferred onto Chinese men characteristics of sexual deviancy and licentiousness that necessitated policing.

The enactment of the Page Law in 1875, coupled with the emerging trend toward anti-Chinese miscegenation laws in the last decades of the 1800s, exacerbated conditions for the Chinese bachelor society. In that year, Congress passed the law denying entry to Asian contract laborers identified as "Chinese," "Japanese," or "Mongolian." Furthermore, the Page Law banned the immigration of Chinese women under the pretext of protecting American morality from the perceived threat of Chinese prostitution. This would in turn facilitate the passage of Chinese exclusion that began in 1882 and lasted until 1943. As a result of anti-Chinese hostility, political sentiments, and economic competition, the Chinese also became the first group denied entry and citizenship to the "land of the free" on the basis of race. As a result, the increasing efforts by Congress to limit the immigration of persons from Asian countries from gaining citizenship

combined with antimiscegenation laws helped to further complicate and retard the growth of the Asian American community throughout the nineteenth century.

Before the century's end, California and Utah would join the first five states in the country by each adopting a provision against Asian-white marriages. By this time, California was home to the largest Asian ethnic population in America. In 1880, lawmakers addressed the issue of interracial marriages between the members of California's existing Chinese community and their white citizens by formally banning such unions in Section 69 and Section 60 of the California Civil Code. Under Section 69, marriage certificates were denied to Chinese-white couples. Here, the term "Chinese" replaced "Mongolian" to preclude such marriages. Although Section 69 named the Chinese as unsuitable marriage partners, Section 60 of the same code, which was the antimiscegenation component, remained unchanged. Throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth century, "Chinese" and "Mongolian" had been applied interchangeably to people of Chinese descent. However, until 1905, this practice was no longer effective as concerns over the growing Japanese population compelled legislators to remedy the disparity in the two sections by classifying people of Japanese and Chinese ancestry under the term "Mongolians."

With the increased visibility of the Japanese population, lawmakers took steps to ensure the exclusion of this group from immigration and incorporation into American society. Similar to their Chinese co-ethnics, the Japanese were confronted with restrictions on immigration in the form of the Gentleman's Agreement of 1908. Moreover, previous antimiscegenation laws against the Chinese were modified to encompass this second Asian group. In 1909, Montana enacted the first statute specifically naming Japanese people, in addition to the Chinese, among the list of individuals forbidden to wed whites. Other states also diligently cited "Chinese" and "Japanese" in their provisions. However, "Mongolian" became the preferred term for the 12 states with anti-Asian miscegenation laws in place.

The experiences of Filipinos offer a different narrative in the history of anti-Asian miscegenation.

As American nationals, they did not encounter the same immigration strictures as those placed on their other Asian neighbors. Furthermore, unlike the Chinese or Japanese, Filipinos did not fit under the category of “Mongolians.” Further ambivalence colored the status and identity of members of the Filipino community because many were of mixed ancestry, such as Chinese, Spanish, and Pacific Islanders. As a result, Filipino-white couples were able to acquire marriage licenses in places like Los Angeles County until California law was revised to restrict Filipinos. The case of *Salvador Roldan v. Los Angeles County* in the 1930s illustrates this point. Here, a Filipino man sued the city of Los Angeles, arguing that the ban on unions between whites and “Mongolians” was not applicable to Filipinos for they were part of the “Malay” race. Court judges ruled on the part of the plaintiff on the grounds that five racial groups (Caucasian, Mongolian, Ethiopian, American, and Malay) are in existence and Filipinos were not part of the Mongolian race. To counter this ruling, lawmakers revised their antimiscegenation laws to include people of “Malay” descent. California’s case was not the first episode in American history to demonstrate the lengths to which state officials would go to maintain the racial segregation of marriage. In the first decades of the 1900s, Nevada’s legislators strove to create a more expansive list of excluded partners. With the adoption of a Democratic plan, the revised law banned “any person of Ethiopian or black race, Malay or brown race, Mongolian or yellow race, or the American Indian or red race” (Pascoe 2009: 91) from marriages to whites. This had a more adverse effect on Filipinos, for Filipino men had a relatively higher rate of exogamous marriages, especially with whites, than did other Asians.

Although the first prohibitions on mixed marriages were proposed and passed in the Western states, 15 states stretching from the West to the East had adopted some form of miscegenation statutes against Asian ethnics well into the twentieth century. As with the Japanese and the Filipinos, the arrivals of new immigrants from other Asian countries like Korea and India forced state policy makers to modify and define their antimiscegenation statutes. As such, the language of antimiscegenation differed from state to state. By 1939, however, racial identifiers had expanded greatly

despite the fact that Asians and Asian Americans constituted a paucity number in comparison to the dominant white population. In addition to “Chinese,” “Japanese,” and “Mongolian,” terms such as “Malay,” “Corean,” “Yellow Race,” and “Asiatic Indian” appeared on interracial proscriptions throughout the country to accommodate and exclude the different Asian populations in America. In Virginia and Georgia in 1924 and 1927, respectively, these provisions did not directly list Asian Americans. Instead, they refused to recognize any marriages between a white person and a nonwhite person. Accordingly, only someone of pure white or Caucasian blood can be defined as a “white person” in Georgia’s laws. As a result, there existed different approaches toward the exclusion of Asian Americans through clearly articulated and implicit wording in these measures.

The persisting nature of anti-Asian sentiments in the twentieth century culminated in the passage of the Cable Act of 1922 at the national level. Although white men could annul their marriages to an ethnic spouse by citing the union as an act of transgression against existing antimiscegenation laws, denaturalization was employed against women in mixed marriages. Also known as the Married Women’s Independent Nationality Act, this federal law revoked the citizenship for any woman married to an “ineligible aliens.” As a result of the 1923 ruling in the *United States v. Thind*, only people of Asian ancestry were barred from citizenship and naturalization through heavy reliance on racial profiling. Under these conditions, the Cable Act particularly punished those women married to or considering marrying an Asian spouse. Asian women married to Asian men experienced further discrimination under the act. For instance, female immigrants from Europe or Africa who qualified for naturalization could regain their citizenship upon divorce or the death of their spouse. In contrast, Asian women who were citizens by birth could never reclaim their citizenship once they have entered into a union with an immigrant man due to the *Thind* ruling that denied Asians eligibility for naturalization. The Cable Act was revoked in 1936 after it was proclaimed that race could not be used to deny U.S.-born female citizens of their right to naturalization.

Anti-Asian miscegenation laws did much to curtail family formation for many members of the Asian

community. However, there were individuals who found ways to circumvent the existing strictures by leaving the state. A case in point, the engagement between a Japanese man, Gunjiro Aoki, and his white fiancée, Helen Emery, demonstrated the couple's efforts to undermine Section 69 and Section 60 in California. The couple traveled throughout the Pacific West and was finally able to marry in Seattle in 1909. Marriages with other nonwhites offered another means of securing the continuation of the family line, such as in the case of Punjabi-Mexican intermarriages in the Imperial Valley of California. Intra-racial marriages among members of the Asian American community was another method of securing a family, however, there was still a disproportionate number of Asian females as the Immigration Act of 1917 added further restriction to immigration from other Asian countries outside of Japan and China.

Much to the displeasure of opponents of intercultural marriages, antimiscegenation laws in California were finally eradicated in 1948 with the ruling in *Perez vs. Lippold*. In this particular case, existing marital laws prohibited Andrea Perez, a Mexican American woman from marrying her African American fiancé because of the ambiguity in classifying Mexican Americans as either "White" or as a minority. The Supreme Court of California ruled against the ban on interracial marriage on the grounds that a state's anti-miscegenation laws stand in direct violation to the First Amendment and the Fourteenth Amendment. As the first state to invalidate these stipulations on marriages, it set a precedent for the ultimate ruling of *Loving v. Virginia* in 1967. In this case, the Supreme Court justices abrogated all state proscriptions on intermarriages. Their ruling rested on the argument that such state-imposed barriers violate the Equal Protection clause. Furthermore, marriage is a freedom intrinsic to the individual, and not one that can be regulated and determined by the state.

Phung Su

See also *United States v. Thind* (1923)

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Anti-Asian Violence, History of

The history of anti-Asian violence began with the first arrival of Asian immigrants in the United States and progressed through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in successive phases of hostility. Intersected by political, economic, nativist, social, xenophobic, and even biological antagonisms, the most common form of hostility during the 1800s was organized anti-Chinese violence, harassment, and discrimination, followed by anti-Japanese and anti-Filipino movements respectively. The forms of anti-Asian violence ranged from spontaneous groupings responding to perceived local threats from Asian migration to highly organized and coordinated acts of violence against Asian communities. The three most common types of anti-Asian violence were individual murders, property destruction, and organized expulsions. Although the history of anti-Chinese violence became the model for other anti-Asian immigrant persecutions, the reasons for and manifestations of such violence vary.

The rise of anti-Chinese violence began in the 1850s during the Gold Rush days in California. Chinese miners were the primary victims of harassment and physical violence. Anti-Chinese violence spread to the fishing and agricultural communities up and down the West Coast including Washington and Oregon, and east into Wyoming, Colorado, and Idaho, which included murders, arson, mass expulsions, and mob violence. This period from the mid- to

late-1880s saw the height of organized anti-Chinese violence resulting in two major incidents involving federal intervention in Rock Springs, Wyoming Territory in September 1885 and in Seattle, Washington Territory from October 1885 through February 1886. Fueled by racial tensions and a contentious labor dispute with the Union Pacific Coal Mining's policy of paying Chinese miners lower wages than white miners, the Rock Springs Riot erupted killing at least 28 Chinese miners, injuring more than 15, and causing property damage that included Chinese homes in excess of over \$100,000. Several organized anti-Chinese movements occurred in the Washington territory most notably in Seattle. The Knights of Labor, an organization of white laborers, led a call to expel more than 300 Chinese from Seattle. A riot ensued and clashed with the police for several days. State militia and federal troops were called to quell the violence. Most of the Chinese residents were forced to depart the city.

One of the more prominent anti-Chinese leaders in California during the late 1870s was Denis Kearney. The Chinese became a convenient target of Kearney's vitriolic speeches that began and ended with "The Chinese must go!" Even though he was an Irish immigrant himself, he quickly became a champion of working class whites and unemployed laborers on an anti-capitalist and anti-government platform. They quickly focused their collective outrage on the Chinese who took their jobs away, the corporatists who hired the Chinese for lower wages, and a government that protected the Chinese more than the white citizens. Kearney participated in and rose up to the leadership of the newly formed Workingmen's Party of California. More a collection of factions than a unified and coherent labor movement, there were many internal disagreements and attempts to remove Kearney from leadership. But it was his incendiary calls for violence and anti-Chinese rhetoric that resonated with a large disenfranchised white majority, fueled its membership, and mobilized the organization into a political force and a violent entity.

Subsequent Asian immigrants who came after the Chinese in the early twentieth century also suffered similar patterns of anti-Asian violence. When Chinese immigration was closed with the passage of the

Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882, the onset of Japanese immigration marked not only the second wave of Asian immigration, but also the second phase of anti-Asian violence, this one targeting Japanese immigrants. Like the Workingmen's Party, the formation of anti-Japanese organizations fueled contempt for, and violence against, Japanese immigrants. One such organization was the Asiatic Exclusion League (AEL) formed in 1905, a broad coalition of labor unions in San Francisco whose anti-Asian platform influenced legislation restricting Asian immigration, specifically that of Japanese and Korean immigrants. The AEL focused their efforts to prevent the next influx of Asian immigrants, using the very same racist representations of Chinese immigrants to denigrate Japanese and Korean immigrants as threats to white laborers, as an inferior racial stock, as culturally and linguistically unassimilable, as carriers of disease, peddlers of drugs, harboring criminals, and overall, as a perpetual menace to the American way of life.

Japanese and Korean farmworkers were subjected to similar violent hostilities and forced expulsions that the Chinese experienced in the 1800s. However, some anti-Chinese and anti-Japanese movements were transnational, cross-border phenomena. Anti-Chinese and anti-Japanese movements in Cananea, Sonora in Mexico and across the border in Salt Lake River in Arizona demonstrate that organized anti-Asian immigration, exclusion, and violence occurred on both sides of the border. Similar to the American experience, discourses of the racial inferiority of Asians dominated Cananea, representing the Chinese, and by extension Asians in general, as undesirable. But anti-Chinese hostility was at its height specifically in Sonora, Mexico; in the early 1930s, Sonora was the only Mexican state where a combination of resentment, extreme anti-Chinese legislation, and political and violent force were used. In fact, Sonora was the only Mexican state to forcibly remove Chinese immigrants from its territory even though it was ethnically diverse, and economically prosperous with its mining and railroad industry. Additional factors contributed to a general anti-Asian sentiment that included a categorization that placed Asians at the lowest end of the racial hierarchy; the anti-Mexican experience of Canaan miners in San Francisco's Gold Rush, which was

reproduced against Chinese immigrants in Cananea; and the rise of Mexican nationalism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that, on the one hand, sought a racially inclusive Mexican nation, and on the other hand, was predicated on the exclusion of any difference, indigenous, Asian, or otherwise. A combination of social and political mobilization and violence took its toll on the Chinese community, and by 1932, over 3,000 Chinese were expelled from Sonora, which ended the Chinese presence in the state. Some fled to neighboring states such as Sinaloa, Chihuahua, and Baja California Norte where they were met with anti-Chinese organizations, but the mass expulsion was never repeated. The incident clearly influenced the neighbors in the U.S. state of Arizona who were facing an emerging “problem” of Japanese migration.

Thus, inspired by the expulsion of Chinese immigrants two years earlier in Sonora, Mexico, white farmers in Salt River Valley in Arizona formed the Farmers’ Anti-Oriental Society in 1934 amid alarms over increasing Japanese migration from the Imperial Valley in California. The farmers viewed the Japanese as an economic threat, a condition made worse under the Great Depression, and as part of a racial conspiracy to takeover farmland from whites.

Like the anti-Chinese movement in Sonora, Mexico, the Farmers’ Anti-Oriental Society demanded the Japanese leave by August 25, 1934. A gathering of over 600 white farmers and a parade of 150 cars were organized to ensure that the ultimatum was obeyed. Federal authorities attempted to defuse the situation but were met with a reluctant Arizona governor and a vitriolic response from the farmers. On September 14, 1934, the first of several assaults was reported on the properties of the Salt River Valley Japanese farmers. Six days later, dynamite was used to blow up three dams on three separate Japanese farms, though again no one was hurt. The government of Japan pressured the United States to intervene. In return, federal officials pressed Arizona’s governor and legislature to control the mob violence. The attacks, however, continued with neither the governor of Arizona stopping them nor the farmers signaling retreat. In fact, it became quite clear that the governor’s silence was an act of tolerance of the attackers. The attacks continued

through the year as anti-Japanese terrorism and harassment in Salt River Valley escalated and eventually waned. The threats, demonstrations, occasional violence, and political pressure persisted, at times becoming volatile, resulting in the decrease in size of the already small community by approximately 30 percent, as families and individuals moved elsewhere. The majority of the Japanese community however, despite the attacks against themselves and their property, remained.

The final period of anti-Asian violence was directed against Filipinos beginning in the early 1900s, but a notable event occurred in 1930 in Palm Beach near Watsonville, California. The first large group of 2,000 Filipino laborers arrived in California in 1923. They were mostly single men in their teens and mid-20s, and by 1933, the population rose to an estimated 65,000 with one-fifth living in Los Angeles. Like the Chinese and Japanese immigrants, Filipinos worked in the lowest and most exploitative sectors of the industry in agriculture, canning, and service-oriented jobs. Anti-Filipino violence once again ensued from a similar intersection of economic, political, and nativist factors.

However, discourses of race, sexuality, and masculinity were also salient features that provided a different current to the manifestation of anti-Filipino violence. In taxi dance halls and other recreational centers, downtown Los Angeles’s Little Manila from the 1930s until World War II, was a site of a vibrant “street culture.” In essence, the bodies of Filipino workers were sources of “enjoyment, style, and sensuality” and the dance hall became a transracialized masculine space whereby Filipinos and Mexicans could proclaim their “sensuality and virility” in a life and space away from the day’s toil.

However, the nights of sexual autonomy and expression created conflicts between Filipino, Mexican, and white laborers. For over a week starting January 11, 1930, Watsonville, California was the site for what was the most explosive demonstration of anti-Filipino violence. A white mob totaling up to seven hundred men went around town, raided the dance hall, beat and shot all Filipinos in sight, ransacked and burnt the homes of Filipinos, and assaulted and wounded as many Filipinos as possible. Fueled in part by a Filipino

masculinity and sexuality that was produced by men who were flashier, danced better, and spent their money more lavishly than their “fellow Nordic farmhands” the racial animosity and violence was a gendered and sexualized competition over white women. This “counterimage” of Filipinos as “brown hordes” subverted white male expectations of masculinity and sexuality, thus animating anti-Filipino violence.

This discursive construction is significant as are the political, economic, social, and even biological institutions that gave rise to anti-Asian movements and anti-Orientalism. Furthermore, it is essential to deconstruct the intersectional and often myriad reasons why these movements targeted Asian immigrants so easily and frequently provide a more complicated understanding that anti-Asian movements cannot be solely explained by racist attitudes alone. Such movements are interconnected with class privilege and domination, laborers and labor unions, rising unemployment and powerful monopolies, the tightening grip from ruling political elites and the weakening of democracy, the rise of eugenics and its influence on immigration policies, and the economic instabilities caused by the Great Depression. Moreover, this confluence of social, economic, and political factors is transnational, suggesting that anti-Asian movements are not a phenomenon solely limited to the United States.

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See also Chinese Exclusion Acts (1882–1943); Japanese Exclusion; Watsonville Riots (1930)

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Anti-Chinese Riot and Expulsion in Seattle (1886)

See Seattle Anti-Chinese Riot and Expulsion of 1886

Anti-Chinese Riot in Tacoma

See Tacoma Anti-Chinese Riot of 1885

Anti-Hate Crime Laws

The case of Vincent Chin is central to understanding the relationship between Asian American communities and federal and state hate crime legislation. It was the

case that first raised the issue of anti-Asian violence and the need for national awareness and political mobilization. It was not only a tragedy but also a cautionary tale about the importance and limitations of the law.

Vincent Chin was involved in an altercation with Ronald Ebens and Michael Nitz at a local strip club because he was mistakenly thought to be Japanese when he was actually Chinese. The attack occurred at the height of anti-Japanese sentiment spurred on by rising unemployment and recession because of the deindustrialization of Detroit's automotive manufacturing base. Chin's killers chased him down and brutally beat him with a baseball bat. He died four days later from the resulting injuries. What should have been a straightforward case of murder became the rallying cry for justice when both Ebens and Nitz were freed on \$3,000 bail and three years probation. The case generated national outrage and produced a panethnic and multicultural coalition to seek justice for Vincent Chin led by American Citizens for Justice and community activist Helen Zia. Their pressure successfully led to a federal trial that convicted Ebens on charges of violating Vincent Chin's civil rights. However, on appeal, the court reversed the conviction and Ebens was set free. Neither Ebens nor Nitz spent a day in jail for the murder of Vincent Chin.

Though justice in Chin's case was never served, it did provide lessons for future civil rights efforts. Ronald Ebens's and Michael Nitz's acquittal of violating Vincent Chin's civil rights occurred because of the narrow application of federally protected activities under the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The law, which states that individuals who willfully intimidate or interfere with the activities of another based on race, color, religion, or national origin will be federally prosecuted, is often referred to as the first anti-hate crime legislation. However, the statute also established federally protected activities as a constituent requisite before federal intervention can ensue. These activities include, for example, attending school, applying for employment, using the accommodations of a hotel or other public service, attending a theater, and so on. In other words, without evidence of an explicit bias-motivation based on race, color, religion, or national origin, in conjunction with the interference of a federally protected activity, federal intervention is not

possible. Such a narrowly defined mandate often had the effect of leaving the investigation and prosecution of hate crimes to individual state or local law enforcement.

As a result, Vincent Chin's murder, as well as those of Matthew Shepard and James Byrd, Jr., became frequently cited examples of the apparent flaws in the justice system. From community protests to the floors of Congress, the names of Vincent Chin, Matthew Shepard, and James Byrd, Jr. were invoked to demonstrate the need for additional federal legislation to address the issue of hate violence in the United States. Nearly 30 years after Vincent Chin's death, several major hate crimes legislation have been passed beginning in 1990 with the Hate Crimes Statistics Act, continuing in 1994 with the Violence Against Women Act and Hate Crime Sentencing Enhancement Act, in 1996 with the Church Arson Prevention Act, and most recently with the passage of the Matthew Shepard and James Byrd, Jr., Hate Crimes Prevention Act signed into law by President Barack Obama in 2009. This law essentially improves upon the 1964 Civil Rights Act, and augments federal coverage and intervention by adding the categories of gender, sexual orientation, gender identity, and disability to its list of coverage, and removes the prerequisite that the victim be engaged in a federally protected activity, thus giving greater federal leeway to investigate and prosecute hate crimes where local law enforcement are either unable or unwilling to do so. It also provides funding and requires the FBI to track statistics on hate crimes based on gender and gender identity. The Act is particularly noteworthy for including transgendered persons.

However, although the 2009 law is generally seen as a bookend to a series of federal anti-hate crimes legislation, there still remain a number of gaps at the state level with specific implications for Asian American communities. In short, what federal laws do not cover matters for Asian American communities.

The intensity and frequency of hate violence is often dependent on several factors: demographic changes in homogeneous communities, economic inequality, education and community relations, the persistence of negative or stereotypical media representations, the domestic and international political

environment, and finally, the relative strength of not only hate groups but also political extremists. These factors alone do not cause hate crime, but a combination of them can provide an environment ripe for it. Not only are these social, political, historical, and economic conditions significant in the rise or fall of hate violence, but individual states and local governments also have a vital function to address when and where hate violence occurs. In other words, the ability of law enforcement and community agencies to combat hate violence at the local level is still dependent on the strength of individual state hate crime statutes.

As the recent 2012 Census indicates, Asian American communities are now more geographically dispersed beyond areas of historically high concentrations of Asian Americans such as Hawaii, California, the New England region, and New York City. States in the South and Midwest have seen the most growth with South Asians in North Carolina, Hmong in Minnesota, and Thai and Vietnamese communities in Iowa, for example. As the face of the nation continues to change and new Asian American communities emerge, the important question to ask is not whether anti-Asian violence will strike, but how community organizations and local law enforcement agencies will respond. On an individual state level, the most pressing concern is whether the state has even enacted anti-hate crime laws. Despite federal laws regarding the collection of statistics and even the recent Hate Crimes Prevention Act, local law enforcement and local courts are the first to respond and the first to act if a hate crime has been committed. Many states have weak versions of hate crime statutes that are too vague to be enforced or that fail to include coverage of different identities reflective of the communities within the state, particularly those of sexual orientation and gender identity. As of 2011, Indiana and South Carolina have the weakest coverage whereas Wyoming has no hate crime statute. Both situations negatively impact the ability of Asian American communities to challenge hate and, more important, often leave victims and their families with little recourse for action.

A persistent problem with understanding the extent and scope of anti-Asian violence is the continued underreporting from victims because of immigrant status, linguistic barriers, fear of retaliation, shame of

being a victim, fears of the police, the general lack of awareness about hate violence and laws protecting victims and communities. These issues are especially acute in recent immigrant communities and will continue to prove to be a challenge for law enforcement. Without education and outreach services, support for improved police-community relations, and bilingual officers, accurately recording the actual extent and reach of anti-Asian violence for the purposes of statistical analysis and policy making can be difficult.

Addressing hate violence against victims who are undocumented citizens presents particular challenges. Fearing detention and deportation, undocumented citizens often fail to report such violence. However, the benefits of the U Visa Program may be an important yet unused tool for protecting the identity of undocumented immigrants and assisting law enforcement agencies in the investigation and prosecution of a hate crime. At present the U visa grants an undocumented immigrant amnesty from deportation if they have suffered from crimes of the following nature: abduction, felonious assault, sexual assault, and others. Although hate crime is not specifically labeled as a category, it could be included under “other related crimes.” The U visa could potentially give undocumented Asian immigrants greater confidence in prosecuting their assailants and protection in reporting hate crimes perpetrated against them.

Federal and state anti-hate crime statutes are also ambiguous in reference to bullying, especially among Asian American youth. Higher peer harassment rates were reported for South Asian and Southeast Asian students from white and African American students, whereas African American and Latino students reported high incidents of discrimination and harassment by adults such as teachers and police officers in an educational setting. The harassment of Asian American students ranges from repeated verbal abuse to physical threats, robberies, and physical assaults. Evidence suggests that bullying ought to be classified as a hate crime because both phenomena share similarities, including the effects of victimization and the intentional selection of Asian American students as easy targets. However, the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 complicates this classification, in that a school could be declared “persistently dangerous” if there is a

pattern of repeated violent offenses and activities. Each state defines what constitutes “persistently dangerous” and often hate violence and/or bullying are included. The provision allows a student who is the victim of a violent crime to transfer to a “safe” school. However in doing so, the incident may precipitate a loss of funding to the school, which encourages school administrators to underreport the number of offenses committed on school grounds to avoid being shut down. Therefore, Asian American youth who have been victimized, or who go to school in an environment of fear, are often caught in a complicated legal and political dilemma that offers very little recourse or protection. When federal and state anti-hate crime laws do not include bullying among the list of criminal activities, when school officials do not comply with the provisions offered in the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLBA), or when school officials are politically pressured to dismiss anti-Asian incidences to avoid the more severe consequences of NCLBA, Asian American youth victims and their families are often left with few choices.

Hate crime statistics also indicate repeat victimization in Asian American communities. Repeat victimization is a type of “crime pattern” that includes “hot spots, crime series, and repeat offenders.” The pattern occurs when a crime incident targets the same or similar victim within a specific time period, usually a year. Repeat victimization is the aggregate of the initial and subsequent offenses experienced by the victim or target. However, although data supporting the incidence of repeat victimization is strong, the estimates are conservative because victims may not report subsequent incidents, relocate to a different area, or fail to recall multiple events. Although interviews with offenders indicate strong repeat victimization, such studies are unreliable because of questions about the offenders’ veracity. Like the incidences of bullying and peer-to-peer racial harassment of Asian American youth, initial data regarding repeat anti-Asian victimization show both strong anecdotal and statistical evidence for its existence. In light of this evidence, more needs to be done to enhance local law enforcement effectiveness; in fact, the failure to identify, document, and analyze repeat victimization over time

can lead to exacerbating already fragile police-community relations.

Even though statistical gathering on the national level is limited because individual states are not compelled by law to report hate crimes, the available data have been extraordinarily useful as a longitudinal measure of the national incidence of hate violence. Without such statistics, the prevalence of minority-on-minority violence could not have been ascertained. Perhaps the most challenging limitation of statistical data reporting is that such data is based upon single identity victims, not multiple or intersectional. In other words, only one animus is recorded even though a victim may have been targeted for multiple reasons such as being Arab and Muslim, Chinese and female, lesbian and Filipino, and so forth. The inability to count crimes according to intersectional lines may inflate one incidence of hate violence according to race, but deflate the incidence according to another.

Finally, federal hate crimes legislation is inextricably linked to its role in the politics of identity-making and the construction of difference. Ironically, although such legislation is important for the investigation, prosecution, and incarceration of violent offenders, it also affords the state the opportunity to lump all Asian Americans together under the category of race. The centrality of the state defines and legitimates difference. Yet that construction occurs within a racialized and gendered hegemonic formation. Social issues such as immigration coupled with a xenophobic discourse often position the state as both the instrument through which “illegal immigration” must be policed when protecting discourses of anti-immigrant hysteria. Similarly, political speech of a caustic and vitriolic nature is situated as both protected speech under the First Amendment and is also a factor in the production of hate violence. Hate crimes legislation as it currently stands does not include hate speech as a criminalized activity because of First Amendment protections even though hate crime statistics data consistently indicate that such incidents constitute two-thirds of all hate incidents reported annually.

In other words, the very laws designed to combat, challenge, provide legal recourse, and to symbolically send the message that such acts will be punished have

become ways in which identity is locked into place as it were under the color and language of law. Thus, lumping Asian Americans together as one subset of a racial category occludes the ways in which the community is also distinguishable and intersected by immigration status, generation, ethnic, and religious differences. Accounting for these differences may offer a more nuanced understanding of the phenomena of hate as caused by interlinked relationships of domination. Laws combating discrimination and hate violence still operate within a limited black-white model, which often discounts the ways in which immigration and language, nativism, poverty, and inequality also intersect and highlight the distinct experiences of Asian Americans. For example, anti-immigrant rhetoric and policies, the nation's War on Terror, and even the manifestation of "patriotic racism" as a post-9/11 phenomena reveal complexities about how hate violence emerges, as well as limitations regarding what the law can do to provide legal recourse for victims, families, and communities.

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See also Chin, Vincent

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Anti-Japanese Movement in Hawaii

The anti-Japanese movement in Hawaii took place primarily between 1900 and 1941 and was centered on racial discrimination questions of Americanism and loyalty. How much or how little the Japanese were Americanized into the culture of Hawaii became an excessive concern. The burning issue was could Japanese immigrants and their children be taught to become 100 percent Americans and fit into the colonial structures which perpetuated the status quo? Or indeed, was a Jap a Jap?

In Hawaii, the "loyalty" factor of the Japanese reached a point of paranoia during the Oahu sugar plantation strikes of 1909 and 1920. Historically, the plantation of Hawaii, based on the production of sugar, depended on a system of contracted year-round laborers who would be paternalistically cared for and given meager wages for back-breaking toil. As a consequence, the system sought cheap foreign workers to fit compliantly into the closed economic system of the managerial haole (white) ruling class of Hawaii. To maintain control, a policy of divide and rule was implemented. Laborers were expected to remain in "stables" (ethnically separated plantation camps). Ethnic divisiveness, racial competitiveness, and jealousy were encouraged to prevent labor unionization among the varied ethnic groups. In this isolated, protected, and paternalistically oppressive environment, Hawaii's Issei, first-generation Japanese, became a concentrated, immobile community with a separate language, religion, world view, and cultural milieu. Although ethnically intact, the community was economically locked into a laboring class of lower economic status. Because land for independent farming was not available in land-scarce Hawaii, the economy did not offer mobility except for professionally trained haoles and Chinese merchants. In the labor strikes of 1909 and 1920, the Japanese protested their economic

situation but the sugar planters and government officials, rather than considering their demands, could not understand why the Japanese were becoming so obstinate and radicalizing an otherwise manageable labor force. Because both the 1909 and 1920 strikes were promulgated by the Japanese, supported by the Japanese language newspapers, and run by predominantly Japanese strikers, the belief was that the Japanese wanted to control Hawaii's economic and political life, in collaboration with the designs of the Japanese Imperial government.

Before the Territorial Legislature in 1920, Governor Wallace Farrington made a speech on the topic of "Hawaii's Japanese Problem." In this message, Farrington stressed that the 1920 sugar strike was the result of Japanese aliens who were "malcontents and agitators." These radicals were seen as a direct threat to American ideals and values. According to Farrington, the activities of this definite portion of the Japanese in Hawaii, whose purpose was "so thoroughly at variance with normal American development," could not be simply ignored.

But, the Governor also warned that in Hawaii the problems of race could not be handled hastily. Hawaii was founded on a basis of racial equality and equanimity. Therefore, the Nisei, the children of the alien Japanese population had to be given the opportunity to prove that they were worthy and capable of being Americans. The Nisei "should be encouraged in every way to join the loyal American ranks and cooperate in the advancement of our American commonwealth."

Unlike Farrington, however, there were those in Hawaii who maintained that such a notion of the Americanization of the Japanese was an impossibility. Because of their racial pride and perpetuation of cultural and political ties with Japan, it was maintained that the Japanese could never, would never, be American citizens. They would forever remain an alien population, threatening the control of government and economy by their resistance to American democratic institutions. In a speech delivered to the Honolulu Rotary Club on October 27, 1921, Valentine S. McClatchy, publisher of the *Sacramento Bee* and a leading anti-Japanese agitator in California, addressed the problems that the population in Hawaii faced from the local Japanese. To the question of whether it was

"practicable to mold Japanese, whether immigrants or American born into good, dependable American citizens," McClatchy answered with a definitive "No."

Three reasons were given by McClatchy for the unassimilability of the Japanese: (1) because of racial characteristics, heredity, and Buddhist religion, Japanese were not oriented to America, (2) the government of Japan considered all Japanese *Jus sanguinis*, by blood to be Japanese citizens despite their residence, and (3) the fact that the immigrants developed Japanese language schools and sent their children back to Japan for an education showed that Japanese, individually and en masse, even when born under an American flag, would never be assimilated.

What was especially important about McClatchy's speech was the constant referent to California when talking about the Japanese in Hawaii. Although the Japanese American in California and the Japanese American in Hawaii considered themselves to be "different" and had a different history, to the outside forces that shaped their history, such a distinction was rarely made. Though separated by 2,000 miles of ocean and social systems that were distinctly contrasting, both the West Coast and Hawaii Japanese shared a common pressure and suspicion from their white neighbors before World War II.

Another example of the rhetoric that harassed the Japanese American community was an article "Will the Hyphen Win in Hawaii" by Nathaniel Peffer. Published in two parts by the ultraconservative *American Legion Weekly* in October 1922, the article was an "exposé" of how Americanism was being subverted by the Japanese. The article stated that the large population of Japanese became a threat in Hawaii because they were no longer content to stay in the plantation fields but persisted in bettering their lives through setting themselves up as mechanics, artisans, shopkeepers and small proprietors. In addition, those Japanese who remained on the plantation sought greater control and power by attempting to purchase large tracts of plantation land.

Such audacity, Peffer argued, was natural for any racial group who came to work in the fields and ultimately settled in the Islands. The solution to Hawaii's threat of racial foreign control by an un-American population was to bring in "every five years a huge

number of Chinese, say 50,000, to start at the bottom of the ladder, keep them there by compulsion and then send them back and bring another fresh load.”

Peffer also brought forth another area of concern against Japanese. Because the Japanese were growing in numbers they constituted a threat of having a large voting population. As one remedy for this problem, he suggested that the working conditions on the Islands be improved, greater industries provided, and techniques developed that would make it possible to recruit white workmen to the plantations. The safety of the Hawaiian Islands could be achieved only by preserving a racial balance that tilted its control to the haole.

Beyond what anti-Japanese propagandists were saying regarding the Americanization of Japanese, the official posture of the American judicial system on the matter added fuel to the anti-Japanese movement. This position was determined in a court brief filed by Takao Ozawa regarding “naturalization of a Japanese Subject in the United States of America.”

Ozawa was a Japanese immigrant living in Hawaii, who went to the courts to obtain citizenship despite a 1789 naturalization law that stated that naturalized citizens had to be “free, *white* and twenty-one years of age.” In his brief Ozawa argued that by any measure he was “white.” His culture, his children’s culture, and his wife’s culture had been cleansed of anything Japanese. The foods they ate, the utensils they used, the magazines and newspapers they read, the language they spoke were 100 percent American. Ozawa had even moved his family from a predominantly Japanese area of Kalihi to what was then a haole district of Kaimuki. As Ozawa judged his life, he was American, *ipso facto* a “white man” and therefore entitled to citizenship in the United States.

The Supreme Court, however, did not agree, and the Ozawa case stood as an example of the irony of the Americanization issue that confronted the Japanese before 1941. Pressured to become “American,” some did so with the knowledge that they would not be accepted as full-fledged Americans by white standards.

It could not be denied, moreover, at the territorial and community level, that the question of Japanese assimilation living and working in Hawaii was a very real one. According to historian Gary Okihiro, most

of Hawaii’s elite, that is, plantation owners, territorial government officials, and U.S. military leaders supported and propelled the anti-Japanese movement. From the time Japanese laborers were brought to the cane fields until the end of World War II, these people were motivated not only because of their concern about how to exploit Asian workers for the production of sugar but a fear raised by the military of Japanese imperialism.

For the U.S. military the question of Japanese living in Hawaii was far more serious than their ability to assimilate or their suitability for the plantation system. The defense of the islands, the danger of war, and alien domination were the issues. The large population of Japanese in Hawaii, their concentration in certain areas of Oahu, the main island, proliferation of Japanese language schools, Buddhist temples, religious shrines, and ethnic press constituted a serious military threat.

By 1942 and the advent of the war with Japan, the anti-Japanese movement reached a critical stage. Pearl Harbor came to represent not only the “Date of Infamy” in American military annals but a period in which every Japanese American was confronted with the question of loyalty. What in the 1900s to 1930s might have been rhetorical arguments, racial, economic, or military issues largely confined to magazines, newspapers, or public speeches in Hawaii became a frighteningly stark reality after December 7, 1941. America was at war with Japan.

On the mainland, December 7 resulted in the removal of Japanese Issei and Nisei into concentration camps scattered across the West Coast and the nation. The official reasons behind Executive Order 9066 authorizing the imprisonment of Japanese Americans were twofold. First, the government argued that the Japanese should be relocated for humanitarian reason. Japanese left to reside in mainland communities during the war could be victims of racial riots with local citizens taking up the war effort by retaliating against homegrown “Japs.” Second, the government argued that the Japanese community possibly contained an undeterminable number of disloyal persons who could be supportive of Japan’s war effort. The military viewpoint behind relocation deemed that finding the guilty culprits was too difficult; therefore, all Japanese should

be simply put into guarded concentrated areas, that is, “relocation” camps.

Unofficially, two other motives behind incarceration seemed equally forceful. Economically, removal of Japanese from productive farm areas would result in prime agricultural land being auctioned off to anxious Caucasian neighbors. Internment would turn a handsome profit to growers who had long coveted Japanese lands and markets. Racially, others on the West Coast had nothing to gain but prejudicial satisfaction that the despised Japanese population would be imprisoned and hopefully shipped back to Japan. Racist and economic opportunists formed powerful lobbies that agitated successfully for Japanese relocation.

In Hawaii despite the anti-Japanese movement, a mixture of factors mitigated against incarceration. Although some 1,400 primarily Issei and Kibei, Nisei born in Hawaii but educated in Japan, were detained and placed in internment camps as potentially dangerous saboteurs and community leaders, the bulk of the Island Japanese population was not affected. This was partially because of the loyalties and amity that they had established as a numerically significant group. The Japanese composed over 30 percent of Hawaii’s population at the time of war and had long-standing attachments and friendships in the Islands. Logistics also diminished the few voices calling for relocation of Hawaii’s Japanese. The Japanese were too big a population to move. They were too vital to the Island defense economy. Removing Japanese would seriously disrupt Hawaii’s labor market. As a result, prominent Islanders, both out of self-interest and paternalistic instinct, spoke out in favor of Japanese in Hawaii. Although the inability of the Japanese on the mainland to gain non-Japanese support resulted in their wartime incarceration, in the Islands the efforts of Nisei adaptation and the integral nature of the Japanese to the economy suppressed many of the fears and racial condemnation.

To be sure, in Hawaii where the population remained largely free from the concentration camps, there was a tremendous outburst of American loyalty and patriotism. The effort of Nisei in defense work and later in combat, the exploits of the 100th Infantry Battalion and 442nd Regimental Combat Team gave the Japanese American a wholly new image. They

had become a glorious group of valiant martyrs who, even though distrusted and hated by Americans, gave their energies and lives to defeat their ancestral homeland and war enemies.

News releases of military actions in Europe typified the new image:

The 100th Battalion performs valiantly in Italy against overwhelming odds . . . Due to heavy losses, 100th called the Purple Heart Battalion . . . The 442nd Combat Team, absorbing the 100th as its 1st Battalion, fights bitterly in France and Germany . . . The 442nd rescues troops of the Texas “Lost Battalion” . . . Valor of 442nd Nisei soldiers earns combat unit the plaudit of “Army’s Most Decorated Unit.”

The new image was certainly founded in truth. No one could deny that the Nisei soldier fought valiantly—the 100th and 442nd won seven Presidential Distinguished Unit citations, and nearly 6,000 awards were given to individual members. No one could deny that the Nisei gave their fair share of blood for American victory—the 442nd in their European campaign lost 650 men, with 3,506 wounded and 67 missing.

Praise came even from the Pacific war zone, where Nisei and Kibei Japanese language interpreters from Hawaii, part of the “Top Secret” Military Intelligence Service (MIS) served. After V-J Day General Charles Willoughby, Chief of Staff of Intelligence, would announce that “the Nisei shortened the war in the Pacific by two years.”

The war period (1941–1945) is probably the most important watershed in Japanese American history. It marks the culmination on the mainland of years of racial bitterness and hate with the wholesale incarceration of an ethnic group into concentration camps—one of the most tragic institutions in the history of American democracy. In Hawaii the war quelled the anti-Japanese movement; it ended years of questioning Japanese loyalty with a resolute but qualified, community support and acceptance of the Japanese American ethnic group.

After the war, the suspicions, the prejudice, the discrimination, the stereotypes, and the secondary status of the Japanese American would be replaced with

social admiration, open opportunities, and an aggressiveness of ethnic pride and purpose.

Dennis M. Ogawa

See also Ethnic Communities in Hawaii; Japanese Exclusion

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Anti-Trafficking Movement

On December 6, 1865, the United States adopted the Thirteenth Amendment, which states that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall exist within the United States or its jurisdictions. There is a disturbing reminder, however, that 150 years later slavery still exists as what is referred to as human trafficking or “Modern Day Slavery.” Implemented in 2000, the Trafficking Victim’s Protect Act is reflective of U.S. anti-trafficking policy priorities to prevent human trafficking, prosecute traffickers, and protect victims of human trafficking. Human trafficking is the recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for the purpose of a commercial sex act, labor, or servitude through force, fraud, or coercion, or in which the person forced to perform such an act is under the age of 18 years; or for the purpose of subjection to involuntary servitude, peonage, debt bondage or slavery. In spite of the mere 5.6 percent that Asian Americans constitute of the total U.S. population, Asians and Pacific Islanders comprised of the largest group of people trafficked to the United States. Fifty percent of the 14,500 to 17,500 individuals trafficked into the United States in 2004 were Asians. Asians are trafficked to the United States for economic, political, social, cultural, and environmental reasons. And the industries they are trafficked into are

those where there is a demand for their labor or sex—from the garment industry to massage parlors. And the traffickers are diverse: family members, friends, lovers, corporate companies, and organized crime syndicates. Asian Americans are a part of the anti-trafficking movement in two significant ways: (1) as a subject of U.S. anti-trafficking efforts as victims, and (2) active participants as leaders in U.S. anti-trafficking efforts.

Although the image of Asian women and girls sex trafficked into brothels in Asia is a part of the U.S. imaginary in the present, discourse of Asian sex slaves is not a recent phenomenon. At the turn of the nineteenth century, it was estimated that of the 20,000 Chinese in the Bay Area, women represented only 12.5 percent of the population, approximately 40 percent of whom were slaves—women and girls kidnapped and auctioned to slave merchants into a life in brothels. Others were lured by false promises or sold by their own families with the belief that they would become indentured servants or brides. Women in the sex industries rarely aged into their 20s or older; it was common for victims to die from diseases related to their prostitution and abuse, be murdered, or commit suicide. An infamous Chinese madam known as Ah Toy began importing women from China into California brothels in the 1850s. The Page Act of 1875 was implemented to prevent Chinese women migrating to the United States with the intention of becoming prostitutes. However, it was clear that there was a demand for their sexual services, where anti-immigration policies did not prevent the sexual slavery of Chinese women. In 1873 a church organization, Donaldina Cameron House, responded to women and girls sold into sex slavery in San Francisco, California. Secret passages at Cameron House where girls would escape from the building when their traffickers came to retrieve them may still be found at this historic site that continues to serve the Asian community in San Francisco.

Asians were also brought into the Americas through the coolie trade in which it was seen as featuring the worst aspects of slavery. Laborers sent to the Americas, Cuba, and Hawaii symbolized for abolitionists the enslaved plantation labor systems even after slavery ended. The trade was emblematic of the cruelty

of coerced labor. These laborers were primarily Chinese and Indian, but other laborers were also imported from the Philippines, Japan, and Korea. Similar to the Page Act, some argued for the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, making the case that it would prevent the slavery of Asian immigrants imported to the Americas as coolie laborers. However, it was not until 1938 that the United States would begin to improve working conditions for laborers with the passage of the Fair Labor Standard Act. Asians did not reap the benefits from U.S. changes to labor laws. By 1924 all Asians were discriminated against from migrating to the United States with the passage of the Johnson Reed Act, which placed a restriction on immigration. Asian labor exploitation was rendered an invisible issue until major cases hit the newspapers in the 1990s.

In 1995, the public was horrified when it came to the fore that 71 Thai nationals had been held in slavery for seven years in a garment factory in El Monte, California. The Thai women and men were forced to work as much as 22 hours each day in poor conditions, to live in unlivable conditions with 8 to 10 crowded into a room where rats crawled over them as they slept, and were under constant surveillance by their traffickers. Sixty-seven of those trafficked were women. They left behind families in impoverished rural villages in Thailand from which they emigrated. The case highlighted the problematic practices in U.S. laboring industries for Asian immigrants. After homeland security raided the factories, the Thai workers were treated like criminals and sent to a deportation center. In response to such dangerous practices of U.S. companies and the maltreatment of immigrants in the United States, Asian Pacific American Labor Alliance, the Asian Pacific American Legal Center, Coalition for Human Immigrant Rights of Los Angeles, the Korean Immigrant Workers' Advocates, Thai Community Development Center, and UNITE were among the organizations to advocate for the Thai workers. The organizing led to successful criminal and civil cases, and raised awareness surrounding the need to advocate for the human rights for Asian migrants. In 2010, Henry Ong, in collaboration with the Thai Community Development Center, created a successful play, "Fabric," based on the incident.

Asian Americans organizing to address violence include initiatives that point to the tensions within the Asian American community and the *Lakireddy Bali Reddy v. USA* case is a testament to such. In 2000, after a 17-year-old girl died from carbon monoxide poisoning in an apartment Reddy owned, newspapers unveiled to the public that Reddy had run a sex trafficking ring for 15 years. Reddy, an immigrant from India, received an MA in engineering from the University of California, Berkeley. From engineer to restaurant owner to real-estate magnate, Reddy was the largest property owner in Berkeley, receiving \$1 million per month in rental income. It also came to light that he trafficked girls ages 12 to 14 years old from India to Berkeley, where they were exploited for labor in his restaurants and apartment buildings, and served as sex slaves. The Indian girls were of a lower caste—"untouchables." In response to the Reddy case, an organization formed to educate the community about the violence against South Asians as well as violence within the South Asian community—Alliance of South Asians Taking Actions (ASATA).

Asian American survivors of human trafficking are also speaking out about their exploitation. Chong Kim experienced a life of human trafficking that started in 1994 when she was forced to perpetuate Asian stereotypes when being sex trafficked in Oklahoma and eventually in Nevada. Kim continues to speak out and is currently working on a film project to raise awareness about human trafficking. In 2010, the story of Minh Dang changed the perception of who Asian American sex-trafficked persons are—they are not all migrants. Dang is a second-generation Asian American raised in San Jose who was trafficked by her own parents. Her father and mother sold her for sex in which they told her that it was a part of her filial responsibilities. Minh estimates that her parents made \$2 million from sex trafficking her, which enabled them to buy two homes and send to remittances to Vietnam. Few Asian-run survivor organizations exist, but the work of the Coalition to Abolish Slavery and Trafficking in Los Angeles has a survivor Caucus that was conceived in 2003.

Not only are survivors informing the movement but also most notably are how they are impacting U.S. national agendas in policy, organizing, and direct

services. The Polaris Project is the U.S. National Human Trafficking Resource Center that provides the national hotline for human trafficking, direct services, and leads U.S. anti-trafficking advocacy for policies. In 2002, Katherine Chon, a Korean American, and Derek Ellerman, a biracial Asian American founded the Polaris Project. They embarked on a journey to mobilize what would become the leading national agency in the United States to fight human trafficking after they had read a newspaper article about six Asian women brought to work in massage parlors that were fronts for brothels in the United States. They were inspired to do something about human trafficking after reading that the investigating officer stated that the case was like slavery. They named their initiative after the Underground Railroad that helped slaves run away from the South in the nineteenth century abolition movement by following the North Star—Polaris Project.

Asian Americans continue to define the anti-trafficking movement as legal advocates, social services providers, refugee organizations, scholars, teachers, students, writers, and artists. And these efforts are not only addressing the U.S. responses to human trafficking but also have global impact.

Annie Fukushima

See also Cameron House

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Aoki, Richard (1938–2009)

Educator, counselor, Marxist, and Field Marshal in the Black Panther Party, Richard Aoki was born in San Leandro, California, to Nisei parents. He attended the University of California and received a bachelor's in Sociology and a master's degree in Social Work. For more than four decades he worked as a community

activist, educator, and advisor in a number of progressive organizations and educational institutions. His grandparents came to California around 1900. His grandfather, Jitsuji, a socialist, manufactured noodles and was active in the Japanese Methodist Episcopal church, where his children performed in plays and social affairs. He also spoke at Buddhist meetings, however, suggesting his sophistication.

Aoki grew up in West Oakland and, during the World War II, Topaz, Utah, a relocation center that was among his first memories and where his parents split up. He lived in the camp with his brother and their father until 1945. His father was a “no-no boy,” one who protested this mistreatment and violations of their civil rights, refusing to swear loyalty to the United States and enlist in the military. In 1945 the Aokis moved back to Oakland, Richard residing with his brother, father, uncle, and grandparents for 10 years.

Given the family’s samurai heritage, it is understandable that he acquired and devoted himself to the concept of bushido, service, for his entire life. Home schooled until adolescence by his father, a University of California, Berkeley alum, he became acquainted with his father’s and his grandfather’s libraries—another vital part of his Japanese and American heritage.

West Oakland included a number of African Americans in addition to Japanese Americans and other ethnic groups, and he learned from his black friends about the lynchings and brutalities that took place down South. In Oakland he witnessed the notorious behavior of the local police, many of whom were recruited from the Deep South and who were particularly vicious in their mistreatment of African Americans and the poor generally. This was the main issue taken up by the Black Panthers in 1966.

In junior high school, both Richard and his brother received superior scores on their tests, and Richard was valedictorian of his class. He also excelled at Berkeley High School, completing a three-year program in two-and-a-half years and was eligible to attend the University of California.

He also rebelled as a teenage delinquent, committing numerous acts of petty theft. Rather than enroll in the university, however, and convinced of the imminence of war, at 18 he volunteered to serve in the U.S.

Army—partly to help out his mother and brother financially.

After eight years of active and reserve service, he left the military after learning of its human rights violations in Vietnam. Somewhat conservative at the outset of the 1960s, he gradually moved from being a loyal supporter of the war to becoming an antiwar protestor by 1965. He supported civil rights causes although he toiled at different working class jobs and was most impressed by the left-wingers that he met. They recommended progressive books, and he read voraciously. Identifying as he did with the oppressed and impoverished, he eventually adopted Marxism and joined the Socialist Workers’ Party.

At the same time, Black nationalism, and the Nation of Islam and its main minister, Malcolm X, who broke with the organization under considerable controversy, influenced him profoundly. Aoki followed closely the political evolution of Malcolm X, and he differed with the socialists on the issue of the viability of black nationalism. He also supported the Cuban Revolution and, during his lifetime, wars of liberation in Africa, Asia, and South America as well as at home. Though he admired the Fidelistas, he ended up closer to Maoism in his theoretical position.

Around 1964 he enrolled in Merritt Community College along with Huey Newton and Bobby Seale. These Oaklanders, also admirers of Malcolm X, set out to form the Black Panther Party in 1966. They consulted Aoki on their 10-point platform and a variety of political issues. He knew their families and admired Newton and Seale, as well as their principled program, and provided invaluable advice on strategy and tactics as well as educational and political issues. He questioned whether an Asian American might join them. Newton responded that Aoki was oppressed and a person of color, so he was therefore eligible. He rode along with the Panthers when they stopped to witness police arrests, and he became a Field Marshal early in the Party’s history.

That same year, 1966, he enrolled at UC Berkeley and worked with several campus organizations, including Tri-Continental Progressive Students Association, composed of Third World students. These meetings and associations expanded his evolving political consciousness and his knowledge of

international politics. He received his bachelor's in Sociology and his off-campus activism continued. He co-founded *Black Politics*, a journal of liberation, dedicating the first issue to the defense of Huey Newton, who was arrested for killing a police officer following a traffic stop in 1967.

By 1968 he worked with young Asian American students, founding the Asian American Political Association (AAPA), one of the first organizations of its kind on college campuses. They supported the Panthers, opposed racism, militarism, and U.S. imperialism and, most important, joined with the Mexican, black, and Native American student associations to form the Third World Liberation Front, which started a campus strike in the winter of 1969 that lasted for 10 weeks. Students of color, with the assistance of their campus and off-campus allies, demanded a Third World College in what was the longest and most expensive confrontation in the campus's history. Eventually the university agreed to support a Department of Ethnic Studies with four components for the respective ethnic groups.

When attending graduate school he was elected president of the School of Social Welfare's 1970 class at the time sitting in the Berkeley city jail. He also was a teaching assistant for the first Asian American Studies course at Berkeley and, after the strike, served as coordinator for the Asian American Studies program.

Community Organization and Public Administration was his major in Social Welfare, and he devoted his entire professional life to serving the community. In 1971, he returned to Merritt College, which also allowed him to link up again with the Panthers. He spent most of his career at Alameda County College, where he was teacher, counselor, and administrator for over 20 years, helping nontraditional students meet their career goals.

After retirement, Aoki continued his community work, opposing the wars in Asia, imperialism and racism, and supporting multiracial coalitions, prison reform, and Panther reunions. He was the subject of an autobiography and a documentary. His support for the Panthers and revolutionary nationalism never wavered, and he considered his work in the Party the most important political activity in his life.

Douglas Daniels

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Ariyoshi, George R. (1926–)

George R. Ariyoshi is an American politician, lawyer, and businessman. Notably, Ariyoshi was the third governor of the State of Hawaii, serving between 1974 and 1986. He was also the first Asian American as well as Japanese American to be elected into the office of governor.

George Ryoichi Ariyoshi was born on March 12, 1926, in Honolulu, Hawaii to Japanese immigrant parents. In his youth, Ariyoshi lived with his family in a small two-room house in China Town and his father was a semiprofessional Sumo wrestler who operated a tofu shop. After graduating from high school in 1944, Ariyoshi served briefly as an interpreter for the U.S. Army Military Intelligence in Japan. After the war, Ariyoshi started his studies at the University of Hawaii but later transferred to Michigan State University, graduating in 1949 with a bachelor of arts. He would also obtain a law degree from the University of Michigan. After law school, Ariyoshi returned to his native Hawaii to pursue private law practice. In 1969, Ariyoshi served as a member of the American Bar Association House of Delegates. He would also serve as president of the Hawaii Bar Association and the Hawaii Bar Foundation.

In 1954, Ariyoshi was elected into the Territorial House of Representatives. This was the beginning of Ariyoshi's illustrious political career. Four years later in 1958, Ariyoshi was elected into the Territorial Senate. After Hawaii became the fiftieth state in 1959, Ariyoshi would also serve as one of the first Senators in the Hawaiian State Senate until 1970.

In 1970, John A. Burns was reelected as governor of Hawaii with Ariyoshi as his lieutenant governor. Ariyoshi would step in as the governor for Burns in 1973 after Burns became terminally ill. In 1974, Ariyoshi ran for his first term as governor and took office as the first Asian American (and Japanese

American) to ever capture the gubernatorial office. Ariyoshi would eventually serve a total of three terms as governor (reelected in 1978 and 1982), spanning his service between 1973 and 1986—a total of 13 years.

During Ariyoshi's tenure as governor, his administration would be known for its ability to resolve crisis and to pull the Hawaiian community together. He would also be known for conservative fiscal policies, the steady development of Hawaii's tourism, and progressive approaches to trade. As for Ariyoshi's own political style, it is what he once described as "quiet and effective," which had also at one time been his campaign slogan. A staunch Democrat, Ariyoshi believed that the dominance of the Democratic Party in Hawaii had transformed his state into one that is open, equal, prosperous, and diverse. Barred by term limits, Ariyoshi left the governor's office in 1986 and was succeeded by John Waihee.

As a person of Japanese descent, Ariyoshi worked hard to bridge the differences between those in the Japanese American community with the mainstream American public—a rift that was the result of World War II. In his autobiography *With Obligations to All*, Ariyoshi described the struggles that many Japanese Americans (including his own family) experienced between the need and desire for the "American" or "Japanese" way of life. Nonetheless, Ariyoshi had come to terms with such struggles and professed that everyone, including himself, must accept who we are as an individual. For Ariyoshi, the idea of being "American" is one that is multifaceted and unique depending on one's particular heritage. In other words, being American has different meanings for different individuals.

Although Ariyoshi retired from politics after 1986, he remained active as a businessman and has been continuously involved in the Hawaiian community. Ariyoshi served for many years as a member on the Board of Governors of the East-West Center. The George R. Ariyoshi Fund, a scholarship that provides financial support for students, was also established at the East-West Center through the grants from the Hawaii Pacific Rim Society. Furthermore, drawing on his experience in the Hawaiian legislature and the

governor's office, Ariyoshi had been a regular contributor at *Hawaii Business* (magazine). Ariyoshi's articles mainly featured leadership lessons from his days as governor and helped to bridge the understanding between business and politics.

In George R. Ariyoshi's distinguished political career, he never lost an election. His overall contribution to the American society is one that is exemplary regardless of race or ethnicity.

Jeanette Yih Harvie

See also Political Representation

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Artists in New York (1900–1940)

The waves of immigration from Asia to the United States in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries led thousands of Asians to the West Coast. Relatively few of them continued to the East Coast, but among them were ambitious, adventurous artists who wanted to work in the inspiring milieu of the New York art world.

What defines artists as Asian American? A simple standard is that they either emigrated from Asian countries, or a significant part of their ancestry was Asian—one or both parents. Those who emigrated made up most of the artists in the period under question here, the first half of the twentieth century—and by the law

of the United States they were not permitted to become American citizens until after 1943, a situation that affected their lives and their careers as artists. Like all immigrants, these artists carried with them the traditions of their ancestors as they assimilated in varying degrees to the customs of their new homes. The dialogue between inherited practices and newfound ideas played out in various ways in their art. Some of them adopted Anglo/European styles exclusively; some were multistylistic, using Western traditions and techniques at times and working in the vocabularies of their ancestral cultures at others; and some developed unique fusions of East and West. In general the painters were very comfortable working in ink or water-soluble paint on paper. Those who studied in the United States became adept at painting with oil on canvas, and they often included subjects with an Asian reference into their works.

Asian artists who traveled to the United States in the early twentieth century found a culture already sympathetic to Eastern art, thanks in part to the craze for Japonisme that hit Paris and the rest of Europe in the late nineteenth century. Asian artistic practices influenced leading artists like the Impressionists in Paris and James McNeil Whistler, the American expatriate, in London. They spread to the United States where there were active collectors of Asian art and also art workers like the half Chinese critic, Sadakichi Hartmann, and the artist and teacher, Arthur Wesley Dow. In Dow's widely circulated instructional book, *Composition*, he advocated the Western adaptation of Asian artistic traditions, which he taught to his many students, including Georgia O'Keeffe. Dow worked in Boston with Ernst Fenollosa, who had spent years in Japan and who was one of the creators of the great collection of Japanese art at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

Among the first artists to come to the United States from China was Li Tiefu (1869–1952) who studied at prominent art schools in New York in the 1910s and learned how to use oil paint in a realistic, Western style before he returned to China in 1930. Other artists who studied on the East Coast in the first decades of the twentieth century and took Western-style painting back to China were Feng Gangbo (1884–1984) and Wong Chiu Foon (1896–1971). In contrast, Yun Gee

(1906–1963), born in Guangdong province, spent a substantial part of his career in the United States and painted in avant-garde styles that were radical for the time. His *Where Is My Mother* (1926–1927) is an essential document of the Asian American experience, rendered in the modernist, boldly colored geometric style he encountered in art school in San Francisco. Gee used this abstract style to express a personal allegory of immigration: his face, with its conspicuously Chinese features, dominates the composition at the lower right, streaked with tears as he misses his mother, back in China, rendered as a blocky abstracted female figure at the top left. The angular boats that come between them represent his voyage, and the faces that recede into the composition next to him indicate that he was only one of many who experienced the yearning of the immigrant. His signature, against the right edge of the canvas, expresses the fusion of cultures: spelled with the letters of the Western alphabet, it is aligned on the vertical axis of Chinese script.

Yun Gee is today one of the most respected of the Chinese immigrant artists, but the Asian American art world of the first half of the twentieth century was dominated by the Japanese, as immigration law discriminated against the Chinese decades before the Japanese also became targets of exclusion. As a result there were sufficient quantities of Japanese artists to organize into groups on both the East and West coasts. The leading Japanese artist was Yasuo Kuniyoshi (1889–1953), who came from Okayama to Seattle in 1907, and then moved to New York to be an artist. His artistic style, a unique combination of elements of Western realism and oil painting technique with aspects of folk art and Japanese traditions, propelled him to success in the 1920s. On his way to recognition he participated in several exhibitions with other Japanese artists in the 1920s. One opportunity for artists of Asian origin to exhibit was with The Society of Independent Artists, founded by Marcel Duchamp and others in 1917 to be a venue where any artist could exhibit without the oversight of a jury.

Like the Society of Independent Artists, The MacDowell Club was formed to give artists opportunities to show outside conservative juried exhibitions, and it hosted an exhibition of Japanese artists in

1917. Many of the artists in that group went on to organize shows in 1922 and 1927, including Kuniyoshi and artists less well known today, like the sculptor Kamamura who specialized in cows, an animal then exotic to the Japanese, and others who are almost totally forgotten, like George Tera.

Several of these artists studied at The Art Students League and painted scenes of life in New York, though often through Asian eyes. For example, Toshi Smimizu (1887–1945) painted scenes of Chinatown, which is adjacent to the Lower East Side. The Lower East Side tenements, crowded with thousands of poor immigrants from Europe, inspired the painters of the Ash Can School, several of whom taught at the Art Students League. Shimizu followed his teachers to downtown Manhattan, but found his imagery in Chinatown, a few blocks west.

In the 1920s many Asian American artists, like their American contemporaries, went to Paris to absorb the dynamic new modern art culture developing there, meeting artists from Asia who had gone straight from their native countries to the French capital. Kuniyoshi had two extended stays and Isamu Noguchi (1904–1988) had the rare opportunity to work as assistant to the great sculptor, Constantin Brancusi. Kuniyoshi's idiosyncratic *Self Portrait as a Golfer* (1927) reflects the influence of the School of Paris figuration. But at the same time the artist emphasized his Asian features and posed himself wearing Western golf togs when standing like a samurai holding a golf club in place of a sword, in a major painting full of multicultural references.

Japanese artists who went to Paris returned to New York to hard times and political upheaval. Once the



Japanese American artist Isamu Noguchi poses with one of his sculptures in New York City, 1938. (AP Photo)

Depression was felt full force, the government established relief programs to help artists in exchange for their work—but these programs were controversial, and in 1937 Asian Americans, who were not eligible to be American citizens, were expelled from them.

The artists who were adventurous enough to leave their native countries for the United States were independent spirits, and many of them had leftist political views. In the mid-1930s they organized three exhibitions at the progressive ACA Galleries protesting their exclusion from the government projects. These shows included both Japanese and Chinese artists, an unusual stepping up to visibility of the Chinese who tended to work within the Chinese community and not to have a presence in the established New York art world. They were led by Chu H. Jor, who studied at the Art Students League before founding the Chinese Art Club in Chinatown in 1935, to promote art awareness in his community. Unfortunately, little is known about the actual art made by Jor and his colleagues. His Japanese contemporaries working in New York are better known today, although here also there are many artists whose names have come down to us but whose works have yet to be discovered.

Eitaro Ishigaki was active in the ACA shows, which included non-Asian artists. Ishigaki's biography is typical of several of his compatriots: he came from Japan to the West Coast, became interested in art in San Francisco, and then moved to New York where he studied at The Art Students League and had a career before returning to Japan for his last years. He was one of the most leftist of the Japanese American artists, a founder of the John Reed Club and active in several liberal art organizations. For the Works Projects Administration he painted two large murals in a courthouse in Harlem on the subjects of American independence and the freeing of the slaves. He was removed from the project when it was decided that only United States citizens were eligible for government aid; assistants completed the murals. Then they were criticized because his treatment of several presidents was considered unflattering and were destroyed three years later.

Ishigaki's Harlem mural about the freeing of slaves touched on a topic that was sensitive in the 1930s, when lynchings of African Americans were

horrifyingly prevalent in the South. Liberal American artists responded with protest images, again encouraged by the ACA Galleries. Japanese American artists could easily empathize with their black contemporaries, another minority facing discrimination, and they made works that joined in the protest. Among them were Ishigaki, painter Hideo Noda, the young sculptor, Leo Amino (1911–1989), who would become best known for his innovative abstract plastic sculptures from the 1950s, but who in the 1930s made a somber, assemblage sculpture of an inert body hanging from a tree. The young Noguchi dramatically suspended a contorted, life-sized figure from a rope in his *Death (Lynched Figure)* (1934).

As global political and economic tensions grew in the 1930s, leftist artists organized The American Artists Congress; signatories to its first call for support in 1936 included Ishigaki, one of the organizers, Kuniyoshi, who would become an officer, Japanese artists Thomas Nagai, Noguchi, Sakari Suzuki, Chuzo Tamotzu, and Chikamichi Yamasaki, and Hawaiian born Isami Doi. The Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931 further politicized Asian artists in the United States. Yun Gee made a series of drawings and paintings critical of Japanese military aggression, as did some of the Japanese artists in New York, including Ishigaki, and Kuniyoshi actually held an exhibition of his works as a benefit for the Chinese. The ACA gallery continued its activism in this regard, for example, hosting a show of a traveling exhibition of Chinese graphic art, some of it political, in 1938.

The Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor in December 1941 was a traumatic event for Asians in the United States. Kuniyoshi wrote, "A few short days have changed my status in this country although I myself have not changed at all." Japanese living in the United States, and already barred from becoming citizens, were suddenly classified "enemy aliens." Those on the West Coast were put in internment camps, whereas those in the East were spared thanks to their far smaller numbers. Even so, Isamu Noguchi took the radical action of voluntarily being admitted to Poston camp in Arizona with the desire to help his compatriots. His optimism was short-lived, and after six difficult months he negotiated his release.

The years after the war were a period of readjustment. In 1946 Dong Kingman, of Chinese descent, famous for his cityscape watercolors, moved from San Francisco to New York, finding new inspiration in views of the metropolis. Abstraction replaced representation as the prevailing artistic language, as the Abstract Expressionists rose to dominance, Kenzo Okada among them, with many more Asian Americans following suit. Several major Abstract Expressionist artists made rapidly brushed, black and white paintings and drawings, with clear affinities to Asian calligraphy, spurring ongoing debates about the degree of influence from Asia.

After the war immigration laws gradually relaxed, allowing a flow of younger Asian American artists into the country. The range of countries of origin expanded with greater global travel, and significant artists entered the New York art world from the Philippines (Alfonso Ossorio), Hawaii (Reuben Tam), and elsewhere. Women began to play a significant role in the scene as well, as pioneering performance artists like Yayoi Kusama and Yoko Ono made works using actual people. The New York art world grew and more and more Asian Americans participated, including sculptor Fumio Yoshimura, conceptual painter On Kawara, video art pioneer Nam June Paik, and painters such as Martin Wong and Byron Kim. There were many others too, and today with easier global travel and increased communication it is a new world with some artists having studios in several countries, East and West, as types of artistic creativity evolve, even as the old dialogues between traditions persist, even in new forms.

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Asian American Adoptees

See Adopted Asian Americans

Asian American Artists in New York (1900–1940)

See Artists in New York (1900–1940)

Asian American Athletes and Christianity

See Athletes and Christianity

Asian American Campaign Finance Scandal of 1996

The Asian American Campaign Finance Scandal of 1996 was a major political incident that brought unprecedented attention to the purported influence of the Chinese government on American electoral politics. Alternatively named "Chinagate," the incident would eventually expand to include other Asian governments and business interests and tarnish Asian American political participation by linking it with subversive foreign influence. As the circle of those who benefitted from controversial and illegal campaign donations expanded to include both of the major political parties. The Monica Lewinsky scandal broke in January 1998, politicians and the media lost much motivation and interest in pursuing the scandal. The Department of Justice concluded their five-year investigation in 2001 and brought the scandal to a close.

In the run up to the 1996 presidential campaign, there was a perception that the Chinese government was actively seeking to influence the U.S. government. The rising China-U.S. trade gap and renewed tensions across Taiwan Strait added to the broad and growing concern that China, with its vast financial resources, would seek to influence American elections to protect

their economic, political, and military interests and to improve its national image. The presidential campaign was already estimated to be the most expensive campaign ever, and politicians and political pundits warned that temptation to accept illegal foreign contributions would be high. A final ingredient in this mix was the practice of “bundling” political contributions where highly connected individuals gathered funds from multiple sources and then bundled them into a single large donation that made tracing the identity of individual donors less obvious and more difficult.

Against this backdrop, a group of Asian Americans began to provide their access to American politicians in exchange for large sums of money from foreign governments, business interests, and private individuals. Six key figures in the controversy—Charlie Yah-lin Trie, John Huang, James Riady, Johnny Chung, Ted Sioeng, and Maria Hsia—were accused of conspiring to funnel large sums of foreign contributions to influence U.S. political campaigns. What is clear is that all six had extensive personal connections and business interests in Asia and their ability to make large campaign donations granted them easy access to the highest levels of U.S. government and other political institutions. The Democratic Party, the party of incumbent President Bill Clinton, was the largest beneficiary of financial donations with the largest share going to the Democratic National Committee (DNC) and the campaign funds for President Bill Clinton and Vice President Al Gore.

Because federal election campaign laws require the public disclosure of the names of campaign donors, the media, armed with a list of suspicious names, played the key role in defining the scandal. From October 7 to December 5, 1996, William Safire of the *New York Times* wrote six columns that defined the scandal as a case of Asian Americans attempting to influence the presidential race by funneling Asian money into the Clinton campaign. All of the major newspapers in the country ran front-page stories and editorials that often conflated Asians with Asian Americans—most often by using the term “Asian” to refer to both U.S. citizens and Asian nationals. For the Republicans who were trying to wrestle away power from President Bill Clinton, this was political red meat that called for public displays of outrage and calls for official

investigations. For the Democrats, the political optics of the party receiving millions of dollars from the Chinese Communist Party led them to put as much distance as possible between themselves and anything related to Asia, including Asian Americans.

The House of Representatives and the Senate, both controlled by the Republicans, launched exhaustive investigations: the House investigation, headed by Representative Dan Burton (R-Indiana), was the most expensive investigation to date at \$7.4 million, surpassing the cost of Watergate investigation in inflation-adjusted dollars (\$7 million). Eager to clear their name, the Clinton White House and the Democratic Party gave full support behind investigations by the Department of Justice. Collectively, these investigations clearly demonstrated that foreign entities did give money to key figures of the scandal, and the money did end up in various political campaigns.

What remained unclear, however, is the motivation of the key figures in the scandal. Were they acting as agents of the Chinese government? Or, were they simply ambitious individuals who were playing loose with facts and perceptions to ingratiate themselves to those with money and power? Collectively, they were a motley crew. James Riady and John Huang were connected to Indonesia-based Lippo Bank that had offices in the United States and funneled millions of dollars to the DNC. Maria Hsia channeled other funds that Huang and Riady raised through the Hsi Lai Buddhist Temple near Los Angeles to contribute to the DNC, the presidential campaign, and Patrick Kennedy’s campaign for Congress. Johnny Chung used his ties to Chinese aerospace and military contractors to donate \$366,000 to the DNC. Charlie Trie, the most colorful figure, befriended President Clinton when then governor frequented his Chinese restaurant in Little Rock and bundled hundreds of thousands of dollars to donate to Clinton’s legal defense fund and for the president’s birthday party in New York in 1994. The findings of the investigations hardly depict the work of a sophisticated international spy ring: Charlie Trie’s donation to Clinton’s defense fund was made in part with consecutively numbered money orders with the same handwriting that had supposedly come from multiple contributors; Maria Hsia used the Temple’s nuns and monks to write the large checks to

the DNC; and Johnny Chung visited the White House 49 times in between bundling money from companies with known ties to the Chinese military.

The bipartisan nature of the scandal was revealed when the investigations discovered that significant sums of money ended up in Republican campaigns. Ted Sioeng, an Indonesian businessman, had donated to the Republican State Treasurer Matt Fong's campaign. In addition, House Speaker Newt Gingrich solicited a donation from Sioeng in 1995 to support his think-tank. Moreover, the House investigation found that Congressman Chang-jun "Jay" Kim (R-Diamond Bar) had received and concealed \$230,000 in illegal donations, including foreign donations from South Korea, back in 1992 during his first successful congressional campaign. In an ironic twist, the Republican Jay Kim would be the sole elected official found guilty of violating federal election laws in a scandal that began with the prospect of Chinese money being funneled to the Democratic Party. After pleading guilty, Jay Kim was sentenced to two months of house arrest but was allowed to remain in office until he was defeated in the Republican primary in 1998.

After a five-year investigation, the Department of Justice concluded their investigation of the scandal in 2001. Despite the intensity of the initial allegations of espionage and treason, the investigations resulted in convictions on violations of federal campaign laws, making political contributions in someone else's name, and making false statements to the Federal Election Commission. All of the punishments were relatively mild, consisting of months of home detention, a couple of years probation, hundreds of hours of community service, and thousands of dollars in fines. James Riady was the lone exception with an \$8.6 million fine, but like other key figures in the scandal, he evaded any prison time.

If the key figures of the Asian American Campaign Finance Scandal of 1996 walked away largely unscathed, the same cannot be said of Asian Americans and their political participation. Ling-Chi Wang has argued that the media, the government, and the political parties racialized the scandal: Asians and Asian Americans were conflated in the narrative of the scandal, and this conflation "de-naturalized" Asian Americans in the eyes of the American public. Once

again, Asian Americans were portrayed as perpetual foreigners whose political activities were tied most intimately to advancing the interest of Asia even at the expense of the United States. At the height of the scandal, Asian American political involvement was viewed with suspicion and hostility, and their political donations were strictly vetted to look for foreign money and ulterior motives. Wang argues that the scandal played a key role in Clinton's reluctance to appoint an Asian American to the Cabinet (Norman Y. Mineta was appointed Secretary of Commerce in 2000 in the last year of the Clinton presidency).

In addition to this broader attack, the scandal highlighted the class-based inequality in political access within the Asian American community. Asian American community-based organizations and political advocacy groups were astounded by how financial contributions opened the door to political access. Although the political interests of poor, working- and middle-class Asian Americans were met with indifference among elected political leaders and major political parties, wealthy Asians and Asian Americans had no trouble accessing even the highest levels of U.S. government and other political institutions. Investigations reported Johnny Chung visited the White House 49 times, only to be outdone by John Huang's 78. Maria Hsia hosted fundraising events attended by Al Gore, and James Riady met President Clinton six times. For many Asian American political activists, it was difficult not to be cynical in light of money's tight grip on American democracy. For Asian Americans, the Campaign Scandal of 1996 delivered bitter lessons on their precarious membership in American politics and the decisive role of money in determining their access.

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Asian American Campaign Strategy

See Campaign Strategy

Asian American College Students

See College Students

Asian American Comparative Collection (AACC)

The Asian American Comparative Collection (AACC) is in the Laboratory of Anthropology, a unit of the Department of Sociology/Anthropology at the University of Idaho, Moscow. The AACC is a teaching, study, and research collection whose purpose is to investigate, interpret, understand, and appreciate the history, culture, archaeological sites, and artifacts of past and present Americans of Asian and Asian Pacific Islander ancestry.

Founded in 1982 by Dr. Priscilla Wegars to support the University's excavations of archaeological sites related to Asian immigrants in the Pacific Northwest, the AACC strives to obtain an actual example, or, where that is not possible, an image, of every artifact of Asian manufacture that is likely to be found on such sites or in related museum exhibits.

As part of the Laboratory of Anthropology, the AACC assists in the Laboratory's mission of enabling students to practice anthropology, archaeology, ethnography, and linguistics before entering the professional community. In addition, the AACC aids the work of the University of Idaho's Office of Multicultural Affairs (OMA), particularly with respect to assistance with the University of Idaho's Asian American Pacific Islander Association (AAPIA). For example, every spring OMA and AAPIA sponsor celebrations of Asian Pacific American Heritage Month on the University of Idaho campus. The AACC loans books, artifacts, and videos to AAPIA student members for on-campus exhibits and film showings.

The AACC provides opportunities for university students to use AACC materials for class projects and to undertake internships and directed studies on materials in the Collection. Faculty members have used AACC resources to inform both classroom lectures and published research. The AACC serves the public through outreach efforts such as lectures, discussions,

slide presentations, exhibits, artifact loans, tours, reference services, artifact identifications, a website, a newsletter, volunteer opportunities, and other activities as needed and requested. Additionally, the AACC partners with the local Palouse Asian American Association (PAAA) and the Lewis-Clark Center for Arts & History's Beuk Aie Temple exhibit, in Lewiston, Idaho, raise awareness of the Asian Pacific American presence in, and contributions to, the Pacific Northwest.

The AACC specializes in the following major areas: (1) artifacts, images, and bibliographical materials that enhance understanding of the economic, cultural, community, and historical contributions of people of Asian ancestry who immigrated to the West during the mid-nineteenth to mid-twentieth centuries; (2) items illustrating the experiences of people of Japanese ancestry confined in internment and incarceration camps in Idaho and elsewhere during World War II; (3) items necessary for appreciating the peoples, homelands, and cultures of late twentieth- and early twenty-first-century Asian and Pacific Islander immigrants to this region, and for understanding their transformation from Asians to Asian Americans; and (4) items documenting past and present anti-Asian sentiment, stereotypes, and propaganda.

Recently, the AACC has broadened its scope to advocate accurate terminology, sensitive museum exhibits, and nonracist geographic names. The AACC also works to destroy legends, myths, and stereotypes; to promote accurate usage of Asian languages; and to involve the Asian American community in taking ownership of its own history.

Priscilla Wegars

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Asian American Identity

See Authenticity in Asian American Identity

Asian American Labor in Alaska

The U.S. Census estimates that by the turn of the century, Asians, Native Hawaiians, and Pacific Islanders composed 4.5 percent of Alaska's total civilian workforce. These include workers of Asian Indian, Chinese, Filipino, Japanese, Korean, and Vietnamese descent, along with Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders.

Asian laborers, however, have been part of the state's workforce since the 1860s. Whaling ship records dating back to 1865 identify crewmembers as "Manila men" or individuals from the Philippines who served on exploratory and fur-trading vessels.

The first major wave of Asian laborers arrived later in the nineteenth century to work in Alaska's booming fish-canning industry and in smaller numbers at gold mines. In 1870, a gang of 13 Chinese salmon cannery hands was brought in by the Hume Brothers cannery on the Columbia River; within a decade Chinese workers numbered nearly 3,000, scattered among several dozen canneries. In 1880, the discovery of gold in the Silver Bow Basin valley also attracted Chinese laborers who cost mining companies considerably less than their European counterparts. These were immigrants who had originally taken part in the forty-niner rush in California, moved on to the Cassiar rush in Canada, and eventually ended in Alaska.

The influx of Chinese workers was stemmed by the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, which outlawed new immigration from China and prevented Chinese workers from returning to the United States. Within a few years, the effects of the statute were felt by canneries that had depended on cheap labor provided by the Chinese. Japanese workers came to fill the unmet demand. In time, the newcomers gained the acceptance of their predecessors, with some rising to become foremen and labor contractors themselves. They never fully displaced Chinese laborers and their hierarchy, but the Japanese did comprise a significant percentage of the labor force.

The mining companies also felt the effects of the Chinese Exclusion Act and sinophobia sweeping the West Coast during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Intense animus from the white community drove Chinese immigrants out of communities from California all the way to Alaska. In 1886, the citizens

of Juneau demanded that the Treadwell Gold Mining Company discharge all its Chinese employees.

In 1898, Spain ceded the Philippines to the United States under the Treaty of Paris. Filipinos became American nationals and were free to migrate to America. Filipino men seeking their fortunes eventually found their way to the canneries and mines of Alaska.

Filipino American cannery workers first appeared in the canneries in 1911. Along with other Asian cannery workers, Filipinos performed line jobs in the plants, primarily processing salmon. The tasks of Asian crews included sorting, gutting, cleaning, and packing fish. White crews were assigned the maintenance and operations of canneries. Filipino miners in turn labored at Alaskan mines from 1914 through the closing of mining operations, where they worked primarily as ore sorters.

From late 1907 through early 1908, President Theodore Roosevelt negotiated the Gentleman's Agreement with Japan, an informal pact that effectively ended the influx of Japanese immigrant workers into the United States. In exchange for ending the segregation of Japanese school children in San Francisco, Japan put a stop to emigration of its citizens to the United States.

By the 1920s, as both the Chinese Exclusion Act and the Gentleman's Agreement went into full effect, Filipinos arrived in significant numbers, replacing most of the Japanese and Chinese laborers in the canneries.

Filipino American workers were called "school-boys," as many came up from the West Coast during the summer months to work at the canneries, aspiring to earn enough money to pursue an education. The men never did make enough though because of the abusive contracting system at the plants.

Filipinos were recruited by an elite group of Asian labor contractors hired by the canneries. These contractors were responsible for managing and paying the wages and expenses of workers. Unscrupulous recruiters used the system to abuse and create harsh working conditions for the laborers.

Labor contractors exploited the new recruits' limited language proficiency and ignorance of American wage scales. The new immigrants compared what they

were offered with what they had earned in the Philippines, giving them the impression that they were fairly and adequately paid. Filipino workers also unwittingly signed contracts that bound them to work in the canneries for long periods of time. In the meantime, contractors profited handsomely on the difference between actual and estimated labor costs and kickbacks from merchants who sold cannery gear to the laborers. Moreover, some contractors did not pay workers at the end of a season, leaving them stranded and penniless. By the 1930s, however, Filipino cannery workers who called themselves “Alaskeros” had become the dominant Asian group and a few became contractors themselves.

The Great Depression, which began with the stock market crash of 1929, saw wages for low-skilled jobs like those in the canneries precipitously drop. The harsh economic times coupled with abuses at the hands of labor contractors led Alaskeros to unionize and fight for their rights.

On June 19, 1933, the Cannery Workers’ and Farm Laborers’ Union (CWFLU) was organized in Seattle to represent workers in Alaska’s salmon canneries who were primarily Filipino. The CWFLU was also chartered as Local 19527 by the American Federation of Labor (AFL) later that year. At about the same time, Asian and other waterfront workers in San Francisco had formed their own union, the Alaska Cannery Workers Union.

The Asian labor movement eventually galvanized after a couple of setbacks. On December 1, 1936, CWFLU’s president, Virgil Duyungan, and its secretary, Aurelio Simon, were murdered by an agent of a labor contractor. Soon thereafter, the discriminatory practices of the AFL led the CWFLU to break their affiliation with the federation and shift allegiance to the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). On November 4, 1937, Seattle and San Francisco unions joined the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packinghouse, and Allied Workers of America (UCAPAW) under the CIO. CWFLU becomes UCAPAWA-CIO Local 7. By 1938 the contracting system at Alaska’s canneries had been abolished.

The 1940s were turbulent years for the labor movement. World War II brought about the internment of Japanese immigrants and Japanese Americans,

thereby limiting union activity largely to Filipino American workers. Union membership declined as cannery workers enlisted in the military or found jobs in the defense industries. Those left dealt with political strife within and among unions. The war also brought about government-imposed emergency controls, including a ban on strikes and a wage freeze. By the summer of 1950, Local 7 had become Local 37 of the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen Union (ILWU).

The 1950s were equally volatile. The communist witch hunts implicated the cannery workers union and began to take its toll. One of Local 37 leaders, Ernesto Mangaoang, and 30 other Filipinos were placed in jail on November 17, 1949 under the suspicion of being communists. After close to three months of incarceration Mangaoang was released and ordered deported for his “subversive” acts.

Mangaoang was dogged by the deportation orders and court cases the next few years. His case made its way to the United States Supreme Court, and in 1953, his defense attorney, John Caughlan, argued that Mangaoang could not be deported as a subversive alien because he came to the United States when the Philippines was still an American territory. The Supreme Court ruled in Mangaoang’s favor and the landmark decision established residency rights for thousands of Filipino Americans who came into the country before the Philippines gained its independence from the United States in 1946. Although Mangaoang was a hero to the rank-and-file members of the union, he was ousted by the leadership in the fall of 1954.

The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 abolished the national origins quota system that had been in place since the 1920s and opened the doors for immigrants from Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

During the 1970s, Alaska’s canneries attracted Filipino and other immigrants. The younger newcomers found little in common with the union’s older leadership. Silme and Nemesio Domingo and Gene Viernes first established a separate organization, the Alaska Cannery Workers Association (ACWA), and later fought to reform Local 37 from within alongside other reform-minded members. By the fall of 1980, the reform forces had gained control of the union.

On June 1, 1981, Silme Domingo and Gene Viernes were shot and killed in the union hall. Before dying, Domingo named two Filipinos, Pompeyo Benito Guloy, Jr. and Jimmie Ramil, as the murderers. Local 37's president, Tony Baruso, became a suspect. The Philippine government under Dictator Ferdinand Marcos was also implicated in the killings. Guloy and Ramil were convicted of the crime that fall, although it took a decade for Baruso to be charged, tried, and convicted of planning the murders. In 1987, the union changed its name again to IBU/ILWU, Region 37 reflecting a merger of the Longshoremen's Union with the Inlandboatmen's Union of the Pacific.

Today, Asian Americans, Native Hawaiians, and Pacific Islanders belong to the broad and diverse workforce of Alaska. They tend to be concentrated in administrative, service, and blue-collar occupations, though they are also among managerial and professional ranks.

Erwin de Leon

See also Chinese Exclusion Acts (1882–1943); Japanese Exclusion; Labor Movement

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Asian American Labor Movement

See Labor Movement

Asian American Legal Defense and Education Fund (AALDEF)

The Asian American Legal Defense and Education Fund (AALDEF) was founded in 1974 and is a national organization that protects and promotes the civil rights of Asian Americans. It is a nonprofit organization that is supported by contributions from foundations, corporations and individuals from across the world. It is a founding member of the Public Interest Law Center in New York. In 1992, AALDEF and its sister organizations, the Asian Law Caucus in San Francisco and the Asian Pacific American Legal Center in Los Angeles, founded the National Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium (NAPALC), located in Washington, D.C.

AALDEF combines litigation, advocacy, and education to organize Asian American communities across the country. AALDEF focuses on issues affecting Asian Americans including: immigrant rights, civic participation and voting rights, economic justice

for workers, language access to services, Census and redistricting policy, affirmative action, youth rights and educational equity, housing and environmental justice, and the elimination of anti-Asian violence, police misconduct, and human trafficking.

It has a 21-person staff, including 11 lawyers and over 300 volunteers, including pro bono attorneys, community workers, and students. AALDEF provides legal resources for community-based organizations and facilitates grassroots community-organizing efforts. It also conducts free, multilingual legal advice clinics for low-income Asian Americans and new immigrants, educates Asian Americans about their legal rights, comments on proposed legislation and governmental policies; and trains students in public interest law and encourages them to use their legal skills to serve the community.

AALDEF has nine central litigation and social justice campaigns:

- (1) Economic justice for workers in the restaurant, garment, hotel, nail salon, construction, and domestic service industries, where wages may be as low as \$1.40/hour without overtime pay. In 2008, AALDEF helped 36 Chinese immigrant delivery workers win an unprecedented \$4.6 million judgment against two Saigon Grill restaurants in New York City.
- (2) Immigrant rights and post-9/11 civil liberties campaign advocates for fair immigration policies that promote family reunification, enforce protection for all workers, and calls for the recognition of the human rights of undocumented immigrants in the United States.
- (3) The voting rights and civic participation project aims to improve access of Asian Americans to the electoral process by monitoring polling stations for anti-Asian voter discrimination and challenging redistricting plans that go against communities of interest. In 2000, AALDEF conducted the largest exit poll to date surveying over 5,000 Asian Americans who cast their votes in New York City.
- (4) Educational equity and youth rights initiative responds to school dropout rates and post-9/11 racial and ethnic profiling of Asian American students to advocate for policies that address the diverse needs of Asian American students. This initiative seeks to challenge the model minority stereotype surrounding Asian American students, which prevents them from receiving adequate attention and resources to aid school retention and improve academic access and performance.
- (5) Anti-trafficking initiative provides legal representation to trafficked women and youth in the United States. In 1993, AALDEF stepped in to represent the Chinese immigrants who were trafficked on the Golden Venture ship, which ran aground in Far Rockaway, New York.
- (6) Housing and environmental justice project fights against displacement of low-income residents due to gentrification. In 1986, AALDEF won a major ruling in New York's highest court in *Chinese Staff and Workers Association v. City of New York*. This victory successfully blocked the construction of the Henry Street Tower, a proposed luxury high-rise condominium in Chinatown.
- (7) Affirmative action campaign supports programs and policies that promote equal opportunity and racial diversity in the workplace and in higher education.
- (8) Anti-Asian bias project provides legal assistance to Asian Americans who are victims of bias in the workplace, at school, and in their neighborhoods.
- (9) AALDEF's Twenty10 Project seeks to secure a more accurate count of Asian Americans in the 2010 Census through policy advocacy, community education, and organizing. This data is influential in decisions to allocate funds for government programs in education, employment, healthcare, and transportation and housing benefits.

With their nine programs, AALDEF continues to be the leading social justice agency on the East Coast concerned with the civil rights of Asian Americans.

Winnie Tam Hung

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Asian American LGBT Activism

See LGBT Activism

Asian American Movement (AAM)

The Asian American Movement (AAM), as the collective action of ordinary people in a sustained and widely distributed struggle to effect social change, emerged in the late 1960s. The AAM was largely student-based and urban but also included multiple generations of activists from diverse socioeconomic backgrounds. It took place throughout California, particularly the San Francisco Bay Area and Los Angeles, and New York City, but it also extended from Hawaii to Denver to Boston. The AAM is distinguished from earlier activism—labor strikes, opposition to exclusion and racist legislation, and support for homeland issues—by its pan-Asian focus, bringing together mainly Chinese, Japanese, and Filipinos but also Koreans, South Asians, and Southeast Asians united against racism. Influenced by Black Power and Third World revolutions, the AAM drew heavily from an anti-imperialist, antiracist politics that emphasized solidarity with United States and international Third World struggles. The Movement created numerous community service programs, many of which exist to this day. It inspired a rich outpouring of music, visual art, poetry, and other creative works; forced a more complex discussion of race and activism; generated a radical vision for a transformed society; raised the political consciousness and practice of an entire generation; and motivated future generations to struggle for justice.

Still, Asian American activism remains virtually invisible within mainstream scholarly and public

communities. Two frameworks—the logic governing U.S. race relations and the tendency toward liberalism—help explain the erasure of the AAM. First, the model minority image was popularized in two respected national newsmagazines (see the January 9, 1966, issue of *New York Times Magazine*, and the December 26, 1966, issue of *U.S. News & World Report*). The dominance of this image promoted hard work, frugality, self-reliance—and not resistance—as pathways to upward mobility. That the articles were published in 1966, the same year that birthed Black Power and the Black Panther Party, created a divide between the black protest tradition and an alleged Asian American political passivity. Second, social movement studies created a “good sixties/bad sixties” binary that privileged the pre-1968 civil rights and early New Left movements. In addition, although the field of Asian American studies has produced the bulk of AAM studies, particularly between the late 1960s and late 1970s and since the mid-1990s, the field has not developed anything like the substantive focus on Black freedom movements created in black Studies, history, and related areas. Even as more analytic AAM studies have been published since 2000, there is little by way of a historiographical analysis of the AAM, though a notable exception is Fujino.

The AAM may well have started with the coining of the term, “Asian American,” by the Asian American Political Alliance (AAPA) and its cofounder Yuji Ichioka in Berkeley in May 1968. From the start, pan-Asian formation was a political strategy—rather than an assumption of any shared cultures, traditions, or histories—to unite small numbers of disparate groups to contest a common racial oppression. Social demographics enabled this unity when the baby boom generation, sharing a common language, media, and youth culture, met on college campuses. In addition, the growth of Third World anticolonial movements and the rise of Black Power created the political conditions that linked pan-Asianness to Third World solidarity and internationalism.

Berkeley’s AAPA inspired political youth formations nationwide. Until then, the numerous Asian American organizations on college campuses and in the community were primarily social or cultural in focus. In September 1968, UCLA’s Oriental Concern

(started as Sansei Concern in April 1968) convened an “I am Yellow, Curious” Asian American conference. In January 1969, UC Berkeley’s Chinese and Japanese American clubs sponsored “The Asian Experience in America/Yellow Identity” symposium that gave direction to the emerging AAM. George Woo, fiery speaker and ICSA and Chinatown activist, chastised students for developing an identity devoid of community responsibility. Most attendees were eager to engage in community work and to support the San Francisco State’s Third World strike, then two-months strong, though some questioned whether racism affected Asian Americans and whether confrontation was necessary. In the end, participants passed a resolution supporting the Third World strike and the general movement for Asian American studies. The next day, AAPA held a strategic planning meeting. To their surprise, the attendees, representing 13 campuses throughout California as well as New York and Hawaii, voted to form AAPA chapters nationwide. This loose formation of AAPA groups was instrumental in developing the nationwide AAM.

Berkeley’s AAPA illustrates how the overall AAM, although embracing diverse politics, was shaped in the milieu of Black Power and Third World radicalism. There was widespread unity about providing community service and on opposing racism. The majority also embraced an anti-imperialist politics linked to Third World solidarity and internationalism. To some, anti-imperialism meant a focus on economic inequalities among people and between nations. Others applied a Marxist analysis of capitalism and a Leninist analysis of imperialism. The AAM youth contested their parents’ generation’s views on race and mobility, represented by assimilationist aspirations to move toward whiteness. In the monthly newspaper *Gidra*, produced at UCLA and known as the “voice of the Asian American Movement,” Amy Uyematsu called on the AAM to adopt Black Power’s desire for self-determination over integration and for giving power to the most oppressed. She inverted the anti-black racism expressed by many Asian Americans by seeking solidarity with blacks in the fight against racism. AAM activists were already immersed in Black Power struggles, most notably Yuri Kochiyama, connected with Malcolm X and associates in Harlem;

Richard Aoki, the highest-ranking Asian American in the Black Panther Party; and the San Francisco Chinatown street youth of the Red Guard Party.

Though the AAM was a broad, multifaceted movement that resists simple quantification, it is also reasonable to identify five major issues of Asian American organizing. First, as seen in the Yellow Identity symposium, the Third World strikes for ethnic studies, launched at San Francisco State College in November 1968 and UC Berkeley in January 1969, sparked the AAM. The students had four major goals in establishing Third World studies. First, they centered the experiences and perspectives of racial groups through ethnic studies classes. Second, they increased access to higher education for racially and economically marginalized students through special admissions programs. Third, as Chinatown and other working-class youth entered college, students reevaluated the relationship between campus and community. They transformed courses to focus on community service and empowerment, rather than on corporate training for individual upward mobility. Fourth, they demanded self-determination through control of the curriculum and the hiring of faculty. Asian American and ethnic studies programs soon developed at UCLA, UC Santa Barbara, City College of New York, and elsewhere around the nation.

Second, as reflected in George Woo’s call for a community focus, the AAM prioritized providing direct services to and empowering Asian American working-class communities. From the Asian Community Center (ACC) in San Francisco (emerging from Berkeley’s AAPA), to the *Gidra* newspaper collective in Los Angeles, to I Wor Kuen (IWK) in New York (emerging from Columbia’s AAPA), there was a strong emphasis on “serve the people” programs. IWK, in its first newspaper issue, rebuked the government for failing human rights demands for decent health care, housing, education, and jobs, and sought to empower the Chinatown community to creatively meet its own needs. The ACC credited Mao with the phrase “serve the people” and the Black Panthers with the idea of providing services to ameliorate social problems, although revealing contradictions about the self-serving interests of resource-rich governments and corporations. From the ACC’s Everybody’s

Bookstore, to the East Bay Japanese for Action services for seniors emerging from Berkeley's Asian American studies, to IWK's establishment of New York Chinatown's first health clinic, to East Wind's efforts to take over the Resthaven mental health facility in Los Angeles Chinatown, to Yellow Brotherhood's self-help drug program, to Asian Sisters' childcare, to widespread efforts to resist the redevelopment of Little Tokyos, Chinatowns, and Manilatowns, the AAM was ripe with community service programs. The best known of these community struggles was the San Francisco International Hotel campaign, which for 10 years (1968–1977) galvanized the AAM around housing rights for Filipino and Chinese seniors.

Third, protests against the Vietnam War dominated U.S. activism and ignited worldwide struggles. The war fought in Asia held special meaning to a movement developing pan-Asian unity. Moving beyond the liberal peace movement's focus on American interests, AAM activist situated the war in terms of racism, genocide, and U.S. imperialism. At the home of leading AAM activist Yuri Kochiyama, Malcolm X stated as early as June 1964: "The struggle of the Vietnamese is the struggle of all Third World people. It's the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, and neo-colonialism." This analysis was widely promoted in the AAM. The Los Angeles Asian Coalition expressed in a 1973 *Gidra* article: "In Vietnam, corporations are financing a war to create new markets and develop a cheap labor force, at the expense of democratic rights of Vietnamese people." AAPA in Berkeley expressed "solidarity with the Vietnamese people and the NLF [National Liberation Front opposed to both the South Vietnamese and U.S. governments], and demand[ed] an end to imperialism, political repression, and the exploitation of all Third World peoples." Asian Americans for Action (AAA) in New York City printed their position on the Vietnam War, demanding an immediate withdrawal of troops and support for Vietnamese self-determination. AAA further linked Vietnam with U.S. expansionism throughout the Pacific Rim and led the AAM's efforts, in solidarity with Japanese antiwar activists, to repeal the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty and remove the U.S. military from Okinawa. Kochiyama, who worked with AAA, expressed the interconnectedness of U.S.

militarism in Asia: "The bases set up on Okinawa are invasion bases to Asian countries (especially Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Thailand, and Korea), to attack, supply military arms and ammunitions, and to transport supplies, and to train and entertain US soldiers."

A 1971 *Gidra* article, "GI's and Asian Women," posited that the dehumanizing images of Asian women promoted their use as sex objects, while perpetuating racism against all Asians, making it easier for U.S. soldiers to kill "gooks" in Vietnam. As long as U.S. military aggression occurs in Asia, the author cautioned, racism will continue against Asian Americans. Black and Chicano activists also denounced the hypocrisy of the United States for fighting for freedom and democracy abroad although ignoring inequalities at home. By raising the incarceration of Japanese Americans and the atrocities of Hiroshima, AAM groups called attention to the existence of anti-Asian racism as well as U.S. imperialist policies in Asia. AAM activists had moved the antiwar movement from focusing primarily on protecting American lives to a discussion of ending racism and imperialism in the United States and abroad.

Fourth, in the midst of U.S. postwar prosperity and the transformation of Japan from archenemy to subordinate ally, Asian American upward mobility in jobs, education, and residence served to obscure their working-class past and present. Although the mainstream Japanese and Chinese American communities reveled in their newly acquired model minority status, AAM activists raised awareness of the deplorable labor and living conditions of working-class Chinese, Filipino, and Japanese communities. AAM activists traveled to Delano in Central California to support Filipino and Mexican farm workers in the famous grape strike by Cesar Chavez's United Farm Workers of America (UFW). In 1965, Filipino workers, older and with more political and labor experience, started the strike, though Mexican farm workers predominated in numbers. AAM activists also supported Chicano students who pressured colleges to refrain from purchasing grapes in solidarity with the nationwide consumer boycott. Whether renovating the International Hotel or helping to build Agbayani Village, a UFW retirement home, AAM activists demonstrated solidarity with working-class elders.

There was a strong focus on labor issues and history in Asian American studies courses, AAM publications like *Gidra* and *Bridge*, and the newspapers of AAPA, AAA, and other AAM organizations. Perhaps most influential were Carlos Bulosan's semiautobiographical novel, *America Is in the Heart*, detailing the agonizing struggles of Filipino laborers of the 1930s and '40s, and Karl Yoneda's essay "100 Years of Japanese Labor History in the USA," published in the major Asian American studies textbook, *Roots*. That Bulosan and Yoneda were both connected with communism/socialism and militant labor organizing illustrates the ways capitalist critiques shaped the AAM. Through a combination of political struggle, life experiences, and study, many AAM activists gained a class consciousness and a few even dropped out of college to live out their working-class politics, to dignify manual labor, and to organize in Asian American communities. Wei Min She activist Steve Louie became a dock worker and East Wind activist Mo Nishida, with a bachelor's degree in chemistry, chose manual labor and residence in Los Angeles Little Tokyo to stay close to the rhythms of this community. In 1974 in New York Chinatown, Asian Americans for Equal Employment was founded to protest the lack of Chinese construction workers in the building of Confucius Plaza, a 44-story, 760-unit public housing cooperative that included a school, day-care, stores, and community space. Also in 1974 in San Francisco Chinatown, Wei Min She and the Asian Community Center organized support for 135 mainly Chinese garment workers at the Jung Sai sewing company to protest years of harassment, speed-ups, and sweatshop conditions.

Fifth, although the AAM focused heavily on race, class, and nation, the very act of women participating in political struggles, for the first time in large numbers, inspired an awareness of gender inequality in society and within the movement itself. Like other women of color, Asian American women felt alienated from the predominantly white liberal feminist movement by its inattention to race and class. Instead, they sought to work alongside "our brothers" against sexism because "[i]t is the social system [of capitalism], not men, which is the enemy." Drawing from Black and Chicana feminism, the Asian American women's

movement promoted a politic of intersectionality to address the "triple oppression" of sexism, racism, and class inequality. In consciousness-raising rap sessions, Asian American women told moving stories about the ways sexism affected their lives and shared frustrations, anger, hopes, and struggles in supportive spaces. They developed small and intensive study groups to examine the historical roots of women's oppression. One particularly poignant moment occurred at an AAM meeting when one man introduced himself and then said, "[T]his is my wife; she has nothing to say." The women exploded in anger—a response that likely would not have occurred outside of this developing feminist consciousness. As they protested being relegated to "women's roles" and marginalized from leadership, they pushed several AAM publications, notably *Gidra*, *Bridge*, and *East Wind*, to devote special issues to women's liberation. Student-based women's collectives at UC Berkeley and Stanford University published Asian American women's anthologies. Berkeley's *Asian Women* articulated a feminist analysis of Asian women's subordination linked to capitalism and racism. Articles centered on opposition to the Vietnam War, including a delegation's report on the influential Indochinese Women's Conference in Vancouver, and on how the U.S. government's use of toxic chemicals in Vietnam and the sterilization of Third World women created a situation of "genocide." Though there was less attention to sexuality than in current women's anthologies, *Asian Women* criticized the inequality of birth control (sterilization and IUDs to Third World women and the Pill to middle-class U.S. women), advocated women's control of their own bodies and sexuality, and supported gay rights. That *Asian Women* became the main textbook in Asian American women's courses suggests the impact of the journal's radical critiques of racism, patriarchy, capitalism, and imperialism on the AAM.

AAM organizations also started their own women's collectives to support women's issues and leadership. Recognizing that mothering placed strains on women activists that limited their participation and leadership, groups like I Wor Kuen developed a child-care system where all activists, parents and non-parents, men and women, had to rotate childcare duties and numerous collective households provided support

for childcare and household work. The intensity of children's needs and sexism in society, however, made it near impossible for AAM activists and organizations to fully reconcile the gender inequality in parenting and movement leadership. Still, the collective leadership models embraced by the AAM and Asian American women's advocacy enabled women's participation in ways not previously seen. Notably, Asian American women provided the major leadership in I Wor Kuen and its later incarnation as the League of Revolutionary Struggle. AAM activists also started centers to serve women's needs. In Los Angeles, recognizing that women constituted one-third of drug overdoses and that women drug users faced sexual assault and other vulnerabilities, Asian Sisters gained federal funding to provide a drug treatment program. In 1972, Asian Sisters established the Asian Women's Center to expand its services to include childcare, health, education, and counseling. Replicating the AAM's collective leadership model, the Center operated through egalitarian coordinating committees and collectivized salaries to expand its staff.

In 1977, after a 10-year battle, the elderly tenants were evicted from the International Hotel. Their eviction and the hotel's later demolition symbolize the end of the AAM. Not only did the prolonged struggle and loss deflate the AAM in a period of overall social movement decline and professionalization of activists, many AAM organizations, located at the I Hotel, lost their offices. Although the most vibrant phase of the AAM ended, just as the I Hotel activists resurrected the new International Hotel and International Hotel Manilatown Center at the site 30 years ago, the AAM continues.

One most important legacy of the 1960s–70s AAM is the infrastructure of community-based organizations. The Asian Law Caucus in San Francisco, established in 1972 as the AAM's first legal organization, continues to this day serving Asian American working-class communities. In the 1980s, the Asian Law Caucus reopened the landmark case of Fred Korematsu and successfully overturned his 1940s conviction for evading evacuation orders. Many new organizations also emerged. Though too numerous to name, these include several South Asian women's organizations fighting domestic violence, the Korean Immigrant Workers Advocates organizing Korean and

Latino workers in Koreatown restaurants, and the Nikkei for Civil Rights & Redress (formerly the National Council for Redress/Reparations) that issued immediate calls for nondiscrimination against Arabs and Muslims in the wake of 9/11 and organized widespread support for Japanese American Ehren Watada, the first commissioned officer to refuse deployment to Iraq. In the mid-1990s, the Asian Immigrant Women's Advocates launched a nationwide campaign for Chinese immigrant garment workers denied back wages from Jessica McClintock. The three-year struggle helped spark the anti-sweatshop movement on college campuses nationwide and a labor consciousness in a new generation of youth. In these ways, the AAM continues to the present, providing direct services, organizing for political and economic rights, developing political frameworks for contesting multiple inequalities, inspiring a radical vision of liberation, and engaging new and veteran activists in the struggles for justice.

Diane Carol Fujino

See also Asian American Political Alliance (AAPA); I Wor Kuen (IWK); *Korematsu v. United States* (1945)

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Asian American Muslims

Asian American Muslims refer to adherents of the religion of Islam who are of Asian American descent. In fact, the term "Asian American Muslim" is rarely

used in scholarly research and the mass media, because this term concerns two complex and shifting concepts/categories—Asian American and American Muslim—that are developed based on different and sometimes competing social, economic, and political goals.

In the U.S. Census, Asian Americans usually refer to U.S. citizens or residents who originate from the peoples of the Far East, Southeast Asia, and South Asia, such as Chinese, Filipino, Indian, Vietnamese, Korean, Japanese, and others; whereas, Asians from other parts of the Asian continent, such as Siberia, central Asia, Asian Minor, the Arabia peninsula and the Persian Gulf area, are usually not considered “Asian” but classified as “white.” Therefore, if not otherwise noted, Asian American Muslims normally refer to Muslims originated from the East Asia, South Asia, and Southeast Asia. However, although Arab Americans are usually not considered Asian in the United States, the earliest Muslim immigrants to the United States at the end of nineteenth century were mostly Arabs from the Greater Syrian region of the falling Ottoman Empire and often categorized as “Turkey in Asia” or “other Asian” in the U.S. Census. Because racial categories evolve constantly, the boundaries of Asian American Muslims may shift in the future.

History

At the end of nineteenth century, Arabs from various parts of the Ottoman Empire began to appear on the American shore. Among these Arab immigrants, the majority were Christians who fled their homeland to the New World to escape religious persecution under the Ottoman Empire and the worsened economic conditions in the Mount Lebanon area. Along with these Christians, a smaller number of Arab Muslims also arrived, including *Sunni*, *Shi’a*, *Alawite*, and *Druze*. However, eager to be distinguished from Muslim “Turks” who were often stigmatized, these Arab Muslims identified themselves as Syrians. In fact, both Christian and Muslim Arabs were initially (and to a large degree are still) viewed by outsiders as a single community. Official U.S. immigration records listed them as “Turkey in Asia” or “Other Asian.” These Arab Muslims are probably the earliest Muslim immigrants to the United States who were considered

Asian in terms of race. The racial categorization of Arab Americans has gone through significant changes during the last 100 years. After first being labeled as “Turkey in Asia,” or “Asiatic,” or “colored,” they later became “white.”

These early Muslim immigrants from the Asian continent are characterized as sojourners who came only for economic betterment and intended to go home when conditions improved. Many of them were uneducated men. Most found employment as unskilled laborers in factories, mines, and in peddling. Some later became small shopkeepers and even large merchants. Some sent for their families, whereas others married locally to Christian women. These immigrants mostly settled in major urban areas such as New York, Chicago, Boston, Detroit, and Toledo. Instead of seeking to assimilate into mainstream American society, as more and more Arabic-speaking immigrants and refugees came to the United States, Arab Muslims formed ethnic communities around the metropolises, especially the Detroit area.

During the same period of time, a small number of South Asian Muslims also set their feet on American soil. A few peasants from the present-day Pakistani Punjab area arrived around 1900. However, as Asian immigration was stopped by the National Origins Quota Act of 1924 and the peasants ended up marrying primarily Mexican American women, these immigrants failed to establish large ethnic communities as the Arabs did. Although the United States enacted the Luce-Celler Act extending citizenship through naturalization to Indians, this legislation was still limited by the quota system set in 1924 legislation and thus produced few immigrants. Large numbers of Indian and Pakistani immigrants (among them a large number of Muslims) would begin to arrive only after the major changes in U.S. immigration legislation in 1965. Scholars believe that Muslim identity did not play an important role for these early Muslim immigrants. People preferred to use ethnic terms to identify themselves, such as “Arab” and “Asian Indian.” For these early Muslim immigrants, identities associated with tribal or ethnic affiliations or places of birth were more important than their Muslim identity.

The Immigration and Naturalization Services Act of 1965 abolished the national-origin quotas that had

been in place in the United States since the Immigration Act of 1924. This act dramatically changed the face of American society by allowing immigrants from all over the world who were not allowed previously to enter the United States. Many believe that the 1965 legislation turned the United States into a multicultural nation from a nation primarily comprised of white Europeans and African Americans. Since the implementation of the law, the relative proportion of the white population has been in steady decline. Hispanics have replaced African Americans as the largest racial minority in the United States. There has been enormous growth of immigration from non-European nations, especially Asian countries, since the implementation of the law as well. In addition to changes in the demographic composition of American population, the change of immigration policy also drastically changed the American religious structure. The Protestant-Catholic-Jewish religious landscape described by sociologist Will Herbert in the 1950s soon turned into a prospering religious market where various religious traditions brought by immigrants compete. When Buddhists and Hindus were building their temples, and Sikhs were constructing Gurdwaras, Muslims also started establishing Islamic centers and mosques across the country.

Soon after the passage of the Immigration Act of 1965, immigration statistics and the Census show a sharp rise in the number of immigrants from India and Pakistan in the late 1960s, from Bangladesh after 1970–1971, and from Afghanistan after 1979. Although the law prohibited the Census Bureau from asking about religious affiliation in its regular surveys, based on the high percentage of Muslims in South Asian countries, scholars believe that a large number of Muslims also entered the country. This significant increase in the number of South Asian Muslims changed the face of the American Muslim community as well as the racial/ethnic relation and power structure within the diverse community. Today, Asian American Muslims are predominantly South Asian in origin. South Asian Muslim also becomes one of the three largest ethnic groups representing Islam in the United States, the other two being Arab Muslim and African American Muslim. With the establishment of many Islamic organizations across the country, Asian

American Muslims now become more and more visible in American society.

Demographics

Because the law prohibited the Census Bureau from asking about religious affiliation in its regular surveys, precise demographic composition of Muslim population is hard to obtain. Therefore, we can only obtain rough estimates of the population of Asian American Muslims.

According to a survey conducted by the American Muslim Council—one of the largest Muslim lobbying organizations in the United States—the major Muslim racial and ethnic groups are African American (42%), South Asian (24.4%), Arab (12.4%), and white (2%) (Nu'man, cited in Schmidt 2004). Yet, a widely cited Muslim ethnic group breakdown is based on a more detailed Faith Communities Today (FACT) survey conducted by the Hartford Theological Seminary (2001). According to this survey, regular mosque attendees are made up of South Asians (33%), African Americans (30%), Arabs (25%), Africans (3.4%), Europeans (2.1%), white Americans (1.6%), Southeast Asians (1.3%), Caribbeans (1.2%), Turkish (1.1%), Iranians (0.7%), and Hispanics/Latinos (0.6%). The FACT survey also reports that converts make up 30 percent of the U.S. Mosque participants. Among the converts, 64 percent are African American, 27 percent are White, 6 percent are Hispanic, and 3 percent are classified as others. However, this survey gathers data from mosques and excludes the “un-mosqued” Muslims. A more recent national survey conducted by the Pew Research Center (2007) presents a somewhat different picture. According to its report, 38 percent of the interviewees describe themselves as white, 26 percent as black, 20 percent Asian, and 16 percent other or mixed race.

Though Islam is the fastest-growing religion in the United States, the Muslim population is still very small, making up roughly 0.6 to 2.4 percent of the U.S. population, or 1.1 to 8 million based on available studies. Thus, Asian American Muslims are but a tiny fraction of the U.S. population. Yet, its importance both to the Muslim community and the Asian American community is not to be ignored.



Members of the Patel family from Gujarat, India, sit around a table during their traditional Eid al-Adha meal in Clifton, New Jersey, October 26, 2012. (Robert Nickelsberg/Getty Images)

The majority of Asian American Muslims are from the South Asian countries such as Afghanistan, Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, Iran, and others. There are also a small number of Southeast Asian Muslims, mainly from Malaysia and Indonesia, and Chinese Muslims (or *Huihui*), mostly arrived in Southern California in the years around 1949 when the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) seized power. Except Iranian American Muslims who are largely *Shi'ites*, Asian American Muslims are predominantly *Sunnis*.

South Asian Muslims

South Asian Muslims, mainly from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Afghanistan, have a largely shared cultural, social, and political history and are usually deemed as one diasporic group in the United States. They mostly arrived after the passage of the

1965 Immigration Act and have been growing steadily during the last half century. Because of the 1965 Immigration Act that gives priorities to professionals, most new South Asian immigrants were well educated and highly skilled professionals ready for employment or post-graduate students who later sought employment in the United States and became citizens or permanent residents. According to the 1990 U.S. Census, immigrants from India had the highest median household income, the highest percentage of bachelor's degrees, and the highest percentage of professional employment. Studies indicate that South Asian Muslims, especially Pakistanis and Indian Muslims, are usually of higher socioeconomic status than Muslims of other ethnic background. This advantage coupled with their mastery of the English language enable South Asians to assume leadership roles in many local Muslim communities as well as national Islamic organizations.

Scholars argue that South Asian Muslims' experiences in the United States are very different from those of Arab Muslims and African American Muslims. Throughout their long-time interaction with Hindus in the Indian subcontinent, South Asian Muslims are more or less influenced by the Hindu culture, especially in the aspects of food, clothing style, entertainment options, wedding ceremonies, and so on. In addition, South Asians are often categorized as Asian Americans—an important pan-ethnic identity developed in the U.S. racial and ethnic politics. Like other Asian Americans, as “model minority,” South Asian Muslims face different opportunities and challenges than Arab Muslims, who are more deeply involved in the Arab American struggles, and African American Muslims, whose utmost concern has been racial discrimination. Ethnic mosques that have been widely established in the United States deepen such differences among various ethnic groups within the American Muslim community. Some worry that the growing impact of South Asians at various levels may create conflict as they develop their own vision of how Islam should be practiced in the United States. The friction between indigenous African Americans, who are often “new Muslims,” and new immigrants, who are “new Americans,” also create barriers for Muslims from divergent backgrounds to come together and form a unifying “American Muslim” community.

Thus, it is important to understand the tension between Asian American identity and American Muslim identity, as the former emphasizes on racial and ethnic relations; whereas the latter centers on the relations between Muslims minority and non-Muslim majority, which is critical in the post-9/11 American society. How South Asians negotiate their multiple identities has far-reaching impact on the development of both Asian American and American Muslim communities, especially on the latter. Research on American Muslim community is growing but still small in scale and number.

Ahmadis among South Asian Muslims

I include a short description of *Ahmadis* in this section is because *Ahmadis* played a role in spreading Islam in

the United States, especially through their contact with African American Muslims.

The *Ahmadiyya* movement began in the Punjab area in 1889 by Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, who claimed that he was the *mahdi*—or the rightful leader from the Prophet's family. The movement began to send missionaries to the United States in the 1920s. These missionaries published the first English-language Muslim newspaper in the United States and provided English translations of the Qur'an to African American Muslims and taught them about the five pillars of Islam.

After the Pakistani government declared *Ahmadis* as non-Muslims in 1974, *Ahmadi* immigrants in the United States encountered vehement opposition from mainstream *Sunni* Muslims and are often stigmatized. The relationship between *Ahmadi* immigrants and African American *Ahmadis* has not been easy either. Unlike African American *Ahmadis* who often concentrate in inner cities, immigrant *Ahmadis* usually live in the suburbs and have better socio-economic conditions. Yvonne Haddad and Jane Smith's 1993 book, *Mission to America: Five Islamic Sectarian Communities in North America*, carefully examines the history of *Ahmadi* community in the United States.

Other Asian American Muslims

Other major Asian American Muslim subgroups are Southeast Asian Muslims and Chinese Muslims. However, because of their small numbers, these ethnic Muslim groups are rarely documented in the literature.

Southeast Asian Muslims mostly come from Indonesia and Malaysia. According to the 2000 U.S. Census, there are about 70,000 Indonesia Americans in the United States. Although Indonesia is the most populous Muslim-majority country in the world with a Muslim population of more than 200 million, Indonesian American Muslims are rarely documented because of their small number—they are only part of the 1.3 percent Southeast Asians reported in the FACT survey. Out of about 46,000 Malaysian Americans (2000 U.S. Census), of whom many are Chinese Malaysians in ethnicity, Malaysian Muslims are also very few in number. According to anecdotal accounts,

Malaysian Muslim students on university campuses in the 1990s were active members of the Muslim Student Associations (MSA) and some even played leadership roles in the MSAs.

The presence of Islam in China dates back to 650 C.E. Prior to the 1950s, Muslims in China of various ethnic backgrounds are generally identified as *Huihui*, meaning returning. Since the 1950s, the Chinese government applied a nationality system, according to which 10 ethnic groups are now recognized as followers of Islam. *Hui Zu*, or *Hui* people, the largest ethnic Muslim minority in China, are mostly indistinguishable from *Han* Chinese—the majority—in terms of facial appearance and language. In the years before and after 1949 when the Chinese Communist Party came into power, a small number of *Hui* people fled to the United States, many by way of Taiwan. Among them many were *Hui* officials or *Hui* generals in the Kuomintang government, such as Ma Bufang and Bai Chongxi. Like other Chinese immigrants during that period of time, many Chinese Muslims also settled down in California. During the 1980s, as the result of the loosened emigration policy, more Chinese Muslims made their ways to the United States, among whom many were first generation college students in their families. Now, Chinese American Muslim community in the Los Angeles area still actively holds various community activities and is planning on establishing a Chinese mosque. Aminah Beverly McCloud, an Islamic scholar at Depaul University, is probably the first scholar that writes about Chinese American Muslims, although only briefly.

Yuting Wang

See also Immigration Act of 1924

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Asian American 1.5 Generation

See 1.5 Generation Asian Americans

Asian American Political Alliance (AAPA)

The Asian American Political Alliance (AAPA) was the one of the most influential organizations of the Asian American Movement. At a time when pan-Asian unity was uncommon, AAPA coined the very term "Asian American" that has since become common nomenclature in U.S. society. AAPA, first formed at the University of California, Berkeley (UC Berkeley) in May 1968, inspired the formation of a loose network of AAPA organizations nationwide, which were among the most important student formations of the early Asian American Movement.

Yuji Ichioka and Emma Gee, themselves a pan-Asian couple, recruited student leaders at UC Berkeley and politically minded individuals from on- and off-campus to form an Asian American caucus of the Peace and Freedom Party. But at that first meeting,

held at the couple's home, an independent organization evolved. Influenced by the radicalism of the Peace and Freedom Party, Black Power, and the New Left, AAPA viewed itself as "a people's alliance to effect political and social change" and sought to "develop an American Society [sic] which is just, humane, equal, and gives the people the right to control their own lives." Their program, "AAPA Is," asserted that "American society is historically racist and is one which has systematically employed social discrimination and economic imperialism, both domestically and internationally, to exploit all people, but especially non-Whites." This one sentence, printed in the first issue of their newspaper (Nov.–Dec. 1968), revealed three key components of AAPA's program. First, AAPA asserted that Asian American oppression was rooted in racism, imperialism, and economic exploitation under capitalism. Though less emphasized, AAPA also struggled against sexism and included lengthy articles on women's liberation in their newspaper. The organization embraced leftist politics and sought a fundamental transformation of society that was ideologically aligned with Black Power. Second, from its beginning, the new pan-Asian unity promoted by AAPA was intricately linked to Third World radicalism and justice for "all people." AAPA's gaze was thus expansive and inclusive. Third, the AAPA paid attention to local, national, and global issues and analyzed their interconnections. In addition, AAPA connected the personal with the political in attending to various aspects of oppression—social, psychological, economic, and political. They stated that, "[O]ur concept of 'political' encompasses the complete redefinition of traditional politics, so that the necessity for personal involvement and interaction with others as human beings is realized." AAPA thus emphasized small group work, so that "trust" and "an understanding of another's actions" could facilitate their political endeavors.

Two early AAPA projects focused on opposition to U.S. militarism and the struggle for ethnic studies. Given that several Japanese American members, or their parents, had been incarcerated during World War II, AAPA emerged as one of the earliest groups to promote Japanese American redress. In the first issue of its newspaper, the group also denounced Title II of the McCarran Act of 1950, which authorized

the detention of any person *suspected* of being a threat to national security. Recognizing that the U.S. government might again incarcerate people without any evidence and that this time the main target would be Black militants, AAPA forged Afro-Asian solidarity. The group also strongly protested the Vietnam War. Unlike many U.S. antiwar groups that focused on saving American lives, AAPA stressed self-determination for Vietnamese people and defended "all oppressed peoples and their struggles for liberation." AAPA also supported the new Draft Help center in San Francisco Chinatown, informing working-class immigrants of their deferral rights and opposing fighting in "a war against other Asians in a nation that is being exploited by America."

AAPA exerted leadership in the Third World strikes at San Francisco State College (SF State) and UC Berkeley, which spurred the development of Asian American and ethnic studies programs throughout the nation. Inspired by Berkeley's AAPA, an AAPA chapter emerged at SF State that played a pivotal role in that campus's five-month strike. At UC Berkeley, AAPA created the campus's first Asian American Studies course, offered in winter 1969. When Berkeley's strike for ethnic studies began that same quarter, AAPA provided the major Asian American leadership. In January 1969, Asian American student groups from throughout California and beyond attended the Yellow Identity symposium at UC Berkeley and committed themselves to supporting the two-month old San Francisco State strike and the general movement for ethnic studies.

Though unplanned, the Yellow Identity delegates also agreed to form AAPA chapters at their respective campuses. This was similar to, but less structured than, the Chicano student gathering at UC Santa Barbara, where participants agreed to form MEChA organizations and created *El Plan de Santa Barbara* to guide the establishment of Chicano Studies. Various AAPA chapters made significant political contributions. At Columbia University, for example, AAPA helped form I Wor Kuen in New York's Chinatown, which later became the first nationwide revolutionary Asian American organization. At Yale University, AAPA helped create the first Asian American Studies journal, *Amerasia Journal*. At UC Berkeley, AAPA dissolved in September 1969 primarily because the organization's very success led to its demise. Many

AAPA members went onto develop UC Berkeley's Asian American Studies program. They taught the very first Asian American Studies courses, developed curriculum, hired (and fired) faculty members, and linked the university to the community. The other sector of Berkeley's AAPA went directly into the community, many working to stave off the destruction the International Hotel, home of working-class Filipino and Chinese seniors, as developers sought to make San Francisco into the "Wall Street of the West."

Though Berkeley's AAPA was short lived, it inspired the formation of AAPA organizations throughout the nation that collectively built the Asian American Movement. By coining the term, "Asian American," Berkeley's AAPA helped to develop a political and pan-Asian identity used to galvanize Asian Americans in the struggle against racism. AAPA raised the political consciousness of youth across the nation and created concrete community services for youth, workers, and the elderly. Former AAPA members might well be correct when they say that the Asian American Movement started in Berkeley with the birth of AAPA.

Diane Carol Fujino

See also Asian American Movement (AAM); I Wor Kuen (IWK)

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Asian American Sites and Museum Exhibits (Pacific Northwest and Great Basin)

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries thousands of Chinese, Japanese, and other Asian people migrated to the Pacific Northwest and Great

Basin. By working abroad, these immigrants, at first mostly men, hoped to earn enough money to support their families at home, and to provide themselves with a comfortable retirement. Other migrants wanted to enrich themselves by providing services that catered to the Asian, and often, Caucasian, population; these included laundries, fruit and vegetable gardens, stores, restaurants, and other businesses. The nationally significant sites and repositories described here are only a small sample of those that exist. Not included are Asian art museums or classical Chinese or Japanese gardens.

Because most of the first Chinese immigrants worked as miners, it is not surprising that many mining-related sites remain. For example, gold discoveries in 1862 on northeastern Oregon's Granite Creek eventually led to the Chinese establishing mining claims there. The Ah Hee Diggings site near Granite consists of some 16 acres of hand-stacked rock tailings (often mistakenly called "Chinese Walls"), Chinese habitation features within the tailings are a "mess hall"/living site on a neighboring terrace and an associated ditch system.

Another spectacular, well-preserved Chinese mining site in northeastern Oregon, on Union Creek between Granite and Baker City, contains hand-stacked rock tailings; a rock-lined, terraced ditch or ground-sluicing trench; and a Chinese habitation area. The terraced trench has three tiers of walls with a total height of between 15 and 20 feet.

In Oregon's Applegate Valley, near Medford, Gin Lin, a Chinese mining boss, purchased mining claims in 1881. Visitors can take a self-guided tour of his hydraulic workings. Placer and hydraulic mining features along the Lower Salmon River in Idaho date to the 1880s and 1890s and contain reservoirs, ditches, terraces, rock walls, and tailings piles. Living sites, some with chimneys, include semisubterranean dwellings and rock shelters. Raft trips provide the best access to these sites. One somber Chinese mining site, in Hells Canyon on the Snake River, is Chinese Massacre Cove. There, in 1887, Caucasian thugs massacred over 30 Chinese miners at Deep Creek. This site is most accessible via jet boat from Lewiston.

Early Chinese immigrant gardeners turned marginal land into lush, productive plots by terracing hilly areas and improving the soil. Remnants of Chinese

vegetable gardens survive in many locations; place names, such as “China Gardens,” provide clues to their former presence. Chinese gardens near Warren, Idaho, date between 1869 and the 1920s.

Many communities had Chinatowns where today there is little or no Asian presence. In larger cities, however, much remains. Seattle’s International District was, historically, the home of Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino immigrants. Places of particular interest include Canton Alley, Hing Hay Park, and the Panama Hotel. Seattle’s Wing Luke Asian Museum is a pan-Asian facility that maintains a permanent exhibit illuminating the history of Asian and Pacific Islander immigration to, and settlement in, Washington State.

Japanese immigrants to the Pacific Northwest came in fewer numbers than did the Chinese. Most of the sites associated with Japanese Americans relate to the shameful internment and incarceration of the West Coast’s citizens and permanent resident aliens following Japan’s attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941. The Minidoka National Historic Site, established by the War Relocation Authority, is in southern Idaho, near Jerome. It housed more than 9,000 Japanese and Japanese Americans who were forcibly removed from the Seattle and Portland areas. Portions of a stone guardhouse and a stone visitors’ waiting room remain. Near Delta, Utah, the former Topaz incarceration camp housed some 8,000 people of Japanese descent from the San Francisco area. Visitors can still see roads, rock walls, garden remnants, concrete slabs, and miscellaneous artifacts.

The only World War II internment camp in the United States for Japanese alien road workers was located near Lowell, Idaho, at Canyon Creek. Today, little remains of the Kooskia Internment Camp, but many photographs, at the University of Idaho, Moscow, evoke the internees’ experiences from mid-1943 to mid-1945.

Numerous museums and other repositories, such as the University of Idaho’s Asian American Comparative Collection (AACC), have exhibits or collections of artifacts related to Asian immigrants. The National Archives-Pacific Alaska Region in Seattle, Washington, houses many records from Oregon, Washington, Idaho, and Alaska, documenting how

the United States immigration policy impacted Asian and Asian American travel, immigration, and business.

Chinese merchants established stores to provide Chinese immigrants with familiar foodstuffs, smoking materials, and other items imported from their homeland. The stores often served as post offices, hiring halls, social centers, and opium-smoking establishments. One Chinese store that can still be visited is now the Kam Wah Chung Museum in John Day, Oregon.

Between 1888 and 1890 the Chinese community of Lewiston, Idaho, collected money to buy land and build a new temple. The temple building was demolished in 1960, but the temple furnishings eventually became the property of the Lewis-Clark Center for Arts & History, a unit of Lewis-Clark State College. Following a lengthy cleaning and restoration process, the gilded temple altar, original altar furnishings, exquisite painted glass lanterns, wooden sign boards, and other temple accoutrements became part of a three-room exhibit on the history of the Chinese in Lewiston.

The Mai Wah Society in Butte, Montana, owns a building that once housed the Wah Chong Tai Co. store and the Mai Wah Noodle Parlor. The World Museum of Mining has buildings with exhibits depicting a Chinese apothecary shop and a Chinese laundry.

Museums related to Japanese Americans include the Oregon Nikkei Endowment in Portland, which honors Oregon’s Japanese Americans. The Great Basin Museum in Delta, Utah, houses numerous artifacts from the World War II Topaz incarceration camp for Japanese Americans.

Some Idaho facilities relevant to Asian Americans in the West include the Pon Yam House in Idaho City; Polly Bemis’s home on the Main Salmon River; and The Historical Museum at St. Gertrude, in Cottonwood. Local inquiry, books, and the Internet will surely reward the visitor with other site and museum gems that are “worth a visit,” or even “worth a journey.”

Priscilla Wegars

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Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders (AAPIs) in Higher Education

Asian American and Pacific Islanders (AAPIs) are one of the fastest-growing racial groups in American higher education. Paralleling a steady stream of AAPI immigrants and refugees entering the United States, AAPI college enrollment increased over six-fold from 169,300 to 1.3 million between 1976 and 2009. AAPI college enrollment is projected to increase 30 percent between 2009 and 2019.

Access. AAPIs viewed as an aggregate show a fast-growing population within American higher education; however, access to higher education continues to be a challenge for marginalized AAPI sub-groups. Over half of Vietnamese, Hmong, Laotian, and Cambodian adults (25 years or older) have neither enrolled in nor completed any postsecondary education. Comparable challenges can be found among Pacific Islander populations—approximately half of all Native Hawaiians, Guamanians, Samoans and Tongan adults have not enrolled in any form of postsecondary education.

Enrollment. Two out of three AAPI students are enrolled in just 200 higher education institutions located in just eight states. Nearly half of all AAPI college students are enrolled in California, New York, and Texas. AAPI college students enroll in a broad range of postsecondary institutions. The largest sector (47.3 percent) of AAPI college enrollment is in the community college sector and 38.4 percent of AAPI's

enroll in public four-year institutions. AAPI students attend public institutions of higher education and in some states, like California and Nevada; over half of all AAPI college students are attending public community colleges. Consistent with other racial groups, more than two-thirds (69 percent) of AAPIs attending four-year institutions are enrolled in public institutions. AAPI enrollment at public two-year community colleges has been increasing at a faster rate than AAPI enrollment at four-year colleges. AAPI enrollment at public two-year colleges increased 73.3 percent compared to 42.2 percent in public four-year colleges and a 53.4 percent increase in private four-year colleges. Between 1990 and 2000, the largest growth of AAPI two-year college enrollment occurred in the Midwest (86 percent) and South (75.2 percent).

Representation. Viewed as an important pathway to mobility, AAPIs invest heavily in higher education. Although AAPIs represent just 6 percent of the total United States population, AAPI's account for approximately 6.5 percent of undergraduate enrollment, 6.2 percent of graduate enrollment, 12 percent of professional school enrollment, 8.4 percent of faculty members, 3.4 percent of administrators, 1.4 percent of chief student affairs officers, and 1 percent of college presidents.

AAPI women are underrepresented as faculty in contrast to the large and growing number of AAPI women students. The low percentages of AAPIs in higher education among administrators reflect the pipeline problem. The pipeline for AAPI women narrows at higher levels of faculty and administration.

Although AAPIs appear to be well represented among the faculty, there are challenges to looking at data on AAPIs because the population is highly heterogeneous and data are rarely disaggregated to distinguish between ethnic groups, generation status, or national origin. It is important to note that parity at the entry levels does not translate into parity at the higher academic levels.

Admissions. In the 1980s, American institutions of higher education received an influx of strong applications from Asian American applicants; however, their low acceptance rates led to suspicions that institutions were setting quotas for Asian American students and led to investigations. The investigation found that admissions policies were adjusted so that standards for

admittance of APA college students would be higher. This controversy over APA admissions has endured as AAPI postsecondary enrollments continue to rise.

APAHE. In 1987, at a conference in Oakland on the admissions debate during the height of the five-year fight against discriminatory admissions policy facing AAPI applicants, Asian Pacific Americans in Higher Education (APAHE) was formed as the first organization to address higher education issues facing AAPI students, staff, faculty, and administrators in California. APAHE became a national organization in 2000. Since 1997, APAHE has partnered with LEAP (Leadership Education for Asian Pacifics) to offer the annual Leadership Development Program in Higher Education (LDPHE), developing a pipeline that aids in the increase of visible AAPI leaders in higher education.

Online network. In the early 1990s, as Asian Americans proceeded to graduate and professional schools, they found online support in the form of the Asian American Graduate and Professional Student Organization (AAGPSO) and Association of Asian American Studies (AAAS) email networks. AAGPSO formed in 1992 from a student organization at Ohio State University and the AAAS email network formed out of AAGPSO mailing list members at the national AAAS conference in 1994 establishing an electronic community for Asian American studies. The email networks allowed for students isolated on their campuses to establish intimate online conversations, collaborations and relationships with AAPI graduate and professional students across the country.

Asian American, Native Alaskan, Pacific Islander Service Institutions (AANAPISI). In 2007, AAPI's were included as the newest type of minority serving institutions (MSI) in higher education. The AANAPISI program provides grants to eligible institutions of higher education to improve academic quality, increase self-sufficiency, and strengthen capacity to make a substantial contribution to American higher education resources. Eligible institutions have over 10 percent AAPI student enrollment and 50 percent of their degree-seeking students are recipients of federal financial aid. There are 116 institutions in the United States that meet the AANAPISI eligibility criteria. As of 2011, there are 52 AANAPISI designated institutions of higher education in the United States.

And to date, 15 of the designated institutions receive funding through the AANAPISI grant.

Early students. Yung Wing, a member of Delta Kappa Epsilon fraternity, became the first Chinese American to graduate from an American university—Yale University—in 1854. He pioneered the Chinese Educational Mission that brought 120 government-sponsored students from China to study in America from 1872 to 1881. Tsuda Umeko, the youngest member of the Iwakura Embassy, a Japanese diplomatic mission, attended Bryn Mawr College from 1889 to 1892 before becoming an advocate for Japanese women's education and founding Tsuda College in 1900. In 1903 the first large wave of Filipinos to immigrate to the United States arrived—the *pensionados* were students on government scholarship.

Early Asian students in America were actively involved in student organizations ranging from student newspapers to sports teams. Many of these Asian American students were welcome in traditional Greek-letter student organizations. Two of the four early Japanese students who graduated from Rutgers, Kusakabe Taro (Class of 1870) and Matsudaira Tadanari (Class of 1879), were elected into Phi Beta Kappa. Early Chinese students, Mun Yew Chung, Yale Class of 1883, was a member of Delta Kappa Epsilon fraternity; Yan Phou Lee, Yale Class of 1897, was elected to Phi Beta Kappa; Ngan-Chan Yang a student at Colgate University in 1909 was a member of Beta Theta Pi; Hu Shi a 1910 Cornell University graduate was elected to Phi Beta Kappa; Ching Ye "C.Y." Tang, the first Chinese student at Beloit College and a member of the class of 1918, was a member of Theta Kappa Epsilon; and James Yen, Yale Class of 1919 was a member of Beta Theta Pi fraternity. Although their numbers remained small their participation was welcome.

AAPI Student Organizations. AAPI college student organizations serve the interests (e.g., academic, athletic, social, cultural, philanthropic, political, professional, and spiritual) and advocacy needs of their members. As the numbers of AAPI students increased in American higher education so did the need for AAPI student organizations. Push and pull factors are at play as AAPI students are met with a campus climate that is not always inclusive or welcoming.

Early Asian American student organizations included the Chinese Students' Alliance of America, which was created by students from Berkeley, Oakland, and San Francisco in 1902. Filipino Students at the State Normal School (now San Diego State University) established the Filipino Students' Club in 1903. The Ithaca Chinese Students' Alliance (now recognized as the Chinese Students Association) was founded in 1904 at Cornell University. The first Chinese American fraternity and the Chinese Students' Christian Association were founded in 1909; and the first Chinese American Greek-letter fraternity in the United States, Rho Psi, that was established at Cornell University in 1916.

At Stanford University, white students expelled a Chinese student from a residence hall in the 1920s, which led to the establishment of their own residential Chinese Club House. In response to this type of social exclusion, early Chinese American college students created and participated in the nationwide Chinese Students' Alliance and the Sigma Omicron Pi Chinese sorority, which was founded in 1930 by Chinese American women at San Francisco State Teachers' College. Chinese student organizations developed at every campus across the country where Chinese students enrolled, serving Chinese students from the People's Republic of China and Taiwan. Japanese American student organizations filled the void for college students who faced institutional racism and a lack of support networks. Organizations such as the Nisei Bruin Club at UCLA, the Nisei Trojan Club at the University of Southern California (USC), and the Japanese Men's Student Club and Japanese Women's Student Club at UC Berkeley afforded Japanese Americans resources and opportunities from which they were excluded in mainstream campus clubs.

After the late 1960s, large numbers of Asian students began to enter colleges and universities, and Asian American student organizations were created around the United States. The political awakening of college students in the late 1960s and early 1970s coincided with the formation of Filipino college student organizations such as Pilipino American Collegiate Endeavor (PACE) at San Francisco State University in 1967, Pilipino American Alliance (PAA) at UC Berkeley in 1969, *Samahang Pilipino* at

UCLA in 1972, and *Kababayan* at UC Irvine in 1974. By the mid-1970s, the Southeast Asian student organization formed following an influx of refugees from Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. Between 1976 and 1979, Vietnamese American student organizations were founded at a variety of institutions, including USC in 1976; Virginia's George Mason University, UC San Diego, and UCLA in 1977; the University of Maryland College Park in 1978; and UC Irvine and Virginia Tech in 1979.

Numerous AAPI student organizations formed as regional or national organizations to benefit the campus-based organizations and students through unity, collaboration, and shared resources and networking. These organizations facilitate communication between and among various institutions of higher education although empowering and developing young leaders and advocating for social justice. When institutions do not have the critical mass necessary to create a campus organization, AAPI regional college student organizations play an important role in the collegiate lives of AAPI college students. The organizations range from regional pan-Asian organizations like Asian Pacific Student Union (APSU), East Coast Asian American Student Union (ECAASU), Midwest Asian American Student Union (MAASU), the Asian Greek Council (AGC); and the National APIA Panhellenic Council (NAPA) to ethnic-specific regional and national organizations like Southern California Pilipino American Student Alliance (SCPASA), Mid-Atlantic Union of Vietnamese Student Associations (MAUVSA), South Asian Awareness Network (SAAN), the Southern California Korean College Students Association (SCKCSA or *Chongdae*) to regional or national student conferences like Korean American Student Conference (KASCON), Union of North American Vietnamese American Student Associations' (UNAVASA) conference and the National Asian American Student Conference (NAASCON).

Today, these student organizations range from ethnic-specific organizations to pan-AAPI organizations, preprofessional organizations to campus ministries, a cappella to dance, Greek letter organizations to advocacy organizations, as well as campus-based, regional and national AAPI student organizations. Students who seek peer support and a forum for

cultural identification create AAPI student organizations. Campus-based student organizations as well as regional and national organizations utilize the collective voice of AAPI students to address and advocate on behalf of AAPI student issues such as admissions policies, campus climate, Asian American studies, off-campus Asian American community, resource centers, funding, and increased faculty and staff representation. AAPI student organizations may assume institutional responsibility over advocacy, education, programming, support, mediation, and the overall quality of life for AAPI students through heritage weeks, special programs, social activities, and dissemination of information regarding ethnic minority issues through newsletters and forums.

Asian Pacific American Studies. An interdisciplinary academic discipline that examines all aspects of Asian American and Pacific Islander experiences began in the 1960s as a result of student protests and community advocacy. In December 1968, students at San Francisco State College (now San Francisco State University) called for ethnic studies and open admissions. It was the first campus uprising involving Asian Americans as a collective force, and it marked the beginning of the Asian American movement. Asian American studies programs can be found up and down the state of California and across the country at institutions like the University of Washington, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, University of Colorado, Cornell University, State University of New York at Binghamton, and Columbia University. In 2010, Syracuse University introduced a minor in Asian American studies—addressing ongoing advocacy efforts from Asian American student organizations dating back to 1997. In addition, Asian American organizations continue to advocate for increasing the number of courses offered at Princeton University as recently as 2009. Throughout the country, Asian American student organizations continue to demand that programs are established (Rutgers University) whereas others fight to save existing programs from budget cuts (California State University, Los Angeles). The Association of Asian American Studies (AAAS) was founded in 1979 to advance the highest professional standard of excellence in teaching and research in the field of Asian American studies.

Asian American and Pacific Islander Student Services. Institutions of higher education have responded to the increasing needs of Asian American and Pacific Islander students by providing programs, services, and facilities to address the cocurricular needs of AAPI students. These offices and centers offer intentional institution-based community building, educational programs, academic collaborations, service learning, student empowerment, personal and student group advisement, resources, leadership development, as well as individual and collective advocacy at institutions including Brown University, Colorado State University-Fort Collins, Indiana University, Loyola Marymount University, Northwestern University, Oregon State University, Pomona College, Rutgers University, Stanford, the University of Connecticut, and the University of Iowa.

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Asian Americans for Action (AAA)

In April 1969, Asian Americans for Action (AAA or “Triple A”) formed as the first pan-Asian political organization in New York City and initiated the East Coast Asian American Movement (AAM). On a park bench over lunch, Kazu Iijima and Minn Matsuda, Japanese American women with long histories of activism, conceived of a social or cultural organization for their Japanese American children. But they recruited by “pouncing on any Asian we saw” at anti-war rallies and among politically conscious students. At the first meeting, attended by some 18 people, most of whom were strangers to one another, the group discussed the goals, structure, and direction of the new organization. Not surprisingly, they decided to focus on social justice as well as identity formation—a decision that delighted Iijima. Without prior knowledge of West Coast AAM developments, including the information that the Asian American Political Alliance (AAPA) in Berkeley had created the term “Asian American” a year earlier, AAA independently adopted the same pan-Asian term. Kazu’s son, Chris Iijima,

had encouraged a panethnic focus. The group chose the name, “Asian Americans for Action,” reflecting its pan-Asian identity and action orientation.

New members began appearing at every meeting and, for the first time, East Coast Asian Americans were working in an all-Asian environment. Kazu Iijima recalled the excitement and intensity of the times: “We met not only every Friday from 8 PM to past midnight, but also several times a week as subcommittees to plan actions and for study. From the start, it was almost frenetically action oriented.” AAA’s opposition to racism and imperialism, global and local linkages, and Third World solidarities both influenced and reflected the themes of the larger AAM. AAA’s newsletter, first issued in June 1969, was read throughout the nation, with groups like Berkeley’s AAPA reprinting AAA articles and UCLA’s *Gidra* writing about the New York AAM. In turn, AAA reported on West Coast news and reprinted material from *Gidra* and elsewhere. There were also exchanges, with West Coast activists visiting elder mentors like Kazu Iijima and Yuri Kochiyama. Moreover, the premiere AAM band, A Grain of Sand, comprised of Joanne (Nobuko) Miyamoto, Charlie Chan, and Chris Iijima, traveled across the country sharing music and ideas.

Inspired by Black Power and “recognize[ing] the black struggle as the most critical struggle at this point,” AAA applied a radical analysis of racism and imperialism to Asian and Asian American issues. With the Vietnam War taking center stage not only for the AAM, but the entire U.S. New Left, AAA prioritized the struggle against U.S. intervention in Vietnam. They called for the “immediate withdrawal of all U.S. and allied troops,” endorsed draft refusal, and supported the “Vietnamese struggle for self-determination.” The Vietnam War also motivated AAA’s position on U.S. foreign policy, which they viewed as “economically motivated” and “imperialist” protecting the economic interests of U.S. industries. AAA further linked Vietnam with U.S. expansionism throughout the Pacific Rim, and led the AAM’s efforts to repeal the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty and end U.S. military control of Okinawa. AAA met with leading Japanese antiwar activists; helped organize rallies against the Treaty, where AAA members were arrested; and published articles critical of U.S. militarism in Okinawa, strategically positioned to deploy

troops to defend U.S. geopolitical interests in East Asia, the Philippines, and the Middle East. They also kept alive the memories of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, with annual events and editorials and speeches connecting U.S. militarism with atrocities in Hiroshima, Okinawa, and Vietnam. In addition, AAA coorganized a conference on U.S. Imperialism in the Pacific Rim and published articles on U.S. nuclear weapons testing in Micronesia, the military regime in Indonesia backed by the U.S. government, and revolutionary struggles in the Philippines, Thailand, and elsewhere.

AAA was unique in its cross-generational composition. Some were middle-aged Nisei, the children of Japanese immigrants, including Yuri Kochiyama, who, through interactions with Malcolm X, had made a dramatic political transformation in the mid-1960s. Iijima was disappointed that those in the antifascist Japanese American Committee for Democracy, with whom she had worked in postwar New York, did not respond to their call. But many students, mostly Chinese Americans, from the City College of New York and Columbia University's AAPA joined AAA. The cross-generational and panethnic formation generated lively debates. The youth, influenced by the growing militancy of the Movement, particularly the Black Panthers and the Weatherman faction of Students for a Democratic Society, pushed for more confrontational tactics. The older generation felt the nascent organization lacked the financial and legal resources to deal with the likely arrests. The Nisei activists, having themselves been forced into concentration camps, placed primary focus on rallying against imperialism and militarism. In 1970, most of the youth, including Chris Iijima, left AAA to form I Wor Kuen, a group with radical politics similar to AAA's, but providing direct services to the Chinatown community—a move supported by AAA Nisei. Although internal tensions existed, there was a large degree of openness to different viewpoints. The students had respect for the Nisei, many of whom had years of political experience, and the older generation showed interest in the new ideas developing among the youth.

In 1972, activists, primarily from AAA, established the United Asian Community Center. Managed by Bill Kochiyama, Yuri's husband, and assisted by Tak Iijima, Kazu's husband, the two-story Center became a hub of political activity, used every single night by AAM and

other activists of colors, with 250 people crammed in for parties. In 1976, AAA transformed into the Union of Activists, reflecting the period's movement toward multinational formations. In 1978, the organization dissolved. In its 10 years, AAA brought isolated New York Asian Americans together, organized political protests, raised radical critiques through their newsletter and speeches, connected with the West Coast AAM and other activists of color, and sparked the East Coast AAM. As Kazu Iijima reflected, "It was the most stimulating, mind-boggling and liberating time of my life—it enlarged and changed my thinking beyond my wildest expectations."

Diane Carol Fujino

See also Asian American Movement (AAM); Asian American Political Alliance (AAPA); Iijima, Kazu Ikeda; Kochiyama, Yuri

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Asian Americans in Hollywood

See Hollywood, Asian Americans in

Asian Ethnic Banks

The following statement from The National Association of Chinese American Bankers 12th Convention can be applied to Asian ethnic banks in the United States in general:

Since the 1960s, Chinese banks and thrifts have been emerging in increasing numbers throughout

the United States, especially on the west coast. However, the general public, the business community, and government officials are only vaguely aware of these new banks and thrifts. So the National Association of Chinese American Bankers was started to establish an identity for this burgeoning group of financial institutions. (p. 9)

A little known phenomenon until a decade ago, the Asian ethnic banking sector in the United States has experienced rapid growth, along with increasing Asian immigrants and transnational financial flows. Common characteristics of Asian ethnic banks include the following:

- Ownership, management and employment, and/or primary clientele are Asian Americans and/or other ethnic Asians;
- Many are community banks with stated missions of offering access to banking services by immigrants and other minorities, and community and commercial development in their neighborhoods;
- Locating in high-concentration Asian (American) residential and business areas, taking deposits from and lending heavily in those areas;
- Utilizing relationship banking and ethnic assets with capabilities of various Asian languages, familiarities with Asian cultural backgrounds and business practices from executives to tellers at branches to develop and conduct business;
- Asian ethnic banks vary dramatically by size, although many are very small banks, some nevertheless grow big and have cross-state branch networks (mainly through cross-state mergers and acquisition of other Asian American banks) and transnational presence.

Definition and Current Condition

Asian ethnic banks are defined broadly as:

- banks offering insured deposits in the United States, which currently are wholly or partially

owned and controlled by Asian Americans in the United States, or that were previously owned by Asian Americans; and

- banks offering insured deposits in the United States, which currently are wholly or partially owned by ethnic Asians or their business ventures in nations outside the United States, or that were previously owned by overseas ethnic Asians.

This definition includes all federal or state chartered commercial banks, saving banks, and thrift and loans that are at least partially owned and/or controlled by Asian Americans or overseas ethnic Asians but excludes Edge Act offices of overseas banks. Foreign-owned banks from Asia are included only when they offer insured deposits by establishing their U.S.-chartered subsidiaries. As such, the definition excludes the formerly Hong Kong-based Hong Kong Shanghai Banking Corporation, now London-based and known as HSBC, as it is a global bank not an Asian bank operating in the United States. Such a broad definition guarantees maximum inclusion of all banks that are owned by, and cater to, Asian American communities. It also prevents confusion between U.S.-chartered banks and local branches or representative offices of Asian country chartered banks that are subject to different sets of regulations in the United States, because only U.S.-chartered banks are permitted to operate with full range of banking activities.

There is no accurate count or a complete list of all Asian ethnic banks in the United States, as such information would require comprehensive surveys in all major metropolitan areas regarding bank ownership and organization information, in addition to banks that can be identified through FDIC, Federal Reserve Board, Federal Financial Institutions Examination Council (FFIEC), local Asian Ethnic Yellow Pages, individual bank websites, as well as published and unpublished research. The only publicly available nationwide list is the “Minority Owned Financial Institutions and Their Branches” released and periodically updated by the FFIEC. It includes those entire self-reported minority banking institutions, including those owned by African Americans, Caucasian Women, Hispanic, Asian Americans, Native Americans, Eskimos,

Aleuts, low-income credit unions, and other minorities. The most recent data, dated March 31, 2009, reveals there are a total of 43 Asian American owned banks, headquartered in states of California (14), Florida (1), Georgia (3), Hawaii (2), Illinois (8), Michigan (1), Mississippi (1), New Jersey (2), New York (2), Texas (6), Washington (1), and Guam (2), respectively. These 43 banks range from one-office institutions to banks with more than 20 branches, and account for 35 percent of the total 123 minority-owned banks in the nation. Their total assets and total deposits amount to \$15.8 trillion and \$12.7 trillion, respectively. Overall, as a financial sector, Asian ethnic banks are doing better than other minority-owned banks, as their average assets (at \$366 million) and deposits (at \$295 million) are, respectively, 18 percent and 36 percent higher than other minority-owned banks on average. Such differences are more prominent at branch levels, when the average of total assets and deposits at \$74 million and \$60 million for total assets and deposits, respectively, per Asian ethnic bank branches are 1.75 times and double that of their counterparts in other minority banks. However, these data present severe undercounts for Asian ethnic banks in total numbers, but more so their financial capabilities, given their self-reporting nature for FFIEC purposes. In New York City alone, there are seven additional Chinese American banks reported. Moreover, some of the largest well-known and publicly trade Asian American banks are not included in the FFIEC minority banks list. For instance, amid the global financial crisis and severe recession, Los Angeles area-based Cathay Bank, reported total assets of \$11.4 billion at the same time (up from \$10.4 billion a year ago) and total deposits of \$7.3 billion (from \$6.3 billion a year ago); similarly East West Bank reported growth as well with total assets of \$12.6 billion (from \$11.7 billion a year ago) and deposits of \$8.5 billion (from \$7.6 billion). Likewise, San Francisco area-based United Commercial Bank, the largest Asian American bank in the nation, reports total assets of \$13.4 billion (an increase from \$12.7 billion) and deposits of \$9.1 billion (versus \$8.1 billion a year ago; FDIC data). They are still considered small, compared to American megabanks, but nevertheless much bigger than other Asian ethnic banks and other

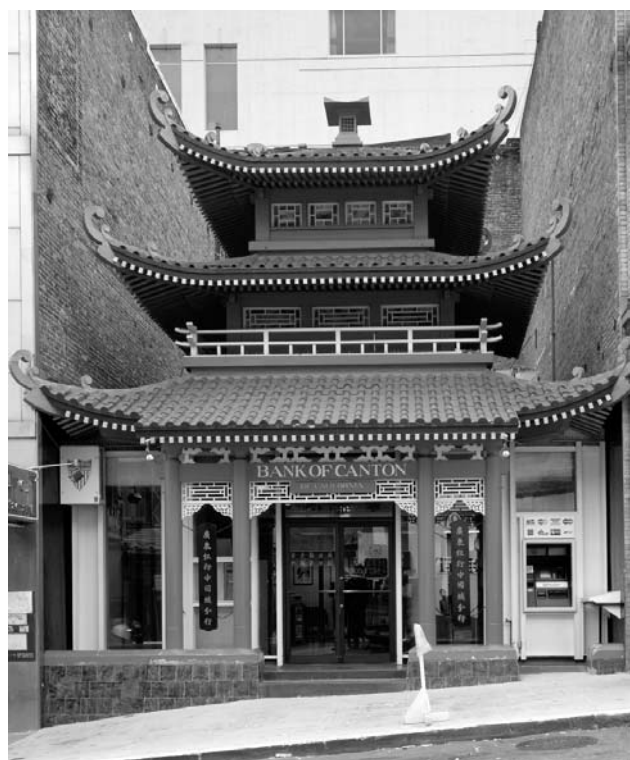
minority-owned banks. In general, Asian ethnic banks have carved a niche for themselves, capitalizing overall higher household income, having higher saving rates, and featuring transnational financial connections across the Pacific among Asian Americans. Their emergence and growth, however, have faced many challenges even as they embrace opportunities by immigration and capital flows. The discussion here primarily focuses on the Los Angeles, New York, and San Francisco areas.

History and Trajectory of Asian Ethnic Banking Sector Development

With a humble start, it took the Asian ethnic banks four decades to reach their present stature as an important minority banking sector. The evolution and rapid growth of a burgeoning Asian banking sector is closely associated with the globalization of capital and personnel, changing domestic socioeconomic and political climates including financial regulations, as well as local contexts of economic restructuring and demographic cycles in different metropolitan areas.

Initial “Indigenous” Development. Like other minority-owned banks, the first wave of Asian ethnic banks emerged to serve their coethnics, often as a result of mainstream banks’ discrimination against immigrants, minorities, and their neighborhoods. Despite the prevalent notion that Asian immigrants rely only on family savings and informal financial mechanisms such as rotating credit associations, formal financial institutions owned by Asian immigrants and native-born Asian Americans nevertheless set roots more than a century ago. The earliest known Asian ethnic financial institution, *Nichibei Kinyusha* (the Japanese American Financial Company), was established by Japanese immigrants in 1899 then turned to a California state-chartered bank, the *Nichibei Ginko* (Japanese American Bank), in 1903. Another Japanese bank followed suit two years later. They were both located in downtown Los Angeles, where Japanese immigrants concentrated.

The earliest known U.S.-chartered Chinese bank, Bank of Canton of California in San Francisco, started by transnational capital. Setting feet in the United



Bank of Canton of California in San Francisco. (Library of Congress)

States, it was reportedly founded and controlled by one of the four richest Chinese families at the time. During this period, even native-born Asian Americans with fluent English and an American education had difficulties securing loans from mainstream institutions. Such difficulty was even more profound for new immigrants without any previous credit history in this country. In the 1950s, a group of Chinese Americans saw a desperate need for senior citizen housing in Chinatown for a generation of aging Chinese Americans in Los Angeles and wanted to start forming their own bank to get the issues resolved. However, they encountered tremendous obstacles in the almost 10-year application process. On April 19, 1962, Cathay Bank, the first state-chartered Chinese American Bank in Southern California, opened its door in the heart of Chinatown, with only \$550,000 in start-up capital and seven employees. The oldest Chinese American Bank in New York was established in 1967, and Bank of the Orient started operations in San Francisco in 1971. The formation of Los Angeles's second Chinese

American financial entity went through similar difficulty, and a charter was finally granted in 1972, when East-West Federal Savings came into existence. It became the first federally chartered Chinese American thrift institution and the predecessor of East West Bank.

The 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act granted a 20,000 annual immigration quota to all Asian countries, with preferences given to family reunification and professional, skilled labor. This resulted in continuous and steady immigrant flows from Asia and Asian diaspora worldwide, which in turn increased a potential customer base for newly founded, formal Asian American financial institutions. Soon after the establishment of East-West Federal Savings, a handful of other Chinese American banks were founded in the 1970s in Los Angeles: International Bank of California (1973); Far East National Bank (1974); First Public Savings (1977); and Trans National Bank (1978). The first Korean American bank in LA, the California Korea Bank, was also founded in 1974. Among these formal institutions, Far East National Bank was the first federal chartered Chinese American Bank in the nation. The founders of these banks were mostly local longtime Chinese American residents, or recent Chinese or Korean immigrants. Their capital sources included savings by these Asian Americans and resources pooled from non-Asians. Some of these non-Chinese were business associates of the Chinese American bank founders.

Capturing and Facilitating Bubble Economic and Ethnic Residential/Business Growth. However, it was not until the 1980s that new Asian ethnic banks mushroomed. They include the following Chinese American banks: in Los Angeles: General Bank and Omni Bank (both started 1980); Monterey Federal Bank, Standard Saving Bank, and Trust Savings and Loan (all 1981); Golden Security Thrift & Loan Association and United Pacific Bank (both 1982); Grand National Bank, United American Bank, and United National Bank (all 1983); Eastern International Bank and Los Angeles National Bank (both 1985); and First Central Bank (1986). Chinese Americans also injected capital to the preexisting First Women's Bank

Of California in 1984 and the American International Bank in 1986, transforming them into two Chinese American ones. In New York, there are the United Orient Bank (1981); Abacus Federal Savings Bank, Asian Bank National Association, Chinatown Federal Savings Bank, and East Bank National Association (all established in 1984); Great Eastern Bank (1986) and Amerasia Bank (1988); in the San Francisco Bay Area, the Metropolitan Bank (1983) and United Commercial Bank (established with a different name in 1986). LA's Korean American banks established during this period include: Hanmi Bank (1982); California Center Bank (1986); Seoul Bank of California, later California Cho Hung Bank (1988); and United Citizens National Bank, later Nara Bank (1989). The reasons for such proliferation of new Asian American financial institutions during this period were multifaceted. First, rapid growth of Asian American population provided ready customers and markets for these banks. Second, the composition of Asian immigrants also changed dramatically as a result of changes at the international scale. Because of the economic takeoff in the Newly Industrialized Countries (NICs) in East Asia, many of them came with financial resources. They immigrated to the United States for different reasons than economic or social advancement—they were seeking financial and political “safe haven” because of geopolitical changes in the international arena. These wealthy Asian immigrants had the financial abilities to form banks and to make initial capital accumulation easier, and they could also rally support from their home countries if necessary. Third, in the early 1980s, U.S. domestic banking regulations were relaxed, making new banks easier than previously to establish. Some Asian immigrants saw the banking business as a way to obtain good return on their investments.

Riding on the Tide of Globalization of Capital and Flows of Population, Even When Weathering Financial Crises. Since the 1990s, the Asian ethnic banking sector experienced increasing foreign ownership and continuous infusion of foreign capital as reflections of financial globalization, a trend started initially in the 1980s. New banks founded during this period include the following: Asian Pacific National Bank (1990); First Continental Bank, Preferred Bank

(1991); China Trust Bank of California (1994), Ever-Trust Bank (1995), and FCB Taiwan California Bank (1997); and a new Korean bank, Saehan Bank, was established in 1991. A group of Chinese Americans also purchased Pacific Business Bank in 1994. In the San Francisco Area, both Affinity Bank and Gateway Bank started in 1990, and First American International Bank started in New York in 1999. One new trend during this time was the purchase of preexisting local banks by Asia-based foreign corporations or businesspeople, especially by Taiwanese and Indonesian Chinese. The trend of increasing foreign ownership can be attributed to the relaxation of Taiwan's rigid rule of foreign exchange control in 1986, which created the possibility for exporting capital out of Taiwan and generated free capital outflow; the increasing roles of developing countries in trade, and the strategic locational advantage and relaxing of retail banking regulations, in California in particular, contributed to such proliferation.

The Asian ethnic banking sector went through restructuring in the last decade since the late 1990s in the contexts of Asian financial crisis, domestic financial consolidation, and peer competition. On one hand, new banks emerged in the 2000s, including either single-ethnic or pan-Asian ones. For instance, the list includes Pacific Commerce Bank (2002), First Choice Bank, Saigon National Bank (both 2005), Pacific Alliance Bank, Premier Business Bank (both 2006), American Plus Bank, Golden Coast Bank (2007) in Southern California; and Indus American Bank was established in New Jersey in 2005. Pan-Asian banks are likely to emerge in those metropolitan areas such as Atlanta, Chicago, or Houston. But the Asian ethnic banking sector has also experienced expansion through merger and acquisition of other Asian or mainstream banks. The largest three Asian ethnic and publicly traded banks in the nation, United Commercial, East West, and Cathay, respectively acquired nine (1986–2007), nine (1994–2007), and eight (1996–2007) other banks. All acquisitions ended in 2007, a sign of the increasingly difficult time the banking sector has experienced since then. It remains to be seen how the current financial crisis and global recession will further reshape the Asian ethnic banking sector.

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Asian Immigrant Women Advocates (AIWA)

Asian Immigrant Women Advocates (AIWA) is a grassroots community organization that strives to empower low-income and limited English-speaking Asian immigrant women workers to lead collective movements for social and economic justice. An estimated 8,000 women, the majority of whom are Chinese and Korean immigrant women working as seamstresses, electronics assemblers, hotel cleaners, and homecare workers in the San Francisco Bay Area, have participated in AIWA's signature leadership development program, the Community Transformational Organizing Strategy (CTOS). As the organization's "methodology of the oppressed," CTOS combines political education with hands-on skills and capacity training at every stage of social movement practice. Rooted in the conviction that Asian immigrant women have the potential and the right to influence the decisions that shape their lives, regardless of their English

language ability, prior educational level, or socioeconomic status, CTOS participants through a systematic and intensive process of individual transformation based on their everyday struggles around low wages, job insecurity and job loss, family care and household burdens, health care and housing, public safety, and anti-immigrant sentiment and racism.

When AIWA was first established in 1983, few organizations existed that addressed the rampant violations of low-paid work in garment factories, electronics assembly shops, hotel cleaning and restaurant work—sites that employed a disproportionate number of Asian immigrant women. Garment and electronics assembly workers were notoriously difficult to organize because of flexible subcontracting systems that continually eroded wages and working conditions. Traditional unions plagued by xenophobia, racism, and sexism commonly viewed immigrant women workers as "unorganizable," leaving them unprotected against widespread wage theft and employer abuse. To challenge these overlapping conditions of inequality and discrimination, Young Shin helped create one of the first and most enduring immigrant women workers' centers aimed specifically at improving the living and working conditions of low-income Asian immigrant women workers. AIWA's activities evolved from offering basic English language education, guided by the principles of popular education, to organizing political education seminars on topics such as early Asian immigrant history, the Civil Rights Movement and English language oppression, to launching spirited collective action campaigns against corporate retailers, municipal authorities, and state governments.

One of its most well-known collective action campaigns, the Justice for Garment Workers Campaign (1992–1995) catapulted AIWA from a small, local immigrant workers' center into one of the nation's leading voices against sweatshop labor abuses. In May 1992, 12 seamstresses walked into AIWA's Oakland Chinatown office to seek assistance recovering thousands of dollars in unpaid wages from their bankrupted employer, Lucky Sewing, an ethnic-owned subcontracting shop that produced garments for corporate brands such as Jessica McClintock. Although the nonpayment of wages was not an

uncommon story for garment workers, AIWA saw it as an opportunity to support a courageous group of garment workers to challenge the relations of power and domination in the garment industry that perpetuated sweatshop labor conditions for immigrant women. To expose how the system of subcontracting squeezed the labor of garment workers, AIWA staff organized a field trip to the Jessica McClintock boutique in San Francisco's Union Square. When women spotted the dresses that they had previously sewn with extravagant \$175 price tags, Shin recalls, "it did not take too much calculation nor explanation to see that someone was making a huge profit while these seamstresses were not even paid at all" (Shin 2010). Although Jessica McClintock was not legally responsible for compensating the former Lucky employees, AIWA launched a three-and-a-half-year public shaming campaign and consumer boycott that pressured corporate retailers such as Jessica McClintock to recognize the moral and fiscal hazards of profiting from sweatshop labor.

AIWA, which was staffed by a small and committed group of 1.5- and second-generation Korean and Chinese American women, activated a dense network of students, community members, religious leaders, and social justice activists to participate in weekly protests in front of Jessica McClintock boutiques in San Francisco and around the country. Asian American students and community activists, many of whom had mothers and grandmothers who worked in garment sweatshops and had become politically activated after learning about the 1968 ethnic studies strike at San Francisco State University and the struggles of Filipino farmworkers in the Central Valley, became the driving force of the public campaign. According to Helen S. Kim, one of AIWA's key campaign organizers, AIWA was able to generate enormous support among Asian Americans on college campuses across the country because "even if their direct family didn't work in the sweatshops, they could certainly identify with both the discrimination and lack of opportunities [for first generation immigrants]" (Chun, Lipsitz, and Shin 2013b). The support of movement allies was especially important in light of the fact that many garment workers themselves, including the women from Lucky Sewing, feared blacklisting if they participated in public rallies. Through consistent and escalated

public pressure, AIWA and Jessica McClintock finally came to a cooperative agreement in February 1996, with the assistance of Robert Reich, the Secretary of the U.S. Department of Labor, in which a Garment Workers Education Fund and a toll-free multilingual and confidential hotline for garment workers was created to help them report workplace violations. In 1997, AIWA secured the participation of three more clothing retailers, Esprit de Corp, Byer California, and Fritzi of California, to establish hotlines that allowed garment workers employed by subcontractors to report labor violations.

AIWA's Justice for Garment Workers campaign contributed to the development of a vibrant student- and consumer-led anti-sweatshop movement for corporate responsibility, both in the United States and transnationally. It also politicized a new generation of Asian American youth who chose nontraditional careers as union and community organizers and non-profit lawyers, community advocates, counselors and policy makers. However, it also exposed a growing schism in the dynamics of movement participation and leadership. Although first-generation immigrant women workers formed the heart of the public campaign, gaining the courage to testify at public hearings and to speak out at public rallies and marches, they played limited roles in important aspects of campaign strategy and decision-making. Moreover, given the importance of broad-based mobilization in support of the campaign's public shaming tactics, much of AIWA's time and resources were spent on escalating the public drama, rather than developing the capacity of immigrant women to advocate on their own behalf. Returning to its core mission of grassroots community organizing, AIWA shifted its organizational priorities from waging issue-based mobilization campaigns to developing low-income Asian immigrant women workers as active and visible leaders for social change.

Since 2000, AIWA has pioneered innovative efforts to cultivate the voice and visibility of Asian immigrant women workers in occupational health and safety reform. AIWA's Environmental Justice Project in San Jose educated and trained workers and employers employed in the high-tech assembly industry about the dangers of toxic chemicals, the need for adequate ventilation at work sites, and the necessity of posting

warning signs in additional languages other than English. Building on its Peer Health Promoter Network, which involved members in identifying and challenging occupational health and safety hazards, AIWA established a Garment Workers' Clinic in Oakland Chinatown. The Clinic not only provided basic health services and screening of occupational injuries to immigrant garment workers, but it also created new collaborations that placed immigrant women garment workers in more horizontal and collaborative relationships with medical professionals from the University of California, San Francisco (UCSF) and public policy officials from the California State Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA). Immigrant women used their situated knowledge as workers who had accumulated years of backaches, repetitive stress injury, eye strain, and headaches working to design a model ergonomic garment work station. AIWA's Ergonomic Improvement Campaign (ERGO campaign) convinced subcontracted garment shops to upgrade their work stations through the installation of ergonomically engineered chairs, tilt tables, foot rests, and took kits at workstations aimed at combating the painful injuries workers routinely suffered as garment workers. By promoting the grassroots expertise of immigrant women workers, AIWA has defied conventional wisdom about the limits of grassroots community organizing and created an avenue for the marginalized and disenfranchised to bring about successful industry and policy reform.

AIWA has also cultivated an intergenerational approach to community organizing through its youth component. Much like its CTOS model for immigrant women, AIWA's youth component, Youth Build Immigrant Power (YBIP), invests in the leadership development of second-generation Asian Americans through political education, skills and capacity training, and collective action campaigns. Between 2006 and 2008, AIWA youth waged a precedent-setting language access campaign that resulted in the creation and hiring of the first-ever bilingual community assistant for Cantonese-speaking students and families at a high school with the district's highest concentration of Asian immigrants. AIWA youth also worked in coalition on the A-G Campaign to improve college access for high school immigrant students from non-

English-speaking households. Their efforts included the development of orientation materials for English Language Learner (ELL) students, which was translated into six different languages.

AIWA believes that the experiences of Asian immigrant women and their families at the intersections of sexism, racism, class oppression, nativism, and language discrimination equip them with evidence, ideas, insights, and ambitions that can help solve serious social problems. AIWA members begin to embrace collective engagement and public action as vehicles for social change, not only because of their participation in political education seminars about English language oppression and the Civil Rights Movement, but also as a result of their exposure to the leadership of other immigrant women and youth. The CTOS model trains veteran members to teach classes, facilitate trainings, and lead strategy sessions with new recruits who then become veterans training others. New members also witness veteran leaders speaking out at public rallies and marches, giving presentations in high school and university classrooms, making demands to elected politicians and government officials, collaborating with public health experts and other recognized public leaders, and winning prestigious awards in front of multiracial, cross-class, and multilingual audiences—all providing immigrant women and youth with actual examples of the benefits of working together in a collective project for social transformation.

AIWA's classes, leadership trainings, and policy advocacy campaigns have created opportunities for immigrant women to challenge gendered hierarchies in the family and the broader community. Traditional expectations from family members have served as a barrier to more meaningful forms of political participation for immigrant women. Some husbands viewed time at AIWA classes and meetings as time lost from the cleaning, cooking, and caretaking at home they expected women to do. Some English language-dominant children were ashamed of their mothers' limited English language skills and treated them disrespectfully as a result. Other children armed with computer skills viewed their mothers as lacking intelligence because they did not know how to use computers. However, as immigrant women prioritized

activities that enhanced their human and political development as immigrants and workers, they began to challenge their devaluation as wives and mothers. Their sole responsibility was no longer caretaking and their sole identity was no longer someone who could not speak English or use a computer; they were also responsible for leading English classes, training their peers, and tackling occupational health and safety reform. Rather than simply acquiring new skills, women engaged in CTOS training took steps to renegotiate the terms of their relationships as wives, mothers, daughters, and sisters in such a way as to accommodate their evolving identities as people engaged in deliberative talk, face-to-face decision making, and dignified self-representation and self-activity.

To persuade other movement organizations to prioritize the importance of grassroots leadership development, AIWA has begun documenting and sharing its CTOS model. Drawing on its extensive membership database and in-depth focus groups with AIWA members and leaders, AIWA is asking how its organizing has transformed immigrant women into agents of meaningful democratic change, what has succeeded and what has failed, and what aspects of the CTOS model can be replicated among other aggrieved groups. Sharing common experiences and struggles with other community organizations such as Koreatown Immigrant Workers Alliances, Mujeres Unidas y Activas, Restaurant Opportunities Center, Asian Health Center, Asian Pacific Environmental Network among others is a crucial part of propelling this paradigmatic shift. “For us to really create a just and equal society,” states Shin, “everyone needs to participate. Yet, I see every day that immigrant women are not involved . . . We need a shift in values, we need to make the social investments necessary to promote the leadership potential of disenfranchised immigrant women” (2010).

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See also Chinese War Brides; Japanese Immigrant Women

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Asian Law Caucus

The Asian Law Caucus is a nonprofit San Francisco-based legal organization that focuses on advancing justice and advocating for the civil and human rights of the community’s low-income minority and immigrant populations. The Asian Law Caucus was founded with the intent of assisting Asian American and Pacific Islanders who were in need of representation for legal issues involving immigration, workers’ rights, housing rights, and denial of fundamental rights. When the Asian Law Caucus opened its doors, it was the first and only organization in the United States that was made up of young Asian Americans fighting for basic and equal rights for other Asian Americans and people of color who lacked the funds, resources, and/or language skills to access the nation’s legal system.

The Asian Law Caucus was born out of the tumultuous years of the late 1960s and early 1970s when Asian Americans were becoming a strong presence in civil rights protests for racial and social equality, representation, and recognition for their contributions to the nation. The Asian Law Caucus was founded in 1972 by a very young group of civil rights activists

and recent law school graduates. The Caucus was and currently still is located in San Francisco. The majority of the organization's founders (including Dale Minami, Garrick S. Lew, and Michael Lee) were newly barred Asian American attorneys who had recently completed their legal education at Boalt Hall School of Law at the University of California, Berkeley. Many of the founders are remembered for their work on major civil rights cases such as the overturning of Fred Korematsu's 1944 criminal conviction for not complying with Executive Order 9066 during World War II.

Today, the Asian Law Caucus focuses on immigrants' rights, housing rights, employment and labor issues and disputes, criminal justice reform, national security and civil rights, voting rights, and access to education. All of these practice areas are significant to legal questions and problems that Asian American and minority and immigrant populations often face. These groups of people often come into contact with the legal system because of their presence or length of stay in the United States, persistent racial inequalities that people of color continue to face, and the difficulties many minority groups have with access to legal assistance that is affordable (or free) and familiar with their native languages, cultures, and the struggles of newcomers and/or the impoverished.

The Asian Law Caucus recently celebrated its 40th anniversary. Today, the mission of the organization remains primarily the same as it was back in 1972. However, the Caucus continues to expand its focus areas to accommodate new legal issues and injustices that currently impact its surrounding community. Today, one of the organization's endeavors is working with the growing number of undocumented Asian American youth. The ASPIRE (Asian Students Promoting Immigrant Rights through Education) program assists and supports undocumented Asian American youth as they strive to attain equal rights and better educational opportunities for themselves and their peers. With the backing of the Asian Law Caucus, the ASPIRE program presents a space for young adults who live under the constant threat and fear of deportation to have a safe place to communicate and collaborate with others who are similarly situated. The youth in the ASPIRE program then give back to

the community through peer education and continuing the cycle of outreach and advocacy for policy changes.

Another way the Asian Law Caucus is engaged in groundbreaking advocacy for change is through working directly with elementary and secondary teachers and schools. The Caucus is contributing to youth education through their new Fred T. Korematsu Institute for Civil Rights and Education. Dedicated to one of the Caucus's early clients and a lifelong equal rights activist, the Institute, founded in 2009, provides resources and educational tools for spreading Fred Korematsu's legacy and including Asian American contributions in our historical and national civil rights narratives. The Institute has created a free and easily accessible teaching curriculum, promotes independent films that center on civil rights activism, attempts to incorporate Fred Korematsu into museums and archives, and works to inform the nation about the new California holiday, Fred Korematsu Day of Civil Liberties and the Constitution. Fred Korematsu day, first celebrated on January 30, 2010, is extremely significant as it is the only national holiday named after an Asian American. Celebrated three times thus far in California, the governor of Hawaii, Neil Abercrombie just signed legislation for Fred Korematsu Day to be celebrated in the islands beginning January 30, 2013.

Though founded with the intent of providing attorney and legal services, The Asian Law Caucus is not limited to members of the legal field. The Caucus brings together Asian American and Pacific Islander community members through various types of employment, internships, and volunteer opportunities for those who wish to get involved in fighting for justice within their community regardless of whether or not they possess a law background. Educators, community and political activists, youth organizers, translators, and student volunteers are just some of other types of opportunities available for those who wish to work for the Caucus and its many outreach programs. As a community resource, the Asian Law Caucus has been able to incorporate the growing and changing needs of the San Francisco Bay Area's diverse Asian ethnic population into its practice areas and focus work. Though many of the organizations original members have gone on to begin their own law firms, that is,

Minami & Tamaki, LLP and the Law Offices of Garrick S. Lew & Associates, they are still strong supporters of the organization and its mission. The Asian Law Caucus continues to grow and thrive today as was evidenced by its recent 40th anniversary dinner. Over 800 supporters, members, workers, volunteers, attorneys, community members, and of course, the founders, came together in San Francisco for a night of remembrance, celebration, and tribute to what began as a tiny grassroots organization that has become an integral part of San Francisco and its Asian American community.

Valerie Lo

See also *Korematsu v. United States* (1945)

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Asian Music in America

Asian music in America can refer to a wide variety of musical practices, ranging from traditional music originating in South, Southeast, and East Asia to contemporary genres derived from international popular styles. Even in the face of such diversity, however, certain commonalities in concerns and themes can be adduced, especially when considering the larger social and historical forces at work in Asian America during the three major periods: from the nineteenth century to the 1960s, when virulent anti-Asian sentiment and the resulting restrictive immigration laws stemmed the growth of Asian (primarily the Chinese and Japanese) communities; from the 1960s to the end of the twentieth century, which saw the removal of major

immigration hurdles and the consequent expansion of the flow from many parts of Asia; and finally, at the turn of the new millennium, the present time, which is experiencing intensifying globalization, with commercial and cultural exchange between the United States and Asia on a rapid ascent.

Pre-1965

The Chinese first migrated to North America in significant numbers in the late nineteenth century to work in the mining industry and in the construction of the transcontinental railway. They eventually settled in large cities, most notably in San Francisco, New York, and Los Angeles. Because most of these early immigrants were men and further legislative restrictions on immigration made it increasingly difficult for Chinese women to enter the United States, these Chinatowns in effect became bachelor societies, comprised of aging men separated from or without families, who sought recreation in the urban nightlife. The Cantonese opera, in particular, became an important locus for social gatherings and for the revivification of cultural nostalgia. Opera troupes from China visited regularly, with some touring singers—such as Mei Lanfang (1894–1961)—meeting with great fanfare, and others choosing to settle and continue their stage careers in the United States. Along with musical revues featuring exotic dancers and illicit attractions such as opium and gambling dens, the Chinese opera became an important part of Chamber of Commerce plans to promote Chinatowns as tourist destinations rife with wondrous and strange sights and sounds.

The second large influx of Asian immigration came from Japan in the late nineteenth century. Facing economic hardship at home, thousands of Japanese farmers migrated to the West Coast and Hawaii. The first-generation, or Issei, Japanese Americans continued to practice Japanese folk and traditional *gagaku* music, convening in community music studios and performing for traditional festivities such as the annual *Bon* festival. Second-generation, or Nisei, Japanese Americans tended to identify more strongly with American mainstream culture. Even within the oppressive confines of the World War II internment camps, Nisei youths formed swing bands and played the

popular American tunes of the day. In the postwar period, a handful of Nisei musicians signed with major labels and achieved moderate mainstream success. Hawaii-born singer and actor James Shigeta (b. 1933) maintained a transpacific career in the United States and Japan and appeared on television and in films at a time when most Asian roles were played by white actors in yellowface make-up. California-born singer Pat Suzuki (b. 1930), discovered by Bing Crosby and subsequently signed by RCA Victor, was nominated for a Grammy Award in 1960 for her album *Broadway '59*.

Although Asian musicians worked in relative obscurity in the United States, Asians were well represented musically in popular and art music, films, and stage works of the time. In films with exotic, stereotyped characters, such as the wily villain Fu Manchu, gongs and other foreign sounds signal the alien presence of Asianness. Recordings of popular songs, like Jean Schwartz and William Jerome's "Chinatown, My Chinatown" (1910), further helped to cement the association of musical orientalism in the American popular imagination with pentatonic themes, gongs, and lyrical references to the strange and dangerous allure of Asian cultures. These effects were liberally exploited by the celebrated Broadway duo of Richard Rodgers and Oscar Hammerstein II in three orientalist musicals: *South Pacific* (1949), *The King and I* (1951, set in historical Siam), and *Flower Drum Song* (1958, set in San Francisco's Chinatown). Based on Chinese American author C. Y. Lee's novel, *Flower Drum Song* was especially noteworthy for its time for using a predominantly Asian and Asian American cast, including Pat Suzuki for the Broadway run and James Shigeta in the 1961 film version. Several key figures working in experimental music also found inspiration in Asia, in its philosophy (Zen Buddhism and Hinduism for John Cage, 1912–1992) and musical traditions (gamelan and *gagaku* for Henry Cowell, 1897–1965, and Lou Harrison, 1917–2003; Noh theater for Harry Partch, 1901–1974), and facilitated the introduction of these Asian musical practices to American audiences.

After 1965

The 1960s proved to be a watershed decade for Americans of Asian descent, starting with the 1965

Immigration Act, which removed many of the preexisting legal barriers to immigration from Asia, and closing with the Asian American movement, which emulated the cultural nationalist ethos of the Black Power movement and gave birth to the idea of a pan-ethnic Asian America. Music played a key role in the transition, as third-generation Japanese and Chinese American musicians absorbed and adapted the countercultural messages of the Woodstock generation for their own cause. Folk groups like Yellow Pearl, with its influential album, *A Grain of Sand: Music for the Struggles of Asians in America* (Paredon Records, 1973), helped to convey the lessons of the Asian American movement and radicalize youths on college campuses and beyond.

Jazz also provided a rich musical vein for the exploration and construction of a new Asian American identity. Influenced by the political rhetoric of the Black Arts Movement proponents like Amiri Baraka and the Association for the Advancement of Creative Musicians, Asian jazz musicians experimented with combining Eastern and Western instruments and genres (Hiroshima, 1974–; Jon Jang, b. 1954; Mark Izu, b. 1954; Glenn Horiuchi, 1955–2000; Francis Wong, b. 1957), wrote polemical essays situating Asian American jazz within emerging critical race theories (Fred Ho, b. 1957), composed works inspired by significant events in Asian American history (Anthony Brown's Asian American Orchestra, 1997–), and established independent labels (Asian Improv Records, 1987–) and jazz festivals (San Francisco Asian American Jazz Festival, 1981–2006) for the propagation of this music. Although only Hiroshima achieved any kind of mainstream success, these jazz musicians and institutions figure significantly in the history of the Asian American movement, having contributed to some of the first attempts to define Asian American cultural nationalism. Many of these musicians have continued to provide support for subsequent generations of Asian American artists (such as the 2010 Grammy Award winner, Indian American jazz pianist Vijay Iyer, b. 1971).

Since the passage of the 1965 Immigration Act, the Asian population in the United States has grown in size and diversity, as preexisting Asian American communities expanded and immigrants from other



Indian American jazz pianist Vijay Iyer performs at a jazz festival in Skopje, Macedonia, October 23, 2011. (Mite Kuzevski/Demotix/Demotix/Corbis)

parts of Asia arrived in large numbers. Aspiring to middle-class respectability in their new country, many of these post-1965 immigrants stressed to their children the value of education, which often included proficiency playing Western classical music. Asian countries that had undergone Western (and Japanese) colonization, in particular, had absorbed all too well the cultural hierarchy of the West, which accords prestige to the musical system of Bach and Beethoven above all other musical traditions, and immigrants from these countries were especially well primed to pass these lessons on to their children. Although some Asian classical musicians moved to the United States as young children or adults (Yo-Yo Ma, b. 1955; Midori, b. 1971; Lang Lang, b. 1982), others were born and developed their skills entirely in the United States (Kent Nagano, b. 1951; Sarah Chang, b. 1980). Indeed, disproportionately large numbers of domestic and international Asian membership are reported in

youth orchestras in urban centers and conservatory programs across the country. The highly visible representation of Asians in a musical tradition associated with Old World, elite values have, in effect, reinforced the “model minority” stereotype attached to Asian Americans since the late 1960s.

Although some Asian Americans participate in Western high art music, many second-generation youths turn to popular music as part of their assimilation process into the American mainstream. Hip-hop, in particular, has had a significant impact on Asian American youths in the post-1965 era. Inspired by the Afrocentric messages of Public Enemy and other political rappers of the late 1980s to early 1990s and with their consciousness raised by the newly offered ethnic studies classes at universities, late twentieth-century Asian American college students took to the mic and rhymed about political issues meaningful to their generation. The only Asian group from this time

period to sign with a major label (Ruffhouse Records), Mountain Brothers (1991–2003)—a trio of Chinese American emcees, downplayed their ethnicity to reach a wider audience, but ultimately, the distance between the increasingly narrow construction of blackness purveyed by commercial hip-hop and mainstream stereotypes of Asian youths as studious and unhip proved to be too great to overcome.

The final event to note from the last decade of the twentieth century is the opening of Claude-Michel Schönberg and Alain Boublil's *Miss Saigon* on Broadway in 1991. The musical, based loosely on Puccini's *Madame Butterfly* (1904), tells the story of a doomed love affair between an American soldier and a Vietnamese bargirl at the end of the Vietnam War. The Asian American community came together to protest the hiring of Caucasian actors for some of the more prominent Asian and Eurasian roles and for continuing to perpetuate a narrative of Western domination over the East. The phenomenal commercial success of *Miss Saigon* eclipsed the effort of Asian American playwrights to present alternatives to mainstream misconceptions of Asians. David Henry Hwang's revised production of *Flower Drum Song* (2002), for example, met with lukewarm critical and popular reception.

The New Millennium

The growth of the Asian population in the United States has been even more marked at the turn of the millennium. At the same time, the intense globalization of commerce and communications, made possible by rapidly evolving technology, has created a generation of Asian American youths who are more cosmopolitan and polycultural than ever. The transnational scope of millennial Asian Americans is particularly evident in the ways that they have turned to peer-to-peer file-sharing and social networking on MySpace, YouTube, and Facebook as a means of transmitting and consuming musical hybrids such as K-pop, J-pop, Canto-pop, and Pinoy rock. Major record companies from Asia, such as South Korea's S. M. Entertainment, have been actively pursuing the American market by organizing international tours featuring their biggest pop stars. In turn, a handful of Asian American musicians, such as Leehom Wang

(b. 1976) and Jay Park (b. 1987), have achieved superstardom in Asia and count fans on both sides of the Pacific.

Stateside, Asian American artists continue to struggle to define themselves against mainstream perceptions of them as perennial foreigners and model minorities. Although a few Asians have reached the pop charts as part of popular groups (e.g., Mike Shinoda of Linkin Park, apl.de.ap of Black Eyed Peas, Chad Hugo of The Neptunes), solo artists have not fared so well (not counting part Asian, and therefore racially ambiguous, musicians like Bruno Mars and Nicole Scherzinger). The reception of two particular Asian American artists highlights the challenges Asian artists face: in 2004, William Hung (b. 1983) became an overnight pop sensation when he sang off key and danced off beat to Ricky Martin's "She Bangs" on *American Idol*, embodying the prevailing stereotype of Asians as nerdy and comically alien. The Chinese American emcee Jin (b. 1982), on the other hand, who had earned underground legitimacy by winning seven freestyle battles in a row on BET's *106 & Park*, failed to translate the media attention on him as a cultural anomaly into actual dollar figures. Following the anemic sales of his first album, *The Rest Is History* (Ruff Ryders, 2004), Jin retired from music temporarily and then resurfaced in Hong Kong as part of a new wave of Asian hip-hop. Although Hung became famous for his lack of musicality and conformity to stereotypes, Jin failed to achieve widespread popularity in the United States because his persona and skills stood in an antithetical relationship to what the American public expected of an Asian male.

The Far East Movement (FM 2003–), an all Asian hip-hop quartet from Los Angeles, finally accomplished what no other Asian American musician had previously done, when its 2010 single "Like a G6" hit the number one spot on the Billboard charts. Although FM has collaborated with other Asian artists on both sides of the Pacific, it tends to minimize its associations with Asianness in promotional photos and videos, which show its four members hidden behind dark sunglasses, obfuscating their ethnicity, and music, which eschews any obvious Asian referents in the lyrics or the sound. FM's success suggests that Asian Americans can achieve mainstream popularity

only by hiding from view the uncomfortable fact of their racial difference.

On the other hand, in various music identified under the umbrella term “world music” (a marketing term that became current in the 1980s), Asianness—understood as enticingly exotic—has become a strong selling point. Traditional musical genres that had already been in the United States for several decades have recently enjoyed a surge in interest. Taiko, for example, which was imported into the United States in the context of the cultural nationalist movement of the 1960s, now number dozens of university and community ensembles, and has recently been featured in films, music videos, and television commercials. Various versions of Indonesian gamelan orchestras, first introduced to American audiences by ethnomusicologists and musicians like Mantle Hood and Lou Harrison, have prospered in university music departments across the country, even though the number of Indonesians in the United States has remained relatively small. South Asian classical musicians have long lived in the United States, establishing studios and schools such as the Ali Akbar College of Music (1967–) in the San Francisco Bay Area, but recently, more popular forms of South Asian music like bhangra and Bollywood songs are being embraced by Indian American youth culture and have even crossed over into the mainstream charts (i.e., Missy Elliott, “Get Ur Freak On,” 2001; Jay-Z with Panjabi MC, “Beware of the Boys,” 2003). Other ethnic musical traditions—from the Filipino *kulintang* to the Korean *pungmul*—are likewise enthusiastically supported by student organizations on college campuses.

Crossover projects in the classical music realm have also garnered significant levels of institutional support and media attention. In 1998, Chinese American cellist Yo-Yo Ma established the ambitious Silk Road Project, which showcases traditional musical practices from the old trade routes connecting East and West, encourages collaborations across national boundaries, and awards commissions for new works by artists originating in this part of the world. The Silk Road Project is now officially affiliated with and housed at Harvard University. Chinese-born composer Tan Dun (b. 1957) has built a successful career by

creating similar East-West hybrids. His commissioned work for the Metropolitan Opera, *The First Emperor* (2006), for example, exhibited his signature modernist style combining Western classical elements with an Asian storyline, instrumentation, and stylized ritualism.

Thus at the start of the new millennium, Asian American musicians find themselves compelled to grapple with how to position themselves in relation to a rapidly changing world—to emphasize or obscure their difference, to address an almost exclusively Asian (and increasingly virtual) audience or a generalized “universal” (and therefore “postracial”) audience.

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Asian Pacific Heritage Month

Following two decades of national upheaval during the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s and the antiwar demonstrations protesting the Vietnam War in the 1970s, commemorative heritage celebrations such as the Bicentennial Celebration of 1976 were part of the U.S. political elites' attempts to restore American patriotism. All ethnic Heritage Months began as Heritage Weeks and were expanded in the 1970s into months. National Hispanic Heritage Week was declared by President Nixon in 1968; President Ford urged Americans to celebrate Black History Week in 1975; and President Carter designated Asian Pacific Heritage Week in 1979. Beginning in the 1990s, weeks were expanded into Black History Month (February), Native American Awareness Month (November), Hispanic Heritage Month (mid-September through mid-October), and Asian Pacific



U.S. Department of Defense poster promoting Asian Pacific American Heritage Month, ca. 1989. (Department of Defense)

American Heritage Month (May). Presidents used presidential proclamations and executive orders to recognize particular groups of citizens and exhort the American public, especially educational communities, to observe the week with appropriate ceremonies and activities.

Jeanie F. Jew, president of the Organization of Chinese American Women in 1976, is credited for being the “creator” and the primary writer of all legislation calling for the creation of Asian Pacific Heritage Week/Month. Jew observed the lack of Asian Pacific American representation in the Bicentennial Celebration and enlisted the support of Representatives Frank Horton (R-NY) and Norman Mineta (D-CA) about introducing legislation that called for broader national attention to be paid to the concerns, contributions, and history of Americans of Asian and Pacific Islander descent. The first 10 days of May coincided with two significant moments in Asian Pacific American history: the first Japanese to arrive in the United States on May 7, 1843, and contributions by Chinese laborers to the building of the transcontinental railroad, completed on May 10, 1869 (Golden Spike Day). Thus in June 1977, Horton and Mineta introduced House Resolution 540 asking the president to proclaim the first 10 days of May as “Asian/Pacific American Heritage Week.” Senators Daniel Inouye and Spark Matsunaga followed by introducing a Senate Joint Resolution 72 on July 19, 1977, making similar request of the president. This resulted in the introduction of House Joint Resolution 1007 on June 19, 1978, followed by House approval on July 10, 1978 and Senate approval on September 19, 1978. On October 5, 1978, President Carter signed Public Law 95-419 designating Asian Pacific Heritage Week to occur from May 4 to 10, 1979. Through Presidential Proclamation 4650 issued March 28, 1979, Carter designated the first Asian Pacific Heritage Week in 1979. For the next 10 years through annual presidential proclamations, Presidents Carter, Reagan, and Bush renewed the designation. Not until 1990 did Congress ask the president to expand the week to the month of May with Public Law 101-283 (amending Public Law 95-419). Through Presidential Proclamation 6130 issued May 7, 1990, President Bush designated May 1990 as the first Asian/Pacific American Heritage Month.

Congress passed Public Law 102-450 in 1992 permanently designating May of each year as “Asian/Pacific American Heritage Month.”

Asian Pacific American Heritage Month celebrations occur every year across the United States in colleges and universities, Asian American and Pacific Islander cultural organizations, and federal government departments. They often include enriching and educational events pertaining to Asian and Asian American culture. Most common events and activities include but are not limited to sharing different types of Asian food, learning about facts and figures about the population, celebrating the accomplishments of notable Asian Americans, Asian ethnic dances and other performances of Asian folklore and culture, and presentations and discussions about experiences of Asians in Asia and the United States.

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Asian Religions and Religious Practices in America

The diversity of religious beliefs and practices among the ethnic groups falling under the rubric term “Asian” is so great as to almost defy categorization. Asian American religion includes Mahayana and Theravada Buddhists, Hindus, Christians, Muslims, and Confucianists, as well as more ethnically specific religionists, such as Vietnamese Cao Daiists, Chinese Qi Gong practitioners, Japanese Soka Gakkai adherents, Indian Hare Krishnas, and many, many others. Regardless

of the religion, the religious behavior of immigrant groups is typically distinctive because immigrants are affected by the social and cultural contexts of at least two countries—their source and receiving nations. In addition, immigrants to the United States must adjust to the highly racialized social conditions here, and later generations are likely to experience reduced but seldom entirely broken ties to their parents’ cultures. Given their cultural and generational complexity, as well as the varied circumstances in which Asian Americans find themselves, we should not expect all Asian groups to conform to a single pattern of religious behavior. On the contrary, Asians have responded very creatively to the conditions they encounter and have adapted their religious institutions as needed. Apart from any spiritual or supernatural outcomes that may or may not occur, Asian American religious organizations have often been employed in *ad hoc* and sometimes unexpected ways. More precisely, *different* religious organizations have deliberately or inadvertently served as *different* means to *different* ends.

Given such diversity of adaptive response, the scholarly evidence on Asian Americans complicates assumptions of a universal pattern of religion’s functionality vis-à-vis immigrants’ adjustment or assimilation. After all, the Asian American community includes the most religious ethnic groups in America—Filipinos and Koreans—and the ethnic group whose members are least likely to say they have religion—the Chinese. Nonetheless, certain commonalities exist, and the study of how Asian American religious practices both differ and converge informs the study of religious behavior, especially among immigrants.

Existing Research—Herberg and Beyond

It is surprising that the early research on post-1965 immigrants paid little attention to religion. The publication of Stephen Warner and Judith Wittner’s (1998) *Gatherings in Diaspora* led to a dramatic reversal, and there has followed a great deal of research on immigrant religion, much of it concerning Asian immigrants. Scholarly writing on Asian American religion largely responds to what has been called the “dominant storyline” in the study of immigrant religion, initiated

by Will Herberg. Accordingly, religious adherence, regardless of the religion involved, is positive for successful incorporation into American society and generally helps make immigrants and their children into Americans. Researchers have analyzed the various roles religious organizations and practices play in immigrants' adjustment to life in the United States, but there has been a tendency to focus on the provision of social services, the creation of ethnic ties, the emergence of ethnic niche economies, and other aspects that are highly relevant yet nonetheless tangential to Herberg's central concern: the process of *cultural* assimilation, in which immigrants, and especially their children and grandchildren, are Americanized.

But if Herberg's thesis has sometimes been taken to suggest a narrow and ethnocentric concern for whether religion makes immigrants more or less "American," the questions he raised have led subsequent scholars to interesting findings about the complex and paradoxical functions of religion in immigrant communities. Religion often serves a dual role of defending an immigrant group's native culture *and* fostering cultural assimilation. As Fenggang Yang has demonstrated, religious organizations, such as the Chinese American Christian churches he studies, are institutions that maintain Chinese culture even as congregations selectively appropriate aspects of American culture. Religion often serves as a site for the creation of adhesive identities that simultaneously resist and facilitate cultural change, and this has important consequences for the construction or reconstruction of immigrant communities. Thus, rather than merely attempting to pin down the effects of religion on assimilation, a more pressing scholarly concern is how the process of adjustment affects group identity and community, especially because religious identity is usually, yet not always, more important to people in diaspora than in their home countries.

The study of Asian American religion benefits from the rich tradition of comparative research that characterizes the study of immigrant religion and is a legacy of Herberg's comparison of Protestants, Catholics, and Jews. Moreover, research on Asian American religion has helped address Herberg's failure to adequately consider the issue of race and has increased understanding of Asian religions that were

to Herberg "exotic cults" with little potential to facilitate assimilation. In addition to the many scholarly treatments of individual ethnic groups, the study of immigrant religions is graced by several outstanding volumes of collected essays that present findings on different immigrant groups, Asian or otherwise. Such extensive comparative research finds that first- and second-generation Asian Americans follow some of the patterns seen among other ethnic groups. Like others, they tend to be more overtly religious (i.e., to score higher on such measures of "religiosity" as time spent in prayer or meditation, knowledge of religious texts, and so on) than people in their sending countries. They may hold doggedly to their native religious traditions or may turn to a new religion (usually Christianity), but in either case, they tend to pay more attention to religion. Although Asians as a whole are less overtly religious than immigrants from other continents, they follow the same general pattern of higher rates of religious participation and greater religiosity subsequent to immigration. For some non-Christian Asian Americans, the greater religiosity may involve a defensive response resulting from interaction with Christians. For instance, the Hindu respondents in Prema Kurien's research discuss the difficulties of life in a predominantly Christian nation, and this may contribute to their claim that "We are better Hindus here." Carolyn Chen and Sharon Suh report, respectively, that many Taiwanese and Korean Buddhists explain their serious attitude toward Buddhism as arising in part from the evangelizing pressure of Christians, although these interviewees' assertions of cause and effect may be overstated, given that the same pattern of greater religiosity holds among virtually all groups, including Christians.

Survey Research—Issues and Findings

Survey research on Asian Americans has been hampered by a lack of careful distinction between the different Asian ethnic groups. Unfortunately, this has been the case in several recent large-scale surveys of religious life, such as the 2008 Religious Landscape Survey of the Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life. This survey finds that Asians are the most likely ethnic group to have no religious affiliation, with 23 percent

claiming no religion. Of those Asians with religion, most are Christian, with about 27 percent Protestant and 17 percent Catholic. The Landscape Survey finds the combined percentage of all Christian groups to be 45 percent, which is markedly lower than the 60 percent others have reported. By contrast, Hindus and Buddhists represent 14 percent and 9 percent of the Asian population, respectively. Although proportionately fewer Asians are Muslim, one-fifth to one-third of all Muslims are Asian.

However, survey questions on race and ethnicity that offer “Asian” or “Asian/Pacific Islander” as a single response option are highly problematic and should not be used because failure to distinguish between different groups of Asians sometimes suggests spurious relationships. For instance, the American Religious Identification Survey’s results from 1990, 2001, and 2008 show that, for Asians as a whole, the proportion claiming no religion has increased and the proportion of Catholics has decreased, almost in equal measure. These results might appear to suggest that some Asians have been rethinking their religious orientation, that there is some process of secularization at work. However, such results are mostly a mere reflection of the changing composition of the immigrant stream, especially the declining share of Filipinos relative to other groups, such as the Chinese; Filipinos are mostly Catholic and Chinese are far more likely to report “no religion,” which probably explains away most of the finding. The imprecise designation of ethnicity in large-scale survey projects has limited researchers’ capacity to analyze how Asians compare against each other and against other groups.

Explaining the Preference for Christianity

The high proportion of Christians among Asians is because of several circumstances. First, the greater visibility of Christianity in the United States than in Asian nations means that Asian immigrants are more exposed to Christianity after immigration. Yet because the members of different Asian groups do not convert to Christianity in equal numbers, other conditions clearly apply—the different rates of Christian adherents cannot be adequately explained merely on the basis of individuals’ experiences. As Fenggang Yang

has pointed out, adequate explanations of religious conversion must consider the social and cultural contexts of religious behavior. Hence, it is important to note that the large number of Filipinos in the United States inflates the percentage of Asian Christians. It is also the case that Christians from Asian nations are more likely than non-Christians to immigrate to the United States in the first place. For example, owing in part to missionary efforts, Korean immigrants to Hawaii in the 1903–1905 period were disproportionately Christian—some 40 percent. According to Bong Yoon Choy, this has likely influenced the emergence of Christianity as a source of community for Koreans living in the United States. The high proportion of Asian Christians also results from conditions of religious persecution in immigrants’ sending nations, because of individuals applying for refugee visas. This has been most common among Asians from Communist countries with restrictive or repressive religious policies. For instance, the repression of Vietnamese Catholics, who make up only 4 percent of the population of Vietnam, has led many to immigrate to the United States, where they comprise between one-fourth and one-third of Vietnamese Americans. Beyond outright persecution, some individuals may simply be motivated to seek a country where Christianity is more widespread and accepted than in their native countries. In addition, among some groups, missionary activity of the past may have created conditions that favor the emigration of Christians. For instance, Chinese immigrants are rumored to be disproportionately Christian upon arrival, especially among well-educated Chinese whose parents or grandparents received modern, missionary-sponsored educations in China, thus presumably increasing their families’ educational standing for generations to come and increasing receptivity toward Western culture. However, this has not been adequately researched. Lastly, religious organizations both in the United States and Asia facilitate contact and movement between countries, and most such organizations in the United States are Christian. Although these various conditions that promote the immigration of Christians are not shared by all Asian groups, taken together they help explain the high proportion of Christians among Asian Americans.

This high proportion of Christians among Asian Americans appears to be a recent development for some groups. Fenggang Yang reports that earlier Chinese immigrants were more likely to maintain their traditional religious practices. At the end of the nineteenth century, Chinese immigrant religion mostly centered on what were then called “joss houses,” a label used by non-Chinese for temples in which gods were propitiated in exchange for supernatural aid. Such temples supported the syncretic religious practices that characterize traditional Chinese religion. At present, there are fewer such temples than Chinese Christian churches, which represents a significant cultural shift.

Conservatism

Researchers almost unanimously report that Asian American religion is markedly “conservative.” Although the term has not been used with semantic consistency, the consensus seems to be that Asians tend to be conservative in the sense of a preference for clear normative and “traditional” expectations for behavior, whether these practices are native to the group or adopted after arrival. This may include turning to or defending “fundamentalist” religions (i.e., religions in which canonical texts are interpreted literally and in which morals, commandments, and other ethical teachings are rigorously enforced). At least for some groups, highly educated people are most likely to embrace conservative religious orientations. As to political preferences, religion is a significant influence, but does not appear to lead to political conservatism. Pei-te Lien’s study of politics and religion among Asian Americans finds that most Asians are Democrats, which is surprising given their *religious* conservatism. Some scholars also find that Hindu Indian Americans are the most politically liberal among Asians, despite the conservative preference they too show for traditional religion. Although there are many studies of the intersections between religion and politics in Asia, we still know far too little about how political orientation, voting patterns, voter registration, and so on differ for Asian Americans, taken as a whole, on the basis of religious orientation.

The Effects of Milieu and Expanding Immigrant Populations

Asian American immigrants and their families are highly concentrated along the coasts of the United States, particularly the West Coast and in Hawaii. This is important because religious practices are affected by the regional social milieu in which people live. Social class and particular subethnic or subcultural identities may also affect how Asians adjust to living in different parts of the country. For instance, Pierce, Spickard, and You find quite different trajectories for Japanese in Hawaii and the continental United States. Those on the continent were more likely to follow an assimilationist path than their Hawaiian peers, presumably because of the different conditions they encountered and the characteristics common among each stream of immigrants.

But wherever located, the Asian American population tends to be expanding. This presents unusual opportunities for religious organizations, many of which have had the luxury of high-growth rates with even minimal outreach, simply because of the rapid increase in the pool of potential members or converts. The increasing dispersion of Asian Americans likewise influences religious organizations in interesting ways; post-1965 immigrants tend to be less localized in their pattern of dispersion throughout the United States than was true of previous immigrant groups. This pattern is especially pronounced for those Asian Americans overrepresented in specialized professions. The growth of Asian American populations in areas like the American South and the Midwest naturally fosters the creation of new religious congregations, which are usually founded by laypersons as is common among the congregations of other immigrants. This pattern of dispersion also increases the likelihood of Asian Americans joining the congregations of other ethnic groups, most commonly ethnic whites, simply because Asian Americans may have no religious organizations of their own in some areas.

Religion, Community, and Diversity

Although some members of an ethnic group will reject the religion of their coethnics, and although a particular group may contain different religious institutions,

it is very common for religious organizations to serve as a focal point or shared site of community for Asian Americans. Buddhist temples have served as the basis of Japanese American community life. In some places, Christian churches have served as the central ethnic, nongovernmental social institution serving Chinese Americans. Temples and churches are especially important to Southeast Asian communities. Most significantly, Christianity is widely reported as central to the Korean American community. This phenomenon is even true in the case of religions that have traditionally emphasized family rather than group rituals. For instance, virtually all researchers of Hindu practitioners in the United States have pointed out the growth of congregational forms of practice among adherents in this country. Clearly, this functional role of religious organizations as community centers or, more generally, as an institutional counter to the centrifugal pressures that pull immigrants away from their shared cultures, often involves a process of adaptation of the religion itself, especially toward congregational patterns of religious organization that are more typical of religion in North America than in Asia.

Yet it is not the case that Asian American religionists are just assimilating or merely experiencing Protestantization of some sort; their presence and increasing visibility dramatically impacts the religious landscape of the United States in a variety of ways. As Pyong Gap Min points out, although there are more immigrants from Latin American countries than Asian nations, the new Asian immigrants have had a larger impact on religious diversity because, whereas Latin Americans are predominantly Christian, Asians adhere to a wide variety of religious traditions. This diversity appears to influence other ethnic groups, including ethnic whites, although whites have so far shown interest in just a few Asian religions, notably Buddhism.

In addition to the diversity that results from their simply being present in the United States, Asian American religious groups demonstrate just how diverse are the religious impulses of immigrant groups. For some, religion serves as a means of limiting association with the dominant culture, for others religion serves to facilitate such association. For instance, although it is true that most Korean Americans are Christian, not all join churches and some prefer other

religions. Although most of the research on Korean American religion has focused on Christians, Suh's study of Korean Buddhists finds them deeply aware of their marginalized status in relation to Korean Christians—there are only 89 Korean Buddhist temples compared to the 2,800 Korean Christian churches. Suh's study also finds that Korean Buddhists are quick to compare themselves to Korean Christians and have developed a distinctive discourse, or rhetoric, relevant to identity construction. They describe their Buddhism as an “authentic” Korean identity and yet, paradoxically, consider themselves more successful as Americans than their Christian coethnics, especially because they see Buddhists as more self-reliant and consider self-reliance to be a key American virtue. These rhetorical claims probably relate to deeper processes of adaptation and change observed among the Asian ethnic groups. For instance, Chen finds that Taiwanese immigrants, whether Christian or Buddhist, sometimes use religion to distance themselves from normative expectations, especially gender specific responsibilities.

The Younger Generation

Asian American conceptions of identity and of their place in American society differ greatly between different generations. A common area of tension in Asian congregations is between immigrant parents and their U.S.-born or U.S.-raised children. Because cultural differences between the United States and most Asian nations are particularly large (greater, for instance, than is the case among most European immigrants), the values and norms of first- and second-generation Asian immigrants are often quite distinct. It is common for the younger generation to feel misunderstood and disempowered and for their immigrant parents to fret over the Americanization of their children.

The large numbers of Asians at American colleges, especially prestigious schools on both coasts, have affected the religious milieu of post-secondary students. Particularly in California, many religious organizations serving college students have come to be disproportionately represented by Asians, even to the point that students from other ethnic groups may cease to be a meaningful presence in these groups.

The ethnic transformation of student religious groups at these colleges demonstrates the importance of social and cultural contexts in the response to Christian evangelism. Although evangelists are active on these campuses and target members of different ethnic groups, the response differs dramatically, with Chinese and Koreans most likely to join. This difference cannot be explained on the basis of individual preferences or the characteristics of particular institutions. Rather, social and cultural contexts affect some groups in important ways, but not all groups.

One of the most intriguing developments in Asian American religion is the emergence of pan-Asian Christian congregations. Russell Jeung's study of such churches raises the fascinating possibility that congregations composed of such diverse groups as South, East, and South East Asians may be a continuing trend, although the congregants at these churches are disproportionately of East Asian descent. Conversion in multiethnic contexts involves alternative conversion experiences and identity transformations, which may culminate in an experience of what Gerardo Marti calls "ethnic transcendence," in which membership in a multiethnic or multiracial congregation suspends or supersedes a previous identity. Thus, Asian American panethnic solidarity may be an outcome of congregational unity, although another and perhaps more likely outcome is that these churches will support the development of an East/South East Asian panethnic Christian community that attracts few South Asians and serves mainly U.S.-born individuals. Whereas panethnic Asian American congregations are a new development for Christians, Muslim congregations have all along had a very strong tendency to bring together people from different regions of Asian, such as Pakistan, Indonesia, and the Muslim regions of China. This unity is doubtless increased through shared reliance upon Arabic for prayer and other religious practices.

Present and Future Research Issues

Much recent relevant scholarly interest concerns the newly emergent global links and transnational religious developments. Whereas some scholars, Peggy Levitt and Robert Wuthnow and Stephen

Offutt, for instance, have developed useful theoretical perspectives on the relationship between religion and cross-national connections, others have focused on specific cases among Asian Americans. For example, Kenneth Guest's research concerns how Chinese Christian churches in New York and China together coordinate the channeling of resources, people, and ideas to and fro among the two nations. Also, Travis Vande Berg and Fred Kniss explain how the International Society for Krishna Consciousness (ISKCON), popularly known as Hare Krishnas, has recently been supported by immigration from India, whereas the American membership in the past was dominated by Caucasian "seekers." Such cross-national connections suggest the emergence of a transnational "religious economy" in which overseas evangelists may provide a receptive institution for subsequent migrants from the sending country.

We have a limited understanding of just how Asians are currently shaping the broader American religious landscape. Asian Americans have high interracial marriage rates, with about one-fourth of all Asians in such marriages, mostly married to ethnic whites. The outmarriage rates are highest for American-born Asians, of whom some 40 percent enter interracial marriages. These high interracial marriage rates have potential consequences for religious practice and conversion, especially in cases where families blend religious sensibilities or rituals. For instance, Todd LeRoy Perreira presents a case of a family in which both the mother's Thai Theravada Buddhism and the father's Catholicism are affirmed and embraced. Perreira presents a very memorable instance of their son's blended religion. After rituals in the wake of his sister's death, the son tells a monk that he has come to the temple to make a wish that his sister would become an angel, thus mixing the symbols and rituals of his two religions. The obliging monk smiles, offers a chant, and wishes the family a Merry Christmas. Such religious accommodation is doubtless *de rigueur* at the temple of Perreira's study, simply because the majority of families are interracial.

The jury is still out on whether Herberg's thesis that religion helps make immigrants into Americans applies well—or much at all—to Asian Americans. What is clear is that, as the years have mounted since

the 1965 change in immigration law, and as the population of Asian Americans has grown and diversified, it becomes increasingly inappropriate to tie the study of Asian American religion to the study of “immigrant religion.” Naturally, scholars will study the similarities and differences between Asians and earlier immigrant groups, such as the Irish, Polish, and Italian immigrants of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Yet beyond merely making comparisons, it is likely that the great diversity and complexity of Asian America will lead to entirely new theoretical constructs and interesting scholarly questions to pursue.

Andrew Stuart Abel

See also American Missionaries in Postwar Japan; Asian American Muslims; Buddhism in Asian America; Hindus in the United States; Japanese American Christianity; Native Hawaiian Religion

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Athletes and Christianity

The past 40 years has witnessed an increase in the number of Asian American athletes in American sports. In addition to their low population, Asian American athletes of earlier generations lived in an era when racial segregation and discrimination obstructed their access. One exception is Sammy Lee (1920–). The diver Sammy Lee, who came from a family of devout Christians, was the first Asian American to win Olympic gold medals for the United States (1948 and 1952) by overcoming enormous social and racial obstacles to achieve greatness. For example, in the 1930s, Sammy Lee as a non-white had access to the Los Angeles Swim Stadium and Brookside Pool only on Wednesdays or "International Day," the day before the pool was drained and refilled with fresh water. Because the pool was restricted for most days of the week, Lee often practiced his diving form in a sand pile.

Today, in an age of globalization and technology revolution when sports fans around the world can watch games streamed live on the Internet, the global religious impact of Asian American Christian athletes is far-reaching. For example, Jeremy Lin's steadfast articulation of his Christian faith is a central element in his story line. In mainland China where the government persecuted unofficial Christian churches and driven them underground, the feel-good story surrounding Jeremy Lin has surprisingly inspired open discussions about Christianity online and in public. Even a Christian seminary in China is developing a

course based on Lin's faith and basketball successes as a blueprint for students.

Interestingly, the rise of Asian athletes (and Asian Christian athletes) on the world's sports stage has produced a Christian narrative embraced by both Asian and Asian American Christians. Two of the more outspoken Asian Christians include Manny Pacquiao the Filipino boxer who is the first eight division boxing champ in the world and the South Korean golfer KJ Choi, winner of 18 PGA tournaments. Given the growing transnational influence between Asian Americans and Asian cultures, the influence of Asian and Asian American Christian athletes will continue to run deep and shape collective religious identities as they live out their God-inspired destinies.

Jeremy Lin, the point guard for the Houston Rockets, has become both a global phenomenon and an Asian American superstar. Jeremy Lin has done what had been a conundrum among advocates of the pan-Asian American movement: galvanizing a diverse Asian-ethnic base. Although successful Asian athletes in the United States who grew up in Asia, such as Yao Ming (basketball), Ichiro Suzuki (baseball), Se Ri Park (golf), or Chan Ho Park (baseball) were well-received by the Asian American community, Jeremy Lin was embraced as one of their own by Asian Americans, someone who grew up in America as a nerdy, scrawny Asian kid.

Besides Lin, other Asian American athletes, such as Anthony Kim (golf), Dat Nguyen (football), Kristi Yamaguchi (figure skating), Michelle Wie (golf), Michelle Kwan (figure skating), and many others have become successful in their respective sports, but none have captured the imagination and matched the celebrity of Jeremy Lin. Lin resonated with Asian Americans not only because he became an exceptional player by overcoming incredible odds through dogged perseverance but also because Lin truly reflected the experience and background of so many Asian Americans: a child of Asian immigrants with all its bicultural trappings and expectations.

In addition, Jeremy Lin's story introduced a religious dimension. The way Lin has discussed his Christian faith publicly and unreservedly has not been lost on his followers or the media. Since Michael Chang, no Asian American athlete has brought so

much attention to Christianity as Jeremy Lin as some of the headlines during his 2012 breakout season attest: “Asian American Christian Basketball Star” (*International Herald Tribune*, 2/11/2012), “The Jeremy Lin [Religion] Problem” (*NY Times*, 2/16/2012), “Jeremy Lin is the Knicks’ Faithful Phenom” (*NY Daily News*, 2/18/2012), “Faith, Sin and Jeremy Lin” (*Washington Post*, 2/17/2012), and many others.

Although outside observers seem perplexed by Lin’s unabashed enthusiasm for his Christian faith, many Asian Americans understand and appreciate Lin’s evangelistic witness. Various studies of Asian American Christians on college campuses reveal that they dominate many college campus Christian organizations despite the fact that Asian Americans account for only 4 percent of the U.S. population. At Harvard, Asian American Christian Fellowship became an anchor for Lin’s personal and spiritual growth. Prior to Harvard, Lin, like many second-generation Asian American Christians, grew up in an Asian ethnic church that profoundly shaped his character, identity, and religious enthusiasm. Although Christianity in Asia remains a small percentage of the total population, studies have shown that many Asian immigrants, especially Taiwanese, Chinese, and Korean, convert to Christianity in the United States and in general become more religious.

Since the passage of the 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act that enabled an unprecedented number of Asian immigrants to enter the United States, generations of Asian Americans in the post-1965 era are increasingly entering adulthood. Few Asian Americans today (especially if they are millennials or Generation Y) would remember Michael Chang. Chang was 17 years old when he won the 1989 French Open, becoming the youngest male champion in Grand Slam tennis history. A top-ranked tennis player for most of his career, Chang retired in 2003 and was inducted into the International Tennis Hall of Fame in 2008. During the 1989 French Open, Chang’s creative play on the court earned him many admirers but his unabashed declaration of his faith after winning the Open created uneasiness in many.

Chang’s public confession of faith, although it defiantly disregarded the unwritten rule of abstaining from religious expression as a professional athlete, also indicated how he felt compelled to stand up for

Christianity as a testament to his faith. Perhaps it is not surprising that the tennis court (or the football field, basketball court, boxing ring, gymnastics floor, or any other field of play) was viewed by Chang and other Asian American Christian athletes as a forum to articulate their personal Christian faith and using their sport as a platform became a medium through which Asian American Christian athletes professed their personal faith in God and raised awareness of Christianity. When a reporter asked Jeremy Lin if making his teammates better would be his best compliment, Lin commented that it would be secondary to bringing glory to God. The best compliment, according to Lin, that anyone could give him is that he plays for God.

Many professional athletes are frustrated by the burden of public perception, expectation, and scrutiny yet outspoken Asian American Christian athletes, such as Chang and Lin, publicly celebrate God and subsequently draw the ire of spectators who denounce their God-talk as out of place in a world of professional sports where intimidating and subduing one’s opponent and claiming athletic greatness through victory reigns supreme. Pro athletes understand the value of entertainment for the fans as part of their job but Asian American Christian athletes tend to regard their place in professional sports with a divine purpose. Far from viewing success and championships in pro sports as an end in itself, many evangelical Christians consider their athletic dedication as a way of worshipping God. Although pro athletes view their success as accomplished through hard work and training, Asian American Christian athletes, however, tend to perceive providential influence in the way events have unfolded in their career in sports.

Michael Chang’s unexpected run at the two-week 1989 French Open occurred during the same time as the Tiananmen Square Protests and Massacre in China and Chang did not see the timing of the two events as a mere coincidence. Convinced that God aided him in his victory, Chang believed that the French Open gave him a global platform in part to encourage the Chinese people through the crisis. In a similar way, Jeremy Lin would interpret his rising global fame (e.g., *Time* named him as one of their 100 Influential People in 2012) as divinely inspired for the purpose of bringing a Christian message to a global audience.

In the last two decades, the overall number of Asian American athletes, including mixed Asian Americans such as Tiger Woods (golf), Hines Ward (football), Apolo Anton Ohno (short-track speed skating), Ron Darling (baseball), and BJ Penn (MMA fighter), have increased in American sports. Many Asian American athletes are Christians but as public sports figures who are scrutinized in the limelight they remain cautious about bringing attention to their faith. However, many choose to openly identify themselves as Christian in the sports arena. For example, Troy Polamalu, an All-Pro safety with the Pittsburgh Steelers, makes the sign of the cross after every play and often credits God and his Christian faith when interviewed.

K. Kale Yu

See also Chang, Michael; Kwan, Michelle; Lee, Sammy; Lin, Jeremy; Nguyen, Dat; Ohno, Apolo Anton; Polamalu, Troy; Ward, Hines; Woods, Tiger; Yamaguchi, Kristi; Yao Ming

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Authenticity in Asian American Identity

Questions of authenticity illustrate the porous boundaries of Asian American ethnic nationalism, particularly in relation to identity, language, and cuisine. Cuisine

best illustrates the strict dichotomies at work within questions of authenticity. To describe a restaurant as having “authentic” Japanese food gives the implicit expectation that the dishes there are not only delicious, but that the preparation, taste, and perhaps also the presentation of the dishes are comparable or equal to the gastronomic experience in Japan. Its opposite, the inauthentic restaurant, carries the couched understanding that the food is not tasty and furthermore is a diluted or corrupted version of the “real thing.” The dichotomies of good/bad, real/fake, and legitimate/counterfeit are embedded in the distinction between authentic and inauthentic food. When we apply the concept of authenticity to identity or language (which in terms of nationalism sees language as synonymous with national identity) these same embedded dichotomies are at work. In terms of identity, often the closer the degree to national heritage carries the implied understanding that it is, for example, possible to be more Chinese than someone else. For example, this graduated scale implies that a first-generation Chinese American is more Chinese than a second-generation Chinese American. Second-generation Chinese Americans are often referred to as American-born Chinese, or ABCs, in American English vernacular, which further highlights the supposed cultural removal from China and the supposed assimilation to the United States—consider the epithet “banana,” which supposedly describes someone who appears yellow/Asian but is “white” inside. This follows the simplistic assumption that the loss of cultural preservation correlates to the higher ordinal number of a generation. The assumption is simplistic because it relies on the essentialist argument that there is a fixed cultural definition of origin to which to compare—that there is a single definition of what constitutes “Chinese” or “American.”

The concept of authenticity in Asian American identity is problematic because it assumes the possibility of a unitary “true” identity in the panethnic designation “Asian American.” Any “authentic” Asian American identity is complicated by the heterogeneity of the Asian American populace, because the designation Asian American can include anyone with the heritage of any country on the Asian continent and in the Pacific and can encompass multiple generations and

people of mixed racial heritage. However, the construction of an Asian American identity, as opposed to single cultural designations such as Chinese American, Japanese American, Filipino American, and so on, was born out of the need for political and social recognition. Working toward achieving that recognition became a catalyst for Asian American ethnic nationalism. The model of Black Nationalism provided a useful template for organizing social change in the United States for Asian Americans. However, the template for ethnic nationalism carries the same paradoxical dichotomies within the concept of authenticity. The accusation that someone is an “Uncle Tom,” for example, labels that person as a race traitor who impedes the goals of equality and lacks loyalty to her/his group. In other words, being labeled inauthentic conveys treachery. The legacy of minstrelsy in the United States, from the minstrel shows of the early nineteenth century where white actors performed in blackface to elicit laughter from the audience using tropes of negative stereotypes of African Americans, illustrates the harm of racial misrepresentation. Minstrel shows and blackface reinforced false stereotypes of African Americans to white audiences, thereby making the stereotypes appear accurate and providing support for racist U.S. policies and practices toward African Americans. The contemporary accusation that a particular racial representation is inauthentic carries the weight of this legacy where inauthenticity is simultaneously false and treacherous.

Two controversies pertaining to authenticity in Asian American identity illustrate the porous boundaries surrounding Asian American ethnic nationalism. The first controversy involved a critique of commercially successful Asian American authors. The editors of *Aiiieeeee! An Anthology of Asian American Writers* (1974) had sought to define the cultural nationalist designation of Asian American within the field of literature. *Aiiieeeee!* was the first anthology of Asian American literature that brought literary works together under the nascent categorical name Asian American although limited to writers of Chinese, Filipino, and Japanese descent. With *Aiiieeeee!* and its follow-up *The Big Aiiieeeee!: An Anthology of Chinese American and Japanese American Literature* (1991), editor Frank Chin openly sought to define what

was authentically Asian American by delineating what constitutes a misrepresentation of Asian American identity. Frank Chin’s “Come All Ye Asian American Writers” in *The Big Aiiieeeee!* is a stinging critique of commercially successful and well-recognized Asian American works: Maxine Hong Kingston’s *The Woman Warrior: Memoirs of a Girlhood Among Ghosts* (1975), David Hwang *F.O.B.* (1980) and *M. Butterfly* (1988), and Amy Tan’s *The Joy Luck Club* (1989). Chin labels the writers and their texts as fakes, arguing that their texts corrupt classical Chinese tales with the subsequent effect of reinforcing negative stereotypes of Asians. Chin (1991: 3) argues these authors,

boldly fake the best-known works from the most universally known body of Asian literature and lore in history. And, to legitimize their faking, they have to fake all of Asian American history and literature, and argue that the immigrants who settled and established Chinese America lost touch with Chinese culture, and that a faulty memory combined with new experience produced new versions of these traditional stories. This version of history is their contribution to the stereotype.

Kingston, Hwang, and Tan’s works are figured as assimilationist narratives that compromise the cultural integrity of their Asian heritage and are “white racist.” Critiques of Chin’s argument assert that Chin relies stringently on a static idea of myth, legend, and the genre of autobiography and is therefore specious. Most scholarship about this controversy focuses on the rivalry between Chin and Kingston because these two prolific writers do not shy away from clarifying their differing ideologies regarding Asian American identity.

The second controversy highlights issues of authenticity in Asian American identity in the official recognition of an award that is specifically for Asian American literature. The fact that it is an *Asian American* award makes ethnic nationalist expectations unavoidable. In 1998, a Filipino American caucus of academics from Hawaii and the mainland publicly protested the Association of Asian American Studies fiction prize to Lois Ann Yamanaka for her novel *Blu’s Hanging* (1997) at the annual conference in Hawaii

where the award ceremony was to take place. That caucus's main objection surrounded Yamanaka's portrayal of Filipinos in the novel. The caucus argued that the representation of Filipino characters in the novel as sexually promiscuous and predatory only reinforced stereotypes of Filipinos as hypersexualized and upheld ethnic class hierarchies in Hawaii. The strength of the protest can be measured by the AAAS board's decision not to give out an official award that year and that the board members officially resigned. Although the resignations were a form of protest, nevertheless the award was in effect revoked from Yamanaka. The protest further stimulated questions of whether or not Yamanaka's text about Hawaii was being subsumed under the priorities of mainland Asian American ethnic nationalism. *Blu's Hanging* focuses on the world of the Ogata children in the island of Molokai struggling with poverty and the aftermath of the death of their mother. The text's regional sensibilities denounce simplistic ideas of Hawaii as a tropical paradise. The regional legacy of ethnic class hierarchies that stemmed from the Hawaiian plantation system and

uneven immigration policies toward different groups of Asian immigrants ran counter to the mainland pan-ethnic concept of Asian American identity that encompasses Hawaiians with Asian heritage. This second controversy highlights the difficulty of defining what constitutes authenticity in Asian American identity when considering both a regional and national perspective.

Maria Theresa Valenzuela

See also Chin, Frank; Kingston, Maxine Hong

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B

Bacho, Peter (1950–)

Peter Bacho is a Filipino American writer whose works are often set in his native Seattle. Bacho grew up in the Central District in Seattle, Washington, and his writings often reflect his working-class background, Filipino American experience, and familiarity with the Pacific coast. He has worked in journalism, law, and academia. He earned two law degrees in 1974 and 1981 from the University of Washington and worked as a law staff attorney for Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals in 1989. Bacho wrote editorial contributions for the *Christian Science Monitor* specializing in Philippine politics as well as other publications like the *Seattle Review* and *Tacoma News Tribune*. He is a professor of Asian American history and literature at the University of Washington, Tacoma and a professor of cultural studies at The Evergreen State College in Washington. Bacho was awarded the American Book Award from the Before Columbus Foundation and the San Francisco Bay Area Book Festival Honor in 1992 for his first novel *Cebu* (1991). He also won the Washington State Governor's Award and Murray Morgan Award in 1998 for his short story collection *Dark Blue Suit* (1997), and in 2005 Seattle University named Bacho the Distinguished Northwest Writer in Residence.

Peter Bacho's first novel *Cebu* (1991) opens with the protagonist Ben Lucero, a Filipino American Catholic priest, returning his mother's remains to the Philippines. *Cebu* shifts among multiple-generational perspectives. From Ben's perspective and the youths he administers to in his congregation, Bacho explores conflicts within Filipino American identity, urban violence, and the difficult negotiation between sexuality

and religious celibacy. From the perspective of Ben's mother Remedios and her best friend Clara, Bacho explores the aftereffects of trauma suffered during the Japanese occupation of the Philippines in World War II. This trauma causes Clara to lose any religious conviction she may have had, although it produces fervent piety in Remedios resulting in her vow that her first child would be a priest. However, this vow is rendered problematic in the text through Ben's constant wavering toward his religious beliefs and identity. His desire for Clara's assistant, Ellen, witnessing a crucifixion, experiencing the murderous violence against protesters at the U.S. Embassy in Manila, and the escalating urban violence in his own neighborhood when he returns to the United States unsettles Ben's convictions about his identity. From his experiences both in the Philippines and in the United States, Ben stands in as an alienated character not knowing whether to identify as Filipino or American, and the final unresolved encounter between Ben and one of his troubled young congregants complicates any measured success of Ben's role as a priest.

The sport of boxing is a prominent feature in Bacho's written works. Bacho was exposed to the sport as a child from his father and uncles and is trained in Asian martial arts and American boxing. Similarly, male authority figures guide Bacho's young male protagonists by introducing them to boxing. In *Cebu* Ben's father teaches him to fight like Sugar Ray Robinson. Ben's nickname is Angelo whereas his best friend's nickname is Muhammad; both monikers refer to the famous trainer Angelo Dundee and the boxer Muhammad Ali. In Bacho's subsequent work *Dark Blue Suit* (1997), a collection of interconnected short stories, boxing is highlighted as one of the few outlets

for the young working-class characters. This boxing philosophy is highlighted in the short story “A Manong’s Heart” where Bacho writes that Filipinos saw boxing as perhaps the only way out of poverty or one of the few paths that granted social mobility not only because of the financial gain of winning purses, but because “[t]he prize ring also provided that rare chance to be judged as an equal, which every Pinoy craved. The ring suspended society’s norms, those rules that embodied a racial and social order favoring color over ability, class over potential. In the ring, a Filipino could beat a white man with his fists and not be arrested” (1997). In *Dark Blue Suit* the restrictive racial and social order particularly affects the manong community of bachelor Filipino men who are utilized as cheap labor and given limited access to companionship due in part to strict immigration quotas that limited the influx of Filipina women to the United States and also due in part to racist antimiscegenation policies. Boxing was one of the few aspects in these men’s lives that did not restrict their participation or advancement. Bacho’s passion for boxing is best embodied in his first work aimed toward young adults, *Boxing in Black and White* (1999). In this work of nonfiction, Bacho provides analysis of the sport through the examination of 10 legendary fighters, their famous bouts, fighting styles, and overall cultural significance in relation to U.S. race relations.

Bacho’s novel *Nelson’s Run* (2002) departs from his usual focus on the experience of young Filipino American males, and instead takes the perspective of a privileged white man who seeks to indulge all his desires as a sex tourist in the Philippines. After sleeping with his father’s Filipina mistress, Nelson’s hedonism becomes directed toward the Filipina female body and the Philippines as a locale that exists only for his desires. In this satirical text Bacho critiques the sexual tourism industry in Asia as well as the postcolonial desire for whiteness in the Philippines.

Along with boxing, the Vietnam War and multiple heritages play a prominent role in Bacho’s works. His novel *Entrys* (2005) focuses on the experience of a multiple-heritage youth, Rico Divina, who is both Yakima and Filipino. After being wounded in the Vietnam War, Rico struggles in an environment hostile to his mixed-race identity, low-paying work, and has

little hope for any advancement. The central leitmotif and possible hope for Rico are in his fractured and error-filled writings (the eponymous entries instead of the correctly spelled entries) where he makes sense of his experiences. Bacho’s latest novel, *Leaving Yesler* (2010), is also a Vietnam-era text and is his second text marketed to a young adult audience. The protagonist, Bobby Vicente, who is part-black and part-Puerto Rican, is charged with the care of his ailing Filipino stepfather after his older brother dies in Vietnam. Bobby’s difficult transition from life in the Yesler Terrace Housing Project to his entry to college is aided by visitations from his dead mother and brother who appear to him throughout the text. As a coming-of-age story, *Leaving Yesler* focuses largely on Bobby’s negotiations with his sexuality and ethnic identity.

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Baek, Cha Seung (1980–)

Korean Cha Seung Baek has been a peripatetic professional pitcher in the United States in the early twenty-first century. Born in Busan, the six-foot-four-inch Baek was drafted as a free agent by the American League’s Seattle Mariners in 1998. At that time, Baek was only 18 years old.

Baek spent four full seasons in the Seattle minor league organization. A starter rather than a reliever, Baek suffered an injury in 2002 that kept him off the mound. However, by 2004 he earned a spot on the Mariners’ pitching staff, winning two and losing four, and recording a mediocre 5.52 Earned Run Average (ERA). He did not return to the Mariners until 2006. At that time, he put together a fairly impressive stint with the Mariners, winning four of five decisions and achieving a respectable 3.67 ERA.

In 2008, Seattle sent Baek to the San Diego Padres of the National League. The move seemed to give

wings to Baek's flagging Major League career. He won only 6 of 15 decisions for the Padres, but his ERA was a deceptive 4.62, considering that the Padres in 2008 were a bad baseball team. Suffering from arm problems, Baek dropped out of Major League Baseball, although the Mariners did give him a tryout in the spring of 2010.

However, the Mariners could not find a spot for Baek, and he drifted into independent professional baseball—teams and leagues not directly affiliated with MLB. In 2010, he pitched for Yuma and Orange County of the Golden League. The 30-year-old righthander is unlikely to return to Major League Baseball.

Joel S. Franks

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Balcena, Bobby (1925–1990)

Balcena was the first Filipino American to play Major League Baseball. A son of Filipino immigrants, he was born in San Pedro, California in 1925. After World War II, Balcena was signed by the St. Louis Browns of the American League. Thus began Balcena's long and exceptionally distinguished career in the Minor Leagues.

A swift outfielder, Balcena's hustle often won him admiration from Minor League baseball fans who may never have seen a Filipino in their lives. Playing for Seattle of the Pacific Coast League in the mid-1950s, Balcena won the hearts of that city's vibrant Filipino community. Meanwhile, he earned two spring training camp invitations from the St. Louis Browns and then the team the Browns became—the Baltimore Orioles. But as of 1956, no major league franchise had given him a chance to officially play in “The Show.”

However, the Cincinnati Reds, desperate for help in the quest for the National League title in 1956, called Balcena up late in the season. Officially, Balcena appeared in but seven games and mostly as a pinch runner. He batted twice, struck out once, and got no hits.

Balcena returned to the minors where he toiled until his retirement from professional baseball in the early 1960s. After working many years as a longshoreman, Balcena died in his hometown of San Pedro in 1990.

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See also Filipino American Baseball

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Bangladeshi Americans

Early India Diaspora

Located in South Asia, the present-day People's Republic of Bangladesh was established after the partition of Pakistan in 1971. Early immigration of Bangladeshi to the United States could be traced to the first two decades of the twentieth century, when Bengal (Bengali region) was part of British India. Among the early arrivals were small groups of student activists and seamen working on British ships, apparently all male, some went to Canada first before coming to the United States. They settled mostly in San Francisco, Oregon, and Washington. During the period of Indian exclusion (1917–1946), it was extremely difficult for immigrants from the India subcontinent to bring their families to the United States. Some early immigrants from Bengal established families through

interracial marriages with Mexican immigrant women. A smaller number of them married white and black women.

The most well-known pioneering immigrant from Bengal is Tarak Nath Das (1884–1958), a prominent revolutionary leader of the anti-British movement for Indian independence and a renowned scholar of international relations. Born in West Bengal, Tarak first arrived in the United States in 1907. He later worked as a translator and interpreter at the Department of Immigration in Vancouver. An advocate for Indian independence from Britain, Tarak was the co-founder of the Indian Independence League and the editor of *Free Hindustan*, the first South Asian publication in Canada. He also founded the Hindustani Association in Vancouver and became known as a community spokesman. Returning to the United States in 1908, Tarak brought *Free Hindustan* to New York City and continued activism. He also received military training at the Norwich University in Northfield, Vermont. In March 1912, he cofounded the Hindi Association of the Pacific Ocean, later became known as the Ghadar Party. Two years later in 1914 he was admitted to graduate school at the University of California, Berkeley, where he taught classes and wrote his dissertation on international relations. He gained U.S. citizenship in the same year, and received his PhD later in political science from the University of Washington. His first book, *Is Japan a Menace to Asia?*, was published in 1917. Because his involvement in the Kabul expedition (a part of the Hindu-German efforts to launch a nationalistic revolution in India), he was brought to trial and sentenced to a 22-month prison term in 1918. After his prison term, Tarak married Mary Keatinge Morse, a founding member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the National Woman's Party. Tarak later accepted a professorship in Political Science at the Columbia University.

Because the India subcontinent was under British colonial rule until 1947, early immigrants from South Asia shared a common Indian national conciseness and identity. Many intellectuals like Tarak Nath Das were actively involved in the Indian independent movement regardless of their regional, linguistic, and religious distinctions. They were bitter about the

struggles that eventually led to the split of Pakistan and India. Early immigrants from Bengal are thus considered as Asian Indian immigrants. Relatively few Bengali immigrants of the colonial period had much to do with the statehoods created in South Asia, and few of them were related to the Bangladeshi American community.

Bangladeshi Immigration to the United States

The partition of Pakistan from India took place shortly after Indian Independence in 1947. For the following 24 years, Bengal (East Pakistan) was part of Pakistan. Islam was the dominant religion of the nation, but differences between West Pakistan and East Pakistan in terms of culture, language, economic development, and political representation soon became divisive issues. In 1971, Pakistan split into two nations when East Pakistan proclaimed its independence as the People's Republic of Bangladesh.

Before the establishment of Bangladesh, some small groups of students and professionals from East Pakistan came to the United States for personal reasons. Many more fled in the late 1960s and 1970 to escape the political turmoil during the independence movement. There were also groups of religious minorities who left their homeland to avoid religious discrimination. Most of these early arrivals were educated and relatively well-to-do. Since the establishment of Bangladesh, the number of immigrants steadily increased: a few hundred college students, professionals, and skilled workers arrived each year in the 1970s. By 1980, about 3,500 Bangladeshi were living in the United States. As some immigrants became naturalized U.S. citizens and eligible to sponsor family members, larger waves of Bangladeshi immigrants began to arrive. According to official government documents, from 1993 to 2000, between 3,291 and 8,681 Bangladeshi immigrants were admitted annually. The number continued to increase: between 11,487 and 16,651 arrived each year from 2005 and 2010. It is important to note that actual numbers are much larger, because individuals that came from the Bangladeshi diaspora might not be included in the statistics, and there were also many individuals who found ways to come without border inspection.

What we do know is that by the time Bangladesh became an official nation, the United States had already removed racial barriers in its immigration policies, making it relatively easier for people from South Asia to gain entry. Modern-day transportation also worked to shorten the distance between South Asian nationals and the United States. Moreover, British colonization of South Asia has had a long-lasting impact. Like their counterparts in India and Pakistan, educated Bangladeshis were familiar with the English language; some were world travelers before 1971 and settled somewhere else. Therefore, although Bangladeshi immigration to the United States does not begin until after 1971 and had a slow start, it progressed at a fast pace after 1980.

Bangladeshi American Population

According to the Census, there were 57,412 Bangladeshis in the United States in 2000. The number reached 147,300 in 2010, reflecting a 157 percent increase. This is the result of a growing number of new immigrants in the community. Between 2001 and 2010, the United States admitted 86,158 immigrants from Bangladesh, a number far bigger than the entire population of the ethnic group in 2000. The actual number of Bangladeshis living in the United States is bigger, although exactly how many individuals were undercounted in the Census is difficult to know. Undocumented immigrants, including both illegal entries and those who overstayed their visas, are most likely to be left out of the Census. According to one study, as many as 150,000 undocumented Bangladeshis were living in the United States in the first decade of the twenty-first century.

The majority of Bangladeshi Americans, about 73 percent of the population, were foreign-born, although about 50 percent of these immigrants gained citizenship status. About 92 percent of Bangladeshi Americans five and older spoke a language other than English at home, and 46 percent of the population group five and older had only limited English proficiency. This differentiated Bangladeshi Americans from their counterparts from South Asia. Limited English proficiency rate is relatively low for Indian Americans (22%), Pakistani Americans (28%), and

Sri Lankan Americans (22%). About 25 percent of Bangladeshi Americans lived in linguistically isolated households.

Students and professionals were the majority of the early Bangladeshi immigrant community. According to one study, 61 percent of the Bangladeshis who gained permanent residency by 1986 were students. Data available in 1992 indicates almost 91 percent of the Bangladeshis in the United States at the time were professionals. But this changed in the mid-1990s. Through the Diversity Immigrant Visa Program under the Immigration Act of 1990, many low-skilled Bangladeshis gained entry with various lottery visas. The 2010 Census estimated that 81 percent of Bangladeshi Americans had at least a high school diploma, and 47 percent of the population had at least a bachelor's degree. These statistics are lower than other South Asia immigrant groups (Indians, 91% and 68%; Pakistanis, 87% and 55%; Sri Lankans, 93% and 56%, respectively) as well as the general Asian American population (86% and 49%, respectively). Immigrants who had very little education or marketable skills depended on existing ethnic networks to survive. They went to cities with large settlements of Bangladeshis and stayed together. Their presence changed the profile of Bangladeshi America.

New York, New Jersey, California, and Texas are the most desirable states for the immigrant families, but many Bangladeshi Americans settled in cities elsewhere. In metropolitan areas of New York and New Jersey, Los Angeles, Miami, Washington, D.C., and Atlanta, the immigrants have built their ethnic enclaves, where businesses of both English and Bengali signs are quite visible. The Bangladeshi community in New York is spread out in the Jackson Heights area in Queens. Bangladesh grocery and clothing stores turned 74 Street into a busy commercial cluster.

Bangladeshi Americans had relatively low socioeconomic status. Per capita income for the group was \$16,784, which fell below that of other South Asian ethnic groups (Indians, \$36,533; Pakistanis, \$24,663; Sri Lankans, \$32,480). This was lower than \$28,342 per capita income for the Asian American population. About 20 percent of the Bangladeshi Americans lived in poverty, which was much higher than Indian

Americans (8%), Pakistani Americans (15%), and Sri Lankan Americans (9%). The poverty rate of Bangladeshi Americans was also higher than the Asian American population (11%) and the total U.S. population (14%). About 3 percent of Bangladeshi American households received public cash assistance.

Unlike some of the early Bangladeshi immigrants who were able to find good jobs in American companies, with no American diploma and marketable skills, a majority of Bangladeshis living in the United States are self-employed or working in the service sectors. Male Bangladeshi immigrants often found work driving taxis. In New York City, for example, 38 percent of the taxi drivers were South Asians in 2000. Bangladeshis entered the occupation following the footsteps of their counterparts from Pakistan and India. Their number was small at first. In the mid-1980s, Pakistani taxi drivers were the most dominant in New York. In recent years, however, the rate of Pakistani and Indian immigrants entering the occupation seemed to decline, whereas the number of Bangladeshi taxi drivers continued to grow. It was estimated that about 6,500 cab drivers in the city are of Bangladeshi origin. A typical Bangladeshi cab driver is between 35 and 55 years of age and married with families. Most of these taxi drivers have at least a high school education and almost a third of them have college degrees from Bangladesh. Besides cab-driving, many Bangladeshi immigrants, both men and women, worked in retail shops and service sectors. Bangladeshi immigrant professionals, most with degrees from U.S. colleges, are often employed by companies in engineering, medicine, and information technology. According to the Census, of those employed, 17 percent of Bangladeshi Americans were employed in construction, extraction, production, transportation, and material moving; 33 percent in sales and office work; 32 percent in management and professional occupations; and 17 percent in service. The unemployment rate of Bangladeshi Americans is 7 percent. Only 44 percent of Bangladeshi Americans were homeowners, which was the lowest percentage among major Asian American groups. In comparison, 66 percent of Americans, 59 percent of Asian Americans, 56 percent of Indian Americans, 55 percent Pakistani Americans, and 61 percent of Sri Lankan Americans were

homeowners. About 24 percent of Bangladeshi Americans lived in overcrowded housing. The rate of Bangladeshi Americans who had no health insurance was also high (23%), the same as that of Pakistani Americans but higher than Indian Americans (12%).

Communities

Immigrants who arrived in the 1960s and 1970s are important in the Bangladeshi diaspora. They were the first to become eligible to sponsor families, and they were the first to form community organizations. A few of the more than a dozen organizations of these immigrants were founded during the Bangladeshi independent movement. These early community organizations sponsored social and cultural activities and provided mutual support for individuals and families, although influence of their organizations was limited. Many early immigrants started on their own and settled in various locations throughout the United States. Scattered population made it relatively difficult to organize. In small cities and towns where Bangladeshis were few, the immigrants socialized frequently with their local community groups; some formed interracial families.

Ethnic community became increasingly important for Bangladeshi immigrants after 1980. Those who have arrived in the past two or three decades tend to live together in clusters in large cities. Astoria and Jamaica in New York City, for example, attracted a large number of individuals with limited resources. Most Bangladeshi immigrants are Muslims, but there are also adherents of Hinduism, Christianity, and Buddhism. The early arrivals are mostly Bengalis, but many other political and regional groups also came after 1980. Tribe members from the Chittagong Hill Tracts, for example, have their own cultures that are distinctively different from the Bengalis. They left Bangladesh to escape government repression after tribal resistance movement against resettlement of the region failed. There are also many groups of transmigrants who settled in the Middle East, Australia, or Africa before immigrating to the United States. Although regional, cultural, and religious differences shape internal dynamics of the Bangladeshi America, immigrants are closely bound together based on their

common affiliation with their homeland. Religion, for example, is important to most Bangladeshis, but it does not seem to be a divisive issue in the community. It is very common to see social gatherings participated by people of different religious backgrounds. Ethnic businesses provided jobs for the newcomers, and they received patronage from their fellow Bangladeshis in return. Together, the immigrants provided mutual support to each other and have had a great success in preserving Bengali culture and maintaining a Bangladeshi lifestyle through their own networks.

Although Bangladeshi America is relatively young and small compared to many other Asian ethnic groups, it contains a wide range of organizations. There are associations based on religious affiliations and on districts of the immigrants' native places. Organizations of residing cities and regions of the United States, and of professions and trades, however, are increasingly important. The Federation of Bangladeshi Associations in North America (FOBANA), an umbrella organization of all community associations, claimed to have a membership of 96,000. These organizations have facilitated community-based social, cultural, and economic activities. They helped fellow immigrants gain a strong sense of ethnic pride, and they maintain strong ties with their ancestral homeland.

Impact of 9/11

The terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001 have had a big impact on Bangladeshi America. Like all Americans, Bangladeshi Americans were shocked by the attacks, and many individuals in New York City witnessed the Twin Towers collapse in front of their own eyes. Among the thousands who were killed on 9/11 were at least six Bangladeshi Americans. The media treatment of the event from a religious standpoint, however, has created an unprecedented fear, and Muslim groups have experienced the most emotional and psychological stress. In the months following 9/11, there was an overwhelming fear of detention and deportation among Bangladeshi Americans. Even American citizens of the community were afraid that they or their families could become victims

of hate crimes. Women who wore *hijab* were targets for harassment on the street, and many Bangladeshi Americans also experienced workplace discrimination. The fear was so overwhelming that very few individuals were willing to speak up. Many individuals have tried to avoid the subject because they felt that they were identified as an enemy population and were targeted by not only the media but also by government policies and restrictions.

Generational Gap

Raising children in America is a big challenge for Bangladeshi immigrants. Many parents tried to preserve their culture by speaking Bengali at home, eating ethnic food, wearing traditional dress, and watching Bangladeshi or Indian films and television programs. They also try to instill traditional values and norms in their children. Socialization through their ethnic community is an important aspect of this effort. As some scholars have observed, although some families have had more success than others in slowing down their children's acculturation process, this parenting style has also worked to create tensions between the generations. This is especially because the second-generation often associate with the United States more than the Bangladeshi nation state, and they sometimes take different approaches to their affiliation with religion.

Conclusion

As a new Asian ethnic community, Bangladeshi America is growing at a fast pace. The increasing number of citizens in the community will facilitate more immigration of family members, and established ethnic business networks will continue to help newcomers adjust their life in America. Affiliation with their ancestral land has been and will continue to be very important. Although the second generation does not have the same strong emotional attachment to Bangladesh as that of their parents, the impact of globalization is yet to be fully seen. As economic development in Bangladesh continues to grow, economic and cultural transnationalism will become more and more important in Bangladeshi America in the years to come.

Xiaojian Zhao

See also Ghadar Party; Indian Americans; Immigration Act of 1990; Sri Lankan Americans; Tarak Nath Das

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“Barred Zone”

See Immigration Act of 1917 and the “Barred Zone”

Barroga, Jeannie (1949–)

Jeannie Barroga was born in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. She came from a talented musical family. Her father was a familiar musical figure in the area’s lounge circuit. The family lived in an all-white neighborhood and the consequent cultural interaction or nonaction, served as an inspiration for Barroga’s writing. In an interview she remarked, “We were the first family of color they had ever seen. I was a very angry young child. In retrospect I can see I was reacting to cultural differences.” Barroga graduated from the University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee in 1972 with a degree in Fine Arts.

Moving to the San Francisco Bay area, she quickly found roots and began to pursue her playwriting interests. Her first play, *The Pigeon Man*, was produced in 1979. Ironically the play was about a white Midwestern family. She somehow had the notion that anything ethnic would be difficult to produce. It was only after she wrote her second play *Reaching for the Stars* (1983) that Barroga came to the realization that there was great dramatic potential waiting to be realized in

her own culture. The result was *Eye of the Coconut* (1987), which in reality was a comedy with layers of seriousness. It was first produced by the Northwest Asian American Theatre of Seattle.

Barroga is a prolific writer and has authored over 50 plays and completed a half-dozen cable television plays. Her landmark work was the play *Walls*, which premiered in 1989 at the Asian American Theater Company, San Francisco. The inspiration for the play came after a staged reading of one of her projects. The audience reacted sharply to a short scene featuring a Vietnam veteran meeting with his friends. Barroga never forgot the reaction to that one scene. A couple of years later, she was browsing through the text and photographs in Jan Scruggs’s book, *To Heal a Nation*. An idea was born and the play *Walls* resulted. It was a well-crafted play relating to the construction of the Vietnam Veterans War Memorial in Washington D.C. The pivotal character is Maya Lin, the young Yale student who won the competition to design the memorial. Her winning design was in the form of a dark granite wall with the names of all the fallen soldiers etched on the Wall. Barroga attempted in vain to contact Lin, hoping to interview her for the project. Consequently, she began to research the articles and interviews connected with the Vietnam Wall controversy. It was a tumultuous time in America. The characters in the play all go through a trying period of catharsis and understanding.

Barroga founded the *Playwrights Forum* in Palo Alto in 1983. The forum later merged with the *Palo Alto Theatre Works* to form the *Discovery Project* in 1986. She also served as the literary manager for the Oakland Ensemble Theater. The San Francisco-based Teatro Ng Tanan invited Barroga to take over as artistic director in 1990. She has also served on the panel for the Theatre Communications Group and The National Endowments for the Arts and the San Francisco Arts Commission.

Kenny Was a Shortstop (1991) is a short play about a newspaper reporter looking into the death of a young Filipino youth as a result of gang violence.

Talk Story (1992), first produced by the Kumu Kahua Theater in Hawaii, explores the Filipino experience, delving into the frustrations of a lack of identity. She uses her own family experience to illustrate points of reference. *Rita’s Resources* (1995) is a comedy of

immigrant experiences in America set in the 1970s. The play was premiered Off-Off Broadway by the Asian American Repertory Theater.

More recently, in 2005, Barroga’s new play, *Banyan*, was presented by the Asian American Theater Company. It was an attempt, albeit an ambitious one, at looking at the current chaos of the last decade in America.

Ambi Harsha

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Bartlett, Jason (1979–)

Jason Bartlett is a Major League Baseball (MLB) shortstop who was vital to the Tampa Bay Rays first World Series appearance in 2008. Filipino on his mother’s side, Bartlett was born in Mountain View, California, in 1979, but went to high school in Stockton and attended the University of Oklahoma.

Drafted by the San Diego Padres of the National League in 2001, Bartlett was obtained by the Minnesota Twins of the American League in 2002. Two years later, Bartlett made his MLB debut with the Twins. In 2005 and 2006, Bartlett came off the bench for the Twins. But in 2007, he served as the club’s regular shortstop.

By 2008, Bartlett was the regular shortstop for the Tampa Bay Rays, a youthful team seeking to challenge the supremacy of the New York Yankees and Boston Red Sox in the Eastern Division of the American League. During this effort, Bartlett generally proved to be a fine fielder and steady hitter. In 2009, Bartlett had a “career year,” batting an impressive .320 and hitting a surprising 14 home runs in addition to effectively holding down his shortstop position.

Joel S. Franks

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Bellingham “Anti-Hindu Riot” (1907)

On the evening of September 4, 1907, in Bellingham, Washington, a mob attacked and drove out over 200 immigrant laborers from India, referred to commonly as “Hindus.” The goal of the rioters was to force these South Asian workers from the mills and the city, using beatings and the threat of force to round up the men from their beds and mills. Overnight over a hundred were herded into the city jail in the basement of the City Hall on an agreement worked out with the police chief. Within a few days the goals of the mob were fulfilled; all of the South Asian millworkers had either left by train or steamship for points further south along the Pacific coast or on foot to cross back into Canada. Several of the South Asian workers were beaten, and according to spokesmen for the group, many took the threats seriously and were afraid for their lives. Although the local papers downplayed the injuries, six were badly beaten and hospitalized according to a *New York Times* wire dispatch.

The action was the first in a series of attacks on “Hindus” in Washington State and British Columbia, but it was not the first anti-Asian action in the Bellingham area. In October 1885, an anti-Chinese movement expelled the Chinese residents from the towns that would later combine to form Bellingham. There was a series of warnings and attacks in the days before the riot. After a massive Labor Day parade and gatherings of workers, unnamed speakers issued threats, and several violent incidents against East Indians broke out. On the day preceding the riot, workers at one mill had made a plan to attack the South Asians, claiming that white workers had been fired and replaced by Punjabi workers.

On the very morning of the riot, an editorial suggested that citizens had been unwelcoming toward the “Hindu” workers. Over the previous months, several

editorials and local news articles included warnings that conflict and antagonism were escalating. Police harassment and discriminatory treatment is evident from the local arrest records, showing that whenever a “Hindu” was arrested for “drunkenness,” a very commonly reported violation, he was fined before being released the next morning. In contrast, white violators were typically released with no fines.

The rioters were said to number at least 500, but accounts describe a mob that grew and separated into groups through the night, some attacking living quarters and others marching to lumber mills. Their composition was sometimes referred to as “white,” but according to newspapers some Filipino and black workers also participated. Some descriptions in the press emphasized participation of boys, but others described the rioters as persons of all ages, with mill-workers in the majority. The four persons arrested and jailed were described as working men, although police handcuffed two others described as boys but released them when surrounded by a mob. Those arrested during the riot were released and never indicted because of the prosecutor’s claim that no witnesses could be found to testify.

After the riot, press reports identified both immediate and long-standing grievances that were attributed as causes. The most commonly voiced reasons were the economic threats to mill jobs and wages, as the South Asian laborers were believed to be willing to work for lower wages than the prevailing rate for European Americans, therefore taking jobs from others. A further complaint was that immigrant workers spent little, lived very frugally, and saved much of their pay to send to families in India. Immediate grievances mentioned as triggering the violence were several South Asian men refusing to yield the sidewalk to women, boisterous fighting outside of taverns, and a white female tenant being displaced by “Hindu” men. The lumber mill owners who employed the South Asian workers were named as the ultimate culprits by the Bellingham City Council in a controversial resolution.

The reactions of the two local newspapers and most of the western U.S. press were similar. They disapproved of the lawlessness of the method, but celebrated the outcome of the eviction of these “undesirable” immigrants. Widespread public antagonism

toward the South Asian population was suggested by the reports of jeering, harassment, and in private correspondence. Following the riot, several ministers spoke out to criticize the lawlessness and lack of tolerance, and one newspaper, *Bellingham Herald*, published sermon excerpts. The mayor publicly denounced the riot, called for additional police deputy assistance, and pledged to protect the workers.

The response of organized labor was mixed. Most labor voices were supportive of the aims and outcome of the anti-Asian movement but not necessarily of the tactics. The following week the Central Labor Council of the city issued a resolution condemning the riots. Strong opposition to the riot also came from the IWW (Industrial Workers of the World), which had a very small presence in the Bellingham area. The IWW issued a statement denouncing the riot as injurious to the welfare of workers.

Most of the South Asian immigrants were young male Sikh farmers from the Punjab region of India who arrived by steamship in British Columbia beginning in 1906. Finding that employment opportunities were limited in the Vancouver and Victoria area, and hearing of employment opportunities and higher wages in Washington State, many crossed the border in 1906 and 1907. Bellingham, located only 20 miles south of the border and having some of the largest lumber mills in the world, was the closest destination, and several lumber mills offered jobs to willing immigrants during periods of boom in a very volatile economy. The appearance of these men varied, with some wearing the traditional turban over uncut hair and bearded, and others with cut hair under Western hats and trimmed moustaches. Although there were reports that a few South Asian women were living in Bellingham, these rumors were probably mistaken.

South Asian immigrants first entered Bellingham the previous year, when two men without immigration documents arrived on foot from Vancouver, B.C., and were arrested and turned over to immigration officials. Their appearance was described in detail as strange and curious, and one paper included an artist’s drawings of the two men. Their vegetarian customs were also seen as a curiosity when they refused the Bellingham jail food despite having gone for two days without eating.

By September 1906, at least 17 “Hindu” workers were reported to be living in Bellingham, and the expected arrival of many more South Asian immigrants became a frequent theme in the local press. One local paper devoted an entire page to the situation with a large banner headline about the “dusky peril” and several artistic depictions of the “Hindu.” At the same time, the first organized effort to expel the Asian immigrant workers occurred at one of the lumber mills.

In May 1907, another kind of opposition to the South Asians in Bellingham developed. The newspaper appeared to be the instigator, proclaiming that the “Hindus of Bellingham” were a public nuisance, and residents were in mortal fear for their lives. By this time their numbers had increased to 50 or 60, and the press repeated diatribes about them being dirty, offensive, and belligerent. Charges against the “brown intruders” and “dark skinned sons of India” included indecent exposure, stealing neighbors’ chickens, and dumping refuse around their housing, resulting in some calling for the deportation of the immigrants as undesirable citizens, a view repeated in subsequent editorials in various newspapers.

Several days following the riot in Bellingham, a larger race riot broke out in Vancouver in which a mob attacked Chinese, Japanese, and East Indian residents that seemed to have been triggered by the Bellingham events and agitation by the Asiatic Exclusion League. In the months following the riots in Bellingham and Vancouver, anti-Punjabi hostilities occurred in other locations in the Puget Sound region of Washington State, including Everett and Aberdeen, which caused many more South Asian immigrants to flee the region.

In 2007, on the 100th anniversary of the events, the Bellingham *Herald* published an apology for the paper’s role in the hostilities against the South Asian immigrants, and the mayor of Bellingham declared a day of remembrance and healing.

Paul Englesberg

See also Indian Americans; Indian Exclusion

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WHO IS POLLY BEMIS: TWO PERSPECTIVES

Bemis, Polly (Lalu Nathoy) (1853–1933): Perspective I

Idaho pioneer Polly Bemis, born Lalu Nathoy on September 11, 1853, attracted notice because of her singularity as a Chinese woman in the American West, but earned admiration, respect, affection, and legendary status for her pluck, keen wit, kindness, warm hospitality, and joyful and generous spirit.

Born in northern China, Lalu Nathoy’s name identifies her as Mongolian, her family among the many who settled in Han areas to farm in the mid-nineteenth century. During a prolonged drought, her father was forced to sell her to bandits in exchange for enough seed to plant another crop. She was then smuggled into America, sold for \$2,500, and taken to the Idaho gold mining camp of Warrens (now Warren) where she would be the only Chinese woman.

Many camps in Idaho Territory prohibited Chinese from holding claims or working as hired men. In 1869, whites in Warrens voted to allow Chinese in. The vast majority came from southern China, and they soon outnumbered whites but remained powerless, living

in tiny, windowless cabins below the camp's single street of saloons, dance halls, bunk houses, hotels, and stores. The few Chinese operating pack trains were from northern China and delivered supplies to all. Lalu's owner, Hong King, and her future husband, Charlie Bemis, each ran a dance hall/saloon/gambling house. According to Elsensohn, when a pack train brought Lalu in 1872, a white man helped her dismount with the words, "Here's Polly," then called Bemis outside and said, "Charlie, this is Polly." Thereafter Lalu was called Polly.

At what point Polly and Bemis became lovers is not known. By the 1880 Census, however, Polly was living with him and supporting herself by taking in laundry from white miners and running a boardinghouse that Bemis had built for her beside his own, a short distance from his saloon. Many of her boarders and their families became her lifelong friends, among them Bertha Long.

According to Bertha Long, "Bemis took [Polly] from the Chinese." Whether Bertha was referring only to Polly's owner or the Chinese community as a whole is unclear. Also unclear is whether Polly's limited interaction with the Chinese in the area was because her northern origins alienated her by language and custom or because of her relationship with Bemis and her boardinghouse being in the white section of the camp.

A. W. Talkington, who had been in Warrens when Polly arrived and in the years afterward, was emphatic that "[Bemis] did actually take Polly away from her Chinese owner," according to Elsensohn, who wrote a memoir of Polly Bemis in 1957. Legend has it that Bemis won Polly from Hong King in a poker game. Whether the legend has substance or should be dismissed, Polly's denial that she was a "poker bride" holds true, for she and Bemis lived together nearly two decades before they married.

Nor did the two marry, as some suggest, because Polly saved Bemis in 1890 after he was shot in the cheek, shattering the bone. The doctor, coming 87 miles by horseback from Grangeville, found and extracted one half of the ball and 14 pieces of bone, but feared the wound would prove fatal from blood poisoning because fragments remained. Polly cleaned the wound with her crochet hook, found the remaining

piece of bullet embedded in the back of Bemis's neck, cut it out with a razor, and then nursed him back to health.

The couple, obviously devoted, was prohibited from marriage by Idaho's antimiscegenation law. But a justice of the peace—who had for years been flouting the law with his Native American wife—formalized their union on August 13, 1894. Polly was then under threat of deportation because of the 1892 Geary Act, which required all Chinese residing in the United States to prove their legality, register, and thereafter carry a certificate of residence. By marrying, she prevailed in the case *United States v Polly Bemiss* [sic] and was granted a certificate of residence. A name in Chinese characters appears in the space for Polly Bemis's signature in her testimony for *United States v Polly Bemiss* [sic], 181 U.S. (1896), but the ink is blotted and the characters cannot be deciphered with any certainty.

Bemis had a two-story house built for Polly and himself on the Salmon River directly across from Crooked Creek, about 17 miles by trail from Warrens. Polly, caring for cows, horses, chickens, ducks, an extensive garden, and orchard, would pick up worms and slip them into her apron pocket so that, come three o'clock, she would be ready to go fishing. Bemis, ferrying travelers across the river, refused to accept payment, invited them to enjoy Polly's cooking and spend the night. Guests left loaded down with pies, cakes, fruit, and vegetables to be delivered to old friends, delicacies for the sick and injured. The Bemis ranch quickly became known as Polly Place, and a government survey party named the creek running through the property for Polly in 1911.

When prospectors poured into the canyon because of a rush for gold at Buffalo Hump in 1899, Bemis filed a mining claim that would protect the property. After their house caught fire in 1922, Polly and a neighbor dragged Bemis, then frail and ill, to safety. Everything was destroyed except three documents—the mining claim, the certificate of residence, and the marriage certificate—and some gold buttons Bemis had made for Polly that she changed from dress to dress.

For the next two months, Polly nursed Bemis at their neighbors' home across the river. After his death,

these neighbors took her to Warrens. Despite the efforts of friends to cheer her and enjoying visits to Grangeville and Boise, Polly, then 70, walked the 17 miles back to her Salmon River property. She gave Bemis's mining claim to her neighbors in exchange for their agreeing to build her a small cabin, which made it possible for her to live out her remaining days.

A few months before her death on November 6, 1933, Polly was taken to a nursing home in Grangeville. Friends and strangers—including a fifth-grade class—visited her. At her funeral, the city council served as pall bearers. In 1987, Polly's body was brought back and interred beside her cabin, now a museum and listed in the National Register of Historic Places. Her fame has spread far beyond the United States in a biographical novel, *Thousand Pieces of Gold*, which has been translated into many languages and made into a film.

Ruthanne Lum McCunn

See also Bemis, Polly (Lalu Nathoy); Perspective 2

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Bemis, Polly (Lalu Nathoy) (1853–1933): Perspective 2

The Pacific Northwest's most famous Chinese woman resident, Polly Bemis, arrived in Idaho Territory in 1872 and died in Idaho in 1933. She became famous in her lifetime because of her unusual circumstances: she was a Chinese woman married to a Caucasian man; she continued to live on the remote Salmon River even after his death; and several myths and legends grew up around her, both in her lifetime and afterward.

The 1880 U.S. Census states that Polly was born in northern China, in or near "Peking," now Beijing. Other sources give her birth date as September 11, 1853. Nothing is known of her life in China, and even her original Chinese name is unknown. A 1921 interview reported that her parents sold her as a slave girl because they had no food. An old woman smuggled her into Portland, Oregon, and sold her for \$2,500 to an unnamed old Chinese man who took her to the gold-mining town of Warren, Idaho in a pack train.

Polly arrived there on July 8, 1872. A man, who helped her alight from her horse, reportedly announced, "Here's Polly," and that became her name. In the frontier West, non-Chinese people, who balked at learning Chinese names, commonly gave women American names, such as Polly, Mary, Annie, and Jennie; these were easier for the Caucasians to remember and pronounce.

Polly was brought to Warren as the concubine for a Chinese businessman. Although some have said that she was a prostitute, there is no evidence for that assumption. Her Chinese owner is often called "Hong King," but again, there is no evidence for that name. The 1880 Census lists her only as Polly, with no surname. A widow, she lived in the same household as Charlie Bemis, an unmarried Caucasian saloon owner. Chinese customs at the time can help explain why she self-identified as a widow. In China, wealthy Chinese men often had more than one wife, as well as one or more concubines. If such a man came to the United States without his wife, as was customary, he could buy a woman to be his concubine. According to Chinese custom, a woman in that sort of relationship, although not a wife, was "like a wife." Therefore, because Polly called herself a widow in the 1880 Census, her owner must have died or returned to China without her.

In 1890, an assailant shot Charlie in the face, and Polly nursed him back to health after weeks of faithful care. They married in 1894, possibly to afford Polly some protection from the 1892 renewal of the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act. Their marriage certificate gives her name as Polly Hathoy, not "Lalu Nathoy" as some writers have suggested. Following their marriage the couple moved about 17 miles away from Warren, to a mining claim down on the remote Salmon

River. There Polly occasionally encountered wealthy people who were on boating expeditions. They enjoyed interacting with her because of her perceived novelty as a Chinese woman married to a Caucasian man.

Living on the Salmon River, Polly kept chickens and sold the eggs, and grew, sold, and canned a great variety of garden produce. By July 1921, when Countess Eleanor Gizycka interviewed her for an article that *Field and Stream* published in 1923, Charlie had been bedridden for about two years. In August 1922 the Bemis's house caught fire and burned to the ground. Polly and Charlie Shepp, a neighbor from across the river, rescued Charlie Bemis and got him to the neighbor's home, but he died in late October. Several days later another neighbor, Peter Klinkhammer, took Polly back to Warren and got her settled; she would live there again for almost two years.

When in Warren she twice visited larger communities. In 1923 she went to Grangeville, Idaho, for a week. Polly stayed in a Caucasian woman's home, where she had many callers. In Grangeville, she was fitted with glasses and had some dental work done. She took her first automobile ride and saw her first train, but her first motion picture fascinated her the most. In 1924 some friends took Polly to Boise, the state capital. There, in just one day, she saw her first high building, her first streetcar, her second motion picture, and rode in her first elevator.

Polly's neighbors on the Salmon River rebuilt her home. She moved in during the fall of 1924 and lived there for nearly 10 years. In early August 1933, a neighbor found her lying outside, nearly helpless; she probably had suffered a stroke. Friends got her to the hospital in Grangeville, where she died on November 6, 1933. Both before and after her death, Polly's life has been greatly romanticized by many people who have written about her. There is no evidence for the truth of the most persistent legend, that is, that she was "won in a poker game." As her life neared its end, both Polly and a long-time friend vehemently denied the rumor.

Polly is justifiably famous because she represents all the forgotten Chinese women who came to the United States during the late nineteenth century, women who arrived often unwillingly, without

knowing English, and with no prospect of ever returning home. These women faced racial prejudice from the white population and sexual discrimination from Chinese men. Polly lived in Idaho for over 60 years. During that time, her strength of character enabled her to rise above adversity, winning respect and admiration from everyone who knew her.

In June 1987, Polly's restored home was dedicated as a museum. Her remains were removed from Grangeville's Prairie View Cemetery and reburied adjacent to her restored home. There is no road to the site; visiting it means taking a jet boat upriver from Riggins, Idaho, or floating downriver for five days. Because Polly Bemis was inducted into the Idaho Hall of Fame in August 1996, it is especially important that we both celebrate the known facts about her and allow the stereotypical, undocumented legends to die out.

Priscilla Wegars

See also Bemis, Polly (Lalu Nathoy): Perspective 1

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Bhutanese Americans

With a population of 19,439 in 2010, Bhutanese America is one of the smallest Asian American groups. The ethnic group is very young; only about 150 individuals were in the United States before 2008. The majority of the current population came from refugee camps in eastern Nepal in 2009 through the resettlement program under the auspices of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. In addition, a very small number—a total of 74 individuals—from Bhutan were admitted to the United States as immigrants between 2001 and 2010.

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Boat People

The plight of the Vietnamese boat people refers to the mass exodus of an estimated 1.5 to 2 million people by sea in the years following the Vietnam War. The war ended with the reunification of North and South Vietnam under a Communist dictatorship, prompting widespread fear of reeducation and political persecution. Several periods of mass exodus took place in Southeast Asia beginning in 1975. The first occurred in the weeks before and after the fall of Saigon in April-May 1975. The second, the most pronounced period of exodus by boat, occurred in the years 1978–1982. Most boat refugees were from South Vietnam, though individuals were also fleeing the bloodshed in Cambodia and Laos. Refugees continued to flee by the hundreds in intervening years, but a third period of mass boat exodus began again in 1988. Refugees arriving in this third period sparked international controversy when first asylum countries like Hong Kong and Malaysia began to refuse them under the claim that new arrivals no longer qualified as “political” refugees.

In the historical narrative of Southeast Asian migration, the period of the boat people is distinct from the first period of evacuation, which was primarily U.S.-led. The “first wave” that was U.S. sponsored evacuated from 10,000 to 15,000 refugees in mid-April 1975. In the last days of April, under Operation Frequent Wind, 80,000 more refugees were evacuated by U.S. cargo plane. Evacuees in this first and second wave were educated and from the middle and upper-middle classes, many holding diplomatic, military, or professional positions closely tied with the U.S. interests. The departure of 40,000–60,000 more refugees by boat or small ships were picked up by the U.S. Navy in the first two weeks of May 1975. This third wave of evacuation included soldiers, families of soldiers, and civilian supporters of the U.S.-backed South Vietnamese Army. Unlike the first two waves, this

third wave was comprised of less educated farmers, peasant soldiers, and families from the rural areas. Although this last group employed boats as a means of escape, their escape is chronologically grouped with the first period of evacuation. All three waves of this first period preceded the experience of the second period of migration, the mass exodus of the boat people.

Though numbers of refugees continually streamed out of the region, the exodus of the boat refugees comprised the second major period of forced migration out of Southeast Asia, from 1978 to 1982. From 1978 to 1980 alone, approximately 800,000 refugees fled Southeast Asia on small boats, fishing crafts, and makeshift rafts. The majority of evacuees in this second period were ethnic Chinese, reflecting Vietnam’s intensification of its economic restructuring programs. Ethnic Chinese had amassed ownership of 60 to 70 percent of the small businesses in Vietnam as a long-residing merchant class, an economic imbalance that reflected China’s extensive colonial history in Vietnam. Efforts to regain control of Vietnamese political and economic resources began prior to 1975 and included mandates forcing the ethnic Chinese to become Vietnamese citizens. In 1956, the Diem regime in South Vietnam prohibited ethnic Chinese from practicing medicine and working in other choice professions, a measure meant to highlight the benefits of full Vietnamese citizenship. After unification under Communist forces in 1975, political relations between Hanoi and China deteriorated and Hanoi adopted the nationalist position of the former Diem regime, requiring the Chinese in February 1977 to again become Vietnamese citizens or lose significant liberties. Those who refused lost their jobs and were forbidden to apply for civil positions. They also lost their right to settle freely and were forcibly relocated into New Economic Zones, areas of jungle that had been passed over as unusable land. On March 24, a group of government loyalists ransacked Cholon, the Chinese section of Saigon. The raid closed 30,000 wholesale and retail businesses and forced the city’s inhabitants into the jungles. Those who refused to relocate were shot and killed on the spot. By mid-April of 1977, such political and economic restructuring compelled a mass boat exodus.

Though a large majority of boat refugees were ethnic Chinese, the new Communist government aimed for political reform and nationalization rather than ethnic cleansing. Thus, ethnic Vietnamese, like ethnic Chinese, suffered in political reeducation camps and many thousands participated in boat evacuation. Between 1978 and 1980, approximately 400,000 of an estimated 800,000 boat refugees successfully made it to a country of first asylum. Those who did not die or were killed along the journey. Refugees suffered indescribable hardships in the open sea, often floating in rough waters for weeks, exposed to the elements without proper covering or provisions of food or water. Men, women, and children all made the voyage, and



Vietnamese refugees are rescued by the USS *Blue Ridge* in May 1984 after eight days aboard a tiny craft. Fleeing their homeland on crowded fishing boats and makeshift vessels, Vietnamese refugees became an ever-visible reminder of the Vietnam War for decades after the fall of Saigon in April 1975. (Defense Visual Information Center)

the elderly sometimes were compelled to join. Many refugees traveled for weeks locked under the decks of ships with tens of others, enduring intense heat and lack of air. Some would die of suffocation, remaining among the passengers until thrown overboard. Forced to keep completely still at the risk of detection, passengers sat in utter darkness, sullied by their own waste and stench. Many were unaccustomed to rough sea travel and grew sick from the extended journey. Due to the common practice of overcrowding, vessels sometimes sank from the weight of their passengers, drowning everyone on board. Some departing boats were simply discovered by Vietnamese gunboats and sunk on the spot. Vessels carrying upward of 600 people, two to three times the capacity, were not uncommon. Small multifamily boats were more inconspicuous, but also more vulnerable to pirate attacks. Families joined together for protection but most had no knowledge of nautical navigation. Refugees at sea were vulnerable to constant attacks by Thai pirates. Men were killed outright and women and children were kidnapped into slavery. Women and young girls were raped and infants thrown overboard. What little valuables the refugees carried were readily stolen. In response to the high number of deaths resulting from the dangerous conditions of the boat journey, the United States implemented the Orderly Departure Program in 1979 in concert with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). The measure was established to provide a legal means of evacuation and reduce the risks of a clandestine journey. Boat evacuation, however, remained a common option.

The international community initially did not provide support for Vietnamese boat refugees. Large vessels refused to pick up the refugees, uncertain of their participation in an international political and military entanglement. On July 28, 1976, UNHCR made its first appeal, followed by a second, more dire appeal for all seafaring vessels to provide aid and all coastal nations in the ASEAN region to provide first asylum. In 1978, because of the exponential increase in arrivals, Thailand, Indonesia, and Singapore began to refuse boats, pushing them back to sea to prevent refugees from disembarking. In 1979, the UNHCR codified the automatic status of all Vietnamese boat people as refugees and implored first asylum countries

to give all arriving refugees temporary safe haven. The UNHCR mandate also guaranteed that refugees would be resettled in Western countries, alleviating fear from first asylum countries of economic and diplomatic burdens.

After a steady decline of boat evacuees from 1982 to 1988, numbers began to increase again without a clear indication of cause. The new influx was unwelcomed by asylum countries that challenged the refugee status of these new arrivals. In response, the UNHCR developed a 1989 Comprehensive Plan of Action and Memorandum of Understanding with Hanoi. Hong Kong and Malaysia implemented a review process to weed out “legitimate” refugees from individuals they deemed to be “economic refugees.” Unsurprisingly, the interview process established by Hong Kong supported its suspicions that 98 percent of new arrivals were not legitimate refugees. Expert opinion on the human rights implications of this process differed. Some have criticized UNHCR handling of this crisis, arguing that political and economic persecution is integrally related in the Southeast Asian case, whereas others argue that the new arrivals fail to evidence persecution, qualifying them as refugees. Under the Comprehensive Plan of Action, refugees arriving after March 15, 1989 in most instances (1988 in Hong Kong) were subject to an interview process to determine their status as refugees. Arrivals who did not meet classification standards would be repatriated under the established Memorandum of Understanding with Hanoi, which stipulated that refugees who volunteered to be repatriated would not suffer any political, economic, or social consequences. Hong Kong and Malaysia pushed the issue of repatriation to the detriment of the refugees. Camp conditions continued to deteriorate to dissuade refugees from waiting out their process and instead “volunteer” for repatriation. Media exposure of deteriorating camp conditions prompted an outcry against Human Rights abuses. Even under these unlivable circumstances, many refugees in the camps opted to protest rather than choose repatriation. Campers staged hunger strikes, organized rallies, and committed suicide in front of camp officials.

Countering the desperate circumstances of the refugees, rumors leaked that high- and low-ranking Vietnamese government officials and individuals in

Hong Kong and Singapore motivated by greed had contrived to charge refugees departure fees as early as 1978, knowing that arrivals to first asylum countries could not be guaranteed. The profits made from this enterprise were considerable, especially for individuals who played both sides, accepting money from individuals and receiving bribes for turning those same individuals in to authorities. Receiving countries argued that this fee structure was evidence that refugees were encouraged by Hanoi to migrate, disqualifying them as refugees. The logic of this argument ignores that refugees possessed no control over the process: if true, the financial scheme further victimized refugees.

Linh Hua

See also Refugee Act of 1980; Refugee Camps and Southeast Asian Migration

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Boggs, Grace Lee (1915–)

Grace Lee Boggs is a Chinese American philosopher and activist best known for her work as a movement organizer within the African American community for more than seven decades and a leading voice for social change within the city of Detroit. She has been characterized as a “legendary activist” by Amy Goodman through a series of interviews conducted for *Democracy Now!*

Grace, also named Yuk Ping or Jade Peace, was born in a room above her family’s Chinese American restaurant in Providence, Rhode Island, on June 27, 1915. She was the fifth of sixth children born to Chin Dong Goon and Yin Lan, both immigrants from China. She also had an older half-brother. During the 1920s, her family moved to New York City, where her father became the proprietor of two grand Chinese restaurants in the Broadway district of Manhattan. As he became known by the name of his restaurant, Chin

Lee's, Grace adopted Lee as her surname along with the rest of her family. From 1931 to 1935, she attended Barnard College, where she graduated with a philosophy degree and was reported to have been one of only three Asians in the all-women's school.

Continuing her studies in philosophy, Grace earned a PhD from Bryn Mawr College in 1940. She was supported by a fellowship established for visiting students from China, as the committee experienced difficulties recruiting international students owing to the outbreak of war overseas. As a student, she was strongly influenced by the social democratic critique of capitalism and American social relations that emerged during the Great Depression. Her dissertation focused on George Herbert Mead, one of the leading scholars of American pragmatism, and was published in book form in 1945. She also became an avid student of Hegel, whose concept of "thinking dialectically" became a maxim of Grace's philosophical and political work.

Concluding that race and gender discrimination precluded her from obtaining work as a philosophy professor, Grace accepted a job as a library assistant at the University of Chicago. Living in Chicago, she was introduced to left-wing activist circles. She also witnessed the rise of the first March on Washington Movement, a powerful advance for black civil rights that convinced her that her destiny in life was to be a movement activist. Grace joined the Worker's Party, through which she aligned with the Johnson-Forest Tendency led by the West Indian radical, C.L.R. James, and the Russian immigrant, Raya Dunevskaya. Utilizing her theoretical training and linguistic translation skills, Grace became a leading figure among the Johnsonites, who promoted Karl Marx's early humanist writings and emphasized the problem of alienation under capitalism. Through her two decades of work with James, Grace also came to know historic figures in the Pan-African liberation movement, such as Kwame Nkrumah and George Padmore.

The Johnsonites' organizing campaigns and publication *Correspondence* encouraged the self-governing capacities of marginalized sectors of the population, not only the industrial proletariat but also women and racial minorities. To advance these efforts, Grace moved to Detroit in 1953, where she met and within

months married James Boggs, an African American autoworker from Alabama. Following a dispute with C.L.R. James, the Boggsses moved in new directions, maintaining the Marxist critique of capitalism but recognizing the need to develop new ideas of revolution as high-technology transformed the nature of production. As James Boggs wrote in *The American Revolution: Pages from a Negro Worker's Notebook* (1963), automation was rendering the labor of workers expendable and creating a permanent class of "outsiders." Stifled by racism, denied political representation, and stung by police brutality, young African Americans would be particularly affected by deindustrialization and the demise of blue-collar jobs that had elevated millions of whites into the middle class.

Proponents of the urban pursuit of Black Power, the Boggsses stressed the vanguard role of African Americans through their theoretical writings, study groups, and organizational campaigns of the 1960s. Grace served as the coordinator of the Michigan Freedom Now Party, which put forward an all-black slate of candidates for various offices in 1964, and associated with leading movement figures, such as Ossie Davis, Ruby Dee, Albert Cleague, and Max Stanford. By this time, Grace had become a vocal advocate of Black Power and felt well at home within the black community. Along with her husband, she was cited in a *Detroit News* story as one of six people whose actions most likely provoked the Detroit rebellion of 1967. She was also the only non-African American author to be included in the seminal anthology, *The Black Woman* (1970), edited by Toni Cade Bambara. One police report characterizing Grace as a subversive noted (incorrectly) that she was probably "of Chinese and African descent."

In the aftermath of the urban rebellions of the 1960s, the Boggsses stressed the need for a vision of revolution that was constructive rather than destructive and advanced "projections over rejections." With longtime associates Lyman and Freddy Paine, they developed the concept of "dialectical humanism" and were central figures in the National Organization for an American Revolution during the 1970s and 1980s. As deindustrialization, suburbanization, and white flight continued to devastate Detroit, the Boggsses devoted their energies to new models of work, politics, and

community building that would prioritize self-reliance and cooperative enterprise among abandoned populations. Their radical politics increasingly targeted Detroit's ascendant black political class for its failure to confront corporate America and transcend the boundaries of mainstream political thought. Seeking to enlist young people in the movement to rebuild Detroit from the bottom up, the Boggses helped launch Detroit Summer in 1992.

With the 1998 publication of her autobiography, a stream of media interviews, and a series of lectures across the nation, Grace (widowed in 1993) became a more visible public figure during her 80s, serving as a model of lifelong activism and putting forward grassroots models of transformative social change. Remarkably, she has remained exceptionally active as a writer, speaker, and community organizer in her 90s.

Her many honors include honorary doctorates from the University of Michigan, Wooster College, Kalamazoo College, and Wayne State University; lifetime achievement awards from the Detroit City Council, Organization of Chinese Americans, Anti-Defamation League (Michigan), Michigan Coalition for Human Rights, Museum of Chinese in the Americas, and Association for Asian American Studies; Detroit News Michiganian of the Year; and induction into the National Women's Hall of Fame and Michigan Women's Hall of Fame.

Scott Kurashige

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Buddhism in Asian America

When studying Asian immigrants in America, one cannot neglect the intimate connections between religion and immigrants' lives and the significant role religion has played in Asian Americans' history. Buddhism is among the most influential immigrant religions in America.

The development of Buddhism in Asian America is truly a reflection of the dramatic struggles and progress of these Asian immigrants. Buddhism was first brought to North America by the Chinese who worked in the gold mines in California in the 1850s. However, because of the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act, pretty soon many Chinese were forced to leave America and go back to China. The development of Chinese Buddhist temples was thus hampered. At the same time, Japanese started to migrate to North America, first bringing their Shinto temples to Hawaii and then to the American mainland. Along with the growing presence of Japanese immigrants, Japanese Buddhism started to spread. The 1893 World's Parliament of Religions in Chicago further boosted the growth of Japanese Buddhism and raised awareness of Buddhism among non-Asian Americans. This event brought more overseas Buddhist leaders to America and contributed to the establishment of the Honpa Hongwanji, a major branch of Japanese Buddhism. Buddhism was gradually not just allied to the Japanese but started to attract European American converts. However, not too long after this budding growth, the following Asian Exclusion Act in 1924 blocked more Asians including Buddhist monks from migrating to America. It thus delayed the growth of Buddhism in Asian America for several decades until 1965.

In responding to the 1965 Immigration Act, millions of Asian immigrants entered the United States annually, bringing new waves of Buddhism to Asian America together with other religions and enriched the American religious landscape. Compared with the nineteenth century early Buddhists in Asian America, the presence of post-1965 Buddhism has been truly diversified beyond the original Honpa Hongwanji Buddhism, with the growth of Chinese Buddhism and

other ethnic Buddhism branches. Among these new immigrants, the largest Buddhist groups came from places like China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Korea, Singapore, and other East Asian countries. Most of them practice Mahayana Buddhism, which is also referred to as the “Greater Vehicle” Buddhism. They were followed by immigrants with fewer numbers from the dominantly Theravada (“Lesser Vehicle”) Buddhist countries—Sri Lanka, Thailand, Cambodia, Myanmar, Thailand, Laos, and other South and Southeast Asian Regions. The third branch, Vajrayana Buddhism, is predominant among immigrants from Inner Asia, especially Tibet, and has grown in its presence and salience in the United States especially by the frequent visits and teachings of the Dalai Lama.

Besides ethnic diversity and schools of origin, scholars use two other distinctive yet related concepts to describe Buddhist bodies in America: “Buddhism in America” and “American Buddhism.” The former is often referred as the ethnic Buddhism practiced among Asian immigrants and is largely defined by immigrant’s ethnic languages and cultures. The later concept, “American Buddhism,” is often referred to the Buddhism practiced by broader non-Asian Americans, especially European or African Americans. These two groups have grown simultaneously yet have followed different trajectories and face different challenges in North America.

The Buddhism practiced by Asian immigrants often functions as a significant agent to preserve ethnic culture and identity. The traditional ethnic Buddhist temples or centers tend to locate in ethnic enclaves and attract immigrants who work or live in the ethnic immigrant community. These temples often provide a strong sense of connection to the immigrants’ homeland culture. Thus, attending such ethnic religious organizations could help immigrants maintain a sense of cultural solidarity in the new land and a sense of continuity with the homeland. Furthermore, because of the uprooting experience of new immigration, those who were nominally affiliated with Buddhism may experience a new awakening of their religious faith. Hardship of assimilation and adaptation, language barriers, financial and employment difficulties, facing racial discrimination and prejudice, and the sense of alienation and lack of belonging could force them to

rethink their faith and draw new immigrants closer to their old faith. For immigrants who have experienced downward mobility compared with their social status in their home country, participating in and serving in an ethnic religious organization such as a temple can sometimes help regain a sense of social status and hierarchy among immigrant communities.

At the same time, during the past several decades, Buddhism in Asian America experienced unique challenges both socially and religiously in responding to larger social and global change. As most of the post-1965 Asian “Buddhists” come to America to pursue higher education and seek job opportunities, instead of coming as religious clergy or monks, many of them can be loosely defined as nominal “cultural Buddhists,” a similar concept with “cultural Christians” in America. These “cultural Buddhists” are the ones born into the broader Buddhism cultural heritage in Asia, yet not necessarily converting to Buddhism after a thorough or delicate religious or theological conviction. As these new immigrants came as highly educated professionals or technical workers and on average have higher economic success and are socially and financially better assimilated into American society compared with the pre-1965 immigrants, attending an ethnic temple to receive social support may become less of an urgency, and thus they could find the old Chinatown-style Buddhism less attractive. These ethnically rooted beliefs or practices may be even less appealing to the American-born immigrant youth, when ethnical religions such as Buddhism are often associated with “old,” “less modern,” or “superstition” in the homeland countries. When facing double minority status and struggling with integrating into American mainstream society, younger children of Asian Buddhist immigrants may feel reluctant and eventually less fervent in pursuing their family’s old faith. However, it is difficult to speculate on the scope of “nominal cultural Buddhists” versus “awakened convert Buddhists” among these Asian immigrants without empirical examination.

To do a better job in attracting newer immigrants and to sustain younger generations of immigrant children in a traditional faith, many ethnic temples offer nonreligious services such as ethnic language classes for children, serving traditional food, celebrating

nonreligious ethnic holidays, and providing opportunities to engage in community work. The different socio-demographic composition of post-1965 immigrants further influenced the trajectory of Buddhism's development in America. As many of these highly educated new immigrants do not live in ethnic enclaves anymore, building new meeting places or temples even in nonethnic white suburbs became an emerging and desirable issue for many Buddhist organizations.

Contrasting with Buddhism practiced by ethnic Asians, "American Buddhism" was originated from the Theosophical Society, one of the earliest American societies introducing philosophy and spirituality of the East to the United States, and has attracted more American intellectual elite groups than the ordinary population. The founder of the Theosophical Society, Henry Steel Olcott, was himself among the first white Buddhists. These non-Asian Americans who are interested in Buddhism tend to approach Buddhism through philosophical or intellectual approaches, instead of having strong ethnic or cultural roots. Some of these white Buddhists may participate in Zen or meditation practices, but often have little interactions with these Asian Buddhists, and do not join the ethnic Buddhist temples. Most of these non-Asian converts have come to Buddhism through activities such as reading a Buddhist book, attending Zen or meditation classes, or participating in other "Eastern" cultural activities. These philosophically interested yet institutionally loosely connected white Buddhists are often called "night stand" Buddhists. Meaning, once in a while they will read a book and put a Buddhist magazine on their nightstand, or attend a Yoga or meditation class, but may not go through a formal conversion process or practice monastery lifestyle.

Under religious competition, Buddhist organizations not only have to deal with how to sustain their younger generations in their faith but how to develop and grow under the competition with mainstream Judeo-Christianity religions in America. The most important aspect of institutional development of Buddhism in Asian America may lie in its organizational transformation under religious competition. To "fit in" the American religious market, Buddhist organizations have adopted different ways of reforms. In traditional Asian context, in contrast with religions

in the West, where an organized religious system or community is emphasized, religions such as Buddhism in Chinese societies do not require regular attendance at a fixed religious institution, or building up a regular network among fellow worshippers or with the priesthood. Worshippers only come for special rituals or holidays and remain anonymous during temple visit, and do not engage in frequent interactions with one another on a regular basis. Not only between temple clergy and worshippers, temples are also loosely connected with one another, often lacking a larger congregational system with hierarchical management. But once these Asian Buddhists migrated to America where the dominant religious culture is not Buddhism anymore, institutional accommodations became unavoidable. In the history of early Buddhism in Asian America, under religious competition, in responding to the active evangelism from Christian missionaries to the Japanese immigrants, Japanese Buddhist priests started to put in more effort in missionizing fellow Japanese immigrants. They made an effort to make Buddhism look appealing from an American perspective. They started to sing *gathas* modeled after Christian hymns, to use the name "church" instead of "temple" to more easily fit into American mainstream society and avoid hostility, and build the "Buddhist Church of America," which eventually grew into a national presence for both Japanese Americans and gradually receiving non-Asian Americans members as well. More monks came with highly educated backgrounds, and with many teachings and writings published in English, more Americans who are interested in Eastern philosophy or culture are attracted.

Besides the case of the Buddhist Church of America, there are other forms of religious assimilation and adaptation. To further accommodate American ways of "doing religion," Christian-style "sermons" are given in Buddhist temples on Sundays, pews are installed in worship halls, and "weekly scripture study" or "yoga/meditation" classes are offered; in the mean time, reducing the style and frequency of traditional Buddhist rituals such as repetitive chanting and memorizing sutras are emphasized. These sermons and classes are often given in both ethnic languages and in English so that both ethnic and nonethnic visitors can be accommodated. Many

Buddhist temples even adapted to give Buddhist wedding ceremonies following the patterns of Christian weddings. Temples provide nonreligious, culturally oriented activities such as English language classes, hosting cultural festivals, and giving cultural lectures. Under religious competition, Buddhist monks are encouraged to participate in community activities, organize disaster or relief work, and even conduct prison ministries following the Christian religion model. To accommodate unique social context in America, many temples even ordain female clergy to encourage and facilitate frequent contacts between monks and female Asian or non-Asian temple visitors. In all, rather than strongly holding onto the traditional monastery Buddhist life, the new Buddhist focus is on “Humanity Buddhism,” which is crucial to such institutional reformation. However, rather than viewing such changes as Americanization or Christianization, most Buddhists consider these kinds of institutional changes as a necessary process of modernization and adaptation to the new immigrant American contexts to “expand the Buddhist Law.”

The development and transformation of Buddhism is a further response to the globalization process. Large Buddhism organizations in Asia have extended their influence to North America and have become part of larger transnational Buddhist movements among Asian immigrants. Many Buddhist organizations even build regional bases in North America, facilitating rising activities in the United States and interactions with other international communities. For example, Fo Guang Shan (Buddha’s Light Mountain) Monastery, the largest monastery in Taiwan, has established 38 regional temples and centers in North America and has sent hundreds of Buddhist missionaries or monks to North America for religious and cultural exchange or teaching. Another influential Buddhist organization, Tzu Chi Charity, also founded in Taiwan, has grown into an international Buddhist organization and has chapters and offices in 47 countries. Because of frequent interactions with Asian American immigrant communities and the North American societies, Tzu Chi has established 99 branches in North America alone, and is actively involved with humanity and philanthropic relief work in North America. These Asia-based international Buddhist organizations

further shaped the global look and future development of Buddhism in Asian America.

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See also Buddhist Churches of America (BCA)

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Buddhist Churches of America (BCA)

Headquartered in San Francisco, California, the Buddhist Churches of America (BCA) represents over 60 independent temples and churches along with some 39 associations and fellowships spread throughout 12 states. Founded in 1899 under the name of the North American Buddhist Mission (NABM), the organization is an overseas branch itself of the Jodo Shinshu (True Pureland) Nishi Hongwanji (Western School) Buddhist sect in Kyoto, Japan. With over a 120-year history, the BCA is one of the oldest Asian American organizations and with a membership of approximately 16,000 lay and 50 active clergy, one of the largest Asian American religious organizations.

The religious foundation for the BCA stems from thirteenth-century Japan and the work of a Zen

Buddhist monk, Shinran Shonin, and his teacher, Honen Shonin. Theologically, Jodo Shinshu is part of the Amida or “other power” schools within the larger tradition of Mahayana or “large vessel” Buddhism. As such, the school espouses patterns of living and pursuing the Buddhist ideal of Enlightenment through practices and rituals that any person can use. In turn, the clergy adopt a lay lifestyle, following the real life example of the founder. Unlike priests or monks, the clergy are professional ministers who live and work within the lay community. They also have the freedom to marry and raise families.

The origin of the NABM and BCA stems from requests by Japanese immigrant laborers to the Nishi Hongwanji in 1897. Although the Jodo Shinshu sect is among the largest in Japan, its prevalence in the United States rests with more particular factors. Specifically, the pattern of Japanese immigration to the United States transpired so that four prefectures in Southwest Japan, Hiroshima, Yamaguchi, Kyushu, and Kagoshima account for nearly 80 percent of the sojourners (Kodama, 78). Because Jodo Shinshu Buddhism is a form of Buddhism that allows individuals to lead everyday lives, it is a populist, yet traditional, religion. As a result, its appeal and strongest support at that time came from rural Japan and from the above four prefectures in particular.

As a Japanese American religious organization, the BCA has been intrinsically tied to its ethnic community in particular and the immigrant experience in general. As each generation of Japanese Americans made their way through their American experience, so has the BCA. With the first generation, the Issei, the NABM dealt with issues of adapting to a new, often hostile society and the needs of an immigrant community. As a part of this, the NABM expanded beyond a religious tradition and became an integral part of the ethnic community. With the birth of the second generation, the Nisei, the organization continued to expand its role within the ethnic community by offering social services unavailable in the general society in light of a prevailing environment that was often hostile to the Japanese American community.

The traumatic events of World War II highlight the social environment for the NABM and BCA and factor the continued elements of accommodation and

assimilation for the organization. With the relocation of all Japanese Americans on the West Coast in World War II, all but four churches closed their doors. When in the relocation centers, the NABM restructured itself along general American religious models. It created an organization focused along lay leadership rather than the clergy and elected a new Board of Directors comprised of all U.S. citizens. Most visibly, the NABM changed its name from the North American Buddhist Mission to the Buddhist Churches of America.

In the postwar era the BCA reestablished itself as a part of the Japanese American religious community and continued to be a social resource for the Nisei and their children, the Sansei. It also took steps to simultaneously retain its ethnic identification, assimilate with the general religious economy, and develop an independent American Buddhist tradition. Thus, as an ethnic organization, the membership remained overwhelmingly Japanese American ranging from the second to the fifth generation of Americans. Also, approximately half of its clergy originates in Japan and the religious ties with Japan remained unchanged. In terms of assimilation, English became the primary language, new temples moved out of the ethnic enclaves, and the organization operates as a formal volunteer association. Finally, in terms of developing an independent Buddhist tradition, the most significant step has been the development of a seminary, the Institute of Buddhist Studies (IBS), to develop American trained ministers.

Today the BCA is in the midst of a religious and organizational context that has pushed it to strengthen and challenge its basic ethnic identification. With high levels of structural assimilation and low levels of immigration from Japan, the BCA finds itself with a membership that no longer requires it provide general social services as before. Yet this increasingly assimilated membership continues to look for ways in which to maintain their ethnic identity and have turned to ethnic organization such as the BCA to provide this.

In potential conflict with the continued ethnic identification of the BCA is the increasing awareness and popularity of Buddhism in the United States. With celebrities such as Tiger Woods professing their Buddhism, the problem of remaining identified as an ethnic religious organization is that it pigeonholes the

organization as being by and for Japanese Americans. In recognition of this, the organization has taken some steps. One was the selection of the first non-Japanese American president of the organization, Dr. Gordon Bermant in 2006. Another was the opening of the Jodo Shinshu Center in Berkeley, California in 2007. The Center, located near the University of California campus, offers a variety of programs from the Jodo Shinshu as well as other Buddhist traditions to the public and has provided the BCA with its most visible physical public presence as a general Buddhist organization. The question remains, however, as to whether the BCA will choose one over the other or somehow find a middle way between the two.

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See also Buddhism in Asian America; Woods, Tiger

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Bulosan, Carlos (1911–1956)

Born in the Philippines in 1911, Carlos Sampayan Bulosan was a Filipino American writer who published novels, short stories, poetry, and essays. Bulosan was the son of Ilokano parents and grew up in Binalonan, Pangasinan, Luzon in the central Philippines. He was educated in colonial public schools, where he learned English and was exposed to American culture. As a student, he became motivated to leave the Philippines to escape the colonial underdevelopment of his homeland.

At the age of 18 he immigrated to the United States, reaching Seattle, Washington, on July, 22, 1930. Bulosan arrived during the early years of the Great Depression, a time when there were very few jobs and anti-immigrant sentiments were on the rise. He soon left for California and became involved with the labor union movement instigated by left-wing political groups fighting to protect workers from wage cuts, unemployment, and adverse working conditions. Union organizers also challenged discriminatory legislation that sought to specifically exclude Filipinos from working in fish canneries, an occupation they heavily employed.

In 1936, Bulosan was admitted to a hospital in Los Angeles where he underwent several operations to treat his tuberculosis. He stayed in the hospital for nearly two years. Although Bulosan’s health was very poor—he lost most of the ribs on his right side and his right lung—this time in the hospital was when his literary aspirations began to take shape. He read one novel a day and was introduced to the classics of Western literature by two white, female patrons. After he left the hospital, Bulosan frequented the Los Angeles Public Library and continued his literary education. In his introduction to *America Is in the Heart*, the historian Carey McWilliams states that Bulosan had never written a single page when he came to the United States, but once he started, he wrote voraciously. Bulosan said, “I am trying to write every day in the midst of utter misery and starvation.”

During World War II, Bulosan had a vexed relationship with Filipino government officials and other intellectuals that were exiled and living in the United States. He revered and communicated with exiled Philippine President Manuel Quezon but was often critical of his policies. Bulosan’s working-class background in the Philippines, his criticisms of the Philippine government, and his leftist politics put him at odds with other Filipino American political figures and intellectuals such as Carlos P. Romulo, Bienvenido Santos, and José Garcia Villa. Bulosan rejected an offer to write a biography about Quezon and to produce a report on the lives of Filipino workers in the United States, which complicated Bulosan’s already tenuous relationship with other Filipino intellectuals. When he published *America Is in the Heart* in 1946,

he considered the novel a belated response to Quezon's request to write a report documenting the experiences of Filipino American workers.

A victim of the McCarthy era political climate in the United States, most people virtually ignored Bulosan's writing until Asian American activists and scholars rediscovered it in the late '60s and early '70s. Recent research by Marilyn Alquizola has brought to light that the FBI maintained an extensive file on Bulosan and considered him a potential threat to the welfare and safety of the nation because of his political beliefs and the subject matter of his writing. His file indicates that the United States government derailed attempts by Bulosan to find employment, contributing to his poverty and poor physical health. The file also shows the FBI encouraged other influential Filipinos to disassociate with him.

Bulosan's autobiographical novel *America Is in the Heart* is his most well-known work. Throughout the years, critics have noted the many inconsistencies between the events in the novel and Bulosan's actual life. Yet to read *America Is in the Heart* as pure autobiography overshadows his talent as a writer of fiction. He began writing the novel as a collection of tales and stories that he and his fellow countrymen experienced as they labored up and down the West Coast of the United States. The character "Carlos" in the novel symbolizes a collective group—that is, his fellow working-class laborers—rather than only a single person or Carlos Bulosan himself. Scholars of Asian American literature consider *American Is in the Heart* one of the most important works of pre-1980s Asian American fiction because of its groundbreaking and innovative representations of Filipino migrant workers. Bulosan is also considered to be a pioneer of Third World and postcolonial perspectives in Asian American writing. He was influenced by his early involvement in the Labor Movement and his exposure to various issues dealing with racism, discrimination, and class struggle. He often wrote about political subject matters and themes.

Some of his other publications include the short story collection, *The Laughter of My Father*, the mystery thriller, *All the Conspirators* (1998), and the chronicle of the Huk rebellion in the Philippines, *The*

Cry and the Dedication (1995). He died in Seattle on September 13, 1956.

Jeffrey Kim Schroeder

See also Filipino Agricultural Workers; Filipino Americans; Romulo, Carlos P.

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Bunker, Christopher Wren (1845–1932) and Bunker, Stephen Decatur (1847–1920)

The notoriety of cousins Christopher Wren Bunker and Stephen Decatur Bunker stems from their birth: They were the eldest sons of the famous conjoined Chinese twins Chang and Eng Bunker from Siam, who had settled in Mount Airy, North Carolina, and were farming with a work force that included up to 33 slaves, 20 at the outbreak of the Civil War. Staunch Confederates, the Bunker families provided food and clothing to the troops and nursed the wounded. As soon as they turned 18, Christopher and Stephen each joined the cavalry.

Christopher was born on April 8, 1845 and Stephen in 1847. More than a year older than his cousin, Christopher was the first to enlist, doing so on April 1, 1863, in the Thirty-seventh Battalion, Virginia Cavalry; he was called up on September 14, 1863. The Thirty-seventh Battalion, organized in the second year of the war as Dunn's Partisan Rangers, had by then become regular cavalry, and when Stephen joined on July 2, 1864, it boasted 10 companies.

Of the two cousins, only Christopher was among the 2,600 cavalymen under General John

McCausland, who invaded Pennsylvania later that month of July. Sweeping aside Union cavalry, the Confederates took control of Chambersburg on July 30 and demanded payment within three hours of either \$100,000 in gold coin or \$500,000 in U.S. currency to spare the city. The inhabitants failing to raise the money, McCausland destroyed it.

From Chambersburg, the Confederates skirmished with pursuing Federals. Reaching the outskirts of Moorefield, West Virginia, the Confederates—certain they were far ahead—set up camp three miles outside the town in an area that was flat and militarily indefensible. Union cavalry, having successfully ambushed a Confederate scouting party and donned their gray uniforms, surprised and overwhelmed the camp's sentinels, then rode in without raising any alarm. In the mayhem that followed, Christopher became one of the many Confederates who were wounded, captured, and sent to Camp Chase, four miles west of Columbus, Ohio.

Under the charge of Colonel William F. Richardson, the military prison at Camp Chase was surrounded by a 12-foot-high wooden wall. Christopher, housed in a small wooden barrack with 197 other prisoners, slept on a straw-covered bunk and passed his waking hours reading the Bible and carving boats and musical instruments out of wood. Packages from home supplemented his meager rations. His father, Chang, also sent him money with which he could buy items from the prison store. Nevertheless, Christopher was reduced at least once to eating a cooked rat, and on September 9, 1864, he was hospitalized with “variola,” a virus that could have been either smallpox, which was then raging through the camp, or the less serious chicken pox. Finally, on March 4, 1865, he was exchanged for a Union prisoner of war, and his family welcomed him home on April 17, 1865.

His cousin Stephen narrowly missed the debacle at Moorefield. But on September 3, 1864, he was wounded in fighting near Winchester, Virginia. According to Judge Jesse F. Graves, who wrote an unpublished biography of Eng and Chang, Stephen “bore himself gallantly,” going back into action despite his wound. Stephen’s two sons claim that shortly before the end of the war their father was wounded a second time and then captured by the

Union Army. Both Stephen and Christopher lived out their remaining years as farmers in the area where they were born. Christopher died on April 2, 1932 and Stephen on March 25, 1920.

Ruthanne Lum McCunn

See also Chang and Eng (The Siamese Twins)

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Bunker, Stephen Decatur

See Bunker, Christopher Wren and Bunker, Stephen Decatur

Burlingame Treaty of 1868

The Burlingame Treaty of 1868 was an agreement between the United States and China. Anson Burlingame was a former Massachusetts congressman. After losing his bid for the governorship of the state, he was appointed by President Lincoln as the U.S. minister to the Qing government of China. The United States secured its first treaty with China in 1844 (Treaty of Wangxia). After the Second Opium War (1856–1860) between China and a joint force of Britain and France, China was forced to sign the Treaty of Tianjin and give out more concessions to Western powers. With a charming personality, Burlingame expressed his genial sympathy for China and won the confidence of the Qing rulers.

In 1867, under tremendous pressure from foreign powers, China asked Burlingame to head a delegation to the United States and Europe to negotiate new

treaties with Western nations. Burlingame resigned his post as the U.S. minister and accepted the new appointment from the Chinese. Representing China, he signed a treaty with the United States in July 1868. Known as the Burlingame Treaty, the pact secured great privileges for American merchants and missionaries in China. Two articles of the treaty also provided terms for Chinese immigration to the United States. The first provided that both signatory countries should recognize the inalienable human right to change domiciles and allegiance, as well as the mutual advantage of free migration. The second granted Chinese people visiting or residing in the United States the same privileges, immunities, and exemptions enjoyed by the citizens or subjects of the most-favored nations. These provisions became a major

obstacle for the federal government to ban Chinese exclusion. In 1880, the United States and China entered a renegotiation. The result, also known as the second Burlingame Treaty, granted the United States the unilateral right to limit Chinese immigration, clearing the way for exclusion laws.

Xiaojian Zhao

See also Chinese Exclusion Acts (1882–1943)

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Cambodian Americans

Cambodian History to the Mid-Twentieth Century

Cambodian Americans originally came from a country located in Southeast Asia, nestled between the countries of Laos, Vietnam, and Thailand, and the Gulf of Thailand. The immense empire, the Kingdom of Cambodia, stretched over most of Southeast Asia dating back to between 802 and 1431 AD. Its inhabitants had ties to Indian civilization and Hinduism. In this era, magnificent temples were built principally during the reigns of Kings Jayavaram VII and Suryavarman II. Unfortunately the kingdom, then known as Kambuja, began to deteriorate after Jayavaram's supremacy and the temples were nearly destroyed by Kambuja's Thai and Vietnamese neighbors. Kambuja's power steadily diminished until 1863, when France colonized the region, combining Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam into a single protectorate known as French Indochina. In 1953, Cambodia obtained independence from France by the effective political maneuverings of King Norodom Sihanouk.

Religion, Ethnicity, and Linguistics

Theravada Buddhism is considered Cambodia's official religion, and is the foundation of Cambodian culture; it is practiced by at least 95 percent of the population. Islam, animism, and Christianity also are practiced. Ninety percent of Cambodia's population is ethnically Cambodian. Other ethnicities include Chinese, Vietnamese, hill tribes, and Cham.

Khmer is the official language and is spoken by the vast majority of the population. The written language looks very much like written Thai or Lao, as their alphabets were derived from the Khmer alphabet. Some French is still spoken in urban areas, and English is increasingly popular as a second language. With the recent impact of globalization and transnational influences and exchanges, and open-market enterprise in Cambodia, there is an increased trend and need for the use of English and other languages such as Mandarin, Korean, and Japanese by Cambodians. This is particularly true for young Cambodians, who will need to participate in the development of Cambodia's civil society and the twenty-first century's global economy.

In-Country Demographics

According to the 2008 Cambodian Population Census, the current population is estimated at approximately 13,395,682, with a ratio of 51.36 percent females to 48.64 percent males. The same report also indicates an annual population growth rate of 1.54 percent, with a 2.21 percent increase in urban areas compared to 1.38 percent in rural areas. Cambodia has a fairly young population, with 61 percent younger than 24 years of age, and 76.7 percent younger than 39.

The Khmer Rouge Era (1975–1979)

Cambodia's most grim period—and indeed, one of humanity's darkest hours—happened under the Khmer Rouge, a Communist group that seized control of the country on April 17, 1975, and held it until ousted by

the Vietnamese on January 6, 1979. Under the Khmer Rouge, nearly a quarter of the population of Cambodia was killed, either directly through executions or indirectly as a result of torture, starvation, slave labor, or disease. An estimated 1.7 to 2 million Cambodian men, women, and children perished under the Khmer Rouge. Led by Pol Pot (Saloth Sar), the Khmer Rouge was attempting to transform Cambodia into a utopian society by creating a “pure Cambodia,” a Communist state free of all imperialist influence and social stratification. The Khmer Rouge controlled Cambodia through the regime known as Democratic Kampuchea (DK). The DK’s goal was an ethnically and ideologically pure agricultural society. People with urban backgrounds became enemies of the state, whereas subsistence farmers living in rural areas became personified ideals of the new social order. Essentially all symbols of the West were destroyed. The political differentiation of social classes prescribed by the DK’s ideology was a form of social engineering strategy that ensured their patterns of political authority.

The brutalities the Khmer Rouge inflicted on its own population have left Cambodians survivors around the world tormented by the deep personal losses of loved ones, traditions, and all forms of cultural familiarity—from music and art, to swimming in a river with friends, or simply never having met one’s grandparents or other older relatives. For many, there was also a significant loss of personal property. Survivors and their now-adult children continue to struggle to adapt to daily life. These challenges are exacerbated by the lingering psychoemotional consequence of the genocide and the painful acknowledgment that Cambodian society is still a fragile one. Today, Cambodia’s tenuous political structure is based on a multiparty democracy under a constitutional monarchy.

Cambodians in the United States

The forced migration of Cambodian refugees to the United States and other host countries resulted from the collapse of the Lol Nol government in April 1975 when the Khmer Rouge seized power, aiming to build a utopia through social engineering. The first wave of Cambodian refugees arrived in the United States during the Khmer Rouge regime between 1975 and

1979, supported by federal government programs involving private voluntary agencies (known as “volags”). Volag sponsors assisted refugees with housing, food, and other basic requirements needed for acclimation into a new environment. Prior to sponsorship, refugees were resettled in Camp Pendleton, California, for processing.

Many of those who remained in Cambodia and survived the cruelty of the Khmer Rouge escaped to Thailand or Vietnam in 1979 as “displaced persons”—defined as individuals who flee their home country with a (very often legitimate) fear of persecution by their own governments because of their political ideologies or activities, religious affiliation, or association with groups the government finds threatening. Displaced persons often, although not always, fall under the United Nations’ definition of refugees.

Also in 1979, the second wave of Cambodian refugees began to arrive in the United States; unlike the first wave of refugees, these refugees had personally experienced the crimes perpetrated by the Khmer Rouge. A majority of displaced Cambodians entering the United States in this second wave did so under the 1980 U.S. Refugee Admissions Policy. The 1980 Refugee Act paved the way to establishing the Office of Refugee Resettlement (ORR), which worked closely with the American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service, along with numerous local community colleges and other educational institutions, to help the refugees settle in to American life. This initiative also led to other resettlement programs to deal with the influx of Cambodian refugees (as well as refugees from Vietnam and Laos). For example, the Khmer Guided Placement Project (KGPP), or the Khmer Cluster Project, aimed to resettle 300 to 1,000 Cambodians each in a dozen locations with inexpensive housing, ample entry-level jobs, and a community of existing Cambodian families, all focused on minimizing dependency on the welfare system. This project eventually led to a Cambodian Working Group that created Cambodian Mutual Assistance Association Projects (CMAA) to efficiently help the resettlement of Cambodian refugees.

During the 1980s, Asian immigration to the United States doubled the population of Asian Americans, who by 1990 numbered 7,273,662

(2.9 percent of the total U.S. population). The Immigration Act of 1990 sought to diversify immigration to America, which effectively worked against countries with many potential immigrants. This act created a flexible cap of 675,000 immigrants each year, and was created in part to attract more skilled workers and professionals, as well as to attract immigrants from previously underrepresented countries. Both considerations made immigration only more difficult for most Cambodians.

Between 1975 and 1994, 157,518 Cambodians resettled in the United States; of these, 148,665 were refugees, 6,335 were immigrants, and 2,518 were humanitarian and public-interest parolees. As of 2006, there were nearly 239,000 reported Cambodian Americans in the United States (in fact, the population was probably underreported, because of a cultural distrust of formal institutions and reluctance to participate in the Census). According to the same source, the Cambodian American population was highest in California (86,700), Massachusetts (22,106), Washington (13,055), Texas (11,646), Minnesota (7,790), Pennsylvania (6,787), Virginia (6,153), New York (5,720), Rhode Island (5,030), and Georgia (4,592). The Cambodian population estimate in the United States increased to 307,888 (out of nearly 14.7 million Asians) according to the 2010 American Community Survey, and the 2010 Census reports that there are approximately 14.7 million Asian Americans in the United States, representing 4.8 percent of the country's total population of 308.7 million people.

Ongoing Challenges for Cambodian Americans

The Cambodians who survived the Khmer Rouge and the difficult journey to the United States faced additional, significant, challenges after resettlement. These challenges continue to the present day, and are as diverse as they are widespread in the Cambodian American community. In broad terms, these concerns include issues related to immigration and deportation, physical and mental health, and education.

Immigration and Deportation Concerns. In 1996, Congress enacted two major immigration laws—the Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty

Act (AEDPA) and the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRIRA). These eliminated judicial prudence from the refugee removal process and expanded the categories of mandatory deportation, including the deportation of legal permanent residents (LPRs). Cambodian refugees with non-citizenship status are especially vulnerable to the impact of these laws, up to and including deportation.

The 2010 Leitner Report on U.S. deportation policy and the Cambodian American community highlighted the unsympathetic effects of these laws and continued policies that work against the rights of Cambodian refugees (including the separation of families, deportation of nonviolent offenders and the mentally ill, and disruption of the entire community). After the 9/11 terrorist attacks, increased anti-immigrant sentiment paved the way for the U.S. government to aggressively execute its immigration laws; this led to a signed treaty regulating deportation between the governments of Cambodia and the United States in March 2002. Under these two immigration laws, the United States has deported more than 87,000 LPRs total. Between June 2002 and September 2009, the United States has returned 212 such refugees to Cambodia, including a man in his 80s; approximately 1,500 others have orders for deportation.

The signed treaty essentially gave the U.S. government the authority to repatriate any noncitizen of any status who is convicted of an “aggravated felony” in the United States. Once repatriated or deported, a person cannot return to the United States under any circumstances. If these were all dangerous criminals, the laws might sound reasonable, but after the passage of AEDPA and IIRIRA, the definition of “aggravated felonies” shifted dramatically. For example, LPRs are considered aggravated felons if they are convicted of possessing more than 30 grams of marijuana. The impact of these laws has dire consequences, especially for LPRs convicted of “crimes involving moral turpitude”—crimes that traditionally include acts of dishonesty or other “morally questionable behaviors,” including such minor offenses as public urination or riding the subway without a ticket.

The Leitner Report discusses how these U.S. policies conflict with international refugee law and the principles of proportionality and addresses the main

problems with the deportation process. The report highlights the main issues of deportation, makes recommendations for immigration reform, and addresses the difficult aftermath of deportation for deportees/returnees, especially those with mental illnesses and disabilities, and for their families remaining in the United States.

Mental and Physical Health Concerns. Many Cambodians face significant health challenges as well. In fact, research by leading scholars (such as R. G. Blair, G. N. Marshall, L. Nou, C. A. Stevens, Eunice C. Wong, and others) shows that Cambodians experience higher rates of physical, mental, financial, and social distress than other Southeast Asians. These challenges are worse for older individuals and women, but virtually all Cambodians face significant challenges in fully integrating into mainstream American society.

In Nou's 2006 study of Cambodian refugees in Massachusetts, respondents revealed major stressors that they believed put people at risk of developing psychological distress. Three separate social-psychological themes related to stress were identified: cultural dissonance, emotional state of mind and well-being, and personal needs and obligations. They also offered suggestions to healthcare providers serving the Cambodian community, such as greater advocacy services, bilingual and culturally sensitive staff, and integrative medicine, and noted a widespread lack of understanding about human anatomy and healthy lifestyles among Cambodians.

Surviving the Khmer Rouge genocide affected both the individual and collective psyches of the Cambodian people, damaging their memories for life and altering their present and future identities in lasting ways. At the individual level, respondents reported having psychosomatic and psychological symptoms associated with fatalistic thinking, social isolation, and hopelessness in one's life. Thoughts of suicide and feelings of "having a lost soul" were common. At the community level, respondents said that a lack of improvement in poverty and education at the individual, community, and national level causes embarrassment and confusion in identity for Cambodians. They shared culturally based reactions to mental health problems arising out of their experiences; these include

depression, headaches, constant worrying, and having somatic complaints and feelings of being crazy. Respondents recommended putting Khmer Rouge war criminals on trial for their crimes as one healing solution to the perpetuation of the Cambodian trauma. The results of this study are consistent with the findings of other scholars studying the psychosocial well-being of Cambodian refugees.

One shocking physical health disparity among Cambodian Americans is the prevalence of hepatitis B and liver-related deaths. Research has shown that hepatitis B infections account for 80 percent of liver cancer deaths in the Asian American community overall. Cambodians in particular are 25 times more likely to develop symptoms of chronic hepatitis B infection than the general U.S. population, and more than 10 times as likely to be diagnosed with liver cancer.

Among Southeast Asian refugee populations, Cambodians are particularly at risk for developing serious mental health problems because of pre- and postmigration stressors because of their extreme levels of trauma exposure. A 2005 study by G. N. Marshall et al. found that 62 percent of 490 respondents met the standard criteria for PTSD over the preceding year and 51 percent met the criteria for major depression; comorbidity rates were also high: 71 percent of the individuals with PTSD also had major depression, and 86 percent of those with major depression also had PTSD. Depending on which symptoms are measured and how, serious mental health concerns affect as much as 86 percent of the Cambodian refugee population.

These staggering rates of serious mental health challenges are less surprising when we consider that Cambodian refugees have experienced an average of 16 traumatic events during the Cambodian Rouge regime—including food deprivation, physical injury or torture, incarceration, and witnessing killings. This is the highest number of traumas experienced among all Southeast Asian refugees. Research has shown that of all Southeast Asian refugee populations, Cambodian Americans have the highest incidence of illness and the highest risk of developing psychological distress (such as generalized anxiety disorder, panic attacks, major depression, schizophrenia, and PTSD). These conditions have prevented almost all

first- and second-generation Cambodian Americans from leading normal lives. For example, the study by Hinton et al. focuses on the family-directed anger of traumatized Cambodian Refugees. The generational conflicts parents have with their children often have negative somatic and PTSD-related effects on the well-being of parents. Furthermore, health conditions of survivors worsen over time because of the strong cultural stigma attached to discussing mental health concerns—even with close family and friends—and seeking mental health treatment and services.

In turn, this lack of intrafamily communication further divides the family as a cohesive and supportive unit. Parents struggle with significant psychosomatic and psychological symptoms that leave little mental energy for anything else—even their children—whereas those same children struggle to assimilate to American culture and define their Cambodian identity. Thus, the effects of the Khmer Rouge are passed from the first generation of survivors to the second. Speaking at a community forum for genocide survivors, Lakhena Nget, a young Cambodian American woman, summarized this legacy as follows:

My ethnicity is what embroidered my character. [...] My clothes sit heavy off my back and hips, they are my Cambodian identity. Dirt, water and blood is not homogenous with my clothes; it needs to be taken off, examined, washed, and set back to its rich vibrant colors. Dirt is the injustice, water is the institution, and blood is what my people faced three decades ago when 1.7 million of us bled to death from disease, slave labor, starvation or the least painful of them all, instant execution from the bullet to the brain. Still today, many of my people wish they were the ones executed.

According to one participant in Nou's 2006 study, many of the issues in the Cambodian community in the United States reflect a breakdown in social cohesion and well-being. This participant fears that the new generation lacks good role models within the community who can preserve the Cambodian identity, and that the population will fall further into poverty and deprivation as a result of this absence. Another respondent indicated that social stress in the

Cambodian community is linked to a loss of trust in each other; loss of identity resulting from tumultuous, destructive politics throughout Cambodia's history; and Buddhism's lack of moral education and emphasis on ceremonies, instead. This research also discovered widespread agreement among Cambodian Americans about other negative stressors (specifically, having limited English proficiency, intergenerational conflicts within the family, lack of transportation, anxiety over personal safety, and ongoing unemployment and financial worries). Many of these specific negative stressors correspond with major postmigration stressor categories identified in earlier research (e.g., family, unemployment, job, financial, accommodation, cultural, loneliness, and boredom).

There is a critical need for further research on the underlying reasons for the significant physical and mental health disparities between Cambodians and other Asian American populations. To be optimally effective, research into Cambodian American health should address indigenous healing systems and cultural beliefs surrounding physical and mental illness and health. Two common problems with research in this area have been the tendency to treat all Asian Americans/Pacific Islanders as an aggregate group (implying similarities that might not exist), and the small sample sizes caused by the geographic concentration of these individuals in only certain states.

The negative psychoemotional impact of the Khmer Rouge era is already apparent in second-generation survivors, who are now adults (and, often, parents themselves). Failing to address psychological problems following trauma exposure jeopardizes health and mental health recovery, and without interventions there are cultural and societal consequences for individuals and communities alike.

Educational Concerns. Cultural and contextual nuances affect the successful adjustment of Cambodians in formalized education as well. Dinh et al. examined acculturative and psychosocial predictors of academic-related outcomes among Cambodian American high school students in Massachusetts. They pointed out the importance of considering the effects of demographic characteristics (e.g., gender, socioeconomic status, and access to resources) to understand

the contextual challenges that may exist in the lives of Cambodian American youth. One result suggested that immersion in Cambodian culture as well as immersion in mainstream American culture can facilitate academic success, again pointing to the benefits of adopting a bicultural identity on academic performance.

When considering the profile of Cambodian Americans, the academic success rate of Cambodians is particularly troubling when compared to other Asian groups. According to the U.S. 2000 Census data for the current Cambodian adult population ages 25 and over, 52.9 percent lack a high school diploma, 26.2 percent have no formal education whatsoever, and only 9.1 percent have acquired a college degree. Clearly, these educational shortfalls have a direct impact on the earning potential among Cambodian Americans, as indicated by the Census as well.

The Search for Justice

At the time of this writing, the single most pressing judicial concern facing Cambodians around the world is the ongoing prosecution of the former leaders of the Khmer Rouge for crimes against humanity, genocide, and war crimes. This long-awaited legal process, conducted in cooperation with the United Nations, is currently underway in the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC). One remarkable aspect of these proceedings is the inclusion of witness testimonials; thousands of victim-survivors of the Khmer Rouge regime have bravely submitted their first-hand accounts of the atrocities they and their families endured more than three decades ago. For a community that suffered nearly inconceivable loss for speaking out under the Khmer Rouge, this act alone is tremendously empowering.

However, speaking out is only part of the answer to the challenges that continue to haunt Cambodians around the world. Having the opportunity to be engaged throughout the ECCC's proceedings is also critical to the healing process. The results of the ECCC's trials will determine the extent to which the ECCC can foster healing and reconciliation for Cambodians. A successful outcome in the ECCC will reestablish the rule of law in Cambodia, decisively ending the entrenched culture of impunity. This is a

critical step in the promotion of psychological health among all individuals affected by the Khmer Rouge trauma—no matter where they currently reside—and the social health of Cambodia for generations to come.

Conclusion

Cambodian Americans' standing within the Asian American community is often associated with lingering social, cultural, economic, and historical conditions that affect their well-being and adjustment. Researchers and practitioners working with this vulnerable population are encouraged to conduct not only an exhaustive literature review of the history of Cambodian resettlement but also to engage with community leaders and constituents in Cambodian communities in the United States. By doing so, researchers and practitioners would gain deeper insights into the underlying sociocultural issues that affect Cambodians' current realities, ambitions, and well-being—but most critically, they would increase the likelihood of producing research that might be essential to Cambodians as they struggle to escape a tragic past and create a healthier, more promising future for their community.

Leakhena Nou

See also Buddhism in Asian America; Cambodian Community in Lowell, Massachusetts; Ngor, Haing S.

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Cambodian Community in Lowell, Massachusetts

Asian Americans have been among the fastest-growing ethnic groups in the United States having settled in different regions of the country with the largest percentages concentrated on the West and East Coasts of the United States. The label Asian American is used to include different people from countries of Asia that covers regions from South Asia to Southeast Asia and the Far East. Because of this regional variation, Asian Americans are a diverse group of people with a complex and distinct social, cultural, and political history. In this essay one particular group of Asian Americans from Southeast Asia—Cambodians who settled in Lowell, Massachusetts—is described so that one can understand the unique circumstance of their entry into the United States, the strengths and challenges they face as a community, the hardships that marked their collective lives as new ethnics, their cultural distinctiveness, and their economic and cultural contributions in revitalizing the city.

Lowell, Massachusetts, provides a fascinating case study of a Cambodian community in the United States, not only because this city is known for its receptivity to immigrants ever since it was established in the second decade of the nineteenth century as a manufacturing town, but more recently Lowell has provided refuge to war-torn refugees escaping the horrific atrocities committed against them by their own people in Cambodia. The legacy of the war still afflicts many long after it ended and adds to the complexity of their ethnic immigrant experience as Asian Americans.

Brief History

The Refugee Act of 1980 was a significant piece of legislation that allowed Cambodians to enter the United States as refugees eligible for government assistance to aid their settlement. The aftermath of the war in Vietnam embroiled neighboring countries in Southeast Asia, creating a refugee problem that the United States could not ignore. When large numbers of Cambodians entered Thailand to escape the violence that plagued their native land, the Thai government, faced with an intolerable condition of a burgeoning refugee population in their midst, demanded that the United States government redress the situation they had created as a result of their (United States) involvement in the region. The Refugee Act of 1980 provided a legal basis of entry for Cambodian people defined as refugees with provisions of support for basic life necessities and economic self-sufficiency. With the passage of this Act large numbers of Cambodians were admitted to the United States on humanitarian grounds. Lowell was one of the areas of initial settlement for these refugees. The Democratic governor of Massachusetts, Michael Dukakis, sympathetic to the plight of these refugees, had signed an executive order establishing the Governor's Refugee Advisory Council (GAC). Under his administration state agencies in Massachusetts were instructed to provide public assistance to refugees as residents of the state. Job opportunities, available housing, and public resources for refugee assistance were factors that made Lowell an attractive place of domicile for these newcomers. This first wave coupled with secondary migration along kinship lines soon increased the Cambodian population so much so that that in January 1990 Lowell was said to have 18,000 Cambodian residents, becoming the largest group of Asians in Lowell and indeed in Massachusetts. Their presence is very visible throughout the city. Signboards in the Khmer language alongside English signboards hang over shops and businesses owned by Cambodians in many parts of Lowell.

The New People

Cambodian refugees from Southeast Asia came largely in the third wave of immigration. The Southeast Asian immigrants to the area were different from their

predecessor a century before, although some of the processes and challenges they faced were strikingly familiar. Ethnically and racially the Cambodians were distinct from the local residents in town—mainly of European descent. The area residents had little to no knowledge about the Cambodians and thus harbored many misconceptions and prejudices against them. Indeed, the authorities in Lowell had to circulate pamphlets to educate the locals to dispel the misconceptions that at worst were unflattering and false.

The Cambodian refugees and immigrants had to learn new ways of doing things. As one Cambodian leader, Pere Pen, observed, coming to the United States for Cambodians was like instantly making a leap of several centuries without being prepared for it. Their attitudes about housing, clothing, food, family rules of behavior, and so forth had to be readjusted to the environment of the Northeast. Although there were groups of people and institutions that aided them because of their refugee status, Cambodians faced many difficult challenges of resettlement especially in interfacing with the larger institutions of the society such as schools and social service agencies. Language was an issue both at home as well as outside. Not knowing English and the rules of engagement with school officials, the burden of communication was placed on their children who became the power broker for their families. Although the members of the Cambodian community were relieved to be in this country far from the maddening violence of their homeland, freedom was nevertheless a double-edged sword that led to a lot of intrafamily conflict. Teenagers in particular were caught in between two cultures. Gender relations were also affected. Adolescents wanted to be like their peers, whereas their parents wanted them to follow the cultural norms they had learned growing up in Cambodia. Many times children got involved in undesirable activities; the absence of supervision and cultural literacy among elders at home contributed to and compounded the problem. Economically stable families with two parents were able to mentor their children and encourage them to pursue their aspirations and dreams of success. Economically disadvantaged parents in single-parent households could not provide similar encouragement to their children from a lack of



Sophea Srun, left, who moved from Cambodia, shares a laugh with her daughters Madeline Srun, center, and Leakhena Moeur, right, at St. Julie Asian Center in Lowell, Massachusetts, August 24, 2006. Sophea Srun and Madeline studied at the center. The center closed in September, 2006, after over 20 years of serving the Cambodian community in Lowell. (AP Photo/Chitose Suzuki)

resources. All parents regardless of their station in life valued opportunities of education available to children in the United States.

It has been three decades since Cambodian refugees first came to this country and this region. Children born here or who came to this country at a very young age speak and think very much like their American peers despite their different ethnicity. They think of themselves as Americans first and think their hyphenated identity is something that is bestowed on them by others. Of course these second-generation individuals are multicultural. They share the rules of behavior and culture of mainstream American society; however, they also have a lot in common with their parents and community members. This is inevitable as the

immigration of people and immigration of ideas are processes that feed into each other and occur simultaneously. United States is more multicultural than is recognized by ordinary citizens.

Religion and Rituals

Buddhism is the principal religion in Cambodia. Theravada Buddhism is the school of Buddhism that has been prevalent in Cambodia. Most Cambodians in Lowell are Buddhists although many have converted to denominations of Christianity that aided them in the refugee camps of Thailand and were instrumental in sponsoring their relocation to the United States. Even so, Buddhism provides its followers with

a framework of ethics and rules of behavior to guide them in the business of living. Like immigrants before them, these newcomers sought a place of worship that catered to their spiritual and religious needs, and they started their own temples and monks have played a very significant role in community life. The first Buddhist temple was started in 1980 in an ordinary apartment. There are now two Buddhist temples in Lowell and its surrounding vicinity. However, the temples themselves have been a source of internal and external friction.

The internal friction within the temple community revolves around basically three issues. One has to do with the role of the monks and the services they provide to their community members. There are those who espouse “engaged Buddhism” wherein Buddhist religious practices are used to alleviate the suffering and problems of others. Senior monk Sao Khon has been an advocate of this approach and has used his expertise to address problems pertaining to youth violence related to gang activities. The other issue revolves around the homeland politics. The transfer of funds from the temple (contributions made by ordinary people) for community-building programs in Cambodia has divided monks and Khmer community leaders in Lowell. Yet a third source of conflict involves the larger community where a parcel of land (12 acres) has been bought for construction of a third Buddhist temple. The local residents of the neighborhood in an area known as the Pawtucket Boulevard are against the building of a temple in their neighborhood. They are concerned about the “noise and disturbance of peace” that this would entail. Community leaders point out that the agitation has more to do with ethnic hostility and ignorance of their religion than the issue of peace and tranquility.

As people travel and migrate to distant lands they bring their customs and traditions with them. Cambodian refugees and immigrant are no different. The Cambodian New Year and the Water Festival are two cultural events observed by the new residents of this region with a lot of fanfare. The first time the Cambodian New Year was publicly celebrated was in front of the City Hall in Lowell in the mid-1990s where the mayor of Lowell was also present. The celebration involved introductory speeches by local

officials, dance performances by Cambodian girls and boys, and tables full of food. There was also an entertainment program organized in a large auditorium of the University of Massachusetts Lowell campus in the evening that brought people of all ages in celebration of the New Year. The Cambodian New Year is around mid-April. Visiting the temple, wearing of new clothes, cleaning homes, and offerings of food and gifts to parents are some of the things traditionally done in celebration of New Year in Cambodia. In Lowell restaurants are now booked for the Cambodian New Year celebration and band parties are organized in them. People attending these band parties pay for the available food and entertainment.

The 2012 Cambodian New Year celebration was a big event. It was held on the 12-acre parcel of land earmarked for building the new Buddhist temple. There was a huge tent erected in the center with a stage for artists-musicians and dance performers to entertain the large audience. The main tent was surrounded by smaller tents with tables displaying different items for sale or to offer prayers to departed ancestors and/or seek wish fulfillment for personal gains. One of the tables was for soliciting donations for building the temple. I met two of my students taking and recording donations made by visitors to this table. It is from them that I learned there was a major push to raise funds for the new temple, which was expected to be the biggest Buddhist temple in the United States and modeled along the lines of the Angkor Wat. As I was preparing to leave, my students insisted that I eat lunch and directed me to a table with trays of food. The most amazing aspect of this event was that all the attending guests to the celebrations were not charged any money for the food they ate. I later learned that community members bring food to offer to the monks and also to share it with those attending the event. Free food at a festive celebration is a novelty that one is unlikely to find elsewhere.

The Water Festival is another important cultural event that is observed by the Cambodians in Lowell, and it marks a significant achievement in maintaining their cultural identity so many thousand miles away from their homeland. The Water Festival was first hosted by the Cambodian Mutual Assistance Association (CMAA) in partnership with the University of

Massachusetts Lowell. It was this event that earned Lowell the title of All American City in 1999. The event is organized in August and is fashioned after the annual boat race that takes place in Cambodia in November. The Water Festival is a celebration of water and its essential role in sustaining life. The presence of the Merrimack River that passes through Lowell allowed this event to be organized, and it is the largest Cambodian festival held outside of Cambodia. This event also brings people from different walks of life of the larger community and beyond to participate in the culture and festivities that has been imported by Cambodian immigrants to this region. As many as 60,000 people attend this celebration every year. It has the semblance of a large community fair where different stalls offer different merchandise, ethnic and otherwise. Mouth watering and visually appealing Southeast Asian ethnic foods—from grilled chicken and pork to vegetables—prepared fresh are sold and people wait in lines to be served these delicacies.

Economy and the Community

Migration is never an easy process and one of the challenges Cambodian immigrants confronted upon settlement in this region was accessing economic opportunities. Rates of unemployment and poverty are high among Cambodians according to the Census data 2007–2009. Cambodians are among the poorest immigrant group in the United States with an annual per capita income of \$15,840. Only one ethnic group, the Hmong, is below them nationally. The Cambodian economic profile in Lowell is a mixed one. There are Cambodian social workers, teachers, nurses, and police officers who have made it in the United States. Driving down from the Lowell Connector to the University of Massachusetts Lowell south campus, one can see several small businesses with signs in Khmer and English language on both sides of the road—grocery stores, jewelry stores, restaurants, travel agencies, insurance and law offices. A business directory website of the Cambodian American League of Lowell, Inc.—Cambodian American.com—lists a variety of businesses that Cambodians are engaged in. These include restaurants, beauty and hair salons, jewelry stores, insurance and real estate companies, liquor

stores, electronic and video stores, and travel agencies. This is a testimony to the different kinds of economic enterprises Cambodians are engaged in. Many of these businesses are managed or owned by women. Circulation and sharing of funds for business ventures among Cambodians have been reported by both community leaders and scholars. Because of the lack of access to bank credit or lack of knowledge of existing business practices in the host community this is the only option available to many of these new ethnics. Starting ethnic businesses where the culture and rules of business operation are at variance from mainstream American culture is problematic for Cambodians. Cambodians lack of familiarity with the American system has been noted as an impediment to accessing crucial capital required for starting and sustaining a business venture. In one instance a successful restaurant owner was denied credit by the bank because of the ratio of food cost to sales until it was discovered that the owner had a large family who ate at the restaurant. The restaurant owner also fed families in need of food, which contributed to his food cost. This was a cultural factor not taken into account in the traditional American business model. The loan was finally approved with the intervention of an academic from the surrounding area who explained the cultural ethnic practice to the bank official. Some leaders in the community have noted the absence of infrastructural support available to Cambodian businesses.

The importance of social capital and economic opportunities among immigrants has received much scholarly attention. Social and economic development is mutually interdependent. Several years ago a reporter from the *Lowell Sun*, a local newspaper, had predicted the contributions Cambodians will make in revitalizing the economy of Lowell. In some ways her prediction has come to fruition if one looks at the numbers of community members sustained by community businesses. The storefronts in downtown Lowell are strewn with new immigrant entrepreneurs. Without these new enterprises, Lowell would be more or less a ghost town. People buy from and support businesses of their community members. One area where this is particularly true is food business. Southeast Asians shop in Southeast Asian grocery stores because of the availability of food items they enjoy and are

accustomed to. Indeed many other Asians also patronize these stores because of the vegetables and other food items available in these stores. The importance of these consumers has not gone unnoticed by mainstream businesses. Market Basket, a big grocery chain store in this part of Massachusetts has begun to keep items that cater to these ethnic clients in their stores in Lowell.

In other ways the Cambodian community is also making an economic impact on the city of Lowell. The cultural events initiated by Cambodians in Lowell attract a lot of outsiders from the city and beyond. Tourism can serve as an economic magnet attracting tourist dollars that pumps money into the city's coffers. The impact of the Water Festival being one such instance.

Recently efforts have been made by Lowell City officials in cooperation with community leaders to capitalize on Cambodian culture as a commodity—to bring in tourist dollars to the city. Working with the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), they are exploring ways to make Cambodian neighborhoods a tourist destination following the models provided by Boston's North End or Chinatown. The project is labeled Little Cambodia. The effort of those involved in initiating the project is to retain the authenticity of Cambodian tradition and culture while at the same time bring in business, jobs, and services that will increase the city's tax base. Many local Cambodian residents are excited about the project and have promised to contribute money toward its success. Many business owners are also interested in this project reported Rasy An, the executive director of CMAA of Greater Lowell, Inc., in a published news article. A number of ideas are under consideration by city officials to beautify and boost the neighborhood's public image. Of course there is also a concern that commercialization of culture may destroy or negatively affect that which is a genuine and essential aspect of their cultural ethos.

Cambodians in Lowell are faced with a new beginning as they have made “the host country their home country.” There are challenges they are facing going through the “birthing” process of being in this new world after leaving the old behind. In a recent conversation, the CMAA executive director candidly spoke of the different challenges facing the community and

the paucity of resources to deal with it. He emphasized the need for economic resources to address the needs of the community, but the economic crunch engulfing the city and the region is making it hard for him to do so. At the same time the presence of Cambodians is noticeable throughout Lowell; it is indeed remarkable what this community has achieved in this short span of time. Their large number is a source of strength, and the various community organizations formed by its leaders are used to give voice to their aspirations. They are not “just victims” but resilient people. Although the city officials and community leaders are working on the blueprint of making Lowell Little Cambodia, the reality is that Lowell already is so by default, an ethnic enclave for people who live there.

Mitra Das

See also Buddhism in Asian America; Cambodian Americans

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Cameron House

Founded in San Francisco's Chinatown on September 1, 1874, the Chinese Mission Home grew out of the contemporary American movements for settlement houses in the United States and missions throughout

the world. A California outgrowth of the Philadelphia-based Women's Foreign Missionary Society, the founding group had originally formed to establish an orphanage in Shanghai. However, when the board could not sustain support for the orphanage, they shifted their goals to helping the victims of "slavery" in San Francisco: Chinese women forced into prostitution. Although saving Chinese prostitutes was the main goal, even from its inception the Chinese Mission Home served a broader range of women and the burgeoning Chinese American community.

The Home was never an official government institution, but in its battle to end Chinese prostitution and its later programs of community service, the Home worked closely with San Francisco authorities. On their missions to save individual prostitutes who had managed to make their plight known to the Home, police officers often accompanied Home staff. The Home's most famous leader, Donaldina Cameron, persuaded authorities to pass laws allowing judges to grant her temporary custody of girls who could otherwise have been claimed by their exploiters. Additionally, before the establishment of Angel Island in 1909 (and after its abandonment in 1940) Chinese women seeking admission to the United States were often paroled to 920 Sacramento Street, the site of the Mission Home, while immigration authorities decided the cases. Moreover, testimony from Miss Cameron often helped secure favorable outcomes in legal cases, so Chinatown residents and prospective immigrants, as well as immigration officials, often sought the help of the Home. Even during the exclusion when immigrants were detained on the Angel Island, workers from the Home visited and provided what aid they could offer. After Chinese Exclusion ended in 1943, new arrivals from China, such as students in need of temporary housing or wives who had to travel from San Francisco to New York, received logistical aid and occasionally temporary lodging from the Home.

The Home provided other services to the Chinese American community. As a missionary enterprise, it held Bible study meetings and helped run the Vacation Allied Church School. It also provided more secular training through Red Cross and language classes held at the Home's various sites. Indeed, in 1909 the Home both successfully lobbied the Board of Education for

an Oriental School for girls and provided the initial classroom space. During the Exclusion Era, when Chinatowns were male dominated, the girls educated and "saved" by the Home were coveted as prospective brides. Opportunities for employment in Home programs provided an alternative to marriage for some Chinese women, such as Donaldina Cameron's assistant and interpreter, Tien Wu, or those who decided to return to China as missionaries. Indeed, to this day, the Chinese Mission Home, rechristened Cameron House in 1947 to honor Donaldina's service from 1894 to 1934, provides youth programs, social services, and job opportunities for San Francisco's Asian community.

Jason Stohler

See also Angel Island Immigration Station; Chinese Exclusion Acts (1882–1943)

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Campaign Strategy

Although Asian Americans have long been active as politicians, particularly in the Western Pacific, much of what we know about a discernibly Asian American campaign strategy is based on recent history—in the last 20 years, in particular, as Asian American communities have grown, voting rights have been extended and issues have arisen that have compelled more Asian American candidates to engage the electoral process as a means of defending group interests. The process of competing for public office in the United States is, in one sense, more liberal than in many countries in Asia, where restrictive rules, hierarchical party organizations, and family dynasties often prevent the average citizen from making an effort.

At the same time, because American elections are comparatively more open, they are also dramatically more expensive. The costs are exaggerated because elections tend to be first-past-the-post majoritarian—that is, voters vote for one person and the person who gets the most votes wins. This compels candidates to spend more money appealing to a patchwork of constituencies to build a winning coalition. These two structural facets contributed, along with discriminatory systems of voting and party selection procedures, to maintaining a white hegemony over local, state, and national offices through the first half of the twentieth century. As Asian American electorates have grown in numbers and in socioeconomic status since the 1970s, Asian American candidates have been increasingly able to craft strategies capable of penetrating these barriers and win mainland offices, from school board majorities to governorships. In Hawaii, figures like Daniel Inouye and Spark Matsunaga found success even earlier, but the difficulty that candidates of Asian and Pacific descent have had in elections for the mayoralty of Honolulu is a reminder of how structural barriers can continue to deny access even in contexts where Asian Americans constitute a numerical majority and have a rich organizational heritage.

The barriers embedded in the electoral process have, as a result, tended to favor Asian American candidates that possess an “entrepreneurial spirit”—capable of building their own grassroots networks for fundraising and mobilization. At the local level, where Asian Americans have more often competed, and had a higher rate of success, these networks often develop among professionals and elites within ethnic and panethnic community organizations—business and legal councils, churches, civic nonprofits. Research has shown that at the same time Asian American political networks are not necessarily confined geographically; the “community” is linked nationwide. Therefore, as the costs of competing increase, Asian American candidates can tap into a broader network capable of providing further financial, logistic, and moral support. This risks allegations of “carpetbagging” and invoking the age-old “forever foreign” stereotype in the media and among non-Asian voters, as in the case of Mike Woo’s campaigns for city council and mayor of Los Angeles. But it is also a strategic asset that has allowed Asian American

political entrepreneurs—particularly those in areas where Asian American electorates may be small and dispersed—to become increasingly competitive.

Along with networking, messaging is another important element of campaign strategy. L. Ling-chi Wang (1996) has written that, because of the “forever foreign” tag, Asian American candidates “must go out of their way to prove to the voters that . . . they represent no Asian American interest” and that denying their race and ethnicity “is a precondition for gaining legitimacy and acceptance by white voters and winning elections.” Scholars who have looked at these dynamics in predominantly black and white urban contexts coined the term *deracialization* to refer to this strategy—one where minority candidates deemphasize the particulars of group politics by focusing on pocket-book and safety issues as part of an effort to “transcend race” and appease out-group voters who may otherwise be hostile. Yet because of the triangulated status and multiethnic composition of Asian Americans, and the diverse, multiracial, and immigrant contexts in which candidates often compete, the dynamics can be more complex. In the face of electorates that are either predominantly non-Asian and/or potentially polarized by race, Asian American candidates may indeed limit explicit references to race or ethnicity and articulate an overarching message to appeal to a broad range of voters. Gary Locke’s successful first campaign for governor of Washington in 1996 is often seen as exemplary in this regard, premised as it was on the “American Dream” of an immigrant family and the values of individualism, work, and education.

At the same time, because of the need for unified coethnic and panethnic support to combat resource disparities, Asian American candidates do not entirely discard racial and ethnic appeals; rather, they selectively and often symbolically employ them in literature, campaign appearances, and through ethnic media. The simultaneous management of in-group and out-group messages is referred to as *toggling* and, in constituencies like Little Saigon in Orange County, California, where significant numbers of Asian immigrant voters reside, skillful toggling has been a factor behind the surge in the number of Vietnamese American officeholders since 2000 and the majorities they attained on the city council of Westminster and

the school board of Garden Grove Unified School District. Akin to Locke, Vietnamese American politicians have employed American Dream mythology as part of their “mainstream” message, but in an effort to mobilize older first-generation voters, it is often fused with the symbol of the South Vietnamese flag and, in Vietnamese, with the rhetoric of group history and empowerment. Even in Locke’s case, direct appeals were made to bring more Asian Americans “to the table” and to invoke the ethnic pride of Chinese Americans so that he could solidify his base of support and counter the barriers inherent in being the first Asian American gubernatorial candidate in predominantly white Washington State.

Although these examples may suggest a potential “Asian American campaign style,” it is important to recall that competitive context, partisanship, professional consultants and candidates themselves ultimately determine the strategy of any campaign. Where a Vietnamese American Republican in Orange County, like former State Assembly member Van Tran, may rely on nationalist symbols and rhetoric, a Hmong American Democrat in Minnesota, like former State Senator Mee Moua, may emphasize racial justice, social welfare, and gender issues. Where they overlap is with their connection to the immigrant and minority experience in the United States and their cultural heritage in the Asian Pacific.

It is also important to recognize that Asian Americans play a role in campaign strategies beyond running for office. Prominent Asian American political consultants have been instrumental in designing successful strategies to elect candidates and pass voter initiatives in California, Hawaii, and nationally. Groups like 80/20, cofounded by former Delaware Lieutenant Governor S. B. Woo, have sought to build a national Asian American swing voting bloc to draw the attention of the major political parties to Asian American interests during presidential campaigns. In instances where Asian Americans are instead drive-by targets of racist political campaigns, such as an advertisement run during the 2012 Super Bowl that depicted a Chinese American woman speaking broken English and riding a bicycle in a staged Chinese countryside, groups like APIA vote are instrumental in organizing a campaign in response through the media and direct action.

Christian Collet

See also Inouye, Daniel K.; Matsunaga, Masayuki “Spark”; Moua, Mee; Political Representation; Voting Patterns; Woo, Shien Biau (S. B.)

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Cao, Lan (1961–)

Lan Cao is often considered as the first Vietnamese American author to craft a work of fiction on the Vietnamese American experience in relation to the Vietnam War. Though a legal professional by training and practice, she has showed great interest in both creative writing and popular history. Her novel, *Monkey Bridge*, defines her efforts to represent a South Vietnamese perspective on the war and to promote reconciliation and understanding between Vietnam and the United States in the American context of diversity and multiculturalism. In the process, Cao also seeks to articulate the Vietnamese American experience as both a unique and an important part of Asian American histories, sensibilities, and discourses.

Cao was born in South Vietnam in 1961 and grew up during the period when the U.S. military intervention escalated in Vietnam. After Cao emigrated from Vietnam to the United States in 1975, she received her BA in political science from Mount Holyoke

College in 1983 and her JD from the Yale Law School in 1986. Since Vietnam normalized its diplomatic relations with the United States in 1995, Cao has led several delegations of American legal professionals to visit her country of origin. She is currently teaching international business and trade and international law at William and Mary College in Williamsburg, Virginia.

Published in 1997, *Monkey Bridge* revolves around the endeavor of a teenaged Vietnamese American girl Mai Nguyen to solve the mystery of her grandfather's disappearance during the fall of Saigon on April 30, 1975. In unfolding the events that are structured around the mother and daughter relationship and the changing life patterns of Vietnamese Americans in their country of adoption, the novel explores not only the social, linguistic, and cultural differences between Vietnam and the United States, but it also prepares for the revelation that Mai's grandfather was actually a Vietcong soldier who had fought Americans and would make a conscious decision to stay behind in Vietnam. In dramatizing the family secret, Cao resorts to the rhetoric of multiculturalism, which has expanded to surpass political and ideological differences and aims to humanize the Vietcong soldier as a complicated character who could save the lives of the American soldiers in a special force squad because of his son-in-law's friendship with the squad leader on the one hand, but who could kill a Vietnamese landlord in cold blood because of his class consciousness on the other hand. Moreover, Cao also revisits the historical fact that the Communist leader Ho Chi Minh had been fascinated and inspired by the American Declaration of Independence and redefines the Vietnamese Communists as nationalists who had shared the political ideals and visions of the American founding fathers. In this sense, the Vietnam War is reinterpreted not only as a political mistake made by American politicians but also as a case of cultural misunderstanding of the Vietnamese Communists by the American general public. Cao concludes her novel with Mai's determination to excel as a woman and to meet the challenge of the future as she enters a liberal arts college, which in a way evokes Maxine Hong Kingston's work, *The Woman Warrior*.

In addition to creative writing, Cao has also cultivated interest in Asian American popular history and culture. She coedited the book, *Everything You Need to Know about Asian American History* and offered definitions and interpretations of some major events and concepts in Asian American history. As a legal professional without formal training in Asian American studies, Cao wrestles with Orientalist assumptions and generalizations about Asian American culture and history and often caters to the taste of the American general public in the book.

Today, while continuing to write reviews on literature and culture, Cao teaches international business and trade as well as international law at William and Mary College in Virginia.

Yuan Shu

See also Vietnamese Americans

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Cao Zishi (1847-1902)

Cao Zishi (Dzau Tsz-zeh, Dzau Sier Whoa, a.k.a. Charles K. "Charlie" Marshall) sojourned in the United States from 1860 to 1868 and was one of a few Asian participants in the American Civil War. Subsequently, as a missionary of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, he became a prominent developer of educational and medical mission work in China.

Cao was born in Jiaxing, Zhejiang, China, in 1847. He was the sixth child and youngest of five sons in his family. His father was a physician. His mother died when he was three years old, and he almost died shortly thereafter from smallpox. When he was four years old, his fourth brother was sold to a person living

in Shanghai, and his other siblings left the home in subsequent years. At 10 years old, Cao began to attend primary school but had to discontinue studies after half a year when his father became terminally ill. He was the only child at home to witness his father's funeral. His older brothers then returned home to divide the family assets. After staying with one of his father's friends for about seven months, he ventured out on his own. Meeting his second older brother, he learned about his fourth older brother, whom they set out to find in Shanghai. They could not find him and his second older brother abandoned Cao.

Alone in Shanghai, Cao visited a temple. There he met a former friend of his father who invited him to stay. He then met another friend of his father named Li, who informed him of an American missionary in Shanghai, Rev. James William Lambuth (1829–1892) of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South (1829–1892). Lambuth was looking for Chinese boys who wished to go to America to be educated. Cao expressed interest and Li introduced him to Lambuth. Lambuth took to Cao and arranged for him to stay in his chapel, where he studied both English and Chinese.

In 1859, the wife of Rev. Lambuth, Mrs. Mary Isabella McClellan Lambuth (1833–1904), took Cao with her to America. (Mrs. Lambuth, cousin of Civil War Union general and 1864 president candidate George B. McClellan, and a relative of Grover Cleveland, had been born in upstate New York and migrated to Mississippi to become a teacher to the Lambuth family before marrying her husband.) Apparently when Mrs. Lambuth visited her adopted home state of Mississippi, Cao took the name Charles K. Marshall from a Methodist lay leader and planter of Vicksburg, Mississippi. Mrs. Lambuth left Cao in the care of former China missionary Rev. David C. Kelley, who operated a school in Lebanon, Tennessee and was entrusted with Cao's education. In 1861 Cao was baptized by the Methodist Bishop of Georgia J. O. Andrew (who in 1844 by inheriting slaves through marriage had been the cause of the Southern Methodists' separation, the beginning of cultural alienation between the North and the South).

Upon the onset of the Civil War in 1861, David C. Kelley gathered an undesignated regiment from Huntsville, Alabama, and returned to fight in the Tennessee

Cavalry of the Confederate States of America under the command of Nathan Bedford Forrest. Cao served as an attendant of Kelley. Housed with the black slaves of the other officers, he acquired a strong backwoods mode of expression and Southern vocabulary.

Prior to the February 16, 1862, capture of Fort Donelson, in Nashville, Tennessee by Union Army General Ulysses S. Grant, Cao accompanied Kelley and the Confederate Army in the terrifying evacuation of Fort Donelson. In 1862 Kelley separated from Forrest and stayed in the Army of Mississippi.

In a decisive event in the American Civil War, Vicksburg, Mississippi fell to Union Army General Ulysses S. Grant on July 4, 1863. Meanwhile, J. W. and Mary Lambuth and family had returned to America in 1861, accompanied by another Chinese boy Nee Bau, who took the name John Lambuth after J. W. Lambuth's father, John R. Lambuth. The Lambuths went to their home in Pearl River Community, Madison County, Mississippi in 1862. One daughter, Nettie, died on March 2, 1863, and another daughter, Nora Kate, was born July 29, 1863. In the winter of 1863–1864, the Lambuths, with their son Walter and newly born daughter Nora Kate and accompanied by the two Chinese, Cao Zishi and Nee Bau, left their old home. Taking a carriage and an ox wagon, they made a several month trek to Mary Lambuth's native home in Cambridge, New York.

As his autobiography lists the dates of his Civil War service as from 1861 to 1865, it might be inferred that Cao returned to the service of Kelley in Tennessee after the Kelleys sailed for China in 1864, for the duration of the Civil War. In 1864, Kelley rejoined Forrest's Cavalry in McDonald's battalion.

Although Cao claimed to be a Confederate Civil war veteran many years afterward, evidence is lacking that he personally took up a combat roll. As Kelley was trained as a physician, possibly Cao did emergency medical work during the Civil War.

When the Civil War ended, Cao served as a printing apprentice in Macon, Georgia. Attending a foreign mission conference, he decided to return to China as a missionary. For his missionary preparation, he continued his education in theology and medicine. He moved to New York, where he worked in hotels, candy stores, and tea stores.

Cao enrolled as a sailor to work his way on the half-year journey from New York to Shanghai, where he arrived on June 19, 1869. Upon arrival he applied to become a missionary with the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. He married the sister of Rev. Y. K. Yen of the Shanghai Episcopal Mission. They were sent to work in Soochow (Suzhou) in 1870. There he started a school for boys, which later evolved into Buffington Institute, a precursor to Tong Wu University in Suzhou (now known as Tong Wu University Taiwan and Suzhou University). In 1872 Cao rendered assistance to Rev. and Mrs. Hampden DuBose, who had arrived in Suzhou to establish a Southern Presbyterian mission station.

Cao was ordained in 1876. He undertook medical training under missionary Walter R. Lambuth in Suzhou and also conducted mission work in various towns in the vicinity of Shanghai and Suzhou in Jiangsu Province. He assisted W. R. Lambuth and W. H. Park in the establishment of a mission hospital for men in Suzhou 1883. Together with Dr. Mildred Phillips who had arrived in 1884, Cao established Soochow Women's Hospital in 1887. In the late 1880s, Cao returned briefly to Missouri to further his medical education. He assisted Dr. Park at the Suzhou men's hospital for several years and then undertook his own medical work in Nauzing. His six children were prominent in Sino-Protestant circles; all of them studied in the United States, and his youngest daughter, Li Yui Tsao, became a medical doctor. He died in 1902.

Thomas G. Oey

See also Chinese in the U.S. Civil War

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Cayetano, Benjamin (1939–)

When he became governor of Hawaii in 1994, Benjamin Cayetano also became the highest-ranking Filipino American to hold public office in the United States. Cayetano served as Hawaii's governor until his retirement from public office in 2002. He now spends his time engaged in private business, writing his memoirs, and teaching at the University of Hawaii.

Born on November 14, 1939, in Honolulu, Hawaii, to Filipino immigrants, Cayetano showed promise as a young student but ran with a rough crowd and fell into a habit of delinquency that caused his grades to suffer. Cayetano's penchant for hanging out at pool halls and fighting even landed him in jail. Yet despite these problems, Cayetano graduated from Farrington High School in 1958 and promptly married his sweetheart. The couple soon had their first child. The responsibility of a family produced a change in Cayetano. He labored diligently in various jobs, as a junkyard laborer, truck driver, and electrician's assistant. But he realized that in the face of widespread discrimination on the island, he needed to advance his education if he was to have more career options and opportunities.

Cayetano packed up his family and headed for Los Angeles where he found a job as a draftsman and enrolled in Los Angeles Harbor College. In 1966, Cayetano was admitted to the University of California, Los Angeles, graduating with a BA in political science in 1968. Not content to stop there, Cayetano received his JD from the Loyola University School of Law in 1971. With degrees in hand, Cayetano returned to Hawaii, and he was soon admitted to the bar and began



Benjamin Cayetano, Filipino American Democratic governor of Hawaii from 1994 to 2002. (Office of Governor Benjamin Cayetano)

private practice as a trial attorney. Shortly after beginning his practice then-governor John A. Burns tapped Cayetano to head the Hawaii Housing Authority, an appointment that launched Cayetano's political career.

In 1974, Cayetano successfully ran for Honolulu's Pearl City district seat in the state House of Representatives. He served in the state House until 1978 and then won a state Senate seat, which he held until 1986. Cayetano's performance in office earned him the distinction of being one of *Honolulu Star-Bulletin's* 10 most effective legislators for four consecutive years. When serving in the state legislature, Cayetano continued to practice law as a partner in the firm Schutter, Cayetano, Playdon, and served on a number of judicial panels and as an advisor to the University of Hawaii Law Review. Cayetano introduced a number of important legislation during his time in office including the introduction of a bill to create the Pacific International Center for High Technology Research at the University of Hawaii.

Cayetano continued to serve the state of Hawaii from 1986 to 1994 as lieutenant governor, but achieved one of his greatest political successes in 1994 when he became the first Filipino American governor in the nation's history. As a new governor, Cayetano confronted one of the worst financial crises in the state's history and responded by reforming the civil service, reducing the size of government, and reducing taxes but his slim margin of victory in 1998 rested on promises of pending improvements and his future support of business interests.

Despite a weak economy, Governor Cayetano stressed the importance of education and rather than making budget cuts to education, he actually succeeded in boosting teachers' salaries. He found ways of improving teachers' quality through a 2001 contract focused on rewarding teachers not just on the basis of seniority, but also of professional development and growth. Cayetano was also instrumental in reforming the Bishop Estate, a multibillion-dollar trust fund set up to benefit the education of Hawaiian children that had become rife with mismanagement. Education, however, was not Cayetano's only focus when in office and Hawaii continues to enjoy two daily newspapers because of Cayetano's successful efforts to prevent the buyout of the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* by the larger *Honolulu Advertiser*. Hawaii's economy was also witnessing growth and improvement by the end of Cayetano's second term.

Cayetano left office in 2002 after suffering defeat at the polls by his Republican rival Laura Lingle. His long record of public service earned him numerous notable distinctions including the Distinguished Leadership Award from UCLA's John E. Anderson Graduate School of Management, and the Award for Ethics in Government from the Hawaii Chapter of the American Society of Public Administration. In 1996, Harvard University's Foundation for Intercultural and Race Relations awarded him for leadership and contributions to American government and intercultural relations, and in 1998, he received UCLA's Edward A. Dickson Alumnus of the Year Award for lifetime achievement. After leaving office Cayetano remained amazed at both his good fortune and the privilege he had in serving the people of Hawaii. He remains

engaged in private business and teaches at the University of Hawaii.

Katie O. Swain

See also Political Representation

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Cha, Theresa Hak Kyung (1951–1982)

Theresa Hak Kyung Cha was born in Busan, South Korea, in 1951. At the age of 10, she immigrated to the United States with her family. Cha studied film at the University of California, Berkeley and later went to the *Centre d'Etudes Americaine du Cinema* in Paris, where she studied under several notable figures including Jean-Louis Baudry. Working through multiple mediums of prose, poetry, ceramics, performance, film, video, sculpture, audio, and slide projections, Cha blurs the boundaries between traditional categories. In 1982, the same year that her prose work *Dictee* was published, Cha's life was abruptly ended; she was raped and murdered on her way home.

Since its publication by Tanam Press in 1982, scholarly interest in the text as well as Cha's *oeuvre* has increased. This critical momentum prompted the republication of *Dictee* in 2001 by the University of California Press. In the same year, the University of California, Berkeley's University Art Museum held a retrospective of Cha's work. In 2002, Cha's work was shown at the University of California, Irvine's University Art Gallery and Beall Center for Art and Technology. This art exhibit was coupled with a discussion panel of notable scholars and artists including

Laura Kang, Lisa Lowe, and Yong Soon Min. Since then, Cha's work has been exhibited in Austria, South Korea, and Spain, and *Dictee* has been translated into Korean and Japanese.

Although *Dictee* is generally regarded by scholars as Cha's autobiography, it is not so much an autobiography but a compilation of multiple fragments of voices, images, languages, and memories, which echoes loss. In *Dictee*, Cha engages in articulating severance and loss. The fragmentary nature of text and image in Cha's *Dictee* allows for multilocality and multilinguality. Throughout her multilingual, multigeneric work, Cha strives to articulate loss and oppression associated with war and colonization and to recover Korea's national history from the perspective of women. Through the stories, photographs, and images of individual women, Cha engages in a political process of critiquing Japanese colonialism, Korean patriarchy, American imperialism, and French religious colonization. Cha employs female figures to frame her text in recollecting different events in Korea's history. The protagonist of Cha's multivalent and nonlinear text is a female subject who inhabits a diasporic space of both power and limitation.

Cha's *Dictee* conceptualizes a diasporic mode of identification in which there simultaneously exists nostalgic desire for home and difficulty of such correspondence. Her work as a writer, filmmaker, and performance artist grappled with issues of dislocation and exile that marked her life. Escaping from the Japanese colonization of Korea, Cha's grandparents migrated to China where her mother, Hyung Soon Huo, was born. Cha was born in Busan, South Korea in 1951 at the height of the Korean War (1950–1953). She was born in the midst of the chaos of the war during which South Koreans, including Cha's family, constantly relocated from one place to another to find refuge from the advancing North Korean army. In 1961, Cha migrated to the United States with her family. Both Cha and her mother are foreigners in Korea as well as the land in which they live.

Throughout her *oeuvre*, Cha highlights the distance that separates her from her motherland, her from the audience, the audience from the text, and languages from each other, whereas at the same time signaling a longing for belonging. In her performance

piece *A Ble Wail* (1975), Cha states that she seeks to create “the dream of the audience” through her work. Cha emphasizes the fluidity of movement between the artist, her artwork, and the audience although acknowledging the tensions and misinterpretations that exist between them. Cha’s interest in the audience’s response is also demonstrated in her art piece, *Audience Distant Relative* (1977). This dream of the audience to work through the apparatus, not only of film, but the multigeneric work of *Dictee* is what creates both frustration and pleasure gained from this work of art. Reading the literary text of *Dictee* also engages the audience with more than the literary; through its reference to film, poetry, folklore, history, and geography, *Dictee* develops correspondences with different genres of work and challenges us to reflect on how things are represented and our positions in the apparatus of legibility and visibility.

Stella Oh

See also Korean Americans

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Cham in America

The Cham in America or Cham Americans are residents in the United States who are ethnically Cham. The Cham are descendants of the Champa Kingdom, a seafaring kingdom that occupied present-day Vietnam since the second century. Champa began to disintegrate after conquest by the Vietnamese beginning in 1471 and disappeared from world maps after the formation of the Vietnamese state.

History

The Cham emigrated from Vietnam and Cambodia to the United States as war refugees in the late 1970s. The Chams were part of the two million refugees that left Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos between 1975 and

1990. In South Vietnam, Cham people were recruited into the Army of the Republic of Viet Nam (ARVN) during the war. At the end of the Vietnam War in April 1975, many Cham people escaped the country because of fear of persecution after the Communist victory.

In Cambodia, the Khmer Rouge targeted the Cham ethnic minority for genocide from 1975 to 1979. The Cham are the largest indigenous ethnic minority in Cambodia; their descendants escaped Vietnamese incursions into Champa centuries earlier. The Cham comprised 10 percent of the Cambodian population, approximately 700,000 prior to 1975. The Khmer Rouge’s genocidal policies toward the Cham included outright executions and massacres, banning of Islam (the main religion of the Chams), destruction of mosques, splitting up of families, banning of the *hijab* (Muslim scarf), forced consumption of pork upon pain of death, and the banning of the Cham language and names. It is estimated that up to 500,000 Cham Muslims perished during the Khmer Rouge era including the majority of Cham Muslim leaders. Thousands of Cham survivors fled Cambodia because of these atrocities.

Because of the political and violent upheavals in Vietnam and Cambodia, the Cham diaspora was further scattered to various parts of the world including Thailand, Malaysia, France, Australia, and the United States where they often sought political asylum. In the United States, the government resettled the Cham across many states so as not to strain the resources in any one area, similar to other Southeast Asian refugee populations.

Demographics

The Cham are one of the least-documented Asian American ethnicities despite living as war refugees in the United States since the late 1970s. The demographic data on the population is challenging to compile because of the lack of data and research published on the Cham American diaspora. The Cham are not yet recognized as a racial or ethnic group as of the 2010 U.S. Census. There is no clear estimate of the Cham population in the United States; but according to a *2006–2008 American Community Survey* report, there were 891 Cham speakers in the United

States. The Cham language is classified under the Malayo-Polynesian linguistic family. First-generation Cham Americans are often multilingual in Asian languages (Vietnamese, Khmer, and Malay) and engage in transnational practices. Rough estimates of the Cham population in the United States range from 3,000 to 10,000. The United States is home to the largest Cham diaspora outside of Asia.

The Cham population although initially distributed in various locations in the United States in the early resettlement phase is now concentrated on the West Coast. The largest concentrations of Cham people are located in California, particularly in Orange County (Santa Ana, Anaheim, Fullerton, and Pomona), Sacramento (and other cities in the Central Valley), and the Bay Area (San Jose and San Francisco). Outside of California, the largest Cham communities are located in the surrounding Seattle-Olympia area in Washington State, numbering a few hundred.

Religion

The Cham in America are adherents of mainly Islam and Hinduism. There is a small population of Hindu Chams in America who have roots in central Vietnam. The majority of Cham Muslims in America migrated from South Vietnam (Mekong Delta) or various parts of Cambodia. These Muslims are followers of the Shafi'i school of Sunni Islam, which is the branch practiced in most of Southeast Asia. Cham weddings are major social functions that attract hundreds of people and are an opportunity for the community to maintain cultural, religious, and familial ties. There are two cultural festivals known as the *Kate* that take place annually in Northern California (San Jose and Sacramento), which is a practice dating back to the existence of the Champa Kingdom to honor the Cham goddess Po Nagar and ancestors.

Asiroh Cham

See also Cambodian Americans

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Chan, Jeffery Paul (1942–)

Jeffery Paul Chan is an American scholar, critic, and activist. He is professor emeritus of Asian American studies and English at San Francisco State University (SFSU). Chan was born in 1942 in Stockton and raised in Richmond, California. He is a third-generation Chinese American; his father was a successful dentist and his grandfather, a Nevada railroad worker. After attending the University of California, Berkeley, for a short time, he moved to Spain to attend the University of Barcelona where he tutored English and studied Spanish culture. Upon returning to the United States, he received his BA in English and subsequently obtained his MA in creative writing from San Francisco State University. He has also studied folklore at the University of California. He taught at San Francisco State University for 38 years before his retirement in 2006.

Chan is well known for his work on behalf of ethnic studies and Asian American studies curricula. Between 1967 and 1968, Chan participated in the San Francisco State University faculty and student strike, where his ability to communicate and organize effectively allied him with a number of student groups who

were fighting for changes in course offerings, greater opportunities for underprivileged applicants, and the recognition of an ethnic studies curriculum. At the time of the strike, Chan had been asked to teach English part-time; he turned down the offer and instead chose to strike, though he was kept on staff at SFSU. The strike ultimately led to the formation of the Ethnic Studies Department and Chan returned to SFSU and began teaching English. Years later, Chan played a founding role in the Asian American Studies Department at San Francisco State University, eventually serving as department chair between 1970 and 1972 and 1975 and 1984. He was also the founding director of the Combined Asian American Resources Project, Inc.

Chan has championed the inclusion of Asian American literature as a serious field of study within the academic study of literature. In addition to various short stories and essays, Chan, along with Frank Chin, Lawson Inada, and Shawn Wong edited the landmark 1974 anthology of Asian American literature, *Aiiieeeee! An Anthology of Asian-American Writers*. Prior to the publication of *Aiiieeeee!*, Asian American writers and their works had received little mainstream recognition, particularly those writers who focused on nonstereotyped portrayals of the Asian American experience. By recovering and spotlighting the works of writers such as Diana Chang, Carlos Bulosan, and John Okada, Chan and his colleagues sought to reclaim the forgotten histories and stories of these writers. Rejected by mainstream publishing houses, *Aiiieeeee!* was first published by Howard University Press, a historically African American press. The title itself serves as a reference to a popularly stereotyped expression of the “yellow man” when wounded or upset. *Aiiieeeee!* is considered by many Asian Americanists and literature scholars as a foundational text in establishing Asian American writers and their works as legitimate foci of research; the works of many of the authors included in the anthology have since become critical components of the study of Asian American literature.

In addition to his work as an editor and critic, Chan has penned five short stories for various journals, including *Aion*, *Amerasia*, *Yardbird Reader*, and *Bamboo Ridge*. His pieces have also been published in anthologies such as *Asian-American Authors* and *The Big Aiiieeeee!* Much of his writing deals with Chinese

American masculinity and identity and how both are shaped and complicated by the immigration experience; his stories are often told from the vantage of a male character. Because much of Chan’s writings and editorial selections have focused on the experiences of Asian American men, especially his earlier works on recovering and reasserting Asian American masculinity, he has been a controversial figure in the study of Asian American literature.

Chan, with his colleague Frank Chin, is also noted for coining the term “racist love.” Differentiating between unacceptable and acceptable stereotypes, racist love refers to the perpetuation and eventual adoption of acceptable stereotypes by those being stereotyped. When Asian Americans conform to stereotyped expectations of behavior and other norms as established by white Americans, the positive image of Asian Americans that results is racist love, as opposed to racial hatred. The term has been controversial among Asian American scholars.

Beyond his writing and editorial work, Chan has also served as a consultant specializing in Asian Americans for the publishing house Harcourt Brace Jovanovich (now Houghton Mifflin Harcourt), as well as a member of the National Council of Teachers of English, Task Force on Racism and Bias, and Textbook Review Committee. He has also written for Marin County, California’s *The Independent Journal* as a drama critic. His own playscript, *Bunny Hop*, has been produced by the East/West Players in Los Angeles.

Albert J. Lee

See also Chang, Diana; Chin, Frank; Inada, Lawson Fusao; Okada, John; Wong, Shawn

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Chan, Kenyon

Dr. Kenyon S. Chan is a former president of the Association of American Studies and the chancellor of the University of Washington at Bothell (UW Bothell).

He is a pioneer in the field of ethnic studies, having helped found the Asian American Studies Department at California State University, Northridge (CSUN) in 1990. After eight years as chair of the department and director of the Liberal Studies Program at CSUN, he became dean of the Bellarmine College of Liberal Arts at Loyola Marymount University (LMU). In 2003, Chan left LMU to serve as vice president for academic affairs and dean of the college at Occidental College, where he was also interim president from 2005 to 2006. In 2007, Chan accepted his current appointment at UW Bothell.

Chan is a three-time alumnus of the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA), receiving a bachelor's degree in sociology in 1970, a master's degree in special education in 1972, and a doctorate in educational psychology in 1974. His research has explored the effects of social and psychological factors on academic performance, and particularly the effects of race on the emotional development of minority students. Chan's publications include studies of Asian American students (several coauthored with his wife, Shirley Hune), as well as an article discussing the growth of Asian American studies as an academic field of study.

An interdisciplinary scholar, Chan taught and conducted research in a number of fields, including education, psychology, and ethnic studies. From 1973 to 1981, he was an assistant professor of education at UCLA. In 1983, he joined the clinical faculty in behavioral sciences in the School of Medicine at UCLA. In 1990, he left UCLA to become founding chair of the Department of Asian American Studies at CSUN. In addition to his roles as dean and vice president at Occidental and LMU, Chan also taught psychology at both institutions.

As one of the highest-ranking Asian Americans in higher education, Chan has often addressed the underrepresentation of Asian Americans in leadership positions on college campuses. Among his goals as chancellor of UW Bothell is the aggressive recruitment of new faculty members of color, as well as the increasing of financial aid to low-income and minority students. In 2007, Chan was honored as a Top Contributor to the Asian community by the Northwest Asian Foundation.

Chan was born in Richmond, California, a working-class community with a small Asian American

population. His father owned a grocery store but was often mistreated by his patrons, sparking Chan's eventual interest in race and social justice.

Chan is married to Dr. Shirley Hune, a professor in the College of Education at the main campus of the University of Washington in Seattle. Hune received her doctorate in American studies from The George Washington University, and has been a faculty member at the City University of New York and at UCLA, where she served also as associate dean of the Graduate Division.

Winston Chou

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Chan, Sucheng (1941–)

Chan was born in China in 1941 and moved to the United States with her family in 1957. At the age of four, she simultaneously contracted pneumonia and polio. This condition would have a profound impact on the rest of her life. Because she was unable to walk for over four years, she could not play outside with other children. Instead, she became an avid reader of books on all subjects. This love of reading would later flower into a life of scholarship on a broad array of subjects. Chan graduated from Swarthmore College with a major in economics; she received her MA in Asian studies from the University of Hawaii and her PhD in political science from the University of California, Berkeley. When teaching Asian American studies at UC Berkeley, however, she trained herself to be a

historian. Her childhood experience of reading books on a variety of subjects allowed her to make this transition.

As a scholar, Chan is the most productive Asian American historian of her generation. She is the author or editor of 18 books, 5 of which have received awards. In addition, she has published over 30 articles or book chapters. What is most impressive, however, is both the depth and breadth of her work. A brief look at some of her most important books will attest to this. *This Bittersweet Soil: The Chinese in California Agriculture, 1860–1910* (1986) is a sweeping study of Chinese immigrants and their contributions to the building of California's agricultural legacy. Traveling the length of the state to visit county archives, Chan documented for the first time the great extent to which Chinese shaped the California's countryside to help create its centrality to the country's agricultural industry. Her survey text *Asian Americans: An Interpretive History* (1991) broke new ground by offering a comparative history of Asians in America, their relationship to each other and to other immigrant groups, all within the international context of American and European imperialism. Chan's other important books include *Entry Denied: Exclusion and the Chinese Community in America, 1882–1943* (1991); *Quiet Odyssey: A Pioneer Korean Woman in America* (1994); *Hmong Means Free: Life in Laos and America* (1994); *Claiming America: Constructing Chinese American Identities during the Exclusion Era* (1998); *Survivors: Cambodian Refugees in the United States* (2004); *In Defense of Asian American Studies: The Politics of Teaching and Program Building* (2005); *The Vietnamese American 1.5 Generation: Stories of War, Revolution, Flight, and New Beginnings* (2006); *Chinese American Transnationalism: The Flow of People, Resources, and Ideas between China and America during the Exclusion Era* (2006); and *Chinese Americans and the Politics of Race and Culture* (2008). Throughout her scholarly career, Chan has neither written about just one group of Asian Americans nor placed their experiences and histories solely in America but has always situated them in a transnational narrative between Asia and America.

In addition to her scholarship, Chan received two teaching awards, and was the first Asian American

woman to be appointed as a provost in the 10-campus University of California system. She served as provost of Oakes College at the University of California, Santa Cruz. After that, she took a position at the University of California, Santa Barbara where she transformed the Asian American Studies Program there into a full-fledged department, where she served as program and department chair for nine years. During this time, she initiated the Asian American History and Culture series for Temple University Press, the longest-running series devoted to Asian American Studies with a university press, and she still serves on the editorial board of that series. Chan retired from full-time teaching at age 60 in 2001 because the postpolio syndrome from which she has suffered for many years made it impossible to continue teaching. However, Chan's devotion to the field of Asian American Studies has not ended with her retirement. After careful consideration, she decided to donate a large portion of her personal library and papers to the Immigration History Research Center housed at the University of Minnesota. Chan chose this location because she believed that there were sufficient collections of historical documents of the Asian American experience on the West and East Coasts, and so chose the Midwest to house her collection so that more people would have access to the invaluable collection of books, papers, and primary documents.

Chan is now Professor Emerita of Asian American Studies and Global Studies at the University of California, Santa Barbara. She continues to research and write and to mentor younger faculty in Asian American history.

K. Scott Wong

See also Chinese Americans

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Chandrasekhar, Subrahmanyan (1910–1995)

Subrahmanyan Chandrasekhar, or Chandra, as he was widely and affectionately known, was a theoretical astrophysicist trained in India and England who immigrated to the United States in 1936 and won the Nobel Prize in 1983. His life story suggests some possible reasons why South Asian scholarly and scientific migration streams, initially focused on Great Britain, may have expanded to include the United States during the twentieth century.

Chandra was born on October 19, 1910, the third child and first son of an academically distinguished Brahman family in Lahore, India (now Pakistan). His paternal grandfather, Ramanathan Chandrasekhar, was only the third person from his region to obtain a bachelor's degree. One of Ramanathan's sons, Chandrasekhara Venkata Raman, became an experimental physicist and conducted foundational research on the scattering of light photons that earned him the Nobel Prize in 1930.

Chandrasekhar's father, Chandrasekhara Subrahmanya Ayyar, took a different path to success under British rule. For most male middle or upper-middle class Indians of Ayyar's generation, the point of education was to land a secure job in the British colonial administration of India. C. S. Ayyar worked in the upper levels of Indian Civil Service, first in Calcutta and then in Lahore, where Chandra was born. Chandra's mother, Sitalakshmi (née Balakrishnan), was also a scholar who translated Ibsen's *A Doll House* into Tamil even as she bore and raised 10 children.

With such an exceptional family background in scholarship, Chandra was particularly well positioned for academic achievement. After a few years of home schooling and after the family moved back to Madras in 1921, Chandra enrolled in the Hindu High School in the Triplicane district, believed to be the best school in the city. Regarded as a prodigy, especially in mathematics, Chandra graduated from high school in 1925 and then from the Presidency College of the University of Madras, with a BSc in physics, in 1930. As an undergraduate, Chandra came into contact with such visiting luminaries of European physics as Arnold Sommerfeld and Werner Heisenberg, and entered into

correspondence with Ralph H. Fowler, an astrophysicist at the University of Cambridge, who arranged Chandra's first scientific publication in the prestigious *Proceedings of the Royal Society*.

In recognition of his exceptional scientific promise, the government of India created a scholarship for Chandra in 1930 to attend graduate school in England, which he chose to use to study with Fowler at Cambridge. During his journey to England, at least partially to distract himself from the grief of parting with his family, Chandra concentrated on his work. Extending earlier researches on stellar evolution, Chandra discovered, to his surprise, that only stars below a certain mass would become white dwarfs and thus reach what was widely believed to be the final stage in the life of stars. Indeed, Chandra's finding raised the possibility that there might be further stages of stellar development, that stars whose mass exceeded that limit might go on collapsing indefinitely.

Chandra returned to this topic after he completed his PhD in astrophysics in 1933. He spent several months removing the assumptions that he had made aboard ship to simplify his calculations and replace them with the detailed and tedious computations required to put his theory on a solid foundation. By the January 1935 meeting of the Royal Astronomical Society, Chandra was ready to present his results. Before the meeting, Chandra learned that one of his professors, with whom he had had long discussions about his work, would be speaking immediately after Chandra did, and the title suggested he might be commenting on Chandra's work. Sir Arthur Stanley Eddington was, by the 1930s, the most distinguished astrophysicist in Great Britain. His word carried great weight in astronomical circles. Perturbed because Eddington had refused to discuss what he would say, Chandra read his paper and then sat down to listen.

The great man stood up and proclaimed that Chandra's theory was ridiculous. Using colorful but vague language, he suggested, though he did not explain how or where, that Chandra had made a fundamental error in his physics. Humiliated, Chandra was prevented from responding to Eddington's criticisms, ill-defined though they were. At successive meetings, the leadership of the astronomical community continued to refuse to allow Chandra to defend his theory.

Chandra's social and scientific marginality played important roles, however. By and large, the astronomers believed Eddington because of his eminence, as opposed to the journeyman outsider challenging astronomical orthodoxy. The physicists, on the other hand, who knew that Eddington's criticisms were incorrect, cared little about astronomy, and cared less to be involved in the controversy. Even Fowler, who knew that Eddington was wrong, refused to defend his former pupil. Dejected and confused, with academic politics inhibiting a return to India and recommending against staying in England, Chandra decided to accept a fortuitously timed offer of a permanent position at the University of Chicago's Yerkes Observatory in Williams Bay, Wisconsin.

Before taking up his new post, Chandra returned home for a visit, where he was reunited not only with his family but with Lalitha Doraiswamy, a young woman whom he had known since his college days. Lalitha came from a nationally prominent family that, like Chandra's, valued high educational achievement. After graduating from college, she had earned a master's degree in physics and was teaching at the time of Chandra's return to India, but she gave up her scientific career, against Chandra's urging, after the two were married.

On their way to America, the newlyweds stopped off in England to pack up Chandra's things, but then encountered a snag in their plans. U.S. immigration law forbade the entry of natives of any country in Asia. Racist from conception to execution, America's immigration policy belied its claims to openness, even in the case of so gifted a scientist as Chandra. When Chandra informed his new employers of the quandary, Otto Struve of Chicago's astronomy department, himself an immigrant, contacted the university's legal counsel. The lawyers found a loophole for Chandra, who had taught at Cambridge after the completion of his degree and was thus eligible for an immigrant visa. But for Lalitha to be granted an immigrant visa, the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service required a letter from someone in England who knew her personally and could vouch for her good character. Fortunately, an Oxford professor, Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan (later president of India), was a family friend, and agreed to write the letter. Their legal troubles resolved, the two

boarded ship and arrived in Williams Bay just a few days before Christmas, 1936.

At the Yerkes, Chandra's primary task was to develop a graduate program in astronomy and astrophysics, which he did, transforming the observatory and the University of Chicago into a national center for the study of the heavens. As his reputation as a teacher spread, the Yerkes began attracting promising graduate students from all over the world. He and Lalitha became naturalized citizens in 1953.

Chandra formally retired from the University of Chicago in 1980. In 1983, some five decades after he made the initial discovery, Chandra was awarded the Nobel Prize in Physics for what had come to be called the "Chandrasekhar limit" on the mass of a star that could become a white dwarf. His death, in 1995, according to one of his memorialists, "heralded the end of the era that developed the basic physics of the star. He was the most prolific and wide ranging of those who applied hard physics to astronomical problems."

Benjamin C. Zulueta

See also Indian Americans

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Chang, Diana (1934–2009)

Diana Chang was a Chinese American novelist, poet, and artist. She was born in 1934 in New York City to a Chinese immigrant father and an American-born mother of Chinese and Irish descent. The family

moved to China when she was an infant and Chang spent her younger years in various cities including Beijing, Nanking, Peking, and Shanghai. She attended the Shanghai American School during World War II under Japanese occupation and matriculated at St. John's University in Shanghai in 1941. She left after one year to join the *Shanghai Evening Post*, where she served as a feature writer and on the editorial staff. Because of her objection to Japanese supervision of the paper, she eventually left her post and Shanghai for the United States, returning to New York. Chang attended Barnard College as a transfer student in the class of 1949. As an English major, she excelled in her studies, publishing her poem "Mood" in the prestigious journal *Poetry* during her first year at Barnard. Chang also studied existential philosophy, and took a particular interest in the work of Danish philosopher Soren Kierkegaard. She graduated cum laude in 1949 and was inducted into Phi Beta Kappa.

Chang was awarded a Fulbright fellowship to study in France, where she studied French poetry at the Sorbonne. Upon returning to the United States, she worked as an editor at various publishing houses before quitting to devote herself to writing full-time.

Chang's first and best-known novel, *The Frontiers of Love*, was published in 1956 to critical acclaim; it is considered to be the first published novel by an American-born Chinese American. The novel examines intersections of race, war, and socialism during World War II. The novel's setting in Japanese-occupied Shanghai and its shifting references to both Asian and Western cultural markers reflect a larger theme of exploring stereotypes, ethnicities, and characters' biracial identities. More than any of Chang's subsequent novels, *The Frontiers of Love* explores miscegenation and Eurasian identities at a time when geopolitical conflicts rendered these identities both unstable and confusing. It was republished by the University of Washington Press in 1974 with an introduction by writer and critic Shirley Geok-lin Lim.

In 1979, Chang was invited by Barnard to teach English. She joined the faculty as an Adjunct Associate Professor of English and taught creative writing and interdisciplinary courses in art.

Following the success of *The Frontiers of Love*, Chang published five more novels over the next two

decades: *A Woman of Thirty* (1959), *A Passion for Life* (1961), *The Only Game in Town* (1963), *Eye to Eye* (1974), and *A Perfect Love* (1978). Her later novels rarely focused on issues of biracial identity, and instead involved self-described "WASPs" exploring issues of self-identity.

After completing her final novel, Chang focused on poetry and later, painting. She eventually produced three volumes of poetry: *The Horizon Is Definitely Speaking* (1982), *What Matisse Is After* (1984), and *Earth, Water, Light* (1991). Her art has also been exhibited in solo and group shows. In addition to the Fulbright Fellowship, Chang was also the recipient of the John Hay Whitney Fellowship. She lived in Water Mill, New York, until her death on February 19, 2009.

Albert J. Lee

See also Lim, Shirley Geok-lin

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Chang, Iris (1968–2004)

Iris Chang, a Chinese American author and activist, had written three nonfictional works during her short lifetime and brought attention to important issues in Chinese and Chinese American histories. As exemplified by her second book, *The Rape of Nanking*, Chang had not only examined some forgotten events in their specific historical contexts such as the Nanjing Massacre, but she had also investigated the ways in which such events would continue to impact Chinese and Chinese Americans today.

Born into a Chinese immigrant and scientist family in Princeton, New Jersey, on March 28, 1968, Chang grew up in Urbana-Champaign, Illinois. She received her BA in journalism at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign in 1989, and her MFA at the Johns Hopkins University in 1991. Before Chang became a freelance writer, she worked briefly for the *New York Times* and *Chicago Tribune*.

In 1995, Chang published her first book, *Thread of the Silkworm*, and started her journey of interrogating some important events in Chinese and Chinese American histories. Focusing on the case of the political persecution of Dr. Tsien Hsue-shen during the 1950s, Chang documents how the Chinese American scientist had built his career from a graduate student born and raised in China to the Robert Goddard Professor of Jet Propulsion at California Institute of Technology and questions why the U.S. government had harassed and interrupted the life and work of the talented scientist for five years before his final deportation in 1955. Chang points out the irony that U.S. institutional racism drove away several hundred talented Chinese American scientists and engineers who would help China to update its scientific research, modernize its industrial infrastructure, and develop its missile and nuclear programs from scratch.

Chang's second book, *The Rape of Nanking: The Forgotten Holocaust of World War II*, was released in 1997 to mark the 60th anniversary of the Nanking Massacre and to tell the world that the holocaust had been downplayed and forgotten by the Japanese government because of cold war politics, and that injustice had continued to be inflicted on the victims and the Chinese people. In detailing the horrifying atrocities that varied from decapitation of Chinese POWs to gang rape of Chinese women committed on a large scale by the Japanese Imperial Army in the former Chinese capital of Nanjing in December 1937, Chang raises questions on who should be responsible for these war crimes. She points to Japanese Emperor Hirohito and calls attention to why the Japanese government has continued to downplay the holocaust and how Japanese historians have systematically trivialized the massacre by disputing the exact number of the victims as if it would change the nature of the massacre. For the justice and dignity of the victims and their families, Chang campaigned around the world to demand that the Japanese government apologize for its wartime crimes and suggested that any denial or trivialization of the holocaust would constitute a second rape.

In 2003, Chang's third book, *The Chinese in America: A Narrative History*, was published. This work not only traces the Chinese American experiences to the nineteenth century and details the legal

exclusion and racial violence experienced by Chinese Americans, but it also reveals the author's increasing concern and anxiety over Chinese Americans being caught in the rising tension between China and the United States starting at the end of the Cold War. Drawing from personal accounts of Chinese American individuals and showing strong emotions toward her subject matter, Chang reflects on the future of Chinese Americans with pessimism and resorts to the basic American values of life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness as the final protection of Chinese Americans.

As Chang was doing research on her fourth book concerning the Bataan Death March, the devastating nature of her subject matter finally took its toll on her body and mind. She suffered from severe depression and had to be admitted into Norton Psychiatric Hospital in Louisville, where she would be diagnosed with reactive psychosis and placed on medication for three days before her release. On the morning of November 9, 2004, Chang took her young life with a revolver on a rural road in Los Gatos, California, and ended her painful struggle for historical truth, social justice, and human dignity. In 2005, the Nanjing Massacre Memorial Hall in the city of Nanjing, China, dedicated a statue and a wing to Chang, whose love, courage, and integrity would be remembered by people of Chinese descent and people cherishing truth and justice.

Yuan Shu

See also Chinese Americans

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Chang, Michael (1972–)

Michael Chang is a former professional Chinese American tennis player. He won numerous awards,



Michael Chang at the 1989 French Open. (Simon Bruty/Getty Images)

most notably a Davis Cup and a Grand Slam singles title. Chang was known for his exceptional speed and unbreakable determination on the court. He was ranked in the top ten players during the 1990s, and eventually rose to be ranked the number two player in the world.

Michael Te Pei Chang was born on February 22, 1972, in Hoboken, New Jersey. Chang's parents were both native Chinese who had fled to Taiwan after the Communist takeover in 1949. The two then independently moved to the United States in the 1960s before getting married.

Chang started to play table tennis at age six with his older brother Carl before he learned to play tennis. Even at an early age, Michael's family noticed his remarkable competitiveness. At age eight, he smashed his racket after losing to his father in a tennis match. When Michael lost a second-grade spelling bee, he forced himself to write the word he had incorrectly spelled 300 times to make sure he would never forget it.

Like his brother Carl, Chang showed prodigious tennis talent at an early age. The family moved from Minnesota to San Diego, California, so the two brothers could play tennis year round against more advanced competition. He won a number of titles as a junior player and gained international recognition as a teenager. And by 16, Chang's talent had attracted Reebok and Prince Racquets endorsements. He dropped his college plans, earned his GED, and made tennis his number one priority.

His first year as a professional tennis player brought Chang his most significant victory of his career: the 1989 French Open. The 15th-seeded Chang had survived three rounds with his elite athleticism; however, he next faced Ivan Lendl, the undisputed top ranked tennis player in the world. Even his father, Joe Chang, did not believe he had a chance and boarded a plane back to the United States to his job in San Diego before the match began.

Lendl won the first two sets, but Chang won the third and looked to have momentum in the fourth. However, Chang began to get cramps in both calves. As the pain increased, he drank water and ate bananas at every break. He began screaming from the pain as he returned Lendl's shots.

Chang managed to take the fourth set, but as the fifth set progressed, the pain was so severe that he began to consider forfeiting the game. However, Chang did not allow himself to quit. Twenty years later, Chang recounted, "If you quit the first time, the second, third, and fourth times are that much easier to do the same thing."

Instead, Chang tried to change his style of play to circumvent the pain. He hit high lobs, known as "moon balls," and began to serve underhanded with success. Not only had he won over the crowd, Chang had also broken Lendl mentally. Lendl grew increasingly frustrated as he yelled at the audience and began double faulting repeatedly. Chang beat Lendl and would go on to become the youngest-ever player and the first American since 1955 to win the French Open.

Chang remained at the pinnacle of professional tennis for the next 10 years. In addition to his explosiveness on court, Chang developed a reputation for being one of the best tennis baseliners. He won 32 titles, including 8 Masters championships, and was

consistently ranked in the top 10 of the world. Although Chang never again won a Grand Slam, he reached to the finals in the 1995 French Open, the 1996 Australian Open, and the 1996 U.S. Open. Chang's career peaked in 1996 with a number two world ranking.

From 1991 onward, Chang's coach was his own brother Carl. Chang was a member of the U.S. tennis team, which won the Davis Cup in 1990 (Chang's comeback win against the number-seven-ranked Horst Skoff was the decisive victory of the event). However, Chang's signature athleticism was hurt by wrist and knee injuries in 1998. Also during this time Chang attempted to increase his strength by bulking up with weight training. Although he became stronger, the increased bulk caused him to lose much of his speed. His ranking plummeted from out of the top 10 to the top 50 in 1998, and in the next five years he would win only one more tournament title.

Chang retired from professional tennis in 2003. He then completed his master's degree in theology at Biola University. He currently spends his time working with the Chang Family Foundation, a nonprofit dedicated to promoting service and Christianity through tennis. In 2003, Chang also married Amber Liu, a professional tennis player. The two had a daughter in 2006.

Chang's stunning victory in the 1989 Grand Slam and his long and successful career helped disprove numerous negative Asian American stereotypes regarding athletic achievement. His muscular 5'9" frame paired with his unshakable resolve and public Christian faith demonstrated the potential of Asian Americans on the international athletic stage.

Alan Zhao

See also Athletes and Christianity

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Chang, Sarah (1980–)

Sarah Chang is a violinist of Korean descent, who at a young age was hailed as a child prodigy and is known today as one of the most gifted artists in the classical music world.

Born in Philadelphia and raised in Vorhees Township, New Jersey, Chang comes from a musical family: her father is a composer and her mother a violinist and music teacher, both of whom moved to the United States from South Korea in 1979 to pursue musical studies. Chang started learning the violin at age four using the Suzuki Method for music pedagogy. She began to perform in public a year later and was admitted to the Pre-College Division of the Juilliard School to study with the prominent violin pedagogue Dorothy DeLay who trained many world-famous violinists such as Cho-Liang Lin, Nadja Salerno-Sonnenberg, Anne Akiko Meyers, Midori, Gil Shaham, and Hyo Kang—a renowned violinist who immigrated from Seoul.

Chang's performance career began at an extraordinarily young age. When she was eight years old, she auditioned for Zubin Mehta and Riccardo Muti and made her professional debut performing Paganini's First Violin Concerto with the New York Philharmonic Orchestra. In 1991, when she was 10, she recorded her first album, *Debut*, released by EMI Classics, which became the beginning of her exclusive recording career with the label. The *Gramophone Magazine* chose her as the Young Artist of the Year in 1993. By the age of 15, Chang was performing well

over 100 concerts annually and appearing with most of the major orchestras, conductors, and accompanists in Europe and the United States. In 1999 she won the Avery Fisher Prize, given by the Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts in New York to solo instrumentalists who have demonstrated outstanding achievement in music. In addition to her solo performances, Chang has also worked extensively as a chamber musician, collaborating with artists such as Martha Argerich, Leif Ove Andsnes, Stephen Kovacevich, and Lars Vogt.

As a young child, Chang's extraordinary virtuosity and artistic maturity brought her international fame as a *wunderkind*. Although musicians who make their debut at such a young age often have difficulty making the transition from being treated as prodigies to creating their own identity as mature artists, Chang appears to have experienced no such crisis. Her performances and recordings have been consistently productive and highly acclaimed throughout her career. She is especially renowned for her technique and artistry in the violin concertos of Paganini, Mendelssohn, Tchaikovsky, Strauss, and Sibelius. As of 2012, she has recorded 20 CDs and performs throughout the world.

Chang's talent and accomplishments have been widely recognized well beyond the classical music world. She became the youngest person to date to be honored in Hollywood Bowl's Hall of Fame in 2004. In 2006, she was listed as one of 20 Top Women in *Newsweek* Magazine's "Women and Leadership, 20 Powerful Women Take Charge" issue. In 2008 Chang was honored as a Young Global Leader by the World Economic Forum for her professional achievements, commitment to society, and potential in shaping the future of the world. In 2011, President Obama appointed her to the Presidential Commission on Russian Relations and also as State Department Special Cultural Envoy.

Although Chang was born and raised in the United States and has never lived in Korea, she characterizes her upbringing as very Korean and feels a strong connection to the country and its culture. She visits Seoul regularly for concerts with the London Philharmonic Orchestra and to Guangzhou, China, to perform with the Symphony Orchestra as part of the Asian Games Opening Festival. In 2002, she was invited to perform

in Pyongyang, North Korea, with a South Korean orchestra.

Chang is an illustrious example of the prominence of Asians and Asian Americans, especially Koreans, in the world of classical music in recent decades. Early in her career, along with Japanese violinist Midori and others, Chang became an icon of the precocious Asian American who excels in classical music, a stereotype that prevails within and beyond the Asian American community. The strength and the depth of her artistic voice have belied the stereotypical notion that Asian musicians are technically proficient yet lacking in expressivity.

Mari Yoshihara

See also Korean Americans

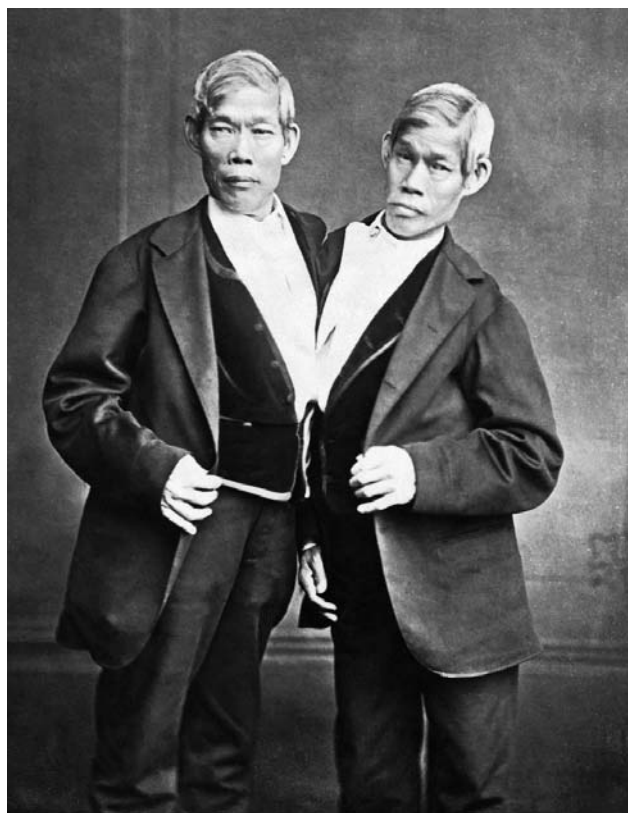
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Chang and Eng (The Siamese Twins)

Chang and Eng—the original Siamese twins—are the most famous conjoined twins in history. They are among the most analyzed, racialized, and classed Asian Americans, and their experiences echo notions of civilization and normality, emancipation, and capitalism in nineteenth-century America. Despite being perceived as biologically and racially “alien,” the twins became popular entertainers and successful entrepreneurs, met with crowned heads of state, and inspired scores of literary works as varied as a satirical sketch by Mark Twain to a contemporary monologue by Garrison Keillor. After retiring from show business, against all odds, they became gentlemen farmers, married sisters, and fathered more than 20 children. Moreover, their life history reveals their agency, indomitable spirit, and their different connections with Siam, China, and the United States.

The twin brothers were born in 1811 in a fishing village in Samut Songkhram, a coastal province in Siam (Thailand before 1939). They were joined at the lower part of their chest by a five-to-six inch long band



Chang and Eng, the original “Siamese twins” who headlined in P.T. Barnum’s “freak shows” during the mid-nineteenth century, ca. 1870. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)

of flesh. The term “Siamese twins” originated because of them. Nevertheless, in Siam, they were known as the “Chinese twins,” the offspring of a Chinese immigrant father and a Chinese Siamese mother.

Chang and Eng went to work at a very early age. At age seven, they helped their mother, Nok, support the family, after their father and five siblings died during a cholera epidemic. At age eight, they bought a small boat and became fishermen; they later worked as peddlers, buying cheap goods and reselling them at a floating marketplace. In 1825, King Rama III summoned them to his palace. Dressed in their finest clothes, and each with his hair braided into a queue, a Qing Dynasty male hairstyle, they met the king and the royal family and received a number of expensive gifts from them. The twins later sold these gifts and used the money as capital to expand a new business they had recently begun: selling preserved duck eggs. The business was a success. In a single year they sold

12,000 eggs. Because of their business acumen, they and their family lived a comfortable and peaceful life.

The twins’ life course changed dramatically after Robert Hunter, a British merchant, “discovered” them. Hunter and Captain Abel Coffin, an American, viewed the twins as a bankable commodity that could be exported and consumed by the public. The United States and Great Britain, at that time, entertained ethnocentric ideas about “freaks” and “uncivilized others” to justify claims of cultural superiority, normalcy, and civility. Captain Coffin convinced Nok that he and Hunter should be allowed take her sons to exhibit in America and Great Britain for two-and-a-half years. Hunter and Coffin later claimed that they paid Nok \$3,000, but the twins said that their mother received only \$500.

On March 31, 1829, at age 18, Chang and Eng left Siam on a ship bound for America. They began learning to speak English on board. After a voyage of more than four-and-a-half months, the twins arrived in Boston on August 16, 1829. Within a week, Chang and Eng were put “on exhibition.” To promote the show, Coffin used doctors’ reports, newspaper stories, posters, and handbills to kindle public interest. He regarded himself as the twins’ master, and the twins as his hot property. The twins were an immediate sensation, and their performances made an unexpectedly large amount of money.

After touring the United States for two months, they continued on to Great Britain. Before their ship set sail, Coffin purchased a \$10,000 life insurance policy on Chang and Eng and brought along embalming chemicals to preserve the corpse, in case they died during the journey. Coffin made sure that he would continue to profit from the twins either dead or alive. He also bought tickets for the twins as his servants, at half price, to save \$100. When Chang and Eng complained about being put in the steerage of the ship and being given second-rate food to eat, Coffin told them he had bought them first-class tickets, but that the first-class dining room was too crowded for them. The truth was that this hard-nosed businessman really did not care very much about the twins’ comfort and health, because his risk was covered by the insurance policy.

Wherever Chang and Eng were put on exhibition, spectators could look at them and ask them questions. Sometimes they would perform somersaults or back flips, play chess or badminton with a member of the audience, and occasionally they would lift the heaviest man in attendance and carry him around on stage. Racism was on exhibition as well. Some viewed the twins as exotic monsters. One writer of verse “complimented” them in a poem, addressing them as “my yellow friends.” The twins’ manners and intelligence, however, changed some people’s view. One American journalist wrote that he admired the twins and described them as the world’s greatest travelers.

Doctors, too, were fascinated by the twins. Medical experts and leading surgeons in major U.S. and European cities weighed in with their opinions, trying to understand if the twins were one or two, and if they could be safely separated. For the first few years, the twins did not want to be separated, regarding themselves as one. In their letters, they referred to themselves as the singular “I” until 1832. When Sir Astley Cooper, a professor at the Royal College of Surgeons in London, was asked if the twins could be separated, his response was “Why separate them?” From a medical point of view, he considered separating the twins too risky; from a business standpoint, he understood that separating the twins would be ruinous, since they could no longer be exploited as “freaks.” Profits could be maximized not just through labor but by making use of difference.

After touring for 14 months in England, Scotland, and Ireland, Chang and Eng came back to New York and continued their tour in America. In 1832, when they turned 21, the twins announced that they would end their relationship with Captain Coffin. Mrs. Coffin asked them to stay until her husband returned from the East Indies and reminded them how much she had done for their comfort, and how much she loved them. The twins asked Charles Harris, their manager and friend, to write Mrs. Coffin on their behalf, and say that they believed the only thing she loved about them was the money they had made for her.

There were several reasons why the twins struck out on their own. First, they regarded the Coffins as being too stingy with traveling expenses and allowances, even though the Coffins received a

disproportionate amount of their earnings. Second, they claimed that the Coffins had worked them too hard and treated them as inferiors. Third, they disliked being told what to do. Most important, they believed that they had the legal right to leave when their contract expired. The twins protested their mistreatment and exploitation; they fought for respectability, humanity, and freedom.

After leaving the Coffins, Chang and Eng continued to tour until 1839, when they visited Wilkesboro, North Carolina, a rural community close to the Blue Ridge Mountains. They instantly fell in love with its natural beauty and the people there. By that time, at age 28, they had saved up about \$10,000, enough money to embark upon a new career, quitting the emotionally draining and physically exhausting exhibition circuit. On October 17, 1839, they paid \$300 for 150 acres of land in Trap Hill, Wilkes County, North Carolina.

Five days before they bought the land, Chang and Eng applied for American citizenship in Wilkes Superior Court. They did not have a family name, for ordinary Siamese did not use surnames until 1913. Fortunately, in North Carolina, a family name was not required to become an American citizen. Chang and Eng shrewdly integrated themselves into the American political and economic system by becoming citizens, owning land, and voting on at least one occasion for opposing candidates. Later, the twins converted to Christianity and adopted the surname Bunker.

Like other wealthy gentlemen farmers in North Carolina, Chang and Eng bought and owned slaves. Slave labor was the backbone of the plantation economy. They grew wheat, rye, Indian corn, sweet potato, oats, peas, beans, and potatoes, as well as fruit. Chang and Eng produced tobacco and became known for being “scientific” farmers, skilled at breaking horses, and excellent carpenters, building their own house and helping construct a church. Even after adopting an American lifestyle, for many years each wore his hair in a queue, the key marker of being Chinese at that time. Although they never touched China’s soil, they followed certain cultural practices prevalent among overseas Chinese. At the same time, they also identified with Siam and the United States. Siam

was where they were born and grew up. The United States was where they became American citizens, celebrities, and subjects of intense public scrutiny.

In 1843, Chang and Eng proposed marriage to Adelaide and Sallie Yates from Trap Hill, North Carolina, after having known the two sisters for nearly five years. The news about their courtship and marriage was met with overwhelming disapproval; some residents could not bear the thought that each “normal” girl would have to sleep with her future husband and her brother-in-law at once. By proposing marriage, Chang and Eng contested prevailing notions of marriage, privacy, and racial purity. In North Carolina, the law banned marriages between whites and blacks and whites and Indians, but there was no law forbidding “Orientals” from marrying whites. Despite the enormous pressure on them, the two sisters would not give up the idea of marrying the twins, at one point, even planning to elope. Finally, a double wedding was held for them at a local Baptist Church. At age 32, the twins again defied all the odds and got married.

Chang and Eng had kept in touch with their natal family, although they never made it back to Siam for a visit. When they had finally decided to go, their plans were disrupted by the Civil War, in which two of their sons fought for the South.

At the end of the Civil War, they sustained a severe financial setback, when Confederate currency became worthless and their slaves were freed. But instead of dwelling on this loss and worrying about how to support their large families, at age 54, Chang and Eng went back on the road and performed across the United States and Europe. Because many people had seen them perform decades before, they took their manager’s advice and repackaged themselves. First, they brought two of their children with them to display how the marriage between Siamese twins and two sisters could produce “normal” children. Second, they advertised that they were to consult with the best doctors in Europe to determine the possibility of being separated. The tour was a financial success. Returning to the United States from Russia in 1870, Chang suffered a stroke. By that time, Chang and Eng had a net worth of about \$30,000.

The twin brothers died on the same day at age 62 at home just outside of Mount Airy, North Carolina,

in 1874. They had been married for 31 years. Eng’s widow, Sallie Bunker, died at age 70 in 1892. Chang’s widow, Adelaide Bunker, passed away at age 94 in 1917. Their descendants, estimated to be between 1,500 and 1,800, are spread throughout the United States and beyond.

The twins’ legacy lives on. They continue to be remembered and to receive honors to this day, not just by their offspring, but by authorities in Thailand and United States. In 1994, a statue of their likeness was erected in Samut Songkhram, Thailand. In July 2001, Surry County, North Carolina, honored Chang and Eng by dedicating “the twin bridges” to them as a memorial for their contributions to the county and to western North Carolina.

Jiemin Bao

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Chang-Díaz, Franklin Ramón (1950–)

Franklin Chang-Díaz is a research scientist and former National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) astronaut. He is the only Latin American to fly on a space mission and, having flown on seven spaceflights, is tied with Jerry L. Ross for the most trips to space. He logged over 1,601 hours in space and 19 hours and 31 minutes in space walks. Chang-Díaz invented a rocket-based plasma propulsion technology known as Variable Specific Impulse

Magnetoplasma Rocket (VASIMR). After retiring from NASA, he became founder and CEO of Ad Astra Rocket Company. He holds dual United States and Costa Rican citizenship, having become a naturalized American in 1980 and was conferred as Honorary Citizen of Costa Rica in 1995.

Franklin Ramón Chang-Díaz was born in San José, Costa Rica on April 5, 1950. His parents are the late Ramón Chang-Morales, who was Costa Rican with Chinese ancestry, and María Eugenia Díaz de Chang. After finishing high school in Costa Rica, Chang-Díaz moved to the United States to pursue a longtime childhood dream of becoming an astronaut. He stayed with a relative in Hartford, Connecticut and attended high school there to learn English. Following graduation from Hartford High School, he attended the University of Connecticut, where he received a Bachelor of Science in Mechanical Engineering in 1973. He went on to earn a doctoral degree in Applied Plasma Physics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, where he conducted research on controlled fusion and fusion reactors. Chang-Díaz continued his research on control systems for fusion reactions, inertial and magnetic containment fusion, and rocket propulsion using high-temperature plasmas at Charles Stark Draper Laboratory.

Chang-Díaz had a 25-year career at NASA, during which time he continued his research on plasma propulsion technology and flew on many space missions. He began training and evaluation as an astronaut candidate in 1981. Prior to his first space flight, he was responsible for flight software checkout at the Shuttle Avionics Integration Laboratory and worked on early research on designs for a Space Station. He also was part of the support crew and orbit capsule communicator for a 1983 Spacelab mission and was the leader of the astronaut support team at Kennedy Space Center. He flew on seven NASA space missions as an astronaut: Space Transportation System (STS) 61-C (1986), STS-34 (1989), STS-46 (1992), STS-60 (1994), STS-75 (1996), STS-91 (1998), and STS-111 (2002). From 1983 to 1993, Chang Díaz was a visiting scientist with the MIT Plasma Fusion Center, where he continued to work on a plasma propulsion program that would allow space shuttles to travel further and much faster. From 1993 to 2005, he was the director

of the Advanced Space Propulsion Laboratory at the Johnson Space Center.

Throughout his career, Chang-Díaz has promoted the development of science and space technology in Latin America. With his brother, Ronald Chang-Díaz, he was instrumental in the development of the First Space Conference of the Americas in 1990. He also helped to found the Chaga Space Project, a collaborative international effort to study the potential inhibitors of the microgravity environment of space on tropical diseases such as Chagas disease. He is also involved in efforts at economic development in Costa Rica.

After leaving NASA, Chang-Díaz founded Ad Astra Rocket Company, which works on the development and commercialization of applications of VASIMR technologies. He is married to Dr. Peggy Marguerite Stafford and has four daughters.

Katie Furuyama

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Chao, Elaine L. (1953–)

The year 2001 marked the first time that an Asian Pacific American woman served on a president's cabinet in the nation's history. Appointed by George W. Bush to head the Department of Labor, Elaine Chao, an immigrant from Taiwan, became the only member of Bush's original cabinet to serve out all eight years of the president's administration, becoming the longest-serving Secretary of Labor since World War II. Chao is currently with the conservative think tank the Heritage Foundation, a post she held prior to her appointment as secretary of labor.

Born on March 26, 1953, in Taipei, Taiwan, Elaine Lan Chao immigrated to the United States at the age of eight with her mother and sisters. Chao's family was reunited in Queens, New York where her father had been studying at St. John's University.



Elaine Chao speaks to reporters after President-elect George W. Bush named her as his choice for secretary of labor on January 11, 2001 at the Bush-Cheney transition headquarters in Washington, D.C. (Department of Labor)

Working three jobs to support his family, Chao's father eventually built a successful shipping enterprise and moved the family from Queens to a more affluent neighborhood on Long Island. Her father's hard work and success instilled in Chao a belief in values of fortitude, meritocracy, as well as a faith in the importance of education.

When Chao first arrived in America she spoke no English. She was a diligent student, however, graduating near the top of her high school class. After high school, Chao attended Mount Holyoke College where she received a bachelor's degree in economics in 1975. Remaining in Massachusetts, Chao continued her education studying at Harvard's School of Business and eventually earning her masters in business administration in 1979.

Having completed her degree, Chao took a job as a senior lending officer with New York's Citicorp, a

position she held from 1979 to 1983. Chao got her first taste of public service when she was selected to be a White House Fellow working in the Office of Policy Development from 1984 to 1986, specializing in transportation and trade issues. Chao performed well in her post despite the challenges involving PAN flight 103, the Exxon Valdez spill, the San Francisco earthquake, and Hurricane Hugo presented. Chao returned to private industry in 1986, accepting a position as vice president of Bank of America's Capital Market Group, a post she held until 1988.

In 1988, Chao reentered public service as the deputy administrator of the Federal Maritime Administration, but she held the post only until 1989, at which time she was appointed deputy secretary of the Department of Transportation. Chao soon left her position with the Department of Transportation in 1991 to head the Peace Corps. Although some criticized the decision to put a conservative like Chao at the helm of the Peace Corps, Chao defended her appointment by arguing that her firsthand experiences with life in a developing country made her an ideal director. During her one year with the Peace Corps, Chao proved instrumental in establishing programs in the newly independent states of the former Soviet Union.

Following George H. W. Bush's 1992 electoral defeat, Chao stepped down as the director of the Peace Corp and accepted a position as the head of United Way. Chao is credited with cleaning up an organization rocked by scandal. The financial improprieties of her predecessor William Aramony had cost the organization millions of dollars in donations, and there was similar outrage of Aramony's exorbitant salary of \$390,000. Chao slashed her own salary and engaged in an aggressive campaign to rebuild public trust in the organization. Among other reforms, Chao implemented new financial management controls and comprehensive reviews of services and programs. Having restored public confidence and fiscal responsibility, Chao announced her resignation from the United Way in 1996 and soon took a position as a distinguished fellow at the Heritage Foundation, a conservative think tank in Washington D.C. By 1998, Chao had been appointed chairwoman of the Foundation's Asian Studies Center Advisory Council.

Chao's biggest accomplishment came in January 2001 when she was appointed to a cabinet

secretary level position in George W. Bush's administration. As the Secretary of Labor, Chao became the first Asian Pacific American woman to serve on a president's cabinet and was the only member of President Bush's cabinet to serve out the entirety of his administration. When serving as Secretary of Labor Chao successfully updated white-collar overtime regulations under the Fair Labor Standards Act, which had been on the agenda of every administration since 1977. The reforms provided greater overtime protections for many low-wage workers. The Department also revamped its worker-training program to improve assistance to dislocated and unemployed workers and made the protection of soldiers' civilian reemployment rights a top priority. In a similar vein, Chao's Department updated the Family Medical Leave Act, implementing for the first time job-protected leave rights for American military families to care for wounded soldiers.

Since President Bush's departure from office, Chao has returned to her position as a distinguished fellow at the Heritage Foundation. She is the recipient of numerous awards for professional accomplishment including 31 honorary doctorate degrees from colleges and universities from across the nation. Chao won the Outstanding Young Achiever Award from the National Council of Women in 1986 and the Harvard University Graduate School of Business Alumni Achievement Award in 1993. Chao is married to Senator Mitch McConnell of Kentucky.

Katie O. Swain

See also Taiwanese Americans

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Charr, Easurk Emsen (1895–1986)

Easurk Emsen Charr (Cha Ui-sok) was a Korean immigrant whose fascinating life reflected the many twists and turns of Korean American history. His autobiography, *The Gold Mountain: The Autobiography of a Korean Immigrant, 1895–1960*, initially self-published through a vanity press, has become a classic in Asian American literature. In addition, Charr's name has an important place in U.S. naturalization laws: in the Petition of Easurk Emsen Charr (1921), the Federal District Court of Missouri ruled that the naturalization law that granted citizenship to veterans who served during World War I did not apply to Asians and denied Charr's petition to become an American citizen. This court case would provide an important precedent for U.S. Supreme Court cases, including *Ozawa v. United States* (1922) and *United States v. Thind* (1923) that excluded Asian immigrants from naturalized citizenship. Korean immigrants could not become naturalized citizens until the passage of the McCarran-Walter Act of 1952.

Charr was born in 1895 in the northernmost part of Korea along the Yalu River at a time when Japanese imperialism, domestic political unrest, and American missionary influence were intensifying. When Charr's family was living under the protection of "Big Uncle," the eldest brother of Charr's father and the patriarch of the extended family, the entire extended family converted to Christianity under the influence of the American Presbyterian missionary Reverend Horace Grant Underwood, who played a key role in establishing Yonsei University. Charr's contact with the Presbyterian missionary in Korea would have a profound impact throughout his life. In 1904, at the tender age of 10, Charr set off to Hawaii, without his parents, with the determination that he would eventually make it to *Mee-Gook* (the United States) to secure a proper Christian education and to return to Korea as a missionary.

After six months of working at a sugar plantation in Hawaii, his family raised enough money to pay Charr's passage from Honolulu to San Francisco. In San Francisco, George Shannon McCune, a Korean-born Presbyterian missionary whose father George M. McCune was one of the most influential American missionaries in Korea, wrote a letter of introduction and helped Charr enroll in Park College Academy, a Presbyterian high school in Parkville, Missouri. Although Charr's education was interrupted by poor health and military service, he eventually received his high school and college degrees, completing his bachelor's degree in 1923. During his leave from Park College Academy, he lived in Claremont, California, and registered for the draft at nearby Pomona as the United States declared war on Germany and Austria. Charr was eventually drafted into the U.S. Army on April 15, 1918, when he had returned to Parkville. He served in the Medical Corps at various military bases and hospitals near Washington, D.C., until he was honorably discharged on November 15, 1918.

In 1921, when Charr had returned to Parkville to resume his study, he applied for naturalized citizenship after reading in a newspaper that the Federal Court in Los Angeles had granted a Japanese American world war veteran naturalized citizenship. Supported by a Park College administrator, Dean Sanders, and a sympathetic lawyer, Cameron Orr, Charr filed a petition for naturalization at a Circuit Court in St. Joseph Missouri. To his surprise, he received the court decision not from the Circuit Court in St. Joseph but from the Federal District Court in Kansas City. To Charr's dismay, his petition was denied on the grounds that his "Oriental" status made him ineligible for American citizenship regardless of his veteran status. In Charr's autobiography, he is reluctant to charge the U.S. government with racism—in a heartbreaking understatement, he reflects on the differential treatment between white and Asian veterans and notices, "There was inconsistency there, I thought." There is no mention of appealing the decision.

After graduating from college, he enrolled in the University of Kansas Medical School and then the University of Illinois, Chicago, School of Pharmacy but did not obtain degrees from either institution. When in Chicago, he met his wife, Evelyn Nien-wha Kim, a Korean nursing student living in Dubuque,

Iowa on a student visa. In 1928, the couple married, and their daughter, Anna Pauline, arrived two years later. In 1932, their lives, however, would be interrupted by the Great Depression as Charr lost his job as a draftsman at Rand McNally in Chicago, and the family moved to San Francisco where Charr worked at his cousin's barber shop. In 1932, as the nation turned increasingly hostile toward immigrants, Evelyn—with a new-born baby, Philip—faced a deportation order as her student visa was long expired. Charr was aware of Evelyn's precarious status, and he had repeatedly attempted to become a naturalized citizen and adjust her status. However, each time, naturalization officers denied his application on the same grounds: as an Asian, Charr was an "alien ineligible to citizenship" regardless of his veteran status.

With Evelyn now detained in Angel Island and facing a deportation date of November 11, 1932, Charr, as a veteran and a Legionnaire, sought and gained the support of the American Legion to gain an order of stay for Evelyn's deportation order. After intense pressure from friends and supporters that included officers of the American Legion, administrators and alumni of Park College, and leaders of the Presbyterian Church, he was able to secure an indefinite stay for Evelyn's deportation order. The same effort finally resulted in Charr obtaining his long-coveted American citizenship on January 6, 1936, as the U.S. Immigration Office reinterpreted the naturalization laws covering world war veterans to include Asians. With his citizenship, Charr applied for the Federal Civil Service examination and started his civil service career on November 7, 1939 as a draftsman for the U.S. Department of Agriculture. He would later work for the Department of Interior and his assignment with the Bureau of Indian Affairs would leave him a lasting impression of America's continuing struggle with race and racial inequality. His work took him from Northern California to Nevada, and his last assignment was in Oregon where he retired and passed away in 1986 at the age 91. He ends his autobiography with an explanation for why he did not return to Korea (there was no one left to return to), a long list of his children's American accomplishments, and a blessing for the United States of America, his country, his home.

Edward J. W. Park

See also Angel Island Immigration Station; McCarran-Walter Act of 1952; *Ozawa v. United States* (1922); *United States v. Thind* (1923)

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Chaudhary, Satveer (1969–)

Satveer Chaudhary is a lawyer and former Minnesota state legislator. Elected in 1996 as state representative for District 52A, encompassing the northern suburbs of Minneapolis and St. Paul, Chaudhary was the first Asian American member of the Minnesota legislature. In 2000, he became the first Indian American state senator in U.S. history, and in 2002, was the youngest member of the State Senate at age 33.

Satveer Chaudhary was born on June 12, 1969, in Minneapolis to immigrant parents from India of Jat heritage. A lifelong resident of the region he represented, Chaudhary grew up in and currently resides in Fridley, Minnesota. He earned a bachelor's degree in political science from St. Olaf College in Northfield, Minnesota in 1991, a law degree from the University of Minnesota Law School in 1995, and he also studied British and American foreign policy at Oxford.

After an unsuccessful bid in a July 1995 special election for the Minnesota House of Representatives, Chaudhary was elected to the legislature in 1996. During his service from 1997 to 2000, in addition to numerous committee appointments, he was chair of the House Driving While Intoxicated (DWI) Subcommittee, and vice chair of the House Civil and Family Law Committee. As a legislator, Chaudhary considered himself to be a representative of the “mainstream,” rather than an ethnic community. He had particular interest in the issues of education; fish, game, and wildlife habitat preservation; and economic development.

In 2000, Chaudhary was elected to the Minnesota State Senate, where he served from 2001 to 2010. He was vice chair of the Environment and Natural

Resources Committee (2007–2010) and a member of the Crime Prevention, Education, Finance, Transportation, Capital Investment, Judiciary, Agriculture, and Veterans committees. From 2003 to 2006, Chaudhary served as the majority whip for the Democratic-Farmer-Labor (DFL) Party of Minnesota. He was instrumental in establishing a sister-state partnership between both traditionally agricultural states of Haryana, India and Minnesota in 2007—the first such relationship between a U.S. state and an Indian state.

Chaudhary's tenure in the senate was marked with controversy over ethical concerns. In 2008, a senate ethics panel investigated charges that Chaudhary had a conflict of interest when he approached Arctic Cat and a carpenter's union to sponsor his cable television show despite dealing with legislative issues that would impact those special interests. Though the panel found that Chaudhary had not violated ethics rules, in 2010, he found himself in the midst of another conflict of interest scandal. Hours before the passage of a fish and game bill in the House, Chaudhary requested that Representative David Dill insert language that would restrict walleye fishing on Fish Lake Reservoir, where Chaudhary also owns a cabin. The incident was an embarrassment for both Representative Dill and Senator Chaudhary, and it was a consideration for Governor Tim Pawlenty when he vetoed the bill.

In June 2010, as Chaudhary was up for reelection, the DFL voted to revoke their endorsement of his candidacy in favor of Barbara Goodwin. In addition to the Fish Lake issue, Chaudhary had also recently endorsed Mark Dayton for governor over the officially DFL-endorsed Margaret Anderson Kelliher. In July 8, 2010, news broke that Chaudhary and his wife, Dee, owed \$252,000 in unpaid taxes from 2007 to 2008. Chaudhary admitted the owed taxes, but attributed them to a stock option issue at the company from which his wife later filed a wrongful termination suit. He lost an appeal to regain the endorsement of the DFL party and was defeated by Goodwin in the primary. Chaudhary currently runs a private law practice in Saint Louis Park, Minnesota, that specializes in immigration law and legal issues for hunters and anglers.

Katie Furuyama

See also Indian Americans; Political Representation

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Chawla, Kalpana (1961–2003)

Kalpana Chawla was an Indian American research scientist, Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) certified flight instructor, and National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) astronaut. In 1997, Chawla became the first Indian-born woman and first Indian American in space, and the second person of Indian ancestry in space. She flew on two space missions and logged 30 days, 14 hours, and 54 minutes in space. Chawla was licensed as a certified flight instructor with airplane and glider ratings, and as a commercial pilot for various planes and gliders. Chawla died in the Space Shuttle Columbia disaster in 2003.

She was born in Karnal, Haryana, India, on July 1, 1961. Chawla earned a bachelor of engineering in Aeronautical Engineering at Punjab Engineering College in Chandigarh in 1982. In 1982, she moved to the United States to attend the University of Texas at Arlington, and in 1984 received a master of science in Aerospace Engineering. Chawla went on to study at the University of Colorado at Boulder, where she

earned a doctor of philosophy in aerospace engineering in 1988.

Prior to becoming a NASA astronaut, Chawla worked as a research scientist. From 1988 to 1996, Chawla worked at the NASA Ames Research Center studying powered-lift computational fluid dynamics. In 1993, she joined Overset Methods, Inc., as vice president and research scientist and conducted simulations of moving multiple body problems and worked on problems of aerodynamic optimization.

In 1995, Kalpana Chawla reported to the Johnson Space Center to begin training and evaluation as a NASA astronaut candidate. In addition to flying on two space missions, Chawla worked at the Astronaut Office in the EVA/Robotics and Computer Branches, and later as a crew representative for shuttle and station flight crew equipment, and lead for the Astronaut Office's Crew and Habitability section.

In 1997, Chawla was mission specialist and prime robotic arm operator for her first space flight, Space Transportation System (STS)-87. This mission, the fourth U.S. Microgravity Payload flight, was intended to research the effects of the weightless environment of space, to study the Sun's atmospheric layers, and provide trials for tools and procedures for assembly of a space station.

In 2000, Chawla was selected as a mission specialist for STS-107, which was delayed multiple times because of scheduling conflicts, technical, and structural problems. The Space Shuttle Columbia's 28th mission was launched on January 16, 2003. On the science and research mission Chawla conducted microgravity experiments and was responsible for advanced technology development, and astronaut health and safety. On February 1, 2003, the shuttle disintegrated over Texas during reentry into the Earth's atmosphere, and Chawla and all other crew members were killed.

Chawla is survived by her husband. She was posthumously awarded the Congressional Space Medal of Honor, the NASA Space Flight Medal, and the NASA Distinguished Service Medal.

Katie Furuyama

See also Indian Americans

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Chay Yew (1965–)

Born in Singapore and educated at Pepperdine University in Malibu, California, Chay Yew has been a consistent force in Asian American playwriting. His provocative plays address the issues of racism, homophobia, and censorship. Growing up in Singapore, Yew was greatly influenced by popular American culture. However, he was in for a rude awakening when he arrived in California to pursue his interest in theater. Frustrated by casting biases, he moved to Boston University to pursue an MFA program in communications. Even here, he found to his disadvantage the bias associated with race and sexual orientation.

Returning to Singapore, Yew wrote his first play *As If He Hears* (1999). The play created controversy, as it was initially banned by the government in Singapore. The authorities felt that it was too sympathetic toward the character of the gay social worker. Eventually, a revised version of the play was passed by the censors. Realizing that he would be addressing mostly controversial projects, Yew cultivated the art of writing between the lines, when it was deemed necessary to do so. It was the play *Porcelain* (1992) that pushed Yew into the limelight. Staged in England, it played to sold out houses and rightly received the 1993 London Fringe Award for Best Play. The play examined the life of a gay Anglo Asian character faced with the dilemma of acceptance and love over the course of a doomed relationship.

A Language of Their Own (1995) involved the lives of four characters, three Asian American and

one Caucasian. The marginalization of the individual was the context here and Yew explored this with reference to gay men. Initially to be staged in Los Angeles, the play with its strong gay themes moved to New York, where it premiered at the Joseph Papp Public Theater in 1995. The play was successfully received with the actors Alec Mapa, Francis Jue, and B. D. Wong in the cast. It won both the GLAAD (Gay and Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation) award for Best Play and the George and Elizabeth Marton Playwriting award.

Half Lives (1996) dealt with an Asian American going to Singapore and marrying and returning to America with his pregnant girlfriend. The son born in America grows up to be a homosexual and the play focuses on the family coming to terms with the situation. This was followed by *Red* (1998), which looked at the Cultural Revolution in China and its crackdown on the artists' community. In the same year Yew wrote *A Beautiful Country* (1998) where the Asian American experience was looked at through the eyes of a drag queen. Two other plays followed, *Here and Now* (2002), first staged by the Actors Theater of Louisville, and *A Distant Shore* (2005), which took a poetic, erotic look at fate, passion, and globalization. This play premiered at the Kirk Douglas Theater in Los Angeles.

Chay Yew is also very well known as a director of the works of other playwrights. He has directed many solo performances and also directed plays with large casts. Significant among his directorial efforts have been Philip Kan Gotanda's *Sisters Matsumoto*, which he staged for the East West Players of Los Angeles in 2001. In 2002 he directed *The Laramie Project* for the Tectonic Theater Project, which examined the ruthless murder of Matthew Shepard in Laramie, Wyoming. The 2003 world premiere of *Ainadamar*, a play about Federico Garcia Lorca and the Catalan actress Margarita Xirgu with libretto by David Henry Hwang was another Chay Yew directorial undertaking.

Yew has adapted Lorca's *The House of Bernarda Alba* for the National Asian American Theater Company in 2000. He also adapted Anton Chekov's *The Cherry Orchard*. The locales were set in China and the play was retitled, *A Winter People* (2002).

Ambi Harsha

See also Gotanda, Philip Kan; Hwang, David Henry; LGBT Activism; Singaporeans in America

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Chen, Chin-Feng (1977–)

In 2002, Chin-Feng Chen became the first Taiwanese baseball player to play Major League Baseball (MLB). He was born in Tainan, Taiwan, the same hometown of other famous Taiwanese players such as Chien-Ming Wang and Hong-Chih Kuo. In 1999, Chen signed a Minor League contract with the Los Angeles Dodgers with a bonus of USD\$680,000. His courageous decision to accept the challenge of playing Major League Baseball motivated numerous Taiwanese players to chase their dreams of playing in the United States. After his contract with the Dodgers expired in 2005, he returned to Taiwan to be with his family. He then joined the La New Bears in Taiwan's Chinese Professional Baseball League (CPBL).

Chen did not leave an impressive record in Major League Baseball. Nevertheless, for Taiwanese baseball fans, he is an invaluable player because he brought hopes and victories for the national team in many games. His most momentous game was in the 2001 World Cup, which took place in Taiwan. Chen's two home runs helped Taiwan beat Japan to win the bronze medal. This victory was significant because the CPBL had been troubled by scandals of gambling and match-fixing since 1997. Disappointed baseball fans had lost their passion for baseball, the so-called national sport of Taiwan. Chen's two home runs revived people's interest in the game. Just as important, after Chen joined the CPBL, he was never involved in any rumor or scandal of gambling and match-fixing. In light of his courage, integrity, and as an inspiration for upcoming Taiwanese baseball players to compete in the Major Leagues, it would not be an exaggeration to say that

Chin-Feng Chen is one of the most important Taiwanese baseball players after 2000.

Yuchun Kuo

See also Chinese American Baseball; Taiwanese Americans

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Chen, Joan (1961–)

Shanghai-born Chinese American actress and film director, Joan Chen has been well known in both Asia and Hollywood since the 1980s. Chen was born into a family of doctors in Shanghai, China, in 1961. In 1976, as a student of a performance training program at Shanghai Film Company, the 15-year-old Chen was chosen to play a leading role as a young female soldier in *Youth*, a feature film directed by famous Chinese director Xie Jin. This role opened her way to a career in acting, though her parents had expected her to become a doctor. Chen continued to act after she went to college at the Shanghai Foreign Language Institute. Chen gained fame in China in 1979 when her performance in a popular movie, *Little Flower (Xiao hua)*, won the highest honor in film acting, the Hundred Flowers Award for Best Actress. Because of her success at such a young age, *Time* magazine later referred her as “the Elizabeth Taylor of China.”

Her acting career took a downturn in 1981 when Chen gave up all the opportunities in China and came to the United States to continue her education. She attended the State University of New York at New Paltz first. Later, at California State University at Northridge, Chen studied drama and filmmaking. For almost five years, the American entertainment world seemed to take little notice Chen's talent; she worked as receptionists in Chinese restaurants, and occasionally played small roles in films or television shows, including a show in which she got to speak only one word. Chen met and married her first husband, Jimmy Lau, during that period. Good fortune eventually



Chinese American actress Joan Chen speaks at a press conference, January 23, 2013. (AP Photo/Bryan van der Beek)

reached her in 1986, as Hollywood film producer Dino De Laurentiis noticed her in a parking lot of Lorimar Studios and offered her the role of May-May in *Tai-Pan*, a Hollywood film directed by Daryl Duke. This exposure allowed Chen to land another role as a tormented Chinese empress in the highly acclaimed *The Last Emperor*, directed by Bernardo Bertolucci in 1987. Although Chen's role in the film was small, the success of *The Last Emperor*, with nine Academy Awards, became a turning point in Chen's career in America. Since then she has appeared in many American films and TV series, including David Lynch's *Twin Peaks*, Oliver Stone's *Heaven & Earth*, Clara Law's *Temptation of a Monk*, Stanley Kwan's *Red Rose, White Rose*, David Henry Hwang's *Golden Gates*. In 1992, Chen was chosen by *People* magazine as one of the 50 most beautiful people in the world.

Chen started to produce and direct films in 1998. The Chinese film *Xiu Xiu: The Send Down Girl*, which

is based on a novel by her friend Yan Gelding, is her first successful attempt. The film received six "Golden Horse" awards from Taiwan. Later in 2000 she directed an English film *Autumn in New York*, starring Richard Gere and Winona Ryder. In 2004, after disappearing from big screen for about four years to give birth to two daughters, Chen returned to acting as a mature woman and became active in both China and the United States. She was mother and daughter in Hou Yong's family saga *Jasmine Woman* (2004) and a mother figure in Zhang Yang's *Sunflower* (2005). A number of her movies were released in 2007. Her role as a Chinese mother and singer in Tony Ayre's film *The House Song Stories* won her four awards, including the Australian Film Institute Award for Best Actress and the Golden Horse Award for Best Actress in Taiwan. She also appeared in Ang Lee's *Lust, Caution* and in Jiang Wen's *The Sun Also Rises*, for which she received an Asian Film Award for Best Supporting Actress. As a movie star for more than 30 years, Chen has created more than 50 characters in different films. Because of her positive impact on young Asian Americans, the *Goldsea Asian American Daily* has selected her as one of the 130 (rank 45) "Most Inspiring Asian Americans of All Time."

After her first marriage failed, Chen married a Hong Kong-born cardiologist, Peter Hui, in 1992, and settled in San Francisco.

Biyu Li

See also Chinese Americans; Hollywood, Asian Americans in

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Cheng, Lucie (1939–2010)

Lucie Cheng was a former director of the Asian American Studies Center at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA), and a professor

emeritus in the Department of Sociology at UCLA. A groundbreaking scholar in the field of gender and ethnic studies, Cheng served from 1972 to 1987 as the AASC's first permanent director, hiring a number of core faculty and establishing the nation's premier master's program in Asian American studies.

Cheng was born on February 11, 1939, in Hong Kong. Her father, Cheng She-Wo, was a famous journalist and publisher who founded Shih Hsin University, a private university in Taiwan that was originally intended to be a journalism institute, and *Lih Pao Daily*, an independent Taiwanese newspaper. Cheng spent her childhood in Hong Kong and Beijing, eventually settling with her family in Taipei following the Chinese Civil War. Though she began her undergraduate studies at the National Taiwan University, Cheng would eventually receive her bachelor's degree from the University of Hawaii (UH) in 1962. She went on to complete two master's degrees from that institution, the first in library science in 1964 and the second in sociology in 1968, before receiving her doctorate in sociology from UH in 1970.

Upon receiving her doctorate, Cheng joined the faculty of UCLA as an assistant professor of sociology. Two years later, she was appointed to direct the university's then newly founded Asian American Studies Center. During her 15-year tenure as director, Cheng was responsible for the hiring of several core faculty, including professors King-kok Cheung, in English and Asian American literature; Russell Leong, editor of *Amerasia Journal* and professor of literature and creative writing; Valerie Matsumoto, in history; Robert Nakamura, an endowed chair of Japanese American studies and a professor of Asian American film; and Paul Ong, in urban planning and social welfare. AASC also began its master's program in Asian American studies under her direction, producing its first graduate in 1978.

As a scholar and proponent of Asian American studies, Cheng made significant contributions to Chinese American history, international migration, and Asian American gender and labor. In 1979, she authored an enormously influential article, entitled "Free, Indentured, and Enslaved: Chinese Prostitutes in 19th Century America," challenging the earlier presumption that the majority of Chinese women working in the United States as prostitutes in the nineteenth

century were enslaved. Rather, the article argued, many were entrepreneurs who were able to use their capital to open businesses both in China and in the United States—though, Cheng wrote, this freedom was indeed crushed soon after by white racism and the patriarchal exploitation of sex workers by Chinese men. Her argument, a glimpse at the agency of Chinese women in early American society, was groundbreaking for its analysis of a group that had long been ignored by mainstream scholarship.

Among her other influential publications were *Labor Immigration Under Capitalism*, an early work authored with Edna Bonacich that examined Asian Americans in the context of international labor migration, and *The New Asian Immigration in Los Angeles and Global Restructuring*, a volume of articles edited with Bonacich and Ong that examined Asian immigration to the United States after 1965.

In 1985, Cheng became the founding director of UCLA's Center for Pacific Rim Studies and eventually left her post as director of the AASC in 1987. She would serve as the director of the CPRS for five years. In 1997, Cheng retired from her duties at UCLA and returned to Taipei, where she spent much of her youth. She continued to write for and serve as editor of *Lih Pao Daily*, duties she assumed in 1991 following the death of her father. Cheng was also highly involved in the university her father had founded, Shih Hsin University, establishing a Graduate School for Social Transformation Studies and the Cheng She-Wo Institute for Chinese Journalism.

On January 27, 2010, Cheng died in Taipei following a long bout with bone cancer. She was remembered not only for her significant scholarly contributions, but also for her leadership in a then-fledgling academic field. Among her many accomplishments as director was the forging of an early alliance between China and UCLA; though the United States had then suffered a chilly relationship with China, Cheng was able to establish a groundbreaking student exchange system through the AASC. She was survived by her brother, Cheng Si-Wei; sister, Cheng Chia-lin; and a niece and nephew.

Winston Chou

See also Chinese Americans

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Chern, Shiing-Shen (1911–2004)

Shiing-Shen Chern was one of the most prominent mathematicians in the world in the twentieth century, a pioneer especially in the field of differential geometry, and an influential leader of the Chinese American scientific community. He made major contributions to the development of mathematics and science in China and the United States as well as strengthening the scientific relations between the two countries before his death in 2004.

Shiing-Shen Chern was born in Jiaxing, a scenic town in Zhejiang province in southern China, on October 26, 1911, which fell amid a republican revolution that overthrew the thousands-year-old imperial system. Chern's father, Chen Baozhen, was a classically trained Confucian scholar who later became a civil servant. Chern learned Chinese and mathematics at home until 1920 when he enrolled in a middle school. Two years later, he went with his father to Tianjin in northern China and became interested in mathematics as a student in the Fulun Middle School there. In 1926, Chern enrolled at the new Nankai University in Tianjin. A course with Jiang Lifu, a Harvard-trained mathematician, got Chern interested in geometry. Upon graduation from Nankai in 1930, Chern first went to Qinghua (Tsinghua) University in Beijing, where he received a master's degree in 1934, and then to the University of Hamburg, Germany, where he finished his PhD dissertation on the applications of the great French mathematician Elie Cartan's theories in differential geometry. Chern spent a fruitful year with Cartan himself in Paris before returning to China on July 10, 1937, just days after the Japanese invaded China.

Chern was hired as a professor of mathematics at Qinghua University, which moved from Beijing first to Changsha and then to Kunming in southern China to escape the advancing Japanese army. At Kunming, Qinghua joined Beijing University and Nankai to form the Southwest Associated University (SAU) for the rest of the war years. There, in 1939, Chern married Zheng Shining, who had studied biology and who was the daughter of another mathematics professor Zheng Zhifan at Qinghua. Wartime isolation cut off much of Chern's contact with the outside world, but he was able to continue his research by studying Cartan's papers and working on problems they had discussed in Paris. His own publications in this period not only established him as a leading mathematician in China but also attracted international attention. In 1943, Chern received an invitation to visit the famed Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton in the United States.

The two years Chern spent in Princeton (1943–1945) represented the most productive in his life. Building on his profound understanding of mathematical problems and on discussions with other leading mathematicians, Chern made two of the most original and influential contributions to modern mathematics. First, he discovered an "intrinsic proof" of the generalized Gauss-Bonnet theorem. The classical theorem gives a formula that governs the relationship of geometric properties of a closed, two-dimensional Riemannian manifold (a region on a curved surface). Chern's work not only provided a proof of the theorem that was superior to earlier proofs, it also opened the possibility to generalize the theorem to higher dimensions. It was a monumental achievement and Chern later viewed it as his best piece of work. Then, capitalizing on insights from this work, Chern developed what became known as the "Chern characteristic classes," powerful analytical tools to classify so-called fiber bundles, a fundamental object of study in differential geometry. Mathematically simple and elegant, Chern's two discoveries together marked a turning point in the development of modern differential geometry.

At the end of World War II in 1945, Chern returned to China to be acting director of the new Institute of Mathematics of the Academia Sinica,

sponsored by the Nationalist government, at first in Shanghai and then in Nanjing. In late 1948, however, the Nationalists began to lose control of mainland China to the Communists in a civil war and the Institute of Mathematics faced an uncertain future. Once again Princeton came to Chern's rescue. J. Robert Oppenheimer, the physicist who had spearheaded the making of the atomic bomb during World War II and who was now director of the Princeton institute, invited Chern to return and he accepted. Chern brought along his wife, son Bolong, and daughter Pu (who later became a physicist and married the well-known Chinese American physicist Paul Ching Wu Chu) when departing for the United States on December 31, 1948.

Chern's coming to the United States in 1949 fostered a renaissance of differential geometry in the country. After a half-year stay at Princeton, he took up a professorship in mathematics at the University of Chicago and helped make it into a new center of mathematics in the world. During this period Chern also had a chance to work with the Chinese American physicist Chen Ning Yang, one of his former students at Kunming, with whom he would later share the Nobel Prize in Physics in 1957.

In 1960, after a decade at Chicago, Chern moved to the University of California, Berkeley, where he trained dozens of doctoral students, including the Chinese American mathematician Shing Tung Yau who would later win the coveted Fields Medal, and mentored numerous postdocs. Chern was naturalized as a U.S. citizen and elected a member of the U.S. National Academy of Sciences in 1961. He received the U.S. National Medal of Science in 1975 and the prestigious Wolf Prize in mathematics in 1983. Chern continued to be productive even after retiring from Berkeley in 1979. In 1981, he helped found and became the first director of the National Science Foundation-sponsored Mathematical Sciences Research Institute (MSRI) at Berkeley, a position he held until 1984.

"Retiring" once again in 1984 from the MSRI, Chern shifted his effort to a new endeavor: the founding and operation of the Mathematical Institute at Nankai University, his alma mater in Tianjin, China, and the development of mathematics in China in general.

Ever since the reestablishment of U.S.-China relations in the early 1970s, Chern had been active in promoting scientific exchanges between the two countries. Because of his and Yau's efforts, Beijing was made host to the 2002 International Congress of Mathematicians. In 2000, when his wife of more than 60 years died, Chern moved to a residence built for him in the Nankai Institute where he continued to be active in mathematical teaching and research. Chern died on December 3, 2004, in his Nankai home in Tianjin.

Zuoyue Wang

See also Yau, Shing-Tong

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Cheung, King-Kok (1954–)

King-Kok Cheung is a literary critic specializing in Asian American literature and a professor of English at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA). Her areas of expertise include Asian American literature, comparative American ethnic literatures, comparative heroic traditions, and renaissance British literature. She is also the associate editor of *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* and coeditor of *The Heath Anthology of American Literature*. Cheung has received numerous awards, including fellowships from the American Council of Learned Societies, the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences at Stanford University, and the Chinese American Literature Research Center at Beijing Foreign Studies University. She has received a Fulbright Lecturing and Research Award, and two Fulbright Senior Specialist Awards.

Cheung has edited numerous anthologies, published dozens of articles and book chapters, and is the author of *Articulate Silences: Hisaye Yamamoto, Maxine Hong Kingston, Joy Kogawa* (1993). Her other notable publications include *Asian American Literature: An Annotated Bibliography* (1988), “*Seventeen Syllables*”: *Hisaye Yamamoto* (1994), *An Interethnic Companion to Asian American Literature* (1997), and *Words Matter: Conversations with Asian American Writers* (2000).

Born and raised in Hong Kong, Cheung matriculated into St. Stephen Girls’ College in Hong Kong in 1973 before moving to the United States to study at Pepperdine University, where she graduated as valedictorian with a BA in English in 1975, and her MA in 1976. She received her PhD in 1984 from the University of California, Berkeley, where she studied Milton and early modern British literature under Stephen Greenblatt in the English Department. Shortly thereafter, she joined UCLA as faculty. In addition to her faculty position at UCLA, Cheung has also taught at Harvard University, the University of Kansas, the University of Hong Kong, Hanover University, Beijing Foreign Studies University, and Minzu University of China. She was the director of University of California Study Center, Beijing from 2008 to 2010.

Cheung’s journey from an early modern British specialist to one of the most prominent figures in Asian American Studies was entirely serendipitous. When she joined UCLA in 1984, Asian American Studies at the university was still in its nascent stages. Though Cheung did not have a background in Asian American literature, because of her ethnic background she was asked to teach a class on Asian American literature. Interested in the prospect, she agreed to the assignment, which eventually led to her development as one of America’s leading experts in the field.

Cheung is best known for her groundbreaking book, *Articulate Silences: Hisaye Yamamoto, Maxine Hong Kingston, Joy Kogawa*. Published in 1993, *Articulate Silences* critiques Anglo-American feminist critics and misogynistic Asian American male scholars who renounce Asian American silence to subvert Orientalist strategies and stereotypes. The tendency of these critics who denigrate silence whereas valorizing

speech is a move that at once suggests the univocality of speech/silence while simultaneously ignoring the many ways silence can emerge as strategy or action, not only as the passive byproducts of racist oppression.

Troubled by the Eurocentrism of such critiques, which frequently interpret Asian American silence as a form of submission and an absence of speech or action, Cheung’s analysis reveals that silence can be productive, and can function either as self-determined action or discourse. Reading through the works of Yamamoto, Kingston, and Kogawa, who were experiencing a literary renaissance in America at the time of the book’s publication, Cheung asserts, “the silences imposed on themselves and their peoples, whether in the form of feminine and cultural decorum, external or self-censorship, or historical or political invisibility; at the same time they reveal . . . that silences—textual ellipses, nonverbal gestures, authorial hesitations . . . can also be articulate” (1993: 4). These silences are powerful acts of agency, and at times, proud instantiations of good etiquette or codes of conduct; at other times, they function as forms of resistance. Reviewed positively in trade journals, *Articulate Silences* opened a new field of study within Asian American literature that had not previously been examined: the positive, active forms of silence and their cultural implications.

Cheung’s commitment to developing transnational, non-Western approaches to examining and teaching Asian American and ethnic literature has resulted in a number of challenges to Eurocentric approaches throughout the past two decades. In addition to questioning “globalizing feminist assumptions,” she has called for the “decentering of Western ideals and dominant modes of seeing” (1990: 20), eliciting transnational perspectives on studying and teaching literature and racial issues, as well promoting exchanges between Anglophone and Sinophone aesthetic and political domains. Recently, Cheung has been teaching in China with a commitment to bring Asian and Ethnic American literature to transnational audiences.

Krystal Shyun Yang

See also Kingston, Maxine Hong; Kogawa, Joy

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Chiang, Yee

See Yee Chiang

Chin, Frank (1940–)

Born in Berkeley, California, Frank Chin is fifth-generation Chinese American. He was educated at the University of California, Berkeley, and the University of California, Santa Barbara. He is considered one of the founders of Asian American Theatre having started the Asian American Theatre Workshop in San

Francisco, which became the Asian American Theater Company in 1973. Chin's play *The Chickencoop Chinaman* (1972) was the first play by an Asian American to be produced at the American Place Theater in New York. Despite its weaknesses, "the action not being strong enough and a somewhat awkward structure," Jack Kroll of *Newsweek* found *The Chickencoop Chinaman* one of the most interesting plays produced that year. He referred to the play as a "Chinese *Look Back In Anger*." In California the play won *The East-West Players Playwriting Award*, but ironically it took quite a while before it was produced on the California stage. In 1974, Chin's second major play, *The Year of The Dragon* was staged. This play was televised by PBS on their *Theater in America* series. In the same year Chin, along with Lawson Fusao Inada, Shawn Wong, and Jeffery Paul Chan, edited the seminal Asian American anthology *Aiiieeeee! An Anthology of Asian-American Writers* (1974). A second volume entitled *The Big Aiiieeeee! An Anthology of Chinese American and Japanese American Literature* followed in 1991. In the same year Chin received a Rockefeller Playwrights Grant and a National Endowment for the Arts Creative Writing Grant.

Chin looked at theater with a strong, acerbic view of social activism. "I was looking for an Asian American theatre in the same way as Shaw and Joyce were looking for an Irish theatre. I failed, because Asian American actors have no integrity. They want to be famous. They don't want to play the stereotype. Real art has to make the difference between the real and the fake." He went on to state, that "Assimilation is not a natural process, it's a euphemism for racial extinction."

Two themes commonly prevalent in Chin's work are the "Subjugation of the Asian American and the Destruction of his/her cultural identity by Racism and Stereotyping" and the "Insistence upon the acceptance of Asian Americans as Americans. The Asian American is not just a sojourner or outsider, but an inside participant in the spoiled American dream."

Consequently, Frank Chin has come to be known as a very vocal critic of well-known Asian American writers Maxine Hong Kingston, Amy Tan, and David Henry Hwang. Chin feels that the very use of the stereotype is an anti-Asian tool and serves only to falsify Asian American culture. However, his basis for this

view seems too specific for an average reader to make use of. He goes on to say that “they are unable to tell the difference between the real and the fake, or even where the phrase ‘the real and the fake’ comes from.” He very strongly maintains that Asian Americans have been subjugated by the deconstruction of their cultural identity by stereotyping and racism. Asian Americans should be accepted as Americans, as an “inside participant of the American dream.”

In 1989, Frank Chin published a collection of stories titled *The Chinaman Pacific and Frisco R.R. Co.* It was published by the Coffee House Press in Minneapolis. This collection of short stories, by turns tough and funny, explored the world of Chinese immigrants against the mainstream culture. The individual characters are complex, but nevertheless sincere and convincing, and they capture the subtle and funny paradoxes of the Asian American experience.

The 1990s saw a distinct shift in Frank Chin’s writings as he turned to classic Chinese texts (Kwan Kung in Chinese folklore) for inspiration. Two examples are *Donald Duk* (1991) and *Gunga Din Highway* (1994). *Donald Duk* is the story of an 11-year-old boy and his struggle for acceptance and to find his own cultural identity. In *Gunga Din Highway* the characters possess the more forceful and virile tendencies of the heroic tradition. In 1998, Chin published *Bulletproof Buddhists and Other Essays*. Here, Chin explores various cultural locations from Singapore to the California-Mexico border seeking engaging evidence to find “real” Chinese values.

Ambi Harsha

See also Chan, Jeffery Paul; Hwang, David Henry; Inada, Lawson Fusao; Kingston, Maxine Hong; Tan, Amy; Wong, Shawn

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Chin, Vincent (1955–1982)

Vincent Jen Chin was beaten to death by two white autoworkers in Detroit, Michigan, when the nation was gripped in an economic depression marked by rampant anti-Japanese hostility. Though the killers, Ronald Ebens and Michael Nitz pleaded guilty to the crime, they were sentenced only to probation and fines. The Asian American community in Detroit organized in protest to demand equal justice and in the process created a national civil rights movement, for the first time giving a name to anti-Asian violence and racism. The Vincent Chin case was the first federal civil rights prosecution involving an American of Asian descent and has become a landmark of civil rights and Asian American history. The civil rights movement and network that emerged continues as a legacy to Vincent Chin’s tragic death.

In the years leading up to the summer of 1982, Detroit was a city in crisis with the collapse of its famed automobile industry. Auto executives, politicians, and union workers found a common enemy to blame: the Japanese. Anything that “looked Japanese,” became a potential target. Japanese cars were vandalized and their owners were shot at on the freeways. On TV, radio, and street corners, anti-Japanese slurs were commonplace. Bumper stickers threatened, “Honda, Toyota—Pearl Harbor.” Asian American employees of auto companies were warned not to go onto the factory floor because angry workers might hurt them if they were thought to be Japanese.

In this racially charged climate, a 27-year-old man named Vincent Chin was to be married in June 1982.

Vincent grew up in Detroit and was a recent graduate of Control Data Institute, a computer trade school. He worked as a draftsman during the day and a waiter on weekends.

On June 19, 1982, Vincent's friends took him out for his bachelor party. They went to Fancy Pants, a striptease bar only blocks away from the abandoned buildings where Henry Ford manufactured the Model T. Two white men sat across the bar from Vincent: Ronald Ebens, a plant superintendent for Chrysler, and his stepson, Michael Nitz, a laid-off autoworker. According to court testimony, Ebens seemed annoyed by the attention the Chinese American was receiving from the nude dancers. Vincent's friends overheard Ebens say "Chink," "Nip," and "fucker." One of the dancers heard him say, "It's because of motherfuckers like you that we're out of work." Vincent replied, "Don't call me a fucker," and a scuffle ensued. Both groups were ejected from the bar.

Outside on the dark streets of Detroit, Ebens and Nitz hunted for Chin. They spotted Vincent waiting for a bus in front of a crowded McDonald's on Woodward Avenue, Detroit's main thoroughfare. Creeping up from behind the Chinese American, Nitz held Vincent Chin down as his stepfather swung his Louisville slugger baseball bat into Vincent's skull four times, "as if he was going for a home run." Two off-duty police witnessed the attack. Vincent died four days later. His 400 invited wedding guests attended his funeral.

Soon after, the *Detroit Free Press* featured the bridegroom's beating death on its front page, telling of Vincent's life and hopes for his marriage, but offering no details of his death. Detroit's Asian Americans, so unaccustomed to any media coverage, took immediate notice. But the community was small and unorganized, with only 1,213 Chinese reported in Detroit by the 1980 Census. There were few pan-Asian organizations or advocacy groups to turn to in those days.

On March 18, 1983, a new headline appeared, reporting that two killers who pleaded guilty and no contest to savagely beating a man to death received three years' probation and \$3,780 in fines and court costs to be paid over three years. The sentencing judge, Charles Kaufman, reasoned: "These aren't the kind of men you send to jail," he said. "You fit the punishment to the criminal, not the crime."

The light sentence shocked people throughout Detroit, where African Americans—more than 60 percent of the population according to the Census, routinely received harsher sentences for lesser crimes. Local *Detroit Free Press* columnist Nikki McWhirter harshly criticized Judge Kaufman, writing, "You have raised the ugly ghost of racism, suggesting in your explanation that the lives of the killers are of great and continuing value to society, implying they are of greater value than the life of the slain victim . . . How gross and ostentatious of you; how callous and yes, unjust . . ."

The *Detroit News* reporter, Cynthia Lee, herself a Chinese American from Hawaii, interviewed members of the Chinese American community, who voiced their disbelief. "You go to jail for killing a dog," said Henry Yee, a noted local restaurateur who was described as "the unofficial mayor of Chinatown."

The reaction within the Detroit area's small, geographically dispersed Asian American population was immediate and visceral. Informal networks of Asian Americans frantically worked the phones, trying to find some way to vent their frustrations and perhaps correct the injustice.

Vincent's background was typical of many second-generation Chinese in the late twentieth century, especially those from Guangdong province. His father, David Bing Hing Chin, worked in laundries from the time he arrived from China in 1922 until his death the year before Vincent was slain. After serving in the U.S. Army during World War II, he earned his citizenship and the right to bring a wife, Lily, from China in 1948. Lily, too, worked in the laundries and restaurants of Detroit.

In 1961, Lily and David adopted a cheerful six-year-old boy from Guangdong province in China and named him Vincent. He grew up into an easy-going young man who ran on his high school track team and also wrote poetry. Vincent was energetic and knew how to stand up for himself on the tough streets of Detroit. But friends and coworkers had never seen him angry and were shocked that he had been provoked into a fight.

Vincent was part of a generation whose immigrant parents had suffered and sacrificed. Asian Americans understood his life and saw his story as their own.

Theirs was the classic American immigrant story of survival: work hard and sacrifice for the family, keep a low profile, don't complain, and, perhaps in the next generation, move closer to the American dream. For Asian Americans, along with the dream came the hope of one day gaining acceptance in America. The injustice surrounding Vincent's slaying shattered the dream.

Most Asian Americans had experienced being mistaken for other Asian ethnicities, even harassed and called names as though every Asian group was the same. The climate of hostility made Asian Americans feel unsafe, not just in Detroit, but across the country as the Japan-bashing emanated from the nation's capital and amplified through the news media. If Vincent Chin could be harassed, brutally beaten to death, and his killers freed, many felt it could happen to them.

After the news of the sentences of probation to Vincent's killers, his mother Lily wrote a letter in Chinese to the Detroit Chinese Welfare Council; translated into English, it read: "This is injustice to the grossest extreme. I grieve in my heart and shed tears in blood. My son cannot be brought back to life, but he was a member of your council. Therefore, I plead to you. Please let the Chinese American community know, so they can help me hire legal counsel to appeal, so my son can rest his soul."

One week after the sentencing, on March 20, 1983, about 30 people crammed into the back dining room of the Golden Star Restaurant in Ferndale, just north of Detroit on Woodward Avenue. Vincent had worked at the Golden Star as a waiter, not far from where he was beaten to death.

At first, the attorneys present said that little or nothing could be done once a sentence had been rendered. Hitting an impasse, an uneasy quiet fell over the gathering, broken only by the low sounds of Lily Chin weeping off to the side of the room. This reporter raised a hand. "We must let the world know that we think this is wrong. We can't stop now without even trying." The weeping stopped. Mrs. Chin stood up and spoke in a shaky but clear voice: "We must speak up. These men killed my son like an animal. But they go free. This is wrong. We must tell the people, this is wrong."

With Mrs. Chin's words as a moral turning point, the group decided to press forward. The lawyers recommended a meeting with the sentencing judge, Charles Kaufman.

Without an advocacy organization to manage the community response, the informal gathering decided to get organized. On March 31, 1983, more than 100 Asian Americans from the metropolitan area packed a Chinatown community hall in Detroit. The main order of business was to create an organization that could file petitions and legal actions, raise money, and organize the outcry for a response.

The group voted to name itself American Citizens for Justice (ACJ), which allowed for broad-based membership and a vision for justice beyond a single case. ACJ became the first explicitly pan-Asian grassroots community advocacy effort with a national scope. Japanese, Filipino, and Korean American groups immediately joined in support. Soon white and black individuals volunteered as well.

That night, the new pan-Asian American organization drafted its statement of principles:

ACJ believes that:

1. All citizens are guaranteed the right to equal treatment by our judicial and governmental system;
2. When the rights of one individual are violated, all of society suffers;
3. Asian Americans, along with many other groups of people, have historically been given less than equal treatment by the American judicial and governmental system. Only through cooperative efforts with all people will society progress and be a better place for all citizens.

ACJ's first mandate was unambiguous: to obtain justice for Vincent Chin, a Chinese man who was killed because he looked Japanese.

Knowing that there was little public awareness about Asian Americans or the reasons for the outrage, ACJ embarked on educating the public and the news media on the community's concerns. In those days before fax machines or the Internet, each press release was hand delivered. ACJ held its first news conference

at the Detroit Press Club on April 15, 1983. The entire spectrum of local media appeared—it was big news to see Asian Americans coming together to protest injustice. To the reporters and the people of Detroit, Asian Americans seemed to emerge from out of nowhere. ACJ's task was to educate them quickly, in sound bites, about Asian Americans.

African American organizations such as the Detroit-Area Black Organizations quickly endorsed ACJ's efforts. The Detroit chapter of the NAACP, the largest chapter in the country, issued a statement about the unequal justice. Several prominent African American churches gave their support, as did the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and the Detroit Roundtable of Christians and Jews. ACJ sought and won the support of other communities as well, including from Latinos, Arab Americans, and Italian Americans, women's groups as well as political leaders from the president of the Detroit City Council to Congressman John Conyers.

A private investigator, hired by ACJ to uncover the facts leading to Vincent's death, reported that a dancer at the club named Racine Colwell overheard Ebens tell Chin, "It's because of you motherfuckers that we're out of work." At a time when bilious anti-Japanese remarks by politicians, public officials, and the next-door neighbors spewed forth regularly, Asian Americans knew exactly what Ebens meant. A strip dancer with nothing to gain from her testimony had produced the link to a racial motivation that the community was waiting for. ACJ attorneys and leaders realized it was enough to charge Ebens and Nitz with violating Vincent Chin's civil rights on account of his race.

ACJ began to publicize its findings of racial slurs and comments made by Vincent Chin's killers and to call for a civil rights investigation. There was an immediate backlash. Non-Asians, most particularly those in a position to make policy on civil rights and race matters, openly resisted claims by Asians of racial discrimination and prejudice. Calls by angry whites into radio talk shows were furious that racism was brought into the picture. "What does race have to do with this?" one caller told the *Detroit News* hotline. "Don't white people have civil rights?" asked another.

White liberals were the most skeptical. When a constitutional law professor met with ACJ attorneys about the legal issues in a potential civil rights case, he told them to forget it. Civil rights laws, he said, were enacted to protect African Americans, not Asians. Asian Americans cannot seek redress using federal civil rights law; besides, he said, Asians are considered white.

The American Civil Liberties Union of Michigan initially dismissed the outcry from Asian Americans as a law-and-order, "mandatory sentencing" movement. Later, as the community outrage continued, its executive director absolved Judge Kaufman of bias and instead blamed the prosecutors for failing to appear at sentencing. The Michigan ACLU wasn't interested in the civil rights aspects of Chin's slaying.

Nor did the Detroit chapter of the National Lawyers Guild, which defined itself as part of the political left, find any connection between Vincent Chin's killing and racism. But their West Coast chapters, more familiar with Asians' history with racial violence, proffered a national endorsement to ACJ's efforts. A near mutiny broke out in the Detroit chapter, but the national body prevailed.

In spite of the backlash, local, national, and international support for ACJ's efforts was growing daily. The legal twists and turns garnered steady local news coverage, and the mobilization of Detroit's Asian Americans was a new phenomenon for reporters. The Vincent Chin case became national news when the *New York Times* published a story and other national media coverage soon followed.

It was the first time that an Asian American-initiated issue was considered significant, national news. Ethnic media from the Asian American community as well as foreign language news from China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Japan followed the case closely. To capture the mounting frustration of the community, the ACJ organized a citywide demonstration at Kennedy Square in downtown Detroit.

Waving American flags and placards that demanded equal justice, hundreds of scientists, engineers, and housewives marched alongside waiters and cooks from Chinese restaurants across the region. The restaurant owners shut their doors during the busy

weekday lunch rush to allow for their employees and their own families to participate in the demonstration. Children came in strollers and seniors in wheelchairs. Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, and Filipinos marched in pan-Asian unity. Support statements were made by the city's major African American and religious organizations, local politicians, and even the UAW. At the rally's emotional end, Mrs. Chin appealed to the nation. Through her tears, she said haltingly, "I want justice for my son. Please help me so no other mother must do this." Finally, the demonstrators marched to the Federal Courthouse singing "We Shall Overcome," and hand delivered to the U.S. Attorney a petition with 3,000 signatures seeking federal prosecution of the killers for violating Chin's civil right to be in a public place.

ACJ spelled out an analysis of Asian Americans as racial scapegoats for the ills of the modern American economy, naming anti-Asian violence as issue damaging to democratic principles that should concern all Americans. This set the framework for Asian American organizing nationally and was a first step toward placing Asian Americans in the center of domestic and international economic, political, and social policy contexts. In Los Angeles, San Francisco, Oakland, New York, Chicago, and Toronto, pan-Asian coalitions were being built to support the campaign and to address anti-Asian violence in the local community.

Around the United States, Asian Americans began to track anti-Asian hate crimes and news of other cases spread: in Lansing, Michigan, a Vietnamese American man and his European American wife were harassed and repeatedly shot at by white men shouting racial slurs. In Davis, California, a 17-year-old Vietnamese youth was stabbed to death in his high school by white students; in New York, a pregnant Chinese woman was decapitated when she was pushed in front of an oncoming subway car by a European American teacher who claimed to have a fear of Asians. After an escalating number of anti-Asian attacks in the Boston area, a pan-Asian group called Asians for Justice was formed. As these new groups raised public awareness about the particular kind of racial hostility against Asians, they prompted more people to come forward to file hate crime reports. The growing list of

cases underscored the existence of racial violence against Asian Americans.

After an FBI investigation, in November 1983 a federal grand jury indicted Ronald Ebens and Michael Nitz for violating Vincent Chin's right to enjoy a place of public accommodation.

The federal civil rights trial began in Detroit on June 5, 1984 in the courtroom of Judge Anna Diggs Taylor, one of the first African American women to serve on the federal bench. The two weeks of testimony included the words that dancer Racine Colwell overheard, "It's because of you motherfuckers that we're out of work." On June 28 the federal jury found Ebens guilty of violating Vincent Chin's civil rights; Nitz was acquitted. The jury foreperson later stated that Racine Colwell's testimony was the key. Ebens was sentenced to 25 years by Judge Taylor.

On appeal, the case against Ebens was sent for retrial in 1986 on grounds of pretrial publicity and evidentiary errors associated with tapes made of witnesses when ACJ was first investigating the case. The new trial would be held in Cincinnati, where there was less chance that prospective jurors knew of the case.

When the jury selection process for the new trial began on April 20, 1987, potential jurors were interrogated on their exposure to Asians. "Do you have any contact with Asians? What is the nature of your contact?" as though they might be infected by a deadly virus. Out of about 180 Cincinnati citizens in the jury pool, only 19 had ever a "casual contact" with an Asian American.

The jury that was eventually seated looked remarkably like Ebens—mostly white, male, and blue collar. This time the jury foreperson was a 50-something machinist who was laid-off after 30 years. And this time the jury reached its not guilty verdict on May 1, 1987, five years after Vincent Chin was killed.

A civil suit was then filed on Lily Chin's behalf against Ebens and Nitz for taking Vincent's life; a judgment of \$1.5 million was levied against Ebens, who soon evaded the judgment by moving out of state several times, finally settling in Henderson, Nevada. Nitz, whose judgment was substantially lower, eventually paid off the amount. Neither man spent a day in jail.

After the legal proceedings ended, Lily Chin left Detroit in 1988 to stay with relatives in New York and San Francisco. Eventually she moved to her birthplace in Hoiping (Kaiping), Guangdong province, China, after spending 50 of her 70 years in the United States. However, when she became ill with cancer, she returned to Detroit for medical treatment. Lily Chin died on June 9, 2002, and was buried in Detroit next to her husband and her son Vincent.

The legacy of the Vincent Chin case has lived on. An Academy Award-nominated documentary, *Who Killed Vincent Chin?*, was released in 1987. The case has been retold in songs, plays, sculptures, numerous books, and another documentary was produced in 2008, *Vincent Who?*

Dozens of local and national Asian and Pacific Islander advocacy organizations have formed from the increased political consciousness arising from the Vincent Chin case. The tragedy and injustice of Vincent Chin's murder marked the awakening of the grassroots political consciousness to stand together as a pan-Asian community for equality and justice.

Helen Zia

See also *Anti-Asian Violence, History of; Anti-Hate Crime Laws*

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China Daily News, The (CDN)

The China Daily News (CDN; Meizhou Huaqiao Ribao) was founded July 7, 1940, by a group of Chinese Americans to "reflect ordinary Chinese

Americans' opinions and to get objective information about China's domestic situation, especially about the conditions of the overseas Chinese community." The majority of the 380 shareholders are members of the New York Chinese Hand Laundry Alliance (CHLA). Most held one or two shares (\$10 each); only five or six owned shares worth more than \$200. According to its introduction, "This paper is founded by overseas Chinese in the United States. Among the overseas Chinese in this country, many have acquired U.S. citizenship. To them, to love and defend [their] motherland is a bound duty (*tianzhi*), and to be loyal to the United States is an obligation (*yiwu*)." Three weeks later an editorial made the same point: "So we regard overseas Chinese concern about their motherland as a natural expression of normal human feelings (*renqing zhi zhiran*), and their efforts to permanently develop their settlement [in the U.S.] as a rational development (*shilizhi dangran*)."

Throughout the 1940s, *CDN* persistently encouraged its readers to vote in local, state, and national elections. It provided information about the backgrounds and platforms of competing candidates and ran editorials and commentaries analyzing issues and the result of elections to help readers understand the American electoral system. It had a monthly CHLA column (*yilian zhengkan*) providing information and advice about the hand laundry business, presented the plans and the work reports of the CHLA executive committee, carried eulogies for deceased members, and even contained some poems in classical Chinese style composed by laundrymen. In addition, in almost every issue CHLA members expressed their political opinions in short articles.

A key figure of *CDN* was Eugene Moy (Mei Cantian), a self-made intellectual fluent in both Chinese and English and sharp in his analyses and criticism for which he was admired as the "Lu Xun of the overseas Chinese community." Moy served as the paper's editor-in-chief for many years, and his "Old Moy Column," a 500-word commentary on every aspect of Chinese life in the United States, became one of the most popular features of the paper.

CDN was persecuted by U.S. authorities for its pro-China stand in the early 1950s. One of the charges against the newspaper was that it carried advertisement

of the People's Republic of China's Bank of China. In 1954 the court fined *CDN* \$25,000 and sentenced Eugene Moy to two years in jail (later reduced to one year). Donations from its loyal readers and supporters from all over the United States helped pay the fine and save the newspaper; but from the mid-1950s on, *CDN* became less political and less influential in the Chinese community. In 1989, differences among its managers and editors on how to respond to the Chinese Tiananmen Democracy Movement led to the closure of the newspaper. Some of its staff later founded *China Express* (*Qiao Bao*).

Renqiu Yu

See also Independent Chinese Language Newspapers during the Cold War

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China Lobby

The term "China Lobby" refers to a broad network of Chinese and Americans who tried to influence the people and policy makers in the United States with interests that coalesced around the goal of overthrowing the Chinese Communist government on behalf of the Nationalist regime of Chiang Kai-shek in Taiwan. This lobby activity was conducted by more than one lobby group, which included an organization of Chinese Nationalist officials and American Conservatives who promoted anticommunism in the United States and paid American supporters of Chiang's regime and their coordinated activities by Chiang's government and family members.

The lobby has been given credit for foreign aid provided to Chiang from a reluctant Truman administration during the Chinese civil war, continued diplomatic recognition of Chiang's regime as a legitimate government of China after the Communist Party

takeover in 1949, and preventing the People's Republic of China from being admitted to the United Nation.

Americans most commonly associated with the China lobby were the noted publisher Henry R. Luce; Alfred Kohlberg, a retired New York importer; Frederick C. McKee, a wealthy Pittsburgh manufacturer and philanthropist; Republican Representative Walter H. Judd of Minnesota; and Republican senators William F. Knowland of California and Joseph R. McCarthy of Wisconsin.

The China Lobby's widespread influence during the Cold War was an outgrowth of its activities in World War II. The outbreak of the Asia-Pacific War forced the United States build an alliance with China against Japan, and many groups emerged to raise money for China. Famous groups like the United China Relief and the American Bureau for Medical Aid to China (ABMAC) reminded the American people of their Chinese allies and their brutal treatment by Japanese military aggression, the necessity of aiding China, and touching stories of Chinese resistance and heroism. Although failure of the civil war and loss of popular support had reduced the confidence of the American government toward Chiang's regime, popular antipathy toward the Chinese Communists and the start of Korean War with the intervention of the People's Republic of China worked to help Chiang's government regain support from U.S. policy makers.

At the height of the Cold War, threats from the Soviet Union beat out the influence of interest groups on behalf of Chiang's regime. Facing the reality of the Soviet-China split and the death of influential lobbyists like McCarthy, Kohlberg, and Sokolsky, the Nixon administration decided to recognize the People's Republic of China, which facilitated the process of admittance of Mao's government to the United Nations. These events signaled that the days of the China lobby had passed.

Although the efforts to overthrow the Communist Party were not successful, the new lobby activities across the straits continued. With the passage of the Taiwan Relations Act (TRA), which relied on Taiwan's diplomatic activities in the United States and democratization of Taiwan by the end of the 1980s, support for Taiwan continued in the United

States. Taiwan is one of the closest military allies of the United States in the East Asia region. At the same time, the Chinese Communist government also lobbied in Washington and gained a powerful network within the American business community. According to Warren Cohen, the U.S.–China Business Council, the Emergency Committee for American Trade, and major corporations, like Boeing, made a lot of effort to persuade Congress of common interests between mainland China and the United States.

Tian Wu

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Chinatown, New York

Chinese began to arrive in the United States in substantial numbers soon after the news that gold was found in California in 1848. By 1850, there were already 4,018 Chinese men (and 7 women) in San Francisco, and a Chinatown had emerged. But the first permanent Chinese settlement in North America was actually in New York City, which became the most important seaport on the East Coast after the completion of the Erie Canal in 1825 and was a major international port of call. Many Chinese merchant sailors came through and made it their home when away on sea duty—some as early as 1808.

In 1840, Chinese rooming houses appeared on Cherry Street below Chatham Square, where the core of a Chinese community began to appear. In addition to the sailors, the community included members of a stranded Chinese opera troupe (after their sponsor ran out of funds), cooks, domestic servants, peddlers, tea merchants, doctors, and cigar makers who had been trained in Cuba. The New York State Census of 1855 registered 39 Chinese in lower Manhattan, along with 42 boarders on a ship docked off the West Side piers. In 1856 the *New York Times* estimated the city’s Chinese population at 150.

In the mid-nineteenth century the Chinese on the East Coast were tolerated and were, along with blacks

and the Irish, relegated to the bottom of the social order. At least one quarter (about 50) of all Chinese men who lived in New York between 1820 and 1870 were married to or lived with Irish women. Nevertheless, the Chinese population in New York was small and grew slowly to only 747 by 1880. (In comparison, there were 33,149 Chinese men in San Francisco in 1860; by 1870, 25 percent of the able-bodied male population in California was Chinese.) After the passage of the Exclusion Act in 1882, many whites in Western states wanted to drive out the Chinese by violent means, forcing them to escape from small isolated areas in the countryside to larger cities for protection. Others moved to metropolitan areas in the Midwest and on the East Coast, where their smaller numbers were less likely to attract hostile attention. By 1890, a viable Chinatown in New York appeared on Mott, Park, Pell and Doyers streets, east of the notorious Five Points district, with approximately 7,000 Chinese residents.

Aside from grocery stores and restaurants, Chinatown boasted fish peddlers, bakeries, teahouses, barbershops, temples of worship, and theaters. But the majority of the Chinese in the city were operators of hand laundries who typically lived and worked in their storefront establishments outside of Chinatown. They would visit Chinatown only on weekends and holidays to shop for provisions, meet friends, and find entertainment.

Most Chinese in the United States before World War II, came from one of the seven districts on the rural outskirts of the city of Guangzhou. The majority of the Chinese in New York were from Taishan, the poorest among the seven counties.

The indifference of American law enforcement obliged the Chinese to govern themselves. Chinatown’s social and political structure replicated that found in its residents’ home province. There were village, county, dialect, and surname associations, in addition to secret fraternal organizations usually identified as tongs. All these associations came under the umbrella of the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association, the unofficial “mayor’s office” for Chinatown. However, without the power of sanction, serious disputes could be resolved only by violence, which allowed the fighting tongs to gain the upper hand in the community.

Immigration restrictions permitted very few Chinese women to enter the country legally, except for merchants' wives. The gender imbalance among the Chinese in America in 1900 was 27 males to 1 female. The population could increase only through the "paper son" system, whereby Chinese with American citizenship could claim to have fathered children in China (titles could be purchased), who were eligible to enter the country.

In the dreary lives the Chinese in America were forced to lead, Chinatown was a home away from home and provided a much-needed emotional outlet. Although short on women and children, they celebrated holidays faithfully, as if their entire families were there.

Politics from the 1930s to 1950s

As few Chinese could vote they were largely ignored by the American political establishment. In response, they devoted their attention to the politics in China, believing that in helping it become a strong nation enjoying international respect they would also improve their own image and standing in the United States.

Traditional associations controlled by merchants tended to support whichever government was in power in China—first the imperial government, then various reformers, warlords, and factions preceding and following the establishment of the Chinese republic, and finally Chiang Kai-shek after his Nationalist government consolidated the republic in 1927. The common immigrants, on the other hand, were critical of the Nationalist government's corruption and failure to resist Japanese aggression. This led to an emergence of voices and organizations within the Chinese community that were willing to challenge the conservative practices of the established associations. In 1932, a group of unemployed Chinese, with the backing of the Chinese Anti-Imperialist Alliance, set up an Unemployed Council in Chinatown to help Chinese working people access the benefits of the New Deal programs, such as getting emergency aid for food and shelter, during the Great Depression. The Chinese Hand Laundry Alliance (CHLA) worked with and got assistance

from the American Left and progressive unions, including the *Daily Worker*, the International Workers Order, the Unemployed Council, and the Friends of China Committee, when the Chinese hand laundry businesses, the mainstay of Chinese livelihood in the city and the Chinatown economy, came under racial attack from the white laundry industry. The liberal members of the Chinese community were particularly appreciative of the support the American Left extended to China in its struggle against Japan as a part of their fight against fascism.

Once the Nationalist government finally decided to fight against the Japanese in 1937, New York's Chinatown became united and raised a huge amount of funds to support the resistance in China. A total of 30,000 Chinese in the New York metropolitan region contributed \$1 million dollars in just six months time, according to the General Relief Committee. The community also waged a "people's diplomacy campaign" to convince the American public to boycott Japanese goods. Movie stars Loretta Young and Frances Farmer took part in a demonstration on Fifth Avenue organized to ask American women not to buy Japanese silk stockings. But when World War II ended, the Nationalist government resumed civil war, and by the end of the 1940s, even some die-hard conservatives in the community, such as the leaders of the Chih-kun Tong Association, had lost patience with its policies.

Unfortunately, the community suffered a big blow when U.S.-China relations deteriorated after China fell to the Communists in 1949 and the two countries fought each other in the Korean War (1950–1953). In its aftermath, a Cold War battle was waged on the American domestic front over the fear of Communism from within, and Chinese in general were suspected of disloyalty. The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) instituted a "confession program" in Chinatown, offering legalized status to those who confessed illegal entry into the country, but in fact using it to weed out the Chinese "radicals" who had opposed the Nationalist policies and to bar future Chinese immigration. By the mid-1950s, the only voices that could be heard were those of the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (CCBA) and the KMT, who claimed to represent the whole Chinese community.

The New Chinatown

World War II, when China was an ally of the United States, changed white American attitudes toward the Chinese and, along with the gains of the Civil Rights Movement, allowed younger, American-born Chinese better access to mainstream jobs and a chance to move away from Chinatown to less crowded urban neighborhoods. As young families moved, leaving only the elderly and the bachelors behind, it seemed that Chinatown was about to disappear. However, then came the passage of the 1965 Immigration Act, which allowed relatives of American citizens of Chinese descent to immigrate in significant numbers. A new wave of working-class immigrants arrived in unprecedented numbers and repopulated the old ethnic ghetto.

Middle-class Chinese immigrants with savings and entrepreneurial skills (mainly from Hong Kong) also arrived to escape the political chaos in Asia. They transferred their assets and invested in Chinatown, where it was easy to start a restaurant or a grocery store in the Cantonese-speaking milieu. Before long, sewing factories emerged as the most popular business to invest in because of the large pool of newly arrived female immigrants. As the aging Jewish and Italian immigrants originally employed in New York's garment industry reached retirement age, garment manufacturers transferred their production to Chinatown and let Chinese subcontractors handle the troublesome hiring, firing, and management of the non-English speaking workforce, which saved them a lot of trouble and money. Between 1969 and 1982 New York lost 40 percent of garment jobs, whereas the number of Chinese women employed in the industry during this period increased to 20,000.

Chinatown women now had less time for cooking, but their earnings from garment work supplemented their family incomes and gave a boost to the local restaurant trade, which employed most of their husbands. Chinese food also became very popular with non-Chinese Americans after Nixon's visit to China in the early 1970s, particularly with the advent of Yuppies (young urban professionals), who had the means and the sophistication to try exotic cuisines.

During this boom, bilingual services became widely available to Chinatown residents for the first

time. Banks, the phone company, the local hospital, and even municipal offices began employing bilingual staffs. Under pressure from Chinatown activists, social services and senior citizen and daycare centers were now staffed by Chinese.

The 1970s were Chinatown's "Golden Age." New waves of immigrants kept pouring in, providing cheap labor and attracting investment, services, and white-collar jobs. This in turn led to more investment, jobs, and immigrants. The cycle kept repeating, turning Chinatown into a vibrant, full-service, multiclass community. Some sociologists have postulated that, like Cubans in Miami, new Chinese immigrants could now find jobs and opportunities for upward mobility right inside their "ethnic enclaves," whose supportive environment enabled them to obtain property ownership and become part of the American middle-class without ever having to venture out to look for jobs or even having to learn English. But the central premise of the enclave economy is cheap labor. The seamstresses who work at piece rates make more money the faster they work. Waiters and shop clerks are expected to work more than 10 hours a day, six days a week, with no compensation for overtime or sick leave. Once new immigrants start working in the enclave, their opportunities to learn English and find work outside are effectively blocked. As the workers grow older they have to find less strenuous jobs for less pay. The prospect for working-class immigrants who remain in Chinatown is downward mobility.

The End of Chinatown's Golden Age

The growing number of new immigrants expanded the need for residential housing, retail space, and factory facilities to accommodate them. It did not take long entrepreneurs realized that real estate was where the money was and before the level of activity in Chinatown real estate attracted the interest of financial institutions. Not only did Chinese American-owned banks begin to aggressively extend mortgage loans for the purchase of Chinatown properties, but foreign capital began to pour in from East Asian countries. By 1986, 27 local, national, and foreign banks had operations in New York's Chinatown. The enormous

amount of capital invested in construction and real estate inevitably changed the basic character of Chinatown. Induced by the rising prices, investors and speculators bought buildings merely to hold onto them long enough to sell at a profit. The rental income could no longer keep pace with the price of buildings, and the landlords were forced to drive out the original tenants and jack up rent, causing uncertainty for residents and community businesses alike.

By the 1980s, Chinatown—New York’s urban ghetto of cheap Chinese tenements in lower Manhattan—no longer had any reasonably priced housing for the poor. Higher rents also forced restaurants, factories, and neighborhood retailers to close. The prosperity gained in the 1970s vanished. Real-estate speculators had killed the goose that laid the golden egg.

Illegal Immigrants and the Sweatshops

The extreme hardship Chinatown residents experienced after the influx of speculative capital discouraged further immigration of their relatives from Hong Kong. But when the United States and the People’s Republic of China normalized relations in 1978, immigrants started to arrive from the mainland. The first wave came mostly from the coastal provinces of Fujian and Zhejiang, changing not only the composition of the theretofore Cantonese community but also its way of life and doing business.

China first started its experiment with liberalizing the economy in the late 1970s along coastal areas in southern China by opening special development zones to attract foreign investment. Millions of people flocked from the country’s interior to coastal cities to take advantage of new opportunities, but many, especially those from areas with a long history of emigration, decided to try their luck abroad. With centuries-old emigration and business ties to Southeast Asia, residents of rural counties that surround Fuzhou City in Fujian Province were particularly well placed to take part in the new exodus with financial assistance from their overseas relatives.

As the powerhouse of global economy and the mythic country of wealth and fortune dreamed of by every would-be Chinese emigrant, the United States

emerged as the favorite destination. But without prior emigration to the United States to secure legal immigration status, the Fuzhounese had to enter the country illegally, with help from “snakeheads,” the human smugglers. The numbers of those willing to take the risk were so huge that human smuggling quickly became a lucrative international business. In 1989, Fuzhounese paid “snakeheads” or, rather, incurred debt in the amount of \$18,000 a person to be smuggled into America, and were willing to do whatever it took to pay it back on arrival. By 1993, when the infamous smuggling ship *Golden Venture* ran aground off Long Island shore, the cost for its human cargo had risen to \$33,000 a person. The public outcry that followed the incident greatly contributed to the passage of the harsh 1996 Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRIRA). Unfortunately, IIRIRA did not stop human smuggling; it only raised the cost and sophistication of the smuggling networks. By 2010, the smuggling fees had risen to above \$70,000 per person.

The repayment of smuggling debts is enforced through threats of gang violence, directed against both the indebted immigrants and their family members in China. The illegals are thus forced to take any jobs and work under any conditions. Understanding their vulnerability, employers pay them less and require them to work longer hours. The illegals are subjected to conditions that break every legislated labor protection clause in the country, but the employers are rarely held accountable because federal labor and corporate laws are too weak to stop this kind of abuse.

The abundance of cheap illegal labor has lowered labor standards for legal working class Chinese immigrants as well. Some are fighting back. Chinese restaurant workers, rejected by mainstream American unions, organized an independent Chinese Staff and Workers Association to challenge their employers. Militant Chinese garment ladies nominally represented by IGLWU, pushed its fight against sweatshop conditions and for better representation. Even workers without legal status have occasionally gone on strike to fight for back wages at the risk of deportation.

But the decline of the garment industry in America because of cheap imports from China has crippled one of the two pillars of the Chinatown economy. With the

ever-increasing number of new immigrants and under attack of gentrification, the life in ethnic enclaves is a constant struggle for survival.

Gentrification of Chinatown

As New York City expanded, its old Chinatown, once occupying a marginal location, found itself at the center of a most desirable downtown, adjacent to Wall Street and sharing the zip code with SoHo and Tribeca—the city’s most expensive real estate at the beginning of the twenty-first century. With the city’s policy makers viewing its ethnic flavor as conducive to developing it as a tourist destination, an aggressive campaign has been waged by developers backed by investors, some of whom are overseas Chinese, to relax the zoning restrictions and allow high-rises of commercial offices and residential condos to be built on its already crowded streets. This latest wave of speculation is threatening to displace the majority of its remaining working class residents and small businesses. Most of the community organizations are not geared up to combat this kind of problem. By working with developers to get small concessions of “affordable housing” from the construction of luxury office and condominium buildings, the influential Community Development Corporations have become the handmaidens of gentrification.

Dispersal

The first wave of real estate speculation in Manhattan’s Chinatown in the 1980s forced its poorer residents and small businesses to look for cheaper housing elsewhere, such as in Flushing in Queens or Sunset Park in Brooklyn. Before long “satellite Chinatowns” appeared in different parts of Brooklyn and Queens.

As more immigrants continued to arrive, more Chinese businesses opened in these satellite Chinatowns and most of the properties in and around them were purchased by Chinese. Within a decade, the property values quadrupled and the once inexpensive “new” neighborhoods became unaffordable to the less-fortunate newcomers. The search for cheap housing has sent wave after wave of new Chinese immigrants further afield, creating a series of mini-Chinese

communities scattered among non-Chinese neighborhoods but still connected to the original Chinatowns. With each extension the integrity and intensity of the character of the Chinese community has been diluted—places like Bensonhurst and Avenue U in Brooklyn—can be identified only by a small cluster of new Chinese groceries and restaurants.

Another factor pushing the working-class Chinese to move away from Manhattan’s Chinatown is the continued decline of garment manufacturing because of imports. Finding alternatives is a question of survival. Chinese women have managed to get jobs as hotel room cleaners and as homecare assistants servicing Chinese-speaking senior citizens, where skills and English language requirements are minimal. Men have found work in construction, although many have moved to the dispersed middle class suburban Chinese communities to work as restaurant personnel, homecare assistants, store clerks, construction workers, and delivery boys.

Even though New York’s Chinatown is not exactly disappearing—rather, it is being reconstituted in a more complex, dispersed way—in the twenty-first century the working-class Chinese immigrants seem poised to break out of the ethnic enclaves into the general labor market and may well end up repeating the integration cycle of European immigrants.

Peter Kwong and Dusanka Miscevic

See also Chinatown Gangs in the United States

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Chinatown, 1982 ILGWU Strike

See 1982 ILGWU Strike in New York’s Chinatown

Chinatown Gangs in the United States

Chinatown gangs in the United States have a varied and sensationalized history within the American discourse. From sinister portrayals as the Chinese “Yellow Peril,” to hyperviolent refugees from Southeast Asia, Chinatown gangs have been popularly featured in literature, television, film, and newsprint for more than half a century. Reflective of demographics in Chinatowns across the country, Chinatown gangs appear to continually grow in their diversity beyond southern Chinese immigrants, also including those that are U.S.-born, from Taiwan, and from Southeast Asia. Robust understandings of the gangs continue to be elusive and what is known often focuses on long-standing southern Chinese communities in San Francisco and New York. Studies and documentation of Chinatown gangs vary, from small youth street “crews” to transnational crime syndicates with origins in the revolutionary Triad organizations during the Qing Dynasty.

Origins

Prior to the influx of Chinese immigrants resulting from the 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act, there were very few youth of Chinese descent living in the United States. Thus, there was little recorded on what is usually considered gang activity in Chinatown communities, although there was some criminal group activity that was primarily engaged in by adults (see Tongs and Tong War). This lack of activity and

documentation began to change in the decade after 1965, when thousands of immigrant families and their children began to arrive in the United States, often first settling in Chinatowns.

Located in the urban core, Chinatown residents were often limited in terms of English-language capacity, as well as financial, social, and cultural capital. This most likely facilitated “underground” social and economic practices by adults that were both new and established. As the children of many working-class Chinatown immigrants experienced high marginalization and disenfranchisement in schooling, social services, and law enforcement institutions, they were also pulled into practices tied to Chinatown gangs that had been noted by law enforcement to some degree since the 1950s. Here the term gang is defined as a cohesive group of people affiliated under certain terms of leadership, geography, and loyalty. These groups often engage in illicit practices that can sometimes be understood as self-defeating forms of resistance, similar to those of working-class Chinatown youth during the 1970s.

Aside from similar class backgrounds, Chinatown gang youth had family origins in southern China, typically from Guangdong (Canton) province where many Chinese immigrants to the United States were historically from. Following the Vietnam War and the United States involvement with Cambodia and Laos, Chinatowns experienced an influx of Southeast Asian refugees and immigrants, many of whom were also ethnic Chinese with ancestral roots in Guangdong (i.e., Chaozhou or Chiu Chow). In recent decades, further diversification of Chinatown gangs has resulted from immigrants from Taiwan and northern China that sometimes settle in Chinatowns but speak different dialects from those in the south, including Mandarin. Other factors that have impacted the gangs are the gentrification of Chinatowns across the country, which has pushed together communities that have historically lived apart, as well as subsequent generations of Asian and Chinese youth born in the United States, many of whom are of racially and ethnically “mixed.” Another factor in the changing demographics of Chinatown gangs is the emergence of suburban Chinatowns, such as in the San Gabriel Valley in Los Angeles County.

Differences in Approaches

Because of the “underground” nature of Chinatown gangs, it is difficult to accurately account for their practices, development, size, and reach. A significant factor that has influenced understandings of Chinatown gangs is twentieth-century portrayals of Chinatowns within the U.S. news and entertainment media. The discourse has often framed Chinatowns as havens of immorality, rife with gambling, narcotics, and human trafficking tied to prostitution and undocumented immigration. Chinatown gangs continue to be viewed as violent and organized perpetrators of such crimes, somewhat like the Italian Mafia in terms of their level of organization and interstate activities. This portrayal has influenced academic institutions and the criminal justice system as Chinatowns and Asian gangs have increasingly become the subject of study and policing since the 1970s in cities such as Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, and San Francisco.

Within the “organized crime portrayal” of Chinatown gangs, they are discussed as organizations with ties to the tongs, which were originally fraternal support associations first established in the 1800s that eventually became involved in criminal activity. In recent decades, Chinatown gangs are believed to have carried out some of the business activities of the secret tong societies. Teenage and young adult street gang members, mostly males, have been thought to take orders somewhere along the chain of command within criminal tong hierarchies. If they do not take orders from tongs, the gangs at least have to placate them to conduct their activities with less interference from the existing Chinatown infrastructure. These exchanges and networks have been explicitly documented in the research about New York, particularly with Manhattan Chinatown.

In addition to the ties between Chinatown gangs and the tongs, connections have also been made to the triads that originated as revolutionaries during China’s Qing dynasty. Although many Chinatown street gangs appear not to have been strongly affiliated with the triads when they arose in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s, it is thought that these affiliations began to solidify largely because of human trafficking and the lucrative drug trade from Asia with narcotics such as

heroin. Ties have been documented between North American gangs and Chinese triads in east and Southeast Asia, but it is unclear to what extent these exist in the United States. Nevertheless, with the tongs, there has been much speculation of transnational criminal conspiracies within the U.S. media and criminal justice system. At times this speculation has been sensationalized to paint portraits of vast and sinister undergrounds in Chinatowns, reminiscent of the historical exoticization and demonization of Chinese and Asians as the evil “Yellow Peril.”

Debates continue within the criminal justice system and social science research on what are primary factors of gang development in places like Chinatown. Different theories persist on the role that tongs, triads, and organized crime play. However, there is agreement on how issues of class, language, and schooling are critical factors in youth joining Chinatown gangs, and how there seems to be a reduced public presence of Asian gangs on a national level, due in part to the arrests of some major gang leaders during the 1990s.

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See also Chinatown, New York; Tongs and Tong War

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Chinese American Baseball

Chinese Americans have used baseball as a means of developing and maintaining a sense of community. Through baseball, they have crossed often treacherous cultural boundaries to play with and against people of varied racial and ethnic identities. And some American ballplayers of Chinese ancestry have competed effectively at the highest levels of professional baseball.

In the late 1800s, "all-Chinese" teams surfaced occasionally on the U.S. mainland. It is hard to gauge whether such teams were organized to allow Chinese immigrant young men a chance to bond together in a country that supported Chinese exclusion or whether they were assembled by white entrepreneurs hoping to profit from the supposed novelty of Chinese playing the "American National Pastime." However, by the early twentieth century, legitimate community teams emerged in Chicago and the San Francisco Bay Area. In Los Angeles, a Chinese American team, often known as the Los Angeles Chinese, opposed some of the best semiprofessional teams in the region during the 1920s. Likewise, in the 1930s, Oakland's Wa Sung team frequently dominated its semiprofessional competition. After World War II, Chinese American teams showed up briefly in San Francisco and Oakland.

Meanwhile, Honolulu had become a hotbed of Chinese American community baseball. In the early 1900s, the Chinese Athletic Club (CAC) team and the Chinese Alohas called on the services of some of the best ballplayers in the city. In 1912, the CAC, with the financial help of Chinatown merchants and *haole* boosters anxious to promote Honolulu on the mainland, assembled an "all-Chinese" team that journeyed across the Pacific and engaged in over 100 games against college, community, semiprofessional, and professional teams. In 1914, the Chinese Athletic Union (CAU) established a team that would, in 1915, effectively represent Hawaii in the Far Eastern Games, as well as compete in the Philippines. For several decades thereafter Hawaiian Chinese organized their own

leagues, while supporting a team called the Chinese Tigers that competed in the Hawaii Baseball League.

Despite its troubling relationship with institutionalized discrimination in the United States, baseball has drawn people across often dangerously shifting cultural borderlands. As it turned out, Hawaii proved more receptive than the mainland to constructing flexible cultural boundaries on its many baseball diamonds. One important reason was demographics. Because haoles comprised a numerical minority on the islands, it was foolish for white baseball coaches to cut talented Asian Hawaiian athletes if they wished to win. Thus, superb Hawaiian Chinese ballplayers of the early twentieth century such as En Sue Pung, Lai Tin, and Vernon Ayau not only played for Chinese nines but also teams populated by non-Chinese. Lang Akana, who possessed Chinese and indigenous Hawaiian ancestry, competed for several diverse Hawaiian teams from the 1900s to the 1920s. When Akana's playing career ended, he managed the "Hawaiiis" in the Hawaii Baseball League—a team supposedly comprised of ballplayers of indigenous Hawaiian descent.

The U.S. mainland, at the same time, witnessed fewer such interactions, but they were not unknown or necessarily unwelcomed. In the 1910s, the University of Chicago fielded a Hawaiian Chinese named William Achi, whereas Lehigh suited up first baseman Al Yap, another Hawaiian who would play semiprofessional baseball in and around Philadelphia during the late 1910s and early 1920s. Lee Gum Hong, a hard-throwing pitcher, competed for Oakland High School in the 1920s. Al Wong, who teamed with Lee Gum Hong on the Wa Sung nine, stood out on predominantly European American semipro teams in the San Francisco Bay Area.

Indeed, semiprofessional baseball on the early twentieth-century mainland deserves special attention. Frequently just as talented as minor league and organized baseball teams, the more famous semipro teams offered athletes opportunities to compete against top-notch white, Latino, and African American ballplayers. At the same time, these semipros could find in baseball the means to supplement their incomes as factory workers, office clerks, or shopkeepers.

The aforementioned Al Yap was one of these ball-players. Yap arrived on the mainland in 1915 as a member of the then-famous and often misnamed “Chinese University of Hawaii” baseball team originally representing the CAC and that barnstormed the mainland from 1912 to 1916. A scion of a prominent Hawaii Chinese family, Yap decided to attend Lehigh rather than return to the islands after the 1915 tour ended. He then spent several years as an itinerant amateur and semiprofessional baseball in eastern Pennsylvania. Within a year, Yap was joined on the East Coast by “Chinese University of Hawaii” teammates Lai Tin, Vernon Ayau, Apau Kau, Andy Yim, who was really a Japanese Hawaiian named Andy Yamashiro, and part-Hawaiian Fred Markham. All of these young men prospered on semipro teams on the East Coast. Lai Tin, later known as Buck Lai, particularly stood out as a semiprofessional luminary for several East Coast teams, most prominently the famed Brooklyn Bushwicks.

Starting out as an ostensibly amateur traveling team, the “Chinese University of Hawaii” eventually blurred whatever distinctions that might have existed between amateur, semiprofessional, and professional. Sharing the gate receipts, the Hawaiians played and usually won well over 100 games a year against college, commercial, semiprofessional, and professional teams. In 1912, the team was entirely comprised of young men of Chinese ancestry. In 1913, Fred Markham joined the team most appropriately described as the Travelers. From 1914 through 1916, more non-Hawaii Chinese joined the club, including Hawaii Japanese such as Yamashiro and the talented Moriyama brothers. As the Travelers came to have fewer Chinese players, Hawaii’s Chinese community distanced itself from them and assembled the aforementioned CAU nine.

Several of these Hawaiian ballplayers attracted interest from mainland professional teams. Outfielder Lang Akana was signed by the Pacific Coast League’s (PCL’s) Portland Beavers for the 1915 season, but a threatened boycott by white PCL players moved the team owner to release the outfielder. Lai Tin was inked as well by the Chicago White Sox of the American League. At this time, he, too, remained outside of organized baseball’s fold, either because, according to the press, he was not good enough for the Major Leagues or he did not want to play with a team of haoles.

However, a few of the Travelers did make it into organized baseball. Vernon Ayau, a deft shortstop, played in the Pacific Northwest League in 1917, and Andy Yamashiro, curiously competing as Andy Yim, did fine as an outfielder in the Blue Ridge League. Getting another chance to play organized baseball in 1918, Buck Lai started as a third baseman for the Bridgeport Americans of the Eastern League after the Philadelphia Phillies cut him. Lai would have one more shot at the big leagues when the New York Giants invited him to camp in 1928. Once again, Lai was not seen as big league material.

Apau Kau was an often dominating pitcher for the Travelers. Organized baseball teams expressed interest in obtaining his talents. As mentioned earlier, he did decide to linger on the East Coast after the last trek of the Travelers in 1916. Apau Kau pitched semiprofessionally for a Philadelphia department store in 1917. He subsequently joined the U.S. military when World War I flared for Americans. In the fall of 1918, Sergeant Apau Kau lost his life on a European battlefield.

Other ballplayers of Chinese descent would find their way into organized baseball. Pitcher Lee Gum Hong appeared for the PCL’s Oakland Oaks in 1932, seemingly more out of an effort to lure fans to watch a mediocre team in the throes of the Great Depression. In the 1940s, George Ho was a peripatetic minor leaguer from New York City. More recently, Ray Chang has played minor league baseball for organizations such as the Boston Red Sox and Pittsburgh Pirates. Significantly, since his parents were born in China, he competed for China in the World Baseball Championship in 2009.

Pitcher Ron Darling remains the most famous ballplayer of Chinese ancestry. The Hawaiian born Darling became a stalwart member of the New York Mets’ pitching staff in the 1980s. Winning as many as 17 games for the 1988 Mets, Darling subsequently took the mound for the Toronto Blue Jays and the Oakland Athletics. He presently does baseball commentary for TBS and the Mets.

Encountering racial and gender barriers, Kim Ng has served as assistant general manager for both the New York Yankees and the Los Angeles Dodgers. In the process, the former college softball player experienced ethnic taunts from a member of the New York

Mets' front office. Moreover, she has been interviewed but not yet hired for general manager positions. Even the Dodgers passed over her and hired an assistant general manager from the rival San Francisco Giants.

As Ng's career suggests, the Chinese American experience with baseball has been ambivalent. Undoubtedly, baseball has offered them joy and chances to represent their communities, cross-cultural borders, and achieve fame and, in Darling's case, a relative fortune. But it would be understandable to wonder if the sport could not have been more generous to the likes of Lang Akana, Buck Lai, and Kim Ng.

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See also Filipino American Baseball; Japanese American Baseball

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Chinese American Childhood

During the nineteenth century, the vast majority of Chinese children emigrated from Canton with the intention of providing financial support for their family living in both the United States and China. Among

these early immigrants were young teenage boys who usually accompanied their father, uncle, or older sibling with the intention of working in America. Chinese girls were less likely to immigrate, although many of those who did come over (knowingly or not) worked as prostitutes. Some merchant-class Chinese men sent for their wives and children with the intention of living as a complete family unit in America. However, this arrangement was less common during the pre-1920 period. Although most scholars describe the earliest period of Chinese American history (1850–1920) as the period of "bachelor society," there was a small but significant presence of Chinese children living in America. In San Francisco's Chinatown, home of the largest Chinese American population at the time, Chinese children constituted on average no more than 11 percent of the local Chinese American population. Children were statistically even more rare in smaller rural Chinatowns across the nation. The stringent enforcement of the 1882, 1892, and 1902 Chinese Exclusion Acts further significantly hampered the development of Chinese American family life.

The various incarnations of the Chinese Exclusion Act specifically sought to limit the influx of Chinese laborers and prostitutes. Young Chinese immigrants, therefore, experienced intensive scrutiny by immigration officials. Children who exhibited the markers of merchant-class status gained relatively easy entry. Immigration officials were also much more likely to admit especially young children or whole families immigrating as a unit. However, teenage Chinese youth traveling alone or with a more ambiguous class status endured intensive interrogation and medical exams to ensure their right to enter the country as children of exempt-class immigrants. An elaborate system of by-passing immigration restrictions developed via the paper son/paper daughter system, which allowed Chinese child laborers and prostitutes to circumvent the exclusion laws. Families in China purchased false paperwork, which would allow a young man to claim a familial relationship with a merchant (or a U.S. citizen) living in the United States. The child then had to memorize extensive information about his paper family before facing interrogation by immigration officials. The elaborate system of paper families developed into a complex game by the early twentieth

century in which Chinese immigrant children, their families, and their paper families attempted to deceive immigration officials to bypass America's discriminatory race and class-based immigration policies. The Chinese Exclusion Act was strictly enforced until its repeal in 1943.

Chinese children in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century America frequently labored alongside their families. These children often worked long hours in the family business in addition to juggling school and household responsibilities. Over time, however, they found themselves caught in the larger national debate over the potential hazards of child labor. Although the success of the Progressives at passing laws limiting child labor in the 1910s, and although as families became more economically self-sufficient, they relied less and less on the labor of their children to help provide financially for the family, child labor never completely disappeared in Chinatowns. Both working-class and middle-class Chinese immigrant families continued to encourage their children to work after school to help the family business, supplement the family income, and instill values of thrift and hard work.

Chinese American culture has always placed a great deal of emphasis on the importance of education. Yet the struggle for equal education varied from place to place. In many cities and towns in California, Chinese children faced segregated schooling or were denied access to a public education all together. From 1871 to 1885, San Francisco denied Chinese children any kind of public education and Chinese families turned to missionaries and private tutors to educate their children. By 1885, the Chinese American community had successfully won their right to a public education in the case of *Tape v. Hurley*. However, the California state legislature opted for a segregated system of education for Chinese children. Although Chinese community organizations and individual families challenged the legality of segregated schools, over the next several decades the "Chinese School," or "Oriental School" as it was later called, served as the official segregated elementary school for Chinese children in San Francisco's Chinatown until 1947. Chinese children growing up in towns in the San Joaquin Delta also attended segregated Chinese

schools. In other areas of the United States, Chinese American children attended integrated schools because the small number of Chinese immigrants rarely justified the expense of separate schools. However, in the South, where racially segregated schools existed for black children, Chinese families also tried to fight for an integrated public education for Chinese children. In 1924, Lum Gong, a Chinese merchant living in Mississippi, sued the local school district after school officials denied his daughter's attendance at the white school. When the case eventually reached the United States' Supreme Court, the justices determined that Chinese, would have to attend the segregated schools for black children if they wished to obtain a public education.

Some Chinese youth found themselves the objects of reformers' attentions. Protestant churches founded mission schools to provide Christian education to Chinese youth. Local child-saving organizations and a few churches such as the Methodist and Presbyterian churches, established homes to rescue and house orphaned, abused, or abandoned Chinese women and children. The children often became the objects of legal contention as missionaries and social reformers battled Chinese community members for guardianship rights. By the early twentieth century, youth gangs had emerged in Chinatowns across the nation. Chinese children who found themselves in trouble with the law frequently ended up in the juvenile court system for their transgressions, facing possible sentence to local juvenile halls or state reform schools. A few continued their life of crime and eventually became adult members of criminally associated tongs. Local community efforts to crack down on gambling, prostitution, and opium smoking helped to quell the tong violence of the early twentieth century. A resurgence of Chinese gang activity erupted in American Chinatowns during the 1970s. Chinese youth gangs continue to pose problems for law enforcement today. Adult organized crime groups often turn to Chinatown youth gangs to assist in elaborate schemes involving drug trafficking, assault, extortion, and the protection of gambling houses and brothels.

Chinese American family life reflected the influences of both Chinese and American culture. China-born parents typically raised their children according to

Chinese child-rearing models, which allowed for the pampering of young children until about age seven when parents began to institute strict discipline to help build strong character. Chinese culture also clearly defined distinct roles for male versus female children, which required men to serve as wage earners whereas women were responsible for domestic duties. Mothers often passed on Chinese stories, rituals, and traditions through both their daily interactions and the celebration of various feasts and festivals with their children. Chinese children in America experienced Chinese culture through the food, language, holidays, and clothing traditions practiced by their family and community. However, through school and church Chinese children experienced American culture. Some families rapidly converted to Western customs to express a desire to assimilate into American society. Others maintained a prominently Chinese identity out of cultural pride and/or an intention of eventually returning home to China. Most families, however, found a way to create a uniquely Chinese American identity by selectively adapting customs from both cultures.

A larger second-generation of American-born Chinese American children came of age beginning in the 1920s and contributed to the transformation of Chinese American communities nationwide into more family friendly communities. Chinese American children growing up during this period continued to face discrimination and segregation in public places, at school, and in the workforce. In addition, American-born children often struggled with a feeling of cultural dualism created by living on the margins of two worlds. On the one hand, they felt tied to their Chinese heritage through the traditions of their family, community, and Chinese culture schools. On the other hand, their education in American public schools, participation in Christian churches, and social interaction with Euro-American peers and culture, helped to cement their self-identification as Americans. Generational conflicts inevitably developed between American-born Chinese children and their China-born parents over issues such as education, recreational activities, work, and dating. Many Chinese children born in America resented the strict child-rearing practices of Chinese culture and longed for the apparent freedom enjoyed by their Euro-American peers.

American-born Chinese children also often served as cultural mediators for their parents, translating English into Chinese or explaining American customs to their parents. This role reversal sometimes upset the dynamics of the family power structure and further heightened intergenerational tensions.

World War II opened up a range of economic opportunities for Chinese families with the removal of racial restrictions in military service and employment in the war industries. Many Chinese American children raised in the post-war period enjoyed a more affluent lifestyle than their pre-war predecessors. Chinese American families who could afford the transition moved out into the suburbs and challenged policies of residential segregation in the process. This sudden migration of Chinese American families created a clear distinction between uptown and downtown Chinese. The Chinatowns of the urban cities never completely disappeared and remained home to recently arrived Chinese immigrants and families too poor to move into the suburbs. Chinese American children in the suburbs enjoyed the material gains of their new affluence but also faced a heightened pressure to further the family's social mobility by succeeding academically. Middle-class American families often went to great lengths by hiring tutors or enrolling children in standardized test preparation courses to ensure their children's academic success.

Changes in the nation's immigration laws in 1965 encouraged a dramatic increase in the number of Chinese child immigrants arriving from mainland China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong. This new Chinese American population was culturally and linguistically distinct from their Cantonese predecessors. The 1965 immigration policy instituted preferences for professionals and skilled workers who were affluent enough to bypass Chinatown's ghettos and move straight to the American suburbs. Provisions in the 1965 act and later immigration acts also provided for the immigration of refugees from Southeast Asia. Many of these immigrants contributed to the repopulation of America's inner-city Chinatowns in the 1970s and 1980s. Although the new immigrant is demographically different from their Cantonese predecessors, these children and their families have carried on the struggle to obtain access to decent housing, healthcare, and quality education and bilingual programs.

In recent decades, the overall socioeconomic success of Chinese Americans has contributed to their image as model minorities. Unfortunately, this image has created undo pressure on Chinese American youth who fall short or fail altogether to conform to the stereotype. Many Chinese American children feel compelled to live up to the image of the model minority by working twice as hard as their peers to achieve academic success. The stereotype obscures the realities of historical policies of segregation and exclusion while masking the problems faced by immigrant, urban, and working-class Chinese youth.

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See also Chinese Americans; Chinese Exclusion Acts (1882–1943); *Tape v. Hurley* (1885)

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Chinese American Community Organizations

Community organizations play very important roles in historical Chinese America. Shortly after they settled in the United States, Chinese immigrants began to organize among themselves. Some of the historical organizations were formed on ties originated in native places of the immigrants, whereas others were based

on political, economic, and social interests shared by members of the ethnic community. At a time when affiliation with the larger society was extremely difficult, most Chinese Americans were eager to become members of their community organizations. Without support from their community networks, newcomers would face great difficulties in finding jobs, and they would have no means to voice their grievances.

Historical Associations

Clan and Family Associations. Clan and family ties bound groups of immigrants together from the very beginning. Memberships of clan or family associations were often defined by a common surname or lineage, which kept the immigrants attached to their native villages. These associations, often featured with the surname of group members, were especially important to the immigrants of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. They helped immigrants find work. Most newcomers were introduced to the occupations of their fellow clan members. Such practice enabled clan and family associations to develop their own occupational specialties. Clan members also tend to concentrate in certain areas. The Lees, for example, were most prominent in Philadelphia by the turn of the twentieth century, as were the Chins and the Toms in New York City.

Huiguan. A district association is called a huiguan, which traces its origin to immigrants' native place in China. Members of a huiguan are from a given district, and they share a common dialect. Combining all the clans and social groups from the same region, huiguan provided its members with many benefits that were crucial to the survival of the immigrants. Newcomers could find temporary lodging inside their huiguan buildings, where they met fellow villagers and also obtained job information. Chinese merchants, some of whom came earlier, served as officials of these associations. They would meet the incoming steamers at the port of entry regularly, lead fellow newcomers to the associations, and provide them with job information and necessary supplies. Huiguan officials would also arbitrate disputes among group members, help form rotating credit groups, and ensure the payment of debts. Membership dues and other funds collected

were used to finance projects of common interests and concerns. The Sanyi huiguan (Sam Yup Benevolent Association), for example, helped send 188 older members back to their home villages in China in 1882. Huiguan also provided medication and temporary shelter to the sick, raised special funds for the elderly, maintained cemeteries, and paid burial expenses for the poor. It also shipped the exhumed bones of the deceased to their home villages for final burial. Both clans and the huiguan sponsored social activities regularly. Many huiguan had branches established outside of San Francisco.

Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association. The Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (CCBA) is a federation of various community associations. First established in the 1870s, the CCBA was known to the mainstream American media as the Chinese Six Companies. The association mobilized the community to challenge discriminatory legislation after 1882, and it was recognized by both the Chinese government and mainstream American society as the voice of the Chinese American community. By 1947, 30 branches of the CCBA were established in Chinatowns throughout the country.

Hierarchically above clan and the district associations, the CCBA functioned as the governing body of the entire ethnic community. It worked with affiliated organizations and mediated disputes among them. The CCBA built Chinese language schools and financed the Chinese Hospital in San Francisco. Those who planned to return to China were required to obtain exit permits issued by the CCBA. Under the leadership of the CCBA, the community protested the treatment of the Chinese in the United States. It contested many discriminatory laws in court and won a few important battles. It also promoted trade with China. More than anything else, the CCBA gave individual Chinese living in the United States a sense of community under difficult circumstances.

To secure funds for legal battles and building public infrastructure, CCBA collected membership dues through district associations. A substantial amount of income also came from fees charged for issuing exit permits. Individual Chinese could not purchase tickets from American steamship companies without an exit

permit issued by the CCBA. Registration drives launched by the CCBA in the early twentieth century were quite successful, when the community was united to lobby Congress to amend immigration laws. As more and more immigrants settled down and established their own businesses, there was an increasing desire for family unification and community building, and the CCBA provided the much-needed leadership for the entire community.

Chinese American Citizens Alliance. The Chinese American Citizens Alliance (CACA) was organized by second-generation Chinese Americans. During the exclusion Chinese immigrants were denied the right to naturalization, but those who were born in the United States were entitled to U.S. citizenship under the 14th amendment of the U.S. Constitution. The CACA emerged as one of the most influential organizations in the community because its members could vote. First known as the United Parlor of the Native Sons of the Golden States in San Francisco in 1895, the group was reorganized and renamed the Chinese American Citizens Alliance in 1904. It grew at a fast pace in the following two decades, with chapters in Oakland, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Fresno, and San Diego. From the 1920s to the 1940s, when the court refused to review immigration laws, the CACA played a leading role lobbying Congress and pushed for the 1930 amendment for the admission of Chinese wives of U.S. citizens. Legislative efforts of CACA for family unification continued in the 1950s and early 1960s. The CACA's newspaper, the *Chinese Times*, has been one of the most important community newspapers within the Chinese American community. First established during the exclusion, it is the only community-based newspaper that survived World War II and the Cold War.

Tong. Tong is a type of Chinese fraternal organization. Members of the tongs were bound together through secret rites and sworn brotherhood. One of the early tongs, Zhigongtang (Chee Kung Tong), was a secret society originated in China, with the goal to overthrow the Qing Dynasty and restore the Ming Dynasty. Unlike most family and district associations, the tongs were antiestablishment in nature. They controlled the immigrant underworld and divided

territories over gambling, opium smoking, and prostitution. Fights between two tongs were known by the mainstream media as tong wars.

Chinese Hand Laundry Alliance. This is a laundryman's guild in New York. In March 1933, the Council of Aldermen of the City of New York proposed an ordinance: all public laundries were subject to a security bond of \$1,000 and an annual license fee of \$25. In addition to the exorbitant fees, which was beyond the reach of most Chinese laundrymen, the proposal also made U.S. citizenship a requirement for every public laundry owner. Because Chinese immigrants were ineligible for citizenship, the latter requirement alone made it practically impossible for them to stay in business. When the CCBA refused to take immediate actions, more than one thousand Chinese laundrymen organized the Chinese Hand Laundry Alliance (CHLA). The CHLA launched its own campaign against the proposed ordinance, hired lawyers to challenge the ordinance, and eventually won its battle in court. The victory allowed the organization to grow quickly. In most of the 1930s and 1940s, the CHLA was a major organization confronting the CCBA in New York (see the Chinese Hand Laundry Alliance of New York [CHLA]).

Chinese Workers' Mutual Aid Association. The Chinese Workers' Mutual Aid Association (CWMAA) was a San Francisco-based labor organization. It was founded in September 1937 by a group of workers who had worked at Alaska salmon canneries in the previous summer. The CWMAA had strong ties with American trade unions. It also had close ties with the American Communist Party and was sympathetic to the Chinese Communist movement. The association held seminars to study Marxist theory and published essays supporting the Communist revolution in China. In the late 1940s, the CWMAA was a major voice against the CCBA in San Francisco. Membership declined in the early 1950s.

Chinese Patriotic Youth Club. The Chinese Patriotic Youth Club (CPYC) (*Niuyue huaqiao qingnian jiuguo tuan*) was the largest youth organization in New York. Founded in 1938, the organization

attracted both male and female community members and had close ties with the CHLA. The CPYC sponsored social and recreational programs and held Mandarin, music, and photography classes. Its chorus was popular among the young Chinese Americans. The *Chinese Youth* was the magazine of the CPYC.

Min Qing (Chinese Democratic Youth League). Min Qing was first organized in 1942 as the Chinese Youth League in San Francisco. Members of Min Qing included both young men and women of all social backgrounds. Many Min Qing members were immigrants, and a few women assumed leadership positions. Min Qing created a variety of social and recreational programs. It offered Mandarin, music, and photography classes, and formed chorus, dancing, and drama teams. It also helped new immigrants learn English. The youth organization published its own magazine, *Minqing*, which became an outlet for self-taught young writers in the community. Min Qing also maintained a library, providing reading materials in classic Chinese literature and history, as well as Marxist theory that had become popular among students in China.

Social Hierarchy

Clan and family associations, huiguan, and the CCBA above them form the basic structure of community establishment. Membership in these associations was reserved for male only. Merchants, who possessed wealth and connections in the immigration networks, assumed leadership positions. These merchants enjoyed more power and prestige than merchants in China. Until the early twentieth century the ranks of government officials in China were determined according to their performance in imperial examinations. The imperial examination system was abolished in 1905, but the scholar-gentry class continued to enjoy elite-class status in China. Following Chinese traditions, some district associations tried to recruit scholars to serve as presidents of huiguan. This practice ended in 1925 when the U.S. government tightened immigration regulations. The absence of a scholar-gentry class helped merchants gain elite status in the community. Chinese merchants were the first to come to the United States. They were powerful

members of the community because many of them brought over a large number of clan members and helped them find jobs. Exempted from exclusion, they were able to bring in their families. All important positions in the community power structure, including presidents of family associations, huiguan, and CCBA were eventually held by merchants.

The community power structure received strong support from the Chinese government. The Chinese Nationalist Party, the Guomindang, established headquarters in several Chinatowns in the United States and actively recruited Chinese immigrants. Heads of huiguan and CCBA were often appointed as party officials.

Internal struggles never ceased, however. Beginning in the late 1920s, the CCBA's position as the voice of the Chinese American community was challenged, as internal struggle among different district associations for representation and control of the association intensified. Within the CCBA, Ning Yang, a huiguan of immigrants from Taishan county in Guangdong province, had the largest membership. Because Ning Yang had contributed a significantly larger portion of the CCBA's budget than any other groups, it demanded more power than other district associations. In 1927, *Young China Morning Paper*, a Guomindang-controlled newspaper run by immigrants from Zhongshan district, criticized Ning Yang's president for abusing his power at the CCBA. These comments triggered a bitter battle between the two regional immigrant groups. Ning Yang called its members to boycott the newspaper, but the newspaper was backed by the Guomindang's headquarters in San Francisco, which threatened to expel anyone from the party who boycotted the newspaper. To protest, Ning Yang adopted a non-cooperative attitude in the CCBA. It rejected the latter's new measures to collect funds and questioned the effectiveness of its leadership. Without the consent of its biggest district association, CCBA could not conduct its routine business and had to give in. The result was to assure Ning Yang its dominance in the organization. In its 1930 new bylaws, Ning Yang gained control over CCBA by occupying about half of the seats on the board. The head of Ning Yang also got to serve as president of the CCBA every other term, whereas the other half terms were filled by presidents of the other six district associations.

Challenges also came from outside of the community power structure. After the community lost its legal battle against the Geary Act in the 1890s, for example, CCBA found it difficult to maintain control for many years. Progressive forces of the community, including intellectuals, workers, and youth groups questioned CCBA's legitimacy as community spokesperson. In the 1940s, some community members were disillusioned by the nationalist government in China, and they also thought that the merchant-dominated community power structure had little interest in providing protection for ordinary Chinese Americans. Beginning in the 1930s, workers and young Chinese Americans formed their own organizations without permission from the CCBA. These organizations attracted many young immigrants, intellectuals, and workers; they worked to reduce the influence of the ethnic power structure.

The community was further divided in the late 1940s and early 1950s, largely over China politics. Although the Cold War provided the community establishment with new ammunition to crush its opponents, its reputation also declined in the process. Because the United States had no diplomatic relationship with the newly established People's Republic of China from 1949 to 1979, it was difficult for Chinese Americans to travel to their ancestral homeland. The CCBA therefore lost its income from issuing exit permits. Changes in postwar years, especially desegregation, family unification, and access to the mainstream job market meant that affiliation with a clan or huiguan was not as crucial to the survival of individual Chinese. Today, the CCBA still claims to be the spokesperson of the community, but the power and reputation of the organization has been greatly reduced.

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See also Chinese Americans

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Chinese American Funerary Rituals

Chinese immigrants to the United States carried with them their cultural beliefs regarding death and the nature of the afterlife. Combining elements of Confucianist, Taoist, and Buddhist philosophy, many Chinese immigrants believed that proper funeral and burial ritual determined not only the happiness of the deceased in the afterlife but ensured the future happiness, health, and material well-being of the living relatives. Failure to properly care for the deceased through appropriate death rituals, both at the time of death and for years after, had the potential to turn the departed into wandering ghost spirits capable of wreaking havoc on the lives of the living. Discontented ancestors could be responsible for a sudden loss of income, a failure to have children or produce a male heir, misfortune, illness, or even death in the family.

Although funerals among early Chinese immigrants in America were rarely as formal or elaborate as funeral ceremonies at home in China, some individuals still went to great lengths to ensure the observance of traditional rituals. Shortly after death, relatives laid out various types of food and drink offerings near the body of the deceased. Relatives formally announced the death to the community and sometimes hired a geomancer to determine the appropriate time and place of burial. Mourners prepared for the funeral procession by dressing in white and blue, the traditional colors of death. The chief mourner (usually the eldest son or other close relative) led the procession with visible displays of grief. Sometimes women were hired to conduct ritual wailing and mourning rites. Bands accompanied the procession playing music both to notify the community of the solemnness of the occasion and to frighten away any lingering ghost spirits. The explosion of firecrackers, offerings of food and drink, the burning of incense, and the scattering of perforated symbolic money was also intended to appease the deceased and discourage ghost spirits from harassing the living. Many Chinese American cemeteries included specially constructed burners where mourners burned symbolic money, clothing, or consumer goods for use by the deceased in the afterlife. Some families hired Buddhist, Taoist, or Christian priests

and ministers to chant incantations or perform burial rituals at the funeral home and gravesite. Chinese American funerals may have included all of these elements or only a select few depending on the wealth and status of the deceased.

Although the practice of secondary burial was common among the Cantonese in China as a means of preserving the bones and caring for the dead, exhumation and reburial took on new meaning in the United States. Several years after death, community leaders or Chinese district associations hired individuals to exhume, package, and ship the bones to China for reburial. The purpose of this practice was to ensure that relatives back home carried on the appropriate death ritual. As more and more families chose the United States as their permanent home, the practice of exhumation and reburial in China declined in popularity. However, this practice has seen a temporary resurgence today with the increase in the number of Chinese immigrants who have actually reversed the tradition by exhuming deceased relatives in China and reburying them in the United States.

Fengshui or geomancy refers to the practice of positioning graves and homes in a manner that is most likely to accrue the benefits of positive energy (*qi*). In China, families often hired consultants to determine the appropriate placement of the grave as well as the best time of burial. Proper placement of the grave was considered essential to the deceased's well-being and happiness in the afterlife. Although there are various schools of thought and diverse means of siting graves, generally the deceased's head would be buried up against the slope of a hill or an artificially constructed omega-shaped ridge to ensure that negative energy flowed away from the grave. Ridges, hills, or mountains at the back of the grave ensured that dangerous spirits passed by the grave. Water passing alongside the foot of the grave dispersed positive energy. The overseas Chinese may have had limited say in the site selection of the earliest cemeteries as discriminatory laws and practices often dictated the location of Chinese cemeteries outside the main part of a town's cemetery. However, scholars have noted that some Chinese cemeteries appear to be sited in accordance with the principles of *fengshui*. Today, the death

industry is big business and the locations of many modern Chinese American cemeteries have been carefully chosen according to the principles of *fengshui*. Individual families also frequently hire geomancers to determine the location of gravesites in Chinese American cemeteries today.

In addition to the funeral and burial rituals practiced by individual families, a number of other traditions and ceremonies exist to provide for the deceased well beyond the funeral. The family continued to care for their deceased ancestor through the use of spirit tablets. Spirit tablets placed in temples, company houses, or family homes included the names of deceased ancestors. Family members laid out occasional offerings of food, drink, and incense before the tablet in memory of the deceased. Annual community-wide festivals (*Qingming*—the Pure Brightness Festival and *Yulanpen*—the Hungry Ghosts Festival) existed to care for the spirits of the deceased through ceremonial offerings and tributes designed to appease the deceased and any wandering ghost spirits.

Traditional Chinese elements of death ritual have remained even as Chinese Americans have adopted aspects of Western or Christian funeral and burial rituals. Although some families have completely adopted American funeral customs, other families mix Christian or Western funeral practices with various aspects of Chinese death ritual. A typical funeral ceremony today might include a Chinese-style procession to the cemetery coupled with the Western traditions of mourners dressed in black and the presence of Christian ministers. The post-1965 immigration of new Chinese immigrants from Hong Kong, Taiwan, mainland China, and Southeast Asia has further diversified Chinese American funeral rituals while helping to perpetuate Chinese-style death rituals in America.

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See also Chinese Americans

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Chinese American Youth in Multiethnic Chicago

Existing literature on immigrant youth usually focus on their ethnic identity formation or their school performance. Such research often attributes the liberal college environment as the primary setting of identity formation and reduces youths experiences of growing up in localized communities to secondary background information. Although recognizing the connection between community infrastructure and identity formation of immigrant youth, this study finds that class is a salient factor in mediating the racialized experiences of different groups of Chinese American youth. Unlike the majority of middle-class suburban youth who discover their Asian American panethnicity through meeting many of their coethnics for the first time on college campuses, working-class youth from multiracial urban neighborhoods tend to develop multilayered identities, which are based on the articulation of race, class, gender, and masculinity. This research was conducted between 2003 and 2005. To protect the identity of my research subjects, all the names used here are pseudonyms. I use the term “Chinese American youth” to include both the 1.5 generation (foreign-born youth arriving in the United States prior to age 13) and the second generation (youth born in the United States to immigrant parents). I treat Chinese American youth as a distinct group because the majority of them spent their childhood or adolescence in the United States and their experience of becoming American is significantly different from their immigrant parents.

Chicago’s Chinatown differs from those of San Francisco, Los Angeles, and New York in many ways. Although the latter attract scholarly attention for their sweatshop workers, illegal immigrants, and economic potential, there are no similar studies on Chicago’s Chinatown, which solely depends on the restaurant industry. Moreover, although Chinatowns in the two coastal areas are undergoing economic depression and population decline, Chicago’s Chinatown is expanding southwest to its adjacent Bridgeport neighborhood. Altogether, the Chinese population in Armour Square (where the historical Chinatown is located) and Bridgeport account for almost half of all

Chinese in Chicago. This concentration of Chinese immigrants in Chicago differs from other Asian immigrant groups in the city, such as Filipinos, Asian Indians, and Koreans, who have more dispersed residential patterns and much higher rates of suburbanization. In addition, Chinese Americans also display the most striking class polarity among all Asian immigrant groups in Chicago. Although highly educated Chinese professionals and managerial staff can afford to settle directly into middle-class suburbs, new Chinese immigrants with limited English language skills often end up in ethnic enclaves like Chinatown, depending on the ethnic job market for survival.

The rapid expansion of the Chinese population from Chinatown to Bridgeport began around the 1980s and 1990s, largely because of the 1989 Tiananmen Incident in China and the 1997 return of the British colony of Hong Kong to mainland China. Today Bridgeport's population is roughly 26 percent Asian American (mainly Chinese Americans), 30 percent Latino (mainly Mexican Americans) and 41 percent white (Census 2000). African Americans constitute only 1.05 percent of Bridgeport's population. They nonetheless continue to play an important role in the neighborhood's racial imagination. For example, in 1997, a 13-year-old African American youth Lenard Clark was beaten into a coma by three white youths while biking in a park near Bridgeport. It was reported that the offenders later bragged how they had taken care of the "niggers" in their neighborhood.

Because of their exposure to the white world through schools and peer groups, and their fluency in the English language, Chinese American youth, particularly males, are easy targets for hate crimes or interracial harassment in Bridgeport. Although hate crimes against Chinese Americans are not as violent as those against African Americans—interracial harassment against Chinese Americans usually takes the form of verbal assaults, threat of physical attack or criminal damage of properties, in several cases Chinese Americans are obviously categorized as either black or close to the black pole of the black/white racial dichotomy. For example, in 1998 an 18-year-old Chinese American was attacked by some white youth. They beat him up while yelling things like "You've ratted out. I'll beat you like a fucking nigger.

I hate nigger and Chinaman." Somehow they believed he was a witness of the Lenard Clark case in 1997, and they threatened him not to tell the police. In a more recent case in 2002, a Chinese high school student was walking at the borderland of Bridgeport and Chinatown when a car came by with three white teens in it. They said, "Hey, are you a nigger?" Before he could say anything, they jumped out of the car and one of them punched him in the eye. The racialization of Chinese Americans as blacks illuminates the continuity between Bridgeport's historical racism against blacks and its current anti-immigrant sentiment. It also invokes among Chinese American youth an acute awareness of their nonwhite racial status.

In contrast to their parents' relative silence on the topic of race and their prejudice against African Americans, the majority of Chinese American youth are more vocal in expressing their indignation toward racial discrimination. Many of the youth in this study develop their American identity through dealing with interracial harassment from whites, learning racial etiquette on the street, and witnessing the extreme poverty of their immigrant families. For working-class Chinese American youth, becoming American means becoming nonwhite American, becoming minority American, and becoming racialized American. Paul, who was once beaten up by some white youth when biking home from a party at night, told me bluntly, "I think there is racism going on in this neighborhood and I can feel it all the time. Some people see themselves superior to us. They think we are inferior. They jumped me because they thought I was not as good as them. They didn't know I was born here and could speak English as well as them. All they saw was my Asian feature." Steve, another college student, told me that he felt threatened after the beating of Lenard Clark in 1997, "I know I will never be like whites because of the way I look. I feel more affinity towards African Americans. At least we are both minorities, we both look different. I don't mind talking to African Americans."

Both Paul and Steve mentioned their Asian feature as the major reason for their vulnerability to white harassment. On the other hand, this phenotypical difference from whites helps facilitate cross-racial socialization between Chinese and African American youth.

John told me that his best friend at grade school was a black Moslem, “we were both the marginalized at school. We suffer things together and we defend each other. Even nowadays, he is still my best friend.” Because of their shared experience of racialization with African Americans, some Chinese American youth are very critical about first-generation Chinese immigrants’ prejudice against African Americans. Lisa, a 17-year-old high school student, explained to me, “Well, just because some people did bad things doesn’t mean all people from the group are bad. I always speak for black people when they got picked at Chinese stores. I was raised by black teachers in Haines School and my best friend is a black kid. They taught me so much about things in the streets. Like you should wear your pants that way or the gangs will be after you.”

Lisa’s optimism aside, there are still layers of complexity in Chinese American youths identification with African Americans. Steve related to me one childhood incident, “I remember when I was in grade school I got so fed up with all the harassment that I went home and told my parents, ‘I don’t want to be Chinese. I want to be Black!’” I asked Steve why he wanted to be black. He answered immediately, “because Blacks are physically strong and they can fight back.” Looking back, Steve admitted that he had internalized some of the stereotypes Chinese immigrants hold against blacks, “Chinese tend to think of Blacks as violent. You hear stories in Chinatown about people getting robbed by Blacks. You read the newspaper, you watch TV. It seems all the crimes are committed by Blacks. I want people to be afraid of me, so that they won’t bother me.” Steve’s story illuminates the contradiction in some Chinese American youths identification with African American. Although he recognizes the structural marginalization shared by Chinese and blacks, Steve’s desire to be black is largely based on the criminalization and stigmatization of black masculinity by the mainstream media.

Despite their critique of first-generation Chinese immigrants’ negative attitudes toward African Americans, the majority of the Chinese American youth in this study still see their future closely tied up with their immigrant families. Unlike middle-class suburban youth who usually enjoy carefree adolescent lives, youth from working-class background are often

burdened with various family responsibilities growing up. Many feel the obligation to take care of their aging parents and to provide them a better living environment. Although sympathizing with the marginalization of African Americans and even maintaining personal relationships with some black friends, few second-generation Chinese Americans see in black American-ness the promise of a brighter future. Lisa’s dream is to become a lawyer and help her “own people.” John’s strategy against white discrimination and harassment is to be a smart kid, “My mom used to tell me, ‘they can take anything from you, but they can never take away your brain power.’ So I try to beat their body power with my brain power.” John’s choice to invest in “brain power” also betrays his hesitation to embrace a stereotypical black masculinity, which is characterized by excessive bodily power.

Besides John’s pursuit of academic excellence, there are also youth in Chinatown and Bridgeport who did not make it to elite universities. Some of them are school dropouts who joined their parents in the ethnic restaurant business; others drifted to petty crimes and gang activities, usually motivated by a narrowly defined sense of ethnic pride in face of interracial harassment. The criminalized masculinity displayed by these youth represents one extreme version of resistance on the part of Chinese American youth. On the other end of the spectrum, there are also youth in Chinatown and Bridgeport who easily blend in with Mexicans and blacks and thus have little experience of harassment from whites. Jason, a 21-year-old student from a Chicago city community college, told me that he never had any problem with race growing up. Jason attributes this to his non-Chinese looks and non-Chinese behavior, “I don’t look like Chinese. I talk a lot in class and I socialize with people. It was those nerdy ones, those quiet ones who got bullied a lot at school. Some people mistook me as Mexican. I easily blend in with my Black friends too.” The fact that Jason allows people to mistake him as Mexican—without offering any objection, without asserting his Chinese identity—may indicate a conscious performance of Mexican masculinity as a shield against white racism.

The racialization of Chinese American youth in Bridgeport and Chinatown takes on a gendered dimension because boys have a higher chance of

experiencing interracial harassment on the street than girls. From Steve's longing for black masculinity, to John's theory of brain power versus body power, to some Chinese American youths display of a criminalized Chinese masculinity, to Jason's performance of Mexican masculinity, working-class Chinese American youth have exhibited a variety of gendered and classed responses to their racial subordination in Bridgeport. Although some of these reactions run the risk of reinforcing existing racial stereotypes against Asian Americans and African Americans, they nevertheless demonstrate these youths efforts to negotiate racial and class marginalization in a predominantly black and white racial structure.

Shanshan Lan

See also Chinese Americans

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Chinese Americans

Chinese American is the largest Asian ethnic group in the United States since 1990. Today's Chinese America includes immigrants and their descendants from present-day China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macau, as well as ethnic Chinese immigrants, Han Chinese in particular, and their descendants from Southeast Asia and many different parts of the Chinese diaspora. There are many Chinese American subgroups. In recent years, there have been efforts to create a new Census category for those from Taiwan. The term Chinese Americans, however, is broadly defined to include all ethnic Chinese subgroups. The 2000 Census counted nearly 2.9 million persons of Chinese ancestry in the United States. In 2010, the population reached nearly 3.8 million, comprising 25.9 percent of the Asian American population and 1.2 percent of the U.S. population. The United States now is the fourth-largest Chinese diaspora, after Indonesia, Thailand, and Malaysia.

Early History of Chinese Diaspora

Chinese immigration to the United States is part of the Chinese diaspora. Beginning in the seventh

century, people from the Fujian province in southeastern China crossed the Taiwan Straits, and some settled on the island of Taiwan and the Penghu Islands. In the eighth century, people from both Fujian and the neighboring province of Guangdong reached Southeast Asia via ships called *junks* for seasonal trade. Although private maritime trade was prohibited by the imperial government, Chinese maritime activities expanded over several centuries. Gradually, permanent settlements of Chinese were found in many parts of Southeast Asia. In the early fifteenth century, the imperial government also financed expeditions to the east coast of Africa.

Overseas trade and Chinese emigration reached a new level in the sixteenth century. In 1567, the imperial government lifted the ban on private maritime trade. Trade volume surged. This occurred at an important juncture in world history: a few decades earlier, Columbus's expeditions reached the Americas. In Southeast Asia, Chinese merchants traded with merchants from Europe and participated in market activities that linked Europe, Africa, Asia, and the Americas. Trade and commerce facilitated interactions between Chinese and people of other nationalities. Many Western merchants and trading companies employed Chinese workers, allowing some Chinese to venture to more distant locations around the world. Sailors engaged in the Manila galleon trade (1565–1815) were perhaps the first Chinese to touch shore of the New World; Chinese artisans building ships for a British sea captain arrived in Hawaii in 1789, 11 years after Captain Cook's first voyage to the islands.

The Chinese imperial government, however, had showed little interest in maritime expansion and commerce. After the overthrow of the Ming Dynasty and the establishment of the Qing Dynasty (1644–1911) by the Manchus from northeast China, the new emperor of China prohibited emigration and imposed a trade ban to prevent Ming loyalists from seeking sanctuary overseas and fomenting anti-Qing activities. The bans were not strictly enforced, however. Merchant junks sailed to many colonial port cities such as Manila and Batavia (Jakarta). Following trade and commerce were small groups of emigrants seeking

work and business opportunities outside their homeland.

Increased overseas trade and commerce took place at a time of rapid population growth in China. The Chinese population doubled in the eighteenth century, from 150 million to 300 million. By 1850, when large numbers of Chinese began to arrive in the United States, China's population had reached to about 380 million. Land shortage forced many farmers to migrate to port cities or overseas. There is no evidence, however, that the imperial government promoted emigration to lessen the country's population pressure. What we do know is that the growth of the Chinese economy had made commerce with the outside world increasingly important. As participants of trade and commerce in a rapidly growing and more integrated world market, more and more Chinese emigrants gradually reached different parts of the world.

The expansion of the Chinese diaspora around the globe is the result of trade, commerce, and other transnational exchange activities over several centuries. By 1990, an estimated 37 million Chinese and their descendants were found in the Chinese diaspora, including some 136 countries worldwide. By 2010, the diaspora population was about 40 million. Ethnic Chinese are most populated in Southeast Asia, especially in Indonesia, Thailand, and Malaysia. Relatively few Chinese migrated to North America before 1965, but their number increased drastically in recent decades.

Immigration to the United States

Emigration of Chinese to the New World is part of the worldwide expansion of the Chinese diaspora. The Manila galleon trade between 1565 and 1815 provided the first links. Working on merchant ships, Chinese sailors and stewards sailed across the Pacific Ocean between Manila in the Philippines and Acapulco of New Spain (present-day Mexico). Some Chinese shops were found in Mexico City by the seventeenth century. In 1785, three Chinese, the first documented Chinese arrivals, landed on American soil: seamen Ah Sing, Ah Chuan, and Ah Gun, aboard the *Pallas*, sailed into Baltimore harbor from Canton.

When the captain of the ship took off to get married, they were stranded ashore and lived in Maryland and Philadelphia for almost a year, working for a merchant, Levi Hollingsworth. It is unknown whether they eventually returned to China. In 1788, a British captain, John Meares, brought as many as 40 Chinese carpenters and smiths to build ships at Nootka Sound of Vancouver Island. Another Chinese from Macao was found in Monterey, California, in 1793, under the name Jose Augutin de los Reyes in a church record. When Dutchman Van Braan Houckgeest of the Dutch East India Company came to the United States and settled near Philadelphia in 1796, he brought with him five Chinese servants. It was said that inside the mansion of the Spanish governor Pablo de Sola, Ah Nam from Chinshan in Guangdong province was a cook in 1815. Between 1841 and 1848, a few Chinese appeared in various records. Little is known about these individuals, however, because they left no written records. It is unclear how long they had stayed or whether they had families.

Chinese presence in Hawaii began as early as 1789, more than a century before the islands became part of the United States. Returning to China from Nootka Sound in British Columbia, where they built the 40-ton *North West America* for John Meares, some Chinese artisans stopped at the Hawaii islands. Soon after, sailors working on American and British trading ships would visit the islands regularly for water and food supplies. A few of them probably settled on the islands. Sandalwood trade between China and Hawaii facilitated more Chinese settlements. Sandalwood, which grows on the islands and has a unique fragrance, became quite popular in China. The Chinese called Hawaiian archipelago “the Sandalwood Mountains (Tanxiangshan).”

Early settlers quickly discovered a familiar native crop on the islands: sugarcane. Migrants from Guangdong province, which had been one of China’s major sugar-producing regions, played a crucial role in the development of Hawaii’s sugar industry. They began cultivating sugarcane on the islands. In 1802, Chinese sugar masters brought boiling pans and other primitive sugar-making equipment to the islands. Several sugar mills were in operation in Maui and Hawaii by 1830. The number was increased to a dozen or so a decade

later. Sugar was soon sold in stores operated by Chinese merchants in Honolulu. The Chinese were also the first to develop the plantation system; they recruited contract laborers from China to work on the plantations. Sugar production stimulated economic growth and attracted more independent migrants. Between 1852 and 1900, before the annexation of the islands by the United States, about 50,000 Chinese were living in Hawaii.

Large waves of Chinese immigration to the U.S. mainland did not occur until the mid-nineteenth century. In January 1848, gold was discovered in John Sutter’s mill northeast of Sacramento in California. News of the strike spread quickly, attracting migrants from different parts of the globe. Weeks after the discovery of gold, three Chinese—two men and a woman—were brought from China to San Francisco by American missionary Charles Gillespie. These men were the first Chinese working in the gold mines. The year after, in 1849, 325 Chinese arrived through the port of San Francisco; a year later, 450 arrived. The new arrivals soon increased to a few thousand and then tens of thousands each year. By 1900 there were 89,863 Chinese living in the United States, and more than half of them, 45,753 individuals, resided in California. San Francisco, the port of entry, was called by the Chinese as *Jinshan*—the Gold Mountain.

One important historical event that shaped overseas Chinese emigration of the nineteenth century is the first Opium War (1839–1842) between Britain and China. The war ended with China’s defeat and the establishment of a treaty system that gave Western powers dominance over China’s seaports. Although migration overseas was prohibited by the imperial government, the treaty system not only allowed foreign presence in China’s treaty ports, but also made Westerners immune from Chinese laws. Westerners could now recruit Chinese laborers and ship them abroad. Before the Opium War, Guangzhou (Canton) was the only port designated for foreign trade and shipping in China. Licensed Chinese merchants in the port city enjoyed the privilege of trading with foreign merchants, and many Chinese worked for foreign merchants. The Treaty of Nanjing that concluded the Opium War opened several new trading ports and opportunities for more Chinese to interact with the

outside world. Chinese emigration accelerated after the Opium War, and their destinations included Southeast Asia, Peru, Hawaii, and the Caribbean Islands, and a relatively small number of them came to North America.

Most Chinese who migrated to the United States came voluntarily. The migrants paid their own way, taking loans from their kin networks to finance their trips. Those who could not afford to do so purchased tickets on credit from Chinese middlemen, with an agreement to pay off the debt after they arrived in the United States. A small number of emigrants might have signed contracts agreeing to work for a specified time period in America in exchange for the voyage. From 1850 to 1882, more than 322,000 Chinese entries to the United States were recorded (including individuals who made multiple entries). By 1882, when the Chinese Exclusion Act was enacted, about 125,000 Chinese lived in the United States.

Early Economic Contributions

In California, the majority of Chinese laborers worked in gold mining at first. They used simple tools such as buckets, pans, and rockers to wash off the soil and rocks and collect the heavier gold dust and nuggets that settled at the bottom. This primitive method required little investment. Some miners were later employed as laborers by mining companies that used heavy equipment (see Chinese Mining). In 1850 and 1852, the California state legislature passed and then reenacted the Foreign Miners' Tax law. The original law was directed against Mexican miners. But after 1852, the Chinese became the main target of the law. Chinese in California gold mining, however, persisted for almost three decades. Following news of discoveries of gold in Nevada, southwest Oregon, British Columbia, the upper Columbia River basin, Idaho, and northeast Oregon between the mid-1850s and 1870s, Chinese miners were spread out in the American West. In addition to gold mining, Chinese immigrants were also found working in the quicksilver mines in California; the coal mines in Utah, Wyoming, and Washington; and the borax deposits in California, Nevada, and Oregon.

The presence of large number of Chinese miners in California provided opportunities for the development of a variety of small businesses. Chinese merchants sold to mine workers small household items, herbal medicine, and food ingredients, some of which were imported from China. Chinese farmers and fishermen supplied the miners with produces, meats, fish, and eggs. There were also eateries and houses for entertainment, including gambling and prostitution. Laundry services also emerged, catering mainly non-Chinese customers, even though washing clothes was not a traditional occupation for men in China.

After gold mining declined, more than 10,000 Chinese, many former miners, were hired by the Central Pacific Railroad Company between 1865 and 1867 to build the western half of the first transcontinental railroad. They performed both skilled and unskilled tasks, some of which were very dangerous. Their compensation, about \$28 a month and later increased to \$35 per month without boarding, was about 30 percent lower than their white counterparts. Many Chinese workers were buried by avalanches in the winter of 1867; their bodies were not dug out until the following winter. On May 10, 1869, when the transcontinental railroads were about to join at Promontory, Utah, a crew of Chinese and Irish workers was selected to place the final section of rail track in front of a band and a cheering crowd of observers. Chinese workers also contributed to the construction of western sections of the Southern Pacific and Northern Pacific and several branch lines. Railroad construction facilitated the expansion of Chinese settlement in many parts of California, Washington, Oregon, British Columbia, Utah, and Texas.

After the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869, thousands of Chinese found work as common laborers and farmhands, providing indispensable labor for the transformation of agriculture in California. In the Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta, Chinese laborers turned swamps into valuable rich farmland. A small number of them leased land and became tenant farmers or landowners. The farmers grew vegetables and fruits to be sold to local residents, concentrating on labor-intensive crops. During the anti-Chinese movement and after the enactment of

the Alien Land Laws, it became increasingly difficult for Chinese to stay on the farms. Many Chinese were forced to leave rural areas and move into Chinatowns in San Francisco. In Santa Barbara, California, where labor was scarce, however, Chinese immigrants found long-term employment. Many Santa Barbara farmers hired Chinese to pave roads, build houses, experiment with a large variety of crops, and perform domestic chores. Residing in farmhouses on the premises of their employers, these Chinese had frequent interactions with the local farmers. With the assistance of the farmers and ranchers, a small number of Chinese laborers were able to bypass the Alien Land Laws to become landowners; some eventually established families.

Along the California coast Chinese immigrants built small fishing communities. Chinese fisheries developed in the San Francisco Bay area and Louisiana, and were said to have exported about a million pounds of dried shrimp and shellfish annually in the 1880s. Chinese were also the first to establish abalone fisheries in California, and they also dominated salmon canneries in the Pacific Northwest and Alaska.

In San Francisco, Chinese factory workers played an important role in the early stages of California's industrial development. Cheap Chinese labor enabled California manufacturers to compete with the more established industries on the East Coast. Chinese workers dominated the labor force in woolen-mills and the cigar industry. By the mid-1870s, the majority of shoemakers and garment workers were also Chinese. A relatively small number of Chinese were also hired by Chinese-owned cigar, shoe, and garment factories. Some scholars have argued that industrial development in California might be delayed for at least a decade without the affordable Chinese labor. The Chinese population in California was less than 10 percent of the state population, but they formed about 25 percent of the labor force. The large presence of Chinese in factories caused an alarming concern. The Anti-Chinese movement, led in part by Denis Kearney, president of the Workingman's Party, shaped the labor union movement as well as politics in California. The movement forced Chinese workers out of manufacture jobs.

Anti-Chinese Hostility

California welcomed Chinese immigrants initially. In 1861, a joint committee of the California legislature praised the Chinese for their contribution to the state's economy. Labor shortage bolstered Chinese immigration. But hostilities surfaced shortly after their arrival. Like the indigenous people of the New World, the Africans enslaved in North America, and the Mexicans of conquered land, Asians were viewed as members of another inferior race in the eyes of those who deemed the superiority of the white race and of Western civilization. As the first Asian group to arrive to the United States, the Chinese became the targets for racial prejudice and discrimination.

The media played an important role in promoting the racist attitudes of the public. The Chinese were portrayed as an inferior race, opium addicts and starving masses of a decayed ancient civilization. They were deemed inassimilable to the Western culture and undesirable to American society. In the 1850s and 1860s, acts against Chinese immigrants were carried out largely by small groups of individuals. An 1862 committee report of the California state legislature showed that 88 Chinese miners were murdered, including 11 killed by collectors of the Foreign Miners' Tax. In the economic downturn of the 1870s, antagonism against the Chinese grew into organized activities; employers were pressured to fire Chinese workers from their factories.

In cities as well as in rural areas in California and throughout the West, Chinese laborers and farmers were subjected to harassment and mob violence. In 1871, a violent attack on Chinese in Los Angeles Chinatown resulted in 15 Chinese being lynched and an additional 6 being wounded. The mob looted a Chinese residence, searching for gold and other valuables. They also cut off the fingers of a Chinese herbalist to get his rings. In 1876, anti-Chinese violence broke out in Chico, California. Because the owner of a soap factory hired a few Chinese workers and leased land to them, arsonists burned the factory building and a barnhouse to the ground. Several homes and businesses of the Chinese were also set on fire. Four Chinese were murdered and another two were injured.

In 1877, a San Francisco mob attack left 21 Chinese dead, and eight years later, arsonists set fire to several Chinese dwellings in the city that claimed 13 lives. In the mid-1880s, anti-Chinese violence took place all over the American West: at Snake River Canyon in Idaho; in Denver, Colorado; in Portland, Oregon; and in Squaw Valley, Coal Creeks, Black Diamond, Tacoma, Puyallup, and Seattle in Washington. A mob congregated in Seattle's Chinatown in 1885 and forced some 350 Chinese to evacuate their homes. They loaded the Chinese into wagons and took them to the docks to be shipped away. In the same year, a massacre at Rock Springs, Wyoming, took the lives of 28 Chinese.

Shortly after their arrival, many local, state, and national laws were passed to make it difficult for the Chinese to live in the United States. In some cases, state and federal courts not only endorsed discriminatory legislation, but they also took additional measures against the Chinese. The Foreign Miners' Tax laws of 1850 and 1852 had imposed economic hardships on Chinese miners and encouraged violence against them. In 1855, when a George W. Hall was convicted of murdering a Chinese, the California Supreme Court reversed the conviction, arguing that the conviction was based on evidence provided by Chinese witnesses. This ruling deprived the Chinese of the right of testifying in court against white suspects. In the 1870s and early 1880s, the San Francisco board of supervisors passed more than a dozen ordinances to restrict Chinese laundry operations. Although these ordinances usually did not mention race or nationality, they always found ways to single out the Chinese based on unique ways that the Chinese conducted businesses. In 1878, the California state supreme court declared that Chinese immigrants are ineligible for citizenship because they were neither white nor black.

Anti-Chinese agitation in California also had some impact on Hawaii, where the 18,000 Chinese composed about a quarter of the Hawaiian population. Although sugar plantation owners were satisfied with Chinese laborers, they were concerned that the Chinese might become too dominant. Between 1882 and 1886, some restrictive measures against the Chinese were issued. Opponents of Chinese labor argued that the increase of Chinese on the islands

posed challenges to the survival of native Hawaiians, and they blamed Chinese immigrants for introducing diseases to the indigenous population.

Chinese Exclusion

Chinese exclusion (1882–1943) is a historical time period during which the immigration of Chinese laborers was legally prohibited. In the 1860s and 1870s, anti-Chinese agitation gained momentum in national politics, as exclusionists launched a political campaign to ban Chinese immigration. A major obstacle of Chinese exclusion was the Burlingame Treaty between the United States and China (see the Burlingame Treaty, The), which provided that both China and the United States should recognize the right of their people to change domiciles and allegiance, and that Chinese people visiting or residing in the United States were entitled the same privileges, immunities, and exemptions enjoyed by the citizens or subjects of most-favored nations. These treaty obligations made it impossible for the United States to exclude the Chinese. In 1880, the United States renegotiated the treaty with China. With the second Burlingame Treaty, the United States gained the unilateral right to limit Chinese immigration, clearing the way for exclusion laws.

Chinese exclusion began in 1882, after the first Chinese exclusion act was enacted on May 6, 1882. The original exclusion law suspended the immigration of Chinese laborers for 10 years. It also stipulated that no state or federal court were allowed to grant citizenship to Chinese. Now Chinese immigrants were legally defined as “alien ineligible to citizenship.”

Suspension of Chinese laborers did not apply to those already in the United States at the time or those arrived within 90 days after the law was enacted. Because of treaty obligations, Chinese teachers, students, merchants, tourists, and their servants, as well as diplomats were exempted from the restriction. Members of these exempted classes were required to present valid certificates issued by the Chinese government to gain entry.

The exclusion law included a number of amendments, each of which added more restrictions and closed loopholes. An 1884 amendment required

certificates for Chinese who left the country to reenter. The 1888 amendment, known as the Scott Act, cancelled all certificates previously issued by the government, making it impossible for those who had left to return. An 1892 amendment, known as the Geary Act, extended the exclusion for another 10 years and required all alien Chinese, including merchants, to carry certificates of residence. The amendment of 1902 extended exclusion for another 10 years. And finally, in 1904, another amendment made the exclusion permanent.

It was extremely difficult for Chinese to have families in the United States during the exclusion. The 1882 exclusion act targeted Chinese laborers and did not mention women, but that was only because the 1875 Page Law had already prevented them from coming to the United States. In those days, women in China did not work for wages and therefore could not be considered as laborers. But immigration authorities would not let wives of Chinese laborers join their husbands in the United States. In the case of Ah Quan, a U.S. circuit court ruled in 1884 that a wife of a Chinese laborer could be allowed to enter only if she could prove that she was in the United States before June 6, 1882. Moreover, it decided that wife and minor children belonged to the same class of the husband or father. In another case concerning a woman named Ah Moy, also decided in 1884, the federal court concluded that a woman should be accorded laborer status upon her marriage to a laborer, even if she had never worked outside the home. Thus, Chinese laborers already in the United States could no longer bring in their wives. For a few years after 1882, Chinese laborers were free to visit their wives in China. But the Scott Act of 1888 voided all returning certificates, making it impossible for Chinese laborers to come back if they decided to visit their families in China. Because of this Act, the Chinese American community was known as a “bachelor society” with gender imbalance until after World War II. As of 1890, there were nearly 27 males for each female. In 1940, the male to female ratio was 3:1.

Strict enforcement of exclusion effectively halted Chinese immigration. Under the exclusion Chinese population in the United States had a negative growth, from 107,488 in 1890 to 77,504 in 1940. Under

exclusion some Chinese immigrants developed ways to circumvent the exclusion laws. Some claimed to be family members of exempted classes or descendants of U.S. citizens. Some gained entry as imposters of children of merchants or U.S. citizens, who are known as paper sons or paper daughters.

Chinese exclusion ended on December 17, 1943, when a new law was enacted to repeal all exclusion acts. Chinese Americans, however, had mixed feelings about the repeal. The repeal took place in the midst of World War II, when the United States and China were allies. During the war Japanese propaganda launched an “Asia for Asiatics” campaign to undermine the U.S.-China alliance. Tokyo broadcast programs used Chinese exclusion as an example to tell its targeted audience in China that the United States could not be trusted. As a goodwill gesture, the U.S. government finally repealed all exclusion laws. But only a token annual immigration quota of 105 was granted to the Chinese. Chinese immigrants, however, finally became eligible for naturalization.

Community Organizations

Chinese immigrants formed many organizations. Shortly after they settled in the United States, they began to organize among themselves. Some of the historical organizations were formed on ties with native place affiliations, and there were also political, economic, and social interest groups. The exclusion helped the immigrants bind together. At a time when affiliation with the larger society was difficult, most Chinese joined their ethnic organizations for mutual support.

Clan and family ties formed the basis for early organizations. These associations define membership by a common surname or lineage. The fact that members of these associations often shared knowledge of specific trades and introduced newcomers to jobs in these trades allowed them to develop their own occupational specialties. Clan members also tend to concentrate in certain areas or neighborhoods. However, district-based associations called *huiguan* are more important than clan and family associations. Members of a *huiguan* are from the same district, and they share a common dialect and cultural practices. *Huiguan*

provided its members with many benefits. Newcomers could find temporary lodging inside the association buildings, where they could also obtain job information. Huiguan officials provided supervision to its affiliates, arbitrating disputes, helping to form and set terms for rotating credit associations, and ensuring the payment of debts. Huiguan also sponsored projects to assist the poor, sick, and the elderly. They maintained cemeteries and paid burial expenses for those who could not afford to do so. Above clan, family, and district associations is the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (CCBA). First established in the 1870s, the CCBA was known to the American media as the Chinese Six Companies. The association mobilized the community to challenge discriminatory legislation after 1882, and it was recognized by both the Chinese government and mainstream American society as the voice of the Chinese American community. By 1947, 30 branches of the CCBA were established in Chinatowns throughout the country. The CCBA functioned as the governing body of the entire ethnic community. It worked with affiliated organizations and mediated disputes among them. The CCBA built Chinese language schools and financed the Chinese Hospital in San Francisco. Those who planned to return to China were required to obtain exit permits issued by the CCBA. Under the leadership of the CCBA, the community protested against the treatment of the Chinese in the United States. It contested many discriminatory laws in court and won a few important battles.

One unique community organization is the Chinese American Citizens Alliance (CACA), which was formed by second-generation Chinese Americans. During the exclusion Chinese immigrants were denied the right to naturalization, but those who were born in the United States were entitled to U.S. citizenship under the Fourteenth amendment of the U.S. Constitution. From the 1920s to the 1940s, when the court refused to review immigration laws, the CACA played a leading role lobbying Congress and pushed for the 1930 amendment for the admission of Chinese wives of U.S. citizens. The CACA's newspaper, the *Chinese Times*, has been one of the most important historical community newspapers within the Chinese American community.

Organizations that controlled the Chinese American underground were called tong. Tong is a Chinese fraternal organization with secret rites and a sworn brotherhood. Although tong members also belong to their huiguan and family associations, their organizations were antiestablishment in nature.

In the 1930s and 1940s, a number of progressive organizations appeared in the community. Most noticeable are two labor organizations: the Chinese Hand Laundry Alliance (CHLA) in New York and the Chinese Workers' Mutual Aid Association in San Francisco (CWMAA); and two youth organizations: the Chinese Patriotic Youth Club in New York (CPYC) and Min Qing (Chinese Democratic Youth League). These organizations are independent from the community power structure. Because these associations expressed sympathy toward the new government in China, many of their members were targeted during the McCarthy era.

World War II

World War II marked a turning point in Chinese American history in significant ways. Most apparent is a new image of the Chinese in the eyes of Americans. For Chinese Americans, World War II began in 1931, when the Japanese invaded Manchuria in northeastern China. In the early 1930s, Chinese American communities staged many anti-Japanese demonstrations in large cities across the United States. After the Japanese attacked Chinese troops at Lugou (Marco Polo) bridge near Beijing on July 7, 1937, Chinese living in different parts of the world were mobilized to support the war of resistance in China. The war brought increased coverage of heroic Chinese resistance to Japanese aggression. Deteriorated U.S.-Japan relations, especially after the Pearl Harbor attack, brought China and the United States together against a common enemy. On December 22, 1941, an article appeared in *Time* magazine to help Americans differentiate their Chinese "friends" from the Japanese. According to the article, the facial expressions of the Chinese were more "placid, kindly, open," whereas those of the Japanese were more "positive, dogmatic, arrogant." This change in attitude of the larger society

would significantly change the lives of the Chinese in America for the better.

Another significant change was accelerated by the shortage of workers during the war. In May 1942, defense establishments in the San Francisco Bay Area began advertising jobs in local Chinese newspapers. The Kaiser shipyards in Richmond announced that they would hire Chinese regardless of their citizenship status or English skills. In a recruitment speech, corporation president Henry J. Kaiser urged Chinese to work in his shipyards to support the war effort. To encourage the Chinese to participate in the wartime labor force, some shipyards provided Chinese-speaking instructors. Thousands of Chinese American men and women, who had no opportunity to work outside Chinatowns before the war, joined the labor force in the defense industry. These jobs brought economic benefits to many families. It enabled Chinese Americans to integrate into a previously segregated job market. During the war, 15,998 Chinese Americans served in the military, including 1,621 in the navy. There were 214 Chinese Americans who gave their lives when serving in the U.S. military. Their wartime experiences forever changed the lives of many Chinese Americans.

The repeal of Chinese exclusion changed the relationship between Chinese Americans and the larger society. Although the immigration quota for Chinese was only symbolic and very small, the significance of the repeal act could not be overlooked. The law changed the status of Chinese from inadmissible to admissible, enabling Chinese to benefit from general immigration regulations. After 1945, thousands of Chinese women joined their husbands under the War Brides Act. These women played an important role in the transformation of the Chinese American community.

Community Transformation and the Cold War

The Repeal Act of 1943 made alien Chinese admissible, and Chinese veterans of World War II became eligible to send for their families under the War Brides Act. In a five-year period between 1945 and 1950, thousands of Chinese women immigrated to the United States. The coming of war brides indicates that the Chinese American community began to transform from a bachelor society to a family society.

Beginning in the mid-1950s, nearly half of the Chinese American population was born in the United States. Improved access to the mainstream job market and higher education also enabled an increasing proportion of Chinese Americans to climb up to middle-class status.

If changes of American attitudes toward the Chinese were positive because of the U.S.-China alliance during the war, attitudes toward the Chinese in the decades of the Cold War became more complex. U.S. foreign relations continued to have a huge impact on the treatment of Chinese in this country in the post-war years. With the newly established People's Republic of China, or "Red China" as it was called by the media, and especially after the Chinese intervention in the Korean War in late 1950, the hostility toward the Chinese once again intensified. China politics and American foreign policy divided the Chinese American community. When an Emergency Detention Act passed Congress in 1950, invoking a theory of Communist conspiracy and leading to a presidential declaration of an "Internal Security Emergency," many Chinese Americans feared that they would be interned to camps, as experienced by Japanese Americans during the war.

Fear mounted in most part of the 1950s, when the FBI and the Immigration and Naturalization Service joined forces to investigate subversive individuals and crackdown on immigration fraud. On December 1955, Everett F. Drumright, the American consul general in Hong Kong, submitted to the State Department a "Report on the Problem of Fraud at Hong Kong," alleging that the PRC was planning "a criminal conspiracy to evade the laws of the United States" through well-organized networks in Hong Kong, New York, and San Francisco, and that these networks had become the main channel for youngsters who had been educated in Communist schools or who had served in the People's Liberation Army to emigrate to the United States. The report was well circulated in the midst of the McCarthy era, reinforcing the fear of Communism in America and signaling the beginning of an all-out crackdown on Chinese immigration networks.

Playing up the theme of Communist infiltration, the INS was able to make its work closely related to that of the FBI and link immigration fraud with

subversive activities. The government's campaign to crack down on illegal immigrants gained the support of the media, which created the impression that every Chinese in America was a suspect. During the period of exclusion, Chinese Americans had confronted a more aggressive and powerful campaign against them, but they were able to organize among themselves to circumvent the laws. Beginning in the late 1940s, however, a new dynamic had been created in the community. Open rivalries between supporters of the Nationalist government, which retreated to Taiwan, and sympathizers of the People's Republic of China sent an open invitation to authorities to intervene in what had previously been seen as internal affairs. For the first time, the FBI and INS were able to create a network of Chinese informants. Members of labor unions, youth groups, and other progressive individuals were the first targets. Under the pretense of searching for possible Communist agents, investigators prowled the streets of Chinatowns in San Francisco, Chicago, Boston, New York, Seattle, and other cities, questioning suspected paper family members and ringleaders. They searched Chinese residences and raided business establishments.

One of the tactics that INS agents used, which turned out to be quite effective, was to coerce individuals to admit false claims and give out names of their collaborators. When individual immigrants were indicted and their cases went to trial, the INS would already have obtained leads from informants or other sources through confession. No evidence of espionage was ever used against any of the Chinese who were indicted. All the criminal charges had been founded on false testimony or violation of immigration laws. These investigations went after far more than members of a few progressive groups; they almost shutdown Chinatown businesses throughout the United States.

In mid-1956, the INS began to advertise the so-called Confession Program to further halt immigration document fraud among the Chinese. Document fraud is the legacy of the exclusion era. After the repeal, a quota of only 105 Chinese was allotted annually, compelling many individuals to use false documents to unite with their family members. The Confession Program was an all-out effort to stop illegal Chinese immigration. The program did not have formal polity

but was announced at meetings of civic leaders and Chinese Americans. Under this program, Chinese who in the past had fraudulently established U.S. citizenship were urged to come forward. In meetings held in Chinatowns, government officials maneuvered to convince the audience that the Chinese were the ones who could benefit from the program. Without written policy, there was no guarantee that collaboration with the government would allow the involved individual to stay in the United States. As a result, deportation proceedings were filed against some individuals even though they had appeared as government witnesses. Should they refuse to cooperate, some were told that they and their family members might face criminal charges. The Confession Program had a disastrous impact on Chinese American families. Family members were coerced to testify against each other; in some cases, parents were brought to court testifying against their own children. Paper families were rooted out one after another, and the number of slots closed was featured in the service's annual reports. All together, 13,895 Chinese participated in the program, leading to the exposure of 22,083 individuals and the closing of 11,294 slots. The Confession Program ended in 1965.

Chinese Immigration after 1965

The 1965 Immigration Act has impacted the pattern of Chinese immigration and community development in fundamental ways. The law abolished the old quota system, providing 20,000 quota admissions to each nation, and giving priorities and preferences to family members of American citizens. As the oldest Asian ethnic group in the United States, most Chinese in the United States in the 1960s were U.S. citizens and therefore could send for family members and relatives under the new law. The United States did not have diplomatic relations with the People's Republic when the law was enacted. As a result individuals from the Chinese mainland could not travel to America for several decades. Once diplomatic relations normalized between the United States and the People's Republic in 1979, immigrants began to come from China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong. Although official U.S.-Taiwan ties were cut, the island was granted its own quota, a number equivalent

to that of a nation. Hong Kong, a former British colony, initially received a quota of only 200, but the allotment was raised several times to 300, 600, and then 5,000 in 1987. During the run-up to its 1997 return to China, the United States increased Hong Kong's immigration quota to 10,000 in the 1990s and in the three years before 1997, to 25,600. In other words, between 1979 and 1997, the quota allotment for ethnic Chinese was more than twice that of a single nation, and during the three-year period three times that of a single nation. In addition, ethnic Chinese also came from Southeast Asia and other parts of the Chinese diaspora. The INS and later the CIS statistics recorded more than 2 million immigrants admitted to the United States from China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong between 1961 and 2010.

Large waves of new immigrants have enlarged the size of the Chinese population at a fast pace. In 1970, the Chinese population increased 84.3 percent from the previous decade; the two decades that followed enjoyed increased rates of 85.3 percent and 104.14 percent respectively. The rate of growth slowed thereafter, however, to 47.25 percent for the decade ending in 2000 and 38.25 percent by 2010. Some speculators believe that opening the tourist industry to visitors from the PRC and adding Taiwan to the Visa Waiver Program would further widen the door to Chinese immigration. The outcome, however, remains to be seen.

The presence of large numbers of immigrants played a large part on the demographic composition of Chinese America. Beginning in 1940, partly because of the decline of new immigrants during the exclusion, the proportion of U.S.-born Chinese (51.9 percent in 1940, 53.0 percent in 1950, 60.5 percent in 1960, and 53.1 percent in 1970) surpassed that of foreign-born. But this was reversed again in 1980, when the Census recorded 63.3 percent of Chinese as foreign-born. In 1990, foreign-born Chinese constituted 68.3 percent of the population, and the proportion increased to more than 70 percent in 2000. Foreign-born Chinese in 2010 was estimated at 67 percent. Unlike the immigrant laborers who originated from the Cantonese-speaking regions in southeast China, the new immigrants are from different parts of China, Asia, and the rest of the world. Their diverse regional backgrounds and their

differences in former national allegiance are in sharp contrast to that of the pioneer Chinese immigrants from rural Guangdong. The new immigrants have also come from diverse socioeconomic backgrounds. Some arrived with little education, few job skills, and no savings; others came with a good education and marketable skills to find work, or with family savings to start their own businesses. Few of those from the PRC in the 1980s and 1990s came with financial resources, but changes occurred fast in the past two decades. In 2011, 75 percent of applicants seeking visa through the EB-5 Investor Program were Chinese (the program requires \$500,000 investment in projects listed by United States Citizenship and Immigration Services). A significant number of the post-1965 immigrants came to study in colleges and universities; many later obtained permanent resident status.

Contemporary Chinese America

Large waves of new immigrants have made Chinese America the fastest-growing Asian American community. There were only 77,504 Chinese residing in the United States in 1940. Between 1960 and 2000, the population doubled every decade. The 2000 Census shows a record high of close to 2.9 million Chinese, and the number reached 3.8 million in 2010. The population includes Chinese and their descendants originated from the People's Republic, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Southeast Asia, and Chinese diaspora throughout the world, as well as mixed-race Chinese Americans.

Unlike the old days, when the majority of the Chinese were restricted to segregated Chinatowns in large cities, Chinese Americans are now settled in every states. The West, especially California, remains to be the top choice of residence for Chinese Americans, but the number of Chinese lived in eastern, southern, and midwestern states increased at a fast pace. By 2010, the New York City metropolitan area, consisting of New York City, Long Island, and overreaching parts of New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, and Pennsylvania, has emerged as the center with the largest Chinese American population, followed by the San Jose-San Francisco-Oakland Area and the Greater Los Angeles Area. In addition to California, New York,

Hawaii, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Illinois, Washington, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia each attracted a large number of Chinese population. Accompanying the rapid growth of the Chinese American population, many ethnic business districts have emerged in the New York, Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Houston metropolitan areas and suburbs, as well as other cities and towns throughout the United States.

Today, more than half of Chinese Americans speak English proficiently, but many U.S.-born Chinese are unfamiliar with the Chinese language. Several Chinese dialects are spoken within Chinese America; some are hard to understand by people outside the group. To overcome their linguistic differences, Mandarin (instead of Cantonese), the official language of China and most parts of the Chinese diaspora, along with English, have become the standard language in public gatherings and business circles.

Chinese Americans made significant progress after World War II, especially after the Civil Rights Movement. Signs of social mobility were first exhibited in the 1980 Census statistics, which indicate the improved socioeconomic status of Chinese Americans and their above-national-average college graduation rate. This finding has been confirmed in subsequent Censuses. There is also a perceived correlation between social mobility and educational achievements. As several studies have disclosed, compared to the general American population, Chinese Americans are more likely to be admitted to prestigious colleges and universities, they are more likely to graduate from college in less time, and they are more likely to receive higher school grades and nationwide test scores. Chinese Americans have been well represented in national and international scholastic competitions.

Often seen as related to educational attainment level is the role of Chinese American families. National data reveal that Chinese American children are more likely to grow up in two-parent households and in families with fewer children. According to survey results released by the Pew Research Center, about 59 percent adult Chinese Americans in 2010 are married, which is much higher than the national average of 51 percent. Meanwhile, the fertility rate for Chinese

American women ages 18 to 44 (5.8 percent) is much lower than that of American women of the same age group (7.1 percent).

Although the improved socioeconomic status of Chinese Americans helped to change their image in the United States, it is important to note that Chinese America is far from a homogeneous middle-class group. During the exclusion, merchants enjoyed the privilege of free entry, which gave them an edge, in addition to their economic advantage, over the laboring class. A segmented ethnic economy built on segregation, however, limited not only employment opportunities for the laborers but also possible business expansion for able entrepreneurs. Although there were shopkeepers and labor contractors as well as laborers, incomes and lifestyles of the former were not significantly different from the latter. After 1965, more and more Chinese Americans gained access to the mainstream job market and became middle-class professionals. Chinese American entrepreneurs also found new ways to launch business ventures utilizing a steady supply of immigrant labor and a greatly enlarged ethnic-based consumer market. Surveys of the U.S. Census Bureau reported 290,197 Chinese-owned businesses in the United States in 2002. The number was increased to 423,609 in 2007. Social and economic transformations made it possible for many Chinese Americans to achieve social mobility. The process, however, also created a gap between upper- and middle-class Chinese Americans and the poor, especially with the large presence of undocumented individuals.

If progress after the Civil Rights Movement is apparent, it is imperative to recognize uneven development within Chinese America. This requires a careful analysis of statistical evidence. Taking the level of educational attainment as an example, the 2010 Census reveals that 51.8 percent of Chinese Americans have attained at least a bachelor's degree, which is higher than the rate for Asian Americans and the general American population (49.9 percent and 29.2 percent respectively). Chinese American students are also quite visible in elite institutions. Some individuals, however, are not as fortunate as others. According to some studies, race and class still matter in education. Although some Chinese students could

attend Ivy League colleges and universities, others have to settle in less prestigious public institutions because of socioeconomic situations of their families. There are also discrepancies in terms of gender. Although 54.7 percent of male Chinese obtained a bachelor's degree, only 49.3 percent female Chinese did so.

The same applies to earnings of Chinese Americans. The Pew Research Center reported that median annual personal earnings for full time Chinese American workers as \$50,000, which is higher than for Asian Americans overall (\$48,000) and for U.S. adult overall (\$40,000). It also reported that median annual income for Chinese American household as \$65,050, which is higher than that of U.S. households overall (\$49,800). However, only 62 percent of Chinese Americans own a home, compared with 65 percent of the U.S. population overall. And we should also take into consideration that the size of average Chinese American household (2.9 persons) is bigger than that of average American household (2.6 persons). More important to note is the fact that 14 percent of adult Chinese Americans still live in poverty, which is higher than the national rate of 13 percent. We must also take into account the large presence of undocumented Chinese immigrants who are more likely to be left out in the Census and other statistics.

The growth of Chinese America has been greatly affected by immigration. What direction Chinese immigration will take in the decades to come is yet to be seen. International migration is caused by many factors. Worldwide economic development and globalization could impact Chinese migration in complicated ways and could pull it in multiple directions. Although the number of Chinese immigrants continued to grow by the decades, the rate of growth has declined in the first decade of the twenty-first century. Meanwhile, an increasing number of Chinese came for business opportunities or as international students. Opportunities in Europe, Australia, Africa, and other American nations as well as in Asia also attracted large waves of Chinese migrants in recent years. China's own economic growth is also a big factor. Moreover, it must be noted that an increasing number of Chinese Americans of different age groups have returned to China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong. These new

developments would impact the Chinese American community in the decades to come.

Xiaojian Zhao

See also Ah Yup, In Re (1878); Alien Land Laws; Chinese American Baseball; Chinese American Childhood; Chinese American Community Organizations; Chinese American Funerary Rituals; Chinese American Youth in Multiethnic Chicago; Chinese Americans and World War II; Chinese Christians in America; Chinese Confession Program; Chinese Cuisine in the United States; Chinese Exclusion Acts (1882–1943); Chinese Exclusion, Repeal of (1943); Chinese Fisheries in California; Chinese Garment Workers in San Francisco; Chinese Hand Laundry Alliance of New York (CHLA); Chinese Herbal Medicine; Chinese Immigrant Cemeteries; Chinese Immigrant Workers in Multiethnic Chicago; Chinese in the U.S. Civil War; Chinese Language Schools in the United States; Chinese Lion Dance in the United States; Chinese Mining in America; Chinese New Year Parade; Chinese Railroad Workers; Chinese Restaurants in the United States; Chinese Students in the United States since 1960; Chinese War Brides; *Chinese World (Sai Gai Yat Po)*; Chinese-Vietnamese Americans

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Chinese Americans and World War II

World War II was a significant period in Asian American history. Unlike Japanese Americans who suffered during the war because of their ancestral ties to Japan, Chinese Americans benefitted from the alliance between the United States and China. Chinese immigrant communities in large cities, commonly known as “Chinatowns,” were often the sites of anti-Chinese sentiments and actions held and carried out by white Americans. With America’s entry into World War II in late 1941, however, American Chinatowns underwent an important transformation. With the start of the war effort, Chinese Americans were able, in a variety of ways, to demonstrate their patriotism for the United States and their heartfelt Chinese



Chinese American Luella Louie, a defense industry worker in World War II. (Luella Louie family collection)

nationalism. Like so many other Americans, Chinese American men and women entered the workforce and the armed forces in unprecedented numbers. These actions allowed for Chinese Americans to interact with other Americans in venues and occupations that were previously unavailable to them. Thus, the economic and social changes brought on by their participation in the war effort can be seen as a turning point in Chinese American history. Upon becoming allies in the war against Japan, American images of Chinese and Chinese Americans changed for the better. The sinister mask of Fu Manchu was replaced by the tragic photograph of the lone baby sitting and crying in the bombed-out railroad station in Nanjing, and the image of the weak and ineffectual Chinese was replaced by posters of heroic Chinese men and women fighting to defend their country from Japanese invaders. This shift in China imagery was even evident in the cover of *Time* magazine. In 1938, Chiang Kai-shek and his American-educated wife, Song Mei-ling (Madame Chiang Kai-shek), were named *Time*’s “Man and Wife of the Year,” an image that was in sharp contrast to earlier (and later) impressions of the Chinese.

But much more important than imagery were the new social and economic opportunities open to Chinese Americans, and they were eager to take advantage of them to claim their place in American society. This was most evident in the variety of occupations that Chinese Americans took during the war. Finally able to leave jobs that were dictated by the Chinatown economy or other limited choices such as laundries and restaurants, Chinese Americans joined other Americans, many for the first time, in the shipyards, aircraft factories, offices, and other white-collar professions. The long-range effects of the war can be gleaned from information found in the national Censuses for 1940 and 1950. Although the general increase from 36,992 Chinese employed in 1940 to 48,409 in 1950 may not appear significant, when specific areas of occupational mobility are examined, the importance of the 1940s for Chinese Americans becomes more significant. The most obvious and far-reaching changes occurred in the employment of Chinese in professional and semiprofessional fields and in the total number of Chinese American women

employed. In the professional ranks, there was a threefold increase among males (1940: 812—1950: 2,541) and a fourfold increase for females (1940: 221—1950: 914). In other fields, males continued to show incremental increases, but the gains for women in these areas, in terms of proportional advances, were substantial. In the area of managers, officials, and proprietors, the increase for males was over a thousand (1940: 7,250—1950: 8,920), and for women, the increase was more than double (1940: 253—1950: 658). In clerical and sales positions, the increases for women were similar to that in the professional fields. Males increased by over a thousand (1940: 3,422—1950: 4,512), but the women's gains were fourfold (1940: 750—1950: 3,210).

In the service sector, the changes were also indicative of an expanded labor market for Chinese Americans. For service workers (not including domestic workers), there was an increase of nearly three thousand males (1940: 10,515—1950: 13,000), whereas the number of women in the service sector almost doubled (1940: 562—1950: 940). And in the area of domestic help, less than half the number of Chinese American men took those positions in 1950 than they had in 1940 (1940: 1,954—1950: 746), whereas the number of female domestic workers increased (1940: 287—1950: 514). In total, there were 11,417 more Chinese Americans in the labor force in 1950 than in 1940 and nearly half of them were women (5,367). Although these figures do not explain the reasons for the increase of Chinese Americans finding gainful employment, they do indicate that Chinese Americans had made occupational advances during the decade. Males were able to leave domestic service jobs in notable numbers (with some women taking their place) and presumably found better occupations. Most noticeable, however, was the dramatic rise in the number of Chinese American men and women who entered the professional and semiprofessional ranks. These numbers and the nature of the occupations in which Chinese Americans found employment also point to their participation in the American economy that extended beyond the confines of Chinatown. Therefore, with these gains for Chinese American men in professional and managerial positions, and the substantial increase in the employment of Chinese

American women in the public sphere, Chinese Americans, by mid-century, were poised to enter the postwar American middle class. Although it is well known that the advances gained by women and minorities during the war were frequently temporary and that many remained in the service industries, the gains for Chinese Americans were nevertheless significant. In addition, with the aid of the GI Bill of Rights, many went on to finish college educations, which further expanded the occupational options open to Chinese Americans.

The armed forces was another very important avenue by which Chinese Americans, citizens and noncitizens alike, came to find a new position in American society. For noncitizens, even those who had entered the country illegally as “paper sons,” service in the military generally offered the opportunity to become an American citizen, a right that many of them had been denied since childhood. Approximately 12,000 to 15,000 Chinese Americans wore the uniforms of American service personnel during the war. Although most served in the army or the Army Air Corps, others went into the navy, marines, and coast guard. Actually, fewer served in the navy because it wasn't until May 1942 that Chinese Americans were allowed to enlist in the navy for positions other than mess stewards and cabin boys. Chinese Americans not only served in all branches of the military during World War II, but also served in all types of units: combat infantry, engineering, intelligence, transport, fighter and bomber squadrons, and support units.

Although most Chinese Americans served in integrated units with white soldiers, about 1,200 served in all-Chinese American units stationed in the Burma-China-India (CBI) theater. These units belonged to the Fourteenth Air Service Group (14th ASG) under the umbrella of the Fourteenth Air Force, and were thus part of the famous “Flying Tigers.” In addition, there was an all-Chinese American unit of the army, the 987th Signal Company. The official reasons for the formation of these all-Chinese American units are uncertain. Many of the veterans of these units have reported that they were led to believe that the Chinese American units were formed at the request of Madame Chiang Kai-shek for propaganda purposes, but there are no available documents to support this belief. Instead, it seems more likely

that these all-Chinese American units, mainly with Caucasian commanding officers, were created in early 1944 (the 987th was activated in 1943) in the hopes that they would facilitate better relations with the local population in China. Although this may have worked in some cases, most of the Chinese Americans in these units who spoke Chinese, spoke one of the dialects from the Cantonese-speaking region of China, and these units were sent to more western and northern regions, where different dialects were spoken, meaning that some personnel had to be trained in other dialects, some units depended on interpreters, or more often, they simply did not establish any relations with the local population. Whatever the reason for their formation and their eventual efficacy, these units represented a “middle ground” in army race relations. Although the personnel were predominantly Chinese American, they trained on integrated bases, shared facilities with white personnel, and worked closely with predominantly white units. In other words, they were not like the segregated units into which African Americans and Japanese Americans were placed, but they were racially defined and organized. In many ways, these military units were similar to the position Asian Americans now occupy in American society, an ethnoracial group that is perceived as being between American whites and African Americans.

The politics of World War II also brought about important legislation that had a direct impact on Chinese Americans. In 1943, after 61 years, the Chinese Exclusion Acts were finally repealed and Chinese immigrants were allowed to apply for citizenship. However, Chinese Americans had to play a secondary role in pushing for repeal. The Citizens Committee to Repeal Chinese Exclusion was made up of well-connected white Americans such as publisher and editor Richard J. Walsh and author Pearl S. Buck. They took the lead in pushing Congress to repeal the exclusion acts because they believed that if Chinese Americans were too visible in the effort, the push for repeal would appear to be driven by special interests rather than by Americans in general. The congressional debates over repeal revealed that many members of Congress, especially those from western states, still maintained that Chinese immigrants were a threat to American values, lifestyle, and labor. On the other hand, supporters of repeal praised Chinese

Americans as good, loyal, and law-abiding citizens, using language similar to that used in the 1960s to portray Chinese Americans as a “model minority.” Along with the lifting of the exclusion acts and the ban on citizenship for Chinese immigrants, China’s annual immigration quota to the United States was sent at 105. Although this small number, based on “race” rather than country of origin, was seen as mainly a token gesture, the mere fact that exclusion was finally lifted and that Chinese immigrants could become American citizens signaled a new era for Chinese Americans. Another important piece of legislation that would have a great impact on Chinese America was the 1947 amendment to the War Brides Act of 1945. The original racial restrictions of the Act were removed in 1947, which allowed for nearly 6,000 Chinese women, accompanied by 600 babies, to enter the country. These two bills allowed Chinese Americans, at long last, to immigrate, marry, and create families at a rate similar to their fellow Americans.

Although the end of World War II eventually brought about a Communist victory in China and, soon after, the Korean War, during which America’s relationship with China and Chinese Americans again soured, World War II offered Chinese Americans a number of opportunities to move into American mainstream society. These opportunities, however, should be seen as both revolutionary and evolutionary. Although the postwar era has certainly not been a period of unhindered success for Chinese Americans, the war did allow for Chinese Americans to slowly move beyond Chinatowns into the broader range of American social life. As employment and residential restrictions gradually loosened during and after the war, Chinese Americans enjoyed a newfound acceptance in American society. The increase of Chinese American men and women in the professional ranks and the numbers of Chinese American women in the public sphere were indeed significant developments for the Chinese American community. The repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Act ended 61 years of immigration restrictions on the Chinese, but still only allowed for 105 Chinese to enter the country per year. It would not be until the passage of the 1965 Immigration Act that Chinese were placed on an equal footing as other aspiring immigrants. Although it may be an

exaggeration to claim that the war “emancipated the Chinese in the United States,” the social and cultural transformations that took place across the country during and after the war also developed in very important ways among Chinese American communities.

The war years and the accompanying social changes also contributed to the strengthening of a modern Chinese American identity that had emerged in the 1930s with the coming of age of the second generation. By acknowledging their familial and emotional ties to China while claiming their place in America by serving in the military and supporting the war effort at home, Chinese Americans were able to see themselves as Americans. No longer relegated to low-paying jobs dictated by race and ethnicity, the resulting social transformation brought on by World War II marked the opportunity for Chinese Americans to advance into the American middle class. The gradual rise in the social position of Chinese Americans during this period perhaps reveals the roots of the “model minority” image of Chinese Americans, an image that would not fully flower until the 1960s. Through the hindsight of historical inquiry, it is now evident that the war left Chinese Americans at the threshold of social mobility and increased assimilation. But in the years immediately following the war, Chinese Americans were simply happy to emerge from the shadows of exclusion.

K. Scott Wong

See also Chinese Americans

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Chinese Christians in America

Christianity, with Evangelical Protestants as the predominant majority, is the most practiced religion

among the Chinese immigrants in the United States. Christian churches have become the predominant religious institutions in the Chinese American community. Christianity, especially Evangelical Protestantism, has played an increasingly significant role in the lives of Chinese immigrants. One of the important characteristics of Chinese Christians in America is that they are mostly converts in the host country because Christianity is not a traditional Chinese religion. However, the presence of Chinese Christians in America is almost as long as the history of Chinese immigration. The first Chinese Christian church was established by a returned medical missionary from China with the support of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions in San Francisco in 1853. Since then the Christian population among the Chinese immigrants has increased steadily. However, there is no national data on how many Chinese Christians are in the United States. According to a *Los Angeles Times* survey of Chinese Americans in Southern California in 1997, 32 percent claimed to be Christian with 6 percent Catholics, and 20 percent Buddhist, and the remainder no religious affiliation. Nationally, the reasonable estimate of the Chinese Christian population in America is somewhere between 10 and 35 percent.

The life of Chinese Christians in America is centered on the Chinese Churches. The Chinese Christian church has roughly experienced a two-stage development corresponding to the two-stage Chinese immigration history. The first stage of Chinese immigration was from the late 1840s to the 1950s. The overwhelming majority of the Chinese immigrants were from the rural area surrounding the Pearl River delta; hence the earliest Chinese American population was relatively homogeneous. Most of them spoke Cantonese and were male laborers; some of them were merchants. In this first stage the Chinese laborers and merchants lived mainly in Chinatowns and worked in Chinese restaurants, hand-wash laundries, gift shops, and as domestics. Unlike European immigrants who brought their Judeo-Christian religious tradition to America, the Chinese Christians were mainly converts in the host country. After the establishment of the first Chinese Christian church in 1853, other denominations also started their missions for the Chinese immigrants and established the Chinese churches

subsequently. For example, Methodists started their mission in 1868, and Baptists, Congregationalists, and Episcopalians in 1870. In this earlier period all the pastors of the Chinese churches were Caucasian and Chinese Christians served only as their assistants. The Sunday services were mainly in English with Chinese translation. The main goal of these mission churches was to Christianize the Chinese in the United States and send them back to China to help missionaries there. These earlier Protestant missions were not successful in their effort of converting the Chinese. The percentage of the Chinese Christians was minuscule. The Catholic mission in this time period was hampered because of the Catholic Church's active involvement in the anti-Chinese movement in California. However, the Chinese mission churches were helpful to the Chinese immigrants' adaptation to the host society in that the churches gave them the opportunity to learn English, American values and lifestyle, to meet non-Chinese Americans, and to receive social services. In this earlier period when Chinese immigrants faced racism and social exclusion, some Chinese immigrants intentionally embraced the Chinese church as a parallel white institution to elevate their racial status in American society. The Chinese churches also played an important role in supporting the revolution in China in the earlier part of the twentieth century.

Although 1943 saw the repeal of the Chinese exclusion law and the establishment of the annual quota of 105 Chinese immigrants, the Chinese did not come in large numbers until 1965, when the Immigration and Naturalization Amendment Act passed, which also marks the beginning of the second stage of Chinese immigration.

Starting from the earlier part of the twentieth century, a new trend began to emerge in the Chinese Churches in the United States. Some Chinese Christian churches gained financial and leadership independence within the denominations, and a few churches even became nondenominational and independent, although the majority of the churches were still supervised by Caucasians. By 1952, there were 66 Chinese Protestant churches in the United States, among which 47 were denominational, 5 were interdenominational supported by several denominations or a council of churches, and

14 were independent. During this period, most Chinese churches were small in size with an average membership of 155.

Since the 1950s, the number of Chinese churches has begun to increase. The Chinese church started evolving into the next stage. Since the late 1950s and earlier 1960s, Chinese students have established many campus Bible study groups in American universities. As the students adjusted their status to permanent resident under the new immigration law of 1965, many Bible study groups developed into churches. Most of the churches established in this period were founded by the new immigrants themselves. Many churches were nondenominational. The churches were mainly conservative evangelical theologically and independent and congregational organizationally. This form of Protestantism has become the most practiced religion among the Chinese immigrants since then. Because Chinese Christians in the United States are from different parts of the world (mainly Taiwan, Hong Kong, China, and other Southeast Asian countries, such as Singapore and Malaysia), speak different languages, and have different cultural backgrounds, most Chinese Christian churches have at least two Sunday services. One is in the native language of the first-generation immigrants, either Mandarin or Cantonese; the other service is in English for the second generation and 1.5-generation immigrants. If a church provides only one Sunday service, the church also provides an English translation. Some churches have three congregations and three Sunday services based on language—Mandarin, Cantonese, and English. In recent years, some second-generation Christians also participate in pan-Asian American churches.

Not all Chinese Christians participate in the Chinese churches of members with mixed backgrounds. Some Taiwanese immigrants participate in Evangelical Formosa Churches in the United States. In 1970, the first Evangelical Formosa Church was formed in Los Angeles, California. Up to the year 2000, there are 51 churches and 26 of them in the United States. The main language in the Evangelical Formosa Churches has been Taiwanese and English. However, in recent years, some churches also use Mandarin, the most popular language in Taiwan.

Similarly, in New York Chinatown, Fuzhounese immigrants established a Chinese church consisting of predominantly immigrants, legal and illegal, from Fuzhou, the capital city of Fujian Province on China's southeast coast. The language of the church is mainly Fuzhounese. Since the late 1980s tens of thousands of mostly rural young Fuzhounese have flooded into the United States. The Fuzhounese church located in New York Chinatown, the main point of entry for the Fuzhounese youth immigrants, has helped these most vulnerable and marginalized members of American society survive, and served as a location to access social, financial, and emotional support. The mainland Chinese began to convert to Protestantism in unprecedented numbers after the June 4, 1989, Tiananmen Square incident. The church with the majority members of the mainland Chinese also began to emerge. However, the majority of the Chinese mainland Chinese Christians participated in the churches with members of mixed backgrounds.

Post-1965 immigrants have more diverse social class backgrounds, from low-skilled workers to highly educated professionals. However, a typical Chinese church may have more middle- or upper-middle-class professionals, with advanced degrees in different fields, such as mechanical engineering, electronic engineering, and chemical engineering.

Chinese Christians in America have been strongly influenced by the larger American evangelical subculture. Chinese Christians read popular evangelical literature both in Chinese and in English, including books, magazines, and videos. The pastors of Chinese Christian churches were educated at evangelical theological seminaries in the United States, such as Trinity Theological Seminary and Fuller Theological Seminary. American evangelical leaders, such as Billy Graham, Rich Warren, and Chuck Swindoll, are among the most frequently mentioned names in the Chinese churches. The Chinese Christian saints, like John Soong, Watchman Nee, and Wang Mingdao, are also respected as role model, for the Chinese Christians.

Most Chinese churches have three regular weekly activities, Sunday services, Friday night fellowship meetings, and prayer meetings. Sunday services for the first generation use English Chinese bilingual hymn books, and sing classical hymns translated from

English and some hymns adopted from mainland China and Taiwan or Hong Kong, and others from the Chinese music ministries in the United States, such as Melody of My Heart, Stream of Praise Music Ministry. The first generation worship has a choir. The second-generation worship style is more contemporary, which features a worship team and a band. The songs are from the mainstream American evangelical community.

As mentioned earlier, most Chinese Christians in America are converts. This is the result of active and institutionalized efforts of proselytization by Chinese churches and parachurch organizations, both Chinese and American. In fact, proselytization becomes the most important function of the Chinese Christian church. In the United States Chinese conversion is communally informed, although individual choice remains important. Personal networks and social activities of Christian churches are important mechanisms to attract non-Christians and through which the social needs of immigrants are met. For example, Carolyn Chen finds that Taiwanese immigrants become more active in proselytizing after coming to the United States. Chinese festivals, such as Chinese New Year, become an important time for evangelism. Chinese Christians actively invite their non-Christian friends to participate in church activities. Many churches also host an annual evangelistic conference, which becomes an important channel for converting non-Christian Chinese. Parachurch organizations, such as China Outreach Ministry (COM), International Students Inc., and OMF International, have played a vital role in converting Chinese immigrants. For example, COM has developed systematic programs for evangelizing Chinese students, scholars, and their family members. When new students and scholars first arrive in the United States, they pick them up from the airport and subsequently help them settle down. They also organize year-round activities, such as sightseeing, sports activities, and English-learning programs as attractions. Chinese American friendship dinners have been frequently used to evangelize the Chinese.

Chinese Christian publications have also played a significant role in evangelizing and nurturing the Chinese Christian spirituality. Since the late 1990s, Chinese Christians have started to publish more

magazines, books, and video and audio products in the United States. For example, China Soul for Christ Foundation, Christian Life Press, Inc., Overseas Campus Magazine, Ambassador for Christ, Inc., are among the most prominent organizations serving the Chinese Christians in the United States. Their publications become increasingly influential in the Chinese Christian community.

Chinese Christians in America have not only actively proselytized Chinese in the host country, but also started their mission to proselytize Chinese around the globe. Chinese Christian Mission was established in October 1961 with the goal of reaching the world with the gospel, through literature, broadcasting, and sending missionaries. Other organizations, such as the Great Commission Center International and Gospel Operation International for Chinese Christians, have the similar goals. These missions mainly focus on Chinese around the globe, although they have also expanded their mission to reach out to non-Chinese globally.

Many Chinese churches and Chinese parachurch organizations have supported the Christian churches in mainland China in different ways. Many church pastors went to China for training the house church leaders and sometimes also brought with them financial support.

The conversion to Evangelical Protestantism means a change of world view. Most Chinese immigrants have an atheistic world view and are hostile to the Christian faith because of traumatic modern Chinese history, which was filled with sad stories of Chinese people's suffering from Western colonialism and imperialism. Historically, Christianity has been stigmatized in the Chinese culture as a relic of Western imperialism. "One more Christian, one less Chinese" was an old saying directed against Chinese converts. However, today at least for the Chinese Christians, Christianity is no longer a foreign religion. Christianity as a world religion is not owned by any specific ethnic group. Most Chinese Christians believe the twenty-first century is the century for evangelizing the Chinese. In their words, salvation has come to the Chinese. The traditional Chinese culture emphasizes the hierarchical social relations, which constrains the

Chinese from expressing love in an explicit way. For example, parents rarely hug their children and vice versa. The basic doctrine of the Christian religion is love—"God is love," and "love your neighbors." This doctrine has great impact on Chinese Christians. It becomes the driving force of serving people. For example, most Chinese churches have a fund for helping people in need. The doctrine of the egalitarian status before God has fundamentally changed the Chinese view of human relations. Although the Chinese still respect older people and people of higher social status, the fundamental belief that people are equal becomes unshakable among Chinese Christians.

Conversion not only means the change of world-view but also means the change of leaving a family-centered social network and entering a religious community. The Chinese Christian community also becomes influential in the construction of Chinese immigrants' identity. The Evangelical Protestant church provides the social space for immigrants to reconstruct a new community; it provides a new family through which immigrants find the meaning in their new life and achieve a sense of selfhood. The religiously empowered communities enable the immigrants to gain a freedom from traditional Chinese expectation, which is centered on Confucian values or traditional family, kinship ties; at the same time, it is to discover their "authentic selves," which transcend familial and societal definitions. For most Chinese Christians, the Christian identity becomes the most important identity. This does not mean that Chinese immigrants think the Chinese identity is no longer important. On the contrary, their Chinese identity remains strong. The Chinese Christian community becomes the most important social space for them to reproduce and celebrate the Chinese culture. For example, in the Chinese church, people talk in Chinese; eat Chinese food; decorate the church with Chinese characters along with other Chinese culture symbols, such as painting; and celebrate Chinese festivals, such as Spring Festival and Mid-Autumn Festival. Some Chinese churches also have Chinese language schools. Chinese Christians also selectively preserve Chinese cultural values, such as emphasizing filial piety and educating their offspring.

Chinese churches have also played a pivotal role in connecting Chinese immigrants to the larger community through religious activities. Most Chinese Christian churches have Caucasian members. Some of them are retired missionaries, others are spouses of Chinese Americans, and still others are friends of the Chinese church members. The Chinese churches also cooperate with Caucasian churches and support Caucasian parachurch organizations, such as Campus Crusade for Christ, Navigators. For example, some Chinese churches and Caucasian churches and parachurch organizations cosponsor evangelistic conferences.

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See also Asian American Muslims; Athletes and Christianity; Buddhism in Asian America

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Chinese Confession Program

Officially launched by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) in 1956, the Chinese Confession Program was part of the government's effort to halt immigration document fraud among the Chinese.

Document fraud is largely the legacy of the exclusion era. Chinese laborers were legally barred for a long period of 61 years. When exclusion laws were

strictly enforced, Chinese immigrants developed ways to circumvent government regulations. The INS had long suspected that a large number of Chinese had entered the United States using false documents; many claimed to be family members of exempted classes or descendants of U.S. citizens. Although exclusion laws were repealed in 1943, because only 105 Chinese were allowed to enter each year, some individuals continued to use false documents to send for their family members.

Decades of practices during the exclusion further complicated the problems. Because many Chinese had been documented under false names, they used fake identities in public and had to change identities of their family members accordingly. Such practices were open secrets within the Chinese American community. Gaining entry as imposters, providing false testimony for their fellow immigrants, or selling paper slots were not considered immoral acts by Chinese Americans because of the difficulties in establishing families in the United States at the time.

Beginning in the early 1950s, in the name of investigating Communist activities, the INS gained public support to crack down Chinese document fraud. The agency recruited Chinese informants and coerced some Chinese into admitting false claims. INS officers would approach individuals in Chinatown. Frightened, some Chinese admitted that they had entered the United States using false identity and had created fake documents. These confessions exposed more people who had provided legal assistance, language interpretation, and witness testimonies. Criminal charges were then filed against these individuals. The purpose, as the INS put it, was to uncover and stop illegal Chinese immigration.

Immigration officials, however, could not ignore the fact that the initial cause of the widespread fraud in Chinese immigration was a reaction to the Chinese exclusion. Because so many Chinese had been involved in illegal immigration activities, it was practically impossible for the government to investigate every case and press charges against all of those involved.

In mid-1956, the INS began to advertise the so-called "Confession Program." No official policy or guidelines were issued at the time; instead, the

program was announced through informal and unwritten publicity to civic leaders and Chinese Americans. Under this program, Chinese who in the past had fraudulently established U.S. citizenship were urged to come forward and then adjust their status under the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952. In meetings held in Chinatowns, government officials maneuvered to convince the audience that the Chinese were the ones who could benefit from the program.

As part of its internal policy, the INS tried to make the principles of the Confession Program as ambiguous as possible. The government said in public that it had no desire to entrap Chinese Americans, but officials gave no promises to any prospective confessors either. The Chinese were told only that they should seriously consider the fact that they could adjust legal status under the new law, and that confessors would have more to gain than to lose. With no written policy, government officials were able to decide arbitrarily whom it would allow to stay and whom it would deport. As a result, deportation proceedings were filed against some individuals even though they had appeared as government witnesses in criminal investigations involving other Chinese. Should they refuse to cooperate, some were told that they and their family members might face criminal charges.

Based on leads from informants, anonymous sources, and letters and coaching materials seized by government agencies, INS agents approached their targets in public gathering places in Chinatowns. Chinese American war veterans, who were eligible for relief under the law, were the first prey. In one case, for example, the INS suspected a Chinese who claimed to be a native-born U.S. citizen was actually born in China. The person had brought a number of people as his children and grandchildren to the United States and claimed an additional 17 persons as his family members in China and Hong Kong. To prove their cases, investigators approached family members who had served in World War II or the Korean War. The veterans were told that they were eligible for relief and would not be in danger of deportation if they told the truth. The entire family eventually went to the INS office and made full confessions.

This group confession was by no means voluntary. The individuals not only had to reverse their own early

sworn testimonies, but they also had to provide information that would put relatives and friends in jeopardy. Some family members were faced with deportation proceedings. The process to receive relief was also convoluted. The veterans were naturalized first, but their wives had to wait until the husbands' status was adjusted before they could apply for adjustment. Most damaging was that after they admitted their fraud, they could no longer sponsor family members who were still in China.

Each time a group of Chinese veterans was naturalized, the INS would furnish a press release to the Chinese American community. The government tried to advertise what it called the humanitarian aspect of the program, which is to free those otherwise law-abiding individuals from the constant pressure of living with a lie, although its obvious purpose was to permanently terminate the machinery that facilitated a steady influx of illegal aliens. The Chinese community press printed these news releases as they were, but made no attempt to call upon its readers to participate in the Confession Program.

The Confession Program had a disastrous impact on families. In late 1955, acting on an FBI request, the INS investigated Lee Ying, the co-owner of the World Theater in San Francisco, who was identified as a Communist sympathizer. Ying had entered the United States as a paper son of Hui Suey. Under pressure, Hui Suey admitted that Lee Ying was really his son-in-law. The confession implicated other family members who had made false claims, including Hui Suey's wife, his two sons, and his daughter. Although Hui Suey had cooperated fully with the investigators, he could not protect his family. A week after his father-in-law testified, Lee Ying was arrested and his home searched. The arrest warrant charged that he did not possess a valid immigration visa. On January 30, 1957, the grand jury in San Francisco filed four criminal indictments against him for document fraud and giving false testimony. Lee Ying eventually accepted voluntary deportation. Poon Bok Shing, another Chinese who admitted document fraud, committed suicide the same day he confessed to INS agents. To escape any contact with INS investigators, many Chinese went into hiding. Some changed their addresses and telephone numbers, and others closed down their businesses.

Encouraging Chinese Americans to testify against each other, the Confession Program tore some families apart. In some cases, parents were brought to court testifying against their own children. To avoid the problem, some Chinese would immediately inform their family members after being pressured to confess.

Although relatively few Chinese were deported, the INS viewed the Confession Program as one of its greatest accomplishments. Paper families were rooted out one after another, and the number of slots closed was featured in the service's annual reports. All together, 13,895 Chinese participated in the program, leading to the exposure of 22,083 individuals, and the closing of 11,294 slots.

The 1965 Immigration Act, however, opened a new chapter in Chinese immigration. The new law established a new quota system, giving each nation the same immigrant quota and providing special protection for the families. American citizens are granted the privilege to send for their family members outside the quota, and their relatives could enter as quota immigrants. This historical legislation enabled those who had participated in the Confession Program to claim immediate family members and relatives in China using their true identities.

On February 2, 1966, the INS announced that it would no longer solicit confessions, but some Chinese Americans went for voluntary confessions to take full advantage of the new immigration law.

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See also Chinese Americans

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Chinese Cuisine in the United States

Food is an integral part of Chinese culture and followed closely every wave of Chinese immigrants to the United States from mid-nineteenth century to today. Though Chinese culinary culture consisted of a

variety of different regional flavors, early Chinese cuisine in America was Cantonese as pioneer Chinese immigrants came from Guangdong Province. As an Asian cuisine, a common Cantonese meal included staple foods like rice and side dishes like meat stir-fried with vegetables though noodles, sweet potato, or other staple foods were also common in their diet. Compared with spicy Sichuan or Hunan cuisine, Cantonese was mild and mellow. Stir-frying, steaming, boiling, roasting, clay pot slow-cooking, or deep frying were some of the major cooking methods. In addition to green onion, ginger, garlic, salt, sugar, soy sauce, rice wine, Cantonese cookery employed a variety of tasty sauces such as oyster sauce, plum sauce, or cha shao sauce. Cantonese cuisine had a long list of palatable dishes. In 1865, for example, 30 wealthy Chinese merchants of San Francisco held a grand banquet to local American merchants and government officials. The menu of the banquet consisted of 325 dishes including shark's fins; bird's nest soup; stewed seaweed; stewed mushrooms; bamboo soup; fried fungus; reindeer; scorpions' eggs; stewed bamboo; baked duck's eggs; steamed spare ribs; roasted pig, duck, or goose; a variety of different fish; and many kinds of cookies, cake, and fruits. Cantonese cuisine incorporated almost all edible meats, including animal intestines, chicken feet, duck tongue, or pig's ear. Although pork, chicken, and beef were the major meat ingredients, Cantonese cuisine also included frogs, snakes, dogs, or a variety of birds such as deep-fried marinated pigeon. However, such diet did not mean an exotic eating habit but reflected their long and rich culinary culture and knowledge that many animals were edible and most parts of a pig, chicken, or cattle could be made into palatable meats. In general, Cantonese people consumed more staple food, vegetables, and herbs than meat as most Chinese did.

Ever since the Gold Rush era, Chinese restaurants served not only the Chinese but all American customers. As more and more Chinese restaurants appeared in American cities, Chinese cuisine became a familiar ethnic food in America culinary culture. Before the 1960s, the most famous Chinese food was chop suey, which was actually an invention in the United States. In the late nineteenth century, some Chinese restaurants in America did offer a humble dish called Chao

Zasui, which was a mix of animal intestines stir-fried with ginger, rice wine, and garlic to eliminate the odor. Wong Chin Foo, one of the earliest Chinese American journalists in New York, described it in 1888 as “A staple dish for the Chinese gourmand is Chow Chop Suey, a mixture of chicken’s livers and gizzards, fungi, bamboo buds, pig’s tripe, and bean sprouts stewed with spices. The gravy of this is poured into the bowl of rice with some sauce, making a delicious seasoning to the favorite grain.” But the chop suey that most American customers were familiar with was totally different from Wong’s version. Ten years later, journalist Louis Beck published his book *New York’s Chinatown*. In Beck’s observation, chop suey consisted of “A Hash of Pork, with Celery, Onions, Bean Sprouts, or other vegetables and it was a fifteen-cent dish.” In Beck’s version of chop suey, meat had replaced intestines in the cookery. Celery, onions, and bean sprouts or other vegetables became major ingredients. Obviously, Chinese restaurants began to Americanize their menu and adapted their dishes to American tastes. When Li Hongzhang, a high-ranking Qing government official, visited the United States in 1896, a Chinese immigrant spread the news that chop suey was Li’s favorite food. Soon chop suey became a hit dish and hundreds of Chinese chop suey houses appeared in New York City. The immigrants quickly generated chicken chop suey, beef chop suey, pork or seafood chop suey, and even vegetable chop suey. Similar creative cookery applied to chow mein or egg foo young, two other favorite foods of American diners. As sweet and sour pork, butterfly shrimp, beef broccoli, and many other Americanized Chinese dishes joined the list, Chinese cuisine became a popular ethnic food and a trend in American society.

Beginning in the 1920s, Chinese cuisine became further localized. For example, the chow mein sandwich became a hit local food in Fall River, Massachusetts. This invention was a hamburger-sized bun with fried chow mein placed in between. Many Chinese and non-Chinese restaurants in Massachusetts served hot chow mein sandwiches with brown gravy. In a predominantly Catholic area in Providence, Rhode Island, chow mein sandwiches was so popular that some restaurants offered meatless versions on Friday for Catholic customers. St. Paul sandwich in St. Louis,

Missouri was another Chinese creation. Like a regular sandwich, the bread was slathered with mayonnaise; optional pickle, sliced tomato, and icy lettuce could be added. But deep-fried egg foo young patty was the key to the sandwich. The egg foo young patty consisted of several whipped eggs, bean sprouts, and minced white onions. If customers wanted to go beyond the basic version, they could ask for optional additions such as shrimp, beef, chicken, or ham. As Chinese cuisine became an important American ethnic food, Italian American food entrepreneur Jenò Paulucci began to mass produce chop suey and chow mein in canned and frozen food. His initial market was the Scandinavian-settled section of Duluth in northern Minnesota, but soon his food empire, Chun King Corp., was able to reach many grocery stores across the nation. In 1957, Paulucci patented his canned Chinese food by packaging chow mein or chop suey in one can and vegetables in another. In the 1950s and 1960s numerous Chinese restaurants named themselves as chow mein houses.

In the 1970s and early 1980s, Chinese food in America began to change again with the arrival of new immigrants from Taiwan, Hong Kong, and mainland China. Most of them settled in suburban cities like Monterey Park in Southern California or Flushing, Queens in New York. The new immigrants brought new tastes to America. Instead of chop suey or egg foo young, they preferred genuine Chinese cuisine. President Richard Nixon’s visit to China in 1972 also aroused a great interest in Chinese food in American society. Peking duck emerged as a well-known dish, and chop suey lost its historical appeal. Food and menus in Chinese restaurants began to follow culinary trends in Asia. In 1987, a *Los Angeles Times* restaurant review listed the top ten Chinese restaurants in Monterey Park and Alhambra. Wonder Seafood Restaurant was one of them. Dishes on its menu included abalone and duck hot pot, crystal shrimp with sweetened walnuts, and ground pigeon topped with plum sauce. But Ricky Wu, co-owner of the restaurant claimed that his true culinary masterpiece was a three-snake soup, made from cobra, rattler, and a third snake for which Wu said there was no English name. Another famous dish at Wu’s restaurant was “Fo Tiao Qiang,” which means “Buddha jumped over the wall” because “he smelled the soup, and it smelled so delicious.”

This famous dish in Fujian was cooked in clay pot contained abalone, conch, soft-shell turtle, and a host of seafood and other ingredients.

On the East Coast, Hunan cuisine became popular with both Chinese and American customers. In 1974, the local ABC news station in New York did a segment on Peng Yuan Restaurant. Reporter Bob Lape visited Chef Peng in the kitchen and taped how he made General Tso's chicken, a famous dish in Hunan cuisine. After the segment ran, about fifteen hundred people wrote in and asked for the recipe. The enthusiasm of New York residents for this dish reflected a new trend in Chinese restaurant business in America. However, few people realized that those Hunan, Sichuan, or Shanghai-flavored restaurants were brought over to America by immigrants from Taiwan instead of mainland China, which did not have diplomatic relationship with the United States and could not send immigrants until after 1979. For several decades since 1949, the year when the Nationalists were defeated by the Communists, there was no social and cultural contact between Taiwan and mainland Chinese. When Taipei became a metropolitan city with thousands of all kinds of restaurants, people in Taiwan essentially made Chinese regional cuisines based on their collective memory about Chinese food. Cultural preservation simultaneously became a cultural invention. Though representing Hunan, Sichuan, or Shanghai flavor, those regional cuisines in America were in fact developed or even re-invented in Taiwan. With Taipei as a capital of Chinese cuisine, Hunan and other regional cuisines migrated to America and other places following Taiwanese immigrants. Pushed by Hong Kong immigrant entrepreneurs in the late 1980s, Cantonese-flavored restaurants started to regain their popularity with dim sum food. Such restaurants in New York or California offered an unlimited number of appetizer-type steamed, roasted, or baked small dishes for customers to select. Meanwhile, many immigrants from mainland China began to run restaurants that featured northern cuisines such as Shangxi pancakes, baked bread, or handmade noodles or Fujian cuisine. Chinese cuisine in America has become more diverse in its content and cooking styles than ever. By the 1990s, when people in American metropolitan

cities like New York or Los Angeles planned to eat Chinese, they had to decide which regional flavor they would pick.

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See also Filipino Cuisine in the United States; Hawaiian Cuisine; Indian Cuisine in the United States; Korean Cuisine in the United States; Thai Cuisine in the United States; Vietnamese Cuisine in the United States

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Chinese Exclusion Acts (1882–1943)

On May 6, 1882, President Chester A. Arthur endorsed the Chinese Exclusion Act, suspending the immigration of Chinese laborers for 10 years. The law marked the beginning of a 61-year Chinese exclusion, ending the history of the United States as a country of free immigration. For the first time the U.S. federal government barred the entry of a group of people on racial grounds. The law also prohibited state or federal courts from granting citizenship to Chinese, making them "alien ineligible to citizenship."



Political cartoon from the 1860s captioned “The great fear of the period—that Uncle Sam may be swallowed by foreigners: The problem solved.” The illustration, which depicts Uncle Sam, an Irish man, a Chinese man, and a railroad, alludes to the influx of immigrants used for cheap labor to build the transcontinental railroad. (Library of Congress)

The exclusion law did not apply to Chinese laborers in the United States at the time; those who arrived within 90 days after the law was enacted were not affected either. It required Chinese leaving the country to obtain a certificate from government officials for reentry in the future. Under the 1880 treaty obligations, Chinese teachers, students, merchants, tourists, and their servants, as well as diplomats were exempted. The law was amended several times, adding more restrictions and closing loopholes. An 1884 amendment required certificates for Chinese who left the country to reenter. An 1888 amendment voided all previously issued certificates and prevented Chinese immigrants who had left the United States to reenter. An 1892 amendment extended the exclusion for another 10 years and required all alien Chinese to carry certificates of residence. The amendment of 1902 extended exclusion for yet another 10 years. In 1904, a final amendment made Chinese exclusion permanent. All Chinese exclusion acts were repealed in 1943.

The exclusion laws blocked entries of Chinese immigrants effectively. They also made it extremely

difficult for male immigrants already in the United States to form families. Under the exclusion laws, Chinese population in the United States had a negative growth from 107,488 in 1890 to 77,504 in 1940.

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See also “Aliens Ineligible for Citizenship”; Chinese Exclusion, Repeal of (1943); Geary Act (1892); Indian Exclusion; Japanese Exclusion; Scott Act (1888)

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Chinese Exclusion, Repeal of (1943)

On December 17, 1943, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed into law the act repealing Chinese exclusion, thus bringing the 61-year practice of Chinese exclusion to an end. The repeal campaign was led by the Citizens' Committee to Repeal Chinese Exclusion (CCRCE). Active members of the committee, often described as “friends of China,” included Donald Dunham, a former member of the American consulate in Hong Kong; Pearl Buck, a Nobel laureate in literature and the author of *The Good Earth*; Buck's husband, Richard J. Walsh, editor of *Asia and the Americans*; and president of the John Day Company. Following the advice from the CCRCE, the Chinese American community kept a low profile in the campaign. The CCRCE limited membership on the committee to non-Asians to convince Congress that the demand to end exclusion came from white Americans rather than the Chinese.

The repeal was a by-product of World War II and the wartime alliance of the United States and China. During the war Congress was under pressure to end Chinese exclusion partly because Japanese propaganda was seeking ways to undermine the

U.S.-China alliance. Through broadcast programs, for example, Tokyo cited U.S. immigration policies against the Chinese to its targeted audience in China. It reminded the Chinese people that in the United States Chinese immigrants had to live in segregated Chinatowns, that even Chinese merchants were subject to detention, and that Chinese were denied the right to naturalization, a right that was accorded to the lowliest immigrants from Europe. The suggestion that discriminatory policies might cause the Chinese and other Asians to join Japan's "Asia for Asiatics" campaign alarmed American lawmakers. Meanwhile, criticism of the exclusion also came from Britain, an ally of the United States. The CCRCE seized the momentum to argue that the repeal was a military necessity to win the war.

Testifying before the House committee, representatives of the Chinese American community, Dr. Li Min Hin from Hawaii and electronics engineer Paul Yee, emphasized the significant contributions the Chinese had made to the United States and their ability to assimilate to the American culture. A few Chinese American intellectuals also spoke at public gatherings, but they were careful not to give an impression that they were advocating an open-door immigration policy.

There was, however, strong opposition against the repeal. One main concern was the impact of the repeal on American labor. Among the organizations that continued to support exclusion were The American Federation of Labor, the American Legion, and the Veterans of Foreign Wars. Urging Congress to pass the Magnuson Bill, President Roosevelt stated that ending exclusion would "correct a historical mistake and silence the distorted Japanese propaganda." Referring to the Chinese quota limit of 105 per year, the president assured the American public that "there can be no reasonable apprehension that any such member of immigrants will cause unemployment or provide competition in the search of jobs." The bill was passed by both the House and Senate and was later signed into law by the president. In theory the new law opened the door to Chinese immigration. However, although the 1924 Immigration Act classified immigrants for quota purposes by place of birth, the repeal act provided that

Chinese from any part of the world were included in the quota.

Regardless of the small quota, the significance of the repeal act could not be overlooked. The repeal ended Chinese exclusion officially, changing the status of Chinese from inadmissible to admissible. This change entitled the Chinese the benefits of general immigration laws. A good example of such benefits could be found in the War Brides Act of 1945. The repeal also made Chinese immigrants eligible for citizenship, which is very important in the postwar transformation of the Chinese American community.

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See also "Aliens Ineligible for Citizenship"; Chinese Americans; Chinese Exclusion Acts (1882–1943); Chinese War Brides; Geary Act (1892); Indian Exclusion; Japanese Exclusion; Scott Act (1888)

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Chinese Fisheries in California

Chinese fishermen came to California just after the state joined the nation in the 1850s. These men were among the first nonnative fishermen to capitalize on the natural resources found along the Pacific coast. During the next few decades, Chinese fishing camps and villages were established from the Oregon border to Baja California, on offshore islands, and along the Sacramento River Delta. For over one hundred years, the California fisheries provided employment for thousands of Chinese fishermen. These pioneers helped to establish the commercial fishing industry in California and introduced important and valuable delicacies to nineteenth-century tables such as shrimp and abalone.

Shrimp camps dominated the San Francisco Bay Area; Monterey specialized in abalone and squid;

whereas San Diego was primarily concerned with abalone. The marine resources from these areas were dried and shipped to China, Chinese communities in the United States, and sold fresh locally.

A vast number of the Chinese fishermen who settled in California displayed great skill in their ability to obtain and process marine products. For example, although the fishermen living in the Monterey Bay region were known for harvesting abalone and capturing squid, they also had the knowledge to catch and process rockfish, cod, halibut, flounder, red fish and blue fish, yellow tail, mackerel, sardines, and a variety of shellfish.

The skills of these men were developed in regions of China where fishing was a livelihood. Census data from 1880 provides evidence that fishermen who worked the fisheries at Point San Pedro on San Pablo Bay in Marin County hailed from areas of the Guangdong Province where shrimp fishing was an occupation.

Chinese fishermen in California maintained traditional fishing methods, and their adherence to these practices is best displayed by their use of traditional watercraft such as Chinese junks. In China these vessels have traditionally been used for many purposes such as fishing, transportation of cargo, and ferrying. In California, Chinese shipwrights built traditional watercraft at several locations including San Diego, Santa Barbara, San Mateo, San Pablo, Point San Pedro, San Bruno, and Hunters Point.

There are several characteristics that positively identify nineteenth-century Chinese watercraft such as a sharp bow and a rounded stern. The large unbalanced rudder was retractable and displayed perforated, diamond-shaped holes and served as a keel in the lowered position. The distinctive sails featured battens secured near the mast. Most California junks were made from redwood, and seem to have been left unpainted; they were simply treated with t'ung oil.

Fisheries in San Francisco

The shrimp fisheries located in the San Francisco Bay region provided jobs for hundreds of Chinese fishermen from the 1870s to 1930. Point San Pedro was one of the largest Chinese shrimp fishing villages.

Today, a part of this settlement still exists and is known as China Camp State Park located in Marin County, California. The fishing village spanned 10 to 15 acres and consisted of 32 houses, a boat building, and shipping facilities. The 1880 Census recorded 347 fishermen along with cooks, boardinghouse keepers, servants, gardeners, a junk dealer, a barber, and a school teacher who worked to support fishing activities and the fishermen. The total population for Point San Pedro for that year was 469 residents.

Shrimp was caught with bag nets staked to the bay floor. This equipment represented a major investment and the choice of fishing ground was very important. An experienced fisherman who understood the currents would dictate the exact location where the net stakes would be placed. Chinese fishers recognized ownership of fishing territories, yet they were not legally sanctioned.

Fisheries in Monterey

The earliest Chinese fishing village in the Monterey Bay region was established at Point Lobos, where a building, known as the Whalers Cabin, was built in the early 1850s. This structure provides physical evidence of Chinese fishing activities in the Monterey Bay region and is believed to be the oldest remaining wooden frame residence of Chinese origin in California.

There was competition in the Monterey Bay fishery between ethnic groups. Portuguese whalers established a settlement in Monterey in 1855 and additional fishermen from Portugal arrived in the area in 1860. Italian fishermen arrived in Monterey County from San Francisco in 1873. Yet, more than half of the fishermen in the area were Chinese. These men, using methods learned from their respective homeland, frequently came into conflict. In 1880, Chinese fishermen sued Portuguese fishers for cutting their fishing nets; however, the Portuguese men prevailed in the lawsuit.

Point Alones, located in Pacific Grove, one-and-a-half-miles northwest of Monterey, was established in the 1850s. This village was among the most prosperous of the Chinese fishing settlements in California. It was a self-contained community that provided its residents with traditional goods for sale at the general

store, an employment agency, a cemetery, an outdoor shrine, and an association hall. The community was a cultural center where Chinese residents from nearby towns would gather and share in traditional customs from the homeland. Many Chinese fishermen raised families at Point Alones and together they worked in the fishing industry where squid was their primary marine product. This village thrived for 50 years and burned down in May 1906.

Fisheries of San Diego

Chinese fishermen dominated the fishing industry in San Diego from the early 1850s until the 1890s. Two Chinese fishing colonies were established on Point Loma, and another fishing village was located at the waterfront adjacent to the Stingaree district and Chinatown. Chinese merchants and contactors in San Diego's Chinese community worked as marketing agents and handled export operations. In some cases, Chinese merchants owned vessels used in the fishing industry.

By the time Chinese fishermen arrived in San Diego, the abalone population had exploded. Sea otters are native to California, and their fur was highly desired, yet because of over hunting, the animal was driven to near extinction. An element of their diet is abalone, consequently, abalone flourished and multiplied once their natural predators were removed.

Abalone was the perfect resource for Chinese fishermen to pursue. Dried abalone was considered a delicacy in China, and Chinese fishermen in San Diego harvested the mollusk with very little competition. Abalone was pried from the rocks and the meat was dried and exported, whereas the shells were shipped to China to be used for cabinet inlays and jewelry, and to France and Germany to be used for buttons and curios.

Expanding their activities, Chinese fishermen worked the waters and shores of the Channel Islands and Baja California. They maintained San Diego as their base of operations for drying their catch, shipping, and fresh market sales. Abalone was abundant in Baja California and Chinese fishermen would sail their junks up to 400 miles from San Diego in pursuit of their prey. A newspaper account from 1871

described two junks arriving at the San Diego port from lower California with eight tons of abalone meat (*San Diego Daily Union* October 14, 1871).

Decline of the Chinese Fisheries

During the 1860s, Chinese fishermen began to be attacked from several fronts, culminating in the decline of the Chinese fishing industry in California. Restriction upon Chinese fishing began with investigation and regulation. The first restriction placed upon Chinese fishermen occurred in 1860, when a license fee of \$4.00 was levied upon fishermen by the state. The license fee was repealed in 1864. During the 1870s the United State Fish Commission began to investigate the Chinese fishing industry. Although the federal government recognized that the regulation of the fisheries should be left up to the states, the Fish Commission's mandate was to gather information and study coastal fisheries in the United States. In 1879 and 1880, David Starr Jordon surveyed the Pacific Coast fisheries in conjunction with the Tenth Census. The conclusion of the survey was that the quantity of fish was being "constantly and rapidly diminished by Chinamen with their fine-meshed nets" (*San Diego Daily Union* January 14, 1880).

Most members of the United States Commission of Fish and Fisheries and the State Board of Fish Commissioners were political appointees and were not scientists. They did not have the expertise to understand biological processes that affected the fisheries such as climatic changes, pollution, and a shift in predator/prey populations. Moreover, the diversity of the marine life harvested by Chinese fishers reduced the danger that fish populations would be decreased.

Hostility toward the Chinese population in the United States reached a fever pitch and in 1882 Congress passed a bill restricting immigration of Chinese laborers for 10 years. Additional laws that extended exclusion and limited Chinese employment opportunities were passed in 1892 with the Geary Act. This legislation specifically defined "persons engaged in taking, drying, or otherwise preserving shell or other fish for home consumption or exportation," as laborers. In effect, Chinese fishermen were redefined as laborers, an excluded class, and subject

to deportation. Laws and regulations placed upon Chinese fishermen were harsh and based on the racism of the time.

Linda Bentz

See also Chinese Americans

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Chinese Garment Workers in San Francisco

At the turn of the twentieth century, jobs for Chinese immigrants in San Francisco were limited. Both the racist and exclusionary practices of the era and the need to speak English kept many Chinese immigrants from finding work outside of the home or obtaining jobs for fair and decent pay. The California Gold Rush of 1849 and the need for labor to build the transcontinental railroad in the subsequent decades provided Chinese men with employment during their initial years in the United States. After gold was depleted and the railroad completed, Chinese men living on the West Coast of the United States and especially within northern California had few options for paid employment. Some labored in the agricultural industries, those with financial resources and often formal education became merchants and shopkeepers, whereas others with some experience with domestic work began running laundries or moved to employment in the garment industry. By the early 1900s,

many Chinese immigrant men were not satisfied with the working conditions inside the city's sewing factories and left their jobs. Chinese immigrant women then replaced their male counterparts and for years after comprised the vast majority of San Francisco's garment industry workers.

Though the working conditions in San Francisco's sewing factories were particularly harsh, jobs within the garment industry were one of the only possibilities of employment for immigrant Chinese women. Racism, sexism, and the inability to speak English made it almost impossible for immigrant Chinese women to find any kind of paid work. Hiring women over men was also extremely beneficial to the manufacturers who ran the factories. Because the women often desperately needed a means of supplementing their families' income, the manufacturers were provided with a large, cheap, and exploitable workforce. In the early 1900s women factory workers were preferable to men as they accepted lower wages. Women were also barred from membership in Chinese guilds, organizations that worked to regulate workers' hours, and women did not have the means to form their own labor unions.

The disparate treatment of immigrants, Chinese, and women during the early years of the twentieth century meant that female Chinese workers in San Francisco occupied the very bottom of both society and the garment industry. Because women workers could not speak English and were without access to further education and job training, they had little hope of finding alternate employment when the factory environment became oppressive. Early immigrant Chinese women workers also lacked the social and political awareness to understand their potential for coming together and advocating for better working conditions and pay increases.

The first wave of immigrant Chinese women factory workers suffered brutal conditions in San Francisco's early sweatshops. Their dependence on the meager income that they earned from sewing and repetitive piecework kept them in the factories. However, the second generation of Chinese women who entered the garment industry, though subjected to exploitative working conditions, relied on their surrounding community for support as they made

attempts to fight for increased wages and employee benefits.

The second generation of Chinese garment workers included both immigrant and Chinese American women. Those who had lived longer in the United States had a better understanding of American culture and the English language. Thus, they had an easier time accessing social services available from organizations such as the YWCA and became more active participants in their local communities. Eventually, as their public lives expanded, Chinese American women began to join labor unions and work as a collective to make changes within the garment industry.

In the 1930s, many Chinese American women factory workers became members of The Chinese Ladies' Garment Workers Union. One of their early endeavors was to fight for better working conditions and employee benefits from their employer, the National Dollar Store. Though the women did not end up completely victorious, by coming together and being persistent with their demands, they were able to effect real change. The National Dollar Store ended up conceding to some of the union's demands. Here, the Chinese women won a wage increase, payment for overtime work, and a paid day off on Labor Day.

The first two generations of Chinese and Chinese American women workers had to struggle and sacrifice to achieve improved and fairer working conditions. However, during the early and mid-twentieth century, when "outsourcing" to other areas of the nation or overseas was difficult and expensive, large-scale corporations such as the National Dollar Store needed to keep their factories local and thus workers had the ability to eventually force change. Many of San Francisco's early garment factories were vertically integrated operations where the products originated and were completed within one location. Thus, though factory employers regularly abused their power and attempted to exploit their uneducated or desperate workers, they could not go so far as to jeopardize losing an entire workforce.

However, even with some factories making changes based on union demands, non-English speaking Chinese workers in the 1980s and 1990s and even into the twenty-first century were still at the mercy of exploitative employers and an unhealthy and dangerous work environment. In "The Only Thing

I Could Do Was Sew," interviewee Li Qin Zhou recalls her many years working in different sweatshops in San Francisco's Chinatown during the late 1980s and 1990s. Zhou took these jobs because of their close proximity to her home and because her lack of English ability meant there were no other jobs open to her. In smaller factories, some employers paid Zhou less than the city's minimum wage; others would only raise her pay, even after years of service, if San Francisco's minimum wage rates increased. In larger factories that employed hundreds of workers, bosses and supervisors exploited their employees by paying them for fewer hours than they worked, and making them undergo humiliating procedures such as lining up to use the restroom and limiting the amount of times they could access the restroom during the workday. Zhou was fully aware that she and her fellow coworkers were being mistreated, but she refrained from complaining to keep her job. Eventually, in 2001, the factory closed down when it could not keep up with other factories that were outsourcing to China.

The concluding few decades of the twentieth century and the first few years of the twenty-first century saw the clothing industry and garment factories begin to almost completely disappear from San Francisco. Newer Chinese immigrants were still moving to the city looking for jobs, but the garment industry's structure had drastically changed leaving almost no production jobs behind. The local industry that had provided jobs when nothing else existed for many Chinese immigrants was becoming a global industry that relied on fewer workers and resources in the city.

Although trade alliances such as NAFTA definitely made outsourcing more cost-effective for clothing manufacturers, the high cost of keeping the garment industry located in San Francisco also led to the decline of local jobs. As San Francisco prospered, rents and legal minimum wages also increased. Manufacturers did not need to move their entire operations outside of the United States to significantly cut down on operational expenses; they merely had to move their factories to the East Bay or the Peninsula. With San Francisco rents and the cost of employing workers higher than almost anywhere else in the nation, a simple 7 to 15 mile move could save manufacturers on both the cost of rent and on employee wages.

Today San Francisco's garment industry is just a tiny part of the city's economy. A few companies still inhabit warehouse space in the Outer Mission and South of Market areas of the city. Today's factories often prosper because of consumer consciousness and the desire to support local and San Francisco made products. The ethnic and racial make-up of the workforce has also changed as it is no longer solely or primarily Chinese but made up of immigrant workers from Mexico and Central American countries. However, workers today who have access to further job training, who are paid a fair wage, who celebrate Labor Day and other paid holidays are benefiting from the early generations of Chinese American women workers who unionized and fought against unfair labor practices. All garment industry workers in San Francisco have also contributed greatly to the city's social history and economic prosperity. With such huge sacrifices and contributions made by Chinese immigrant and Chinese American workers, the city of San Francisco should work to keep the remaining garment factories local, make job training and English language education available, hold employers accountable for exploitation and abuse that continue in factories, and support and promote locally made sweatshop-free apparel. Lastly, Chinese and Chinese American women should be recognized and thanked for their legacy of social and labor activism that set the stage for later generations of immigrant and racial minority women to organize for better working conditions and more equitable treatment.

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Chinese Hand Laundry Alliance of New York (CHLA)

The Chinese Hand Laundry Alliance of New York (CHLA; Niuyue Huaqiao Yiguan Lianhehui) was founded in 1933 by a group of Chinese laundrymen in response to a crisis that threatened the survival of their business, which was already weakened and vulnerable in the Great Depression. The City Council of Aldermen proposed in March an ordinance to require U.S. citizenship for operating public laundries and to charge a license fee of \$25 per year of all public laundries plus a security bond of \$1,000. Several hundred Chinese laundrymen, disappointed with the leadership of traditional organizations and convinced that only their own collective action could save their business, founded the CHLA and sent their representatives to fight against the proposed ordinance, which was in the end largely modified (the license fee was reduced to \$10 and the security bond to \$100 and Chinese were exempt of the citizenship requirement). With this victory, the CHLA emerged as a new type of organization initiating and engaging in an array of political and social activities with increasing influence in New York's Chinese community.

As a grassroots organization, the CHLA represented the interests of the laundrymen. In the 1930s and 1940s, the Chinese laundrymen, like other Chinese Americans, were subject to political, social, and economic discriminations and vulnerable to many legal problems because of the Chinese Exclusion Acts and laws (1882–1943). Traditional family-based or native place associations and their umbrella organization in New York City, the Chinese Consolidated Benevolence Association (CCBA), had provided limited help in the past but proved inefficient in face of serious crises such as the proposed ordinance. The CHLA tried to protect the basic rights and interests of its membership by rallying support in the community and the larger society by appealing to the fundamental democratic principles as articulated in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, and it hired lawyers to fight against discriminatory laws and regulations and to offer legal assistances to the members. From the very beginning the CHLA adopted

a democratic electoral procedure that met the demands and was shaped by the experiences of the Chinese laundrymen. All officials of the Executive and Supervisory Committees were elected by and from the members. As a rule, any important issue would be decided at the membership meeting. The members developed strong identification with the CHLA, which became known in the Chinese community as a large occupational organization led by an effective and responsible leadership capable of protecting and defending the interests of its members. The CHLA membership, at its peak, was estimated between 3,000 and 4,000.

As an occupational organization, the CHLA offered some mutual help and recreational programs to serve its members. It circulated information about improving sanitation conditions in hand laundries and advised its members to have enough sleep, not to overwork, and always take care of their health. It organized weekend or holiday outings, such as a hike and picnic on Beer Mountain or a cruise on the Hudson River. Death benefits were offered: If a member had fulfilled his membership duties and paid his dues and fees, when he died the CHLA would collect a quarter from each member to pay for his memorial service and burial and to give his family a small sum of money. These programs and benefits were significant to the laundrymen, because most of them were single males living in America without a normal family life. The CHLA also jointly sponsored many social and recreational programs with the Chinese Patriotic Youth Club (Niuyue Huaqiao Qingnian Jiuguo Tuan), which was founded by the core members of the CHLA in 1938 to meet the need and demand of the younger generation in the Chinese community. The CHLA and the Youth Club offered classes in Mandarin, music, photography, and a chorus. The Club even organized a drama group, providing opportunities for amateurs to perform on stage. Such activities and programs, initiated and run by the young Chinese Americans who were inspired by democratic and liberal ideals, proved to be attractive to many and helped to forge a new group and community identity among these young Chinese Americans, most of whom were born in China with some born in America.

The majority of the CHLA members were young, male immigrants from the Pearl River delta in

Guangdong province, with some Chinese education at elementary or middle school level—they could read Chinese newspapers and books and write letters and short essays in Chinese. Growing up in the early twentieth-century China, these Chinese were influenced by anti-imperialist and antitraditional ideas of the May Fourth New Culture movement, by the Chinese national salvation movement, and inspired by democratic and liberal ideals. Although they had little choice but to become laundrymen to make a living after they immigrated to America because of their limited English skills, lack of capital, and the limitations imposed on them by the Chinese Exclusion Acts and discrimination, and lived in isolation from the larger society, they desired to break that isolation, to live with basic human dignity, and to improve their living conditions and social status in America. The formation and development of the CHLA provided a hope for them to achieve such goals through collective actions.

Struggling to survive in America during the Depression, the CHLA members—virtually all of them had family and relatives back in China—were deeply concerned with China's national security being threatened by Japan's occupation of Manchuria since 1931 and its continuous aggression in China, as well as with their kin's safety. They believed that their status in America would get worse if China were conquered by Japan, and they felt they must do what they could to help China resist Japan's invasion. Soon after its founding, the CHLA actively participated in the anti-Japanese movement in the Chinese community and put forward as its guiding principle the slogan "To Save China, To Save Ourselves" (*Jiuguo Ziju*). This phrase both identified the basic problems that confronted Chinese Americans and epitomized the CHLA's major activities throughout the late 1930s and the 1940s, and it linked Chinese Americans' struggle for individual and community survival in American society to China's struggle for national survival against expansionist Japan. Believing that Americans' negative views of China's weakness partially contributed to their contemptuous attitude to and discrimination against Chinese Americans, the CHLA members wanted to prove their dignity and improve their image by actively supporting China's anti-Japanese war. In addition to donating their

hard-earned money to China, the CHLA members launched a “people’s diplomacy” aimed at winning American sympathy and enlisting their moral and financial support for China’s war of resistance against Japan. They placed thousands of relief-fund boxes in Chinese hand laundries all over New York City, and in 1938 they used the donations collected from such boxes to purchase four ambulances to donate to the Chinese troops fighting the Japanese invaders. The CHLA members participated in many meetings, rallies, and parades to promote American sympathy and support for China. By pursuing people’s diplomacy, the CHLA greatly extended its contacts with the American people and civic organizations such as the League for Peace and Democracy, the American Bureau for Medical Aid to China, and the American Friends of the Chinese People. These contacts helped CHLA members better understand the American people and society better and to a certain extent facilitated the laundrymen’s integration into American society.

Never wavering in their support of China’s resistance against Japan, the CHLA members, along with many Chinese Americans, were nonetheless often disappointed with and became increasingly critical of the incompetence and corruption of the ruling party in China—Guomindang (GMD; or Kuomintang, KMT; The Nationalist Party) and its leader Chiang Kai-shek. Their criticism of Chiang’s regime intensified as their anxieties about their relatives’ fate grew after Japan occupied Guangdong in 1938, especially after the 1943 catastrophic famine in Taishan during which many overseas Chinese relatives died. In the following years the CHLA members called for reform and building a new government based on democratic principles. They were also angry at and alienated by the GMD government news censorship in China and its attempts to control overseas Chinese communities. The CHLA and its allies in the Chinese community often clashed with the GMD agents and supporters over many issues. In 1940, the CHLA founded its own newspaper *The China Daily News* (*CDN*; *Meizhou Huaqiao Ribao*) with the purpose of reporting news independently and providing a forum for ordinary Chinese Americans to express opinions on issues that concerned them. The *CDN* soon won popular support

and became an influential newspaper circulating in the Chinese communities in the eastern United States. When challenging and criticizing the GMD regime, the CHLA and its allies began to become sympathetic with the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), and gradually came to believe that the CCP, as a rival of the GMD, with its appeal to nationalism, the United Front, and its efforts to organize the peasants to fight the Japanese, and to carry out the land reform in the countryside, seemed to offer an alternative to the GMD. During the Chinese Civil War (1946–1949), the CHLA and *CDN* became unequivocal critics of the GMD and supporters of the CCP. In October 1949, the CHLA celebrated the founding of the People’s Republic of China, expecting the new CCP government would provide political and legal protection to Chinese Americans, put pressure on the U.S. government to abolish discriminatory immigration laws, extend economic and technical aid to Chinese Americans, and improve the living conditions of their relatives at home. From this point on, however, the CHLA got caught in the complexities of international politics during the Cold War years. The U.S. authorities began to see the CHLA as a “Communist infiltrated” organization and placed it under investigation and surveillance. After the outbreak of the Korean War, J. Edgar Hoover, director of the FBI, directed his New York agents to conduct a “comprehensive, thorough investigation” of the CHLA “at once” and to open “individual cases for investigation on officers or members” of the CHLA, the Chinese Youth Club, and *CDN* who “might be considered as potentially dangerous to the internal security.” By November 1950 the CHLA was regarded as the “largest single Chinese Communist group in New York,” and the FBI intensified its investigation of the laundrymen’s alliance, the Chinese Youth Club, and the *CDN*. As the tension between China and the United States increased, and as the pro-GMD forces began to prevail in the Chinese community by taking advantage of the American anti-CCP policy, the CHLA became isolated in the Chinese community and its membership shrank dramatically. In the following years the remaining CHLA members were under strict FBI surveillance. Many were pursued and interrogated by FBI agents and, as a result, lived in

fear. Only the most loyal members remained in support of the CHLA, and they had endured many years of hardship.

Some CHLA leaders, members, and supporters went back to China. A few were deported by U.S. authorities; a number of the CHLA members returned to China voluntarily to take part in building a new China or to avoid potential problems in the United States after the outbreak of the Korean War. Two former CHLA leaders found positions in the central government of the PRC. Tang Mingzhao (Thomas Tang), former CHLA English Secretary and manager of the *CDN*, secretly returned to China and became a deputy director of the Liaison Department of the Committee for Resisting the U.S.A. and Aiding Korea in October 1950; in the 1970s he was a member of China's mission to the United Nations and served as undersecretary-general of the UN from 1972 to 1979. Lin Tang, who once served on the CHLA Executive Committee, returned to China in 1949 and became a member of the Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission of the central government. Several CHLA leaders and active members went back to Taishan, Guangdong, their hometown, and served in the local government. Chen Houfu returned to China in 1951 and became a deputy magistrate in Taishan County's government. Tan Wei and Tan Guangpan, both of whom had served on the CHLA Executive Committee in the 1940s, became members of the Taishan Returned Overseas Chinese Association after they went back to China in the early 1950s.

In late 1940, when actively engaged in politics, the CHLA led a struggle against the Chinese power laundries to protect the hand laundrymen's economic interests. Since the 1920s the Chinese hand laundrymen in New York City had not done the washing in their shops, although these shops were still being called "hand laundries." They received the laundry from the customers, sorted it, and sent it to the wet-wash factory (called "power laundries" in the Chinese community) to be washed. The next day the wet-wash factory delivered the clean laundry to the hand laundry shops, where the laundrymen would iron and fold the clothes to be picked up by the customers. By the 1940s most of the Chinese hand laundry shops in New York City had equipped themselves with shirt-press machines to

replace hand ironing. (The Chinese hand laundrymen in many other cities, however, still did the wash in their own shops and continued to iron by hand as late as the 1940s.) In 1946, when the Chinese power laundries tried to impose a 33 percent price increase for wet-wash and to require the hand laundry shops to contract their work with certain Chinese power laundries, which seemed to threaten the survival of many hand laundry shops and deprive them of "freedom of wash"; the CHLA rallied its members and supporters to found their own Wah Kiu Wet-Wash Factory. Many laundrymen enthusiastically supported this collective effort because they wanted to keep their freedom and dignity as self-reliant laborers. After many painful experiences in dealing with sabotages and learning managing skills, the Wah Kiu Wet-Wash Factory stabilized by the early 1950s and over the years provided a vital economic means to sustain the CHLA and support its members.

In the 1950s and 1960s, the CHLA continued to participate in and support progressive campaigns and the Civil Rights Movement, and it always advocated the normalization of diplomatic relations between the United States and the People's Republic of China. As the Sino-American relations improved after President Nixon's visit to China in 1972, the FBI surveillance of the CHLA discontinued, and the CHLA members were able to travel to China and restore their connections with their relatives. However, the CHLA is no longer as strong and influential in the Chinese community as it was in the 1930s and 1940s, as its members aged and passed away and the young generation moved to other occupations and professions.

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Chinese Herbal Medicine

The Chinese often refer to themselves as descendants of Emperor Yan and Emperor Huang. Yan was actually Shen Nong, the legendary emperor who tasted

all herbs and created herb pharmacology. Huang authored a classical internal medicine text called *Huang di nei jing* (*The Inner Canon of Huangdi* or *Yellow Emperor's Inner Canon*). Through centuries of empirical experiments, and historically influenced by Indian, Arabic, Persian, and Tibetan medical traditions, Chinese medicine developed into a systematic body of medical knowledge with complex theories and such specializations as pharmacology, pulsology, acupuncture, and moxibustion. Diagnostic methods included visual observation, inquiries into case histories, assessing auditory symptoms, and taking the pulse. Chinese herbal medicine is a comprehensive and integrated medical system with complicated theories and rich and long empirical experience. Medicine was also an important component of Chinese national culture as classical Chinese scholarship included medical textbooks that many scholars and government officials were familiar with. In fact, when some scholars failed the civil service examinations, they pursued medicine for their profession. As a popular Chinese saying goes, "If one can not be a fine minister, one should be a good doctor." Meanwhile, herbs and other medical ingredients came from different geographic locations and ecological environments. Many famous traditional Chinese doctors established their reputation by being familiar with the local herbal and other medical ingredients and treating local patients. Chinese medicine kept enriching itself from regional cultures in China. The medical profession was also a free occupation market where all kinds of doctors, healers, therapists, or practitioners coexisted.

In the pioneer days of the mid-nineteenth century, Chinese stores supplied their immigrant patrons with not only food and clothing but also herbal medicine and other health care items. Among the 88 San Francisco Chinese businesses listed in the business directory in 1856, 15 were pharmacies and 5 were herbal doctors. This number of herbal businesses was secondary only to that of grocery stores numbered at 38. Professional herbalists were also among the earliest Chinese immigrants to arrive in the 1840s and 1850s. Fiddletown in Amador County, California has preserved to this day the old Chew Kee Herb Shop established by pioneer immigrant Fung Jong Yee in 1851. This business remained in operation for 53 years.

During the Gold Rush, about five to ten thousand Chinese miners lived in Fiddletown, the second largest Chinese settlement in America at that time.

The existence of numerous herb shops or general stores that sold herbs indicates that many Chinese immigrants possessed some basic medical knowledge. Many of them knew what herbs or herbal formulations they might need for certain minor diseases or injuries. If they needed to consult a physician for a more serious symptom, they would see one; otherwise, they just purchased the herbs they thought they needed. In his observation of a rural village in Guangdong Province in the early 1920s, American missionary doctor Daniel Kulp noted that gathering medicinal herbs was an occupation based upon the needs of the home. "People regularly scour the nooks and crannies of the hills and mountains in search of the wild plants reputed to possess curative properties." He observed that even though there was a doctor in the village, "most curative effort is exercised by the housewives themselves. Whenever the opportunity offers, the women go out into the fields and on the hills to collect medicinal herbs with which they manufacture salves and medicines."

Like other Chinese retail services, an herb shop in the early days was a transplanted business that retained the style of operation in China. It sold formulated medicines and various herbs as well as hired a physician to diagnose symptoms through feeling pulses and prescribing herbal remedies. As in China, some stores hung a dried calabash over the counter to signify the availability of medical service. Patients could easily communicate with the physicians about their symptoms and purchase medicinal herbs or other curative items for minor diseases and injuries. Herbal tea or other healing methods were familiar treatments that have been used by the Chinese for several thousand years. In the Gold Rush days, Chinese immigrants realized that life in America was rough, mobile, and sometimes dangerous. Western medical care was not only inadequate but also less effective than herbal medicine in treating certain symptoms. As medical care was an important need among Chinese immigrants, herb stores existed not only in San Francisco's Chinatown but also in many Chinese communities in remote mining areas. According to Liu Pei Chi, every

Chinese community had at least one or sometimes three to four herb stores, each of which had a physician to diagnose the clients' ailments and to provide therapy. As Chinese immigrants called themselves "Tang people," they referred to the physicians as "Tang doctors" and those seeing non-Chinese patients as "Tang Fan" doctors. In Sacramento, according to the *City Daily Union* of January 11, 1873, there were six drug stores and seven herbal physicians.

Herbal medicine is a unique profession in the Chinese American experience. After racist social movements forced most of the Chinese into menial and service occupations that white people were unwilling to pursue, the Chinese typically became laundrymen or cooks. Ironing or cooking became trademarks of Chinese ethnicity though these skills developed in the United States. Herbal medicine, however, was a true ethnic skill as it was a practice brought from China. As the herbal medical practice successfully survived the hostile racial environment, it became one of the rare instances in which the Chinese made their living with a true ethnic skill for a prolonged period of time in the United States. Chinese herbalists, especially the most established ones, gradually served more Caucasian than Chinese patients. Famous herbalists in California like Li Po Tai, Tan Fu-yuan, or Tom Leung were often fully booked for appointments. Many of their patients were middle- and upper-class European Americans. Some journal article at that time claimed that famous Chinese herbalists had more patrons than most of the Western physicians in California. Chinese herbalists advertised their service in mainstream newspapers, hired white interpreters and receptionists, and set up offices outside of Chinatown. They successfully broke into mainstream American medical market with an ethnic skill.

Chinese herbal medicine was not recognized by law in California, and the judicial records of the state showed that its practitioners had often been arrested and fined. The pioneer herbalist, Li Po Tai, was subjected to serious persecution during the early years of his practice. Fong Wan of Oakland, who was known as the "King of the Herbalists" in the San Francisco area with several thousand patrons from 1915 to mid-1930, said that a great campaign was conducted

against the Chinese herbalists from 1929 to 1932 and people from all walks of life were involved. For example, the postmaster sent herbal doctors fraudulent orders to entrap them and examined their mail searching for information that might incriminate them. Fong Wan was repeatedly sued by envious Western doctors and had to appear in both local and federal courts. A federal court indicted Fong Wan on 16 counts on July 29, 1931. Pharmacologists, postmasters, professors, chemists, and physicians were all brought to court to testify against him. But Fong Wan was eventually found not guilty. During his career, he won several dozens of court cases. In 1925, when an antiherb bill was introduced into the State Assembly, Fong Wan went to Sacramento and presented the arguments and facts that were instrumental in getting the bill withdrawn. Herbalist C. K. Ah-Fong of Idaho obtained his license as a physician/surgeon on February 21, 1901, after a series of appeals in the Idaho State Supreme Court. But he was probably the only herbalist in the United States who ever won such a victory. The Chinese herb business shrank rapidly in the late 1940s and early 1950s because the federal government banned Chinese imports following the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949. The Japanese invasion of China before and during World War II had disrupted the herbalists' businesses to a great extent. After Congress passed the Trading with the Enemy Economy Act in December 1950, thereby suspending the trade between the United States and China, many Chinese herbalists were forced to discontinue their businesses.

Haiming Liu

See also Chinese Americans

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Chinese Immigrant Cemeteries

Chinese cemeteries and grave markers are silent monuments memorializing Chinese contributions to the growth of the western United States. Most Chinese immigrants were from southern China, and brought with them many traditional beliefs and rituals. These led to a singular transformation of the Western landscape, in that Chinese cemeteries are often located on the slope of a small hill, surrounded by higher and wider hills that seem to envelop the main site.

By their location on a sloping, encompassing hillside, Chinese cemeteries in the West follow a pattern common to cemeteries in southern China. This is a distinctive feature of the Chinese concept of geomancy, or *fengshui*, translated as "wind" and "water," a belief system in which balancing the components of spirituality and geography ensures good fortune. Whether or not actual *fengshui* applications can be demonstrated, very specific traditional concepts appear to be at work.

In central Idaho, on the remote Salmon River, the "River of No Return," the burial site of Charlie Bemis is one such example. Although he was Euro-American, his Chinese wife, Polly Bemis, undoubtedly selected his gravesite. She chose a slight rise in front of an enveloping hillside facing a creek flowing into a river, all significant *fengshui* characteristics. This suggests

that even common people were familiar with the basic principles of *fengshui*.

Where a distinctly separate Chinese cemetery exists, such as the one in Pierce, Idaho, it is possible to isolate certain common features; chief among these are empty graves. According to Chinese custom, Chinese immigrants, nearly all of whom planned to return to China after making their fortune in the West, made provision for the possibility of their death in a foreign land by arranging in advance for their remains to be returned to China. Accordingly, they paid a "death insurance" fee to cover the costs of exhuming their bodies, cleaning the bones, and shipping them to China for reburial in the home village. Exhumation pits are clearly visible in many Chinese cemeteries in the West.

Women often appear to have been excluded from the practice of removal. The emphasis on patrilineal descent and the lack of respect accorded women were contributing factors. This may mean that some Chinese cemeteries, considered empty through removal, are actually still holding female burials.

Graves of men and women interred permanently in Western cemeteries were marked in a variety of ways. Wooden markers tended to rot, so stones, concrete, and bricks were preferred. A gravestone in the Lewiston, Idaho, cemetery bears the name Jim Yeeott in English, as the Caucasian community knew him; the stone's Chinese characters give his actual surname, Ng.

In the inland Northwest, a "burner" is an unusual feature of many, but not all, Chinese cemeteries and Chinese sections of Euro-American cemeteries. This tall brick or masonry structure serves as a place for the ritualized burning of paper and cardboard facsimiles of money, clothing, jewelry, and other household objects. Burning passes them to the spirit realm for use by the deceased in the afterlife.

Priscilla Wegars

See also Bemis, Polly (Lalu Nathoy): Perspective 1; Bemis, Polly (Lalu Nathoy): Perspective 2

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Chinese Immigrant Workers in Multiethnic Chicago

Existing stereotypes against Chinese immigrants often depict them either as mysterious enclave dwellers who have little contact with mainstream U.S. society, or as the assimilated "model minority" who reside in affluent American suburbs. Consequently, the daily life struggles of working-class Chinese immigrants who live in multiracial urban neighborhoods remain largely unknown to the general public. To unravel the complexity of contemporary Chinese immigrant experience, one needs to situate it within the larger context of the multiracial transformation of the urban United States. The Chicago story is important because of the city's history of racial segregation between black and white and its increasing popularity as a new destination for post-1965 immigrants. The term "Chinese immigrant workers" is used here to refer to Chinese immigrants with limited English language skills who are mainly working at low-skill, blue-collar service jobs at the extreme margins of the U.S. economy. This group deserves special attention because of their doubly marginalized status—as perpetual foreigners in the eyes of mainstream American society and as ignorant, childlike figures supposedly in need of constant guidance and discipline from their middle-class coethnics. Based on ethnographic research between 2003 and 2005, this piece examines how Chinese immigrant workers develop their knowledge about race through daily interactions with African Americans and Latino immigrants in multiracial Chicago.

The Chinese immigration to Chicago can be roughly divided into three analytical periods: the early sojourner period (1870–1943); the emergence and consolidation of a Chinese American community (1943–1965); and new immigration from Taiwan, mainland China, and Hong Kong (1965–present). Early Chinese immigrants came to Chicago to escape racial discrimination in California. The first Chinese community in

Chicago was established in the 1880s, located south of the downtown area on Clark and Van Buren streets. In the early 1900s, due to the sudden raise of rents by landlords, about half of the Chinese population was forced to move south to Cermak and Wentworth, which soon became the hub of Chinatown until today. Sociologist Paul Siu's monograph *The Chinese Laundryman: A Study of Social Isolation* remains one of the earliest ethnographic studies on Chinese immigrants in Chicago. Siu described the Chinese laundrymen he studied in the 1930s as sojourners who came to the Gold Mountain to make a fortune with the ultimate purpose of returning to China. Siu's research on interracial relations between Chinese laundrymen, white working-class women, and African American women demystifies the image of Chinatown as a racially homogeneous enclave that was totally cut off from the outside world.

Unlike earlier Chinese immigrants to the United States who were mainly from rural areas of Canton, post-1965 immigrants come from a variety of places of origin and social backgrounds. Although Canton continues to be a major source of Chinese immigration, new immigrants also hail from other parts of mainland China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Southeast Asia, and South America. Many of them are from middle-class or lower-middle-class urban settings, and some even hold college degrees. Differing from their immigrant ancestors who were largely sojourners dreaming of returning to China with a big fortune, these new immigrants usually come with their families and with the determination to make the United States their permanent home. However, because the educational and social capital they brought from China cannot be readily converted to economic capital in the United States, a significant number of new immigrants have to initially settle in ethnic neighborhoods like Chinatown and to rely on the ethnic Chinese labor market for employment. Because affordable rentals in Chinatown are hard to find, most new immigrants end up in Bridgeport, a historically white working-class neighborhood southwest of Chinatown, where real estate prices are 20 to 30 percent lower.

Contrary to the Euro-American stereotype of Chinatown as a racially homogeneous urban enclave, Chicago's Chinatown throughout its history has been

a multiracial neighborhood. To the east and southeast, there are African Americans in Near South Side, Douglas and Grand Boulevard. To the west, there are Pilsen and Little Village, the two largest Mexican American communities in Chicago. The “core” of Chinatown, between Cermak and 24th Streets, used to be an Italian neighborhood. The expansion of Chinese populations to Bridgeport started in the 1980s, when several Chinese American developers started building townhouses heavily marketed toward Chinese immigrants. Although the arrival of Chinese immigrants revitalized Bridgeport’s real estate market, tensions between Chinese Americans and more established residents, mainly self-identified whites, also increased. Cases of interracial harassment and property damage are often reported with Chinese immigrants being the victims. Confronted with the changing economic and racial landscapes in a postindustrial metropolis, many new immigrants who settled in Chinatown and Bridgeport found themselves facing the double burden of limited social mobility in an ethnic economy and the daily necessity of navigating multiple color lines.

Bridgeport was, until recently, a white working-class neighborhood known for its history of resistance against housing desegregation and substantial anti-black racial violence. In 1997, a 13-year-old African American youth Lenard Clark was beaten into a coma by two white youths when biking in a park near Bridgeport. The two offenders later bragged to their friends that they had kept Bridgeport white. The expansion of Chinese population to Bridgeport was largely shaped by the multiracial power relations in the neighborhood. Specifically, Chinese Americans, most of whom are working-class immigrants from Hong Kong and Canton, were allowed to move in as a buffer group to prevent the integration of African Americans and to check the growing political power of Latinos. Because of Bridgeport’s history of white racial violence against blacks and its unique connection with Chicago machine politics (five of Chicago’s mayors hailed from Bridgeport), issues of race and racism have generally been considered taboo subjects in public conversations. Nevertheless, this research finds that Chinese immigrant workers are subjected to various and contradictory experiences

of racialization in Bridgeport: they are often racialized together with Latinos as “foreigners” who are taking over the nation; as people of color side by side with African Americans; and/or as the model minority in opposition to both Latinos and African Americans.

In today’s Bridgeport, the coexistence of old racist networks, ideologies, practices, and their rearticulation in new forms (such as multiculturalism and diversity) has posed great constraints on Chinese immigrant workers’ efforts to name racism in its particular form. However, instead of being merely victims of the U.S. racial structure, Chinese immigrant workers have developed an alternative knowledge system in navigating multiracial Chicago. To deal with interracial harassment on the street, many new immigrants have accumulated intimate knowledge of physical boundaries in a multiracial city environment and sophisticated strategies for survival. Besides the learning of street-wise knowledge, Chinese immigrant workers are also highly aware that English is the language of power in their encounters with mainstream U.S. society. Because of the many ways new immigrants are racialized as “foreign” and “non-English speaking,” they feel intimidated speaking English in public even though they have a certain command of the language. As a matter of fact, many Chinese immigrant workers adopt different demeanors in different social settings: although pretending to be ignorant and non-English speaking in face of white harassment, they can also be earnest learners who vigorously practice their English skills in an ESL class.

Within the Cantonese Chinese immigrant community, white privilege is recognized by the distinction between *lo fann gong* (white American job) and *tongyan gong* (Chinese job). For many new immigrants the term *lo fann gong* is rather vaguely defined as a job paid by white Americans—meaning white Americans being the boss, rather than a job held by white Americans. For example, the most desirable *lo fann gong* among Chinese immigrant workers is a job in one of those big hotels in downtown Chicago. Compared with the gloomy future of working in a Chinese restaurant, *lo fann gong* promises a more dignified lifestyle like other average Americans: stable employment with benefits, annual pay raise, and more leisure time

with the family. *Lo fann gong* is also held in higher prestige than *tongyan gong* (Chinese job) because it symbolizes one's entry into the "system,"—that is, the mainstream American labor market. Chinese immigrant workers' aspiration for *lo fann gong* reveals their keen perception of racial hierarchies in the U.S. labor market.

Because of the proximity of Chinatown to the Black Belt, African Americans have been playing a key role in Chinese immigrants' racial learning. Prior to their emigration many Chinese immigrants are already aware that blackness is a stigmatized racial identity in the United States. Once they arrive in Chicago, most immigrants' socialization in the ethnic Chinese community is geared toward viewing African Americans as dangerous. The sheer necessity to survive in a new urban environment and the internalization of existing racial stereotypes against blacks has kept many new Chinese immigrants socially distant from African Americans. First-generation Chinese Americans' negative attitudes toward African Americans can be attributed to multiple factors: language barrier, individual experiences of interracial conflicts, exposure to mainstream media's racist portrayal of African Americans, structural discriminations faced by both groups in American society, and mediating influence from ethnic organizations and informal personal networks. However, as Chinese immigrants stay longer in the United States, some of their knowledge of blacks also gets more nuanced. As they develop friendships with African Americans at the personal level, they begin to distinguish "good blacks" from "bad blacks." For those who encounter black immigrants in their work places, they begin to make distinctions between "black Americans" and "black immigrants."

Although Chinese immigrant workers define African Americans primarily by their skin color, they have a different view of Mexicans. In today's Bridgeport, Chinese and Mexicans are the two largest minority groups and they usually share common residential spaces in the neighborhood. Because the majority of both groups are from working-class background and are both racialized as foreigners to the U.S. nation-state, the two occupy similar structural positions in the U.S. economic hierarchy. Many Chinese immigrants find themselves working side by side with Mexican

immigrants in low-skill, blue-collar service occupations. Friendships developed at workplaces often become a primary source of building information networks between the two groups, which sometimes transcend language and racial barriers. For example, the favorite shopping place for many Chinese immigrants in Bridgeport is a Mexican grocery store, where free Chinese language newspapers are provided and Chinese fruits and vegetables are sold at a lower price than at ethnic Chinese stores.

It is important to note that the Chinese identification with Mexicans is often triangulated by their differentiation from African Americans. Compared to stereotypes of African Americans as lazy, welfare seeking, and prone to violence, Mexicans are generally praised for their hardworking ethics as a group. Most Chinese immigrant workers are aware of the racialization of Mexicans as "illegal" immigrants. However, because illegal immigration is also a problem within the Chinese community, most immigrant workers do not feel the stigmatization working side by side with Mexicans. The noncitizen status of both groups actually strengthens the bond between them as brave immigrants who overcome many obstacles to achieve their American Dream. Conversely, the U.S. citizenship of African Americans becomes a liability, a counter evidence for their ability to achieve success in their own country. Chinese immigrant workers' unwillingness to identify with African Americans betrays their lack of knowledge about structural discrimination faced by black Americans. It also reveals the limitation of the black and white binary in accounting for the Chinese experience. By claiming their shared identity with Mexicans as immigrants, Chinese workers are framing their identity formation within a transnational context and thus emphasizing their contingent relationship with the U.S. nation-state.

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Chinese in the U.S. Civil War

The first study of Chinese in the U.S. Civil War, published in 1996, identified only 10 who served, and although researchers combing through muster rolls have since added dozens of names, and will undoubtedly find more, the number of Chinese will always be minuscule in the face of the three million who fought. As their profiles in this volume indicate, however, the range of their participation was broad and the challenges they faced as soldiers and veterans unique.

The challenges for researchers must also be noted: "Chinese sounding" names often turn out to be nationals of other countries; many of the Chinese who served had completely Western names; microfiche are frequently illegible; Census data is flawed. In this brief overview, individuals of mixed race are included in the count of Chinese, and their names and service data are drawn from the 1996 study and Terry Foenander's "Asians in the Civil War"; the 1860 Census data for Chinese is from Him Mark Lai's statistical breakdown by state.

At the start of the fighting in 1861, scarcely 200 Chinese resided east of the Mississippi where the war was primarily waged. So, discounting the five who enlisted in California, the current total of 58 Chinese servicemen means the level of combatants in proportion to the population was substantial—and these figures do not take into account the percentage of the Chinese population that was male and of age for military service.

Because the smallest number of Chinese resided in the South, it stands to reason far fewer fought for the Confederacy than the Union. Even fewer seemed to have been committed to the Confederate cause. Certainly the Bunker cousins in the Virginia cavalry, coming from slaveholding families, were. But Cao Zishi, underage and in the nebulous position of student, apprentice, and servant, could not have chosen freely when accompanying his master into the cavalry in Tennessee.

Some Chinese had no interest in fighting for either the Confederacy or the Union. John Fouenty, conscripted in Savannah, Georgia, ran away to

Union-held St. Augustine but did not join the Union cause. Having been captured from his native Hong Kong for the notorious “coolie” trade, he had survived a four-year labor contract in Cuba and been homeward bound when forced to disembark on the American continent and then to don Confederate gray; once within Union lines, Fouenty resumed his broken journey home to China.

A strong case can be made that another runaway, Thomas Sylvanus, was devoted to the Union because he reenlisted twice after a battle-related disability discharge. Hong Neok Woo, in the Pennsylvania militia, is on record as supporting the North because he opposed slavery. Edward Day Cohota, like many peers in the general population, enlisted simply because he did not want to be left behind by friends when they went soldiering.

The range of choices and motivations for service among the Chinese reflects those of other native and foreign-born males. Desertions likewise occurred, but the reasons prompting the handful by Chinese have yet to be uncovered. The small cluster of desertions from the Second Louisiana Infantry points to a problem within the regiment. Possibly James Johnson, who had been a sailor before joining the 18th New York Cavalry, realized in the few months between his enlistment in New York and desertion in New Orleans that he preferred the sea.

American cargo vessels had long included Chinese on crews, and most of the Chinese veterans identified to date served in the Union navy, which was open to all races, and where they held similar positions: cabin boys, stewards, cooks, and landsmen. Because the navy did not maintain personnel files for enlisted men until 1885, constructing profiles of Chinese who served at sea and verifying their claims is virtually impossible. According to newspaper reports, some were involved in combat: John Akomb, steward on a gunboat, was twice wounded, once seriously in the chest; the heel of John Earl—a cabin boy on Admiral Farragut’s flagship, the *Hartford*—was smashed by solid shot in Mobile Bay; and William Hang, serving on the same vessel as a landsman, handed out powder during the battle.

Unlike the navy, the Union army initially excluded “colored” volunteers; then African Americans were

allowed to fight in segregated “colored” regiments officered by whites; and it is here that the unique position of Chinese in America’s racial landscape is most evident. There were only three categories in the 1860 Census—white, black, or mulatto—and how a Chinese was identified seemed to depend on the enumerator, economics, and geography. In North Carolina, the slaveholding Bunker family was—from the two Chinese fathers and two white mothers to their mixed race children—considered white. Also marked white was Antonio Dardelle, a servant in Connecticut. But in Maryland, a census enumerator expressed his confusion over the appropriate designation for servant Thomas Sylvanus by making something akin to an exclamation mark.

Similarly stumped was a Confederate general over a captured Union soldier, John Tomney, which may account for the Confederate cavalry and infantry’s acceptance of Chinese and mixed-race men to fight alongside whites. At least two Chinese served in the Union’s Colored Troops, whether from personal preference or after being rejected by white regiments cannot be determined. But Yale graduate Yung Wing *was* rejected when he offered his services in Washington, D.C., in 1864, perhaps because he expected to be commissioned as an officer rather than serving as a private.

Period magazines were rife with negative images of Chinese, and the widely used school text *Peter Parley’s Universal History* proclaimed Chinese as rat-and-dog-eating liars addicted to cheating. Chinese displayed in tours sponsored by missionaries or P.T. Barnum projected more positive yet no less stereotypic images. Given the scarcity of Chinese in the East, though, most people did not personally encounter any except in New York City’s lower wards where an estimated concentration of about 70 worked as peddlers, operated boarding houses and small businesses.

That Chinese won acceptance, even admiration and respect in white regiments, with three earning promotion to corporal, can be attributed to the nature of a soldier’s small, tight-knit community where men depended on each other for survival, not just on battlefields, but on long, hard marches, when felled by sickness, or as prisoners of war. Veterans reluctant to surrender this camaraderie sought to preserve it

through regimental reunions and formation of a fraternal organization, the Grand Army of the Republic, and Chinese actively participated in both. Invariably, the anomaly of their service was commented upon, sometimes by the Chinese veteran himself for whom it seemed a point of pride.

Among the veterans, only one has been identified as native born: James Earl, the California-born son of a Mexican mother and Chinese father, who ran away to sea as a boy, attended school in Salem, Massachusetts, and served in the navy 1863–1870. But foreign-born Chinese veterans, having fought for the United States of America, sought to become its naturalized citizens. Congress had promised any honorably discharged foreign-born veteran citizenship upon petition. The 1790 Naturalization Law restricted naturalization to whites, however, and the Fourteenth Amendment, by which African Americans gained citizenship, did not apply to Chinese; then Congress passed the Exclusion Act in 1882 explicitly forbidding their naturalization. Yet these laws were applied so inconsistently that Hong Neok Woo was naturalized in Lancaster, Pennsylvania before the war, Thomas Sylvanus shortly after, Antonio Dardelle despite Exclusion, but Edward Day Cohota denied, and William Hang, a Navy veteran, thoroughly ensnared in the contradictions.

Granted citizenship in New York on October 6, 1892, Hang voted until August 17, 1904, when he was arrested when exercising his franchise. Producing his naturalization papers, Hang was then subjected to a tirade by Joel M. Marx, assistant United States attorney, who accused the judge issuing the papers of inexcusable ignorance. Hang fought the ruling to no avail: On October 21, 1908, New York's Supreme Court vacated and set aside his citizenship.

Thus Chinese veterans, however acculturated in language, religion, dress, and cultural practices, were relegated to permanent outsider status whereas European veterans found their service and citizenship accelerated their complete assimilation. For European veterans, then, their ethnicity could be “just one aspect of their character, not the burning core of their very being” (*Melting Pot Soldiers*). Chinese veterans, their ethnicity their sole definition by law, enjoyed no such luxury. And, after passage of the 1892 Geary Act,

which extended exclusion and required all Chinese to carry identification proving their legal entry, Joseph Pierce changed his identity to Japanese; his children and those of Antonio Dardelle passed as white.

So powerful is the legacy of exclusion that despite its repeal in 1943, Chinese in America continue to be marginalized in the twenty-first century: Rep. Mike Honda, seeking passage of a resolution honoring Asian American and Pacific Islander soldiers who fought in the U.S. Civil War, found himself in an uphill battle; staying the course for five long years, he finally succeeded on July 30, 2008.

Ruthanne Lum McCunn

See also Bunker, Christopher Wren and Bunker, Stephen Decatur; Cao Zishi; Chang and Eng (The Siamese Twins); Cohota, Edward Day; Dardelle, Antonio; Lai, Him Mark; Pierce, Joseph; Sylvanus, Thomas; Tomney, John; Woo, Hong Neok

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Chinese Language Schools in the United States

Chinese language schools have been an integral part of the organizational structure of the Chinese diaspora

worldwide, often referred to as “the third pillar” with the other two pillars being ethnic organizations and the ethnic language media. In the United States, Chinese language schools date back to the mid-nineteenth century. Just like other ethnic language schools in the immigrant German, Scandinavian, Jewish, and Japanese communities in their early years of development, Chinese language schools in much of the pre–World War II era aimed to preserve language and cultural heritage in the second and succeeding generations. Today, they have evolved to a much broader range of functions beyond language and culture. Reanalyzing the data from prior studies and from my own field observations and interviews, I address two questions in this essay: Under what historical conditions have Chinese language schools evolved and developed? What effects do Chinese language schools have on the second and later generations?

As well documented in the history of Chinese immigration to the United States, Chinese immigrants initially came to this country to work to support their families left behind in China. In their search of a sojourner’s dream—to make money and then return home with “gold and glory”—they helped develop the American West, building the most difficult part of the transcontinental railroad west of the Rockies, but ended up being targets of racism. Poor economic conditions in the late 1870s exacerbated anti-Chinese agitation, leading to the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882, which lasted until 1943. Consequently, immigrant Chinese built Chinatowns and reorganized their sojourning lives within these socially isolated enclaves. Because of restricted immigration, there were few women and children in old Chinatowns. Since the early 1930s, however, the number of children had become increasingly visible among the aging bachelors. Like other racial minority children, the children of Chinese immigrants were not permitted to attend public schools with white children and, as they grew up, few were able to find jobs in the mainstream economy commensurate with their levels of education.

It was against this historical backdrop that Chinese language schools came into existence. The first Chinese School appeared in San Francisco’s Chinatown in 1884 for the purpose of providing for a basic education for immigrant young men and the children

of immigrants to keep their culture, custom, heritage, and language alive in the United States, in preparation of Chinese young people eventually returning to China with their families. Early Chinese language schools in San Francisco’s Chinatown, for example, were mostly private, financed primarily by tuition (\$4 to \$5 a month) and donations from churches, temples, family associations, and Chinese businesses. Each school was governed by a board consisting of mostly elite members from ethnic organizations and businesses in Chinatown. Schools typically had one or two part-time teachers, instruction was in Cantonese, and classes were held daily for three to four hours in the evenings and Saturday mornings, usually in the basement of a teacher’s home or in a room inside a family association building. Prior to World War II, there were about a dozen Chinese language schools in San Francisco’s Chinatown serving nearly 2,000 K-12 children, four in Los Angeles’s Chinatown, and at least one in New York, San Diego, Chicago, Minneapolis, Washington D.C., and New Orleans.

There were also quasi-public Chinese language schools financed directly by the Chinese government. The first of such schools, called *Da Qing Shu Yuan*, was established at the turn of the twentieth century in San Francisco’s Chinatown. Starting with two classes held daily from 3 p.m. to 9 p.m. during the week and 9 a.m. to 9 p.m. on Saturdays, *Da Qing Shu Yuan* had an initial enrollment of about 60 students under the supervision of two teachers. Tuition was only 50 cents a month and the curriculum was formal and centered on Chinese classics—*The Great Learning*, *The Doctrine of the Mean*, *The Analects of Confucius*, and *Mencius*—which were essential texts used to prepare students for the primary civil service exams in China. Quasi public Chinese language schools were later established in other major Chinatowns under the management of the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (CCBA), the quasi-government of Chinatown. In recent years, these quasi public Chinese language schools have evolved into multifunctional cultural centers in Chinatowns with significant financial support from both governments in China and Taiwan.

Chinatown’s children attended segregated public schools during regular school hours on weekdays and

spent many more hours after school, on weekends, and during summer vacations learning Chinese in ethnic language schools. Immigrant parents believed that proficiency in the Chinese language was practical for their children because their children's future options were limited to either returning to China or finding jobs in Chinatowns. Parents also believed that a strong Chinese identity and ethnic pride instilled in the children through Chinese cultural and moral teachings were necessary to help the children cope with racism and discrimination. Like other ethnic organizations in Chinatown, earlier Chinese language schools had very little contact with mainstream institutions, and education in ethnic language schools was supplementary but *not* complementary to public schooling.

The repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1943 marked a new era for Chinese Americans. For the first time in history, immigrant Chinese and their offspring were legally allowed and encouraged to participate in American society. Shortly afterward, the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949 and subsequent political and economic sanctions of the West against China further shattered the sojourners' dreams of returning. These broader social and political changes in the United States and abroad had a powerful impact on the immigrant Chinese community, shifting its orientation from sojourning to putting down roots and reinforcing its commitment to socioeconomic integration. Between World War II and the 1960s, Chinese language schools experienced a period of decline because of the pressure of assimilation. The children, especially adolescents, started to question the necessity of Chinese schooling and the practical value of Chinese language proficiency. Public schools were behind the children and indirectly encouraged them to break away from the ethnic language schools under the rationale that such ethnic education would place too much burden on their young minds and serve to confuse and ultimately impede their social and intellectual developments. Other factors that caused Chinese language schools to decline included the aging of the teachers, who were mostly non-English speaking and slow to adjust to changes, the rigidity of the curriculum and teaching methods, residential dispersion, and the opening of various educational and vocational opportunities outside Chinatown. Thus,

going to Chinese school became a burden on the child and a source of parent-child conflict. Yet, the children continued to attend Chinese language schools because their parents made them, but most dropped out by the sixth grade.

Contemporary Chinese immigration since the 1960s has led to even more dramatic changes in the immigrant Chinese community. Between 1960 and 2010, more than 2 million immigrants were admitted as permanent residents from China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan. These new arrivals are no longer only the poor, uneducated peasants from traditional sending villages in Guangdong. Instead, they have come from major cities all over China as well as from the global Chinese diaspora. Many are cosmopolitan urbanites, college-educated professionals, skilled workers, and independent entrepreneurs. Upon arrival in the United States, many new immigrants have managed to bypass Chinatowns to settle directly in more affluent outer areas or suburbs in traditional gateway cities as well as in new multiethnic, immigrant-dominant suburbs, or ethnoburbs.

The past four decades have witnessed a revival and rapid growth of Chinese schools in both Chinatowns and Chinese ethnoburbs, along with the development of a range of ethnic institutions oriented toward children's education. The National Council of Associations of Chinese Language Schools (NCACLS) in 1994 counted a total of 643 registered Chinese language schools in the United States (189 in California) with 5,536 teachers serving 82,675 K-12 students. New Chinese language schools in ethnoburbs were first started by educated Taiwanese immigrants in the 1970s. More suburban Chinese schools have been developed later by international students and well-educated professional immigrants from mainland China, especially since the 1990s. For example, the majority of suburban Chinese schools affiliated with the Southern California United Chinese School Association were initially established by Taiwanese immigrants in the mid- or late 1970s. The Hua Xia Chinese School was established as a Saturday school in a northern New Jersey suburb in the early 1990s by immigrant Chinese from the mainland and has now expanded into 14 branch campuses in the suburbs along the northeastern seaboard from Connecticut to

Pennsylvania, serving more than 5,000 students and shifting its admission to “everyone, regardless of his or her gender, race, color of skin, religion, nationality and blood ties.” Similarly, the Hope Chinese School started as a small weekend Saturday school in a Washington D.C. suburb for professional Chinese immigrant families from mainland China in the early 1990s and has now grown into five campuses in suburban towns in Maryland and Virginia, enrolling more than 2,000 students. Parallel to the revival and rapid growth of Chinese language schools is the rise of a whole range of child- and youth-oriented private institutions including after-school tutoring (also called *buxiban* in Mandarin), college preparation, arts and sports, as well as daycare and preschools.

Traditional Chinese language schools have been under pressure to change. For example, the New York Chinese School run by the CCBA is perhaps the largest child- and youth-oriented organization in inner-city Chinatowns. The school annually (not including summers) enrolls about 4,000 children, from preschool to 12th grade, in their 137 Chinese language classes and over 10 specialty classes (e.g., band, choir, piano, cello, violin, T'ai chi, ikebana, dancing, and Chinese painting). The Chinese language classes run from 3:00 p.m. to 6:30 p.m. daily after regular school hours. Students usually spend one hour on regular school homework and two hours on Chinese language or other selected specialties. The school also has English classes for immigrant youths and adult immigrant workers.

Present-day Chinese language schools, both in and out of Chinatown, are distinctive compared to those prior to World War II. First, they do not aim solely at language instruction; in fact, language teaching no longer takes priority, and Chinese classics have been almost completely taken out of the curriculum. The ultimate goal is to assist immigrant families in ensuring that their children excel in American public schools, get into prestigious colleges and universities, and eventually attain well-paying, high-status professions. Second, Chinese schools today are more flexible and diverse. In terms of forms, they range from regular weekday (3 p.m. to 6 p.m. daily after school), weekends (Saturday or Sunday half-day), summer (day schools and overseas camps), and spring or Christmas

breaks (day camps) sessions. In terms of curriculum, they offer language instruction along with a wide variety of academic enrichment and cultural programs as well as programs geared toward college admissions. Third, although most schools are funded by tuitions and fees, they are governed by a board consisting of parents, teachers, ethnic business owners, and community leaders, and rely heavily on parental voluntarism. Parents act as teacher aides, chauffeurs for pick-up or drop-off services, fundraising workers, and even janitors. Many Chinese schools have Parent Volunteer Associations (PVA) modeled after the Parent-Teacher Associations (PTA) in public schools. Parental involvement is direct and intense in Chinese schools, but similar involvement is minimal in public schools because of language and cultural barriers.

The effects of Chinese schools extend far beyond ethnic language instruction and after-school education for immigrant children. The spillover effects on children are quite significant. First, Chinese language schools and other relevant ethnic institutions offer an alternative social space where children can express and share their feelings of growing up in immigrant Chinese families. Second, Chinese schools provide unique opportunities for immigrant children to form a different set of peer group networks, giving them more leverage in negotiating parent-child relations at home. Third, Chinese schools function to nurture ethnic identity and pride that may be rejected by the children because of the pressure for assimilation, helping alleviate bicultural conflicts that run rampant in many immigrant families.

The spillover effects on parents are also evident. Chinese schools provide an important physical site where formerly unrelated immigrants (and parents) come to socialize and rebuild social ties. Chinese schools also serve as an intermediate ground between the immigrant home and American school, helping immigrant parents, especially those who do not speak English well, learn about the American educational system, and make the best of the system in serving their children without getting personally involved in formal schools and their PTAs. Furthermore, Chinese schools foster a sense of civic duty among immigrants who are criticized for their lack of civic participation. Parents not only volunteer their time and energy to

help out in Chinese schools but also take the initiative in organizing and participating in cultural and political events in the larger community.

Min Zhou

See also Chinese Americans; Ethnoburb

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Chinese Lion Dance in the United States

Chinese lion dance is an increasingly popular cultural practice that has continued to evolve in countries where Chinese diaspora have settled, including the United States. Lion dances can generally be categorized under Northern or Southern traditions, but both have come to symbolize power, majesty, and good fortune. The dance is performed at events such as weddings, grand openings, and Chinese New Year.

Northern Lion Dance

One of the origin tales of the Northern lion dance tells of the subjugation of Mongolian tribes by the Northern Wei Dynasty (386–534), and the Chinese emperor subsequently calling upon his new subjects to pay tribute through song and dance. The dance featured lion-like creatures made of wood and animal skins that were performed by Mongolian warriors. The emperor enjoyed the performance so much that he allowed the performers to return to their homeland and this lion dance subsequently spread in popularity across northern China.

Northern lions resemble Pekingese dogs and typically have gold-painted heads and shaggy yellow or orange fur with costumes that cover most of each performer's body. The use of red colors on the head, such

as a bow, is used to represent a male, and green for a female. The dances are regularly performed with one or two lions, but there are also performances with adult lions and several smaller child lions. There are usually two performers in the adult lion, and one in the child lion. With adult lion performances, there is usually a "warrior" character who leads the lions in their movements with a ball-sphere and does acrobatic choreography.

Similar to Southern lions, the Northern lions dance following the rhythms of cymbals, drums, and gongs. However, the Northern lions are more playful than the Southern lion and tend to focus on displays of kindness and agility. These displays often take place on apparatuses like three-tier platforms and balls. Northern lion dances are not performed as often in the United States, which can be partly attributed to the much larger numbers of southern Chinese immigrants to the Americas.

Southern Lion Dance

One of the origin tales of the Southern lion dance is that a village would be attacked by a beast called nian, which would consume much of their crops every harvest season. To combat this threat, the villagers created costumes and masks fashioned to resemble lions, but with fierce and grotesque faces and bodies larger than normal lions. Accompanied with loud sounds, the villagers would "play" the lions that scared away the nian. Over time, the lion dance was performed not only to scare away the nian, but also demons and other bad spirits, thus bringing good luck and prosperity.

Compared to Northern lions, Southern lions feature longer tails and larger heads with a variety of colors and patterns. The heads are usually made of paper-mache, bamboo and rattan, with the lion's sponsoring organization painted on the back of the head. Tails and pants are constructed with a mix of satin, nylon, and sequins, along with variations of natural and synthetic fur that also appear on the head. Common colors include gold, red, orange, black, and green.

The Southern lion is one of the most inclusive artifacts of Chinese cultures. The heads and dances draw direct references to Buddhism, Daoism (including the bagua or eight trigrams), the Yijing (I Ching), also

known as the Book of Changes (including Feng Shui), Beijing Opera, and the Chinese classic historical fiction, *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*. For example, most Southern lion designs emulate the heroes of *Three Kingdoms*: Liu Bei and his Five Tiger Generals (i.e., Guan Yu, Zhang Fei). Based on personalities derived from the novel, the lions symbolize themes like seniority, mourning, prosperity, and youth. The dance is often accompanied by a “Buddha” character with a fan who ushers the lions along.

Southern Chinese kung fu schools have long adapted the lion dance to practice footwork, develop stamina, and earn recognition and income for the school. During the Qing (Manchu) Dynasty when European nations and the United States colonized China, kung fu was largely banned for fear of rebellion. Indeed, many kung fu practitioners were revolutionaries, including those from southern Shaolin traditions like Cai Li Fo (Choy Lee Fut) and Hong Quan (Hung Kuen) with roots in the Guangdong (Canton) and Fujian (Fukien) provinces. Along with traveling performance shows on riverboats, lion dance allowed these kung fu schools to secretly practice their arts, raise funds, and communicate with one another through red envelopes, choreography, and other dance rituals. This history has been popularized worldwide through the Hong Kong cinema.

When southern Chinese began migrating to the United States en masse in the mid-1800s, they brought lion dance with them. Thus, Southern lion dance is often performed in areas with large Chinese communities like California, Hawaii, New York, and Texas. Over the past four decades, these communities have grown to include ethnic Chinese (i.e., Chaozhou or Chiu Chow, Kejia or Hakka) from Southeast Asian countries like Vietnam who have brought their own adaptations of the dance.

Other than kung fu schools, many family/village associations, cultural groups, and temples in the United States have lion troupes that perform at celebrations for their organization and local community. Sometimes these troupes are taught by kung fu masters from those organizations, and other times they are instructed by non-kung fu practitioners. Over the past two decades, there has also been a proliferation of troupes across colleges where there is a significant

Chinese or Southeast Asian presence. These troupes are often taught by students or alumni, and they perform for collegiate or activist-oriented events like culture nights, Asian Pacific American Heritage Month festivals, and political actions.

Given these variations in structure and pedagogy, there is great variation in the Southern Chinese lion dances performed in the United States. Historical differences between the Heshan and Foshan lions, such as drumming patterns and footwork, are often now blended together. One particularly heavy influence on lion dancing in the United States has been the hybrid styles (Northern, Heshan, and Foshan) of lion head design and choreography in Singapore and Malaysia. Utilizing shorter tails, lighter construction materials, and flashier colors and designs, this hybrid lion dance has been popularized by the annual Genting World Lion Dance Championship in Malaysia where teams perform highly stylized set routines on top of poles and wires. This high-flying style has a reduced emphasis on kung fu practices and has been likened to the more ballet-like modern Chinese wushu, as opposed to the more martial styles of traditional kung fu and lion dance.

Benji Chang

See also Chinese Americans; Chinese New Year Parade

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Chinese Mining in America

Before the California gold rush, Chinese immigration to the United States was almost negligible, but soon, the Chinese came in numbers. During their first decade in the West, most Chinese worked in gold mining, about 75 percent of them by the early 1860s. Gold



Chinese miners stand next to a sluice box, Aubine Ravine, California, ca. 1852. (Fotosearch/Getty Images)

occurs in the form of placer or lode deposits. Lode deposits consist of gold still contained in the rock in which it formed. Most placer deposits consist of alluvial deposits that contain gold that has been freed from the rock by weathering and erosion. The majority of Chinese who worked as miners did so in placer mines. As yields declined, almost every placer region of note received its complement of Chinese, and they became, in fact, a ubiquitous feature of the mining West. By the 1870s they had spread to almost every major placer area. In the 1870s the Chinese represented over 25 percent of all miners, and in some individual states they accounted for one-half to almost two-thirds of all miners. As late as 1900, a few Chinese still patiently extracted gold from the gravels along some Western rivers using a pan, rocker, or sluice.

Not all Chinese mining operations consisted of small-scale placer operations, using the most elementary methods. As early as 1852 the Chinese engaged in river mining along the Yuba River. River mining,

which often represented large-scale, expensive undertakings, involved the use of dams, ditches, and flumes to divert streams partially or completely from their natural beds to enable the working of the streambed, usually using sluices. By the close of 1863, the Chinese controlled most of the river claims in California and continued to do so through the 1880s and 1890s. Moreover, many of the white companies still engaged in this form of mining employed Chinese to work their claims. The Chinese also engaged in river mining in British Columbia as early as the 1860s and 1870s, in Colorado and Oregon in the late 1870s, and in Washington in the 1880s.

In addition to river mining, the Chinese played an important role in another form of large-scale mining—hydraulicking. Hydraulicking or hydraulic mining utilized a jet of water issuing under high pressure from a nozzle to excavate and wash the gravel through sluices (wooden troughs) that caught the gold and disposed of the tailings. The Chinese involvement in

hydraulic took many forms. The tremendous supplies of water demanded by hydraulic mining required the construction of an elaborate system of reservoirs, flumes, canals, and ditches. Hydraulicking produced huge amounts of tailings, sometimes disposed of into adjacent canyons or valleys through the construction of bedrock tunnels. Great numbers of Chinese often worked in the construction of such projects. White mining companies sometimes employed Chinese laborers to carry out the basic unskilled labor of their hydraulic mines. Moreover, the Chinese operated hydraulic mines themselves, sometimes quite large ones utilizing the most up-to-date equipment and methods, and producing tens of thousands of dollars worth of gold annually. The Chinese, in fact, operated the largest, most important hydraulic mines in some mining localities.

For a number of reasons, the Chinese never became a major force in lode mining, either as mine operators or as laborers in Euro-American lode mines. Lode mining involved the use of tunnels, shafts, and other excavations to extract ore-bearing rock. The ore was then subjected to various milling processes to extract the gold, silver, and other metals. Because the majority of Chinese were sojourners, they typically focused on deposits exploitable with simple methods that afforded quick returns and short-time profits. Lode mining required more technological and geological knowledge, more skilled labor, and greater capital investment than traditional forms of placer mining. Furthermore, the harassment and outrages perpetuated on the Chinese made the permanency required of lode mining a luxury that they often could not afford. Finally, as lode miners, the Chinese represented a real economic threat to Cornish, Irish, Italian, and miners of other nationalities. Within a few years of their founding, the hardrock miners' unions were infected with the anti-Chinese fever that had affected the Far West for nearly two decades. When Chinese sought jobs in and around the deep mines as miners or laborers, they were usually turned away by bigoted superintendents who felt they could not do the work, or by bigoted miners who refused to work with them. Thus, they were generally denied the opportunity to work their way up from unskilled surface workers,

to cartmen, to muckers, and finally to skilled miners. Euro-American miners were determined to deny the Chinese a place in hardrock mining. Although they generally managed to exclude the Chinese from lode mining on a large scale, the Chinese did engage in this form of mining for gold and silver, first in California in the mid-1850s and in the 1870s in Nevada, Oregon, Idaho, and Colorado. Although Chinese involvement in lode mining usually took the form of laborers in Euro-American mines or mills, they sometimes worked their own mines or for Chinese lode-mining companies. Although the Chinese participated in lode mining of gold and silver only sporadically and to a limited degree, another form of hardrock mining, coal mining, did employ significant numbers of Chinese in parts of the Far West. The Chinese were employed in the coal mines of Vancouver Island, British Columbia as early as the 1860s. In the nineteenth century, Chinese worked in coal mines at Almy and Rock Springs, Wyoming (1870s through 1890s) near Shasta and Carbondale, California and Tenino, Washington (1870s), near Como, Colorado (late 1870s and early 1880s), and near Park City and Pleasant Valley, Utah and Black Diamond, Coal Creek, and Wilkinson, Washington (1870s and 1880s), and probably elsewhere in the western United States.

In one form of lode or hardrock mining, the mining of quicksilver (mercury), the Chinese played a significant role and in some instances dominated the industry. In fact, the *Independent Calistogan's* (May 18, 1881) editor characterized the Chinese as almost indispensable in a quicksilver mine. During the nineteenth century the mining of quicksilver was restricted to a relatively few locales. The most important were in the Coast ranges of California, and Chinese worked in the mines here from the 1870s through the 1890s.

In parts of the West, the Chinese played a significant role in borax mining, and they probably first began working them sometime in the 1860s. In 1867, most of the 70-some miners at Borax Lake, near Clear Lake, Lake County, California consisted of Chinese workers. Subsequently, Chinese mined borax near Coso and Clear Lake, California; Columbus, Nevada; and in Death Valley, California. Besides the involvement in mining

gold, silver, quicksilver, coal, and borax, the Chinese occasionally participated in the mining of antimony, copper, sulfur, and lead.

The Chinese undeniably made substantial contributions toward the economic development of the Far West. “Despite the dual handicap of having to overcome a formidable language barrier and being frequently subject to intense prejudice, these immigrants soon put their stamp on almost every sector of the region’s emerging economy” (Pastron 1989, 50). In many parts of the region, this economy initially depended largely on mining and activities that supported it. Between 1850 and 1856, Chinese paid American shipping companies \$2,329,580 for passage to California and \$22,555 in hospital taxes to the state of California. For steamboat transportation into the interior, the Chinese expended a million dollars a year. Their rent for housing and storage averaged over \$230,000 a year. The amount of gold produced by the Chinese will never be known and the meager statistics available preclude even an educated guess. During the period from 1848 to 1883, however, California produced \$1.2 billion or two-thirds of the entire U.S. gold production. Because the Chinese accounted for a large percentage of the mining population of the state during that period, they undoubtedly accounted for a considerable part of that production. Most of their gold passed into the hands of Chinese merchants and a good part of it went on to China. Contrary to the prevailing opinion of the day, however, the Chinese did not send all of their gold to China, and they played an important role in the economic development of many areas.

The Chinese provided an inexpensive source of dependable labor and built hundreds of miles of ditches and flumes, not only for their own operations, but for white mining companies as well. They often handled the hardest and most dangerous work in the hydraulic, quicksilver, and borax mines. They made significant purchases of mining equipment, mining claims, and water. In the mid-1850s, for example, the Chinese expended \$2,400,000 for mining claims, implements, and water in California. This amount, when added to their purchases of clothing, boots, shoes, food, and so on, averaged \$10,080,000 annually. In 1862, Chinese miners bought \$2,190,000 worth of water and \$1,370,000 worth of claims.

The Chinese excelled in saving gold, especially fine gold, under difficult conditions. Most often they complemented rather than competed with white miners. Competition between white and Chinese miners was generally in terms of hired labor and was probably more implied than real. Many times the movement of independent Chinese miners into a mining district was encouraged. As the rich, surface placers declined and the original miners moved on, the Chinese almost without fail replaced them. The Chinese, thus, continued gold production in areas where it would have otherwise ceased. The money that the Chinese paid for claims helped finance the discovery and development of other claims including lode deposits and other industries and businesses. Yu (1991, 278) concluded that the Chinese miners served, in a large degree, to bridge the gap between early placer mining and the large-scale, base metal mining in Idaho. They played a similar role in other parts of the West.

The Chinese paid their share of taxes—miner’s taxes, property taxes, poll taxes, and other assessments. In California, the Foreign Miner’s Tax, \$4.00 a month in 1853, levied largely on the Chinese, was the largest single source of state revenue. The (Coloma) *Argus*’s editor in 1855 pointed out that the mining taxes paid by the Chinese not only lessened the taxation of the county’s other inhabitants, but added materially to the state’s revenue and benefited trade and commerce in general. Almost all this revenue was derived from “ground so poor as to offer little or no attraction to miners of other nations.” By 1870, the Chinese had paid \$5,000,000 or 85 percent of the total Foreign Miners Tax collected in California. The Chinese paid similar taxes for the privilege to mine in other parts of the West.

In terms of population distribution, the Chinese brought about a new concentration of miners in areas abandoned by whites. In effect, the Chinese slowed population loss by maintaining settlement in areas that otherwise would have had few, if any, people. As a result, their mining and other economic activities, such as pack trains, vegetable gardens, and merchandise stores, helped sustain the vitality and/or existence of some mining towns for decades. Despite period claims to the contrary, their purchasing power often helped Euro-American merchants thrive. The editor of the

Northern Californian (February 2, 1856) at Oroville wrote, "For two years past, a very large portion of the gold taken from the mines has been the product of Chinese labor, and the traders in mining localities can attest that a very small portion of this has ever been carried out of the country." Indeed, he claimed, "Chinese labor has literally kept alive the trade of most of the mining towns during the past year."

The supply needs of the Chinese meant business for many white packing and freighting companies throughout the mining West. In 1876, for example, G. W. Samples, a freighter in Idaho's Boise Basin brought 220,000 pounds of "China goods" into the basin. The Chinese also operated their own pack trains that carried supplies for both Chinese and non-Chinese stores and residents and played an important part in the supply network of many mining communities. Especially after most white miners left, Chinese pack trains provided the remaining population with the food and other supplies that they needed.

Often merely dismissed as "sojourners" and marginal participants in the history of the Far West, in reality the Chinese proved instrumental in the development of many parts of the region and helped sustain the economy of many mining districts after the flush production period. Undoubtedly the tens of thousands of Chinese miners who lived, labored, and died in the Far West between 1848 and 1900 influenced the region's economic development.

Randall Rohe

See also Chinese Americans; Chinese Immigrant Workers in Multiethnic Chicago; Chinese Railroad Workers

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Chinese New Year Parade

The Chinese New Year celebration has grown significantly since Chinese immigration to the United States in the mid-nineteenth century. Shifting from a small private festivity to a big public activity, this event provides us a pivotal window on the development of the Chinese American community and its relation with the dominant society and the ancestral country.

When Chinese immigrants migrated to the United States, they brought the Chinese New Year with them. This old war tradition served as a linkage for Chinese immigrants to connect with their home country. It also created an opportunity for them to forge a sense of community among themselves in the new, and often hostile, host society. The celebration was quite modest in the beginning. Chinese stores were closed for the festivity. Chinese immigrants cleaned their dwellings and decorated them with banners and lanterns. They also paid debts and shot firecrackers to scare away evil spirits, often producing tensions with the dominant society because of the noise. Wearing their new or best clothes, "bachelors" visited each other or went to the homes of those who had families in this country to enjoy feasts. The Chinese also paid tribute to the well-decorated Chinese temples so as to get blessings in the incoming year. At night, scores of them gathered and gambled. For those who were in San Francisco or New York City, some of them spent the holiday at Chinese theatres.

Ethnic organizations hosted holiday celebrations for their members. As early as 1851, Chinese immigrants formed institutions such as family (surname) and district (*huiguan*) associations and tongs (fraternal organizations) for social welfare and protecting members' rights. Among them, the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (CCBA) was the largest. Community groups hosted elaborate holiday dinners for their members: the banquets in some big organizations continued for several nights. The holiday also attracted the Chinese from the outskirts who flocked back to the ethnic enclave for the celebration.

When Chinese immigrants grew more populous in one area, they moved their private celebrations to the streets. Lion and dragon dances, in which performers wearing a lion or dragon costume mimic the animal's movements, pranced through Chinatown streets, followed by Chinese musicians playing cymbals and gongs, to drive away evil spirits. The procession stopped before many houses and stores to gather heads of lettuce, usually containing red envelopes wrapped with money. The money gathered was donated to Chinese charities or schools.

In those days, the ethnic community rarely organized a large parade for the holiday. Usually each big institution had its own processions. For example, On Leong Tong and Hip Sing Tong, the two largest tongs, held separate dragon or lion dances in New York City Chinatown. Because of the rivalry between the two, each procession went through different parts of the ethnic enclave. At night, each hosted a banquet for its members. Some large organizations had more than one parade. The On Leong Tong staged one on New Year's Eve and another one the next day, with a route starting from its clubhouse at 5 Mott Street and ending at its headquarters at 41 Mott Street. Through demonstrating their ability to stage large-scale celebrations, influential groups such as the On Leong Tong used the occasion to showcase their power in the community.

The celebration also reveals the transnational connection and demographic changes of the Chinese American community. When the Republic of China overthrew the Qing government in 1911, it eliminated many old traditions including the Chinese New Year. Ethnic leaders urged Chinese immigrants to follow the new practice and eliminate the holiday celebration. Consequently, fewer people observed the holiday. Nevertheless, many immigrants continued to retain the tradition. The Los Angeles Chinatown even welcomed the holiday with a dragon dance. Another force that threatened the festivity was the acculturation of the ethnic community. The second generation came of age in the 1920s. Few honored the holiday as religiously as their parents did.

Although the younger Chinese generation shied away from the traditional practice, the dominant society was attracted to the exotic ritual. In fact, non-

Chinese had been quite intrigued about the Chinese New Year celebration because Chinese immigrants transplanted it to this country. White visitors frequented Chinatowns or Chinese settlements during the festival period either as visitors or spectators. Major newspapers such as the *New York Times*, *Los Angeles Times*, and *San Francisco Chronicle* covered the celebrations frequently, if not annually. The reportage often discloses relations between the ethnic community and the larger society. It treated ethnic enclaves as an exotic place and emphasized the foreignness of the tradition.

The curiosity of the general public over the ethnic celebration enabled it to become a means for community organizations to generate funds. Because discrimination prevented Chinese Americans from receiving public assistance, they often relied on ethnic institutions to weather through recession. To raise money during economic downturns in the 1920s and 1930s, community groups staged large-scale Chinese New Year parades to attract spectators. For example, in 1927 St. Mary's Chinese School in San Francisco organized the "Feast of Lanterns" to raise money for the school. The Lantern festival took place two weeks after the Chinese New Year and marked the end of the holiday celebration. The program showcased a beauty contest, a cabaret, stage performances, and a parade. The parade was much larger than it had been in previous years, including not only community groups but also mainstream organizations for the first time. Veterans, military and ethnic school bands and drill corps, Catholic and community marching teams, and community organization cars and floats crowded the parade route. The procession went beyond the ethnic enclave: it started on a downtown street before entering Chinatown. The event effectively drew numerous spectators.

The success of the event possibly inspired the business community to follow suit. San Francisco's Chinese Chamber of Commerce, a merchant's organization to protect and promote business interests, designed similar activities to lure visitors to Chinatown. In 1931 it organized a Chinese New Year festival, featuring lion dances, concerts, and dramas. To persuade the general public that Chinatown was a normalized family place, the event showcased Chinese

American women. Several of them dressed up as “Chinese maids” and served biscuits and tea to guests. The 1936 celebration in New York City Chinatown attracted crowds from nearby Bowery residents, school children, and spectators from uptown, including 100 students and faculty from Teachers College, Columbia University. The presence of school children and middle-class spectators indicates the successful transformation of Chinatown from a red-light district to a tourist thoroughfare. Since the last three decades of the nineteenth century, Chinatowns across the United States lured the patronage of working-class white males to brothels, opium dens, and gambling joints, often enticing disorderly kinds to the area. To develop the tourist industry and attract middle-class patrons, Chinatown merchants and restaurant owners waged a crusade against the vice industry and transformed the ethnic enclave into a safe place for family outings. To draw tourists into the area, they capitalized on cultural celebrations such as the Chinese New Year.

Not only did the business community profit from the holiday, Chinese Americans also used it to generate funds for the war efforts in China. Although they halted the Chinese New Year celebration to save money for the Sino-Japanese war relief, they soon realized that a public celebration could generate even larger funds. In the 1939 celebration in New York City Chinatown, an ambulance replaced the traditional dragon dance to enhance people’s awareness about the war. The dragon dance was brought back the following year to lure mainstream spectators. Members of the Chinese Women’s Association carried a huge Chinese flag, subsequently becoming a receptacle for coins and paper money, as many of viewers threw money to it. This became a common practice in other Chinese New Year parades. Led by both American and Chinese flags, the public event underscores Chinese Americans’ dual identities. During the 1940 Chinese New Year, San Francisco Chinatown held a “Bowl of Rice Party,” including fashion shows, Chinese concerts, acrobatics, Chinese operas, and Chinese art exhibitions. Its success motivated the organizer to stage it again in the subsequent year. Once the United States entered the war, Chinese American veterans were featured in the processions to demonstrate their contributions to the U.S. war effort. These

wartime celebrations were much larger than before, in hopes of attracting mainstream spectators to harvest greater funds for the war relief. Because the war in China encouraged unity within the ethnic community, the CCBA usually was the main organizer for the parades, in contrast to separate celebrations staged by different groups in the previous years.

The end of World War II also was reflected in the ethnic celebration. Although no large public activities were scheduled in major Chinese enclaves, lions and dragons joyfully pranced through Chinatown streets. Residents decorated their inhabitants with lanterns and festooned both American and Chinese flags. Shoppers swarmed into Chinatowns for holiday goods and for *bai nian* (visiting friends and relatives). Chinese Americans not only were overjoyed by the end of the war, but also were pleased by the transformation of their racialized status: during the war, the image of the Chinese was changed from “yellow peril” to American allies. This image projected to Chinese Americans as the general public often conflated them with Chinese. To boost relations with China, Congress repealed the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1943 and allocated a 105 quota for Chinese immigration. The policy, however, deviated from the national origins system, as a Chinese who was born in the Great Britain would charge the quota. The Exclusion Act had banned Chinese immigration, except for the few exempt classes, since 1882. The repeal allowed Chinese immigrants to naturalize and become citizens. During the war, Chinese Americans, for the first time, were recruited into the defense industry and other mainstream jobs. Chinese American veterans also benefited from GI bills to gain college degrees and move to the suburbs. More important, they took advantage of the 1945 War Brides Act and the 1946 Chinese Alien Wives of American Citizens Act to bring in their Chinese alien wives. Accordingly, holiday audiences noticed more women and girls in the festive Chinatown streets.

Although Chinese Americans were still in a celebratory mood, they soon found that they again had to use public celebrations to demonstrate their loyalty. When Communists took over China in 1949 and the entry of the People’s Republic of China (PRC) into the Korean War in 1950 motivated the American

public to change their perception of Chinese Americans—from a good Chinese to an enemy within, many of them were terrified by the possibility of being sent to concentration camps as Japanese Americans were during World War II. Their fright became intensified when Congress passed Title II of the McCarran Internal Security Act (Emergency Detention Act) in 1950 that enabled the government to arrest and detain any suspects who engaged in subversive activities. Chinese New Year celebrations became a platform for Chinese Americans to accentuate their patriotism. In 1951 the CCBA in San Francisco organized 600 school children and several hundred adults to march with placards that declared, “Down with Communism” and “Preserve Your Heritage of Freedom.” The procession then ended with a meeting hosted by the Anti-Communist League, where they again pledged their anti-Communist stance and patriotism to the United States.

The ethnic community was threatened not only by the rising anti-Communist hysteria but also was endangered by economic distress. After the entry of the PRC into the Korean War, the United States started an embargo against it, thereby forcing the closure of Chinese grocery markets, dry goods shops, and pharmacies. Many curio and souvenir stores similarly had difficulty acquiring Chinese gift and toy articles, further worsening Chinatown’s economy.

To attract tourists, the business community in San Francisco again resorted to the Chinese New Year celebration. In 1953 Henry Kwock Wong initiated the idea of the modern Chinese New Year Festival to revive business and transform the negative perception of Chinese Americans among the public. The celebration featured Chinese veterans, the Anti-Communist League, the CCBA, Chinese school marching bands, the Miss Chinatown festival queen, and a dragon dance. The San Francisco mayor and mainstream military bands also appeared in the procession. The presence of Chinese American Korean War veterans reveals an intention to showcase Chinese American patriotism. In fact, ethnic leaders couched the celebration in Cold War rhetoric and emphasized the importance of Chinese New Year observance to American democracy. They claimed that its celebration could demonstrate U.S. freedom and superiority. The

celebration effectively lured hundreds of thousands of spectators into Chinatown. Chinese in other cities staged similar events. In these festivals, non-Chinese usually outnumbered Chinese.

The postwar celebrations accentuated Chinese American exoticism to attract mainstream spectators. Chinese American children in the marching bands donned traditional outfits. The Miss Chinatown beauty queens wore cheongsams (Chinese long gowns) to stress their sexuality. Although Chinese Americans at this time had adopted Western-style clothing, Chinese American women and children were encouraged to wear traditional Chinese attire during the festival periods to increase their attraction. No wonder one observer in New York Chinatown described the celebratory scene as more of a costume party than of a traditional festival.

Ethnic leaders also used the cultural celebration to gain support from mainstream politicians. Mayors were invited to join parades and crown beauty queens. Postwar liberalism encouraged New York City Mayor Robert Wagner to use the celebration to pledge his effort to eliminate racial discrimination for Chinese Americans. Because the festivity could successfully attract tourists, mayors also wanted to capitalize on it to galvanize the tourist industry. For example, San Francisco mayors encouraged the expansion of the ethnic festival so it could achieve a nationwide appeal.

Over the last half of the twentieth century, the Chinese New Year celebration grew into an important event in major Chinese American settlements. For instance, the festival in San Francisco Chinatown expanded from one week to three weeks. Through television broadcast, the parade even reached a nationwide audience. Its significance was no longer confined to ethnic businesses, but was vital to the San Francisco tourist industry and its multicultural image. The rise of multiculturalism since the last two decades of the twentieth century further encouraged the spread of public Chinese New Year celebrations to areas even with few Chinese American settlements. Now, the ethnic holiday was part of the American multicultural mosaic and the Chinese New Year parade could be seen in major Chinese American communities across the country.

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See also Chinese Americans; Chinese Lion Dance in the United States

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Chinese Railroad Workers

Chinese immigrants made a major contribution to the construction of the western half of the transcontinental railroad in the 1860s. As part of the U.S. pledge to Manifest Destiny, plans to link the east and west coasts with transcontinental routes started in the 1850s. In 1862, Congress passed the Pacific Railroad Act and called for two private companies to build the transcontinental line. The Union Pacific Railroad Company was to build westward starting from the Missouri River in Nebraska. The Central Pacific Railroad Company, owned by the California big four: Collis Huntington, Leland Stanford, Mark Hopkins, and Charles Crocker, would build eastward from Sacramento, California. The act would provide each company 64,000 acres of land and up to \$48,000 for every mile of track it built. The Pacific Railway Act of 1864 and its later amendments provided more incentives to the companies, offering subsidies based on the miles of tracks laid and the difficulty of the job. Bidding for government funding and land grants, the two railroad companies entered a historical race between 1867 and 1869.

The Central Pacific quickly had to deal with two major issues of the race. First, unlike the Union Pacific that could hire cheap Irish immigrant labor, California had the nation's highest wage rate. Second, unlike the Union Pacific that could lay track across open plains, the rugged high Sierras in California posed a serious

challenge. Instead of going over or around several ranges of high mountains, the company's engineers decided to traverse through them. Progress was slow at the beginning: only 50 miles of track was laid in the first two years. By 1864, only 600 workers were on the company's payroll.

Although the Chinese had participated in the building of the California Central Railroad that linked Sacramento to Marysville and the San Jose Railway, many doubted that their small body frames could handle the physically demanding tasks. But the executive of the Central Pacific, Charles Crocker, quipped about such skepticism by pointing out that he Chinese had built the Great Wall. In 1865, 3,000 Chinese workers were hired. By the summer of 1868, about two-thirds of the workers were Chinese. It was estimated that as many as 10,000 Chinese worked for the railroad company, many were former gold miners.

Chinese workers not only provided the bulk of the demanding physical labor required to lay tracks, but they also performed many highly skilled tasks. In a message to the Board of the Central Pacific Railroad Company, Chief Engineer Montague described the Chinese as industrious and skillful in performing their duties. He commended Chinese workers' expertise in drilling, blasting, and other types of rock work. E. B. Crocker, brother of Charles Crocker and director of the Central Pacific Railroad Company, stated that without the Chinese, it would be impossible for his company to continue the work: "I can assure you the Chinese are moving the earth and rock rapidly. They prove nearly equal to white men in the amount of labor they perform, and are far more reliable."

Working through ranges of high mountains with dynamite explosions was very hazardous. In Cape Horn near Colfax, California, in 1865, for example, the Chinese were assigned to carve a ledge on the rim of a gigantic granite bulk with their picks, drills, shovels, wheelbarrows, and blasting powder. They used hundreds of barrels of black powder, bringing down massive chunks of rocks into the American River. One after another the Chinese were lowered with ropes tied around their bodies from the top of the summit. From the cliff side they would chisel holes in the rock, stuff them with black powder, and ignited the explosives before being pulled up by their fellow workers.

Those who did not climb up fast enough to escape the blasts became casualties of the explosions. Chinese workers completed the work before the winter, allowing track to be laid the following spring. They worked through freezing harsh weather, drilling tunnels through solid granite in the snow-covered High Sierras, and they laid tracks in hot summers across the plateaus of Nevada and Utah. In the harsh winter of 1867, many Chinese workers were buried by heavy snowfalls; their bodies were not exposed until the following spring.

Regardless of their invaluable contributions, the Chinese were never treated equally as their white compatriots. They were compensated for only \$28 (\$31 later) a month without boarding, which was considerably lower than what skilled white workers were paid. In 1867, about 2,000 Chinese working in the High Sierras went on strike. The workers demanded a monthly wage of \$40, the same wage paid to the white workers. They demanded a 10-hour working day (8 hours a day if working inside the tunnels). And they demanded the freedom to quit their jobs. The railroad company was devastated but refused to meet the demand of the strikers. It cut off the workers' food supply. Forced into starvation, the workers returned to work after a week.

On May 10, 1869, when the two parts of the transcontinental railroads were about to meet at Promontory, Utah, a crew of eight Chinese workers and a few Irish workers were selected to place the final section of rail track in front of a band and a cheering crowd of observers. Speakers of the ceremony acknowledged the dedication and hard work of the Chinese workers. According to the May 15, 1869 issue of the *San Francisco Newsletter*, the eight Chinese workers who laid the final section of the rail track were brought over to dine at J. H. Strobridge's boarding car. "When they entered," the report states, "all the guests and officers present cheered them as the chosen representatives of the race which have greatly helped to build the road . . . a tribute they well deserved and which evidently gave them much pleasure."

Chinese workers also contributed to the construction of the western sections of the Southern Pacific and Northern Pacific and several branch lines. Railroad construction facilitated the expansion of Chinese

settlement in towns of different regions in California, Washington, Oregon, British Columbia, Utah, and Texas. A monument was placed at Cape Horn of Colfax, California, to honor the Chinese workers who built the transcontinental railroad.

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See also Chinese Americans; Chinese Immigrant Workers in Multiethnic Chicago; Chinese Mining in America

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Chinese Restaurants in the United States

Restaurant business was one of the earliest economical enterprises pursued by Chinese immigrants in North America. The Canton (Guangzhou) Restaurant with a 300-seat capacity in San Francisco was the first Chinese restaurant in the United States and was founded as early as 1849. During the Gold Rush era, large quantities of Chinese food products such as dried oysters, shrimps, cuttlefish, mushrooms, dried green vegetables and bean curd, bamboo shoots, sausages, sweetmeats, duck liver, and kidneys, or water chestnut flour arrived in California. There were at least seven Chinese restaurants in San Francisco by 1851 whereas dozens of Chinese food joints in various mining areas served both Chinese and American customers. However, the number of Chinese restaurants in the late nineteenth century was actually modest. San Francisco had 11 in 1878 and 28 in 1881. The number dropped to 14 in 1882, probably because of the impact of the passage of Chinese exclusion law in that year. The 1882 Directory of Principal Chinese Business Firms in San Francisco listed 175 laundries, 77 general merchandise stores, 62 grocery stores, 22 drug stores, 16 butchers, and only 14 Chinese restaurants.

Chinese restaurants began to thrive only after chop suey houses became popular in New York City in the 1900s. The first Chinese who opened a chop suey

house outside of Chinatown was a Chinese man named “Charley Boston” (his Chinese name was Lee Quong June or Li Quen Chong), a thoroughly Americanized wealthy merchant, and a leader of the famous On Leong Tong in New York’s Chinatown. He did so well that soon many other Chinese followed him. When Liang Qichao, a leading Chinese intellectual, visited the United States in 1903, he noted with surprise that there were over 400 chop suey houses in New York City. Chinese restaurant business enjoyed a golden era from 1900 to the 1920s. During that period, chop suey houses were not only a New York phenomenon but spread into Boston, Long Island, New Jersey, and Connecticut. In 1900, Chicago had only one Chinese restaurant. By 1905, Chicago had 40 Chinese restaurants. Only five were in Chinatown. By 1915, it had 118, and only six or seven were in Chinatown. On the West Coast, the number of Chinese restaurants was also growing and there were not only Chinese but also Japanese and Koreans chop suey proprietors. In 1905, San Francisco had only 46 Chinese restaurants. Twenty years later, the number grew to 78, which was still far behind that of New York. In 1900, there were but two or three Chinese restaurants in Los Angeles, frequented almost exclusively by Chinese. There were at least 15 Chinese restaurants by 1910. Several of these Chinese restaurants were outside Chinatown and a few were in downtown Los Angeles. In the 1920s, one of the largest Chinese restaurants in the Los Angeles area was Crown Chop Suey Parlor in Pasadena, owned by a Japanese immigrant, Mr. Kawagoye. However, New York had more Chinese restaurants than any other cities.

When catering white and tourist clients became the focus of the restaurant business, Chinese began to run cocktail bars, café shops, and night clubs in and outside of Chinatowns in New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, and San Francisco in the 1920s and 1930s. Live music and dancing rather than food became the major attraction in those restaurants. In the beginning, such bars purely attracted white clients. Then Chinese customers gradually frequented them as well. Some of them did not serve Chinese food. The most famous Chinese night club was the Forbidden City started by Charlie Low in December 1938 on Sutter Street outside in Chinatown of San Francisco. Food at the

Forbidden City was Western and cheap, but the restaurant began to offer nude dancing by Asian girls.

When the Chinese restaurant business established a niche in the American food market, it began to provide important hiring opportunities for the Chinese. The 1920 Census indicates that of the 45,614 Chinese employed in the United States, 26,488 of them worked in restaurants and laundries. In the 1930s, 6 percent of the Chinese adult males in California and 20 to 25 percent of Chinese adult males in East Coast cities worked in the restaurant business. According to a 1938 report by the Oriental Division of the U.S. Employment Service in San Francisco, 90 percent of Chinese youth were service workers, mainly in the culinary trades. In 1941, 5,000 young Chinese in San Francisco had no future worthy of their education but seemed destined to wash dishes, carry trays, cut meat, and dry fish in Chinatown when the defense industry was in great need of professional employees. In Chinese American experience, food was not only an ethnic label but attached to their racial status. Restaurant jobs were American-made and self-employed occupations for Chinese Americans.

Following the 1965 immigration reform, Chinatowns in San Francisco, Los Angeles, and New York experienced a heavy influx of new immigrants. When Chinatown was not big enough for the new immigrants, they began to move into suburban cities like Monterey Park in Southern California or Flushing, Queens in New York. Following the immigration boom, the number of Chinese restaurants was growing rapidly. In the late 1960s, the number of Chinese restaurants in the continental United States grew to more than 10,000 and there was actually a shortage of qualified Chinese chefs in the early 1970s. Before 1965, there was only one Chinese restaurant in Monterey Park. By 1987, the city had over 60 Chinese restaurants representing 75 percent of the dining business in the city. Harbor Village and Ocean Star, located on Atlantic Boulevard, became two of the largest city revenue generators in Monterey Park. Ocean Star, owned by Robert Y. Lee, had 800 seats and was one of the largest Chinese restaurants in San Gabriel Valley. Recipes, ingredients, and cookery in the post-1965 Chinese restaurant businesses in America follow closely their counterparts in Asia. A pattern in the Chinese

restaurant business in the San Gabriel Valley is that each city with concentrated Chinese residents has a few famous Chinese restaurants as a major attraction. Monterey Park has the Ocean Star and Harbor Village. Arcadia has the celebrated Din Tai Fung dumpling house. San Gabriel has the high-end restaurant Mission 261. Rowland Heights has the Sea Harbor Seafood Restaurant and Sam Woo See Food Restaurant. Famous Chinese restaurants follow wherever the immigrants have congregated. The emergence of numerous Chinese restaurants has changed the social landscape of Southern California and made Chinese America a visible ethnic community. From a bunch of chop suey eateries in the 1960s, the Chinese restaurant business here has evolved into a food capital of Chinese cuisine. As authentic Chinese food has replaced Americanized Chinese dishes, the booming restaurant business becomes a concrete example to of how a transnational lifestyle is deeply embedded in Chinese American communities. Different regional Chinese cuisines and restaurant types and operations also illustrate the diverse social origins and the diaspora background of the new immigrants. In the Chinese restaurant world, we see how the San Gabriel Valley in Southern California has become a real global village. By 2004, as a home to over 240,000 Chinese residents, the San Gabriel Valley had more than 2,000 Chinese restaurants. In comparison, Los Angeles Chinatown, according to a *Los Angeles Times* article, has about 80 restaurants for 15,000 residents.

Today there are more than 40,000 Chinese restaurants across the nation—a number larger than the total number of McDonald's, Wendy's, and Burger King's in the United States combined. According to a 2000 report by the National Restaurant Association in the United States, Italian, Mexican, and Chinese cuisines have already joined the mainstream. Those three cuisines have become so engrained in American culture that they are no longer foreign to the American palate. More than nine out of ten consumers are familiar with and have tried these foods, and about half report eating them frequently. Hunan, Mandarin, and Szechwan variations of Chinese cuisines, like some European cuisines, are known to between 70 and 80 percent of Chinese restaurant consumers.

Panda Express is the largest Chinese fast-food restaurant chain and the fastest growing Asian restaurant company in America. Established in 1983 by Andrew and Peggy Cherng, an immigrant couple from Taiwan and Hong Kong, Panda Express has become the most visible and popular Chinese fast-food chain in the United States. Targeting mainstream American customers, Panda Express stores usually locate in shopping malls, airports, theme parks, sport stadiums, street plazas, university campuses, and hospital cafeterias, or even military camps. By 2009, Panda Express had over 1,200 chain stores throughout 37 U.S. states with \$1 billion in annual revenues. The largest sit-down Chinese restaurant business was P.F. Chang's China Bistro established by Paul Fleming, a white American restaurateur. In 1993, he opened his first P.F. Chang's in Scottsdale, Arizona and invited Philip Chiang as his partner. When the restaurant was named P.F. Chang's China Bistro, "P.F." stood for Paul Fleming, and "Chang" stood for Chiang though Philip purposely spelled his "Chiang" as "Chang" as a more contemporary and standardized Romanization of the Chinese name. In 1998, when P.F. Chang's had 10 stores, it filed an IPO at \$12 a share, which jumped to \$32.75 in March 2000. By then, the chain had developed 39 stores with 13 in development. The chain developed 13 to 15 new restaurants annually. By 2008, P.F. Chang's had run 189 full-service Bistro restaurants and 159 fast food Pei Wei restaurants across the country. Though owned by a mainstream American food company, the restaurant imported some ingredients, herbs, and spices directly from China and its menu featured some regional-flavored Chinese dishes.

P.F. Chang's phenomenon poses a serious question to Chinese Americans—who owns culture. Although mainstream American customers tend to stay away from small, family-owned Chinese restaurants, more and more of them learned to accept genuine Chinese food at P. F. Chang's, which has the financial resources to provide a trendy, comfortable dining environment, attract middle-class professionals and families as its clients, and carve out a high-end Chinese cuisine niche in the competitive American restaurant market. The success of P.F. Chang's reveals the complexity of cultural and economical negotiations

between Asian and Western culture, between the struggling, family-owned small Asian American business and giant, publicly traded corporate America.

Haiming Liu

See also Chinatown, New York; Chinese Americans; Chinese Cuisine in the United States

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Chinese Students in the United States since 1960

Since 1960, the United States has played host to hundreds of thousands of students from mainland China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan. According to the Institute of International Education, in 2011 all three regions were among the top 20 regions in sending the most

international students to the United States, with mainland China at number 1, Taiwan at number 5, and Hong Kong at number 16. Although most students from Hong Kong came to obtain undergraduate degrees and most students from mainland China and Taiwan came for graduate education, the number of mainland Chinese undergraduates is increasing. Overall, the number of mainland Chinese students in the United States is steadily increasing, although the number of students from Taiwan and Hong Kong has been decreasing since the 1990s.

Although the three regions have different histories and different reasons for sending so many students to the United States and other Western nations, they share several factors in common. In all three regions, a limiting local opportunity structure and a need to acquire skills for an industrializing (and later globalizing) economy are among the reasons so many Chinese have pursued educational opportunities abroad. Many also look to study abroad as a way to open the door to permanent residency, an escape route in case of political instability or uncertainty.

Furthermore, Chinese families who send their children to study abroad are in pursuit of the additional social, cultural, and educational capital they perceive an overseas degree will bring. In Hong Kong, for example, there is a widespread perception that local education is inadequate for the global economy, that overseas degrees have much more cachet, and that employers prefer to hire those with foreign credentials.

The United States has been the primary destination for students from greater China, though many do go to other English-speaking countries. The United States is perceived as a leader in the global economy as well as in the global educational marketplace. The networks of Chinese students and other Chinese residents are also particularly well developed in the United States, allowing for an easier transition.

Although most students from greater China came for undergraduate or graduate degrees, some students came for high school or even middle or elementary school. Wealthy parents leave these "parachute kids" in the United States, where they have their own caretakers (either relatives or hired servants) and their own houses and automobiles. The reasons for parachuting are the same as the reasons why older students

come to the United States, though parents of parachute kids often believe that getting educated in the United States at an earlier age gives their children distinct advantages in getting into college in the United States. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, most of the parachute kids were from Taiwan, with smaller numbers from Hong Kong and Chinese communities in Southeast Asia. After 1995, an increasing number came from mainland China. Most parachute kids live in the Chinese “ethnoburbs” near cities with large Chinese population, where they have easy access to local and transnational networks of people of the same ethnicity and convenient access to a major Pacific Rim transportation hub.

Taiwan

The Chinese Civil War effectively ended in 1949, with the Communists taking over the mainland and the Nationalists (Kuomintang or KMT) retreating to Taiwan. Nationalist refugees from coastal cities of the mainland flooded into Taiwan, mostly settling in Taipei, where they became the capital’s elite class. These elite *waishengren* (literally, people from other provinces) benefitted the most from the KMT’s martial regime, including its U.S.-backed economic and educational reforms. Their children, educated in postwar Taiwan, formed the largest part of the flow of Chinese undergraduate and graduate students to the United States in the 1960s and 1970s. Reflecting the inequality of Taiwanese society after 1949, few *benshengren* (literally, people from this province) had the cultural or economic capital to leave Taiwan for further study in this period.

Students from Taiwan’s elite classes studied abroad for a number of reasons. Aside from the general recognition of a U.S. degree and the relative high development of U.S. education, especially in technical fields, the local opportunity structure in Taiwan made it difficult to get a spot in the university as high-school education became more widespread and competition more severe. There were a limited number of university classes for a rapidly expanding population, and college admissions were assigned by performance on an extremely rigorous comprehensive examination. As a result, few high school graduates could move on

to university in Taiwan, and those who could afford it preferred to send their children for degrees abroad. Furthermore, until recently, Taiwanese universities lacked the capacity to provide education beyond the undergraduate level, so students looking for advanced training were forced to seek it abroad.

Another reason for the high number of students from Taiwan, particularly during the 1960s and 1980s, was the uncertain political future of the island. Taiwan residents feared an invasion from mainland China, so many sought residence abroad as a sort of “insurance policy.” When mainland China replaced Taiwan in the United Nations in 1972 and relations between the United States and mainland China normalized in 1978, Taiwan’s brain drain to the West accelerated. Most Taiwanese students in the United States during this period settled in the United States after graduation. Only in recent decades has the trend reversed; with government incentives, a slowing U.S. economy, and rapid expansion in greater China, many Taiwanese students either chose to return to Taiwan permanently or live transnationally.

Hong Kong

After being occupied by the Japanese during World War II, Hong Kong returned to British control in 1945. The colonial government expanded the city’s education system, making secondary education accessible to nearly all of Hong Kong students by the 1980s. At the same time, the city’s limited number of places in its few universities pushed many students to study abroad, particularly in the United States, Canada, and Australia. As in Taiwan, the rigorous examination system that determined university places kept many students out of higher education, and going abroad was an alternative way to acquire a university degree.

Hong Kongers’s fears about the city’s future under mainland Chinese rule accelerated as the date of the 1997 handover of sovereignty approached, and especially after the Tiananmen Incident in 1989. Many who could afford it left the city in pursuit of permanent residency in Canada, the United States, and Australia. Students left in droves: In the late 1980s, nearly twice as many Hong Kong students were studying in universities abroad as were enrolled in universities in the city.

In addition, many students were leaving at younger ages. Though not all families could afford to move abroad as a unit, some would send minor children alone to get educated overseas.

Mainland China

Mainland China's education system expanded much later and at a much slower pace. The Cultural Revolution (1966–1976) resulted in numerous economic and educational setbacks. Upon the initiation of economic reform in 1978, higher education began to expand, but universities were underfunded and technical training was underdeveloped. A number of students began to apply for graduate study abroad, particularly in the United States. Although most were funded by the national government or by their work unit, some received funding from governmental and nongovernmental sources abroad.

Most mainland students from this period stayed abroad once they completed their studies. Salaries abroad were higher and opportunities for advancement were greater; had they returned to China, many would have had to return to their original work units. After the Tiananmen Incident on June 4, 1989, in which a student uprising was brutally repressed, Chinese students abroad feared for their safety if they returned. The United States and other Western governments allowed these students to stay. The United States government granted nearly 60,000 "June Fourth green cards" to Chinese citizens on student or exchange visas, allowing them to stay permanently and apply for citizenship.

In the early 1990s, with the Chinese government's new emphasis on economic development, students studying overseas were valued; their knowledge and expertise, in fact, made them crucial for advancing state interests. The Communist Party granted them the right to enter and exit the country freely and the opportunity to move to other work units. The state also began to invest in material incentives for these potential returnees, such as the 100 Talents Program. These programs not only served as marks of honor but also narrowed the gap between Chinese and foreign salaries.

As economic development progressed, the middle class and elites began to accumulate wealth. At the

same time, domestic educational opportunities expanded and the pressures that Hong Kong and Taiwan started to experience decades earlier began to appear on the mainland. The fierce competition for limited places in relatively low-quality universities led those with means to send their children to study overseas, both at the undergraduate level and below. As a result, the number of students from mainland China has increased exponentially. Except for one year in which it was displaced by Japan and three in which India took the lead, China has been the leading place of origin of foreign students in the United States from 1988 to 2011.

Future Developments

The composition of students from greater China in the United States has changed dramatically since the 1960s and 1970s. Mainland Chinese, who were not able to come in the period between the Chinese Civil War and the end of the Cultural Revolution, have now become the most numerous international students in the country, whereas once-dominant Taiwanese have been declining in number for decades. The number of Hong Kong students has stayed between 7,000 and 9,000 since the handover in 1997, perhaps reflecting continued ambivalence about the opportunities that the city offers and the territory's future under mainland rule.

Although in previous decades most Chinese students chose to stay in the United States, global economic shifts have made them more willing to move home or live transnationally. As the U.S. economy slows down and China's continues to grow, we may expect that more mainland students will return home, and that Taiwan and Hong Kong students may also move to work in the mainland after graduation. On the mainland, returnees are known as *haigui*, literally "sea turtles," but also a play on words meaning "to return from overseas."

Additionally, governments are becoming proactive in reversing the "brain drain" to the West. Developments such as Taiwan's Hsinchu Science and Industrial Park and financial incentives such as the mainland's Changjiang Scholars program are meant to encourage holders of advanced foreign degrees to innovate at home rather than abroad.

Finally, the difficulty in gaining work permits and permanent residency in the United States has pushed many international students (including those from greater China) to move home or onward to third countries after they graduate and their student visas expire. In recent years, many different proponents of immigration reform have suggested that the United States attempt to reverse the “reverse brain drain” through start-up visas and other means of allowing U.S.-trained students to stay.

Implications

The arrival of such large numbers of students from greater China, many of whom stay in the United States, has had a dramatic effect on the nature of immigration to this country and on how Chinese and other Asian immigrants are perceived. Although Chinese students who stay form an important stream of immigrants, they are not the only Chinese immigrants to this country. On the aggregate, immigrants from greater China are among the most highly educated and affluent immigrant groups in the United States. They are often portrayed as the “model minority,” the minority group with indicators of success that surpass even those of native-born whites. However, such a characterization hides the tremendous diversity of ethnic Chinese immigrants in the United States. Many are low-skilled workers with little education, particularly those who came as refugees from Southeast Asia and those who came from the mainland without authorization. Though Chinese immigrants of high socioeconomic status (including students who stay) have generally settled in the suburbs, many working-class and poor Chinese still live in innercity Chinatowns.

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See also Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders (AAPIs) in Higher Education; Chinatown, New York; Chinese Americans

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Chinese War Brides

Chinese War Brides were women who gained entry to the United States between 1945 and 1950 mainly under the War Brides Act. The War Brides Act was enacted on December 28, 1945, granting entry to “admissible” alien spouses and children of American World War II veterans. Because Chinese exclusion laws were repealed in 1943, Chinese war veterans became the first qualified Asian group to send for their families. In a five-year period between 1945 and 1950, thousands of Chinese women immigrated to the United States, leading to a profound change in the Chinese American community. The war brides are most crucial in transforming the Chinese America from an immigrant community of bachelors to an ethnic community of families.

Although exclusion ended, the impact of the repeal act itself on Chinese immigration was limited because the law allocated only 105 immigrant slots for Chinese each year. The War Brides Act, the Chinese Alien Wives of American Citizens Act, and the Alien Fiancées and Fiancés Act, however, allowed eligible applicants to gain entry outside the quota. These new laws helped push the unbalanced sex ratio of the Chinese American community toward normalcy. The War Brides Act alone enabled 5,132 adult Chinese women to enter within three years. The Chinese Wives of

American Citizens Act admitted an additional 2,317 adult women between July 1947 and June 1950. With thousands of families settling down in the United States, the chapter in the history of the Chinese American community as a predominantly male society came to a close.

Unique Features of Chinese “War Brides”

Unlike war brides from other regions, the vast majority of Chinese war brides were not married during and after the war; they were longtime wives of Chinese Americans in transnational Chinese American families during the exclusion era. Research based on immigration files reveals that only a very small number of Chinese American veterans were married during or went to China to find wives after the war. By the time they came to the United States, about 87 percent of the war brides had been married for at least five years, and 77 percent of them had been married for over 10 years. Chinese war brides were also considerably older than those from other parts of the world. The British war brides, for example, were between 23 and 25 when they came to the United States. In contrast, the average age of the postwar Chinese immigrant women was 32.8, and some of them were at their 40s. Without the war, however, these wives of Chinese immigrants would probably not have had the chance to be reunited with their husbands for many more years. Aimed at facilitating the immigration of European women who married American G.I.s, the War Brides Act incidentally facilitated family unification for Chinese Americans.

The Legacy of Exclusion

During the war, between 75,000 and 100,000 American soldiers married abroad, and the majority of these marriages took place in Europe. About 50,000 American soldiers married British women and wanted to bring them home when the war ended. The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) and European governments also pressured the U.S. government to make it easier for the brides to join their husbands. The result is the War Brides Act, one of the least restrictive immigration legislation in recent U.S.

history. A group of INS officials also went to England and France to expedite the admission process, and some women from European countries and Australia traveled to America by “bride ships.”

Although American naval forces fought many battles on the islands of the Pacific and a few thousand soldiers were sent to the East Asian mainland, the possibility of an influx of Asian women taking advantage of the War Brides Act was not a concern at first. Relatively few Americans stayed in Asia for more than a year, and marriages between American military personnel and Asian women were less common compared to those between Americans and Europeans. The War Brides Bill (HR 4857) passed both Houses of Congress without a struggle, partly because no one anticipated that this new piece of legislation would be used by Chinese to reunite their families. A few months after the new law went into effect, however, the INS regional inspectors suddenly found themselves confronted by hundreds of middle-aged Chinese women who possessed the required documents to come as war brides.

As it was during the Chinese exclusion, the INS routinely checked the identity of each Chinese immigrant applicant at the ports of entry. Because marriage certificates and birth certificates were not issued in rural China, the INS had established a system of investigation and interrogation to determine applicants’ qualifications and developed certain strategies against document fraud. Each war bride had to convince the inspector in charge that her case was genuine. Should any suspicion arise, the applicant would be detained.

The legacy of the exclusion era, however, had made it difficult for some Chinese women to face interrogation. Although they were indeed wives of American G.I.s and therefore had every right to enter the United States, their husbands might have used fictive ties when they first came over or had given false testimony to help other fellow villagers. The war brides thus had to involve themselves in their husbands’ schemes. They had to furnish immigration authorities with the exact information that was recorded in their husbands’ files. Failure to adhere to the recorded details would not only jeopardize a woman’s own case, but also cause trouble for the many

others who had helped her husband in the past. Whether she could gain entry in such cases would depend on how well she could conceal part of her own past.

Many Chinese women were detained at the immigration stations as soon as they landed on American soil. They were not allowed to see anyone from the outside, and they were fully aware of the consequences if they were caught lying. Not knowing what they were going to be questioned about or what their husbands might have said created much anxiety and frustration. Liang Bixia, a 32-year-old war bride, hanged herself at the immigration station. Another woman, 41-year-old Huang Lai, was released from detention after a failed suicidal attempt.

The immigration authorities' suspicions of document fraud were not completely groundless. Many war brides had been victims of the Chinese exclusion. Although family reunification had finally become a reality, they took their chances to pave the way for other community members. Some war brides claimed additional dependents. As recorded, 589 Chinese children were admitted under the War Brides Act, but the number of children still in China claimed by the war brides was much larger. The fact that many war brides claimed a large number of children and that more than 80 percent of these children were male suggest that not all claims were genuine.

Nevertheless, previous involvement with the immigration networks prepared some war brides to deal with the U.S. immigration officials. Most of them were calm when interrogated and prepared with ready answers for questions. These women seemed to understand that their right to enter was guaranteed by law because their husbands were indeed war veterans. The INS, on the other hand, was no longer given a free hand to detain and deport Chinese applicants as it had done during the exclusion, because of the strong support for Chinese American war veterans from the American public.

The difficulties the INS faced in dealing with war brides are readily apparent from two failed deportation proceedings. The INS's most effective weapon was interrogation, and the inspectors could try to intimidate Chinese applicants by pressing them to admit fraudulent schemes. In one case, however, a war bride was

detained with a young boy because she could not describe her own wedding during the initial interrogation and admitted that she was assuming the identity of her alleged husband's deceased wife. But the woman regained her composure the day after. She denied what she had said earlier and calmly described her wedding. Meanwhile, her alleged husband had told the investigators that the woman was not his wife, and confessed that he had been promised \$1,000 for bringing in the boy, all arranged by the woman's father, a laundryman in New York. This would be a clear-cut case for deportation, especially because the woman's alleged husband turned against her, and her own earlier testimony matched the man's confession. The increasing political strength of the Chinese American community, however, forced the INS to prove her guilt incontrovertibly, which was extremely difficult because the agency did not have the capacity to conduct investigations in China. Cooperation of the applicants was therefore crucial for successful deportation proceedings. But the woman insisted that she was the wife of her sponsor and that her alleged husband was mentally ill. Because the INS could not prove the woman guilty beyond reasonable doubt, she and her alleged son were both admitted 14 months later.

A second case involves a 34-year-old war bride. The woman said that she had been married for 15 years with a 14-year-old son attending school in China. Immigration records indicate that her husband originally entered the United States in 1926 as the son of a citizen. He visited China in 1930, got married, and returned a year later with his father and an alleged sister. But that sister was later deported. Checking pictures of the deported "sister," immigration officials discovered the deported "sister" and the war bride were the same person. Deportation proceedings were filed against the woman. If she was indeed found involved in this fraud, she would face a felony charge and not be admitted. The woman, however, would not give in. Although her alleged husband argued that she was not that deported sister, she insisted that the photo on file was not hers, and that this was her first trip to the United States. Although two medical experts confirmed that the two women were most likely the same person, they also pointed out that photos alone were not sufficient proof of this. What remained to be true was that

her husband's military service record during the war, which entitled him for naturalization. Probably because of her previous experience, the woman was quite prepared for an extended interrogation. She made the same statements every time she was questioned, and she appeared completely ignorant about the deportation case of her husband's alleged sister. After a year-long investigation, the INS finally relented and admitted the woman.

Between September 14, 1946 and April 15, 1948, the INS detained 3,838 Chinese immigrant applicants, most of them women. The government believed that at least 75 of the detainees were involved in fraud, but proof of fraud was no longer sufficient for the INS to deport an applicant. Most of those who did not do well at the interrogation eventually gained admission. Only a very small fraction of them were deported.

Deporting war brides was also difficult because of the effective campaign of the Chinese community to subject INS under public scrutiny received overwhelming support from the general public. In June 1948, the California branch of the American Veterans Association passed a resolution condemning the poor treatment of Chinese war brides. It accused the INS of violating both the U.S. Constitution and the Bill of Rights and urged the government to treat all immigration applicants equally regardless of race, color, or religion.

Meanwhile, the detained war brides also worked together with the community to put pressure on the INS. On September 21, 1948, the day after Liang Bixia committed suicide, all 104 of the Chinese women detained in San Francisco staged a hunger strike to protest their treatment. That these middle-aged Chinese country women who had never lived in the United States would take group action against an agency of the United States government was inconceivable to the INS. Officials in San Francisco, already embarrassed by the death of Liang, refused to admit that the Chinese war brides were capable of organizing a hunger strike. They told reporters that the women did not eat because that was the way Chinese mourned the deceased. But the women smuggled out at least two letters asking for support from their community, and the Chinese War Veterans Association in New York

sent telegrams to all Chinese newspapers and community organizations calling for a united protest against the detention of the Chinese war brides. The telegram accused the INS of violating the rights of American war veterans and demanded that the war brides be released immediately. During a meeting with representatives of the INS, members of the Chinese Hand Laundry Alliance argued that immigration applicants should not be detained for more than three days. They asserted that more detention constituted an act of racial discrimination because only Chinese immigrants were being singled out. Under pressure from Chinese Americans, politicians, and the general public, the INS investigated Liang's case. It criticized the conduct of the San Francisco district office and promised future progress. By the end of 1948, thousands of war brides were united with their husbands. These women played a critical role in the postwar transformation of the Chinese American community.

Xiaojian Zhao

See also Filipina War Brides; Japanese War Brides; War Brides Act (1945)

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Chinese War Brides Act

See War Brides Act (1945)

Chinese World (Sai Gai Yat Po)

Chinese World (Sai Gai Yat Po) was a major Chinese American newspaper published in San Francisco from 1891 to 1969. It was an organ of the Protecting Emperor Society (*Baohuanghui*, succeeded by the Chinese Constitutionalist Party). The paper became a Chinese-English bilingual daily in 1949.

The *Chinese World* traced its origin to *Mon Hing*, a Chinese weekly published in San Francisco since 1891. In 1899, when Chinese intellectual and reformer

Kang Youwei (1858–1927) established the Protecting Emperor Society (*Baohuanghui*, or the Chinese Empire Reform Association) in North America, *Mon Hing* was taken over by his followers and became a daily in 1901. The paper adopted an English name, *Chinese World*, in 1898 and its Chinese name was changed to *Sai Gai Yat Po* in 1908.

From its inception to the mid-twentieth century, the *Chinese World* exhibited a strong and persistent interest in the political affairs of China. Its editorial policy followed closely the *Baohuanghui*'s political platform. In the first decade of the twentieth century, it supported a gradualist reform of the Manchu government as opposed to the radical revolutions proposed by Dr. Sun Yat-sen (1866–1925), who was also mobilizing the Chinese community in America for support. When the *Baohuanghui* changed its name to the Chinese Constitutionalist Party in 1906, the paper became an avowed exponent of constitutionalism in China.

After the 1911 Revolution ended the Manchu rule, the *Chinese World* continued to represent the conservative Chinatown elite who wished to preserve the traditional Chinese culture. Although it had accepted republicanism and embraced the legitimacy of the Republic of China, it remained a firm opponent of Sun Yat-sen and his revolutionary party. From 1928 to 1935, one of Kang's followers, Wu Xianzi, served as its editorial writer. Writing under the pen name *meng die* (dreaming of butterflies), Wu authored many forceful editorials against the Nationalist government led by Chiang Kai-shek. However, after Wu left America in 1936, the paper's influence declined significantly. During the Sino-Japanese War, the *Chinese World* supported a united war effort against Japanese aggression and abstained from attacking the Nationalist government.

In 1944, Hawaiian merchant Chun Quon (C. Q. Yee Hop, 1867–1954) took over the *Chinese World* and made Lee Dai-ming its publisher and chief editor. Lee revived the paper's political platform and built up a steady readership through his sharp criticism of both the Guomindang and the Chinese Communist Party. In the early 1950s, because of Lee's refusal to endorse Chiang Kai-shek's leadership, the *Chinese World* was intimidated by the Guomindang supporters in San

Francisco for a while. However, the incident helped it to win a reputation for being a truly free and democratic press. As a result, the *Chinese World* became the first Chinese American newspaper to be accepted as a member of the Associated Press. Under Lee's management, the *Chinese World* was also recognized, though not entirely accurately, as the largest Chinese language daily in the United States.

During Lee Dai-ming's tenure, major publishing innovations were introduced to the *Chinese World*. In December 1949, the paper added an English section for the purpose of promoting communication between the Chinese community and the American mainstream society. For nearly two decades, it remained America's only Chinese-English bilingual daily. On November 25, 1957, the *Chinese World* launched an East Coast edition in New York. Everyday printing mats were sent from San Francisco to New York by air. However, because of unreliable flight schedules and insufficient personnel in New York, the experiment failed. The Atlantic Coast edition was discontinued on January 17, 1959.

The failure of the New York edition took a heavy toll on the paper's finances. After the death of Lee in 1961, the paper was supervised by Cho Kwei Fong (Cao Guifang), former principal of the Confucian School in San Francisco. Famous Confucian intellectual Carsun Chang (1886–1969) also contributed many editorials and articles. However, the paper was on an overall decline and ceased publication in 1969.

Xilin Guo

See also China Daily News, The (CDN); Independent Chinese Language Newspapers during the Cold War; Lee, Dai-ming; Sun Yat-sen

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Chinese-Vietnamese Americans

Chinese in Vietnam

The Chinese from Vietnam, also known as the *Hoa* people of Vietnam or Chinese-Vietnamese, are individuals of Chinese ancestry from Vietnam. The history of the ethnic Chinese in Vietnam can be traced back to 111 B.C., when China's Han Dynasty conquered the kingdom of Nan-Yueh (Nam-Viet) and became a Chinese province. In A.D. 939, the Vietnamese pushed out the Chinese occupation and created an independent nation. From this period to the sixteenth century—with the exception of two decades in the 1400s—the Vietnamese were able to fend off Chinese rule. The ethnic Chinese population in Vietnam, which consisted of five major dialect groups including the Cantonese, Teochiu, Hakka, Hokkien, and Hainan, does not become significant until the seventeenth century. During this time period, a wave of Chinese entered Vietnam to flee the Qing Dynasty in China.

The more contemporary population growth of the ethnic Chinese in Vietnam is directly linked to the French occupation beginning in 1858. During their colonial rule, the French actively recruited Chinese contract laborers into Vietnam. Consequently, the Chinese entered Vietnam in large waves. The majority of Chinese settled in South Vietnam, particularly in the densely Chinese-populated region known as the Cholon district. Within this region, many of the Chinese participated in commerce, manufacturing, and trade. Those who settled in the northern region engaged in agricultural work. For the most part, the ethnic Chinese played the role of the petit bourgeois and contributed significantly to Vietnamese economy.

In the 1950s, circumstances began changing for the Chinese after Vietnam gained independence from the French. In their efforts to nationalize the population, the Diem regime of South Vietnam sought to institutionally integrate their growing ethnic Chinese population by employing tactics such as declaring all

children of Chinese and Vietnamese unions, as well as all Chinese born in Vietnam, automatic Vietnamese citizens. Moreover, every person engaged in economic activities was required to register for citizenship. Those who did not register for Vietnamese citizenship received major restrictions on education, travel, and economic activities. These actions resulted in shifting the Chinese's economic dominance in commercial trade to an overrepresentation in the industrial and service sector.

The ethnic Chinese encountered another period of drastic change in the mid-1970s, shortly after the end of the Vietnam War (The Second Indochina War). The Communist-controlled Vietnamese government had just defeated South Vietnam and the United States. The newly established government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam confiscated many businesses and implemented new economic policies such as nationalizing trade, setting exchange currency rates, and forcing many into "new economic zones." The new socialist reforms created problems for all engaged in capitalist activities in Vietnam. By default, this included many Chinese who still dominated various trade sectors of the Vietnamese economy. Furthermore, Vietnam's unstable relationship with China further exacerbated the ethnic Chinese's tenuous position in Vietnam. China and Vietnam were embroiled in economic, political, and land disputes. In December 1978, the Soviet-backed Vietnam engaged in a border conflict with the Khmer Rouge and, suspicious of China's ultimate intentions in Southeast Asia, invaded Cambodia and overthrew the China-backed Khmer Rouge regime. In response, China invaded Vietnam in February 1979, leading to the month-long Sino-Vietnamese War (The Third Indochina War). By the end of the 1970s, the culmination of the Vietnamese government's policy changes and numerous border conflicts led many ethnic Chinese to flee Vietnam fearing social, political, or economic persecution.

Chinese-Vietnamese in the United States

Of the many Chinese who fled Vietnam, many ended up in the United States. Prior to 1975, there were only 4,300 Chinese-Vietnamese living in the United States.

By 1981, the Chinese-Vietnamese population had increased to over 85,000. Today, the total Chinese-Vietnamese American population is a little over 200,000 people. The immigration of the Chinese-Vietnamese, along with the Vietnamese, into the United States is separated into three major waves.

The first wave began in 1975 and lasted until 1978. This wave consisted of mostly intact family units and educated Vietnamese who were employed by either the government of South Vietnam or the United States. This group fled Vietnam during the surrender of Saigon to the north. In the wake of the Vietnam War, the United States quickly responded to the outpouring of refugees from Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos by establishing the Indochina Migration and Refugee Assistance Act of 1975 to provide emergency admittance and funding for the resettlement of Southeast Asian refugees into the United States. In 1977, Congress extended this Act to allow refugees who had physically resided in the United States for at least two years, and who were initially given parole status, to adjust their status to permanent resident. The Chinese-Vietnamese population came in a smaller proportion during the first period. Only 9 percent of the current total foreign-born Chinese-Vietnamese population living in the United States entered during the first wave. Although the fall of Saigon in 1975 ignited the migration of the largest wave of Vietnamese refugees into the United States, the mass exodus of the Chinese-Vietnamese refugees did not begin until the second wave in late 1978.

The second wave fled Vietnam between the period of late 1978 to 1982. Compared to the first wave, the second wave was more ethnically and professionally diverse, and many did not speak English. The Chinese who fled during this time included those who fled north by foot into China, whereas others (along with the ethnic Vietnamese) bribed Vietnamese officials for exit permits and chartered small fishing boats from pirates to navigate through the South China Sea. Those who survived this clandestine journey ended up in refugee processing camps in the first asylum countries of Thailand, Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia, the Philippines, and Hong Kong. In these countries, the ethnic Chinese awaited word of sponsorship from families,

individual sponsors, and volunteer organizations overseas.

This mass movement of refugees, internationally known as the “boat people” movement, sparked an international refugee crisis. The crisis led to an assembly of lawmakers at the 1979 Geneva Conference. The discussion at the Geneva Conference resulted in three resolutions dealing with the refugee crisis:

(1) Vietnam would halt illegal departures by sea and implement the Orderly Departure Program (ODP); (2) first asylum countries would cease turning refugees away and instead, provide them with temporary shelter; and (3) second asylum countries would accept more refugees. The purpose of the Orderly Departure Program, established under the auspices of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), was to provide a safer route out of Vietnam. Following the conference, the number of boat departures declined but did not halt. In 1980, in response to the growing refugee movement out of Vietnam, the United States government passed the Refugee Act of 1980. This act established the first systematic and most comprehensive process for dealing with refugee admissions into the United States.

Both the politics and policies of Vietnam, and the host country of the United States, directly impacted the increase of the Chinese-Vietnamese population into the United States during the second wave period (1979–1982). Specifically, 16.1 percent of the total foreign-born Chinese-Vietnamese population living in the United States today entered during the year 1979. A substantial 41 percent of all foreign-born Chinese-Vietnamese population living in the United States today entered during the second wave. By the end of this wave in 1982, over half of the foreign-born Chinese-Vietnamese population had already entered the United States. This demographic trend differed from their coethnics, the ethnic Vietnamese, who did not reach their current 50 percent population mark in the United States until 1989. Thus, a majority of the Vietnamese refugees/immigrants entered at a later date than the Chinese-Vietnamese.

Finally, the third wave, which spanned from 1982 to the present, consists of predominantly Vietnamese refugees and immigrants. Although the previous two

waves were comprised of political refugees, this final wave is composed of people with various statuses, including Amerasians, marriage migrants, former re-education camp detainees and their families, and others who left under the Orderly Departure Program. Since their peak during the second wave, the number of Chinese-Vietnamese entering the United States has decreased every year since.

Chinese-Vietnamese Americans: Resettlement Patterns and Socioeconomic Indicators

Upon entering the United States, the Chinese-Vietnamese (and Vietnamese) refugees were originally sent to four different processing centers throughout the nation (Camp Pendleton, California; Fort Indiantown Gap, Pennsylvania; Fort Chaffee, Arkansas; and Eglin Air Force Base, Florida) and scattered throughout the 50 states via 813 different zip codes. However, many have since relocated through secondary migration to specific regions of California. According to the 2000 Census, the top five states of residency for Chinese-Vietnamese Americans are California, Texas, New York, Washington, and Massachusetts. The majority of Chinese Vietnamese (58 percent) reside in California. Within California, four metropolitan regions—Los Angeles, San Francisco-East Bay, San Jose, and Orange County—are home to 88.5 percent of the state's Chinese-Vietnamese population. Seventy-nine percent of all Chinese-Vietnamese residing in California are located in Los Angeles and San Francisco-East Bay. Not surprisingly, both regions also house two of the oldest and largest Chinatowns in the United States. San Francisco's Chinatown is the oldest in the nation and was established in the mid-nineteenth century, whereas Los Angeles's old Chinatown was founded in the latter part of the nineteenth century.

A large majority (88 percent) of the Chinese-Vietnamese population is foreign born. This number represents a complete inverse of the national portrait where 88.9 percent of the U.S. population is native born. However, a large majority (76 percent) of the Chinese-Vietnamese are U.S. citizens, including 64 percent who became naturalized citizens.

The Chinese-Vietnamese are a relatively young population with a medium age of 41, but are slightly older than the national average of 35.3. A little over one-third of their total population consists of the children of refugees and immigrants, also known as the 1.5 and second generation. The 1.5 generation, or those who entered the United States before the age of 13, are currently entering young adulthood with a median age of 24. The second generation are in their early adolescent years with the median age of 10. The population is equally distributed by gender.

The educational portrait of the Chinese-Vietnamese Americans reveals the population as less educated when compared to the national average; for instance, 43.1 percent of the Chinese-Vietnamese population does not possess a high school degree as compared to the national figure of 19.6 percent. The national Asian American percentage is identical to the U.S. national figure. When comparing the percentage of the highly educated, or those with a bachelor's or an advanced degree, the Chinese-Vietnamese's 18 percent is lower than the U.S. national figure of 24.4 percent. The Chinese-Vietnamese are behind the national Asian American figure of 44.1 percent.

In the employment sector, the Chinese-Vietnamese Americans are most likely found in service-related occupations. Only 19.8 percent of the Chinese-Vietnamese population is found in the professional and management occupations. This percentage is much lower than the national average of 33.6 percent and drastically lower than the national Asian American average of 44.6 percent.

Finally, the Chinese-Vietnamese's medium total household income at \$57,160 is much higher than the national medium total household income of \$41,994. However, it is important to note that the Chinese-Vietnamese average household size is 4.44, which is much larger than the U.S. national average household size of 2.59. Their medium total annual family income is more comparable to the U.S. national average, with the Chinese Vietnamese at \$52,550 and the national average at \$50,046. However, the medium income is much lower than the Asian American national average of \$59,324.

First-Generation Economic Adaptation and Second-Generation Identity Formation

Since arriving to the United States, the first-generation Chinese-Vietnamese Americans have been able to establish an economic foothold in their respective ethnic enclaves. Scholars have noted that the Chinese-Vietnamese were able to enter ethnic economies in the United States through their unique position as refugees who have local and international ties to the overseas Chinese community. This advantage, along with their entrepreneurial backgrounds, has led Chinese-Vietnamese Americans to owning businesses in the Little Saigons and Chinatowns throughout the United States. In fact, in the late 1970s, Chinese-Vietnamese American Frank Jao was one of the principal real estate developers who conceived of Orange County, California's Little Saigon. Today, this community is the oldest and largest Vietnamese American ethnic enclave in the United States.

The socioeconomic adaptation patterns of the 1.5- and second-generation Chinese-Vietnamese Americans are positive. A series of studies have concluded that overall, members of this group, along with their Vietnamese coethnics, are achieving educational excellence.

One of the most prevalent issues for the 1.5- and second-generation Chinese-Vietnamese growing up in the United States is that of ethnic self-identification. As descendants of both the Chinese and Vietnamese diasporic narratives, their multiple ethnic historical backgrounds avail them of numerous ethnic self-identifications, which include—although are not limited to—Chinese, Chinese-Vietnamese, Vietnamese, and Sino-Vietnamese American. In many instances, their multiple ethnic backgrounds only serve to complicate, and at times confuse, their sense of ethnic identification growing up.

There are numerous factors influencing how the Chinese-Vietnamese Americans ethnically self-identify. For example, living near an ethnic enclave influences *the choice* of the 1.5- and second-generation's ethnic self-identification. Thus, the Chinese-Vietnamese 1.5- and second-generation who grew up near the ethnic enclave of Los Angeles's Chinatown were more likely to identify as

Chinese or Chinese American. There is also an association between a county's dominant ethnic population and ethnic language knowledge. According to the 2000 Census, on a national level, 64.6 percent of all Chinese-Vietnamese Americans speak Chinese at home, as opposed to the 26.3 percent who prefer to speak Vietnamese at home. However, different patterns are exhibited when comparing the Los Angeles County and Orange County regions. In Orange County, the Chinese-Vietnamese are more likely to speak Vietnamese at home. Conversely, the Chinese-Vietnamese's Los Angeles County residents tend to speak more Chinese as compared to their Orange County counterparts. These data suggest a regional influence factor as Orange County is home to the previously mentioned large Vietnamese ethnic enclave of Little Saigon. Los Angeles County, on the other hand, is home to numerous large Chinese ethnic enclaves, including old and new Chinatowns located in downtown Los Angeles and several large Chinatowns located in the Los Angeles suburbs of Monterey Park and Alhambra.

Finally, as the 1.5- and second-generation are coming of age and are transitioning into early adulthood, other factors continue to influence their identity selection. In college, some may learn, for the first time, about their family's participation in the larger Vietnamese refugee history or how they are a part of the larger Chinese diaspora movement. In a number of instances, this knowledge has led some to alter or append their prior ethnic self-identity choice. As these individuals continue to transition into adulthood, it will be interesting to see whether identity will change in the future, and how the generations to follow will self-identify.

Monica M. Trieu

See also Chinese Americans; Vietnamese Americans

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Table I. Social and Economic Demographics for Chinese-Vietnamese in the United States, Los Angeles County, and Orange County, 2000

	United States	Los Angeles County	Orange County
Gender			
% Female	51.0	52.7	51.9
% Male	49.0	47.3	48.1
Age			
Median age (1st generation)	42	43	41
Median age (1.5 generation)	24	25	24
Median age (2nd+ generation)	10	10	10
Nativity			
% Foreign born	88.4	92.2	84.1
% U.S. born	11.6	7.8	15.9
Citizenship			
% Citizenship by birth	12.2	8.1	16.4
% Naturalized citizen	63.7	67.0	62.9
% Not a citizen	24.1	24.8	20.7
Generation			
% First generation	65.2	68.2	61.3
% 1.5 generation	23.2	24.0	22.8
% 2nd+ generation	11.6	7.8	15.9
Language Spoken at Home			
% English	5.2	3.6	5.5
% Vietnamese	26.3	19.4	40.5
% Chinese	64.6	73.9	50.6
Educational Attainment (persons 25 years or older)			
% Less than high school	43.1	48.6	39.4
% High school graduate, GED	16.3	14.3	1.6
% Some college, AA degree	22.6	22.3	26.8
% College graduate	14.6	12.5	17.0
% Advance degree	3.4	2.3	4.1
Occupational Status			
Professional	19.8	17.5	21.8
Higher-status service	13.0	15.6	11.3
Mid-status services	20.9	25.5	22.1
Blue-collar/ Low-wage service	46.4	41.5	44.8
Economic Status			
Family-household size	4.44	4.70	4.64
Median total household income (\$)	57,160	48,500	65,000
Median total annual family income (\$)	52,550	44,600	63,000

Source: 2000 U.S. Census, 5% Public Use Microdata Sample (PUMS).
 Figures are weighted estimates from a sample.

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Ching, Fong (1864–1897)

Fong Ching (pinyin: Feng Zhengchu; a.k.a. Fung Ching, Feng Jing, Fung Wing, Fung Jing Doy, Feng

Jing Toy) was a Chinese merchant and suspected organized crime ringleader in San Francisco during the late nineteenth century. Fong became infamous for his involvement in the so-called "tong wars" of this period.

Fong was born in Nanhai, China in 1864, and immigrated to the United States as a child in the 1870s. Fong subsequently learned English at the school of the Methodist Mission and gained employment as an errand-boy in a shoe factory in San Francisco. Fong went on to work as a broker, assisting in the landing of goods and individuals. With the capital earned from this position, he founded his own shoe company in due course, which he called the "F.C. Peters & Company." Fong adopted this name for his business to appeal to non-Chinese customers, and was also known to use a white bookkeeper and white salesmen to sell his goods outside of the Chinese community. In the English language press, Fong was given the nickname "Little Pete" for this reason.

Fong first came to the public eye when he came to trial for attempting to bribe policemen in regard to his bodyguard, Lee Chuck. As a successful businessman and interpreter for the Sam Yup Company—one of the Chinese Six Companies—Fong was a prominent member of the Chinese community. Accordingly, he employed a bodyguard for protection. On October 28, 1886, an assassin named Yen Yuen attempted to attack Lee Chuck, who fended off his attacker and killed the man in the process. Lee Chuck was immediately arrested by San Francisco police; in an effort to free him, Fong supposedly attempted to bribe several policemen associated with the case. Fong was put on trial for attempted bribery and his bodyguard was put on trial for murder. This trial revealed the impressive degree of understanding that Fong had of San Franciscan politics and law; not only did Fong retain lawyers as well known and respected as Hall McAllister, but the trial revealed his connections to San Franciscan politics, such as his association with Democratic political boss Christopher Buckley. Despite the best efforts of his lawyers, in 1887, Fong was convicted of bribery and sent to Folsom prison for five years.

It was this trial that revealed his alleged involvement with the "fighting tongs," organizations among the Chinese community that were sometimes associated

with illegal interests and violence. Fong avowed membership in the Bo Sin Seer tong, the same tong to which Yen Yuen belonged; the police, on the other hand, insisted that Fong was leader of the Gin See Seer tong, a rival organization. Although the extent to which he was involved with these tongs remained unconfirmed, Fong appeared to be continually involved in conflicts seated within the Chinese community.

After finishing his sentence, Fong would become notorious for other economic ventures. The most infamous of these schemes was his fixing of horse races at the Bay District track in 1896, for which he supposedly earned a sum of between \$25,000 and \$100,000. Aside from his legitimate operations in light manufacturing, Fong was often suspected of involvement in a wide variety of illegal enterprises, such as the importation of Chinese women to work as prostitutes, and the maintenance of gambling and opium dens in Chinatown. Fong pursued many of these activities with the assistance of his family members in China as well as in the United States. On the other hand, Fong also continuously engaged with non-Chinese individuals, as shown by his friendship with Buckley and Six Companies lawyer Thomas D. Riordan, his bribery of horse jockeys, and his use of white bodyguards.

Fong was also heavily involved in cultural activities both inside and outside of Chinatown. Not only was he an owner of a Chinese theater and avid theater fan, but Fong was also connected to the Chinese exhibition at the California Midwinter Centennial Exposition of 1894.

On the morning of January 23, 1897, Fong was shot and killed by two men in a barbershop close to his residence and shoe factory. Having sent his white bodyguard C. H. Hunter away, Fong was left relatively vulnerable. After his death, two men were immediately apprehended in a nearby boardinghouse, but there was little evidence to link them to the murder. Other arrests followed, but no promising suspects were ultimately to be found. Newspaper reports speculated that Fong's murder came at the behest of various criminal "high-binder" or tong societies, or possibly as a result of the ambitions of rival businessmen. Most reports emphasized conflict between the Sam Yups and Sze Yups, conjecturing that Fong's murder was related to ongoing Sam Yup-Sze Yup enmity. His death also resulted in mutual

recrimination between the Chinese Consul-General and the police department, as the consul questioned the efficacy of police operations in Chinatown. Nonetheless, the aftermath of Fong's murder had an immediate effect on San Francisco's Chinatown; because of Fong's prominence, this had ramifications in both the United States and China. The numbers of policemen were increased in Chinatown to rein in any potential violence, particularly between individuals of the Sam Yup and Sze Yup associations. In China, at the behest of Li Yung Yen, the Chinese Consul General, Fong's death resulted in the arrest of the relatives of prominent officers of the Sze Yup association.

At his death, Fong's property was estimated to be between \$150,000 and \$500,000, with approximately \$100,000 invested in China, supposedly in fish ponds. Despite the fact that Fong spent most of his years in the United States, his life and economic pursuits were decidedly transnational. As importer, broker, and interpreter, Fong's life offers a prime example of the ways in which diasporic Chinese maintained social and economic links with China and also negotiated with the legal, social, and economic milieu of late nineteenth-century San Francisco.

Bright L. Yuan

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Cho, Margaret (1968–)

Margaret Cho, born December 5, 1968, is a pioneering Korean American artist. A comedian, actress, writer, and social activist, the multifaceted Cho was born and raised in San Francisco, California to parents who emigrated from South Korea in 1964; she has a younger brother. She grew up on Haight Street, which Cho described as inhabited during her childhood by old hippies, ex-drug addicts, "burnouts" from the 60s, drag queens, and Chinese immigrants. Her parents owned and operated Paperback Traffic, a bookstore in the heart of Polk Street, a gay neighborhood, and she

developed close friendships with the gay men who worked in her parents' store.

Cho's birth name, Moron, was a source of bullying and early childhood trauma. At 15, she was expelled from Lowell High School after failing nearly all her classes. Her father wrote joke books in Korean, and she, too, felt the urge to make people laugh. Cho auditioned to enter San Francisco School of the Arts (renamed Ruth Asawa San Francisco School of the Arts in 2010), and participated in the high school's improvisational comedy group *Batwing Lubricant*; her first performance in a comedy club was with the group. In her senior year, she dropped out of school and traveled to Europe. Eventually she returned home and began pursuing a stand-up career, appearing in small comedy clubs and on college campuses across the country. Early in her stand-up career, she won a contest to open for comedian Jerry Seinfeld. Soon Cho became a regular guest on the late-night *Arsenio Hall Show*, and achieved national prominence



Comedian Margaret Cho at the VH1 Rock Honors The Who in Westwood, California, July 12, 2008. (Aaron Settipane/Dreamstime.com)

appearing on a prime time Bob Hope special. One of her popular routines was “Mommy,” a character based on her own mother that she summoned by tilting back her head, squinting her eyes, and rolling her l’s. In 1992 she won a small role on *The Golden Palace*, a spin-off of the sitcom *The Golden Girls*. In 1994, she won the American Comedy Award for Best Female Comedian.

Cho achieved unprecedented success for an Asian American when American Broadcasting Company (ABC) created a sitcom based on her stand-up act: *All-American Girl* (1994), the first show to center on an Asian American family. The 19-episode series, a watered-down, barely recognizable version of her raunchy, outspoken comedy routines, ran one year and starred Cho as Margaret Kim, a rebellious, second-generation Korean American in San Francisco with two brothers and traditional immigrant parents and grandmother. The mediocre show, not scripted by Cho, debuted with strong ratings, but quickly became a lightning rod for criticism and lost its audience. Viewers attacked Cho and the show’s racial and sexual stereotypes, such as the lead character’s older brother Stuart (played by B. D. Wong) who was portrayed as a meek, effeminate medical student, and cultural gaffes, such as an episode that showed her wearing a Chinese-style jacket. Because of the poor ratings, the show shifted its focus on the family and created a new pilot, recasting Cho as living with three young men in an apartment. Finally the show was cancelled in 1995. Years later Cho skewered the experience of being on the show, criticizing the television agents who silenced her and pressured her to drop 30 pounds, leading to her hospitalization for kidney failure. Cho suffered a deep depression after the show’s cancellation. She developed an addiction to drugs and alcohol, and got booed off the stage during a show at a university in Monroe, Louisiana. Cho eventually overcame her addictions and developed empowering, new material that focused on her terrible experiences working on the show, especially the pressures because of her weight and ethnicity. The new work was featured in a one-woman show called *I’m the One I Want* that toured nationally; the show was later made into a movie self-produced and self-distributed by Cho and also a book.

Cho has developed a career as a writer; she has published two books and maintains a weblog (<http://margarecho.com>), in which she writes on varied topics such as Asian adoptees and global poverty. Her work has a strong political, feminist perspective and has focused explicitly on charged topics, such as sex, drug addiction, Asian American stereotypes, and racism. Opposed to the 2003 U.S.-Iraq War, Cho became the target of hate mail and death threats after responding to comparisons of President George Bush and the German Nazi dictator Adolf Hitler, by saying, "Bush is not Hitler. He would be if he applied himself." She wrote about the experience in *I Have Chosen to Fight*, a collection of writings about global politics, human rights, and other current issues. Cho, who has written about her bisexuality, has been a longtime activist for LGBT rights. In 2007, she emceed the True Colors Tour, a 15-city, multiartist, rock concert for gay rights. She received awards for her activism from the American Civil Liberties Union, the Asian American Legal Defense and Education Fund, the Gay & Lesbian Alliance against Defamation, and the National Organization of Women.

Cho has experimented in many fields, including film acting and directing, screenwriting, fashion designing, performing burlesque, and singing. In 2002 she cofounded a short-lived clothing line called *High Class Cho*. In 2004 she began belly dancing and designed a line of belly-dancing accessories. Her first, self-written film *Bam Bam and Celeste* premiered at the Toronto International Film Festival in 2005. In 2007 she launched "The Sensuous Women," a burlesque-style variety show, and released a single "I Cho Am a Woman" in September 2008.

Cho appears regularly on television. In August 2008 she was featured in *The Cho Show*, a VH1 reality show that aired one season. The following year she had a supporting role in *Drop Dead Diva*. In 2010, she was a contestant on *Dancing with the Stars*. She married artist Al Ridenour in 2003. Cho lives in Los Angeles.

Rose M. Kim

See also Hollywood, Asian Americans in; Korean Americans; LGBT Activism

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Choi, Susan (1969–)

Susan Choi is a novelist. She was born in 1969 in South Bend, Indiana, and grew up in Houston, Texas. She received her BA in literature from Yale University in 1990. After working a number of odd jobs for two years after graduation, Choi enrolled in the Creative Writing program at Cornell University where she received her MFA three years later. Choi worked as a fact checker at the *New Yorker* before turning to writing full time in 1998 after publishing her first novel *The Foreign Student*.

The Foreign Student was inspired by Choi's father's experiences as a Korean immigrant in the United States. The novel garnered high praise, received the Asian-American Literary Award for Fiction, and was a finalist for the Discover Great New Writers Award at Barnes & Noble. Choi's second novel, *American Woman*, based on the Patricia Hearst kidnapping story, was a finalist for the Pulitzer Prize in 2004. Choi's third novel, *A Person of Interest*, whose plot resembles both the Unabomber case and the Wen Ho Lee saga, was a finalist for the PEN/Faulkner award in 2009.

Although both *American Woman* and *A Person of Interest* are based on notorious crime cases whose perpetrators have gained celebrity status, Choi does not make Patricia Hearst and Theodore Kaczynski protagonists of her novels. Instead, she gives the limelight to marginalized characters. In an interview with NPR in 2008, Choi says that she is interested in stories that

“seem to have another story hidden in them, that’s not being told in the media.”

Choi coedited a collection of short stories entitled *Wonderful Town: New York Stories from The New Yorker* with David Remnick. Her nonfiction has appeared in *Vogue*, *Allure*, and *O* magazine, *Tin House*, *The New York Times*, and in anthologies such as *Money Changes Everything* and *Brooklyn Was Mine*.

Choi has received fellowships from the National Endowments for the Arts and the Guggenheim Foundation. She lives in Brooklyn, New York, with her husband Pete Wells and their two sons.

Nan Ma

See also Korean Americans

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Chouinard, Bobby (1972–)

Born in the Philippines in 1972, Bobby Chouinard pitched five seasons of Major League Baseball (MLB) from 1996 through 2001. Chouinard was drafted out of high school in Forest Grove, Oregon by the Baltimore Orioles. After several years in the minors, Chouinard made his MLB debut as a starting pitcher for the Oakland Athletics in 1996. He subsequently became a relief pitcher, toiling for teams such as the Milwaukee Brewers, Arizona Diamondbacks, and Colorado Rockies. In 2005, he pitched his last professional season for Yucatan of the Mexican League.

Joel S. Franks

See also Filipino American Baseball

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Chow, Amy (1978–)

Amy Yuen-Yee Chow is best known as a retired American women’s artistic gymnast. Amy Chow’s parents, Nelson and Susan Chow, immigrated from Shanghai and Hong Kong, respectively. Chow, born in San Jose, California, was the first Asian American woman to win an Olympic Medal in gymnastics. At the 1996 Summer Games in Atlanta, Chow was a member of the “Magnificent Seven,” the first U.S. women’s gymnastics team to win an Olympic gold medal, and also won an individual silver medal on the uneven bars. Chow returned from retirement to gain a place on the 2000 U.S. Olympic team, which was awarded the team bronze medal. Chow has been inducted into the U.S. Gymnastics Hall of Fame (1998) and the U.S. Olympic Hall of Fame (2008) for her contributions to the 1996 women’s Olympic team, and has been recognized as an individual by the U.S. Gymnastics Hall of Fame (2005) and the San Jose Sports Hall of Fame (2004).

Amy Chow began training in gymnastics in 1981, at the age of three. Her mother initially wanted her to learn ballet, but local schools were not open to children that young. She eventually enrolled Amy in gymnastics at age five at the West Valley Gymnastic School in Campbell, California, run by Mark Young and Diane Amos. Chow was nicknamed “the Trickster” for her grace in performing difficult moves in all events. She was the first American woman to successfully complete a double-twisting Yurchenko vault and a tucked double-double dismount on the uneven bars at an international competition, and has two staldler skill variations named after her.

Chow was part of the first U.S. women’s gymnastics team to win an Olympic team gold medal in the 1996 Olympic Games in Atlanta, Georgia. At the Olympic Trials, Chow recovered after falling and hitting her eye on the balance beam to complete a difficult routine to finish fourth overall and make the U.S. team. At the Summer Games in Atlanta, Chow competed on the uneven bars and the vault finals in the team competition. She also qualified for the individual uneven bars finals, and tied for a silver medal in the event with Bi Wen Jing of China.

After the 1996 Games, Chow toured in exhibitions as a professional gymnast and began premedical studies at Stanford. Two years into her biology degree, she took a leave of absence and resumed training to qualify for the 2000 Olympics—but continued to conduct medical research at the university. Chow finished in second place in the all-around competition at the Olympic Trials. At the 2000 Olympic Games in Sydney, Australia, the U.S. women finished in fourth place in the team competition. However, the Chinese team had their third place finish revoked after one athlete was found to be under the minimum age of 16. The 2000 U.S. women's team was finally awarded the bronze medal in 2010.

Today, Chow is married and practices pediatric medicine with a sports medicine focus. Chow also trains in tower diving and had potential to qualify for the 2012 Olympic diving trials before she was injured in practice. She has also competed in the pole vault, with a personal best of 13' 5" and is an accomplished pianist.

Katie Furuyama

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Chu, Judy (1953–)

Judy Chu, a politician and educator, is a Democratic U.S. House Representative from California's 32nd District. Chu is of Chinese American descent and

became the first Chinese American woman to be elected into Congress in 2009.

Judy May Chu was born on July 7, 1953, in Los Angeles, California to parents who were first- and second-generation immigrants. Chu grew up in southern Los Angeles and in junior high school she moved with her family to the San Francisco Bay Area.

Chu graduated from University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) in 1974 with a Bachelor of Arts in mathematics. Later, Chu would also earn a PhD in clinical psychology from the California School of Professional Psychology in 1979. After earning her degree in clinical psychology, Chu taught psychology at East Los Angeles Community College and Los Angeles City College. When studying in UCLA, Chu met her future husband Mike Eng, who was working on his law degree at that time. Eng is an attorney of immigration law and has been a representative in the California State Assembly since 2007. They were married in 1978 and settled in Monterey Park, California.

Chu's public service career began when she was elected to the board of the Garvey School District in Rosemead, California in 1985. In 1988, Chu left the Garvey school board after her election to the City Council of Monterey Park. Between 1988 and 2001, Chu would serve as mayor of Monterey Park for three terms. During Chu's tenure at the Monterey Park City Council, Chu would run twice for the California State Assembly, albeit unsuccessfully.

In 2001, Chu ran in a special election and was successful in her bid as representative for the California State Assembly. She represented the 49th Assembly District, which includes areas in the western San Gabriel Valley (Alhambra, El Monte, Monterey Park, Rosemead, San Gabriel, San Marino, and South El Monte). Between 2001 and 2006, she would be reelected twice (the first reelection was in 2002, when she was elected to a full term in the State Assembly). During her tenure in the State Assembly, Chu would be known for her important tax amnesty bill that helped to bring approximately \$4 billion in revenue for the state of California without raising taxes. She also sat as the chair of the Appropriations Committee and supported legislation that provided positive change to the environment, K-12 education, civil rights (especially rights of the immigrant community),

and the protection of women. According to Chu's voting records as assemblywoman, she has received high ratings from liberal organizations (e.g., Planned Parenthood Affiliates of California, NARAL Pro-Choice California, and The League of Conservation Voters).

After serving two terms in the California State Assembly, Chu was elected to the California State Board of Equalization, a state agency elected by the public to be in charge of collecting various California State taxes as well providing effective and fair tax policies. She served between 2006 and 2009.

In 2009, a Congressional seat in the 32nd District opened up after Hilda Solis was appointed and assumed office as Labor Secretary in the Obama Administration. During the initial special election, Chu garnered far more votes than fellow Democrat California State Senator Gil Cedillo and was the overall front-runner. However, because of the crowded nature of the election, she could not obtain a majority win (50+1 percent of the votes) to avoid the second round runoff. On July 14, 2009, Chu went into a runoff with Republican candidate Betty Tom Chu and Libertarian candidate Christopher M. Ag. Chu won with nearly 62 percent of the votes and became the first Chinese American woman to be elected into Congress. Chu assumed office on July 16, 2009 to join ranks with few other Asian American politicians in the 111th Congress.

In the ethnically diversified San Gabriel Valley area, Chu had built political support from her Asian American base (consisting of about 13 percent of the population in the 32nd District), and expanded to include Latino voters, organized labor, and women voters. She has served the communities of western San Gabriel Valley since her early days on the school board. Chu won reelection for a full term in 2010.

Jeanette Yih Harvie

See also Political Representation

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Chu, Steven (1948–)

Steven Chu, a Chinese American scientist, is a leading physicist in the world, sharing the 1997 Nobel Prize in Physics, the 12th U.S. secretary of energy, a passionate advocate for international actions to address the problem of climate change, and a leader in promoting U.S.-China scientific exchange and collaboration on this and other issues.

Steven Chu was born on February 28, 1948, in St. Louis to father Ju Chin Chu, a chemical engineering professor at Washington University, and mother Ching Chen Li, who had studied economics. As immigrants from a war-torn China with strong academic lineages, Steven's parents instilled in him and his two brothers a deep appreciation for the value of education. Growing up in Garden City, New York, where the family moved in 1950, Chu did not set, as did his older brother, the record in academic performance at their high school, but he did excel in those classes, such as geometry and physics, that interested him. Especially memorable to him was the construction of a pendulum to measure gravity.

Chu enrolled at the University of Rochester in 1966 where he was inspired by Richard Feynman's *The Feynman Lectures in Physics* and graduated four years later with a double major in mathematics and



Steven Chu, Nobel Prize winner in physics (1997) and U.S. secretary of energy (2009–2013). (Department of Energy)

physics, followed by a summer conducting research on astrophysics at the National Radio Astronomy Observatory in Virginia. In the fall of 1970 Chu, looking up to C. N. Yang and T. D. Lee, among others, as his models, went to the University of California, Berkeley, to pursue graduate studies in theoretical physics. He changed his mind after spending some time doing experimentation in the laboratory of Eugene Cummins, one of his professors. His first major experiment, conducted with Cummins and others, involved the building of laser devices to test a major theory in particle physics that was connected with Lee and Yang's Nobel Prize-winning discovery nearly two decades earlier. He received his PhD in 1976, stayed on as a postdoc for another two years, was offered an assistant professorship in physics at Berkeley but was allowed to take a leave of absence to become a visiting researcher at the famed Bell Labs at Murray Hill, New Jersey in the fall of 1978.

The excitement of doing cutting edge research within the stimulating and supportive environment at

Bell Labs proved irresistible and Chu never returned to his Berkeley post. At Bell, Chu conducted a difficult experiment with colleague Allen Mills to produce and measure, using laser beams, the energy levels of positronium, which is the most basic atom and that consists of only an electron and a positron (anti-electron). In 1983, Chu became head of the Quantum Electronics Research Department at the Bell Labs' branch at Holmdel, NJ, and soon began to work on trapping atoms with lasers with collaborators after learning of its possibility from a colleague.

Atom trapping was a field fraught with both experimental and theoretical obstacles, but Chu and his group introduced innovations, such as counterpropagating beams of laser light, "optical molasses," and magneto-optic trapping, that eventually enabled them to be among the first in the world to successfully cool sodium atoms to barely above absolute zero degree and then trap them with lasers and magnetic fields in the mid-1980s. This achievement made Chu a winner of the 1997 Nobel Prize in Physics, which he shared with Claude Cohen-Tannoudji and William D. Phillips "for the development of methods to cool and trap atoms with laser light." The development opened vast new areas of scientific research and technological applications, including the construction of atomic clocks much more accurate than existing ones.

Indeed, the atomic clock was what Chu worked on when he moved from Bell Labs to Stanford in 1987, when he felt "the urge to spawn scientific progeny." At Stanford he also worked with his graduate students and postdocs to improve laser cooling and trapping and to use the technique to solve problems in biology and polymer science. For example, he and collaborator Steve Kron developed a method (a kind of "optical tweezers") to hold and observe a single molecule of DNA. He soon became a well-known advocate for "Bio-X," interdisciplinary biomedical research drawing ideas and methods from a variety of fields such as physics, chemistry, and engineering. He also served as chair of Stanford's Physics Department from 1990 to 1993 and again from 1999 to 2001.

In 2004, Chu moved back to UC Berkeley to become a professor of physics and cellular and molecular biology as well as director of the Lawrence Berkeley National Laboratory that the university runs

for the U.S. Department of Energy. His most notable achievement at the Berkeley Lab was to reorient its considerable interdisciplinary resources toward finding solutions to two of the most critical problems facing the world today: global warming and renewable energy. He was instrumental in the establishment of two new institutions in these fields in the San Francisco Bay Area: the Joint BioEnergy Institute (JBEI), with \$135 million in funding from the U.S. Department of Energy, and the Energy Biosciences Institute (EBI), funded by a \$500 million grant from British Petroleum. Chu's concerns over climate and energy also led him to speak out internationally, including in China, for taking actions to address these problems.

Because of both his scientific stature and his advocacy on global warming and renewable energy, Steven Chu was nominated by Barack Obama as his secretary of energy in late 2008. The appointment, which was confirmed by the U.S. Senate in early 2009, was met with widespread approval from the American scientific community. In announcing Chu's appointment, Obama called it a sign that the new administration would respect science and take seriously the threat of global climate change. In his new position he has worked to implement Obama's ambitious plans to invest in alternative and renewable energy, to create millions of new, clean-energy jobs, and to curb global warming. He has also traveled to China to encourage the Chinese government and the Chinese scientific community to work with the United States to find solutions to the problem of global climate change. In this regard, his identity as a Chinese American scientist and his long-standing collaboration with Chinese scientists—he was elected both a member of the Academia Sinica in Taiwan and a foreign member of the Chinese Academy of Sciences in Beijing—have proved to be an asset.

Chu resigned as secretary of energy in 2013 and returned to Stanford University.

Zuoyue Wang

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Chung, Connie (1946–)

Connie Chung is a Chinese American journalist and news anchor. She became the first Asian and the second woman to anchor a major American network news show. Over her career, Chung took positions at CBS, ABC, CNN, and NBC, and conducted numerous exclusive interviews. She has won several awards, including a Peabody and three Emmys.

Chung was born in Washington, D.C., on August 20, 1946, with the given name Constance Yu Hwa Chung. Her father, William Ling Chung, was a prominent diplomat in the Nationalist government in China. Because of the Japanese invasion, the Chung family had fled to Washington D.C. in 1944. Five of the family's eventual ten children died in China. Chung was the only one born in the United States.

Chung's initial career dreams were far from journalism. Growing up in a Maryland suburb, she fantasized of being a ballerina. As a college student at the University of Maryland, her major through her junior year was biology. However, a junior summer internship with a congressman changed everything. Chung was able to see reporters in action for the first time, and became interested in writing. She returned to college and changed her major to journalism. She was subsequently hired by WTTG-TV in Washington. Reflecting on her career choice in a 2011 interview, Chung said, "For a small, diminutive-sized Chinese person who grew up in a very loud family and never spoke up in my life, it was very dramatic."

At WTTG, she was promoted from copy editor to news writer, assignment editor, and then finally reporter.

After two years there, Chung was hired by the CBS News Washington Bureau as a news correspondent. There, she reported on George McGovern's unsuccessful presidential campaign, President Richard Nixon's trips to the Soviet Union and the Middle East, the Watergate hearings, and the vice presidency of Nelson Rockefeller. During the Watergate scandal, Chung received an exclusive interview with President Nixon.

During her early journalism career, Chung was not sure if racism played a role when people gave her a difficult time. She notes she was "young, inexperienced, female, and Chinese," any of which could have caused harsh criticism. Nevertheless, she always faced claims of bias and other journalistic criticism with humor. Chung does, however, attribute her CBS position in part to her gender and race. She suggests CBS chose to compensate for years of discriminating against minorities and women by hiring four women, one being Chung.

In 1976, Chung became a news anchor at KCBS in Los Angeles. At KCBS she won numerous awards, including Best Television Reporting from the Los Angeles Press Club in 1977, local Emmy awards in 1978 and 1980, and a George Foster Peabody Award. Chung then moved to the national stage in 1983, as she accepted an anchor position on NBC News at Sunrise in New York City. In addition, Chung also regularly contributed to the NBC evening news, coanchored the Saturday evening news, and produced numerous prime-time documentaries. In 1984 Chung married fellow television host and longtime friend Maury Povich. The two eventually adopted a son.

During this period she produced perhaps her most personal piece—a five part series on her personal reconnection to relatives in China. Although her parents and four older sisters fled China in 1945, the rest of her family stayed behind. The series was a deeply personal one; Chung was the first of her family to return to China. She interviewed her own relatives and visited her grandparents' graves. Her series provided a new personal perspective into China's hardship caused by war and cultural revolution.

Chung attributes her own drive and ambition indirectly to her cultural heritage. Five of her siblings, including her brothers, had died in China before the family had left with the four remaining daughters.

Without boys, the family legacy could not continue as women traditionally join the family of their husband. Chung remarked she was thus motivated to compensate for this by somehow making the "Chung" name significant.

In 1989, Chung returned to CBS as a coanchor on its Saturday and Sunday evening news programs. Four years later, Chung became coanchor with Dan Rather on the *CBS Evening News*, thus becoming the second woman and first Asian American ever to coanchor a major network news evening program. During this time she also hosted her own newsmagazine, *Eye to Eye with Connie Chung*. Her program presented a combination of serious news and entertainment stories but created controversy when she interviewed Kathleen Gingrich, the mother of then Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich. Chung asked what her son thought of then First Lady Hillary Clinton, a question that caused Kathleen to hesitate. Chung then said she could whisper, and that her answer would be between them. Many viewers, journalists, and Congressman Gingrich himself felt that Chung had entrapped and manipulated the elderly Kathleen Gingrich into responding.

In addition to concerns over her interview style, Chung's coanchor Rather was rumored to be upset with sharing the anchor seat. For these reasons, CBS informed her that it was demoting her from her coanchor weekday evening position to the position of weekend anchor. Chung declined the offer and chose to be let out of her contract. Chung then moved to ABC News, where she hosted *20/20*, a Friday night newsmagazine. There she was the first journalist to interview Congressman Gary Condit after the 2001 disappearance of intern Chandra Levy. In 2002, she moved to CNN to host her own show, *Connie Chung Tonight*. The show was harshly criticized by CNN founder Ted Turner and canceled after one year.

Chung then hosted an MSNBC news show with her husband entitled *Weekends with Maury and Connie*. The show performed poorly in the ratings and was shortly canceled. Chung then began a teaching fellowship at Harvard Kennedy teaching fellowship.

A trailblazer in every sense of the word, Chung's career brought the first Asian American and female face to national news prominence. But Chung herself prefers the label Asian over Asian American.

She considers herself as “American as anybody” but suggests the Asian American label as implying half and half. Both of her parents are Chinese, so she considers herself “just Chinese.”

Alan Zhao

See also Chinese Americans; Hollywood, Asian Americans in

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Chung, Eugene Yon (1969–)

Eugene Chung is a former professional football player and the first Asian American to be selected in the first round of the National Football League (NFL) draft. Prior to Chung, only a few other persons of Asian descent had ever played professional football in the United States. Born in Prince George’s County, Maryland, Chung attended Virginia Tech and was one of the nation’s top college offensive linemen when drafted in 1992.

Chung grew up in northern Virginia, the third of four boys. His father, Choon Chung, had emigrated from Korea to the United States in 1956, only a few years after the end of the Korean War. Chung’s father subsequently studied at City College of New York, Columbia University, and Yale Law School. It was in the United States that Chung’s parents met. His mother, also a native of Korea, was a pianist. She passed away in 1980, when Chung was 11.

As a teenager Chung played varsity football at Oakton High School in Vienna, Virginia. Though not

heavily recruited by college football programs, he went on to play at Virginia Tech, where he made the starting lineup as a redshirt freshman. The following year Chung started every game, and was voted the team’s most outstanding offensive lineman. He earned that distinction again in 1990, his third season, when he allowed only one quarterback sack. In his senior year, the now 6-foot 5-inch, 290-pound Chung was named All-Big East Conference (First Team) and a Football Writers’ Association All-American. He would become Virginia Tech’s first offensive player to be chosen as a first-round NFL pick.

Chung was drafted by the New England Patriots in 1992 as the 13th selection overall. Despite a difficult start to his rookie season—the sudden loss of his father, contract difficulties, and a hip injury—he started 30 out of 32 games in his first two years with the Patriots. Chung played for a total of five seasons in the NFL: three with New England (1992–1994), one with the Jacksonville Jaguars (1995), and one with the Indianapolis Colts (1997). In 2008, Chung was inducted into the Virginia Tech Sports Hall of Fame. He has stayed involved with football, and is currently on the coaching support staff for the Philadelphia Eagles.

Andrea Y. Kwon

See also Korean Americans

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Churches and Ethnic Identity

The tensions between Asian ethnic identity and the dominant culture have existed in the Asian ethnic church since the late nineteenth century when growing numbers of immigrants and converts necessitated the start of Asian-language churches. Other than a few on

the West Coast, the majority of Asian American churches existed in Hawaii at the turn of the century. Although the number of Asian-language churches grew in the early twentieth century, they faced increasing hostility during the interwar years when the Americanization crusade that began on the mainland to assimilate European immigrants spread to Hawaii where Chinese-, Japanese- and Korean-language churches and worship services were started in nearly every plantation.

For Chinese, Japanese, and Korean American Christians in Hawaii, a great deal of effort went into starting ethnic church that would become the benchmark of their immigrant experience. Although the church's primary function was religious in nature, the church was also the educational, social, and political epicenter of their community where English and ethnic language classes were taught, business networks and relationships were nurtured, community activism and mutual aid societies were organized, works of charity undertaken, and political action groups mobilized. But ethnic culture in the churches had its dissenting voices from the outside as well as within Asian communities that called for greater acculturation to American culture. The proponents of acculturation in Asian communities argued that ethnic churches stunted the process of assimilation and unnecessarily delayed the immigrants' adjustment to mainstream society, but ethnic church leaders contended that ethnic churches facilitated Americanization because of its assistance programs that taught them English and survival skills in a new country. Without the ethnic church that eased the harsh realities of rootlessness and alienation experienced by all foreigners who entered the United States, they argued, immigrants faced a greater sense of disengagement and demoralization.

During the interwar years, the children of Asian immigrants in Hawaii experienced the "100 percent Americanism" campaign that questioned the patriotism of their parents and Asian ethnic churches. Korean, Chinese, and Japanese language schools that sprouted across the plantations were closed under nativist pressure. For Japanese American Christians in particular, the painful experience as "enemy aliens" interned in camps during World War II made them acutely aware of the ways in which race and ethnicity

can question their loyalty and patriotism. After World War II, the forces of religious Americanization prevailed, but in the process the Americanization of ethnic churches has meant a distinct loss of the sense of creative initiative from a particular cultural context. For example, when many Japanese American churches ceased to exist as a separate organization and joined their mainline denominations, the cultural bonds that promoted local autonomy, culture-specific programs, and expressions of Japanese heritage dissipated. Responding to the pressure to Americanize, the First Korean Methodist Church in Honolulu, the first Korean American Protestant Church in the United States, dropped its ethnic name in 1965 and adopted the name Christ Methodist Church.

Interestingly, around the same time, President Lyndon B. Johnson signed the 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act that led to the unprecedented increase in Asian immigrants. Not long after the immigration law was enacted, the number of new Asian immigrants surpassed the population of Asian Americans before 1965. Subsequently, the number of Asian-language churches proliferated in a post-Civil Rights era when ethnic churches felt greater ease than in generations past to exercise their faith in an ethnic context. Asian immigrant churches of nearly every Asian nationality have thrived across America. In addition to the diversity of Asian ethnicities, the denominations within Protestantism have made for the cacophony of Asian ethnic churches, a collection that includes, as a small sampling, Calvary Hmong Alliance Church in Spartanburg, South Carolina, Indonesian Pentecostal Revival Fellowship in Pomona, California, Japanese American United Church in New York City; Vietnamese Evangelical Church of North Hollywood; and the First Burmese Baptist Church of San Francisco.

The prevalence of Asian ethnic churches of many denominations indicates not only the coalescence of ethnicity and faith but, more important, the enduring phenomenon of practicing faith within the language and context of an ethnic culture. In addition, the vast majority of Asian ethnic churches, like the Church of the Transfiguration in New York's Chinatown, the largest Chinese Roman Catholic congregation in the United States, hold services in multiple languages. Bridges Community Church in Fremont, California,

holds Sunday services in six languages: English, Mandarin, Cantonese, Filipino, Deaf, and Romanian. Korean immigrant have the largest number of churches among all Asian ethnic groups with 4,000—1,300 are in Southern California. Although most Asian immigrant churches remain small and medium in size, over thirty churches have more than a thousand members, a few reaching six thousand and above.

According to the 2008 Pew Forum Survey, 45 percent of Asian Americans are Christians with 27 percent identified as Protestant and 17 percent Catholic. With a significant portion of the Asian American population affiliated with Christianity, many second-generation Asian Americans cultivated their Christian faith in an Asian ethnic church. For example, former New York Knicks point guard Jeremy Lin grew up in Northern California where he and his family attended Chinese Church in Christ where services in both English and Mandarin are offered. The former secretary of commerce and later transportation, Norman Mineta, who as a boy was incarcerated in internment camps during World War II, attended Japanese Methodist Church in San Jose, California with his family and remained active in his ethnic church.

Among the more compelling traits of second-generation Asian American Christians is their religious participation during college. Scholars have shown the increasingly important role ethnicity has played in the identity formation of Asian American adolescents and college students. Among top-tier colleges, Asian American college students dominate Christian campus organizations. UC Berkeley has as many as 64 Asian American Christian organizations. Overall, 80 percent of evangelical Christian groups at UC Berkeley and UCLA are made up of Asian Americans. Among UCLA's many Asian American Christian groups, more than 10 are Korean American. At Yale University's Campus Crusade for Christ, an evangelical group for undergraduates, about 90 percent are Asian American. At Stanford, the InterVarsity Christian Fellowship (IVCF) has become almost entirely Asian American. IVCF, one of the largest parachurch organizations serving college campuses, created a separate ethnic ministry for Asian Americans because of their high number. Included among the 30-plus Asian

American chapters in IVCF is the Harvard-Radcliffe Asian American Christian; Jeremy Lin later credited his Harvard Christian Fellowship for deepening his faith journey.

Despite the compelling evidence of the importance of ethnicity to the faith formation of Asian Americans, some second-generation Asian American church leaders reject ethnicity in the life of their churches: they model themselves to the dominant, white Evangelicalism, a movement that has historically been reluctant to address or rectify racial issues. These Asian American churches maintain an ambivalent existence as an ethnic church that is resistant to assimilation yet vocally opposed to ethnicity. By their rejection of ethnic culture, they accelerate the process of assimilation and move the Asian American Christian community toward what a scholar called a "culturally *nonethnic*" church community, despite the desires of many to preserve aspects of their heritage.

K. Kale Yu

See also American Missionaries in Postwar Japan; Asian American Muslims; Asian Religions and Religious Practices in America; Athletes and Christianity; Buddhism in Asian America; Evangelicals and Korean American Community Formation; Evangelicals on the College Campus; Hindus in the United States; Lin, Jeremy; Mineta, Norman; Religion and Its Social Function in the Japanese American Community

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Clay, Bryan (1980–)

Bryan Ezra Tsumoru Clay overcame a dysfunctional childhood and athletic obscurity to become one of the greatest decathletes in Olympic history. Born in Austin, Texas, on January 3, 1980, to a Japanese American mother and an African American father, Clay and his family moved to Oahu when he was five. But Clay's parents divorced, and his mother, Michele, remarried when he was still in elementary school. Clay reacted negatively by getting into fights, neglecting his studies, stealing liquor from stores, experimenting with drugs, and even flirting with suicidal thoughts. It was not until he joined the Kailua Track Club, coached by Duncan Macdonald, a former Olympian who was once the American 5,000-meter record holder, that his life started to turn around. Clay found solace on the track

and, with Macdonald pushing him, he began to see his potential for athletic success. At James B. Castle High School, Clay was known for his versatility. He would often compete in six events each meet and, during his senior year, he won four gold medals and broke three records in the state track and field championships.

In his sophomore year at Castle, Clay attended a clinic on Maui and met Chris Huffins, the bronze medalist in the decathlon at the 2000 Olympics. Huffins persuaded him to consider the grueling event and introduced him to Kevin Reid, head coach at Azusa Pacific University. Clay went on to attend the university, a small Christian school that competed in the National Association of Intercollegiate Athletics (NAIA). There, he met his future wife, Sarah; and became a 23-time NAIA All-American, winning



U.S. athlete Bryan Clay competes in the men's decathlon 110 meters hurdles race in Goetzis, Austria, May 28, 2006. (AP Photo/Kerstin Joensson)

championships in the decathlon, pentathlon, and long jump. Around the same time, he also achieved a sense of peace in his personal life. He devoted himself to Christianity and, with the support of his stepfather, Clay began to reconnect with his biological father, Greg. In 2003, Clay graduated with a degree in social work and committed himself to the 2004 Athens Olympics under the tutelage of Reid, who still coaches him today. At the Olympic trials, he upset the defending world champion in the decathlon, Tom Pappas, as his entire family cheered from the stands.

Despite his stunning victory over Pappas, many experts believed that Clay, who stands just 5-feet-11 inches tall and weighs 174 pounds, was not even the best decathlete on the American squad at Athens. Still, he finished first in the 100-meter dash and the long jump, and second in the javelin and discus throws en route to a career-best score of 8,820 points—the second highest total ever by an American and fourth-best in Olympic history. Were it not for a record-setting performance by the Czech Republic’s Roman Sebrle, who finished with 8,893 points, Clay would have earned a gold medal instead of a silver. The two decathletes, who would go on to become close friends, squared off again at the 2005 World Championships in Helsinki. However, this time it was Clay who finished in first place, 211 points ahead of Sebrle.

In 2006, Clay captured the silver medal in the heptathlon at the World Indoor Track Championships in Moscow. But he left the arena disappointed by the fact that he led by 28 points headed into the final race, only to lose by five points. Clay’s momentum continued to slow in 2007, as injuries kept him out of the national and world championships. But 2008 proved to be a momentous year, starting with a gold-medal victory in the heptathlon at the 2008 World Indoor Championships in Valencia, Spain. Five months later, he put on a stunning athletic performance at the Beijing Olympics. Under the bright lights of the 91,000-seat stadium known as the Birds Nest, he endured two 11-hour days of competition and torrents of rain to win the decathlon in convincing fashion. Clay led the event from beginning to end, and even set a decathlon Olympic record in the discus with a throw of 176 feet and 5 inches. In addition, he finished first in the 100-meter dash and the long jump; second in the shot put and 110-meter

hurdles; and third in the pole vault and javelin throw. Clay, the shortest Olympic decathlon winner in history, earned a final score of 8,791 points, and his 240-point margin of victory over Andrei Krauchanka of Belarus was the largest since 1972. When the final race was over, Sebrle, the sixth-place finisher who once believed that Clay was too small to seriously compete in the event, approached his friend and raised his arm triumphantly in the air.

By winning the gold—and with it the unofficial title of “world’s best athlete”—Clay vaunted himself into exceptional company. His victory was the fifth overall for the United States in the event, and the first since Dan O’Brien starred in the 1996 Atlanta Olympics. Moreover, Clay’s two Olympics medals in the decathlon represent a feat that only a handful of his predecessors have achieved. *Track & Field News* subsequently named him the U.S. Athlete of the Year in 2008, and USA Track & Field (USATF) awarded him the Jesse Owens Award as the sport’s top athlete. Rather than rest on his laurels, Clay continued to compete at a high level. A hamstring injury derailed his hopes for a world title in 2009, but he bounced back with a strong 2010 campaign, winning the heptathlon at the World Indoor Championships as well as the decathlon in the combined events challenge known as the Hypo-Meeting. Though another hamstring injury prevented him from competing in the 2011 World Championships, Clay is healthy once again and training six days a week for an unprecedented third Olympic medal in the decathlon.

In addition to his track accomplishments, Clay has found time to give back to others. The Glendora, California, resident founded the Bryan Clay Foundation in 2005 to help children reach their personal potential and initiated a Walk for Wellness campaign to address national budget cuts in physical education and healthy living. For his efforts, he was named the 2011 Visa Humanitarian of the Year by USATF. When he is not working with his foundation or training, Clay enjoys spending time with his wife and three children. In 2012, he published an autobiography titled *Redemption: A Rebellious Spirit, a Praying Mother, and the Unlikely Path to Olympic Gold*.

Joe Udell

See also Japanese Americans

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Cohota, Edward Day (d. 1935)

Edward Day Cohota fought in the Union’s volunteer army during the Civil War and then served for 30 years in the regular army. Nevertheless, he was denied naturalization. Protesting, “I, if anyone, have earned the right to be pronounced a citizen of the United States,” he personally carried his fight to Congress (Pension Records).

Born near Shanghai, China, Cohota was taken to Gloucester, Massachusetts as a boy by Sargent S. Day, captain of the *Cohota*, who was retiring from the sea. Cohota and Day’s children referred to each other as brother and sister all their lives, and Cohota named two of his own for them. He was said to attend school, and he expressed himself well in letters as an adult. At his enlistment in the Twenty-Third Massachusetts Voluntary Infantry on February 12, 1864, however, Cohota made an X in place of a signature, and he gave his occupation as a seaman. Furthermore, Sargent Day signed a *Consent in Case of Minor* form, yet gave Cohota’s age as 18, and Cohota’s daughter Lucy wrote “15” in green ink above the “18” beside his name in the family’s copy of the regimental history.

As a soldier, Cohota proved both lucky and generous. He emerged from the dense fog and fierce fighting of Drury’s Bluff with seven bullet holes through his uniform but his skin unmarked. And at Cold Harbor,

where 7,000 Union soldiers fell in a single hour, his sole injury came from a minie ball that grazed his scalp, parting his hair permanently. In the same battle, Cohota saved the life of a severely wounded comrade, carrying him to the shelter of a rock shaded by trees, then returning after the fight was over and carrying him to an ambulance station in the rear.

At the war’s end, Cohota joined the regular army’s Fifteenth Infantry, Company H, and he continued to reenlist until 1894. Two years earlier, he’d been banished in disgrace from Fort Sheridan and sent to Fort Niobrara for selling liquor and keeping a gambling house. Cohota was open about his gambling, telling a reporter for the *Chicago Tribune* he’d won \$1,400 placing wagers on the successful Republican candidate for president in 1890. Moreover, he intended to claim the citizenship he’d earned as a Civil War veteran after he returned to civilian life, “and when I feel like voting I would like to see Dennis Kearney try to deny me my right.”

Settling in Lincoln, Nebraska, Cohota voted in six elections before he was challenged and a judge ruled that exclusion barred him from citizenship. His attempts to have the case reconsidered failed despite the sympathy of Nebraska’s assistant attorney general. So he sought the help of Nebraska’s senator, who agreed to intercede on his behalf. When nothing happened, Cohota traveled to Washington and appealed directly to his representative in the House, who brought the matter to the chairman of the immigration committee. “The representative looked through the laws in a sympathetic endeavor to find some statute that would permit the Chinaman to claim citizenship and give him the right of franchise, but could find none” (*Washington Post*).

Even after these denials, Cohota apparently harbored no bitterness toward America. As an old man living in the Battle Mountain Sanitarium for Veterans in Hot Springs, South Dakota, he would frequently go outside at flag-down and stand uncovered and at attention to demonstrate his reverence and respect.

Cohota died on November 18, 1935. A Master Mason, his last rites were performed at his burial in Valentine by the Minnechadusa Lodge No. 192 two days later.

Ruthanne Lum McCunn

See also Bunker, Christopher Wren and Bunker, Stephen Decatur; Cao Zishi; Chang and Eng (The Siamese Twins); Chinese in the U.S. Civil War; Dardelle, Antonio; Lai, Him Mark; Pierce, Joseph; Sylvanus, Thomas; Tomney, John; Woo, Hong Neok

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College Students

Today, Asian American college students are in a different place. With academic success has come a sense of increased social acceptance and assimilation as well as socioeconomic mobility. Unlike previous generations, Asian American college students have greater access and increased opportunity. And yet they still face a number of limitations. Even though college is a space imagined to be full of freedom and opportunity, many Asian American students continue to negotiate expectations from family and society with their own aspirations. Even in a supposed post-racial moment, Asian American students cannot escape racialization. As a result, Asian American college students wrestle with dilemmas and tensions that are a result of conflicting meanings of higher education and fluctuating levels of significance of Asian American racial identity.

Educational Attainment

Currently, Asian Americans are the fastest-growing racial minority group in U.S. higher education. Between 1995 and 2005, Asian American enrollment increased by 37 percent with more than 1 million in college. By 2006, 61 percent of Asian Americans between the ages of 18 and 24 were enrolled in college. This compared with 44 percent of white, 32 percent of African

Americans, and 25 percent of Hispanics and American Indians. Asian Americans also have the largest percentage of adults with a bachelor’s degree or more education. In 2008, 53 percent of Asian Americans ages 25 and older had a bachelor’s degree or higher level of education. This compares with 33 percent for non-Hispanic whites, 20 percent for blacks, and 13 percent for Hispanics.

Because of statistics such as these, universal academic success for Asian Americans is widely assumed. The diversity within the Asian American racial category and wide variations among students’ experiences, however, are often overlooked. For instance, when data is disaggregated, Asian American educational achievement is actually bimodal in nature with both high rates of college completion and low rates of high school retention. Significant differences also exist among achievement rates for different Asian ethnic groups. In 2006, 69 percent of Asian Indians ages 25 and older had a bachelor’s degree or higher education. By contrast, 26 percent of Vietnamese Americans 25 and older had a bachelor’s degree or more education.

There are also significant differences among the types and locations of institutions of higher education that Asian Americans attend. For example, in the University of California (UC) system, Asian Americans are the largest, single racial group, comprising the highest percentage among racial groups on the majority of 9 undergraduate campuses. In the fall of 2006, Asian Americans comprised approximately 46 percent of the incoming freshmen class at UC Berkeley, 43 percent at UC Davis, 43 percent at UCLA, and 56 percent at UC Irvine. Other elite, private universities also had significant Asian American freshmen enrollment: Stanford, 24 percent; Harvard, 18 percent; and MIT, 27 percent. Although a number of Asian Americans do attend elite colleges and universities, they also have high levels of enrollment at two-year institutions. In fact, more than 40 percent of Asian American students in U.S. higher education attend community colleges. Asian American enrollment in two-year community colleges is increasing at a faster rate (73 percent) than their enrollment in four-year private (53 percent) and public (42 percent) institutions. Asian American college enrollment is also concentrated in particular geographic locations. In 2000,

two-thirds of Asian Americans enrolled in college attended schools in only eight states.

Issues and Challenges

Behind the veil of Asian American educational success are a number of other stories. High levels of Asian American enrollment on certain campuses, relative to the overall Asian American population, have caused Asian American students to be frequently viewed as “over” represented. This “over” representation, in turn, has led to instances of institutional discrimination. During the 1980s, controversy emerged regarding Asian admissions at top universities, including UC Berkeley, Brown, Stanford, Princeton, and Harvard. When Asian American enrollment noticeably decreased on these campuses, questions were raised about changes to admissions policies. Investigations at several of these campuses produced mixed findings ranging from the unfair implementation of racial quotas to admissions’ criteria adjustments that happened to result in lowered acceptance rates of Asian American students. Incidents such as these compel Asian American leaders to remain vigilant regarding institutional decisions that have the potential to negatively impact Asian Americans’ access to higher education.

Incidents such as these also highlight the peculiar position that Asian Americans have in higher education. Although they are viewed as “over” represented, higher education has been and continues to be primarily defined by black and white experiences. Thus, Asian Americans remain peripheral. They are the “wild card” in the racial politics of higher education, used (or not) in arguments for and against issues such as diversity, affirmative action, and educational achievement. And because Asian American college students are assumed to be doing well on their own, they are also invisible. Their voices, issues, and needs are often overlooked by university administrators, faculty, and staff as well as education researchers.

The invisibility of Asian American college students also obscures the dilemmas and tensions with which they wrestle on an individual level. Although they bring a myriad of expectations—expectations of college life, what they will do, and who they will

become—Asian American college students must negotiate personal aspirations with expectations from community and family, particularly parents. This is often the case with students’ choices of academic majors and career paths. A number of Asian American students tend to choose majors which lead to jobs that are understood to be stable and lucrative. It is more common for the children of recent immigrants to choose these paths; these choices often stem from feelings of obligation for what their parents have sacrificed on their behalf. Some Asian American students only receive support from parents, including financial assistance, if they pursue a career path that the parents deem acceptable. Other students find ways to compromise by choosing majors and career paths that are less desirable for their parents, though still acceptable, yet more in line with the students’ abilities or interests. In fact, many Asian American students must renegotiate their expectations and aspirations when they meet the realities of college life. They find that classes in certain fields are more difficult than they originally anticipated, or discover interests and passions in completely different fields. These processes of negotiating expectations further underscore the complexities and varieties of Asian American college students’ experiences.

On-Campus Clubs, Organizations, and Resources

When Asian American students enter college, they gain new freedoms and opportunities. For many of them it is their first experience living apart from family. Quite often, students enter college without established social circles and are able to choose with whom they will and will not associate. Colleges and universities are different from a number of other social institutions in that there is significant emphasis on diversity, particularly racial diversity. Many campuses have student populations that are far more the diverse than the neighborhoods from which students come. However, racially diverse student populations do not necessarily result in interracial interactions. In fact, there is a tendency for students in multiracial settings to prefer and develop close associations with same-race peers. Same-race living arrangements, campus clubs and organizations, fraternities and sororities,

peer groups, and even dating patterns are often the norm on campuses with multiracial student populations. And it is not uncommon for a majority of on-campus clubs and organizations to be race- or ethnic-specific. At the same time, debates continue to exist over whether participation in same-race organizations, clubs, and peer groups is counterproductive to diversity efforts or whether it is still a necessity for students' well-being.

Even though Asian American college students may explore their individual freedoms and engage in self-discovery, they are often pulled toward a variety of group identities. Although some Asian American students prefer to engage in diversity and socialize with students from a variety of racial backgrounds, others prefer to socialize with other Asians. However, as students attempt to assimilate or engage in racial diversity, they frequently find that there is a limit to their integration and difference is maintained along the lines of race.

Reasons for separation along racial lines are still widely debated. These tendencies have been attributed to the particular stage of racial identity development that Asian American students are in during their college years. Another possible reason for the tendency of Asian American students to primarily socialize with other Asian Americans is the need to validate their perspective as racial beings and create spaces for resisting stereotypes. And a third reason for the appeal of same-race peer groups is students' assumptions that shared race automatically means similar cultures, backgrounds, experiences, and perspectives. Students tend to search for spaces that are comfortable and safe. Many Asian American students find these safe spaces among other Asian Americans because shared race is often assumed to mean shared bonds.

The need for "safe spaces"—spaces in which Asian American students feel as though they belong—has also led to the creation of formal spaces on campus to help support these students. Asian and Asian American resource centers are a common form of institutionalized space for Asian Americans. Resource centers offer Asian American students a physical space in which to organize and socialize. At several colleges and universities, there are also Asian American-themed residence halls. This housing option is

available to any student, no matter their race, but tends to attract Asian and Asian American students as well as students who are interested in Asian American cultures and issues.

Although some efforts have been made to support Asian American college students, one important area that remains insufficiently addressed is that of mental health services for Asian Americans on campus. Because Asian American students are often perceived as doing well, little attention is given to their emotional and mental well-being. This is problematic because they must deal with a number of issues, such as significant pressures from family or racial discrimination, on their own.

Offering much needed support to students are Asian American Studies programs and departments. The field of Asian American Studies and a number of institutionalized departments and programs are one result of a larger moment, led by college students and faculty, to make education relevant to students of color and to address and meet the needs of their communities. Asian American Studies programs and departments continue to be a key space for Asian American college students to learn about and examine Asian American experiences and issues. It is also a space in which Asian American identities are affirmed and explored. Currently, there are over 50 U.S. colleges and universities that have Asian American Studies departments and programs, the majority of which were created as a result of student protests that spanned the last four decades. The struggle for institutional support and resources is ongoing, though the viability of Asian American Studies programs and departments is largely based on their ability to remain relevant to the issues and needs of shifting Asian American demographics.

Racial Identity Formation

College is an important space for the formation of Asian American students' racial identities. Asian American students enter higher education with a range of views about themselves, other people, and the world they live in. They come to college with racial identities and perspectives on race that have been shaped by their families, peer groups, and communities. Still,

many Asian American students find that their racial identity becomes increasingly salient during college and must negotiate how and with whom to identify.

In this transitional moment, higher education serves multiple purposes for Asian Americans. On the one hand, college is a space in and through which Asian Americans can re/make themselves. This works particularly well because meanings of higher education lend themselves to such purposes. College is already viewed as a key space for students to explore various opportunities and discover who they want to be and what they want to do. It is a site of strategic navigation as students make sense of what is possible. On the other hand, higher education remains a persistent socializing tool through which the racial status quo, including ideas of Asian Americans as a racial “other,” is perpetuated. Even with the institutional changes over the years that have often come as a result of struggles (including increased emphasis on diversity, addition of ethnic studies, and other provisions for racial minorities), students of color continue to be racialized. Behind the discourse of freedom, opportunity, and possibility, Asian American students cannot escape racialization. The dominant perception of Asian Americans as a “model minority” is emphasized and perpetuated in this context. And their status of racial “other” remains.

Throughout college, Asian American students experience a disconnect between simultaneous freedoms and limitations. At times, their racial identity seems to be irrelevant. They can engage in diversity, and being Asian American seems to have little bearing on their lives. In these instances, Asian American racial identity is understood to be more of a personal choice and a cultural activity than a social reality. There are times, however, when their racial identities are inescapable. Asian American students can very quickly be relegated to the status of racial other. The contradictions of the discourse of diversity and their everyday experiences, of race not mattering but still very much mattering, must be managed by these students.

As a result of the multiple functions of higher education, Asian Americans emerge from college with a variety of views on and understandings of Asian American racial identity and its importance. Much of their college (and pre-college) experiences suggest that race does not or should not matter. Multicultural or

homogeneous perspectives perpetuated through K-12 schooling, diversity rationales in higher education, and current discourse surrounding higher education (i.e., freedom, possibility, moving beyond race) all indicate that Asian American students have the ability and opportunity to reposition themselves. And yet these students are still racialized, some more intensely than others. Asian American college students continue to be positioned (or repositioned) in ways that bring about uncertainties and dilemmas regarding the importance and meaning of their racial identities. Many of these students emerge from college viewing their racial identity as a choice, a cultural choice at that, even if their everyday experiences and interactions tell a different story. As such, Asian American college students’ experiences and the dilemmas with which they must wrestle offer insight into what is possible for their lives—who they will become and what they will do—as well as a window into the flexibility and trajectory of Asian American racial identity.

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See also Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders (AAPIs) in Higher Education; Evangelicals on the College Campus

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Comfort Women

On December 14, 2011, CNN captured elderly Korean women (also referred to as *halmoni*) protesting with fists raised and, among them, younger Koreans standing in solidarity in front of the Japanese Embassy in South Korea. These women protested at their "1,000th rally for justice" and are not just any elderly Korean women; they are "comfort women." In 1992, surviving comfort women in Korea organized and began protesting every Wednesday in front of the Japanese Embassy, requesting that the Japanese government formally apologize for the war crimes that were committed against them. They continue to protest and to date only 63 Korean women of a total of the 1,000 women around the world are alive to testify about the war crimes against them that occurred in the first-half of the twentieth century. Who are these women, what story is it that they invoke and tell, and why do they matter to an Asian American community?

Comfort women have many names. In Japan they are referred to as *Jūgun ianfu*, which translates to comfort women. In Korean, *Chōngshindae* translates to "Women's Volunteer Labor Corps" illustrating the coercive elements of their recruitment—recruited *Chōngshindae* assumed they would work in Japanese factories. They are also referred to as *Halmoni* (grandmother) as a form of respect. And, similarly in the Philippines, they are referred to as *Lolas* (grandmothers). In English, including the Japanese translation of Comfort women, they are referred to as "sex slaves" because of the mass mobilization that began in South Korea and Japan to raise awareness surrounding the exploitation of the comfort women system. It is estimated that anywhere from 20,000 to 400,000 women and girls from Korea, Taiwan, the

Philippines, Indonesia, Okinawa, East Timor, and Guam were recruited as comfort women into wartime sexual slavery by the Japanese military. The Japanese government listed the women as military materials and a majority of the comfort women died in a life of sexual slavery, suggesting that there are no concrete numbers. It is estimated that a mere 25 percent to 35 percent of the total comfort women survived at the end of World War II.

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, recruitment of Japanese prostituted women, *Karayuki*, was a practice of the Japanese government. Japanese recruitment of comfort women that were not only Japanese, but women and girls from occupied territories, began during the Sino- and Russo-Japanese Wars (1894–1895, 1904–1905). But it was not until the Nanjing Massacre of December 1937 that the comfort women system became a full-scale operation. In Shanxi, China, testimonies indicate that women and girls were both randomly raped as well as systematically prostituted in Japanese "comfort stations" or brothels. It is estimated that Korean women and girls made up 80 to 90 percent of those recruited to be comfort women and they were primarily from Kyongsang and Cholla Provinces, although not exclusively from these regions. Stereotypes of Korean values surrounding chastity and Confucianism led the Japanese government to believe that Korean women were ideal for the Japanese militarized prostitution because they were less likely to have venereal diseases. During World War II and the Japanese occupation in the Asia-Pacific, the Japanese government did not recruit Japanese prostituted women for military use in large numbers because of the fears of spreading venereal diseases. Starting in 1938, Taiwanese women and girls were recruited; however, soon after the outbreak of war in the Asia-Pacific (1941) with Japan's invasion of the Philippines, Singapore and Indonesia, Filipina *Lolas*, Dutch, and Indonesian women and girls would find themselves in systemic militarized prostitution as comfort women.

The experience for comfort women was one of exploitation. By 1941, Japanese government legislation was enacted requiring that the age of the women and girls recruited be between the ages of 14 years to 45 years old, also conveying that virgins were

preferred. Comfort women were primarily 18 years old or younger, with the youngest documented at eight years old. Women and girls were deceived into sexual slavery when they were told they would work in factories. Some were kidnapped, sold off by their families, and others were runaways escaping abuse in the home that made them vulnerable to recruitment. Regardless of how they arrived at the Japanese Comfort Stations, testimonials suggest that comfort women experienced institutionalized rape, physical and psychological abuse, torture, and in many cases death. The experience for comfort women at these stations was diverse; they varied from complete isolation to less isolation, but violence was a normalcy for all. Many of the women and children died as comfort women servicing countless numbers of men; on average, they were expected to serve for two years. For those that survived they live with the physical markers of scars and disfigurement from rape and other forms of physical torture, venereal disease including gonorrhea and syphilis, the inability to give birth, as well as posttraumatic stress disorder and other mental disorders from rape and head traumas that they accrued as military comfort women.

The development of the comfort women movement as a transnational human rights initiative began in the 1980s and has largely occurred through the work of survivors who testified about their experiences. The Korean Council for the Women Drafted for Military Sexual Slavery in Japan (KCWDMSS) facilitated two important events: a public testimonial by Kim Hak-sun on August 1991 that was soon followed by the first class action suit against Japan by a Korean comfort woman survivor in December 1991. In January 1992, Japanese historian Yoshiaki Yoshimi found direct evidence of Japan's military role in managing the comfort stations in spite of Japan's continued silence surrounding wartime atrocities. Yoshimi described the comfort women's experience as a violation of human rights, sexual violence against women, racial discrimination, and discrimination against the impoverished. His work, built on the testimonies by former comfort women, fueled the ongoing global movement seeking redress for their abuse. In 1993, 18 Filipina former comfort women filed lawsuits against Japan. The public protests, testimonials by survivors, and lawsuits exposed to the United States and the world Japan's

war atrocities of sexual violence in spite of Japan's denial and its erasure from Japanese textbooks. This increasing visibility also led other survivors to come forward with such governmental and organizational support as the Taipei Women's Rescue Foundation (Taiwan, 1992); the Asia Center for Human Rights (Philippines, 1990s); the Task Force on Filipino Comfort Women (Philippines, 1992); the Washington Coalition for Comfort Women Issues (U.S., 1992); the establishment of a home for survivors in Korea, called The House of Sharing (1992); Lila-Pilipina (Philippines 1994); the Foundation for Japanese Honorary Debts (Netherlands 1994); the Violence Against Women in War Network (Japan 1998); the Shanghai Comfort Women Research Centre (China 1999); and Forum Komunikasi Untuk Perempuan Timor Loro-sa'e, or the East Timor Women's Communication Forum (East Timor 2000).

In response to the cry for redress and international organizing, a private group in Tokyo organized the Asian Women's Fund (1995) to make cash payments to surviving wartime sex slaves. The fund compensated a total of only 285 women (from the Philippines, South Korea, and Taiwan) who each received 2 million yen, at the time about \$17,800. A handful of Dutch and Indonesian women were also given payment. Many victims rejected payment from the Asian Women's Fund because it had come neither directly from the government nor was it accompanied by an official apology; the Japanese government continues to deny any legal responsibility for the comfort women and to compensate them directly. As the debates surrounding redress boiled in Asia, it was clear that by 1996, the movement had made its way to the Americas.

In 1996, the comfort women movement became more prominent in the United States through an international conference at Georgetown University titled, "The 'Comfort Women' of World War II: Legacy and Lessons" (September 30 to October 2, 1996). From its beginnings in the Americas and in Asia, Asian Americans have participated in the comfort women movement because of the numerous Asian Americans that identify with the issues directly impacting comfort women: the hypersexualization of Asian women and men, histories of colonialisms, U.S. expansion being linked to other histories of

violence, racism, and sexism, and the need for redress during and after wartime crimes. The kinds of engagement have ranged from hosting testimonies by surviving women, art exhibits such as the “Quest for Justice: The Story of ‘Comfort Women’ as Told Through Their Art,” community forums, academic conferences, and websites. Asian Americans are creatively writing about the comfort women, making art, and portraying this complex history through film and other visual media. Although these popular mediums have proved important for spreading awareness, it would not be until 2007 that the comfort women issue received attention from Asian Americans through legislative activism.

Asian Americans have participated in linking comfort women to the United States through the national policy campaign in the United States entitled 121 Coalition. This campaign has created mass visibility and participation by Asian Americans that started with a small listserv of friends. On January 31, 2007, U.S. Congressman Michael Honda (D-San Jose) introduced House Resolution 121 that was shepherded by House Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman, Tom Lantos. Titled, “Relative to the War Crimes Committed by the Japanese Military during World War II,” the Resolution urges the government of Japan to bring closure to the issue by formally issuing a clear and unambiguous apology for the atrocious war crimes committed by the Japanese military during World War II and immediately paying reparations to the victims of those crimes. Michael Honda’s role in the HR 121 initiative illuminates the complexity in Asian American solidarities: Honda, a third-generation Japanese American, experienced Japanese internment for 14 months. HR 121 initiative is a national U.S. campaign galvanized by Asian Americans Annabel Park and Eric Byler. An initiative that started with small numbers, they created YouTube videos to help mobilize the international movement via the Internet. Park best describes the ongoing tensions with the comfort women issue as being like the game of tug-of-war. On one side of the rope are those who struggle for justice and reconciliation for comfort women and on the other side are those who wish to forget. As the organizers made progress through community educational forums and visiting

campuses across the United States, the movement took a quick turn on March 1, 2007, when Prime Minister Shinzo Abe publicly stated that there was “no evidence” of the comfort women and, therefore, nothing to apologize for. Abe’s statement was accompanied by the placement of an ad in the *Washington Post* by 45 Japanese lawmakers and a number of intellectuals stating the House Resolution 121 distorted the truth. Major news media, including the *New York Times*, criticized Abe’s comments, which in turn solidified international support for the comfort women. The non-binding resolution was passed on July 30, 2007. The U.S. passage of House Resolution 121 led to similar adoptions in the European Parliament, Canada, and the Netherlands.

Sixty-plus years after the violence was committed the comfort women have yet to hear an official apology from the Japanese government. In 2011, Japanese Prime Minister Yoshihiko Noda’s statements continue to mirror the same denial of his predecessors, stating that the issue is “legally resolved” where a bilateral treaty between Japan and South Korea signed in 1965 rendered the issue settled. In spite of the adversity to acknowledge the crimes against them, the Korean comfort women stood together at their 1,000th protest to fight against the forgetting of the war crime atrocities they experienced. Many young people stood with them in this protest. Such imagery of solidarity illustrates that even though the comfort women will die with the passage of time, their testimonial narratives will continue to live on in the next generation of people seeking justice. And, Asian Americans are making the connections of how the comfort women experience is not just an issue of the past. Although Japanese occupation of Korea ended with the close of World War II, modern version of comfort women stations continue to persevere in U.S. military camptowns both in South Korea and around the world. Women and girls continue to be exploited through prostitution, including those who are coerced and trafficked, in the shadows of military bases.

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See also Korean Americans; Korean Immigrant Women in America

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Committee of 100 (C-100)

The Committee of 100 (C-100) is an influential and one-of-a-kind Asian American organization that takes pride in the bicultural background of its small but effective troop of elite members, who have employed their personal connections and resources to help collectively inform and improve U.S.-China relations and address important issues concerning the Chinese American community. Headquartered in New York City and with a regional office in Hong Kong, this nonprofit, nonpartisan, and highly selective organization has played a key and indispensable role in the formulation of a mutually constructive U.S.-China policy since its founding. It has also contributed over the years to the promotion of public education, leadership development, and social justice for the advancement of Chinese and other Asian Americans.

The origin of C-100 can be traced back to the Tiananmen Square bloodshed in June 1989 when a need to coordinate Chinese American responses to the American media and public officials about events in China became evident. World-renowned architect I. M. Pei, cellist Yo-Yo Ma, corporate investor Henry Tang, General Motors executive Shirley Young, physics professor Chien-Siung Wu, and investment bank Oscar Tang, along with 37 other concerned Chinese Americans with distinguished backgrounds, were

founding members. The group held its first conference to establish bylaws and articles of incorporation in New York in 1990. Its twofold mission is to help foster stronger ties between the United States and the Greater China and to facilitate the full participation of Chinese Americans in all aspects of American life. Despite the namesake, the organization currently has about 150 members; all are U.S. citizens of Chinese descent who have achieved positions of leadership in a broad range of professions including fine arts, business, academia, public service, and the sciences. In 2010, five of the six cofounders named above are still actively serving on the governing board.

C-100 was founded at an auspicious time when the world was on edge with the actions and decisions made by the Chinese government. Because its members were in close contact with key figures on all sides of the China-Taiwan-U.S. relations, the organization was able to deliver what normal diplomatic channels could not. Individual members would meet with Chinese officials privately to raise issues and the organization sent its first official delegation to China and met with top leaders in Beijing and Taipei on the same trip in 1994. The purpose of this and other delegations was to help broaden perspectives and improve relations between the United States and Greater China by fostering mutual understanding of the politics, policies, and peoples in both nations.

As Americans familiar with both cultures, members often play the role of a “cultural ambassador” to encourage the exchange of ideas and perspectives with decision-makers on both sides of the Pacific Ocean. In 1993, the organization commissioned its first of a series of public opinion surveys gauging American attitudes toward China. In both 1996 and 1998, C-100 presented position papers on China policy to the Clinton Administration advocating the principle of “seeking common ground, while respecting differences” that stressed diplomacy over confrontation, frequent exchanges to enhance mutual understanding, and a focus on areas of common concerns rather than disagreements. On the eve of the Hong Kong transition from the British to the Chinese rule in 1997, C-100 released a binational public opinion survey and orchestrated a national outreach campaign to temper the highly negative U.S. media coverage of the transition.

In both 2001 and 2009, the organization commissioned national opinion polls of American attitudes toward Chinese and Asian Americans and shared the results with Chinese and American leaders. Beginning in 2006, the organization also established endowment funds and issued its first grant of C-100 Leadership Scholarships to outstanding students and scholars at several universities in China.

On the domestic front, C-100 works to promote the full participation of Chinese and Asian Americans in all areas of American life, especially in the political process. In 1992, it joined the first-time effort with other Asian American organizations to invite the three presidential candidates to address issues of Asian American underrepresentation in political appointments and the need for equal protection of their civil rights. In 1995, the organization secured a rare on-air apology from a major U.S. television network over accusations that all Chinese in America could be spies. It also worked with other Asian American organizations to ensure equal justice for Air Force Captain Jim Wang, who had been the only officer charged in a friendly fire incident in Iraq. During the reelection campaign of President Clinton in 1996, when a handful of immigrant Chinese Americans were charged of political contribution improprieties, C-100 took a strong stance in the campaign finance controversy protesting the use of innuendo by 12 major media and network news organizations and congressional committees to implicate all Chinese and Asian American donors. In 1999 when Taiwan-born nuclear scientist Dr. Wen Ho Lee was fired from his position at the Los Alamos National Laboratory, the organization spearheaded a campaign with 15 other Asian American organizations to collectively raise national awareness of the denial of due process to Dr. Lee.

To help counter the generally negative images of the Chinese in American history and society, C-100 members helped secure funding for a three-part PBS series “Becoming American: The Chinese Experience” that aired in spring 2003. It also established the C-100 Cultural Institute in 2000 (which became the U.S.-China Cultural Institute in 2006) to promote cross-cultural understanding through arts and education exchanges. Meanwhile, it also partnered with the Asia Society to increase the knowledge of China and

Asia in the curriculum of K-12 education and to highlight Chinese American philanthropy in several major publications. C-100 members also discussed with leaders in government, education, and the business community on issues such as education, employment, the glass ceiling, and ethnic profiling.

Through these multipronged and persistent efforts, and with its unique membership network and resources, the Committee of 100 has built an informal bridge between the United States and Greater China and become a voice in shaping U.S.-China policy. It has also provided a forum and means for addressing civil rights issues facing Chinese and Asian Americans.

Pei-te Lien

See also Lee, Wen Ho; Pei, I. M.; Wu, Chien-Shiung

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Concentration Camps

See American-Style Concentration Camps

Conger, Hank (1988–)

Widely considered a solid catching prospect for the American League's Los Angeles Angels, Hank Conger is a son of Korean immigrants. Born in Federal Way, Washington in 1988, Conger's real name is

Hyun Choi, but he became known as Hank in honor of his favorite ballplayer—the great Hank Aaron. Conger's family eventually moved to Southern California, where he not only starred at Huntington Beach High School but gained the attention of Major League scouts. In 2006, the Angels drafted him in the first round.

Since then there has been little mysterious about minor league pitching for Conger. From the Rookie League to Triple A organizations, Conger has put together a solid .294 batting average since 2006. In 2010, he appeared in 13 games for the Angels. However, Major League pitching has proved more baffling for Conger who has only a .172 batting average. Still, at 22, Conger has plenty of time to show his major league worth at baseball's most challenging position.

Joel S. Franks

See also Korean Americans

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Contemporary Filipino American Communities

See Filipino American Communities (Contemporary)

Contemporary Japanese American Communities

See Japanese American Communities (Contemporary)

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D

Dalai Lama

See Tenzin Gyatso (14th Dalai Lama)

Dandekar, Swati (1951–)

Swati Dandekar is a member of the Iowa Utilities Board and former Iowa state legislator. She became the first Asian American person elected to the Iowa state legislature in 2002 and served in the House of Representatives until 2008. Dandekar then served in the Iowa State Senate from 2009 until her appointment to her current position on the Iowa Utilities Board.

Dandekar was born in Nagpur, India on March 6, 1951. She earned a bachelor's degree in Biology and Chemistry from Nagpur University in 1971, and a postgraduate diploma in Dietetics from Bombay University in 1972. In 1973, Dandekar and her husband, Arvind, immigrated to the United States and settled in Cedar Rapids, Marion, Iowa. She became a naturalized citizen in 1996.

A mother to two sons, Ajai and Govind, Dandekar began her community involvement through her involvement in their education. After serving as president of the Parent Teachers Organization, friends convinced her to run for office on the Linn-Mar School Board, where she served as a member from 1996 to 2002. In 2002, Dandekar won election to the Iowa House of Representatives by campaigning on the issues of education, quality health care, renewable energy, and economic growth. She was reelected in 2004 and 2006.

In 2008, Dandekar ran for the Iowa State Senate seat representing the 18th District. As a state senator, she served as chair of the Commerce Committee, vice chair of the Economic Development Budget Subcommittee, and was a member of the Economic Growth/Rebuild Iowa, Transportation, and Ways and Means committees. In 2011, Dandekar was elected president of the National Foundation of Women Legislators.

On September 19, 2011, Republican Governor Terry Brandstad appointed Dandekar to the Iowa Utilities Board (IUB) and cited her science training and experience with the utility industry and the energy needs of Iowa as factors in her appointment. Dandekar's term on the IUB runs through April 30, 2015. Her resignation from the State Senate following appointment to the IUB threatened the Democratic Party's slight lead (26–24) in the Iowa State Senate. Democrat Liz Mathis won in a November 2011 special election to fill the seat vacated by Dandekar to maintain Democratic control of the Senate.

Dandekar currently serves as a member of the National Association of Regulatory Utility Commissioners (NARUC), the NARUC Committee on Telecommunications, and the Committee on International Relations, the IUB representative to the Advisory Council of the Iowa Energy Center in Ames, and a voting member of the North American Numbering Council (NANC). She is also part of the advisory board of the National Science Foundation's Experimental Program to Stimulate Competitive Research (EPSCoR).

Swati Dandekar has won many awards from her work, including recognition from community groups and news organizations. She has been named "Person

of the Year” by *India Abroad* (2002), the Asian Alliance of Iowa (2003), and *AsianWeek* (2008).

Katie Furuyama

See also Political Representation

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Dardelle, Antonio (d. 1933)

Antonio Dardelle’s name and features suggest he was of mixed race, but he always identified as Chinese and gave Canton as his place of birth. Dardelle (also Dardell or Dordelle) served in the American Civil War. Despite the strictures of exclusion, he secured naturalized citizenship and became politically active.

Brought to Connecticut as a boy of seven by Captain and Mrs. David White, Dardelle had limited schooling and was working as a servant in the couple’s New Haven household in 1860. At his enlistment on August 23, 1862, he was apprentice to a tinsmith in Clinton. The Twenty-Seventh Connecticut Voluntary Infantry, Company A, a nine-month regiment formed by the New Haven Grays, fought in three major battles, and Dardelle claimed he was severely injured in his right shoulder at Marye’s Heights during the Battle of Fredericksburg. But according to his military records, he spent almost his entire service sick in various hospitals. More soldiers were felled by sickness than in battle and Dardelle’s comrades apparently did

not consider him a malingerer because he was welcome at his regiment’s annual reunions. He was also an active, lifelong member of the New Haven Grays and frequently attended meetings of the Grand Army of the Republic, Post #17, officially joining on July 16, 1892.

Although Dardelle served his apprenticeship in Clinton, he established himself as a tinner and plumber in New Haven; over the decades, he expanded his business to dealing with stoves and ranges, jobbing for manufacturers, and contracting. His earnings supported a family of six as well as a summer home in Madison, so he clearly did not need the veteran’s pension of \$12 a month, but he applied for it in 1907. Initially denied, he was then paid the amount due a much younger man because he could not prove his year of birth, which he gave as 1844. Going by this date, Dardelle stopped working at the age of 81.

He petitioned for—and was granted—citizenship as a discharged veteran on October 22, 1880. Subsequently an ardent worker for the Republican Party in the ward where he made his home, Dardelle also joined the Young Men’s Republican Club, a popular organization for Republicans who were not so much young as forceful and vigorous. Perhaps because of his political activity, he enjoyed the friendships of many prominent men, including two state governors.

As an apprentice in Clinton, Dardelle became a candidate for Freemasonry, and within a year of his acceptance in the Jephtha Lodge No. 95 in 1864, he was appointed Tyler, a position akin to a guard or sergeant. He became affiliated with the Wooster Lodge No. 79 in 1882.

When Dardelle died of pneumonia on January 18, 1933, the New Haven Grays sent a delegation to his funeral. His will, written the year before, stipulated that his Lodge, *not* his family, should take charge of the service and provide the chaplain and pallbearers. Furthermore, outside of \$1,000 to the Madison West Cemetery Association for perpetual care, his money was to be placed in trust for his three daughters so that none would become destitute. Upon the death of his last surviving daughter, the trust would terminate and the balance would be paid over to the Trustees of the Lodge—which, by 1971, came to nearly \$250,000.

Ruthanne Lum McCunn

See also Chinese Americans; Chinese in the U.S. Civil War

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Dawson, Toby (1978–)

Toby Dawson is an Olympic freestyle skier who won the bronze medal in mogul skiing in the 2006 Turin Winter Olympics. He is the first Asian American medalist in the Olympic sport of skiing. Dawson, from South Korea, was adopted by a couple in the United States and publicity around the Olympics brought attention to his adoption story. After the 2006 Olympics, Dawson was reunited with his birth father and became a household name in South Korea. He was a member of South Korea’s Winter Olympics Bid Committee in 2014 and 2018 and has become actively involved in the 2018 Pyeongchang Winter Olympics as a member of Winter Olympics Organizing Committee.

Dawson was born on November 30, 1978, in Pusan, South Korea, as Kim Bong-seok. At the age of three, he went missing during a trip to the market with his biological mother. His biological father claims to have searched for him by scouring orphanages for days to no avail. He ended up in an orphanage in circumstances that remain unclear and was adopted in 1981 by a ski instructor couple from Vail, Colorado, who renamed him Toby Dawson.

He began skiing at the age of four and landed a spot on the U.S. Ski Team at the age of 19. He was nicknamed “Awesome Dawson” for his fearless approach to technically difficult moves. He won a bronze medal in freestyle mogul skiing on February 15, 2006. After winning the medal, Dawson announced that he was retiring from skiing to pursue a professional career in golf.

During the 2006 Winter Olympics, NBC Sports featured a biographical vignette on Dawson featuring his quest to locate his birth parents. After he won the bronze medal and his story as a Korean adoptee was relayed in the South Korean media, over 100 people came forward claiming that he was their son. The Korean government agreed to help Dawson find his birth parents using DNA testing if he would agree to help the Korean Olympic Committee in its bid for the Winter Olympics. It was determined that one claimant, Kim Jaesu, was his biological father. He met his father and biological brother for the first time in a live television reunion a year after the Olympics on Wednesday, February 28, 2007. True to the genre, the reunion was a highly emotional and tearful event. Because his biological father blamed his biological mother for losing him and they had since divorced, she was not part of the reunion.

His story brought to light corruption with adoption processes in South Korea, and he pledged to start a foundation to prevent similar cases. His narrative is also part of the history of engagement by Korean adoptees with South Korea. Dawson has played the role of public relations ambassador for the Korea National Tourism Organization and took part in the 2014 and 2018 Pyeongchang Olympic Winter Games Bid Committee with the latter bid resulting in success. In November 2011, he agreed to become the freestyle moguls coach of Korea’s National Ski Team and to be part of the 2018 Pyeongchang Olympics Organizing Committee.

Rachel M. Joo

See also Korean Americans

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Dear Wing Jung v. United States of America (1962)

Dear Wing Jung (also known as Dear Kai Gay) arrived in San Francisco in December 1933, at the age of 10. He entered the United States as a paper son of Dear Bing Quong (also known as Dear Nay Lim), an alleged native-born United States citizen. Dear Wing Jung's biological father, Dear Nay Ting, had never set foot on American soil. But, Dear Wing Jung was able to claim derivative United States citizenship through his paper father, Dear Bing Quong. On December 6, 1933, Dear Wing Jung applied and shortly thereafter received his Certificate of Identity. This certificate served as proof that Dear Wing Jung was an American citizen.

The paper children phenomenon grew in the first half of the twentieth century in response to the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. The passage of this Act and subsequent amendments prohibited Chinese laborers from immigrating to the United States. The paper children system enabled Chinese merchants and native born Chinese Americans to bypass legal restrictions and bring young people from China to the United States as their own children. Each time a Chinese merchant or native-born Chinese American returned to the United States from China, he would report the number of children he fathered in China. The U.S. government compared these self reports against claims made by children trying to gain entry; the government hoped this comparison would reveal fraudulent relationships.

Each time the birth of a child was reported, an immigration slot was created. The majority of these births were reported as males, which meant that the majority of paper children were paper sons. When a father purchased a slot for his son, his son became the paper son of the man who sold the slot. If the paper father was a U.S. citizen, the paper son became United

States citizens by derivation of his paper father's citizenship. To create additional slots, many men reported more children than in actual existence.

The paper children method of immigration did not guarantee access to the United States. In fact, upon arriving in the port of San Francisco, Chinese newcomers faced lengthy interrogation about their family relations. To beat the interrogation, the paper children had to study and memorize coaching papers containing detailed information about their paper father and his family relations.

An unintentional consequence of the paper children system is that biological children of Chinese merchants and Chinese American citizens were also subjected to interrogations. If the biological children of Chinese merchants or U.S. citizens got the interrogation questions incorrect, they would also be detained or deported.

The paper family system rapidly grew following the 1906 San Francisco earthquake and subsequent fire. The fire engulfed the San Francisco Hall of Records and destroyed all of its contents. The Chinese seized this opportunity by claiming that they were born in the United States, thus making themselves eligible to bring family to the United States. To combat the document fraud the U.S. government implemented interrogations at the port of departure, in Hong Kong, starting in 1950. Thus, paper sons or paper daughters had to successfully pass interrogation twice.

Although the U.S. government learned about the intricate and vast expanse of the paper family system, it could not investigate every lead. So, they implemented the Chinese Confession Program. The program was first implemented in San Francisco in 1956, and by February 1957 had spread across the country. It encouraged paper sons and paper daughters to confess that they used false papers to gain legal entry into the United States. In return for their confessions, government officials sometimes promised to adjust their status in accordance with the Immigration Act of 1952. For the majority of paper children who confessed, they obtained adjusted legal status. However, some cases were more complicated as the guidelines of the Chinese Confession Program were ambiguous.

Many Chinese immigrants were coerced into confessing; others had family members who revealed their

paper identity. In Dear Wing Jung's case, his alleged aunt, Geraldine Chinn, testified that she had lied as a witness prior to Dear Wing Jung's admission into the United States and that her brother, Dear Bing Quong, asked her to lie. She disclosed that the real name of the paper son, using Dear Kai Gay's name, was Dear Wing Jung, and his true father's name was Dear Nay Ting. Geraldine Chinn's testimony was verified by Rosaline Fong and Dear Kai Ming's (daughter and son of Dear Bing Quong, respectively) testimonies.

In the 1950s, the U.S. government was on heightened alert to deport anyone affiliated with leftist organizations such as the Min Qing, a Chinese American Democratic Youth Club in San Francisco. Dear Wing Jung was a member of the Min Qing. His paper son status in conjunction with his leftist political affiliation singled him out for prosecution.

Dear Wing Jung's lawyer, Lloyd E. McMurray, was well aware of the government's actions. So, when the San Francisco Grand Jury indicted Dear Wing Jung on March 30, 1961, on three counts of fraud and conspiracy, his lawyer motioned to dismiss the indictment. McMurray argued that the only reason Dear Wing Jung was prosecuted was because of his affiliation with a leftist organization. By singling him out, it was discriminatory and a violation of Dear Wing Jung's freedom of speech and assembly under the First Amendment as well as a violation of his due process rights under the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution. McMurray asserted that the Chinese Confession Program was in reality a pretext to punish those who were members of leftist organizations. The motion was denied.

Thereafter, Dear Wing Jung pled not guilty to all three counts. Counts one and three were violations of Title 18 U.S.C. Section 1001. This code section punishes anyone who "... knowingly and willfully falsifies, conceals, or covers up by any trick, scheme, or device a material fact, or makes any false, fictitious or fraudulent statements ...". Dear Wing Jung was accused of providing false information about his name, parents, nationality, and privilege to enter and remain in the United States by posing as Dear Kai Gay. Count two charged him with violating Title 18 U.S.C. Section 371, which prohibits conspiracy against the U.S. government. Dear Wing Jung was accused of conspiring with his paper father, alleged aunt,

and others to defraud the U.S. government in the administration of immigration and naturalization laws.

Count three focused on the false information Dear Wing Jung provided, under oath, at the naturalization proceedings of Emmy Dear (also known as Chow Shoy Mun), his wife, on January 10, 1956.

In response to these charges, McMurray not only filed a motion to dismiss the case prior to trial, he also tried to dismiss the case during the trial without a jury. When the case was brought before United States District Court Judge Albert C. Wollenberg, McMurray motioned to dismiss on all three counts. Judge Wollenberg agreed to dismiss counts one and two as barred by the statute of limitations (the time for bringing an action had expired). Despite the arguments provided by McMurray, the court did not dismiss the third count. According to the court, the third count was easier to prove than the first count. McMurray also issued a *subpoena duces tecum* ordering the district director of the Immigration and Naturalization Services to appear and submit a list of organizations, regulations, instructions, directions, or other documents describing the procedure for placing or removing an organization for such lists. McMurray believed that the list would prove that Dear Wing Jung was discriminatively targeted because of his political affiliations. The court quashed the *subpoena duces tecum* because it believed any evidence used to prove that Dear Wing Jung was denied due process of law would be irrelevant. McMurray also faced setbacks when the court refused to review evidence that proved his client was specifically targeted for prosecution.

On October 24, 1961, Dear Wing Jung was found guilty. Following his conviction, McMurray tried one more time to argue that count three should have been dismissed. The court dismissed his motion in arrest of judgment (to suspend enforcement of a judgment). On December 15, 1961, Dear Wing Jung was sentenced to prison, but the court suspended the sentence for six months on condition that Dear Wing Jung leave the United States. Dear Wing Jung filed an appeal to the United States Court of Appeals, Ninth Circuit.

On appeal, Dear Wing Jung made many arguments, but the Ninth Circuit agreed with the Attorney General on every argument except for one. The Ninth Circuit found the sentence too harsh. Because the

government argued that Dear Wing Jung was not a United States citizen, his departure from the United States would leave him with no means of returning. Judge Magruder of the Ninth Circuit wrote, the sentence is “. . . equivalent to a ‘banishment’ from this country and from his wife and children, who will presumably remain here. This is either a ‘cruel and unusual’ punishment or a denial of due process of law. Be it one or the other, the condition is unconstitutional.” On December 27, 1962, the case was remanded back to the District Court for resentencing. On April 15, 1963, the District Court sentenced Dear Wing Jung to five years probation and a fine of \$500.

For paper sons awaiting trial, the case of Dear Wing Jung was a victory. If he was able to remain in the United States, so could they.

Jennifer J. Lee

See also Chinese Confession Program

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OpenJurist.com. <http://openjurist.org/312/f2d/73/dear-wing-jung-v-united-states>. Accessed December 9, 2012.

DeSoto, Hisaye Yamamoto (1921–2011)

Hisaye Yamamoto DeSoto was a master short story writer who submitted her first story for publication at the age of 14 and by age 27 had been published in a major literary magazine. Having had the self-described “addictive” experience of seeing her words in print at a young age, Yamamoto became a prolific writer with stories and essays in Japanese American and Japanese Canadian newspapers such as the *Rafu Shimpo* and *Hokubei Mainichi*, and literary magazines such as *Partisan Review*, *Arizona Quarterly*, and *Harper’s Bazaar*. Several of her short stories appeared on Martha Foley’s lists of Distinctive Short Stories for 1949, 1951, and 1960, and her story “Yoneko’s Earthquake” appears in *Best American Short Stories: 1952*. Her short stories—“Seventeen Syllables,” “The Legend of Miss Sasagawara,” and “Yoneko’s Earthquake”—have been widely anthologized and her work appears in *Speaking for Ourselves* (1969),

Aiiieeeee!: An Anthology of Asian American Writers (1975), *Charlie Chan Is Dead: An Anthology of Contemporary Asian-American Fiction* (1993), and the *Heath Anthology of American Literature*. Hisaye Yamamoto received a Before Columbus Foundation’s lifetime achievement award in 1986. Known for the precision of her prose and the understated emotion in her stories, Yamamoto’s work is a favorite among literary scholars and commonly taught in the college classroom. In 1991, an hour-long movie, *Hot Summer Winds*, was presented by Public Broadcasting’s American Playhouse; the movie was based on “Yoneko’s Earthquake” and “Seventeen Syllables.”

A second-generation Japanese American, Hisaye Yamamoto was born to Kanzo and Sae Tamaura Yamamoto, immigrants from Kuramoto, Japan, in Redondo Beach, California where the couple in the author’s words “eked out a living on the land” raising small profitable crops like strawberries. She had an older and a younger brother. Hisaye Yamamoto was raised speaking Japanese until she entered kindergarten. At the age of 14, she received her first rejection notice but she also began publishing in the *Japan California Daily News* (Kashu Mainichi). She was an avid reader and received her Associate of Arts degree in European Languages and Latin from Compton Junior College.

As was the case with over 110,000 Japanese and Japanese Americans during World War II, Hisaye Yamamoto and her family were forced from their home and placed into a War Relocation Authority internment camp in Poston, Arizona for the majority of the war. During her time in Poston, Yamamoto continued her writing, working as a reporter and publishing stories in the *Poston Chronicle*. She also became friends with playwright and short story writer Wakako Yamauchi. She was able to leave camp briefly to travel to Massachusetts to work as a cook, but then returned when her brother was killed when serving in Italy.

Following the family’s release from Poston, Hisaye Yamamoto returned to Los Angeles where, from 1945 to 1948, she worked as a reporter for the *Los Angeles Tribune*, an African American newspaper. Her experience inspired an autobiographical short story, “A Fire in Fontana.” In 1948, “The High Heeled Shoes, a Memoir,” a story about sexual harassment, was accepted for the *Partisan Review*, and she

published “Seventeen Syllables,” a story based on her mother’s experience, in 1949. Her artistic merit was recognized in 1950 with a John Whitney Hay Foundation Opportunity Fellowship, which allowed her to write full time and care for her son, Paul, who she adopted in 1949. Although Hisaye Yamamoto was offered an opportunity in 1953 to study at Stanford with Yvor Winters, who admired her work, Yamamoto instead moved to Staten Island to a Catholic community work farm founded by Dorothy Day and she wrote for the *Catholic Worker* from 1953 to 1955. In 1955, she married Antony DeSoto, an Italian American, and after the couple moved to Los Angeles she gave birth to four children: Kibo, Elizabeth, Anthony, and Claude. The couple’s courtship and relationship serve as the inspiration for her “Epithalamium” published in 1960. Very modest when asked about her writing, Yamamoto has noted that when asked she usually describes her occupation as a housewife.

A compilation of Hisaye Yamamoto’s work, *Seventeen Syllables: 5 Stories of Japanese American Life* was first published in Japan in 1985, and 15 of her stories, *Seventeen Syllables and Other Stories*, were published in the United States in 1988. Both collections were named after her trademark short story, “Seventeen Syllables,” which, in Yamamoto’s lyrical and economical prose, tells the story of a young girl who watches her mother’s struggle for artistic expression with an unsupportive and oppressive husband who only values the mother’s manual labor. Another popular short story, “Yoneko’s Earthquake,” also features a young girl who observes her mother’s troubled relationship with her father as she reaches adolescence. And a young female also narrates, “The Legend of Miss Sasagawara,” a story about a community’s reception of a new internee, a former dancer, and the dancer’s reaction to her incarceration.

Hisaye Yamamoto DeSoto died in Los Angeles on January 30, 2011, at the age of 89.

Emily Morishima

See also Japanese Americans

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Dinh, Linh (1963–)

Linh Dinh is a Vietnamese American poet, fiction writer, essayist, editor, translator, painter, curator, and photographer. He was born in Saigon in 1963 and came to the United States in 1975. Dinh started his early career as a painter after attending the University of the Arts in Philadelphia, but soon began to write and read his poems at literary venues. In 1991, he cofounded *The Drunken Boat*, a bimonthly art and literary journal, and received the Pew Fellowship in the Arts in 1993. He returned to live in Saigon in 1999, but moved back to the United States in 2001. He stayed in Certaldo, Italy, as a guest of the International Parliament of Writers from 2002 to 2004. In 2005, he moved to Norwich, England, as the David T. Wong Fellow at the University of East Anglia. He returned to Philadelphia as the 2006–2007 Fellow in Poetics & Poetic Practice at the University of Pennsylvania, and has since joined its faculty. He has been awarded a resident fellowship at the Doreen B. Townsend Center for the Humanities at University of California, Berkeley for 2012–2013.

Dinh’s works include two short story collections, *Fake House* (2000) and *Blood and Soap* (2004), as well as the novel *Love Like Hate* (2010), and he has published five books of poems: *Drunkard Boxing* (1998), *American Tatts* (2005), *Borderless Bodies* (2006), *All Around What Empties Out* (2007), *Jam Alerts* (2007), and *Some Kind of Cheese Orgy* (2009). Individual poems have also appeared in literary journals such as *The American Poetry Review*, *The Threepenny Review*, and *Manoa*. He is also the editor of the anthology, *Night, Again: Contemporary Fiction from Vietnam* (1996) and *Three Vietnamese Poets* (2001), and the translator of Phan Nhien Hao’s *Night, Fish and Charlie Parker* (2006). *Blood and Soap* was chosen by the *Village Voice* as one of the Best Books

of 2004, and his poems have appeared in Scribner's *Best American Poetry* series for 2000, 2004, and 2007, as well in many anthologies including *Watermark: Vietnamese Poetry and Prose* (1998), *Bold Words: A Century of Asian American Writing* (2001), *Great American Prose Poems from Poe to the Present* (2003), *Charlie Chan Is Dead 2: At Home in the World* (2004), *Black Dog, Black Night: Contemporary Vietnamese Poetry* (2008).

Often shockingly absurdist while being devastatingly realistic, his writing contains images that prompt visceral responses that have the forceful ability to defamiliarize. Yet his stories are not all confined to solipsistic alienation, as Susan Schultz (2005) has convincingly asserted: "As I read Linh Dinh I see manifestations of disgust in his poetry as paradoxical expressions of suffering: violence, poverty, degradation, and an odd empathy for those caught up in it. When the reader encounters an image that disgusts her, disgust becomes more than a child-like reaction to feces or vomit or blood, more an odd expression of empathy with one who suffers."

Playfulness, improvisation, and experimentation are central to Dinh's literary and nonliterary works. Dinh's 1994 exhibit "Toys and Incense," which he produced as a guest curator at the Levy Gallery at Moore College of Art and Design, was a reference and response to Arthur Rimbaud's playfulness in his question, "pourquoi pas déjà les joujoux et l'encens?" ("Why not toys and incense already?") The disruptiveness and playfulness of this exhibit lies at the heart of his writing, which is defined, as Marianne Villanueva (2008) observes, by "break[ing] accepted norms in an overt attempt to play with form." Dinh has discussed his writing process itself as "line by line," in the sense that he starts with a concept, an image, or a phrase that are imagined or encountered in real life and "improvise[s] from one line to the next, with one sequence of images or ideas suggesting subsequent ones."

Dinh's writing moves geographically and linguistically with ease between the spaces of Vietnam, the United States, and beyond. Dinh has named Louis-Ferdinand Céline, Franz Kafka, and Jorge Luis Borges as his literary influences. Dinh's short stories in *Fake House* seem to reflect Céline's dark sense of humor,

the grittiness of observations, and the willingness to engage with people. At the same time, some of the Kafka-esque stories, especially in *Blood and Soap*, also reflect a mind which resonates with the work of Borges, a writer who was known to have lived strictly through the world of books. Poets who influenced Dinh include César Vallejo, Henri Michaux, Wallace Stevens, John Ashberry, and Michael Palmer, besides Arthur Rimbaud. What is altogether original about Dinh's writing, however, is his global purview itself that can accommodate the wide range of trans-Atlantic artists he has embraced but always retain some critical distance from them.

Dinh's critical essays on the deteriorating current social and political landscape have been published in major newspapers like *The New York Times* and *The Guardian*, as well as in webzines including *CounterPunch*, *Common Dreams*, *Dissident Voice*, and *OpEd-News*, and it has also appeared in a recent essay collection, *Hopeless: Barack Obama and the Politics of Illusion* (2012). Dinh's current and ongoing project also displays a heightened awareness of severe realities symptomatic of the economic condition in the United States. The project, started in March 2009, has mostly found expression in his frequently updated photo blog, *State of the Union*, which includes over 3,100 photos and 50 essays. With aspirations akin to the WPA photographer Dorothea Lange, Dinh turns his gaze toward the underemployed, the dispossessed, and other marginal presences found in numerous tent cities of the homeless and other gritty cityscapes, resulting in photographs taken in over 20 cities, which include Detroit, Buffalo, Cleveland, New Orleans, and Atlanta: peddlers, protesters, public preachers, and prostitutes, casinos, and abandoned factories. Parts of this project were exhibited at the University of Pennsylvania's Brodsky Gallery in 2011 and are scheduled to be compiled by Kaya Press. The body of social commentary reflects a consistently remarkable quality of Dinh's integrity as an artist: the ability to draw his audience into an experience of his unflinching gaze at the often disturbing and brutal conditions of life, which just *is*.

Rei Magosaki

See also Vietnamese Americans

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Dīpāvalī

Dīpāvalī, also known as *Deepavali*, and most commonly shortened to *Diwali*, is a Vaishnava celebration and spiritual ceremony to commemorate several

important occurrences in Védik devotional practice. Dīpāvalī means “row of lights” in Sanskrit. Typically identified with Hinduism, Sikhism, Jainism, and some sects of Buddhism, Dīpāvalī takes “place according to the lunar calendar during the Kṛṣṇa Pāksha (lunar dark fortnight) in Kartik/Ahvin (month of October/November). Each group who observes Dīpāvalī varies the practices according to their group’s region and religious traditions and is observed in almost every region of India where it is an official national holiday. It is also an official holiday in Sri Lanka, Nepal, Myanmar, Mauritius, Guyana, Trinidad & Tobago, Suriname, Malaysia, Singapore, and Fiji.

Most commonly identified with Hindu and Indian culture, Dīpāvalī is a significant occasion as both a secular holiday and religious observation of key elements of Védik spiritual practice. Hinduism is the third largest religion on Earth with approximately 950 million to 1 billion humans identified as Hindu worldwide. In the United States, the Hindu population estimates range from almost 600,000 in 2008 according to the U.S. Census Bureau, and present numbers approaching 1 million. This is not to be conflated with the number of Asian Indians, which records at approximately 3 million in the 2010 U.S. Census Bureau data. Having both secular and religious significance, Dīpāvalī could be observed as cultural celebration and/or spiritual practice for 1 to 3 million Americans of Indian and Asian ancestry.

The origins of Dīpāvalī are narrated in numerous sacred texts including the Védas, Mahābhārata, the Bhagavad Gīta, the Rāmāyana and the Purāṇas. Prior to these written accounts, spiritual injunctions, historic accounts and stories of Sri Viṣṇu, Sri Nārāyana, and his many incarnations were transmitted by oral tradition, hence an attempt to specify an exact date of origin is at best an educated guess because the knowledge has been passed from teacher to student within a given sampradāya or lineage. The primary stories that shape the practice and festivities of Dīpāvalī are: the exile and return of the king Sri Rāmacandra to Ayodhya, the vanquishing and deliverance of King Mahābālī to Pātāla by Vamanadeva (the fifth Avatara of Sri Viṣṇu), the vanquishing and deliverance of Narakasura by Sri Kṛṣṇa and the birth/emergence of the divine mother Sri Lakṣmī from the Ocean of Milk during

Samudra manthan and her attendant incarnations of Maha Kālī and Sarasvatī and the emergence of Sri Dhanvantari, physician to the deities and father of Ayurveda. The activities during Dīpāvalī are meant to focus on the worship and commemoration of significant events and pastimes of Sri Viṣṇu, Sri Lakṣmī and related deities, and Avatars to give thanks for the autumnal harvest in the Northern Hemisphere, to begin the New Year and to commemorate key events that shape sanatana dharma.

The period of observance can vary from five to nine days depending on a group's customary practice and includes days leading up to the day of Dīpāvalī and several days into the New Year. In the present era five days is most common and typically identified as: the first day is *Dhanteras*, *Dhantrayodashi* or *Dhanvantari Triodasi* and a lighted *diya* and prasādam is offered to Sri Yamaraja; the second day is *Naraka Chaturdasi* or *Choti Diwal* and *diyas* are lit, pūja is done and prasādam is offered to Sri Kṛṣṇa and Maha Kālī; the third day is *Sri Lakṣmī Pūja*, the main Dīpāvalī day on Amavasya commemorates the return of Sri Rāmacandra and *diyas* are lit, pūja is done and prasādam is offered to Sri Lakṣmī, Sarasvatī, and Sri Rāmacandra; the fourth day is *Bāli Pratipāda*, *Govardhan Pūja*, or *Gudi Padwa* and *diyas* are lit, pūja is done, and prasādam is offered to Sri Viṣṇu; this is the first day of the new year known as Rama Rajya commemorating the worship of Mount Govardhan by Sri Kṛṣṇa; and the fifth day is *Bhai-Dūj* commemorating Sri Yamaraja's visit to his sister Yamunaji and brotherly/sisterly love. The lights of Dīpāvalī are traditionally *diya* or *diya*, earthen clay lamps filled with ghee or mustard oil and burned by a cotton wick; however, today many use candles.

S. K. Thrift

See also Indian Americans

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Divakaruni, Chitra Banerjee (1956–)

Chitra Banerjee Divakaruni is a South Asian American author, poet, and professor. She was born July 1956 in Calcutta, India. She attended the Loreto House Convent School and Presidency College in Calcutta. She then earned her BA in English from the University of Calcutta in 1976, an MA from Wright State University in Ohio in 1977, and enrolled at the University of California, Berkeley in 1978, where she earned her PhD in 1985 in Renaissance literature. She lived in the Bay Area, and taught creative writing at Foothill College, Diablo Valley College, and the University of Houston. In 1991, she founded MAITRI, a help line for South Asian women who are the victims of abuse. She also serves on the advisory board for DAYA, a similar organization in Houston, Texas. Currently, she teaches in the University of Houston's Creative Writing Program and lives with her husband, Murthy, and their two sons, Anand and Abhay.

Divakaruni's work has been published in a multitude of national magazines, and has been translated into over 20 languages. Her first published works were poetry collections, including *Dark Like the River* (1987), *The Reason for Nasturtiums* (1995), and *Black Candle* (1991). Her first collection of short stories, *Arranged Marriage* (1995), was the recipient of the American Book Award, the PEN Oakland Josephine Miles Prize for Fiction, and the Bay Area Book Reviewers Award for Fiction. In 1997, she published another poetry collection, *Leaving Yuba City*, which won an Allen Ginsberg Prize and a Pushcart Prize. Her first novel, *The Mistress of Spices* (1997), was shortlisted for the Orange Prize, and it was adapted for a film of the same name, premiering in 2005, directed by Gurinder Chadha, starring Bollywood actress Aishwarya Rai and Dylan McDermott. Her second novel, *Sister of My Heart*, was published in 1999, and its sequel, *The Vine of Desire*, was published in 2002. Her second collection of short stories, *The*

Unknown Errors of Our Lives, was published in 2001. Her latest novels are *Queen of Dreams* (2004), *The Palace of Illusions* (2008), and *One Amazing Thing* (2010). *The Palace of Illusions* is a renarration of the Hindu Vedic epic tale, “The Mahabharata,” and written from the perspective of a female protagonist. Divakaruni also has published a trilogy of short stories for children, titled *The Brotherhood of the Conch*. She is an avid social media user, and her blog can be found at <http://www.chitradivakaruni.com>. She can be followed on Twitter @chitradivakarun.

Divakaruni’s narratives reflect her continuing concern for the situation of South Asian immigrants in the United States, particularly those women from the Indian subcontinent. Her writing carries with it a lyrical quality of poetry and the vibrancy of oral traditions. She writes across genres, incorporating magical realism, fantasy, historical fiction, and realism into her work.

Much of her work is concerned with intersectionalities of power as an integral issue in South Asian American communities. She is careful to point out different kinds of people who exist within that particular community, writing about characters of different socioeconomic classes and cultural backgrounds. Her writing disrupts the myth of the “model minority” within South Asian diasporic communities. Her protagonists include battered women, the working class, and the middle class, and the tales are suffused with the diversity and difficulties of being South Asian and living and working in the United States. Issues regarding gender, race, class, ethnicity, caste, sexuality, and religion are present across her oeuvre. Over the last 30 years, Divakaruni’s narratives situate themselves with current sociopolitical events, including such crises as the AIDS epidemic, as reflected in *The Mistress of Spices*, and coalition across communities with the Chican@ and African American population, reflected in *One Amazing Thing*, and global events, where *Queen of Dreams* addresses such events as 9/11 and its aftermath.

Divakaruni is careful not to pathologize the communities that she writes about. Her works are complex because they offer multifaceted ways of seeing the world, of knowing, and of being, going beyond binaries, of “East” versus “West,” of hegemonic narrative

structure. For example, *Sister of My Heart* is the story of two cousins who grew up as though they were siblings in Calcutta. Aesthetically different, mired in family secrets, the two grow into adulthood with different circumstances resulting in their separation, with the stunning Sudha remaining in the provinces of South Asia and the plain Anju bound for the United States. It is told in chapters, with each sister alternately serving as the narrative voice, in a fairy tale structure shaped by rhymes and plots within plots. The story centers on the story of Sudha, who is forced to get an abortion by her husband’s family because she is carrying a female fetus, bringing into focus a battle fought for centuries over gender-biased abortions and class privileges.

Queen of Dreams is the tale of Rakhi, a divorced second-generation South Asian American living in San Francisco, dealing with the aftermath of a divorce, raising young children, and caring for her father, when reading and translating the journals of her mother, who was clairvoyant. Much has been made of the book’s attention to 9/11 and its aftermath on South Asian Americans, the violence, confusions, and anxieties resulting from that attack. *One Amazing Thing* flows across multiple perspectives and narrators, centering around nine people who are trapped in the passport office in the basement of the Indian Consulate in San Francisco who are yoked together by fate when an earthquake hits. Starting from the first-person perspective of Uma, an Indian graduate student awaiting a visa to visit her aged parents in “shining India,” the text flows across perspectives, as those people trapped engage in community building through storytelling.

Divakaruni has stated that she takes on a particular responsibility, and that writing affords her opportunities “to be able to straddle two distinct cultures and depict both with the relatively object hand of the outsider; to destroy stereotypes and promote understanding between different sectors of the multicultural society in which we live; to paint the complex life of the immigrant with its unique joys and sorrows, so distinct from those of people who have never left their native land” (Rustomji-Kearns, p. 47).

Rosie N. Kar

See also Indian Americans

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Draft Resistance in Internment Camps

During internment, Japanese American leaders—most notably those within the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL)—advocated for the reinstatement of the draft for the Nisei and a segregated combat unit that would allow Japanese Americans to prove their loyalty to the United States in battle. By the spring of 1943, Nisei were reclassified as "1-A," or immediately available for service. The government, impressed by the Nisei volunteers and having received fewer volunteers from within the camps than anticipated, reinstated the draft for Japanese Americans on January 20, 1944 and sparked resistance within the camps.

This reclassification came after almost five thousand Japanese Americans who had been members of the United States Army prior to the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor had been discharged or removed from active duty. It also reversed the January 5, 1942 Selective Service System decision to classify American citizens with Japanese ancestry as "IV-C," or ineligible for enlistment as enemy aliens. Between January 1944 and mid-1945, when the War Relocation Authority (WRA) camps closed, over 300 Nisei from nine out of the 10 camps refused induction or to report for their preinduction physical exams. The most organized resistance came from the Heart Mountain Fair Play Committee. Though the Poston camp in Arizona did not have the same level of organization, one-third of

draft resisters had been held there. Individual reasons for draft resistance varied widely and overlapped between those who were principled resisters of conscience, to those who were tired of being held in camp, or some other combination of motivations.

In Heart Mountain, Kiyoshi Okamoto led draft resistance efforts. By the fall of 1943, Okamoto had become disillusioned with events at Heart Mountain, including brutality and discrimination by the white American staff members, lack of free speech, poor living and working conditions, and a sense of injustice about the wartime treatment of Japanese Americans as a whole. He proclaimed himself the "Fair Play Committee of One," and opposed the military draft of Nisei on the grounds that being held in camps violated their constitutional rights as citizens. Later on, as Paul Nakadate, Frank Seishi Emi, Isamu Sam Horino, Minoru Tamesa, Tsutomu Ben Wakaye, and Guntaro Kubota joined with Okamoto, they became known as the Fair Play Committee (FPC). By February 1944, the FPC held meetings and issued newsletters. It restricted membership to American citizens as they were the only ones eligible for the draft.

Between March 25, 1944, and the beginning of May, 63 men had been arrested for their refusal to report for their preinduction physicals until their citizenship rights had been clarified and restored. Their case, *U.S. v. Shigeru Fujii, et al.*, was the largest mass trial in Wyoming history. On June 12, 1944, District Court Judge T. Blake Kennedy ruled that Congress and the president had legally discriminated against the defendants based on their Japanese ancestry as a matter of wartime necessity, and that their reclassification as 1-A had established their full citizenship rights as Americans. Therefore, he found their draft resistance to be illegal, and sentenced them to three years in federal prison. Their convictions were upheld on appeal on March 12, 1945.

On July 21, 1944, a grand jury indicted the seven members of the FPC executive council and James Omura, editor of the Denver newspaper the *Rocky Shimpō*, for conspiracy to counsel, aid, and abet the violation of the Selective Service Act. Omura had not met the members of the FPC prior to his arrest as he had relocated to Denver before Japanese Americans were removed from the West Coast, and therefore

was not interned. In the trial, *U.S. v. Okamoto et al.*, only Omura was found not guilty, and the others were found guilty and sentenced to two- to four-year-prison terms. By August 1944, 22 more resisters of conscience from Heart Mountain were tried and sentenced to two years in prison. In 1946, the convictions of the leaders of the FPC were overturned on appeal, and on December 24, 1947, President Truman issued a pardon for all Nisei resisters of conscience.

Meanwhile, in Poston, over 100 Nisei were arrested for draft resistance despite the lack of formal organizing efforts. George Fujii, writing under the name of the “Voice of Nisei,” posted two handbills calling for Nisei citizenship rights to be restored and for an end to discrimination against Japanese Americans more broadly, but did not overtly call for draft resistance. A third handbill, also attributed to “Voice of Nisei,” but which George Fujii did not claim as his own work, later recommended that Nisei avoid the draft until their citizenship rights had been restored.

Successive waves of draft resisters from Poston were arrested and tried in federal court. In March of 1944, 10 draft resisters pled guilty and federal Judge David Ling sentenced them to three years in La Tuna Federal Prison in Texas. On May 27, 1944, five more resisters were arrested, but unlike the previous group, many of them were released on bail and awaited trial in camp. In early June, George Fujii was arrested, charged, and tried for alleged sedition. Despite dire predictions that fundraising for Fujii’s defense should assume the need for an appeal, he was acquitted with a directed verdict because there was no evidence that Fujii had written the circular that had urged draft resistance. By October, over 100 Nisei had either refused to be inducted or refused to appear for their preinduction physical. Their resistance was likely spurred by the presence of other resisters in the camp and Fujii’s acquittal.

Meanwhile, in July 1944, 26 internees from the Tule Lake Segregation Center for those deemed particularly “disloyal” were tried for draft evasion in *U.S. v. Kuwabara*. Louis E. Goodman, U.S. District Judge for Northern California dismissed the criminal charges against the resisters from Tule Lake on the basis that the prosecution of those incarcerated on the basis of ancestry for draft evasion was shocking to the conscience and a violation of due process.

In mid-March 1945, grand jury indictments were handed down for the Poston draft resisters. They were tried in three cases—those of Hideichi Takeguma, Kingo Tajii, and Yasuto Fujioka—that typified the specific circumstances under which each defendant had resisted the draft, such as whether or not he had requested expatriation, and whether or not the government had ordered his exclusion and segregation before or after he had been ordered to report for induction (*U.S. v. Takeguma et al.*). Judge Ling found the defendants guilty and sentenced them to one year in prison. The Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals affirmed the verdicts against the three named defendants. Judge Ling ruled on the matters of the other resisters who had stipulated their cases to the Takeguma, Tajii, and Fujioka appeals on October 7, 1946, by which time Poston had been closed for almost a year. He ruled that the government had treated the Nisei defendants inconsistently by suspecting them of sabotage and then conscripting them to military service, where they could arguably do more damage. He found them guilty but sentenced them to a fine of one penny each. At the same time, he ordered a stay of execution for the prison sentences of Tajii, Takeguma, and Fujioka, during which time they could apply for executive clemency. They were pardoned with the other draft resisters by Truman in 1947.

Military service and draft resistance continues to be a controversial topic within the Japanese American community. At their 2000 national convention, members of the JAACL passed a resolution to recognize and apologize to resisters of conscience, but some members stormed out of the room in anger. Likewise, when Lieutenant Ehren K. Watada refused to deploy to Iraq in June of 2006, Japanese Americans and other observers renewed old debates over loyalty, military service, and Japanese American identity.

Katie Furuyama

See also Japanese American Citizens League (JAACL)

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Draves, Victoria “Vicki” Taylor Manalo (1924–2010)

Victoria “Vicki” Taylor Manalo Draves is well noted as the only swimmer or diver to gold medal in two individual events at the 1948 London Olympiad, but there is much more to her story. She had to overcome racial prejudice as the first Asian American and first Filipino American to accomplish this feat. During the London Olympics, Vicki Manalo Draves won both the 3-meter springboard and 10-meter highboard diving gold medals. In those games, she and Dr. Sammy Lee, the men’s platform winner and a Korean American, became the first divers of Asian descent to win Olympic gold medals.

Victoria Taylor Manalo was born December 31, 1924, in San Francisco, the daughter of Teofilo Manalo, an immigrant Filipino musician father and an English mother, Gertrude Taylor. They met and married in San Francisco in a time that society looked down on mixed race marriages. Vicki grew up there

as one of three sisters, including the eldest, Frances, and Vicki’s nonidentical twin, Consuelo. There was also a brother, Sonny, who died before she and Consuelo were born.

“I always loved anything to do with acrobatics. I wanted to be a ballet dancer. We were just a very poor family, and there was no opportunity to extend on those desires,” Draves said in the oral history, published by The Amateur Athletic Foundation of Los Angeles. “I was really kind of afraid of the water,” she said. Neither of her parents swam. Vicki couldn’t afford to take swimming lessons until she was 10 years old and took summer swimming lessons from the Red Cross, paying five cents admission to a pool in San Francisco’s Mission District.

When Vicki was 16, she and her sisters rode the trolley to Fleishacker Pool (a large saltwater pool) to swim and admire the divers. When she was 17, one of the boy divers encouraged her to join the Fairmont Hotel Swimming and Diving Club in San Francisco.



Olympic high diver Vicki Manalo Draves, 1948. (Ed Clark/Time Life Pictures/Getty Images)

As she told the *San Francisco Chronicle* in 2005, the club’s coach, Phil Patterson, told her she was a natural diver but that because of her Filipino name she could not join the club. Instead, she said, he “formed a ‘special’ club just for me—the Patterson School of Swimming and Diving. . . . I think he was a prejudiced man,” she added. “It wasn’t special for me. It was his way of separating me from the others.” He also told her that she could not compete unless she changed her name to Taylor, her mother’s maiden name. She and her mother reluctantly agreed. “I don’t know how my dad felt,” Draves said in an oral history in 1991, “because he never said anything.”

When the war broke out in 1941, Patterson went into military service and the Fairmont Hotel swimming pool closed down, forcing Vicki to stop swimming for a year. She graduated from Commerce High School in 1942 and took a civil service job in the Army Port Surgeon’s office to add to the family’s meager income. Later, after Vicki learned about a swimming program at the Crystal Plunge with Charlie Sava as the coach, she talked to Charlie about coaching her and he agreed and assigned Jimmy Hughes as her coach.

Hughes coached Vicki to her first national AAU diving competition at the Indiana national meet in 1943 when she was 19. She placed third behind Helen Rose and Zoe Ann Olsen on the 3-meter board.

The next national AAU diving competition was held in 1944 at the Athens Athletic Club in Oakland where Zoe Ann Olsen trained with her coach, Lyle Draves. “That is where I first saw Lyle,” Vicki recalls. Because her coach, Jimmy Hughes, could not advance her to the next level, she asked Lyle Draves, an electrical engineer by trade, to be her coach and he agreed. Under Lyle’s guidance, Vicki learned platform diving to add to her springboard diving repertoire. With a third diver, Gloria Wooden, Lyle coached the athletes to the 1945 Indoor Nationals in Chicago, and they placed 1, 2, 3 in the 3-meter springboard.

Vicki was now ready to compete in a diving competition that was to be held at the Fairmont Hotel Swimming and Diving Club where she used to practice her diving years before when she was “Vicki Taylor.” But as Vicki Manalo, she was barred from entering the competition.

In disgust at the Fairmont’s racism, Lyle Draves left the San Francisco Bay Area for Los Angeles leaving Vicki again without a coach. He was working for a Navy contractor, the Alameda Air Base, at the time and was transferred back to the Los Alamitos Air Base.

After asking if Lyle would continue coaching her, there followed some commuting to Los Angeles, a second and a third place at the Outdoor Nationals, and then, on the death of her father, Vicki retired from diving and returned to San Francisco and her old job as a secretary in the Army Port Surgeon’s office.

When the war ended, Vicki finally moved to Southern California for good, got a job at Canada Dry and on July 12, 1946 she and Lyle Draves were married. Perhaps as a premonition of their sharing future Olympic Gold as the first Asian Americans, she was given away at their wedding by her diving friend, Sammy Lee. With Lyle by her side Vicki returned to diving and her winning ways began immediately with the National Tower Diving Championship (10-meter platform) in 1946, 1947, and 1948. In 1948, she won her first springboard national title. As part of the Los Angeles Athletic Club, she made the Olympic team but did not place first at the Olympic Trials, held in Detroit in neither the springboard nor the platform.

However, in her first Olympic competition in London, Vicki made her mark on the 3-meter springboard and platform. *Life* magazine named Draves and decathlon gold medal winner Bob Mathias the top two U.S. athletes at the 1948 Games. After her Olympic victory, Vicki visited the Philippines for the first time and brought Lyle with her. She gave platform diving exhibitions at the Rizal Stadium and in other Philippine venues. She then turned professional and appeared in water shows like Larry Crosby’s “Rhapsody in Swimtime” at Soldier Field in Chicago and in the swimmer Buster Crabbe’s “Aqua Parade,” which toured internationally.

After starting a family in the early 1950s, Vicki and Lyle operated a swimming and diving training program at Indian Springs in Montrose, California and later moved the program to Encino, California. She later worked as a secretary. Together they raised four sons, David, Jeffrey, Dale, and Kim. In 1969,

she was inducted into the International Swimming Hall of Fame in Fort Lauderdale, Florida. During the 2002 Filipino American National Historical Society (FANHS) Conference held at Loyola Marymount University, in Los Angeles, Vicki addressed an adoring audience in the hundreds and was presented their award at their GALA banquet. In October 2006, San Francisco built a two-acre play park in her old neighborhood, South of Market Street (SOMA), and named it in her honor. Her former Franklin Grammar School once stood on the very spot.

Vicki Draves died on April 11, 2010, of complications of pancreatic cancer at Desert Regional Medical Center in Palm Springs. Besides her husband, she was survived by her four sons, six grandchildren, one great-grandchild and her twin sister, Consuelo Sessions. Perhaps her parents always believed she was destined for success. In many languages, “Victoria” means victory. In Tagalog, the major language in the Philippines, the word “Manalo” means win.

Florante Ibanez

See also Filipino Americans

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Du, Miranda (1969–)

Miranda Du is currently a United States District Judge for the United States District Court for the District of Nevada. Formerly, she was a partner at McDonald Carano Wilson LLP, a law firm in Reno, Nevada specializing in employment law.

On August 2, 2011, President Barack Obama nominated Attorney Du to the United States District Court bench for the District of Nevada. Nevada Democratic Senator Harry Reid, who currently serves as Senate Majority Leader, originally presented Du’s name to President Obama for consideration. Her candidacy was supported by a bipartisan coalition of Nevada public officials, a trend notably paralleled in October 2011, when Republican Senator Dean Heller joined Senator Reid in introducing Du at the Senate Judiciary Committee hearing. The Senate Judiciary Committee voted 10-8 in support of Du’s appointment to the bench on November 3, 2011. Opposing votes were cast by Republican committee members who expressed concern over what they deemed to be Attorney Du’s inexperience. A 2007 sanction by the federal court in Nevada also gave some committee members pause. Despite these concerns, Du’s nomination was confirmed on March 28, 2013.

Du was born in Cá Mau, Vietnam. At the age of 8, she fled the country with her parents, two siblings, aunts, uncles, and cousins. Fleeing by boat, the family was part of a massive boat exodus that sought temporary asylum in Malaysia. Du and her family spent almost a year in a refugee camp before a U.S. family volunteered to sponsor their resettlement in Winfield, Alabama. Du’s father, a former soldier in the U.S.-supported South Vietnamese Army, worked on a dairy farm in Alabama to support the family. They soon relocated to Oakland, California, where Du attended junior high school and high school. In high school, Du participated in the summer Upward Bound program at the University of California, Berkeley, where she would return after college to study law. Du graduated from the University of California, Davis in 1991 with honors in History and Economics. In 1994, she received her JD from UC Berkeley’s Boalt Hall School of Law. Shortly after law school, Du relocated to Reno, Nevada to join McDonald Carano Wilson LLP, where in 2002, Attorney Du became a partner in the firm.

Among her achievements, Du was named a Mountain States Rising Star, Super Lawyer in 2009. In 2008, she was included in the “Top 20 under 40” Young Professionals in the Reno-Tahoe Area, and in 2007, the

Nevada Women's Fund nominated her as a Woman of Achievement.

Linh Hua

See also Duong, Wendy N.; Vietnamese Americans

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Duong, Wendy N. (1959–)

Wendy N. Duong (also known as Wendy Nicole Duong, Duong Nhu Nguyen, and Uyen Nicole Duong) was the first Vietnamese American to hold judicial office in the United States. She served the state of Texas under the title of Associate Municipal Judge for the city of Houston and as Magistrate of the State of Texas. She was appointed to the bench by the American Bar Association in 1992 and served a three-year term until resigning her seat to become senior legal advisor to Mobil Asia-Pacific. Professor Duong joined the faculty of University of Denver, Sturm College of Law with 18 years of experience in corporate law.

Born in Hoi An, Vietnam in 1959 and raised in Saigon, Wendy Duong left her home country of Vietnam with her family at the age of 16 on April 26, 1975, four days before the fall of Saigon. Escaping by U.S. cargo plane, Duong's family perhaps benefited from the social and professional standing of her parents—her father was a professor of Linguistics at the University of Saigon and her mother taught Vietnamese literature in Hoi An—allowing them participation in the organized evacuation of Saigon. At the time of her departure, Duong had just won a national Vietnamese literary award. She would later return to her literary and artistic talent to publish fiction and produce art in the United States.

Duong attended Southern Illinois University as an undergraduate, graduating summa cum laude with a BS in Communications and Journalism. Newspapers in Houston declined to hire her, however, and a broadcasting career was even more difficult to break into. She entered law school in 1980, choosing the University of Houston to be able to work full time and care for her ailing mother. After receiving her JD in 1984, Duong joined the public education sector of Houston in the area of risk management for five years. At the age of 24, she became director of the Risk Management Office, the first Asian American woman to serve in an executive position in the Houston Independent School District (HISD). Prior to her commission as judge in 1992, Duong worked for the Securities and Exchange Commission Office of General Counsel as a special trial attorney. From 1998 to 1999, she headed a team of lawyers examining Y2K liability levels for a Texas-based multinational energy company. Duong ultimately received her LLC from Harvard University.

In addition to teaching at Sturm College of Law, Duong writes essays on law and culture, publishes fiction, and paints. In 1998, her story, "The Young Woman who Practiced Singing," won the Stuart Miller Writing Award of District of Columbia Bar Association. Her short story, "The Ghost of Ha Tay," was a finalist for the Columbine Award at the 2001 Moon-dance Film Festival. Major publications include *Daughters of the River Huong: A Vietnamese Royal Concubine and Her Descendants* (2005) and *Postcards from Nam* (2009), both of which Duong says are part of a three-book series. The third book in the series is not yet published. Professor Duong was recently selected to participate as a U.S. Scholar in the Fulbright Core Program for 2011–2012.

Linh Hua

See also Du, Miranda; Vietnamese Americans

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Eaton, Edith Maude

See Sui Sin Far (Edith Maude Eaton)

80/20

80/20, also referred to as the 80/20 Initiative, is a Pan-Asian-American non-partisan political organization. The main purpose of 80/20 is to organize an Asian American voting bloc that will help leverage and galvanize support from politicians for agendas concerning Asian Americans. Notable founding members of 80/20 include S. B. Woo (lieutenant governor of Delaware, 1984–1989) and Chang-Lin Tien (chancellor of University of California, Berkeley, 1990–1997).

Events such as the fundraising controversy of 1996, in which investigations by the United States Department of Justice had uncovered that the Democratic National Committee (DNC) had received illegal contributions from various Asian American individuals and sources; or the circumstances in which charges were brought against Dr. Wen Ho Lee, a 60-year-old Taiwanese scientist held in jail for nine months without bail after federal indictment on the mishandling of nuclear secrets, drew criticism from many in the Asian American community that Asian American individuals were targets of investigations because of their ethnicity. The creation of 80/20 was motivated by such events in hopes of bringing more political activism as well as political clout into the Asian American community.

The name 80/20 refers to the proportion of votes needed for the Asian American community to become an important voting bloc during national elections.

Often, Asian American votes are split 50–50 between the Republican and Democratic candidates. The goal of the 80/20 initiative is to form a cohesive voting bloc in 80 percent of the Asian American voters in support of one particular candidate. The idea is that by forming a voting bloc, the Asian American community can be recognized as an ethnic group whose support that politicians should have to gain.

The 2000 presidential election was the first time in which 80/20 endorsed a nominee. In this case, Democratic candidate Al Gore had pledged to help Asian Americans win equal opportunity as well as high-level federal appointments whereas Republican candidate George W. Bush had not. Although Gore eventually lost the presidential election, according to 80/20, the organization had still helped garner 66 percent of Asian American votes nationwide and 70 percent in California. In other words, according to 80/20's calculation, Gore had the support of more than 50 percent of Asian Americans.

During the 2004 presidential election, 80/20 started the practice of sending formal questionnaires that were meant as promises or commitments to the Asian American community to all presidential candidates. In the 2004 presidential election, 80/20 endorsed the Democratic candidate John Kerry, who had pledged commitment via the questionnaires instead of Republican candidate George W. Bush. Even though Kerry lost the election, 80/20 still claimed that it helped Kerry garner 68 percent of Asian American votes nationwide according to the *New York Times*, and about 64 percent according to the *L.A. Times*.

In the 2006 congressional races, 80/20 endorsed all Democratic congressional candidates with the exception of three Republican candidates, who

had consistently pledged to help the Asian American community, out of frustration with the Bush Administration on issues of equal opportunity in workplaces (80/20 Initiative 2009b). The result of the 2006 congressional elections was that Democrats became the majority in both the House and Senate.

During the 2008 presidential election season, 80/20 started out endorsing Hillary Clinton in the California Democratic primaries. However, as Democratic nominee Barack Obama eventually won the Democratic nomination and pledged support to the Asian American community, 80/20 chose to endorse him instead of Republican candidate John McCain. According to 80/20, 62 percent of Asian Americans voted for Barack Obama whereas 35 percent voted for John McCain. Barack Obama was elected to office and became the 44th president of the United States of America.

Today, 80/20 remains active as an Asian American political action committee that boasts over 700,000 on its membership mailing list and the ability to reach at least 50 percent of Asian Americans nationwide. Although some were skeptical of the role that 80/20 played in the Asian American support of one particular candidate, the organization has gradually received more mainstream media coverage in its effort to form a cohesive Asian American voting bloc. Especially during the 2008 presidential election season, 80/20 received coverage from CNN, *Time* magazine, the *Washington Post*, the *Wall Street Journal*, the *Huffington Post*, and various other media sources.

Jeanette Yih Harvie

See also Political Representation; Voting Patterns

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Espineli, Geno (1982–)

Filipino American Geno Espineli is a professional baseball pitcher, who seems to have the misfortune of thus far competing for a major league spot on the pitching rich San Francisco Giants. Born in Texas, Espineli was drafted out of Texas Christian University in 2004 by the Giants. Since then the left-hander has generally toiled as both a starter and reliever in the Minor Leagues. In 2008, Espineli did pitch 15 games as a reliever for the Giants, winning two games and putting together a mediocre 5.06 Earned Run Average. Interestingly, and incorrectly, Espineli has often been hailed as the first “full-blooded” Filipino to play Major League Baseball.

Joel S. Franks

See also Filipino American Baseball

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Ethnic Communities in Hawaii

Ethnic communities in Hawaii are composed of Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Filipino communities, most of whom are descendants of the laborers brought to Hawaii to work the sugar plantations. Many stayed after their contracts were fulfilled to establish these communities. Ethnic communities are significant because they made Hawaii a most racially and ethnically diverse society and it remains so to this day.

After Captain Cook’s landing in Kaua’i, European trading and whaling ships used Honolulu and Lahaina as a ports-of-call to and from China and Japan. The Kingdom of Hawaii proved to be a perfect place to grow sugarcane as well. The first sugar plantation was established on Kaua’i in 1835 on land leased from the Hawaiian monarch. Indigenous Hawaiian laborers were employed under a wage-based system, but the indigenous Hawaiian population had been declining rapidly since 1778 with the introduction of new diseases. Indigenous Hawaiians were also migrating to the West Coast of the U.S. mainland. To fill the plantation owners’ need for cheap, permanent laborers, the owners looked west to Asia and began to order and import Asian laborers as straightforwardly as they ordered their supplies.

The Chinese referred to Hawaii as *Tan Heung Shan* (Fragrant Sandalwood Hills) because of the sandalwood that Hawaiians were trading with the Chinese. The earliest record of a Chinese person in Hawaii is 1794. Some of the Chinese came to Hawaii as sailors. Some of the Chinese came as laborers. Most of the Chinese came as contract-laborers to work the sugar plantations. Many of the Chinese that came as contract-laborers were seen as *wah kui* or sojourners because they planned to return to China. Most of the laborers were single men. In 1852 the first of many Chinese contract-laborers arrived in Hawaii. They were immediately quarantined for signs of smallpox. When the quarantine was satisfied, the contract-

laborers were transferred to Honolulu where they were viewed and selected by the various plantations. After being chosen, the contract-laborers would sign a three-year contract. The plantation owners thought that the Chinese contract-laborers would compete with the indigenous Hawaiians and increase production. The sugar plantations were expanding and in constant need of laborers. The owners continued to import Chinese contract-laborers, even sending recruiters to China to send more laborers to Hawaii. To ensure racial competition, the owners developed a policy to pit one racial and ethnic group against another. The Hawaiian monarchy became concerned with the rising Chinese population and in 1883 restricted Chinese immigration to 600 contract-laborers every three months. By 1886, all unskilled Chinese contract-laborers were prohibited.

The concern of the rising number of Chinese became increasingly vocal, the plantations were discovering that the Chinese contract-laborers moved away from the plantations once their contracts were fulfilled, and the Chinese contract-laborers with their increasing numbers began to agitate for better work conditions. The plantation owners turned to Japan. Japanese sailors, who had been shipwrecked in Hawaii, were not an unusual sight. A couple of them became citizens of the Kingdom of Hawaii. The Hawaiian monarchy signed a treaty with Japan and the Japanese embassy spent time in Honolulu on their return trip from Washington, D.C. In 1868, the first of many Japanese contract-laborers arrived in the Kingdom of Hawaii to work. Many of them came as families. Single men would marry Japanese women and bring them to Hawaii. This group encountered cultural misunderstandings and a dozen returned to Japan after fulfilling their three-year contracts, although the majority stayed to make the Kingdom of Hawaii their new home. It would be decades before more Japanese contract-laborers came to work the sugar plantations. The Japanese government resumed sending Japanese citizens to the Kingdom of Hawaii in 1886. The plantation owners began to import Japanese contract-laborers in earnest to counterbalance the large numbers of Chinese. Within four years, the plantation owners would return to Chinese contract-laborers because of the overabundance of Japanese.

The overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy was conducted by plantation owners in conjunction with other businessmen, missionary descendants, and the U.S. Marines. The Kingdom of Hawaii became the Republic of Hawaii and the importation of Chinese and Japanese contract-laborers expanded because of better economic conditions for the sugar industry. Annexation by the United States in 1900 effectively ended Chinese importation as well as the contract-labor system. Thousands of Japanese laborers continued to arrive until the 1907 Gentlemen's Agreement when fewer Japanese immigrated. Around the same time, Koreans began to arrive as plantation laborers. In 1905, Japan's invasion of Korea ends Korean migration to the Republic of Hawaii. The immigration act of 1924 ended Japanese immigration and the plantation owners needed another source of labor.

After the United States annexed the Philippines after the Spanish-American war in 1898, the plantation owners had their new source of labor. This new source of labor would also compete with the Japanese and Chinese laborers to increase production. In 1907 a few Filipino families were brought to work on the sugar plantations. Other families migrated independently. In 1910 Filipino immigration increased. After a major Japanese plantation laborers strike in 1919, Filipinos became the plantation owners' primary source of labor. Filipinos became the plantations' only source of labor when the Japanese and Korean laborers were excluded because of the immigration act of 1924. When the depression occurred, Filipino immigration was halted until 1946 when laborers were in short supply. Over time, Filipinos became the majority among the plantation laborers.

Once on the plantations, the different ethnic groups were kept segregated to encourage interethnic competition. Eventually, the plantation owners integrated the different groups into a community. The most effective plantation strikes would occur when all ethnic groups banded together. A creole language, pidgin, developed on the plantations as a way for each group to communicate in the cane fields and in the mills. Pidgin is a combination of Hawaiian, Chinese, Japanese, and Portuguese words that helped make the plantation community. Despite creating a common language, each ethnic group worked hard to maintain their

distinct cultures and traditions. Most of these traditions revolved around food and holidays. Chinese New Year, Japanese bon festival and Mikado's birthday, and Filipino's Rizal Day were some of the holidays celebrated on the sugar plantations. Past-time activities carried over from the old country flourished on the plantations. Card games, taxi dances, gambling, and cockfighting were some of those carried over activities. Over time, these activities were replaced with baseball and music to "Americanize" these different ethnicities. Religion was important. Chinese laborers, many of them were having converted to Christianity in Hawaii, had their own churches built on the plantations. Korean laborers, having converted to Christianity in Korea, also had their own churches built on the plantations. The Japanese laborers often built little gardens around their living quarters, establishing Little Japans on the plantations. As the laborers established families and their children attended English-speaking public schools, these laborers wanted their children to learn and maintain their parent culture. These ethnic communities established their own language schools, ensuring that their children would learn their cultural language. The Japanese language schools were the most numerous, followed by the Chinese language schools and Korean language schools. These schools would continue long after the families left the plantations, until Pearl Harbor.

As early as 1859, Chinese and Japanese laborers moved to urban areas, California, and Honolulu once their contracts had been fulfilled. Another mass migration of laborers left the plantations when the Organic Act made the Republic of Hawaii a U.S. territory and the three-year contracts were null and void. The laborers that stayed on the plantations agitated in a series of strikes, monoethnic and multiethnic. In 1919, in response to a major strike on O'ahu, plantation owners evicted several thousand strikers and their families from plantation housing. Many of them migrated to Honolulu. At that time, there was a major influenza outbreak in Honolulu and many of the strikers and their families died. Eventually, many of the striking laborers' demands were met by the plantation owners because they needed the laborers. At the same time, the plantation owners had to make the work conditions better because they needed to entice the

laborers to stay on the plantation without the legal power of the three-year contracts.

Chinese laborers after having fulfilled their contracts would move off of the plantations and into other parts of the islands. Many of them were single men. They begin to make Hawaii their home by intermarrying with indigenous Hawaiian women. Then many of these men established small businesses for themselves or rented or leased land from indigenous Hawaiians. They established Chinese restaurants. There was no small town store that was not run by a Chinese man who had married an indigenous Hawaiian woman. Several of these men became an integral part of their Hawaiian communities. They not only provided needed goods, but sometimes served as the middleman between the indigenous Hawaiian farmers and the city markets. The Chinese would barter lumber, metal pots, and clothing for the labor of indigenous Hawaiians. They also served as the main source of transportation for goods from the ports to the rural areas of Hawaii that were otherwise inaccessible. One Chinese man, Ah Lum, would operate a mule train to and from the port of Ke'anae to Hāna. He also owned a poi factory, where poi was made from the taro plants that indigenous Hawaiian farmers would grow. In Hāna and other rural parts of Hawaii, Chinese farmers would grow rice on leased land that was not being used to grow taro. They would also have small garden plots at home or graze cattle, mules, and horses. Other former contract-laborers moved to Chinatown in Honolulu. In 1895, another epidemic was making its way through Honolulu. To control the epidemic, a controlled burning of parts of the city was practiced. When the burning raged out of control, Chinatown was burnt to the ground.

The Japanese laborers after having fulfilled their contracts would move off the plantations. Many of the Japanese laborers came with families to Hawaii or were able to establish families in Hawaii. Some returned to Japan. Other families moved to California and other parts of the mainland. Once President Roosevelt declared that no Japanese would be allowed to enter the mainland, thousands of Japanese families began to make Hawaii their home. Several educational campaigns were started to encourage the continued Americanization of the original Japanese laborers and

the maintenance of Americanism among the second generation.

Korean laborers had always retained their sense of nationalism for Korea. Many intended on returning to Korea once their contracts were completed, but many of them stayed. Once Japan colonized Korea, the Korean laborers began to see themselves as refugees and their duty was to continue their Korean culture and traditions for the sake of their country. These laborers began to see Hawaii as their home away from home where they could maintain their culture until Korea was free again. Eventually, they began to see Hawaii as their permanent home. By 1946, the Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Filipino laborers and their descendants were a majority of the population in Hawaii.

These ethnic communities contributed to World War II by answering the call for soldiers and other sources of manpower. The Japanese and Japanese American community in particular enlisted in greater numbers than any other ethnic or racial group in Hawaii. They served in the 100th Infantry Battalion, the 442nd, and as translators. The Japanese community, especially after the bombing of Pearl Harbor, went out of their way to prove their Americanness. Because so many Japanese and Japanese Americans were an integral part of the community in Hawaii, a couple thousand were detained and very few were placed in concentration camps on the mainland.

Presently, these ethnic communities continue to raise families, some who stay, and others who move to the mainland. Chinatown has been reestablished with various businesses and a museum. Although there is no official Japantown, there is a part of Honolulu that has Japanese businesses and is predominantly Japanese. There is no official Koreatown, but there is a part of Honolulu that has Korean businesses and is predominantly Korean. Although many of the ancestors of these modern ethnic communities came as laborers, their descendants are a part of the upper echelon of Hawaiian society; both of Hawaii's Senators are Japanese American.

Niccole Leilanionapae'aina Coggins

See also Anti-Japanese Movement in Hawaii; Filipinos in Hawaii; Hawaiian Cuisine; Japanese

Americans in Hawaii; Korean Americans in Hawaii; Multiracial/Multiethnic Experience in Hawaii; Native Hawaiian Religion; Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders; Plantation Workers in Hawaii

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Ethnoburb

Ethnoburbs (a.k.a. multiethnic suburbs) represent the creation of a new ethnic landscape and a new model of the contemporary urban ethnic community. Ethnoburbs have emerged under the influence of international geopolitical and global economic restructuring; changing national immigration and trade policies; and local demographic, economic, and political contexts; and increasing transnational networks and connections. Ethnoburbs are suburban ethnic residential and business concentrations, which usually locate in large metropolitan areas. They are often multiracial, multiethnic, multicultural, multilingual, and multiracial in which one or more ethnic minority groups have a significant concentration but not necessarily comprise a majority of the total population. They are the spatial expression of a distinctive set of ethnic relations, characterized by a distinct spatial form and internal socioeconomic structure, and involves interethnic group and intraethnic class differences and tensions. An ethnoburb is likely to be created through some deliberate efforts of that group and has played out within changing demographic, socioeconomic, and political contexts in recent decades. Ethnoburbs function as a community replicating some features of a traditional ethnic enclave and other features of a suburb lacking a distinct minority identity. Thus, ethnoburbs

form an alternative type of ethnic settlement in contemporary urban areas and coexist along with, but differ from, traditional ethnic ghettos and enclaves by forming multiple clusters of urban and suburban ethnic settlements in contemporary societies. Both the traditional ethnic enclaves and the multiethnic suburbs have become new immigrant gateways.

The term “ethnoburb” first appeared in a study on the spatial transformation of the Chinese community in the Los Angeles area from downtown Chinatown to the suburban San Gabriel Valley in the second half of the twentieth century. These two communities exhibited distinctly different patterns of demographic and socioeconomic characteristics, as well as residential and business landscapes. The former is a typical American downtown Chinatown, congested and touristy; the latter, however, is the largest suburban Chinese concentration in the nation since the late twentieth century. At the time when the work began in early 1990s, Monterey Park (where the San Gabriel Valley Chinese community started) was referred to as the nation’s first “suburban Chinatown” by both academia and popular media, a designation implying that Monterey Park was the same sort of place as downtown Chinatown, only located in the suburbs. The residents of these two communities differ in their demographic and socioeconomic profiles. The economic restructuring and globalization on the one hand and Los Angeles’s regional circumstances on the other hand further connect empirical findings to broader socioeconomic and geopolitical contexts. The study concludes that the ethnic concentration in the San Gabriel Valley does not represent a suburban Chinatown, but is, instead, a new form of ethnic settlement. Other studies also discover that the processes driving ethnoburb formation are not unique to the Chinese in LA, but affect other ethnic minority and immigrant groups in other localities and even other countries.

The study of ethnoburbs is informed by both classic research on immigrant communities and new theoretical underpinnings. Varying spatial location, degrees of concentration, and forms of ethnic communities are good indicators of changing racial relations and socioeconomic environments. Historically, ethnic minority groups (immigrants included) were forced to live in contained communities because of

discrimination. Urban housing dynamics were underpinned by racial discrimination that caused various degrees of diverse forms of spatial segregation in both inner cities and suburbs. Their residential areas often take the form of ghettos and ethnic enclaves and are located in run-down neighborhoods, mostly inner cities. Numerous classic studies have been done on such immigrant neighborhoods and leave a rich legacy, describing immigrants' adaptation, assimilation, and integration to the destination countries. In the meantime, white middle-class families—composed of a working dad, a stay-at-home mom, and their children dominate the traditional suburbs in metropolitan areas, especially those in North America. If racial and ethnic minorities, Asians included, did achieve their dream of social and economic upward mobility by suburbanizing, they are expected to be, and likely are, spatially dispersed (known as “spatial assimilation”) and socioeconomically assimilated into the mainstream society. As a result, within an ethnic group those who live in inner-city enclaves are usually poor, less educated, spatially concentrated, and more likely to be low-skill workers in an ethnic job market; whereas residents of the suburbs are well off, professionally trained, and live in racially or ethnically mixed residential areas—as portrayed by the two traditional spatial models of ethnic settlements of “invasion and succession” and “downtown versus uptown.”

Such images, however, belie reality in recent decades as many suburban areas have transformed to multi-racial, multicultural, and even multinational ones. Changing political and socioeconomic situations have resulted in a range of ethnic spatial settlement patterns, from total dispersion or in new forms of ethnic concentration. Both processes can transform ethnic communities as well as society at large. Many new immigrants with higher educational attainment, professional occupations, and financial resources settle directly into the suburbs without ever having experienced life in the inner city. Today, demographic characteristics, social and economic structures, and residential and commercial landscapes are undergoing drastic changes in the suburban areas of many large metropolitan areas across the globe. The combination of changing geopolitical and global economic contexts and shifting immigration policies make it possible for

ethnoburbs to take root and grow. The influx of immigrants and the new economic networks created by their arrival stimulate the formation and determined the particular location of an ethnoburb within a metropolitan area. Following the major immigration policy changes of the second half of the twentieth century, unprecedented numbers of Asians with a variety of socioeconomic backgrounds immigrate to the recipient countries that have recruited them via the various mechanisms. The traditional small scale, congested inner-city ethnic enclaves can no longer house all the new immigrants. Many of them, including those who are wealthy and middle-class, not only do not consider the often crowded and run-down neighborhoods in inner cities their ideal places to live, they also have the financial resources to avoid living in those neighborhoods. They can afford the newer houses, nicer neighborhoods, and better schools that suburbs often offer. Because of the changing domestic social policies in the recipient countries, these new immigrants in most cases also have the freedom to choose where they preferred to live within a metropolitan area.

As a new type of ethnic concentration area, ethnoburbs occupy a unique position in the contemporary socioeconomic and political context and engage in all manner of social and economic relationships. Ethnoburbs are fully functional communities with their own internal socioeconomic structures that nevertheless integrated to national and transnational networks of information exchange, business connections, financial flows, and social activities. Ethnoburbs offer more space and diversified, economic activities to ethnic populations, compared to traditional enclaves. Ethnic economy in ethnoburbs not only incorporate the traditional ethnic businesses, but also involve globalization of capital, goods, and information, increasing mobility of both highly skilled, professional and managerial personnel, as well as low-skilled laborers. Forced segregation is not behind the formation of ethnoburbs as the case of ghettos, but clustered voluntarily among immigrants and minorities to maximize their personal and social networks and transnational business connections. Ethnoburbs also provide new immigrants with a community of similar language and culture. The ethnic economy inside ethnoburbs provides jobs and lures more immigrants to live and work. Increasing numbers of

immigrants—who are entrepreneurs, laborers, and customers of ethnic businesses—strengthen the ethnic socioeconomic structure in ethnoburbs. Yet, they may also increase potential tensions and conflicts between different classes within the ethnic group itself.

Given this mixed environment and daily contacts with people of different backgrounds, ethnic minority people in ethnoburbs are both inward and outward looking through their socioeconomic and political pursuits. Inside ethnoburb, people of different racial and ethnic backgrounds are connected not only with economic activities, social and cultural affairs, they are interacting with each other as neighbors. Immigrants and minorities are more likely to mobilize and involve in political activities, evident in the election of third-term Congresswoman Dr. Judy Chu, representing the West San Gabriel Valley and the current chairwoman of the Congressional Asian Pacific American Caucus, and the newly elected Grace Meng representing the multiethnic Queens of New York 6th Congressional District. Given the heterogeneity of ethnoburban residents with class differences, there are internal fragmentations along class line as well. Cultivating an ethnic consciousness leads to growth and prosperity, but may also undermine cross-racial coalition formation.

Since its inception, the ethnoburb concept phenomenon has been examined for its applicability and utility among different racial and ethnic groups and in different countries by both academia and media. Among urban areas studied are Sydney, Australia; Toronto and Vancouver in Canada; Auckland, New Zealand; London in the United Kingdom; and Atlanta, New York, Orange County, Portland, San Francisco Bay Area, and Washington, D.C. in the United States.

In summary, traditional ethnic settlements such as ghettos and enclaves are marginalized communities in mainstream society. Such traditional models of isolated communities can no longer fully capture the changing dynamics and connections in contemporary immigrant and minority settlements. Ethnoburbs have become reality in major American and other metropolitan areas. They provide opportunities for ethnic minority people to resist complete assimilation into the non-Hispanic white cultural and social “norms” of the mainstream societies. More important, the ethnoburb model challenges the dominant view that

assimilation is inevitable and the ideal solution for immigrants and other racial/ethnic minorities. By maintaining their multifaceted identities and establishing distinctive communities when keeping transnational connections, ethnoburban populations can nonetheless integrate into the mainstream society through economic activities, political involvement, and community life. In doing so, these ethnic minority groups are transforming American and other receiving societies.

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See also Chu, Judy; Meng, Grace

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Eu, March Fong (1922–)

March Fong Eu is a third-generation Asian American politician representing the Democratic Party. She was born March 29, 1922, in California and is famous as the first Asian American woman to be elected to the California State Assembly. Eu was one of the few women Californian state legislators of her time.

Eu, a third-generation Asian American, grew up in the small town of Oakdale, California. She received a BA in dentistry from the University of California at Berkeley in 1943, and later an MA from Mills College, and finally a PhD in education from Stanford University in 1954.

Eu has extensive experience as an educator. She taught in the Oakland Public School system, the

Alameda and Santa Clara County school system, at Mills College, and also served three terms with the Alameda County Board of education. She was also the president of the Alameda County Board of Education during part of her tenure there.

In 1966, Eu was elected to the California State Assembly, representing Oakland and parts of the Castro Valley. She served for four terms in the state assembly, from 1967 to 1974. Specifically, during her time in the state assembly, Eu championed consumer rights, worked tirelessly on environmental issues, and was an advocate for women's issues. After serving in the state assembly, Eu ran and won the position of secretary of state and served as the chief elections officer of the state of California.

Eu's election was groundbreaking at that time for two reasons. First, she was elected into office with a record-setting 3 million votes, and second, she also became California's first woman secretary of state. Her many accomplishments as secretary of state include instituting voter registration by mail, the availability of candidate statements in the state ballot pamphlet, the possibility of mail-ballot for all registered voters, and other initiatives. Eu's efforts have streamlined voting procedures in California and helped eliminate instances of election fraud. Eu was the 25th secretary of state of California, serving from 1975 to 1994.

In 1994, Eu accepted former President Bill Clinton's appointment as Ambassador of United States to the Federated States of Micronesia. She served as ambassador for two years until 1996. Eu returned to California afterward to continue her efforts in promoting California commercial interests, especially with the increase of exports of California products. She sponsored the creation of the California State World Trade Commission and served as its first chair.

In 2002, Eu had intended to run again for the office of secretary of state of California; however, she lost the Democratic nomination during the primaries. In 2003, she also filed a statement of intention to run in the gubernatorial race after the recall of former Governor Gray Davis; however, she later withdrew her intention. March Fong Eu has been a trailblazer in her own way, making history for Asian Americans and women alike in public service.

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See also Political Representation

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Evangelicals and Korean American Community Formation

Nearly 30 percent of the 49 million or so South Koreans are Christian. In the United States, however, 70 to 80 percent of over a million Koreans are Christian and are affiliated with an ethnic church. The majority of Koreans regularly attend the 4,000 or so Korean churches every Sunday in the United States. The Protestant faith and church have been central to the formation of the Korean American community since the very beginning of Koreans' settlement in the United States.

The Ethnic Church and Early Community Formation

The story of Korean immigration in America begins with the arrival of 102 Koreans in Honolulu, Hawaii on January 13, 1903. Between 1903 and 1905, more than 7,226 Koreans arrived in Hawaii to work on its sugar plantations. Within the first few months of settlement, the Korean laborers formed the Hawaii Methodist Church in 1903 and the Hawaii Korean Anglican Church in 1905. By 1904, there were seven Korean Christian chapels in Hawaii. From the start, these early churches became important clearinghouses of social



Church Elder David Ting holds his son Tobin, 2, as the congregation stands at the beginning of Sunday service at Grace Chapel in Lexington, Massachusetts, February 11, 2007. Grace Chapel is one of many megachurches altering the segregated landscape of Sunday worship, with African American, Haitian, Caucasian, Chinese, and Korean congregants singing along with a guitar-playing pastor. (AP Photo/Michael Dwyer)

services and information as the umbrella organization for the Korean American community. Beyond religious services, churches provided a forum for Korean Americans to discuss a wide range of issues including their economic concerns, status as an ethnic racial minority, and their desire to see Korea free from Japanese colonial oppression. The church became a place of comfort and meaning in a new land.

Unable to fully engage themselves as U.S. citizens and troubled over the Japanese colonization of Korea, Korean Americans actively involved themselves in homeland politics and advocated Korea's independence from Japan. In this process, Korean Christian churches became important sites for Korean immigrants' political activism and nationalism. The

separation of church and state found in mainstream America was not evident in the early Korean church. Homeland politics commonly intermingled with religion.

In addition to being the locus of political activity, Korean churches operated as the main community centers that addressed the various survival needs of their congregants. Located close to where the Korean immigrants resided, the churches provided multiple services and programs to ease Korean immigrants' settlement in the new country like job placement, counseling, legal aid, language classes, interpretation and translation, among others. Moreover, the churches served as a home away from home where fellow Korean exiles could find emotional and social support. At the ethnic

church, immigrants could speak their native language, exchange stories from back home, seek the advice and assistance of fellow co-ethnic church members, and support each other through the difficulties of working at the sugar plantations. The Korean church thus functioned as the educational, cultural, political, and social service center for Koreans. With pastors serving as spiritual counselors as well as community leaders, churches also became the representative of the Korean community to the rest of U.S. society.

The Ethnic Church and Community Formation Today

From 1970 to 1980, the Korean population in the United States increased by 412 percent, and Korea has consistently been on the list of the top ten immigrant-sending countries since the 1980s (USINS 1997). The Korean American population increased from 69,150 in 1970 to 1,076,872 in the year 2000. Koreans are currently the fifth-largest Asian group behind the Chinese, Filipino, Vietnamese, and South Asians. According to the 2000 U.S. Census, Koreans made up 0.39 percent of the U.S. population and 10.8 percent of the non-Hispanic Asian and Pacific-Islander population.

Surveys conducted in the 1980s show that almost three-quarters of the Korean immigrant population in America identified themselves as Christians and attended mostly Protestant churches. In some cities, the numbers are higher. A 1997–1998 survey conducted by Pyong Gap Min reported that 79 percent of Korean immigrants in Queens, New York identified themselves as Christians and 83 percent of them reported that they attend an (ethnic) church once a week or more. With nearly all Korean Christians taking part in a Korean congregation, the church participation rate for Korean Christians is much higher than that of other Christian groups in the United States. With the largest segment of the Korean Christian population being Presbyterians, the Racial and Ethnic Panel of Presbyterians' study based on national surveys show that 28 percent of white, 34 percent of African American, and 49 percent of Latino Presbyterians attend the congregation's Sunday worship every week compared to 78 percent of Korean Presbyterians.

Korean Presbyterians donate more money to the church, spend more time in the church, and take part in church activities more than their non-Korean counterparts in the study. Although Korean immigrants tend not to stay in one church for long, they will likely take part in an ethnic church for most of their lives and do so extensively. The Korean churches in the United States also have more than one service throughout the week and provide various opportunities for its members to take part in the church. Where there is a settlement of Koreans, there will be a Korean church nearby, where they will be actively engaged.

Reasons Behind the Importance of Faith and Church in Community Formation

Selective Migration. Part of the reason why Korean immigrants are drawn to the Christian faith and church in the United States is because they were Christians before their arrival. Although over a quarter of the population in South Korea can be counted as Christian, approximately half of the Koreans leaving in the post-1965 immigration wave were estimated to be Christian. This is not surprising considering that Christianity in Korea is strong among the urban middle-class, the group that is most likely to take part in contemporary immigration to the United States. Christians are also more likely to migrate than Buddhists or other Koreans with no religion.

The significance of faith and church for the Korean American community is also because of the abundance of Korean immigrant pastors in the United States. There are pastors that come directly to the United States to work at Korean immigrant churches. There are also Koreans that come to the United States as students in seminaries that stay on in the country as religious workers upon graduation. At Fuller Theological Seminary located in Southern California, Koreans make up about a quarter of the student body. Asians, mostly Koreans, also account for a quarter of the students at Talbot School of Theology. The significant cadre of Korean Christian religious professionals fuels the growth of Korean churches. If they can't lead an existent church, they can start a new church and expand the Korean American Christian community.

Reviving the Spirit. Immigrants, dislocated and faced with the difficult task of adjusting to a myriad of new changes in a foreign land, can find psychic relief and meaning through faith and church. Korean immigrants can turn to a conservative evangelical faith because it provides them an absolute belief system and a clear moral standard in an otherwise volatile existence as not only immigrants but as a racial minority in a new land. They may be strangers, misunderstood and marginalized in the broader society, but within the church community they can be accepted, understood, and uplifted. They can revive their spirit through their faith and church, which contributes to the significance of the church for the Korean American community.

The importance of the Protestant church in Korean Americans' community formation can also be attributed to the syncretism between traditional Korean culture and Protestant Christianity. The centrality of moral, social, and family values in Confucianism complements the moral codes and teachings of conservative Protestant Christianity. The Christian churches' stance against moral depravity and the importance of honoring and obeying one's parents, and the promotion of male-domination are in many ways congruent to patriarchal Confucianism. The Protestant church provides an amenable and reliable vehicle for the maintenance of traditional familial and communal order in the United States.

Social Capital. Immigrants need information and practical assistance as they settle and adjust in a new country. The Protestant Korean churches in the United States certainly fill this need. Korean Christian churches help its members find homes, purchase cars, and find the proper schools for their children. In addition to hospital visits to greet new babies or to comfort the sick, ethnic churches also provide translating services, aid in applying for citizenship, and dealing with the courts. In addition to spiritual counsel, one can get practical advice on where to find the best Korean food and how to pay for a traffic ticket. And, if they need financial capital to start a business or send their children to college, they can join credit associations through their church contacts. Many of the Korean language schools and preschools are connected to Korean churches. There are also faith-based community

organizations like the Korean Churches for Community Development that work with Korean churches to obtain resources and provide variety of social services and programs for the Korean American community.

Besides more practical assistance, Korean churches provide numerous fellowship opportunities for its members. There are picnics, retreats, sports events, holiday celebrations, and more that members can take part in and find community and belonging. Churches and their small fellowship groups can function as an extended family. Those who are single can also find their future partners within the church. Parents can be more assured that their children will marry another Korean if they take them to a Korean church. Koreans who are not part of a Korean church miss out on multiple social opportunities.

Ethnic entrepreneurs whose businesses cater to the coethnic community find the ethnic church to be a particularly valuable place for conducting business and gaining a reliable clientele base. Some Korean entrepreneurs even hold multiple memberships in several Korean churches to expand their networks for business purposes. Those who receive services from these business entrepreneurs can also benefit; they can be assured that they will be treated fairly by the businesses because news of dishonesty or improper business practices can spread quickly within a tight ethnic religious community. Those seeking employment can also get news of potential employment from businesspeople within the ethnic church.

The multiple social services and family-like community support that ethnic churches provide are particularly important given the lack of formal social service agencies for Korean immigrants. Because their meetings tend to be less intense and frequent, nonreligious ethnic organizations are also less effective than churches in fostering social interaction and networks with coethnics. The proactive outreach strategies of the Korean Protestant churches, relative to other alternative religious and/or ethnic organizations, further contributes to the significance of the ethnic church for the Korean American community. Buddhist monks are not at local Korean grocery stores and other Korean businesses or the major airports looking for converts like the Korean Evangelical Protestants.

Status Revival. Besides the more visible social functions of the Korean church, there are more latent functions that the church provides, which contribute to its significance in the formation of the Korean American community. The ethnic church helps Koreans regain the social status that they lost in the process of immigrating and adapting to a new land. Because of language limitations, cultural unfamiliarity, and other disadvantages, many contemporary Korean immigrants cannot maintain the professional, administrative, and managerial positions that they once had in Korea. In this situation, the ethnic church helps alleviate immigrants' status depreciation and devaluation by giving them recognition and opportunities to take on leadership positions within the church. Besides positions as elders and deacons, there are various committees like the committee for education, fellowship, finance, and publication that members can lead. Members can be the directors of the choir, children's Bible schools, or language school. Multiple positions exist to satisfy members' need for social status and recognition. Although the broader U.S. public may not recognize and/or respect middle-class Korean immigrants' past social status and achievement as college graduates or professionals in Korea, fellow coethnics will.

Constructing Identity and Culture. As an extended family, the Korean church provides the social arena for Korean immigrants to regularly gather, speak Korean, eat Korean food, celebrate Korean holidays, exchange news from Korea, and practice traditional Korean culture and norms. The Korean church offers the plausibility structure, the stable social relationships, that help preserve and reconstruct not only Koreans' religious identity, but also their ethnic identity in the United States. With familiar faces, smells, and sounds surrounding them, Korean immigrants can share as well as pass on parts of their culture to the next generation. Korean churches organize various social activities that help build ethnic networks; they have Korean language programs, daycare, and other children's programs that facilitate the transmission of Korean culture to the later generations. After the main Sunday worship service, Korean churches serve Korean food, full lunches and refreshments, with time for fellowship. At these and other gatherings, Korean immigrants can celebrate birthdays for

the children and the elderly members in the traditional Korean fashion with Korean food. Korean churches celebrate Korean holidays like Chuseok, the Korean equivalent to Thanksgiving, where Korean food can be consumed wearing traditional Korean clothes. Outside of the family, Korean churches are a major, if not the major, source of coethnic cultural interaction and community building.

Summary

Since the first group of Korean migrants settled in Hawaii, faith and church have been central for the Korean American community. Evangelical faith and church provide significant meaning systems and provide Korean Americans the plausibility structures to forge their own spiritual and ethnic space in the new country by also offering them multiple practical services and aid. The tremendous significance that the church has for the community, however, means that Koreans who are disengaged from the ethnic church are also disconnected from many of the resources within the Korean American community.

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See also *Evangelicals on the College Campus; Korean American Churches*

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Evangelicals on the College Campus

At many of the large and elite college campuses across the United States, the terms evangelical Christian and Asian American have become almost synonymous. A quarter of the evangelical college students at New York City colleges and universities are Asian American. Christian campus groups on Ivy League campuses like the Harvard Radcliffe Christian Fellowship at Harvard and Campus Crusade for Christ (CCC) at Yale have become majority Asian American. A joint meeting of the major campus ministries on campuses like the University of California at Berkeley and the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA) will be over 90 percent Asian. Since the early 1990s, many evangelical campus groups have experienced an “Asianization” within their ministries. On most college campuses, you have a far better chance of finding a Chinese Christian fellowship than a Chinese Buddhist club.

Responding to this growth, some in the evangelical community have dubbed Asian American evangelicals as “God’s new whiz kids” who not only excel in school, but are exemplars of evangelical piety and devotion. Asian Americans are stereotyped not only as the “model minority,” but the moral minority, which other evangelicals would do well to emulate. Although Asian Americans are being touted as the model moral minority, Asian American evangelical leaders note that being involved in campus ministries has become a “cool” thing to do for Asian American college students. There are multiple factors that contribute to the growing presence of Asian American evangelicals on college campuses.

Reasons Behind the Growth

Asian Americans account for roughly 4 percent of the U.S. population. But they makeup more than

15 percent of the student enrollment at Ivy League colleges like Yale, Harvard, and Columbia, and more than 20 percent of the student enrollment at Stanford, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and California Institute of Technology. The numbers are even higher in some of the public universities in California. Over 40 percent of the student enrollment at UC Berkeley, UCLA, and UC Irvine are Asian Americans. But numbers do not tell the whole story. The religious background of Asian American students, namely Korean Americans and Chinese Americans who predominate in campus ministries, is also important.

Most of the students in campus ministries have former religious ties. The largest group of Asian American campus evangelicals, Korean Americans, is a mostly churching population. Seventy to 80 percent of over a million Koreans in the United States identify themselves as Christians and regularly attend the 4,000 or so Korean churches every Sunday. Indeed, it is difficult to find a Korean immigrant who is not part of a Korean church. Many of the children of Korean immigrants that matriculate into colleges and universities thus come from church backgrounds, which can lead them to take part in campus ministries once they are in college. Chinese Americans, who also makeup a sizable population of Asian American evangelicals, are not as likely to be churching. Nevertheless, it is estimated that a third of Chinese Americans are Christian—far more than the estimated 1 to 5 percent of the Christian population in Chinese societies—and Christian churches are the most predominant religious institutions among Chinese Americans.

Coming from church backgrounds can contribute to students’ participation in campus ministries. In some cases, students are connected to a particular campus ministry even before their matriculation to college through the networks that are available in their church community. Church background, however, is not enough. Campus ministries themselves have to be appealing. Recognizing this, campus ministries work hard to recruit new members. Particularly during the first few weeks of schools, they will set up their tables out in the popular walkways on college campuses with free food, refreshments, and games to attract new members. In addition to Bible studies and worship gatherings, campus ministries offer multiple

opportunities for social gatherings. They have free barbecues, pizza parties, special banquets, study sessions, trips to amusement parks, sports events, bonfires at the beach, and retreats into the mountains. In campus ministries, students can meet lifelong friends and even find one's future spouse.

Newly arrived students on campus have a lot to gain by joining these communities. During midterm and final exam weeks, the older members in the campus ministry will cook and prepare special care packages for the new members. Someone in the campus ministries will remember their birthdays, help them run errands, and assist them if their car breaks down. They can also turn to fellow peers in the campus ministry for advice on everything from relationships to how to pass a biochemistry exam. What is more, all of these social benefits are offered free of charge. Unlike other campus organizations like sororities and fraternities, anyone who is willing to join is welcome and can obtain the benefits of joining the organization.

In his in-depth field research at an InterVarsity Christian Fellowship (IVCF) chapter at McMaster University in Ontario, Paul A. Bramadat also finds that campus ministries function as an alternative institution that enables students to work through a sense of otherness as Christians on a secular campus. IVCF offers a unique evangelical counterpart to every secular student social function and organizes meetings and events that help students to address the cognitive and social dissonance that they face as Evangelical Christians in secular academia. For ethnic minorities, however, campus ministries solve more than their spiritual estrangement. They can also shield them from marginalization as ethnic and racial minorities.

In ethnically or racially homogeneous campus ministries where most Asian Americans are clustered, Asian Americans can take their ethnicity for granted, and not worry about race or racism. In his study of Chinese American and Korean American evangelicals, Anthony Alumkal finds that Asian Americans retreat into evangelical campus fellowships as an act of self-preservation in a racially hostile setting. Examining the reorganization of Chinese and Japanese American congregations around a new panethnic Asian American identity, Russell Jeung also adds that contemporary evangelicalism gives Asian Americans

a chance to escape the undesirable aspects of their racial status by adopting an alternative identity, by making Christianity the locus of their identity. Asian Americans can turn to many of the ethnically or racially homogeneous evangelical fellowships to escape a society where race continues to matter.

Asian American pastors and staff leaders also point out that Asian American campus ministries provide Asian American students opportunities for leadership, which they would not otherwise have in other white-dominated campus ministries. They do not have to compete with other ethnic groups, namely whites, for power within the campus ministry structure. Asian Americans are also said to have different leadership styles. They are more submissive and hierarchical and less likely to challenge authority figures and consequently are less likely to get noticed for leadership within a larger group setting. Accordingly, Asian Americans will have a better chance of moving up the ladders of power and exercising their leadership within a racially and culturally more homogeneous ministry.

Moreover, Asian Americans are creating their own generational, ethnic, and religious community through campus ministries. Studies on churched second-generation Korean Americans as well as Chinese Americans note that the second-generation are not happy in their parents' church. Many find the immigrant church to be patriarchal, hierarchical, divisive, dry, rigid, first generation focused, and disconnected to their cultural and spiritual needs. Coming from these backgrounds, campus ministries, which are commonly run by the second- and later-generation Asian Americans themselves, provide Asian Americans a chance to worship in their own way. They can sing the most contemporary worship songs, construct programs that suit their own tastes, and listen to messages that speak to their generational and cultural experiences as Asian Americans, many of whom grew up in immigrant-parent homes. Along these lines, the leaders of campus ministries deliberately try to reach out to Asian American students with the belief that they are a distinct group with unique needs and cultural backgrounds.

Asian Americans, even those who are third- or fourth-generation, are believed to be bound by common cultural traditions, beliefs, and values that

become the basis of a distinct panethnic group identity. Characteristically, Asian Americans, particularly those of East Asian descent, are described as more self-controlled, disciplined, fatalistic, obedient to authority, humble, and collective relative to the European American population. They are viewed as more shame- and guilt-ridden and bound by “liminality”—being in-between two worlds. These perceived differences motivate campus pastors to create campus ministries especially catered to Asian Americans. The fact that mainline seminaries educate seminarians about the specific theological concerns, perspectives, and social issues of Asian Americans and offer programs and courses tailored toward them further supports the formation of Asian American campus ministries. There is even a sense that religious institutions should play a role in reconnecting Asian Americans with their ethnic and familial heritages.

Religious leaders and scholars also suspect that Asian Americans are drawn to evangelicalism because their familial cultural background and overall group character mesh well with conservative evangelical faith. Evangelicalism’s emphasis on hard work, discipline, self-control, and obedience complement Asian Americans’ familial and cultural upbringing. Turning to evangelical campus ministries can help Asian Americans to stay on the model minority path of socioeconomic mobility. It can encourage them to work hard and live disciplined, self-controlled, and obedient lives that honor one’s parents. At the same time, evangelical campus ministries can offer psychological spiritual relief for many of the Asian American students who grow up with excessive parental pressures to succeed. Ethnic campus ministries can help Asian American students to sort out their ethnic identity issues in ways that other organizations like ethnic studies programs cannot. Ethnic studies courses teach students about their history, culture, and racial oppression, but do not practically help second-generation Asian American students to work through their identity issues as a people straddling multiple generations and cultures.

Impacting the Campus

Asian American evangelical campus ministries tend not to be politically active. They focus on fellowship

gatherings and may have a few community service activities and mission trips to nearby countries, but they do not actively engage themselves in politics in or outside of the college campus. Although they may not be politically active, Asian American evangelicals are enlivening and diversifying the campus Christian community and innovating new ways of worship.

Across the United States, Asian American groups are pioneering a revival of a cappella singing. On West Coast college campuses, Korean American evangelicals are known for their cutting-edge praise music. Although Asian American evangelicals’ praise is largely similar to other evangelicals, it is often more cutting edge. They use the latest praise music coming out of the United Kingdom as well as the United States—before the other campus ministries do the same. They tend to use more modern musical instruments like electric pianos, bass, and guitar than some of the other traditionally white-dominant campus ministries.

The presence of Asian American students has also made the campus evangelical community more diverse. Taking part in campus ministries is no longer just a predominantly white phenomenon. Looking at the list of campus organizations or walking through the rows of campus organizations trying to attract students on the popular walkways of college campuses tells us that the campus Christian community has diversified. Moreover, the emergence of Asian American evangelicals has pushed the campus Christian community leaders to create more ethnic and multiethnic ministries and think seriously about issues like racial reconciliation. There is more talk of worshipping with the entire body of Christ and moving beyond the racial boundaries that divide the rest of society. A few Asian American evangelical leaders are even forming multiethnic ministries that draw a more ethnically diverse student body.

Despite genuine intentions and attempts to pursue more integrated fellowships, separate ethnic or race-based ministries remain the most popular. Asian American evangelicals have a visible presence and are known for their religious fervor and innovative worship, but their campus ministries run separately from the more established white Evangelical campus

ministries. This isn't just the Asian Americans' or other ethnic minorities' doing. It is because white students want their own ethnic fellowship too. The campus evangelical community has diversified, but it is not integrated.

When Asian American students increasingly start filling the seats in their campus ministry, white students leave. They tend to leave in search of their own racially homogeneous campus ministry where they can remain the majority, where they don't have to confront or deal with diversity. This is what happened at several IVCF chapters. When some IVCF chapters started to proactively promote racial reconciliation and give ethnic minority students more leadership positions, white students left. They left for campus ministries or similar alternative organizations where they don't have to reconcile cultural differences and compromise their majority group status.

Recognizing that neither white nor the growing numbers of minority students, namely Asian Americans, want to pursue a truly integrated multiethnic community, campus ministries have created multiple parallel ethnic campus ministries. Larger established campus evangelical organizations like Campus Crusade for Christ and Intervarsity Christian Fellowship both have separate ethnic ministries for Hispanics, blacks, and Asian Americans. For example, on the University of Texas at Austin campus, CCC and IVCF have their own separate Asian American ministries. On some college campuses on the West and East Coasts, CCC and IVCF even have ethnic ministries specifically for Korean Americans (e.g., Korea-CCC and Korea-IVCF). Thus, although there is still talk of racial reconciliation and racial unity, integrated multi-racial campus ministries remain scarce. This is largely because of the leaderships' recognition that far fewer people would take part in the campus ministries if ethnic and racial integration is pushed. In a setting where students can choose from a variety of racially diverse campus ministries, most, including Asian American evangelicals, will choose separate ethnic ministries. In this way, the growing numbers of Asian American college evangelicals have contributed to the development of separate ethnic ministries on many of the

private elite and large college campuses across the United States.

Rebecca Y. Kim

See also Asian Religions and Religious Practices in America

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Evora, Amanda (1984–)

Amanda Evora is a Filipino American pair skater. She was born on November 17, 1984, in New York. When she was six, she discovered her sister's skates in the garage that fit her. This discovery started her skating career. Evora teamed with Mike Adler until June 2002 and with Mark Ladwig since then. Evora and Ladwig received their training in Florida. They won the gold medal at the 2004 Golden Spin of Zagreb. In 2010, they finished second at the U.S. Championships and ninth at the World Championships. They represented the United States at the 2010 Winter Olympic Games in Vancouver, Canada and placed tenth in pairs skating.

Yuchun Kuo

See also Filipino Americans

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Ex Parte Mitsuye Endo (1944)

In the case of *In re Mitsuye Endo* 323 U.S. 283 (1944), announced in December 1944, the United States Supreme Court ruled that the federal government could not confine concededly loyal citizens of Japanese ancestry. This case was fundamental in reshaping the wartime trajectory of Japanese Americans, as it led to the opening of the camps and the mass return of inmates to the West Coast before the end of the war.

The fact that the *Endo* case was brought at all, let alone appealed before the Supreme Court, was in some sense a matter of chance given its importance. Mitsuye Endo, a stenographer at the Department of Motor Vehicles in Sacramento, was one of a small group of Nisei state employees who were dismissed from their positions in early 1942. Following her removal to the Tanforan Assembly Center, Endo was contacted by ACLU lawyer James Purcell, who sought to challenge the arbitrary dismissal of the Nisei state employees. Although Endo either never met her lawyer or did so only on one occasion, she agreed to serve as a test case. Purcell's original intent was not to challenge confinement as such but for Endo to regain the civil service job from which she had been arbitrarily dismissed. Purcell determined, however, that the most rapid legal means to achieve this goal was by the circuitous route of challenging her confinement via a *habeas corpus* petition. Thus, Purcell charged the federal government with unlawful detention that deprived Mitsuye Endo of her right to return to her job.

In bringing his petition, Purcell was supported not only by the ACLU, but by the Japanese American Citizens League, which had earned the enmity of many Nisei by declining to oppose mass wartime removal. Unlike the other challenges to Executive Order 9066, Endo's case did not involve a challenge to the initial removal, but rather a larger question of liberty from arbitrary confinement.

In July 1942, Endo's *habeas corpus* petition was argued before Judge Michael Roche. Although a *habeas corpus* petition is supposed to be an expedited proceeding, Judge Roche deliberately stalled his decision for over one year following the hearing, during which time Endo remained arbitrarily confined, first at Tanforan and then at the Tule Lake camp. (Some time later, Endo was once more removed to the Topaz camp in Utah. In theory, this removed her from the jurisdiction of the California court, but Judge Roche neither acted to freeze her location nor withdrew from the case.) Finally, in July 1943, after the Supreme Court decisions in the *Hirabayashi* and *Yasui* cases were issued, Roche issued an order summarily dismissing Endo's petition, but did not offer any explanation or grounds for his action.

Purcell appealed Endo's case to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 9th Circuit. Government lawyers recognized that they had little chance of prevailing on appeal, especially because Mitsuye Endo had filled out a leave clearance questionnaire and had been adjudged "loyal." Government officials nevertheless feared the consequences of opening the camps. Thus, the War Relocation Authority's (WRA's) chief attorney, WRA Solicitor Philip Glick, traveled to see Endo and tried to persuade her not to continue, offering her an immediate "leave permit" to resettle outside the West Coast if she would abandon the case. Endo refused and remained in confinement as her appeal was perfected.

In March 1944, as the 9th Circuit prepared to hear Endo's appeal, the Supreme Court agreed to hear the *Korematsu* case. James Purcell and the ACLU lawyers defending the *Korematsu* case hoped that the two would be argued together, as the arguments presented in defense of Mitsuye Endo might influence the Justices to rule in favor of Fred Korematsu as well. In turn, the fact that both cases were forthcoming might push the government to take rapid action to lift West Coast exclusion so as to avoid being put in the position of acting illegally. Ninth Circuit Appellate Judge William Denman, who hoped for a rapid resolution to the *Endo* case, certified questions for the Supreme Court in April 1944, so that it could be brought before the court before its summer recess. Although the court did decide in the end to hear the cases together, it reached an opposite conclusion as to time—instead of

hastening action in *Endo*, already prolonged immoderately for a *habeas corpus* case, the justices decided to put off arguments on both cases until its fall 1944 term. The court justified the delay by reference to the needs of the lawyers involved in the cases. However, it was surely not coincidental that it saved the court from being forced to rule on the cases during the fall 1944 electoral season.

In October 1944, the *Endo* and *Korematsu* cases were both argued before the U.S. Supreme Court. On December 18, 1944—also the same day as it announced its ruling in the *Korematsu* case—the Supreme Court unanimously ordered the executive branch to release Mitsuye Endo from confinement. In contrast to the sharp exchanges between the justices in *Korematsu*, Justice William O. Douglas’s opinion in *Endo* was brief and almost offhanded. In the interests of maintaining unity among the fractious justices, Douglas evaded all constitutional questions regarding the arbitrary race-based imprisonment of American citizens and the essential question of the government’s power to issue military orders against citizens. Instead, he merely found that nothing either in Executive Order 9066 or in the congressional legislation enforcing it granted the WRA or any agency the power to detain a concededly loyal citizen such as Endo. So cautious were Justice Douglas and the court that the opinion did not even explicitly state whether Endo might return to her home and job on the West Coast.

In essence then, Douglas took the demonstrably absurd position that the WRA had acted as a rogue agency in pursuing mass confinement without approval. Justice Owen Roberts rejected Douglas’s logic in a concurrence, stating that the president had confirmed the action in his messages to Congress, and Congress had approved incarceration by funding the agency. Justice Frank Murphy added his own concurrence, explicitly connecting the confinement in *Endo* with the mass removal that the court had just upheld in *Korematsu*.

The *Endo* decision capped a long struggle within government circles over whether to permit Japanese Americans to return to the West Coast. The court’s unanimous ruling provided political cover not only for the executive branch to open the camps, but for the war department to lift exclusion. Beginning in

early 1944, the war department had quietly allowed various categories of Japanese Americans, such as the wives and children of Nisei soldiers, to return to the West Coast, but had retained its overall policy and enjoined silence on the returnees. The *Endo* case provided constitutional sanction for the former inmates to return home, and the war department lifted exclusion as of January 2, 1945. Within 12 to 18 months after the *Endo* decision, the majority of the mainland Japanese population had resettled in the former excluded zone.

Paradoxically, despite its vital impact on the lives of confined Japanese Americans, the *Endo* case was little cited in subsequent rulings by the court and remains comparatively little known. In contrast, the *Korematsu* decision, which had little or no actual influence in the shaping of government policy toward Japanese Americans, has achieved classic status in the history of American constitutional law. In a further irony, even after her long-sought victory, Mitsuye Endo (later Mitsuye Tsutsumi) did not return to the West Coast and the job she had left. Instead, she settled permanently in Chicago, where she took a job as an assistant to the city’s Human Rights Commission. She died in May 2006.

In the decades after her case was decided, Endo shied away from public scrutiny, and did not actively participate in the protests and commemorations of the Japanese American redress movement (although she did produce a short oral history for John Tateishi’s 1983 anthology *And Justice for All*). Because of the fact that Endo won her initial case—and perhaps also in view of her retiring nature—she was not associated with the *coram nobis* petitions through which her fellow wartime Supreme Court plaintiffs challenged their convictions during the 1980s, and in the process she achieved renewed celebrity. (She likewise fit awkwardly, both on gender and ideological grounds, into popular celebration of the “resisters” who had stood up against official oppression.) Her obscurity is unfortunate, as Endo’s actions, in their quiet way, were at least as heroic as those of the others. First, she was prepared to challenge her arbitrary dismissal from a California civil service job—itsself an unusual achievement for a Nisei woman in the prewar days when discrimination was the rule. In addition to her

desire to hang on to such a prized position for herself, she was surely inspired to defend her rights on behalf of the larger group. Furthermore, her refusal to accept a “leave permit” and moot her case, and her willingness to remain in confinement for some 18 months to ensure that her case was heard, demonstrated Endo’s courageous dedication to principle.

Greg Robinson

See also Hirabayashi v. United States (1943); *Korematsu v. United States* (1945); *Korematsu, Hirabayashi*, and *Yasui Coram Nobis* Cases; *Yasui v. United States* (1943)

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F

Filipina War Brides

Although American media has often dedicated greater attention to Japanese and, to a lesser extent, Korean and Vietnamese women who have married American servicemen, Filipina war brides have a long presence in Asian American immigration history owing to the nation's complex colonial and neo-colonial relationship with the Philippines. According to historian Emily Porcincula Lawsin (1996), "a war bride is defined as a foreign national who married a man who served in the U.S. armed forces as a result of U.S. mobilization for war, or as a result of subsequent military occupation. For Filipina war brides, this included those who married servicemen who had enlisted in the armed forces either in the United States or in the Philippines, where the Philippine Scouts, the Philippine Army and Philippine Guerillas (during the Japanese occupation) were all placed under U.S. armed forces command." Because of this colonial context, most Filipina war brides married Filipino and Filipino American men, challenging the conventional European American male/Asian female military relationships.

The United States' imperial entanglement with the Philippines, that began with the Philippine-American War (1899–1902) and lasted well beyond Philippine Independence (1946), crafted structural and ideological factors facilitating the marriage and migration of Filipina war brides. The presence of the armed forces established sprawling urban economies around military bases that led to the interaction between American servicemen and Filipinas of a variety of backgrounds. Moreover, the Philippine colonial education system has historically inculcated in Filipinos a view of the superiority of American culture. Lastly, since English

was the medium of instruction in the education system, Filipinas and non-Filipino servicemen from the United States shared a language that eased communication barriers.

After the Philippines became a U.S. colonial possession, the migration of Filipina war brides was minimal, in part because of immigration channels that favored the migration of male laborers and later, immigration restriction under the Tydings-McDuffie Act (1934). Nevertheless, as early as 1902, Rufina Clemente and her American husband Sgt. Francis Jenkins settled in Seattle marking the arrival of Filipina war brides.

By World War II, the U.S. military presence in the Philippines intensified. Moreover, Filipino Americans joined the First and Second Filipino Infantry Regiment and the Philippine Civil Affairs Unit whereas Filipinos served in the Philippine Scouts, Philippine Army, and the guerilla resistance, which were subsumed under the U.S. military (and therefore enabled Philippine-born veterans to apply for naturalization). Filipinas came into contact with servicemen around military bases and after usually brief courtships many married. A common fear among war brides was that their marriages would last *hanggang pier lamang* or only up to the pier; that is to say, their husbands would in effect abandon them. This fear was not completely unfounded because of lengthy immigration bureaucracy and the Tydings-McDuffie Act. However, because of amendments to the 1945 War Brides Act, servicemen were able to bring their new wives to the United States without having them count against the nation's immigrant quota.

During the Cold War and particularly America's involvement in Southeast Asia, militarism in the

Philippines increased rapidly and the migration of war brides followed suit. Although some 1,000 war brides migrated to the United States per year in the late 1950s, that number rose to a staggering 4,000 by the 1970s. By the 1980s the U.S. military became the largest employer in the Philippines after the Philippine government. Many brides met their future husbands on or around military bases as civilian staff, through USO functions, or in the surrounding businesses. Because the Philippines was appointed a “rest and recreation” center for soldiers serving throughout the region, many relationships also developed through the service and entertainment economies of restaurants, bars, and clubs surrounding military cities such as Olongapo. Because of the stigmatization of the stereotypical “bar girl” and the long history of sexual exploitation of Asian women by U.S. military members, many war brides are careful to distinguish themselves and their relationships from those sexualized spaces.

After migrating to the United States war brides faced a variety of adaptation issues. Many were faced with the disappointment that their new homes did not match the idealized imagery of America they gleaned from U.S. popular culture. War brides, reflective of the diversity of Filipino immigration, worked in a variety of occupations ranging from cannery labor to service work to the nursing profession. Like other immigrants, war brides reported homesickness, but theirs was certainly amplified given the transitory nature of military life and settlement in areas with few other Filipinos. Nevertheless, war brides created networks among themselves. In Seattle, a handful of women established the Seattle War Brides Association in 1949. This organization helped cultivate a stronger Filipino American community in the city to welcome new war brides, offer a variety of social events, provide mutual assistance, establish youth programming, and work toward the construction of a community center.

The migration of Filipina war brides has several implications for the course of Asian American history. This wave of migrants created new generations of Filipino Americans that disrupt the conventional periodization of the pre-World War II farm and plantation laborers and the post-1965 migration of professionals.

Moreover, the marriage of Filipinas to Filipino Americans, European American and, to a lesser extent, African Americans led to different consequences for the contours of Filipino American communities. Coethnic marriages led to the development of a pre-1965 second generation and, in Chicago, for example, lessened prejudice against the Filipino American community that had included several Filipino male/European American female couples. Meanwhile, interracial marriages led to the rise of a newer mixed-race Filipino American population.

Although the United States’ military installations in the Philippines, most notably the U.S. Naval Base at Subic Bay and Clark Air Base, closed in the early 1990s, America’s military presence in the region is still very evident through trainings in the wake of September 11, 2001 and counterinsurgency activities against Muslim separatists in the southern Philippines. Moreover, since the 1960s the growth of the Filipino American community has largely been because of liberalization of immigration laws that facilitated the migration of professionals and individuals through family reunification. However, Filipina war brides have left a lasting impact on the development of diverse Filipino American community.

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See also Chinese War Brides; Japanese War Brides; War Brides Act (1945)

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Filipino Agricultural Workers

Filipino agricultural workers, popularly known as the *manongs* (a Filipino colloquialism for an elder brother or uncle), have left an indelible mark on Asian American history through their labor activism and the social world they crafted beyond the fields. From the 1920s until the 1970s both fiery union leaders and rank-and-file Filipino workers addressed the egregious inequalities that existed in America’s West Coast agricultural empires.

The manong story begins with dual expansions of American empire and capitalism in the nineteenth century. Following the Philippine-American War (1899–1902) and the occupation of the Philippines, a colonial education system valorized the United States in the eyes of Filipinos, setting the stage for future large-scale emigration. Meanwhile, the U.S. West Coast witnessed the meteoric rise of agribusiness following land monopolization and the development of railroads during the Gilded Age. The success of these “factories in the field,” as investigative journalist Carey McWilliams called them in 1939, was predicated upon the exploitation of cheap labor. Following the legal exclusion of other Asian immigrants and the fear that future laws might curtail Mexican migration, West Coast growers aggressively seized on the ambiguous status of Filipinos as “nationals” (neither alien nor citizen) and recruited a new labor force from the Philippines.

The manongs were primarily young, unmarried men, with little formal education from the rural areas of the Luzon region of the Philippines. They were tantalized by the growers’ recruitment promises of making quick fortunes in the United States and driven by overcrowding and a tenant economy that afforded little paths to financial security in their home provinces. Migration quickly accelerated: although there were only five Filipinos in California in 1910, by 1939 there were over 35,000. By 1930 the Pacific Northwest also had a population of over 5,000 Filipinos. Sixty percent were concentrated in manual labor both on farms and

in canneries. Generally, Filipinas did not migrate during this wave because of patriarchal norms that restricted the mobility of single women, immigration channels that favored men, and the difficulties of sustaining a family on agricultural workers’ wages. By 1930 less than 10 percent of the total Filipino population in the United States was female.

The harsh and unprofitable life of farm work undermined many of the sojourning plans of the manongs. Labor contractors managed crews ranging in size from 5 to 50 laborers. By the 1930s workers earned between \$0.20 and \$0.35 per hour whereas upward of \$60 per month went toward lodging and meals. Agricultural workers moved across the West Coast based on harvest seasons. Manongs in the Pacific Northwest and Montana cultivated, picked, cut, cleaned, and packaged apples, hops, potatoes, and lettuce; in California they worked with carrots, lettuce, strawberries, celery, asparagus, and grapes. Asparagus was particularly lucrative (and notoriously difficult to harvest) and by 1925 Filipinos comprised 80 percent of the workforce. Whereas previous generations of farm workers were able to transition to owning land, Filipinos faced restrictive land laws in California that prevented Asian immigrants from purchasing land.

Manongs faced both deep racism and demanding conditions in the fields. Racist assumptions abounded among growers who believed Filipinos were suited to “stoop labor” because of their youth and relatively shorter stature. The local press lambasted them as “semi-barbarian,” “shiftless,” “diseased,” and, despite their labors, “worthless.” The West Coast’s extreme climates also contributed to dangerous conditions from the stinging cold of Washington to the oppressive heat of California. Manongs suffered heat stroke and exhaustion, which was a common hazard for asparagus workers. Few growers provided bathroom facilities or safe drinking water and workers had no security net for dealing with injuries or disease. As agrochemical techniques advanced, many growers used toxic pesticides with little regard for the health and safety of the farm workers who were housed in shacks, tents, abandoned boxcars, or dilapidated bunkhouses. In most cases workers lived in unsanitary spaces, rife with insects, and lacking privacy. During the Great Depression the California State Relief Administration found a

gang of Filipino laborers living in an abandoned schoolhouse in the Imperial Valley; after some five months of work they had earned only \$50 each. The few, but determined, Filipinas (or *manangs*) joined their husbands in the fields or cooked for work crews, while managing their family finances and raising children.

Because of dangerous workplaces, shoddy living conditions, and meager wages, the manongs formed labor organizations and strikes across the West Coast. Grassroots action was particularly urgent because, as their status as “nationals,” the manongs did not have a home government to advocate on their behalf. However, because they were “nationals,” growers were unable to deport recalcitrant Filipinos as they regularly did to Mexican farm workers. Given organized labor’s historically antagonistic relationship toward Asians, Filipinos mobilized on their own. In 1933, when the American Federation of Labor (AFL) refused to charter a Filipino lettuce workers union, the manongs established the Filipino Labor Union (FLU) and staged a strike in Salinas, California. The FLU, with a membership of over 2,000, established a tentative partnership with the white-dominated Vegetable Packers Union, but during the negotiations, the latter betrayed the manongs, which resulted in a minor five-cent wage increase. In 1937, the FLU called another strike in Salinas that ended with the arson and destruction of the manongs’ camp, the arrest of a union leader, and the forced removal of some 700 Filipinos from the region. By 1939, the Filipino Agricultural Laborer’s Association of Stockton engaged in a strike; the following year, the AFL eventually chartered the Federated Agricultural Laborers Association, which negotiated on behalf of Filipino laborers in the Central Valley.

In the world beyond the fields, Filipinos endured crude and violent racism yet still carved out communities. Racist attitudes toward Filipinos colluded with economic competition during the Great Depression producing a series of race riots. Filipinos in Washington were targeted in Yakima Valley (1927) and Wenatchee Valley (1928). White mobs raided and beat Filipinos at a labor camp in Tulare County, California in 1929. Despite the presence of racist violence as well as the transitory nature of agricultural work, the manongs built a variety of spaces and

support networks. In ethnic enclaves across the West Coast migration corridors, they gathered in hotels, restaurants, pool halls, and stores to relax and share a network of jobs, working conditions, housing, and news of friends and loved ones. Often manongs owned or managed these businesses and supplemented that income by cooking and selling Filipino food to the farm workers on the move. The manongs also established province-based organizations and fraternal clubs including *Caballeros de Dimas Alang*, *Legionarios de Trabajo*, and the Filipino Federation of America. Prizefighting was also a popular recreational activity. Manongs also created fictive kinship networks, showering care upon the few children in the Filipino community.

The manongs frequented other spaces associated with vice. They attended gambling dens, which provided both recreation and a limited pathway for financial mobility. Because they were a bachelor society, the manongs patronized taxi dance halls where they could escape the rancor of the world around them in the arms of Mexican American or, more generally, white women. Treated as an automaton by growers and constructed as a “brown horde” by U.S. society, the manongs donned their finest zoot suits and redefined themselves through style and performance on the dance floor.

These interracial interactions, which often led to romantic or sexual relationships, incensed white men who claimed ownership over white women’s bodies. In the early 1930s Judge Sylvain Lazarus ordered police to arrest any Filipino seen with a white woman. The El Cerrito police chief, meanwhile, instructed officers to arrest white woman seen with a Filipino. Throughout the West Coast, unscrupulous politicians fanned the flames of anti-Filipino hatred to bolster their electoral campaigns. The intersection of anxieties over race mixing and economic competition came into stark relief during the 1930 Watsonville Riots when, just days after the local chamber of commerce pushed for Filipino exclusion, hundreds of white vigilantes stormed a dance hall, beat dozens of patrons, and went on a five-day destructive rampage against Filipinos in town that resulted in the death of one 22-year-old manong. The violence led to similar riots in Stockton, San Francisco Salinas, and San Jose. Three years later,

California amended its antimiscegenation laws to prevent “Malays” from outmarriage, blocking interracial Filipino unions.

Despite these obstacles, manongs persevered during and after World War II. In the 1950s, Larry Itliong, a veteran of Filipino labor organizing in Alaska and Washington, established the Filipino Farm Labor Union (FFLU), which merged with the National Farm Labor Union (of which Philip Vera Cruz was affiliated) to form the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (AWOC) in 1959, a branch of the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations. The AWOC led a strike among grape workers in California’s Coachella Valley that resulted in a wage increase. Emboldened by this minor success, on September 8, 1965, the AWOC instigated the Delano Grape Strike that brought national attention to farm worker struggles. In the following days, the National Farm Workers Association, under the leadership of Cesar Chavez, joined the strike and the two unions merged to become the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee (now the UFW). Manong Philip Vera Cruz became a vice-president of the new union and advocated for the Filipinos.

The Delano grape strikers struggled over many of the same issues that catalyzed the strikes of the 1930s: poor wages, atrocious working conditions, and substandard housing. The strikers also addressed the pay differentials between the Filipino/Mexican workers and contract *Braceros* from Mexico and the use of undocumented immigrants to break strikes. After garnering significant public support, particularly over the dangerous use of pesticides in the fields, Chavez’s hunger strike, and a grueling 350-mile march from Delano to Sacramento, the UFW successfully signed equitable contracts with the major grape growers in 1970.

After the Delano Grape Strike, the manongs found themselves in often-tense debates over the direction of the UFW. Although Vera Cruz never publicly displayed any dissatisfaction with union leadership, he expressed growing concern about the marginalization of Filipinos in the UFW. Oftentimes meetings would be held only in Spanish and the Mexican and Filipino officers disagreed over union leadership. For Vera Cruz and the other more left-leaning manongs,

Chavez’s visit to the Philippines at the invitation of the dictator Ferdinand Marcos was the final straw. Although they never abandoned their crusade for all farm workers, both Vera Cruz and Itliong resigned from the UFW by the late 1970s (manong Peter Velasco, however, remained a UFW officer until his retirement in 1988).

Although they generally worked well into their 60s, by the 1980s, most of the manongs retired. Their population dwindled because of the restriction on Filipino immigration by the 1934 Tydings-McDuffie Act and antimiscegenation laws. Even after immigration laws eased in 1965, the new wave of Filipino migrants tended to be professionals, those with connections to the U.S. Navy, or members of families already in the United States.

The retired manongs found refuge in small residential hotels, most notably the International Hotel in San Francisco, which offered cheap rent and a surrounding network of Filipino businesses. Despite a concerted effort throughout the 1960s and 1970s by tenants, community allies, members of the radical *Katipunan ng mga Demokratikong Pilipino* (KDP; Union of Democratic Filipinos), and students, the International Hotel closed in 1979 after a long struggle with both the city and the building’s owners.

The manong spirit nevertheless remains alive in Agbayani Village, a Delano retirement home opened in 1974 on land owned by the National Farm Worker Service Center. Named for manong Paulo Agbayani who died from a heart attack on the Delano grape strike picket line, volunteers from the KDP, Third World Women’s Alliance, the Japanese American Community Services, and other groups built the complex. Despite tensions between Vera Cruz and the UFW leadership over rent, Agbayani Village has memorialized the manongs and serves as a pilgrimage site and symbol of pride for the Filipino American community. Although the last of the original manongs died in 1997, they leave a rich legacy of resistance and social justice.

Jean-Paul R. DeGuzman

See also Filipino Americans; Filipino Farm Labor Union (FFLU); Itliong, Larry; Vera Cruz, Philip

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Filipino American Baseball

A useful tool of U.S. colonization, baseball found fervent and skilled practitioners in the Philippines of the early twentieth century. As Filipinos/as migrated to Hawaii and the U.S. mainland, they formed community teams. Subsequently, they and their U.S.-born offspring crossed racial and ethnic borders to play with and against non-Filipinos. Indeed, a handful of Americans of Filipino ancestry have played and excelled at baseball at the game's highest, professional levels.

The United States' uninvited occupation of the Philippines after the Spanish-American War led to a protracted, bloody guerilla war. Taking a cue from British colonizers who used sports such as cricket and football to pacify at least the more privileged members of indigenous populations, the United States hoped that the introduction of sports such as baseball would help "civilize" the locals, who reportedly were much too excited about cockfighting. Thus, U.S. military and non-military personnel stationed in the Philippines reported back to the mainland the exhilarating news that the Filipino population played and watched the game with growing skill and knowledge.

In 1913, a team of Filipinos journeyed to Hawaii and the U.S. mainland. Initially, their trek was publicized as proof that American assimilation efforts in the Philippines were going well. However, the team did not fare well when it came to wins and losses. Moreover, its tour went largely ignored by the mainland press.

In the years before the Philippines gained commonwealth status within the U.S. empire by way of the controversial Tydings-McDuffie Act (1934), Filipino baseball teams and leagues somewhat thrived. In the 1920s, the *Sporting News*, the most powerful voice of American baseball, happily reported that one Filipino baseball fan would give up independence if it meant Filipinos would lose baseball.

In Hawaii and on the U.S. mainland, Filipino immigrants formed community teams. Indeed, soon

after substantial numbers of Filipinos made their way to Hawaii in the 1910s, they put together teams that took on teams representing other Hawaiian ethnic groups. After World War II, an Oahu Filipino League existed. On the U.S. mainland, Filipinos in Chicago organized a team in the early 1920s. Later in the decade San Franciscans assembled a squad called the Filipino All-Stars. Watsonville's Filipino Athletic Club had a team in 1933 that played a contingent of Japanese Americans from nearby Santa Cruz. In the 1940s, the San Francisco-based Mango Athletic Club organized a baseball team.

Induced partly by baseball, athletes of Filipino ancestry have traversed racial and ethnic frontiers. Before turning professional after World War II, Bobby Balcena played high school and semiprofessional ball in Southern California. Possessing Filipino-Portuguese ancestry, Hawaiian Jack Ladro played for Fresno State and a U.S. military team in Hawaii in the 1950s. Ladro, too, eventually turned professional. Better known as a basketball standout, Raymond Townsend, a son of a Filipino mother, starred for UCLA's baseball team in the 1970s. And, in the 1990s, Laura Gouthro, a fine softball player in college, joined the barnstorming women's baseball team, the Colorado Silver Bullets.

Hawaiian Crispin Mancao merits special attention. A southpaw pitcher, Mancao hurled for an assortment of elite Hawaiian teams in his long career as a semiprofessional on the islands. From the 1930s through the 1960s, Mancao's clever artistry on the mound confounded Hawaiian, as well as visiting mainland, hitters such as Billy Martin and his New York Yankee teammates in the mid-1950s. Mancao even pitched a bit for the Hawaiian Islanders of the Pacific Coast League in the early 1960s.

Since the mid-twentieth century, a small but growing contingent of ballplayers of Filipino ancestry has made it to the big leagues. The first was Bobby Balcena. Raised in Los Angeles, Balcena signed a Minor League contract with the American League's St. Louis Browns after leaving military service in World War II. For the next several years, he played Minor League baseball, gaining a reputation as a fine outfielder, swift base runner, and a hitter, with

surprising power given his relatively small stature. Meanwhile, the St. Louis Browns invited Balcena to the team's spring training camp in the early 1950s, as did the franchise that moved from St. Louis to Baltimore, the Orioles. But in both cases, he was shipped back to the minors. However, after a successful stint with the Seattle Rainiers of the Pacific Coast League in 1956, Balcena was called up by the Cincinnati Reds for a "cup of coffee" visit in the big leagues. Subsequently, Balcena returned to the minors where he remained until his retirement in the early 1960s.

In the late-twentieth and early twenty-first centuries additional ballplayers of Filipino ancestry were getting more than a "cup of coffee" in Major League Baseball (MLB). Possessing Filipino and Samoan ancestry, Hawaiian Benny Agbayani made many key hits for the New York Mets as they fought their way into the World Series in 2000. Chris Aguila played four years as an outfielder primarily for the Florida Marlins. Another outfielder, Hawaiian Shane Victorino has proved vital to the efforts of the Philadelphia Phillies in becoming a National League powerhouse in recent years. Shortstop Jason Bartlett has made many sparkling plays and key hits for the Tampa Bay Rays of the American League as they battled the New York Yankees and Boston Red Sox for division supremacy from 2008 through 2010. Possessing Filipino ancestry on his mother's side, Tim Lincecum reigned as the MLB's best pitcher from 2008 through 2010. Frequently called "The Freak," because of his ability to throw an overpowering fastball although standing under six feet tall and weighing well less than 200 pounds, Lincecum crucially aided the San Francisco Giants 2010 World Series victory.

Through baseball Filipino Americans have nurtured a sense of community in Hawaii and on the U.S. mainland. Like Crispin Mancao, they have been able to cross racial and ethnic frontiers while crossing foul lines. And a few players such as Shane Victorino, Jason Bartlett, and Tim Lincecum have gained fame and fortune in the MLB.

Joel S. Franks

See also Agbayani, Benny; Aguila, Chris; Balcena, Bobby; Bartlett, Jason; Lincecum, Tim; Victorino, Shane

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Filipino American Communities (Contemporary)

Contemporary Filipino American Communities are spread out across the United States from Honolulu to New York and Alaska to New Orleans. With the various waves of Filipino immigration, they have evolved from the early days of the 1930s and 1940s as urban ethnic enclaves to “ethnoburbs.” The shift from cities to suburbs occurred over the years as many families were able to gain stable employment and move from being urban renters to suburban homeowners. As businesses followed the population, the urban ethnic enclaves declined. Historical Little Manila in Stockton is typical urban ethnic enclaves that served the early manongs: their businesses were usually barbershops, restaurants, hotels, and pool halls. These enclaves often served as a home base for the migratory workers who followed the crops with the changing seasons.

The first wave of ethnoburbs for Filipinos started to form following the immigration wave after World War II with the arrival of war brides brought to the United States by Filipino servicemen. Cities in California like National City, Carson, Alameda, and Vallejo grew because of their proximity to navy bases and military housing. Particular neighborhoods became known as concentrations for Filipino families and attracted ethnic businesses such as grocery stores,

video outlets, beauty salons, restaurants, and bakeries. With growing number of children and a new generation, families sought suburban areas that had good schools and still had ethnic businesses to serve them.

With the passage of the Immigration Act of 1965, more professional and skilled Filipino immigrant arrived, and they found themselves in other parts of the county besides the West Coast. Today, New York, Queens, Chicago, Philadelphia, and even Kansas City have visible and active Filipino communities, many with identified Filipino community centers. In some cases these centers have existed from the days of the earlier immigrants or have been remodeled or rebuilt as new structures, including San Francisco International Hotel that has been converted to Manilatown Heritage Foundation.

Social Service organizations have emerged as well to serve their respective communities. In Los Angeles Historic Filipinotown, Search to Involve Pilipino Americans (SIPA) has existed for over 40 years providing immigration services, small business assistance, youth counseling, and housing development as well as many other services. In Oakland, California, Filipino Advocates for Justice’s services “continue to be centered around the needs of the most vulnerable in our community through our programs and advocacy. We assist newcomers in their transition to life here in the United States. We are also a resource for positive youth development, and act to protect the rights of low wage workers.” Operation Samahan in San Diego, California, in existence from the 1970s, provides medical, dental, and social services in two locations: National City and Mira Mesa.

Cultural and history institutions, especially the Filipino American National Historical Society (FANHS), have been committed to collect, preserve, and educate not only Filipinos but also the broader American public about the Filipino American experience. Stockton has been identified as a site for the first Filipino American Museum. The Filipino American Library in Los Angeles was originally established in 1985 as the Philippine American Reading Room and Library (PARRAL). Arts and cultural groups such as Los Angeles’s Kayamanan Ng Lahi Philippine Folk Arts & FilAm ARTS, San Diego’s PASACAT & Samahan Philippine Dance Companies, and Bindlestiff Studio in

San Francisco have worked to produce new and traditional art forms as well. Filipino Youth Activities (FYA) of Seattle started in 1959 was the first to produce a cultural marching drill team that still performs today.

Community empowerment and political representation are ongoing goals for the Filipino American community. Although they have the numbers as the second-largest Asian/Pacific group in the United States, they traditionally and still today have been underrepresented in political offices. Although many Filipino Americans have served on legislative staffs, few have gone on to win political office. Filipino Americans have had most success in city government in ethnoburbs where they can leverage their residential concentration. Ben Cayetano, the former governor of Hawaii, is one of the most visible Filipino American politicians, but much more needs to be done to increase the number of Filipinos in state- and federal-level elected office. Filipino leaders have been collaborating with others to build coalitions and support candidates who share their goals and aspirations. Filipinos have always been known for their hospitality and Bayanihan spirit (working together), and these values will serve them well in the future.

Florante Ibanez

See also Filipino American Communities (Historical); Pilipino Cultural Night (PCN)

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Filipino American Communities (Historical)

The long-standing presence of the Filipino community in the United States is a testament to the long and uneven power relations between the United States and its former imperial possessions as well as to the changing nature of U.S. labor migration policies in

the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. As the second-largest immigrant group in the United States as of 2010, Filipino American influences can be increasingly seen in mainstream American popular culture, politics, and society; their actual level of social capital, like those of other communities of color, remains disproportionately lower than that of the white American majority. Depicted as savages and “Little Brown Brothers” by the popular press and American politicians such as Theodore Roosevelt and William McKinley during the 1899 Philippine-American War, and displayed in their “native villages” as examples of backward peoples at the 1904 St. Louis World’s Fair, Filipino Americans have since then worked to fight such perceptions, either through emulating conservative values and assimilating into mainstream U.S. society or through more liberal and radical political organizing for human rights of Filipino American, Filipino immigrants, and Filipinos in the homeland and diaspora.

The first reported account of Filipino peoples’ arrival in the United States was in 1763, though the veracity of this claim has been contested, with some claiming their arrival as early as the 1500s. The “Manilamen” were forced laborers brought from the Philippines by their Spanish colonizers to Mexico as part of the Manila-Acapulco galleon circuit. These Manilamen jumped ship and swam to the shores of what was then the Louisiana territory, settling in the bayous with Native American and Creole women. In the 1800s, permanent Filipino communities in Louisiana such as St. Malo in Saint Bernard Parish, and Manila Village in the Barataria Bay of the Mississippi Delta region were settled; community members were active in the shrimping industry, and introduced dried shrimp into the Cajun diet, where it remains a staple today. Tragically, many important archives of the Manilamen communities were lost in the devastation of Hurricane Katrina in 2005; the lives of the fifth-generation Filipino American Burtanog sisters, however, were captured in Rachel Tajima-Peña’s 1997 film *My America . . . or Honk If You Love Buddha*.

Although the Manilamen were the first Filipinos to permanently settle in the United States, the vast majority of Filipino Americans today trace their histories to later waves of Filipino migration beginning in the early

twentieth century. Between the period of the 1899 Philippine-American War—which made the Philippines an American colonial possession after the United States annexed the nation from Spain—until the passage of the 1934 Tydings-McDuffie Act that released the Philippines from official U.S. control, large numbers of Filipino men were recruited to work and study in the United States. This second wave of immigrants were primarily of two classes—the *pensionados* were higher class, educated Filipino elites who were sent to colleges throughout the States to learn American modes of governance, agriculture, and philosophy so as to return to the Philippines and serve as a managerial class, whereas the *manongs* were of varying class backgrounds and geographical points of origin and arrived in the United States to serve as devalued manual laborers.

The manong generation, as they came to be known, and a term that was based on an Ilokano honorific for a male elder, formed the backbone of the first permanent Filipino communities on the West Coast and in Hawaii. As the Philippines was a U.S. colonial possession, Filipinos were given the status of “U.S. National,” a designation that made them neither citizen nor alien, but that allowed them to travel freely between the two nations without passports, unlike other Asian groups who were barred from U.S. immigration with the 1924 Johnson-Reed Act. Filipinos, moreover, were desired by American businessmen, for they were seen as a cheap labor force that could be reliable and tractable and could be used to further devalue the labor of African Americans who were, during this time period, migrating to Northern and West Coast cities for industrialized jobs. As such, the majority of manongs were recruited to work in the agricultural fields of California and on Hawaiian plantations; in the salmon canneries of Washington state and Alaska; and as cleaners, waiters, bus boys, and in other kinds of service jobs in major cities such as Los Angeles and New York City. Carlos Bulosan’s semi-autobiographical novel *America Is in the Heart* documents the plight of the manongs working the seasonal agriculture circuit in California and the kinds of abuses they faced at the hands of their employers and white laborers who, during the Great Depression, grew increasingly angry at Filipinos for taking what they

considered their rightful employment. Bulosan’s seminal Filipino American novel not only documented their oppression, but also their resistance as members of the Committee for the Protection of Filipino Rights (CPFR) and labor unions.

Because of antimiscegenation laws preventing Filipinos from marrying white women and the restrictive housing covenants and de facto residential segregation that limited their options for lodging, many of these bachelor manongs formed alternative kinship communities where they lived during and between their periods of transience from job site to job site. These communities offered some respite and protection from the banal and spectacular violence experienced by the manongs on a daily basis, from lynchings of individual Filipino men to large-scale race riots like the 1929 Watsonville Riots, during which a mob of 400 white vigilantes terrorized Filipinos for four days, leaving one Filipino, Fermin Tobera, dead. One such bachelor community was the Kearny Street neighborhood, also known as Manilatown, an area adjacent to Chinatown that later became incorporated into downtown San Francisco. Serving as a way station for the Filipino farmworkers looking for employment in central California cities such as Delano and in areas northward of Oregon, Kearny Street was a bustling neighborhood of Filipino-run restaurants, barbershops, pool halls, and other illicit entertainments. A permanent community of Filipino manongs settled in residential hotels lining Kearny Street—the last standing hotel, the International Hotel (I-Hotel), was closed in 1977, and the battle to save the building and the entire Manilatown community itself became a key site of struggle of the nascent Asian American Movement (AAM) of the 1970s and 1980s.

After Filipinos lost their U.S. National status with the granting of Philippine independence in 1946, the influx of Filipino migrant laborers to the United States ground to a halt, as the new immigration quotas were limited to 50 per year. During the period between 1945 and 1965, however, many Filipinos came to the United States through joining the U.S. armed forces, primarily as cooks and stewards in the U.S. navy. The *veteranos* who served in World War II were able to bring their Filipina wives through the War Brides Act of 1945 and settled in large navy port areas

including Virginia Beach, Virginia, and the California cities of San Diego and Alameda. Promised the coveted status of U.S. citizen as well as generous compensation upon completion of their service, these veteranos were sorely disappointed when, because of the 1946 Rescission Act, they were stripped of veteran status and denied their benefits including healthcare, disability pensions, and burial expenses. For over 60 years, aging and elderly Filipino veteranos living in both the United States and the Philippines have been organizing for their deserved equity and benefits and spearheaded a mass mobilization campaign for Filipino veterans' rights. Veterano advocacy groups, along with Hawaiian Senator Daniel K. Inouye, successfully lobbied for the passing of the Filipino Veterans Equity Act, a provision included in President Obama's 2009 economic stimulus plan. Under this provision, veteranos were finally awarded a small lump sum of \$15,000 for Filipinos who are U.S. citizens or \$9,000 for those who are not; accepting these token amounts, however, prevent veteranos from ever receiving full veteran benefits or status should they ever win their campaign. Today, service in the U.S. armed forces and employment in military-related fields remains a popular profession for young Filipino Americans, many of whom have been recruited directly out of low-performing urban high schools to fight in the ongoing U.S. War on Terror being waged in Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan, and the Philippines.

The third wave of Filipino migration to the United States occurred after the passage of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, which removed all racial barriers to immigration. Under the Act's seven provisions, Filipino immigrants most directly benefited from preferential immigration for professionals and skilled laborers, as well as the family reunification clause, which allowed for the petitioning of many children and extended family members from the Philippines. This wave of Filipino migration transformed the overall class character of the Filipino American population in the United States, as highly educated medical professionals and managerial workers, many of whom were female and from the cities, came to the United States in droves, rather than the primarily male, working-class Filipinos of provincial backgrounds. Since the 1970s, according to Espiritu

(2007), "the Philippine government has actively promoted the export of its nurses in exchange for their remittance dollars, which are critically needed to alleviate the nation's mounting external debt and trade deficits"; many doctors trained in the Philippines have had to become nurses in the United States to maintain their employment and residency while being able to support families in both nations.

Since the late 1980s, the migration pattern of Filipino people to the United States has once again changed significantly. With the successful People Power Revolution of 1986, which ousted the U.S.-backed dictator Ferdinand Marcos from his 21-year rule, and the closing of the last remaining U.S. military bases in the Philippines in 1989, more Filipinos than ever have been searching for employment opportunities and better living standards in the United States and other nations of the global North. Although professional preference, military service, and family reunification still account for large numbers of Filipino immigration, American individuals and agencies have recruited a growing number of Filipina women into the care labor field. In 2010, approximately 140,000 Filipinos in the United States worked as home health aids, nannies, and in other forms of domestic work and have sent back over US\$16 billion in remittances to the Philippines; this highly feminized, devalued form of labor migration can be unofficially considered the fifth wave of Filipino immigration to the United States.

Today, Filipinos remaining in historical Filipino American enclaves such as the Little Manilas of Los Angeles and Stockton, California, are slowly being pushed out, many in large part because of massive federal urban redevelopment schemes that have named these areas as "blighted" to raze them for high-profit corporate development. Many other established Filipino Americans, however, have relocated to more affluent, suburban areas surrounding major cities, such as in the Inland Empire of Southern California and the central New Jersey suburbs in the larger New York Metro Area. According to the 2010 U.S. Census, there are over 3.4 million documented Filipino Americans nationwide; they comprise one of the fastest-growing groups among all immigrants to the United States. As of 2010, they are the largest Asian group in five metro

areas (San Diego, Riverside, Las Vegas, Sacramento, and Phoenix) and in eleven states. Although there are more prominent Filipinos and Filipino Americans in the mass media than ever before—such as the professional middleweight boxer Manny Pacquiao, *American Idol* finalist Jessica Sanchez, prize-winning author Jessica Hagedorn, and chef to the President Cristeta Comerford—Filipino American communities are still in need of vital services, financial and social capital. The particular issues and concerns of LGBTQ, ethnic and indigenous, and Moro/Muslim Filipino Americans, too, are often overlooked by larger Filipino American community organizations. As the Filipino American population in the United States grows, it is imperative that the concerns of all—from aging veterans to homeless queer youth—are served.

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See also Filipino American Communities (Contemporary); Filipino Americans; Filipinos in Hawaii; Hagedorn, Jessica; Inouye, Daniel K.; Pilipino Cultural Night (PCN)

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Filipino American Community Organizations

Community organizations are vital to the protection and enrichment of the lives and interests of many racial and ethnic groups in the United States. They provide spaces for bringing people together through networks of support, cooperation, and care. For Filipino Americans, this has been true historically and in much more important ways in the present, for they also tend to lessen the physical and social distances between Filipinos who are in the Philippines and those who are in other countries such as the United States. These voluntary and nonprofit organizations are multiple and diverse. As collectives, they struggle for group recognition, they enable the gratifying outcomes of friendship, and they become avenues for pursuing common interests, values, and visions. And because of their tendency to replicate and adopt organizing practices from their homeland, Filipino American community organizations usually become critical sites for making meaning, negotiating practices, and representing identities connected with being Filipino Americans among themselves and with the larger society. Their practices reveal local instances of resistance to mainstream forms of organizing that, on the one hand, defy or impede full inclusion into mainstream society, but on the other, enable alternative forms of community building and organizing.

Organizations are created to take advantage of opportunities to connect people or to address barriers that exclude people from other organizations.

Filipino Americans tend to establish organizations in response to historical experiences of exclusion, displacement, or loneliness caused by migration, and as a way to build collaboration in the face of their minority status in many social, economic, and professional areas. It has been said in jest and with some truthfulness that whenever two Filipinos meet for the first time, they would likely form a club. This is a testament to the high significance and value of community organizing for Filipino Americans. Organizations may easily be created among friends, acquaintances, and real or fictive kin, but they can also quickly disappear or become inactive because kinship structures of hierarchy, legitimation, and rules of succession in many Filipino communities are not strictly enforced.

Fred Cordova, the foremost pioneer of Filipino American social history, recounts that the first U.S. mainland-based Filipino social club was established in New Orleans in 1870. Called the *Sociedad de Beneficencia de los Hispano Filipinas de Nueva Orleans*, this benevolent society inspired the growth of many Filipino organizations, including the founding of many fraternal and professional organizations, lodges, and masonic associations. The most famous of these were the Filipino American Association of Philadelphia (organized in 1912 and known as the oldest ongoing Filipino organization in the United States), the *Caballeros de Dimas Alang* (established in 1920 in San Francisco), the *Legionarios del Trabajo* (established in 1920 in San Francisco), and the *Gran Oriente Filipino* (established in 1925 in Los Angeles by Hilario Moncado). These organizations were important in providing security, camaraderie, and support for mostly bachelor workers and professionals during the violent anti-Filipino movements in Hawaii and in the Pacific Coast states from the 1910s to the 1930s. These organizations worked hand in hand with labor union struggles against workers' exploitation, racial discrimination, and antisecessionism. Local Filipino American community organizations usually acted as surrogate families for those who came alone into many parts of the United States. They also provided legal assistance to those who could not afford representation,

and they opened up spaces for social activities and athletic events that included dancing and singing, cultural programs, games, boxing matches, beauty pageants, raffles, and other types of community gathering. In some instances, these organizations also made possible financial support through credit cooperatives or rotating credit systems (the Tagalog term is *paluwagan*) and business and personal loans.

Early organizations were formed through, based in, or attached to local community centers. They usually served as combined associations of smaller clubs in the area or region, or hubs for loosely demarcated Little Manilas (also known as Manilatowns or Filipinotowns) in places like Los Angeles, New York, and Honolulu. A good sample of these centers included the Filipino Community of Seattle formed in 1926 (later served as the umbrella organization for several collectives in the area), the Filipino Community of Stockton and Vicinity (formed in 1930 as a response to the Watsonville riots), the Filipino Federation Club in Detroit (established in 1934), the Filipino Community Center in Brooklyn (established in 1934), the Filipino Community of Salinas (established in 1936), the Filipino Community of Yakima Valley (established in 1937), the Filipino Federated Organizations (established in 1935 in Hawaii), and the Council of Filipino Community Associations in Hawaii (established in 1959). Many of these organizations functioned as information producers and disseminators for their members and published their own community newspapers. They were also instrumental in preserving traditions despite assimilation, creating and sustaining practices of unity and camaraderie, developing fondly held values among the youth, and bridging separate communities together especially during moments of national crises such as World War II and the Korean and Vietnam wars, in which many Filipino Americans actively participated. With the formal independence of the Philippines from the United States and the passage of the Luce-Celler Bill of 1946, communities expanded and deepened with the immigration of war brides and opportunities for naturalized citizenship.

The entry of more Filipinos into the United States as a result of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 radically altered the number, character, and demographic profile of Filipino American communities,

posing challenges to multigenerational cohesion and cross-labor unity. New immigration policies favored the admission of college-educated professionals as opposed to the recruitment of primarily agricultural workers during the earlier part of the twentieth century, and they made easier the reunification of families separated by migration and mobility, compared to the preference for single able-bodied male laborers and military personnel imposed by recruiters prior to the 1960s and 1970s. Filipino populations in the United States changed as the influx of new immigrants from the Philippines increased significantly: they were older, more economically better off, more female, more family based, professional, with higher educational attainment. They were also dispersed mostly in urban and suburban residences, and were more socially mobile. Compared to earlier Filipinos who were classified as aliens ineligible for citizenship and who bore the brunt of open violence and exclusion because of racism, these newly immigrated Filipinos enjoyed a more stable legal status that made them easily eligible for naturalization, able to sponsor their parents and other relatives into the United States once they became U.S. citizens, and experience a less openly violent racial climate in the aftermath of the Civil Rights Movement. The availability of modern transportation and communication technologies has also assisted in easing the displacement families and separation of loved ones caused by intense migration. As a result, Filipinos after the 1960s and into the 2000s have become more financially secure, socially stable, and able to travel and interact with others in physical and virtual terms.

The variety of Filipino American community organizations these days is remarkable, and many of them attempt to connect diverse populations together whenever possible in Filipino communities that are currently predominantly immigrant and transnational. Filipinos as individuals and in groups from different generations are active in state and local politics that advocate for the interests of their constituencies, workers of all kinds, veterans of World War II and the Vietnam and Korean wars, women and children who are trafficked, immigrant rights, economic well being, and victims of domestic abuse. Active participants in many Filipino community centers help in nurturing

the elderly, keeping traditional cultures alive, bridging ties with newer generations, and keeping allies together through networks of support. Business-focused organizations have members who are engaged with commercial interactions that benefit and sustain Filipino communities here and abroad. There are also educational community organizations that promote bilingual education, teacher training in Filipino history and culture, and the positive enrichment of the youth.

A most important national and international site of community is the Filipino American National Historical Society, an organization with many local chapters that has inspired countless Filipinos everywhere to preserve and value their heritage as Filipinos and as Americans. This society hosts national and regional conferences and community events, supports and promotes the publication of historical studies, and serves as repositories of archival materials. There are groups of artists and cultural workers in the hundreds who use culture as a site of empowerment and engagement with different forms of representation and recognition. There are also grassroots organizations that ally with similar groups in their homeland and elsewhere to organize and coordinate efforts against political, military, and corporate disenfranchisement and environmental destruction, including activities that provide relief to those victimized by calamities, social ills, and other emergency situations wherever Filipinos are affected. And there are countless native, immigrant, professional, civic, regional, state, provincial, county, city, alumni, political party, business, religious, sports, queer, student, and youth associations which perform the similar work of collective advocacy, support, and nourishment for multigenerational Filipino Americans as many others have done before them. An organization of vital impact is the National Federation of Filipino American Associations. Established in 1997, this federation coordinates 12 regional offices and thousands of organizations to advocate for the common interests and political empowerment of Filipino Americans.

With increasing globalization and transnationalism, Filipino lives in the United States are now much more complex as increasing numbers of Filipinos do away with permanent settlement and instead opt for greater connections with their relatives and friends

around the world if they can afford it. In these cases, community organizing has grown and taken on multiple roles. In the advent and increased popularity of social online networks, the reach and depth of activities that community organizations can undertake are not limited anymore by physical geographical space. Communities of every nature, interest, and composition, and even those that attract members from different races and other groups, set aside conventional definitions of community organizing that are limited to face-to-face contact and restricted by traditional boundaries of space and time. Many Filipino-based and Filipino interest online “communities,” including business organizations and government entities, have quickly taken advantage of these more flexible network opportunities, either developing an online version of their organization or functioning strictly as virtual communities.

Filipino Americans as members of collectives are able to use their First World privilege to create and sustain solidarities with each other and with other groups. They also identify as or ally with Asian Americans, Pacific Islanders, Chicanos and Chicanas, Latinas and Latinos, African Americans, and Native Americans because they are linked together by blood and by the commonalities of their struggles, desires, passions, and commitments to social justice. Given all of these histories and contemporary realities, their stories as U.S. Filipinos have become so much more than the typical stories of immigrant assimilation and integration. Their community organizations reflect the complexities of these stories and help sustain the intricate ways in which their experiences of struggle, resistance, pleasure, and resiliency in the United States and elsewhere continue to be celebrated, supported, and transformed.

Rick Bonus

See also Filipino American National Historical Society (FANHS); Filipino Americans

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Filipino American Domestic Workers

Balibayan, Overseas Contract Worker (OCW), Overseas Filipino Worker (OFW)—these are all names for the thousands of Filipinos working abroad to support not only their families at home, but the nation itself. With globalization and the growing demand for flexible, cheap labor in the First World, Filipinos have become one of the most in-demand labor forces, especially in the field of domestic work.

The demand for Filipino domestic workers can be traced to the 1970s presidency of the U.S.-backed Ferdinand Marcos. Under Marcos, the Philippines was one of the first nations in the world to adopt the structural adjustment policies advanced by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank; structural adjustment required was the transformation of the Philippine economy into one that was export-oriented and foreign-capital-dependent as the prerequisite for receiving development loans from the World Bank. As the Philippines struggled to pay the growing interest on these loans, Ferdinand Marcos signed Presidential Decree 442 in 1974, a labor export policy that created the Philippine Overseas Employment Administration (POEA), a state agency charged with deploying Filipino workers overseas. Although Marcos’s labor export policy was supposed to be a temporary solution to the state’s economic and political crises at the time, labor export has become a more permanent feature of the Philippine economy.

Every subsequent president of the nation has not only continued, but strengthened, labor export as the linchpin of Philippine economic policy; according to the 2008 report by the POEA, an estimated 8,233,172

Filipino migrants are employed overseas—nearly 10 percent of the total Philippine population. The taxed remittances sent back by migrants, along with the exorbitant passport, training, and processing fees paid to recruitment agencies, contribute nearly 10 percent to the Philippines’s GDP, as well as support the many family members left behind without employment in the Philippines. The remittances sent by Filipino domestic workers in the U.S. topped US\$16 billion in 2010; this is but a small fraction of the total remittances sent back from other nations, especially those in the top receiving countries of Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Hong Kong, and Japan.

As Filipina feminist scholar Neferti Tadiar argues, the slogan that OFWs are the “*bagong bayani*,” or the new heroes of the nation, is promoted by the Philippine state to justify the mass exportation and exploitation of women workers as the solution for its sovereign debt crisis and other economic woes. These numbers, however, capture only *documented* overseas workers—many more have migrated clandestinely in search for employment opportunities. In 2010, the number of documented Filipino domestic workers newly deployed worldwide increased by 11 percent from the previous year to 154,435. Currently, it is estimated that over 140,000 Filipinos work as caregivers in the United States—in New York and New Jersey alone, approximately 30,000 to 40,000 Filipinos are housekeepers, cooks, nannies, and home aides and comprise from 15 to 20 percent of the total domestic worker population.

Ninety percent of domestic workers from the Philippines are women, as follows the worldwide trend of care labor being feminized: women’s worth is valued by their ability to perform household duties and other forms of “care labor.” Filipina American sociologist Rhacel Parreñas has called this process part of the “international transfer of caretaking,” in which Third World women are desired as domestic workers by affluent women in industrialized, First World nations who have entered the public workforce to perform these basic household tasks. Parreñas goes on to say that that Filipina women’s entrance into the field of domestic labor emerges out of their structural location as “racialized women, low-wage workers, highly educated women from the Philippines, and members of

the secondary tier of the transnational workforce in global restructuring” (2001). As such, it is the Philippine state’s discourse portraying Filipina women as ideal domestic workers, rather than any “natural” or inborn ability they may have, that helps explain the entry of so many Filipina women into domestic work.

Filipina women may be portrayed as the Philippines’s “new national heroes,” but it is their labor and not their lives that is valued. Throughout the world, even in the United States, Filipina and other domestic workers are subject to sexual, physical, emotional, and verbal abuse by their employers; have had their passports and work papers hidden or destroyed; are trafficked into other forms of sexualized labor, such as prostitution; are forced to work 24-hour shifts without reprieve; and have been denied basic health care and minimum wages. High-profile cases of murdered, abused, and wrongfully imprisoned Filipina domestic workers, such as the 1995 execution of Flor Contemplacion in Singapore, have neither resulted in large-scale Philippine state reform of its labor export policy nor has it extended its protections for OFWs. In the United States, the 1938 Fair Labor Standards Act exempts domestic workers (and farm workers) from protections, leaving them at the mercy of their employers.

Because of the individualized nature of their work and the often strict limitations placed on their mobility and time, domestic workers have faced difficulty in collectively organizing to protect themselves. But Filipina domestic workers have been persistent, forming organizations such as DAMAYAN Migrant Workers Association, based in New York since 2002. Filipinas were central players in establishing the National Domestic Workers Alliance (NDWA) in 2007, a coalition of women from many racial, national, and ethnic backgrounds. Domestic worker advocates in New York State have won a victory at the state level for passing a Domestic Workers Bill of Rights that extends the labor protections of the Fair Labor Standards Act to nannies, house cleaners, and other domestic workers. In California, the similar AB889 was approved by the Senate Committee in August 2011, but has been stalled since then. Advocates know that such bills are but the first step for Filipina domestic workers’ rights—and that it is real structural change in

the Philippines that will help alleviate the burdens that OFWs and their families face.

Thea Quiray Tagle

See also Filipino Americans

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Filipino American National Historical Society (FANHS)

Founded in 1982, the Filipino American National Historical Society (FANHS) is a nonprofit organization that aims "to preserve, document, and present Filipino American history and to support scholarly research and artistic works which reflect that rich past" (2012). FANHS is currently one of the leading Filipino American scholarly organizations with over 27 chapters in the United States. It continues to play a vital role in creating and contributing to Filipino American historiography.

FANHS was founded on November 26, 1982 by Dorothy Laigo Cordova and Fred Cordova in Seattle, Washington. During the 1970s, Dorothy Cordova served as the director of the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH)–sponsored Asian American

Demonstration Project, which conducted and collected a myriad of studies related to the social problems Asian Americans faced at the time, including numerous oral histories. After the project had ended in the early 1980s, the Cordovas organized the research they collected into FANHS. The organization was then later chartered in the state of Washington on January 7, 1985.

In 1987, FANHS established the National Pinoy Archives, the largest archival collection of Filipino American materials and artifacts in the United States. It includes materials on more than 9,000 individuals and approximately 1,500 organizations throughout the United States. The archives and the national offices are headquartered at former classrooms at Lake Washington Girls Middle School at 810 18th Avenue, Seattle, Washington. Local chapters also collect and archive their respective Filipino American histories. The Los Angeles FANHS chapter, for example, houses its collected archive at the Filipino American Library of Los Angeles.

Also in 1987, FANHS hosted its first national conference at Seattle University. The biennial conference attracts hundreds of academic scholars, community organizers, writers, filmmakers, students, and seniors eager to learn and share stories of Filipino American history through its many panels, workshops, and activities. The 2014 FANHS Conference will be held in San Diego, California.

Including their biennial conference, FANHS activities include photo exhibits, oral history, lectures, symposiums, and educational forums. Both the organization and its individual members have also published many works including *Filipinos: Forgotten Asian Americans* by Fred Cordova, *Filipinos in Puget Sound* by Dorothy Cordova and *Filipinos in Stockton* by Dawn Mabalon and Rico Reyes as part of the Arcadia Publishing Series, as well as numerous regional publications and journals. In 1994, FANHS produced the award winning documentary, *Filipino Americans: Discovering Their Past for the Future*.

In 1988, FANHS officially declared October as Filipino American History Month as a commemoration to the first historically documented Filipino presence in the United States when Filipino sailors aboard the Manila-Acapulco galleon trade landed in Morro Bay on October 18, 1587. The California Central

Coast chapter of FANHS dedicated a plaque in 1995 at the Morro Bay Rock in honor of this occasion.

Joseph Bernardo

See also Filipino American Community Organizations; Filipino Americans

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Filipino American Newspapers

Within many Filipino American commercial establishments all over the United States, a wide selection of community newspapers is usually on display and often free for the taking. Such newspapers occupy significant places not only in the sites where Filipino Americans meet, but also in the contexts where the dynamic formations of Filipino American identities are imagined, imaged, and transacted.

Community newspapers are one of many kind of tools that help link individuals together. They are also one among many forms of media, like radio, television, film, and online communication systems, that operate as dissemination and interaction networks within and between communities. But beyond simply providing information, education, and entertainment to their readers, community newspapers are also storehouses of history and sources of conversations regarding specific and local group identities. For many Filipino Americans, these print channels are very significant because they create and provide a sense of community, especially because of their minority status and racism. They operate as alternative spaces to mainstream sources of publication that usually ignore or misrepresent them. They are, therefore, sites of a historically specific and localized hub of community formation and expression in which both writers and readers can be viewed as active agents engaged in the remembering, reconstruction, and representation of their own collective identities.

Unlike traditional newspapers, only a few of these community publications are regularly published over a

long period of time. Many of them last for only a few months. Or, they die out and then reappear once publishers regain control over their resources to publish. This situation happens because of the political economy of publishing in which these community papers operate. Community newspapers require less capital outlay and lower production costs than large mainstream papers. They market to a more targeted readership and, therefore, have comparatively smaller ethnic audiences to speak to and depend on. But because of these reasons, they are generally more susceptible to pressures from investors, readers, advertisers, competitors, and suppliers of their printing needs. Additionally, more and more new media technologies (primarily, those that are on-line) are becoming attractive to and convenient for readers.

Filipino Americans have been prolific in community journalism since their early years of migration and immigration into the United States. The Filipino American Research Project reports the existence of newspapers specifically for this group as early as 1906. Early city-based newspapers include *The Filipino Forum* (Seattle 1928), the *Philippine Advocate* or *Philippine-American Tribune* (Seattle 1935), the *Philippine-American Observer* (Los Angeles 1938), the *Philippine-American Mirror* (Stockton 1941), the *Bataan News* (1943), and the *Philippine American Times* (1950). A substantial collection of past issues of some of these early Filipino newspapers is maintained at the University of Washington library in Seattle and at the archives of the Filipino American National Historical Society (headquartered in Seattle). Jean Vengua's website, "The Commonwealth Café," also provides valuable reference information on the many examples of Filipino American journalism during the early part of the twentieth century. More contemporary and ongoing newspapers include the *Philippine News* (first published as *The Manila Chronicle*, San Francisco 1961), the *Filipino Reporter* (New York 1972), *The Filipino Express* (Jersey City 1986), the *Asian Journal*, *The Filipino-American Community Newspaper* (San Diego 1987), *The Filipino-American Bulletin* (Seattle 1991), and *The Hawaii-Filipino Chronicle* (Waipahu 1993). Many of these newspapers have weekly editions, multicity distribution, local and international bureaus, a radio-TV extension, an online edition, or are completely online.

These days, ethnic presses are comparatively small-scale, are run with a minimal number of reporters and commentators, and, especially with Filipino American papers, are usually free of charge. Advertising revenues shoulder their costs of production and distribution. Such a demand to read a newspaper “of one’s own” by members of an ethnic group is a phenomenon that has existed at least since modern immigration. In 1922, sociologist Robert E. Park conducted a survey of American immigrant presses to highlight their significant roles in easing the transition of new arrivals into permanent settlements in the United States by preserving languages, traditions, and values of their home countries. To some degree, Filipino American newspapers share this common ground with immigrant journalism of the past and present. But unlike many of them, Filipino papers are mostly in English (with some exceptions, or occasionally mixed with Philippine languages such as Tagalog and Ilocano), owing to their American-style, English-based education. However, Filipino American community papers are not solely oriented toward Americanization. Even though they are geared toward immigrant Filipinos as primary readers, these newspapers swing between facilitating assimilation into U.S. society (for example, by encouraging its readers to naturalize, vote, or purchase a house) and retaining homeland-based traditional values, including the maintenance of connections with the Philippines. As such, Filipino American newspapers are quite transnational in nature, scope, and interest.

To a large extent, these newspapers promote dignity, belonging, and mutual support for their readers. They help Filipinos settle into their new homes in the United States while also reminding them of their original country’s values and traditions. In these ways, community newspapers connect Filipinos with each other and with their homeland.

Rick Bonus

See also Filipino Americans

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Filipino American Youth Cultures

Filipino American youth cultures can refer to a matrix of expressive forms, from very specific and focused activities to generalized and diffuse scenes.

Youth cultures are attempts at community building as much as they are the ongoing and contested negotiations of minority and diasporic groups with a dominant culture, recognizing that the term “dominant culture” is not monolithic or homogenized. Researchers have made use of two overlapping approaches to the study of Filipino American youth cultures that involve (1) tracing expressive forms of culture that are experienced by historical cohorts, and (2) tracking the development of various genres, categories, or disciplines.

Because Filipino American youth cultures emerge largely from the experiences of an ethnic minority in the United States or from the experiences of Philippine diasporic subjects, chronological and historical accountings are inevitable. The emphasis here is on how events and processes such as labor immigration, family reunification, and the need for political asylum can shape the life chances and choices of large cohorts of people at various time periods. The familiar demarcations of such experiences would involve but are not limited to: the settlement of a Filipino community in southern Louisiana in the mid-nineteenth century, the importation of Philippine labor to the territory of Hawaii in 1906 and to the continental United States in the 1920s, the reclassification of Filipinos as alien with the passage of the 1934 Tydings-McDuffie Philippine Independence Act, the creation of dual chains of migration with the passage of the 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act, and the imposition of Martial Law in the Philippines in 1972.

As a subset of the larger ensemble of practices that could fall under the term, “Asian American popular

culture,” Filipino American youth cultures can also be tracked in terms of specific forms. The examples of Filipino American youths’ engagement in the performing arts are broad, including, and not limited to, theater, music, dance, comedy, and Pilipino Cultural Nights. Early examples from the first two decades of the twentieth century would include the student musicians working the Circuit Chautauqua such as Manila Filipino Orchestral Quartette, the Ne Pomoceno Filipino Quartet, the Filipino Collegians, and the Filipino Varsity Four (Library of Congress). The number of examples of theater troupes, bands, dance companies, and theater collectives has yet to be fully documented. For example, by focusing on young musicians as cultural producers, a short and varied list could include talents as diverse as Pearl Harbour (and her band, the Explosions), the Rocky Fellers, Death Angel, June and Jean Millington (founders of Fannie), Dakila, Pinay, and Joe Bataan, although Bataan’s *success was not the result of Filipino American audiences but rather of Latino audiences tuning in, buying his music, or attending his concerts.*

Further research on the youth activities of Filipino Americans in dance and theater is in dire need of documentation and analysis. For example, folkloric-oriented troupes such as San Diego’s PASACAT Philippine Performing Arts Academy, San Francisco’s Likha Pilipino Folk Ensemble, Seattle’s Filipino Youth Activities, and Boston’s Iskwelahang Pilipino Rondalla Ensemble have offered to young people extensive opportunities for training, leadership development, and creative expression through classes, workshops, and the formation of youth or junior level ensembles. Likewise, troupes, companies, and houses such as Alleluia Panis’ Kulintang Arts, Pearl Ubungen’s Dancers and Musicians, Teatro ng Tanan, Bindlestiff Studio, Qbd, Pintig, and Ma-Yi, for example, have received occasional analysis by literary and performing arts studies scholars. Although the leadership of the aforementioned groups tends almost always to be professionals in their chosen disciplines, the players, crew, and audiences are often drawn from youthful ranks.

In the late 1990s and early 2000s, Hip Hop performers of Philippine heritage (who did *not* attempt to conceal their cultural backgrounds) enjoyed high

levels of commercial acclaim, recognition from various media outlets, and exposure to national and international audiences. For example, Grandmixer DXT (Derek Showard, popularized by his work on Herbie Hancock’s 1983 “Rockit”) bestowed the title of “Grandmixer” onto DJ Qbert (Richard Quitevis) as seen on Doug Pray’s 2001 documentary, *Scratch*. As indicated by music and entertainment industry recognition, Chad Hugo (one half of The Neptunes production team) has emerged as one of Hip Hop’s most successful players since 1992, having garnered, as of this writing, 11 Grammy nominations and 3 wins, as well as 6 nominations and 2 wins for Billboard Music Awards in production and songwriting. After a 2008 win on the U.S. television program, *America’s Best Dance Crew*, the San Diego-based Jabbawoockeez, a number of whom are of Filipino heritage, has toured extensively, made numerous television appearances, and has taken on major corporate endorsements. And with the release of his singles, “The Apl Song” (2003) and “Bebot” (2005), Apl.de.ap (Allan Pineda Lindo of the Black Eyed Peas) has reinforced the popularity of Hip Hop among young Filipino American audiences. The video for the latter track was criticized by activists and scholars for not providing what they claimed to be an “honest attempt to offer more full-spectrum representations” of women, although depicting instead Filipinas as either hypersexualized or asexual (“Open Letter on Bebot,” 2006).

This moment of popular and occasionally critical acclaim around *individual* artists and the charged responses it continues to generate should underscore the work of a much larger scene of hundreds of less well known but respected young performers throughout the United States, especially those working in *collectives* or troupes, or in the case of performer/community activists such as Kuttin’ Kandi, Lani Luv, or Rocky Rivera, women who work in a male-dominated field. Emphasizing Hip Hop as a consciousness-raising tool and activity, performers such as the Geologic of Blue Scholars, Kiwi, Bambu, Kuttin’ Kandi, Rivera, Deep Foundation, Power Struggle, and others often play to focused audiences within Filipino American community settings, as allies in cross-cultural urban-set organizing campaigns, and in transnational work that bears witness to political

and social struggles in the Philippines, the Middle East, and throughout the Filipino diaspora.

In addition to producers of Filipino American youth culture, researchers can also turn their attention to the wider cultural field in which such forms are circulated and consumed. For example, Robyn Rodriguez and Vernadette Gonzalez highlight a scene long associated with teens and young adults—car clubs—and the manifold ways that its marketing, sexualized imagery, and mastery over that most fetishized of American objects may be analyzed against a soundscape of contemporary Hip Hop. We can pair this work with cultural anthropologist Bangele Alsaybar's ethnography of what he terms a "Party Culture," circa 1980s and 1990s. These aforementioned works pay attention to the more diffuse concept of a subculture, echoing Hebdige's 1979 study of youth cultures in England in the late 1970s.

Examples of *verbal arts* among Filipino American youth would include literary societies, reading groups, poetry slams, spoken word competitions, and showcases. Slam competitions and spoken word events update and refresh the inherited Philippine literary form of the Balagtasan while expressing it through the dynamic percussive range of Hip Hop culture. San Francisco's Eighth Wonder, Los Angeles's the Balagtasan Collective, Seattle's Isangmahal Arts Kollektive, and Chicago's I Was Born with Two Tongues serve as key examples of young artists extending Philippine oral traditions into contemporary Hip Hop scenes that foreground political engagement, community responsibility, and social justice. An indispensable recorded document is the 1998 album, *Inflip-tation—A Youngblood R.Evolution*, produced by Aleks Figueroa, features more than a dozen U.S.-based writers and performers.

Those in the field of *visual arts* have produced a range of interdisciplinary public arts projects—including happenings, symposia, festivals, and exhibits—as either individuals, in formal or ad hoc groups like the Mail Order Brides/M.O.B. and the DIWA Arts collective Committed to projects affecting youth, many artists collaborate with nonprofit community based organizations such as Precita Eyes Mural Arts (San Francisco), the Social and Public Art Resource Center (Los Angeles), and the Northside Community

Center (San Jose). Extending one's attention into a wider horizon, young artists work in every aspect of visual media, from the fine arts to commercial/corporate application: for example, comic book illustration, animation, and graphic design.

An important aspect of Filipino American youth culture concerns the participation in *sporting events*. With more than 20 years of operation, the Southern California college/university-based Friendship Games has grown into a multistate tournament involving games and other forms of entertainment. Basketball leagues continue to dominate contemporary Filipino American sport, with tournaments turning up expectedly in states with sizable populations such as California, Hawaii, and Washington State, but also in the Midwest, the mid-Atlantic region such as Washington, D.C., Maryland, Virginia, and in Jacksonville, Florida. These largely nonprofessional sporting events had a long lasting impact. Joel Franks's work highlights participation by Asian American and Filipino American athletes in boxing, tennis, baseball, and basketball with personalities, clubs, and leagues that have been active well before 1965. Linda Maram's scholarship on Filipino boxers who were active in the first half of the twentieth century covers more than biographical detail and looks to a wider historical horizon of a "sporting life" shared by a community. Corky Pasquil and Agrafino Edralin's 1994 documentary on the subject is still one of the few visual records of the *Great Pinoy Boxing Era*. Another underdeveloped area of scholarly research into this area concerns the importation and popularization of martial arts forms such as Kali and Eskrima. One of the better known practitioners in the United States of such forms, Dan Inosanto, himself a student of Bruce Lee, has trained dozens of students in his specific style. Orvy Jundis's *Pilipino Martial Arts* is a good place to start, but detailed research across various schools and styles is also needed to grasp the sociological, historical, and other cultural aspects of Philippine culture that are imparted in the training.

Regarding rituals and community-based events, Filipino American youth have participated, redefined, and often contested organized social events such as beauty pageants and taxi dances. Essays by historians Dawn Mabalon and Arleen De Vera investigate how

young Filipinas both embodied male aspirations for a “stabilized” U.S.-based community while also resisted narrowly written gender codes. In an extension and significant revision of Paul Cressey’s 1932 investigation into the taxi dance phenomena, scholars such as Burns, Parreñas, and Maram have acutely diagnosed power differentials between working-class Filipino males, white males, and white females. Emily Ignacio’s work on exchanges and community formations on the web affords a new line of research into global networks that are often coded, programmed, and maintained by youth throughout the Filipino diaspora.

At least three sets of institutions that have fostered and guided Filipino American youth cultures deserve future research. First, consider the inestimable influence of college and university student organizations, many struggling to straddle the so-called “social-political” divide. Whether constituted for *merely* social purposes or for expressly political ones, student organizations since the beginning of the twentieth century have been a nexus for activities, organizational development, interest identification, leadership training, student mentoring, participatory research, and creative experimentation in the arts. Second, in addition to campus settings, more attention should be paid to how labor unions specifically, and the work environment more generally, have fostered participation in youth cultures, whether through sporting events, dances, theatrical productions, or film festivals. Monrayo’s poignant memoir of life as a young Filipina in Honolulu attests to the complex social life structured in and around labor camps. And third, community-based organizations such as Filipinos for Affirmative Action (now known as Filipino Advocates for Justice; Oakland), Filipino Youth Activities (Seattle), the Search to Involve Pilipino Americans (Los Angeles), and the Festival of Philippine Arts and Culture (Los Angeles), have often served as incubators for student-led programming in the form of concerts, exhibits, publications, conferences, and participatory research projects.

Caveats

An accounting of cultural forms, especially one constructed tightly around the notion of Filipino American

youth cultures, will ultimately prove frustrating for the following reason: Such work, at a certain level, remains merely descriptive of a limited number of personalities, performers or scenes. *Youth cultures* can and do often refer to a subset of *popular cultural forms*. Hall (1981) goes to the heart of what is problematic regarding the term: “Virtually *anything* which ‘the people’ have ever done can fall into the list. Pigeon-fancying and stamp-collecting, flying ducks on the wall and garden gnomes. The problem is how to distinguish this infinite list, in any but a descriptive way, from what popular culture is *not*.” An understandable response would be that examples of Filipino American youth cultures are relatively few amidst the vast sea of U.S. popular cultural forms, and that no list of activity undertaken by Filipino American youth could ever be large enough. Furthermore, to recognize or encourage more expressive forms will, of necessity, be politically, if not at least culturally, important for an underserved and/or underappreciated minority group. Yet such a response does not move beyond the fine-tuning of an ever-growing list. Moreover, the idea of merely accounting for more examples of Filipino American youth cultures does nothing to critically analyze why, where, and how certain things and activities become popular whereas others do not. Hall again: “Popular forms become enhanced in cultural value, go up the cultural escalator—and find themselves on the other side.” It’s crucial not to focus solely on the “contents of each category,” but rather on the “forces and relations which sustain the distinction” between what is and is not popular. What are those structuring principles that account for the deployment (and withholding) of certain kinds of cultural forms on stage or in a particular setting, or the articulation (or silencing) of certain choreographed movements, or themes in a play, in one’s lyrics?

Another caveat concerns terminology: my use of the term “Filipino American” referred to persons of Philippine heritage in the United States and Hawaii. The term “Filipino American” would not gain currency until the mass-based organizing efforts of the 1960s and 1970s ushered in a new era where nonwhite groups were experimenting with new ways of naming themselves. Although the use of “Pilipino” and “Pilipino American” appears often in journalistic,

academic, literary, musical, and theatrical works, there is no clear uniformity.

Theodore S. Gonzalves

See also Filipino American Community Organizations; Filipino Americans

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Filipino Americans

Introduction

Historically and in political terms, "Filipino American" is a relatively recent idea, dating to the onset of Philippine independence in 1946. Prior to then, Filipinos were politically bound to the United States and known as various things, formally and informally, such as fellow laborers, insurrectionists, "little brown brothers," abortive citizens, colonized subjects, and "nationals," to name a few. The year 1946 seemed to bring to an end some of the conceptual crises that dogged the colonial administration and its legal apparatus since at least the Insular Cases in the wake of the 1898 Spanish-American War. Such conceptual crises emerged and reemerged with every effort to figure out the place of the Philippines and Filipinos in U.S. national and imperial governance and culture. Though the Philippines stands out somewhat conspicuously as the most remembered of the forgotten U.S. formal colonial holdings, it was not alone in that de facto status that is still extant in such locations as Puerto Rico and Guam and American Samoa and Guantanamo. One place where the Philippines departs from these other locations is that it has gone on to become a formally independent postcolonial nation-state. These historical conditions have provided the social, political, economic, and cultural contexts, methods, and stakes for Filipino Americans to emerge as a meaningful category invoked when working for, or sometimes against, change.

Across the historical transition from colony to nation-state, Filipinos have migrated to the United States. The United States had itself, of course, migrated to the archipelago, thereby initiating a new pull toward a new center of an emergent imperial master. Such a pull is a motif of a great many empires, whether Roman, British, French, or American, to name a few prominent Western examples. The economic and

legal conditions of these migrations are, as always, crucial considerations. The forms of labor have ranged from the trainings of sojourning bureaucrats in-progress at the outset of the twentieth century to low-wage migrant laborers in the 1920s and 1930s as well as stewards on U.S. navy ships, which would open outward to the wide proliferation of labor niches that have come to be associated with the Filipino diaspora, such as seafarers, domestic laborers, nurses, physicians, and caregivers. Each of these forms of work have occasioned types of labor organizing, most notably perhaps in the farm-working sector in the territory of Hawaii and the Pacific Coast of the United States, but also more recently in nursing.

Historical Sketch

A historical outline of U.S.-Philippine relations customarily begins with the military defeat of the Spanish at the hands of Admiral Dewey in Manila Bay on May 1, 1898. From this moment of violent incorporation to the United States, the general contours of U.S.-Philippine history meanders through the settling of debates over U.S. imperialism on the side of empire, followed by a fairly massive push for so-called “benevolent assimilation” in the roughly two decades that followed, leading to the devising and implementation of “complete independence” that included the accelerating “Filipinization” of the administrative positions in Philippine governance with the eventual adopting of the Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1934 that put the Philippines on a 12-year timetable for eventual independence. The occupation of the archipelago by Japan beginning in late 1941 would potentially interrupt that process, though ultimately 1946 did prove to be the year of political, if not “complete” independence.

There is evidence of earlier, Spanish-era migrations of galleon “Manilamen,” ship-jumping individuals who would now be considered Filipinos, in the Gulf Coast. Understandably their impact on the larger population of Filipino American communities in the contemporary moment is more of a symbolic nature than a material one.

During the period when the archipelago was a formal part of the United States as a territory of the

empire, Filipinos had a legal status that allowed for some circumvention of immigration restrictions that impacted Asians, most notably through the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 followed 42 years later by the more expansive Asian Exclusion Act of 1924. Clearly, as persons who were not technically crossing international borders when going from a U.S. territory to either another U.S. territory at that time (e.g., Hawaii or Guam or Oklahoma or New Mexico or Arizona) or one of the admitted states, Filipinos of this era, as Rick Baldoz has described, had a different relationship to these laws as indeed they had a different relationship to the imperial “mother country.” Other race-based laws of the era did play a role in the ability of Filipino migrants to form communities, particularly the antimiscegenation laws of various U.S. states that, among other things, did not permit the legal marriage of men of color with Caucasian women. Given the ratio of Filipino men to Filipino women at this time, with men vastly outnumbering women, bachelor societies emerged, with sporadic interracial unions and offspring. Such a family unit is thoughtfully treated in Bienvenido Santos’s canonical short story “Scent of Apples,” about a Santos-like figure who is invited to the home of Celestino Fabia, a Filipino American apple farmer who lives outside Kalamazoo, Michigan in the early 1940s with his Caucasian wife and mestizo son.

These pre-World War II era Filipino Americans, some like Celestino Fabia but many others unmarried and childless, came to eventually be called manongs or old-timers. Over time they earned this name as rising generations of Filipino Americans in the post-World War II era came to belatedly find them in their midst, nearly lost to history. These later generations of first- and second-generation immigrants from the Philippines did not necessarily have a conventional kinship relationship to these older men and some women, but there was something of a productively imagined link between the older generations who did not establish conventional kinship units and the rising generation that would effectively play a key role in what would come to be the Asian American movement.

With the major immigration reforms after 1965, a new generation came into its own, establishing ethnic

enclaves in such cities as Los Angeles (Eagle Rock) and San Francisco (Daly City) and Seattle and later “ethnoburbs” in such regions as the San Gabriel Valley and San Diego County/National City. Filipino America would come to seemingly follow in the footsteps of many immigrant groups before them. That is, they seemed to become another population working through the oft-told processes of adjustment, acculturation, and assimilation of the immigrant narrative. And this explanation can be compelling. Yet such a veneer has contributed to the obfuscation and invisibility of the colonial past of the Philippines and the ongoing importance of that history to the neoliberal globalization of today. Those conditions of globalization, with a practical infrastructure for the mobility of persons and money, manifest a global labor market where Filipinos are an exportable commodity for the Philippine economy, attractive to employers in such industries as shipping and domestic labor because they are viewed by these economic conditions as being low cost, highly educated, and “flexible,” meaning that they are both readily deployed and readily let go when the job appears to be finished. Whether in the 1920s for the production of sugar in the territory of Hawaii or in today’s export processing zones or middle-class nuclear family homes, Filipinos have inherited and reproduced cultural, economic, and educational conditions that were developed under formal colonial conditions and have adapted to postindependence neocolonial ones. The result is a diaspora that includes the diverse formations of Filipino Americans today and in the past, from the community of gay Filipino diasporic men in New York to the generations of Filipino Americans who have established, and at times left behind, communities in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Seattle.

The Ironically Unparalleled Example of Carlos Bulosan

Arguably the most canonical text of Asian American literature is Carlos Bulosan’s *America Is in the Heart: A Personal History* (1946), especially for appreciating approaches to social, cultural, political, and economic change. Bulosan’s story is both extraordinary and paradigmatic. To generations of Asian

Americans, his story has become exemplary and inspiring, as well as productively ambiguous and potentially misunderstood. The recovery of Bulosan’s text by and for the Asian American movement in the 1970s demonstrates the important interplay between new social movements searching for lost histories and the stories with whom those movements find strategic connection.

Though he wrote in various genres, ranging from poetry to short stories to novels, Bulosan is best known to U.S. readers for the aforementioned “personal history” that draws upon the conventions of the autobiography and the Bildungsroman to make legible a range of experiences that were largely invisible to most perspectives to the political right of reformist liberals. *America Is in The Heart* is therefore an activist text that chronicles the formation of what, in Antonio Gramsci’s terms, would be called an “organic intellectual.” That is to say, the book is the story of conscientization, of the arrival at critical social theory rooted in personal experience with social, economic, and cultural inequalities.

The book is divided into four sections, narrated in the first person, that chronologically trace the life of Allos. The first section recounts childhood in the rural Philippines under a U.S. colonialism that is omnipresent yet references only obliquely. The increasing dispossession of the peasantry, of which the narrator’s family is a part, is a thread that runs through this section, culminating in the departure of the narrator from the Philippines eventually to the Pacific Coast of the United States, after a brief stopover in Hawaii. The next two sections follow Allos as he looks for work along the Pacific Coast and struggles with myriad hardships not uncommon for poor migrant workers of color, such as exploitation by management and the resistance among the exploited to recognize their exploitation. His growing sense of despair leads him to make the observation that “it is a crime to be a Filipino in America,” and he seriously entertains the idea that he may need to turn to criminalized behavior to survive. The relentlessness of the inequalities of the social, economic, and political system occasions the despair that can precede an effective epiphany. And that epiphany takes the form of the very title of the book, when his brother Macario, articulates the idealism of Americanism in a spirit that may vaguely capture the era’s notion that communism is twentieth-century

Americanism. Throughout all of these experiences, Allos battles health problems including an extended stay in a tuberculosis sanatorium where he reads voraciously as he convalesces. The final, fourth section of the book leads to, among other things, Allos's emergence as a published writer and organizer. And the book ends at the outbreak of World War II for the United States including the occupation of the Philippines by Japan, a situation that prompts the frail Bulosan to try to enlist in the military. The final image of the book is Bulosan, aboard a bus on his way to some form of low-wage seasonal work.

Given its complexity, its subject matter, and its uniqueness, it is no wonder then that Bulosan's personal history would go on to play a key role in the Asian American movement. It provided hard evidence of conditions that shaped communities and perceptions—including self-perceptions—of Asian Pacific Americans, and it does so in ways that militate against the still dominant image of contemporary Asian Americans as the miracle synthetic white people so insidiously prominent in the postwar and post-Civil Rights era. Yet the lack of a more socialist transformation out of the hardships of the 1930s, arguably due to the cooptations of the left in the name of a global war on fascism, would not come to pass. And Allos, like other characters of realist and naturalist literature, remained an incipient socialist waiting for a revolution that did not happen. The transformation that did occur went as far as canonizing *America Is in the Heart* as inspiringly Asian American, even if other aspirations were left disappointed.

That said, the important work of farmworker activists such as Philip Vera Cruz and Larry Itliong have demonstrated kinds of necessary and hard-won measures that have been realized through historic struggles that have served as models for future forms of organizing.

Pre- and Post-Bulosan Filipino Americans

Although Bulosan's story stands out today for its detail, uniqueness, and sense of transformative purpose, his story was clearly linked to earlier generations of Filipinos who came to the United States. Perhaps the most notable early wave was that of the pensionados, a largely elite—or about to become

elite—strata of Philippine society who came to the United States to study at prestigious institutions of higher learning. They were seen as the American version of the *ilustrados* of the Spanish era who went to Spain for advanced training. The earliest of these migrants to the United States would do so under the auspices of government support, though they would be followed in much greater numbers by Filipinos without such support, inspired by the possibility of social and economic mobility that the earlier waves evidenced by their conspicuous placements in the colonial administration. By the time the likes of Allos would make the journey to the United States, the dimly seen vision of educational attainment and white collar rewards had become particularly unrealizable in the face of the Great Depression and its globally felt miseries.

The struggles of Allos and his comrades would then come to be the undeniably pervasive fate for Filipinos in the United States: low-wage seasonal labor, readily exploitable, and therefore useful to capitalist production. A 1930s silent film titled *A Filipino in America*, by a Filipino USC graduate student named Doroteo Ines, recounts the transition from hopeful pensionado to exploited service worker. Like Bulosan's book, the film provides a rare period glimpse into the lives of Filipino Americans of that time. The film remains somewhat obscure to this day, perhaps in part because of the potentially controversial resolution of this pre-World War II film. Rather than tell a peasant's story, the film is about a well-educated Filipino in America who suffers occupational downgrading, as well as the myriad social slights that gendered racialization both makes and is made by. Yet rather than converge with Allos at a site of revolutionary struggle, the film ends with the central character eventually boarding a ship to allow him to repatriate to the Philippines for the explicit task of nation-building. Ines's protagonist achieved a degree in engineering from USC, a skill set that would understandably be useful to development and industrialization.

Yet repatriation, especially in the era of the problematic Repatriation Provisions of the Tydings-McDuffie Act, was seen then as an abdication of a broad-based struggle to change America in Filipino interests rather than as a means to realized change through postcolonial nation-building in the semiperiphery. Also, decades later, for an Asian American

movement that may have had—and may still have—concerns about being perceived as the “perpetual foreigner,” the prospect of leaving the United States after failing to build a life and community in America may come across as fulfilling the desires of the xenophobes and nativists who never wanted the foreigners in the first place. And the extent to which there would have been an economic landing place for the likes of Ines’s protagonist may have been dubious under the conditions of colonialism at that point in pensionado history.

Yet Ines’s protagonist can also be understood as prescient, for better or for worse, about the projects in development that remain to this day. In that era, the specter of left, right, and centrist models of development were less pronounced and contentious as they would be thought of as elements of the Cold War. Now, Ines’s protagonist might be seen as a hero of certain forms of development that attempt to participate in, and even make possible, the new economies of globalization. Today, organizations such as Gawad Kalinga and other NGOs tap into, and indeed generate, diverse networks of resources for economic development projects in the Philippines that integrate Filipino Americans and the Filipino diaspora.

But, unlike Ines’s protagonist, the fact remained that the mass of Filipino Americans of that era were not being trained as engineers at expensive private schools. They were more likely one of the occupations listed in Cerenio’s poem cited above. Until the late 1960s, they were a population almost entirely composed of men without nuclear families. And these bachelor communities were without the burdens and/or gratifications of transnational family structures that have come to be more common with significant segments of the Filipino/a diaspora today, but by no means all of the diaspora today. Today, actively transnational families draw on an often highly gendered sense of familial obligation to ensure that capital flows back to the sending country will not be thwarted by the establishment of new families, as Parreñas and R. Rodriguez have analyzed. The folks “back home” then receive the putatively surplus wages from OFWs, electronically transmitted from across the globe by Western Union, PNB Rapid Remit, and other financial instruments that make a business out of the Filipino diaspora’s fulfillment of these kinship obligations,

which in turn are figured as valorized forms of national service that have come to define the *bagong bayani* (new heroes) of the Philippines.

Amid, as well as somewhat prior to, these transformations, there has been a significant sector of the Filipino diaspora that can be characterized as a brain drain, a highly educated population that follows the labor market out of the Philippines to, say, practice medicine in the rural United States. They are, in a sense, seen as the precise opposite of Ines’s protagonists: they remove their homegrown educational capital from the Philippines rather than repatriate the educational capital they acquired abroad. And given the middle-class feasibility of these professionals, the establishment of conventional nuclear family structures in the United States or other developed location they have relocated to, can potentially mean a less strong tie to the homeland that overseas contract workers (OCWs) would have and a subsequent less robust flow of money back to the Philippines.

One of the efforts by the Philippine government, as well as a more generalized cultural climate, has been the notion of balikbayans, or homecoming diasporic Filipinos who repatriate some of their wealth even if they do not themselves repatriate. This informal practice achieved something of a more focused government program in the repressive regime of President Ferdinand Marcos. But this sort of activity was not new and has not gone away in the post-Marcos era. If anything, it has become only more pervasive and crucial to the Philippine economy, creating stronger real and imagined ties between Filipinos all over the world but especially perhaps for contemporary Filipino Americans who have indeed established nuclear families where Filipinos from other times and in other locations have been structurally prevented from doing so. The Philippine state, as R. Rodriguez discusses, has come to engage in diverse and at times direct forms of facilitating labor export.

The Manongs of the International Hotel and the Movements They Inspired

The defeated broad-based struggle to prevent the demolition of the International Hotel in downtown San Francisco in the late 1970s serves as a last gasp of the literally dying generation of the earlier waves of

Filipino Americans, the manongs. For decades they worked in low-wage occupations, living paycheck-to-paycheck, and then later Social Security check to Social Security check. Lacking the benefits as well as the liabilities of raising children who might one day support them, they had no private safety net in the event of economic crisis. And just such a crisis emerged when postwar, postindustrial, inner-city redevelopment, sometimes called gentrification, eliminated the last remaining form of low-cost housing that was available to them: The International Hotel.

After lives of toil and some adventure and romance (as they vividly recounted in Curtis Choy's 1983 documentary *The Fall of the I-Hotel*), these elderly Filipino Americans were on the verge of homelessness. They had been more or less forgotten, for better or for worse, until their plight became a celebrated cause for a diverse range of movements militating against forms of capitalist development that would consider the eviction of poor old men left to their own devices to be a legitimate business practice. These men can be seen as sharing a fate of the poor the world over who are seen as collateral damage to the struggle to realize neoliberal globalization. These men can be seen as helping galvanize a movement that would even make Richard Hongisto, sheriff of San Francisco County, serve jail time for refusing to carry out the eviction order. Hongisto would later, through professions of self-disgust, oversee that eviction. The sanctioned eviction of these men was seen as a triumph of a particular path to prosperity, and that triumph did not sit well with new social movements that carried on resonant struggles. And so the state's lack of protection—and, as many saw things, the state's de facto persecution—of the manongs remains a conspicuous example of the punishments doled out to those who, for various complex reasons, have not established private forms of insulation from crisis.

One such lingering struggle that also bridges older Filipino American generations with new ones is the coalition that has formed around Filipino American veterans of World War II who have not, as they and their advocates compellingly contend, received their due benefits. As with the “old timers” from the International Hotel movement, these veterans are the focal point for a broad-based movement united by a

common desire to address failings in both the implementation of state power as well as the legitimacy of forms of state power itself. And as with the I-Hotel struggle, activism ranging from engagement with the legal and legislative apparatuses to direct action demonstrations have been used in response to an emergent crisis that demands organizing on behalf of a population that has come to be especially vulnerable to economic devastation.

Contemporary migratory populations out of the Philippines have more recently emerged as what might seem to be a new formation under globalization. In various ways these are indeed new developments, particularly in terms of scale and the infrastructures that the labor and conditions of these workers support. The so-called flexibility of the workers, that is, their capacity to be mobilized and demobilized with minimal negative impact on the processes and expenses of late capitalist production, has highlighted the legacies of Philippine development as a factory of such flexibility.

New Communities and Their Reproduction

According to the U.S. Census, there were 3.4 million Filipino Americans in 2010, including individuals of multi-racial background. The majority of Filipinos in the United States, nearly 69 percent, were born outside the United States. Nearly half of the Filipino American population, almost 1.5 million, reside in California. They are highly concentrated in southern California, in Los Angeles County and the greater L.A. region, San Diego County (especially National City). Large Filipino populations are also found in the greater San Francisco Bay Area Hawaii, the NY/NJ region, and Illinois and the Chicago metropolitan area. Other locations with large Filipino Americans include Florida, Texas, and Nevada (especially in Clark County, which includes Las Vegas). Over 55 percent of the total Filipino American population is female.

The era of the 1980s and after witnessed the further development of Filipino American communities, including the strengthening and proliferation of private forms of insulation from crisis, that is, the further establishment of nuclear families as well as extended,

transnational family networks. At the same time, the public forms of working for transformative social justice were being eroded through such events as the dismantling of affirmative action and the assaults on welfare under both Republican and Democratic administrations at all levels of government. Whether through faith-based efforts or through secular community-based organization or through professional guilds/unions or through progressive organizations focused on gender and sexuality or through less formal means, nongovernmental organizing has played and continues to play a key role in the making and remaking of Filipino America. As historian Cathy Ceniza Choy has written about, a growing population of Filipina Americans in nursing was engaged in efforts to have their interests adequately represented through nurse's unions or otherwise form their own organizations to protect their rights as Filipino American nurses. And organizations important to Filipino American rights, such as the Pilipino Workers Center, in Los Angeles emerged to advocate for and serve Filipino Americans. Indeed, a broad proliferation of Filipino American organizations has cropped up to fulfill social, economic, political, and cultural desires that make the case for ongoing needs and desires to act as a group rather than as individuals or even single families. That said, the emphasis on private family values, including the ascendant place of individual educational attainment, remains as strong as in the general U.S. population, if not stronger. And a growing awareness of emergent forms of labor exploitation through human trafficking has inspired new movements to advocate for the vulnerable and to recognize and prosecute perpetrators.

These movements have not been without creative artists to inspire and provoke. The acclaimed writings of such authors as Jessica Hagedorn, R. Z. Linmark, Han Ong, Peter Bacho, Brian Roley, Al Robles, and others have, with complexity and lucidity, shaped the terms by which Filipino America is understood across diverse forms of creative expression. Visual artists such as Manuel Ocampo, Paul Pfeiffer, Marlon Fuentes, Papo de Asis, and Reanne Estrada have changed the way the Filipino difference and historicity are understood. The arts have emerged as a fertile and central site of activism and transformation, altering both what is known about Filipino Americans and

how that knowledge has been produced. And so the work of such organization as FilAmARTS in Southern California or Kulintang Arts in Northern California continue to be important institutions attentive to cultural politics and cultural production, to name just two such institutions.

In the sphere of knowledge production specifically then, the educational apparatus has been the focus of intense attention. The school, and especially higher education, has long been a near-sacred site for presumptively virtuous pursuits above almost any other competing interest. This idea pervades Bulosan's book and Ines's film, and is so customarily associated with Asian Americans as to need little further comment. What may be worth further comment is the tradition of educational activism that Filipino Americans have, along with, but sometimes apart from, other Asian Americans, been a part of in the past four decades or more. Certainly the struggles to establish, protect, and



Filipino family in Santa Barbara, California. The father wears a t-shirt exclaiming, "It's great to be a Filipino." (Joseph Sohm/Visions of America/Corbis)

extend the fields of Ethnic Studies are notable and visible. And the efforts to incorporate progressive, decolonizing Philippine Studies and Critical Filipino Studies into traditional disciplines are important to recognize as well. But also important have been efforts to transform Area Studies, such as Southeast Asian Studies and even Pacific Islander Studies, to be more accountable and relevant to Filipinos, and vice versa. One of the more celebrated and conspicuous educational developments of the past quarter century has been the Filipino Cultural Night or PCN on many college campuses and even some high schools, especially where a critical mass of Filipino Americans exist. PCNs are annual, often massive productions, run almost entirely by students to showcase the wealth of talent and of traditions they seek to avail themselves of.

Conclusion

As the older imperial networks have presumably given way to newer forms of geopolitical structuring of a post-colonial world order, Filipino America has emerged as an illuminating example of what it means to make, or not to make, that transition. Narratives of immigrant assimilation in the United States alongside postindependence narratives of nation-building through globalization contend with an archive of alternative knowledge that scholar Neferti Tadiar has productively termed “Philippine historical experience.” Reckoning with this complicated and complicating set of materials both critiques and provides alternatives to the once-compelling answers to current and historic problems. “Filipino Americans” can then be seen as a term to capture a particularly situated constituency that is at once the agent and beneficiary of movements for social, economic, and political change, change that becomes compellingly necessary in the face of ongoing and innovative forms of oppression and exploitation, from formal to informal empire, and in a range of locations including but not limited to the United States.

Victor Bascara

See also Bacho, Peter; Bulosan, Carlos; Ethnoburb; Filipina War Brides; Filipino Agricultural Workers; Filipino American Baseball; Filipino American Communities (Contemporary); Filipino American

Communities (Historical); Filipino American Community Organizations; Filipino American Domestic Workers; Filipino American National Historical Society (FANHHS); Filipino American Newspapers; Filipino American Youth Cultures; Filipino Americans in World War II; Filipino Cuisine in the United States; Filipino Farm Labor Union (FFLU); Filipino Federation of America (FFA); Filipino Language Movement (FiLM); Filipino *Pensionados*; Filipino Piecemeal Sugar Strike (1924–1925); Filipino Repatriation Act (1935); Filipino Transnationalism; Filipino Women and Global Migration, History of; Filipino World War II Veterans; Filipinos in Hawaii; Hagedorn, Jessica; Pilipino Cultural Night (PCN)

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Filipino Americans in World War II

The Philippines became a colony of the United States at the turn of the twentieth century, and a commonwealth of the United States in 1934. By the time the United States entered World War II in 1941, there were over 100,000 Filipinos in the United States. The majority of these Filipinos were men, often referred to as *manongs* or older brothers, who had come to the United States as “nationals” and worked as seasonal workers in the fields of California, Oregon, and Washington, as well as the canneries in Alaska. They were also recruited as plantation workers in Hawaii. Filipinos in the United States in the early time period earned less than their white counterparts, were subject to antimiscegenation laws, and experienced a lot of racial discrimination, which had erupted into riots in cities such as Exeter and Watsonville in California throughout the 1920s and 1930s.

Because of the 1934 Philippine Independence Act, also known as the Tydings-McDuffie Act in the United States, the status of Filipinos in the United States had switched from “nationals” to “aliens.” The Act enabled the Philippines to create its own institutions and government and to gain its independence after 10 years, but the United States still had control over its foreign affairs and national defense. At the start of World War II, President Franklin D. Roosevelt merged the Philippine Army into the U.S. military and formed the United States Armed Forces in the Far East (USAFFE). Unlike their fellow Filipinos in the Philippines, the Filipinos in the United States were exempt from military at first. They thus initiated a campaign for an all-Filipino military unit in December 1941, and less than a month later, President

Roosevelt revised the Selective Service Act to permit Filipinos to join the U.S. Army and also authorized the formation of the 1st Filipino Battalion.

The 1st Filipino Battalion was formed on March 4, 1942, and activated on April 1, 1942, at Camp San Luis Obispo, California, under the supervision of the California National Guard. It was later elevated as the 1st Filipino Infantry Regiment on July 13, 1942, at the California Rodeo Grounds in Salinas, California, from which Japanese Americans were evacuated and transported to remote concentration camps. The battalion was made up of volunteers of Filipinos from the United States and also by Philippine Army officers and soldiers, as well as wounded soldiers from the Philippine Army and Philippine Scouts, who had first escaped to Australia from the Philippines on the USS *Mactan* in December 1941 and sent to the United States for additional medical treatment. The Filipino volunteers from the United States were primarily immigrant farm and cannery workers but also included a few Filipinos who had obtained a college education and the limited white-collar positions available to them.

The number of the 1st Filipino Infantry Regiment quickly grew as Filipino volunteers came from all over the United States and soon the 2nd Filipino Infantry Regiment was established in November 22, 1942, at Fort Ord, California. In January 1943, the 1st Regiment was relocated to Camp Beale whereas the 2nd Regiment was sent to Camp Cooke. More Filipino volunteers from the Hawaiian National Guard were to join the two regiments as a third regiment, but the Hawaiian Sugar Plantation Association contended that low-wage Filipino laborers on the plantations were essential for U.S. victory and thus prohibited Filipinos from Hawaii to join the U.S. military. These men were not able to enlist in the Army until 1943 when the 1st Filipino Infantry Regiment needed reinforcement to increase its size.

Some Filipino volunteers from California and Hawaii were sent to Australia and were integrated into the 1st Reconnaissance Battalion, operating out of New Guinea in preparation for General Douglas MacArthur's planned return to the Philippines after his initial retreat during March 1942 after the fall of Bataan. Lieutenant Colonel Robert H. Offley, the

assigned commander of the 1st Regiment, gave West Point graduate Lieutenant Colonel Leon Punsalang command of the battalion in New Guinea, thus becoming the first Asian American to command white troops in combat in the history of the U.S. Army.

After comprehensive combat training from January 1943 through the spring of 1944 at Camp Roberts and Hunter Liggett Military Reservation, the 1st and 2nd Regiments were sent to the Philippines. The 1st Regiment went into combat with the Japanese on Samar and established operations in Northern Leyte and other islands in Visayas starting in February 1945. The regiment was reporting a daily average of 40 Japanese deaths and 32 captures; although the 2nd Regiment never fought in combat as a unit, they were instead sent to Manila to assist the Philippine Civil Assistance Units (PCAUS).

When the war ended in August 1945, the 1st and 2nd Regiments ended its operations. The 1st Reconnaissance Battalion was deactivated. The PCAUS were also disbanded and their operations turned over to the Philippine government. The men were permitted leaves from the Alamo Scouts, the 5217th Reconnaissance Battalion, and various other units, and were released back to the 1st Regiment. When the men reported back to the Regiment in Ormoc, Leyte, they brought along with them their wives and fiancées, Filipino women from the Philippines, whom they were able to marry under the War Brides Act of 1945 and the Alien Fiancées and Fiances Act of 1946. Colonel William Hamby, Colonel Offley's successor as the 1st Infantry Regiment Commander, established a "tent city" for the newly married couples.

The War Brides Act also allowed spouses and children of U.S. military personnel to enter the United States. Before the Act was expired, many manongs from the United States returned to the Philippines to marry in their homeland. The manongs were then able to bring their families to the United States and establish a new generation of Filipino American community. Similarly, many of the younger soldiers were able to become more knowledgeable with languages and customs with which they were not familiar previously. The 1st Regiment returned to the United States on April 8, 1946, aboard the USS *General Calan* and was settled at Camp Stoneman; it was deactivated

two days later. The regiment soldiers who did not qualify to return to the United States, were ineligible, or wanted to remain in the Philippines were transferred to the 2nd Filipino Infantry Battalion in Quezon City. This battalion was deactivated on March 31, 1946, and the men were assigned to the 86th Infantry Division of the Philippines.

When the 1946 Rescission Act, signed by President Harry S. Truman, revoked the benefits promised to World War II Filipino veterans during their enlistment. However, this was not the case for the Filipino American veterans who were living in the United States at the time of their enlistment. These Filipino American veterans received full veterans benefits because their honorable discharge was from the U.S. Army. These veterans were given the option to naturalize through the Filipino Naturalization Act, which endowed U.S. citizenship to those who had arrived in the United States before March 24, 1943. As many as 1,000 soldiers were sworn in at Camp Beale on February 20, 1943. Some Filipino immigrants, however, declined the option to naturalize for various reasons, such as never having felt welcomed in the United States and also having enlisted only to liberate the Philippines, the homeland.

Jimiliz M. Valiente-Neighbours

See also Filipino Americans; Filipino World War II Veterans

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Filipino Cuisine in the United States

Filipino food is one of the least understood cuisines in the United States, with its diversity reflecting the different geographic regions of the Philippines. How a certain Filipino dish is prepared can vary depending on the particular region from which the chefs are from in the Philippines.

Filipino cuisine includes a mix of native fruits and fishes, with *calamansi* limes and vinegar to flavor stews and soups. Many of the dishes have Indonesian and Malaysian influences (sweetened sticky rice desserts like *biko* and *suman*), while other dishes are legacies of trade with China (*lumpia*, which are fried spring rolls, and *pancit*, which is similar to chow mein), Spain (*longganisa*, which is similar to chorizo), and Mexico (*sinigang* made with Mexican tamarind and chilies). Filipino cuisine also evolved to include hot dogs in ispageti (spaghetti made with banana ketchup) and Spam—because of the military history of America in the Philippines.

The best place to find Filipino food is in the home. For breakfast, Filipino Americans may cook a

traditional breakfast consisting of fried fish, such as *daing na bangus* (vinegar marinated milkfish), *sinangag* (garlic fried rice), and *longganisa* (short chicken or pork sausages). Other popular breakfast dishes include *tocino* (pork belly bacon) or *tapsilog*, which is the combined name of three breakfast dishes—*tapa* (cured type of beef), *sinangag*, and *itlog* (fried egg). Most Filipino meals have more than one dish to bring out a subtle flavor called *linamnam*, which implies a thrill due to the overall flavors of the meal (Malakunas 2012).

At parties, one can find typical Filipino dishes that can often be ordered from a *turo-turo* restaurant (take-out from a buffet-style set-up) or can be made at home. These dishes are often fried, braised, sautéed, or grilled. On special occasions, *lechon* (a whole suckling roasted pig) is often served. *Pancit* is often served at birthday parties because the long noodles symbolize long life for the celebrant. Finger foods at parties often include *lumpia*, *chicharron* (different parts of the pig that have been salted, dried, and then fried), and *ukoy* (fried shrimp cakes with bean sprouts). Stews that may be served include *mechado* (beef or pork in tomato sauce with potatoes), *kare-kare* (peanut-based stew of braised ox tails with vegetables) served with *bagoong* (fermented shrimp paste), and *dinuguan* (pig blood and meat cooked with vinegar and chiles).

For a simple dinner at home, one may cook *adobo*—the Philippines’ unofficial national dish. It is typically made with pork or chicken that is stewed or braised in a sauce consisting of vinegar, garlic, bay leaves, peppercorns, and soy sauce. Another popular dinner entrée is *bistek* (sliced beef marinated in soy sauce and calamansi and then fried with onions). Soups such as *sinigang* (sour tamarind soup with pork, beef, chicken, or seafood), *nilagang baka* (made with beef shanks and vegetables), or *tinola* (large chicken pieces and chayote slices cooked in a ginger-flavored broth) may appear on the table as well.

Many Filipino bakeries in the United States offer sweet and savory pastries, breads, and desserts that reflect multicultural influences. For example, *empanada* (a moon-shaped pastry filled with meat and spices) was introduced during the Spanish colonization of the Philippines. Similarly, *siopao* (the Filipino version of the Chinese *bao*) and *hopia* (bean-filled pastry introduced by Fujianese immigrants) are sold as well.

Spanish influence is also evident in *pandesal*, *monay*, *ensaymada*, *pan de coco*, and *mammon* breads that are sold at Filipino bakeries. Typical Filipino desserts also include *puto*, *bibingka*, and *kutsinta*, which are variations of rice cakes. *Leche flan*—another Spanish influence—is also available to order. *Turon* is made with native *plantain* (bananas) rolled up in eggroll wrapper and deep fried. *Ginataan* (coconut milk pudding made with root vegetables and tapioca pearls) is another familiar dessert. The most popular Filipino dessert is *halo-halo*, which means “mix-mix,” a parfait of various native preserved fruits served with shaved ice and evaporated milk.

For a time, traditional Filipino dishes were not easily accessible to mainstream America. A colonial mentality, lack of central identity, and a preference for cooking at home are possible reasons for the historic lack of presence of Filipino cuisine in the United States. Yet, the culture of Filipino cuisine is greatly evolving in the United States. This is primarily because of the tendency of Filipinos to “pakikisama,” or get along with others and assimilate with the collective. Although Filipino immigrants brought their traditional foods with them, they also enjoyed the cuisines of other ethnicities. This has influenced the way they now present traditional Filipino dishes. Recently, Filipino cuisine has steadily become part of mainstream America, which popularizes food trucks, fusion cuisine and more healthily prepared foods. In addition, the popularity of certain exotic Filipino dishes like *sisig* (grilled pig’s cheek skin seasoned with calamansi and chili peppers) is a growing trend. Thus, the story of Filipino cuisine in the United States is not done yet.

Marie-Arvi Bayani Simbol

See also Chinese Cuisine in the United States; Filipino Americans; Hawaiian Cuisine; Indian Cuisine in the United States; Korean Cuisine in the United States; Thai Cuisine in the United States; Vietnamese Cuisine in the United States

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Filipino Cultural Night

See Pilipino Cultural Night (PCN)

Filipino Farm Labor Union (FFLU)

Although there are few details left in the historical record about the Filipino Farm Labor Union (FFLU) it nevertheless played a critical role in the modern history of labor in the United States. Established in 1956 under the leadership of longtime labor activist Larry Dulay Itliong (1913–1977), the Filipino Farm Labor Union was one of the founding member organizations of the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (AWOC), an organization that later went on to be a part of the United Farm Workers (UFW).

The FFLU grew out of a historic tradition of Filipino immigrant labor across the West Coast of the United States that began in the early twentieth century. Powerful agribusiness interests from California to Alaska required a cheap pool of labor to till the soil of vast agricultural empires that produced a variety of seasonal fruits and vegetables. Given the United States' colonial relationship with the Philippines, a result of the Philippine-American War (1899–1902), and agricultural growers' need for cheap labor, many young Filipinos set their sights on the West Coast in hopes of finding employment.

Seasonal agricultural proved to be labor-intensive work in harsh working conditions given California's disparate weather. In communities across the West Coast, Filipinos, like other ethnic farm workers, faced interpersonal racism, discrimination, and at times mob violence, as evidenced in the Watsonville Race Riot of 1930. On the job they faced harsh resistance

to unionization by local growers who were supported by law enforcement. Nevertheless, Filipino farm workers slowly organized in piecemeal fashion.

Throughout the 1930s and 1940s Filipinos formed a variety of small labor organizations and mounted small strikes reflecting growing labor militancy and providing a base for the eventual founding of the FFLU. In 1933 when the American Federation of Labor (AFL), which had a notoriously xenophobic and especially anti-Asian platform for many years, refused to organize Filipino lettuce pickers in California's Salinas Valley, Filipino workers took it upon themselves to establish the Filipino Labor Union and stage a one-day strike. Despite the strike's failure, the Filipino Labor Union grew to some 2,000 members and eventually joined the AFL-affiliated Vegetable Packers Association (however, after violence against Filipinos in a subsequent strike, this coalition split). Later in 1940, the AFL chartered the Federated Agricultural Laborers Association, a union that negotiated with growers on behalf of Filipino celery, garlic, asparagus, and Brussels sprout workers, among others.

Within this legacy of small, but enduring, labor activism, Larry Dulay Itliong established the FFLU in 1956. Itliong was a veteran organizer who left the Philippines in 1929 and worked in Alaska's cannery industry and later the lettuce fields of Washington State. Before coming to California he worked with the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing, and Allied Workers of America Workers Union, the International Longshore and Warehouse Union, and served as vice-president of the Seattle cannery workers local. In California, he coordinated a strike among asparagus workers and then established the FFLU. Reflective of the slowly changing attitudes toward immigrant workers of color, this organization was affiliated with the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO).

Just three years later in 1959, the disparate organizing activities of Filipino farm workers began to coalesce. The FFLU joined with other labor groups such as the National Farm Labor Union (which included future United Farm Worker leader Philip Vera Cruz) to form the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (AWOC), which was comprised primarily of Filipinos. Although a branch of the AFL-CIO, the

AWOC was not a formal union, but, as its title suggests, a committee for organizing workers. In this capacity, it strove for better working conditions, higher wages, and official union recognition. Under Itliong's leadership, Filipino grape workers successfully staged a strike in the Coachella Valley, which led to a salary raise of \$1.40 from \$1.25 per hour. Although the strike did not result in a formal contract between workers and growers, this action set the stage for the Delano Grape Strike.

On September 8, 1965 the AWOC initiated the historic Delano Grape Strike, one of the most well-known strikes of modern U.S. history that blended labor and civil rights agendas. Soon after the AWOC called the strike the primarily Mexican American National Farm Workers Association under Cesar E. Chavez joined and later merged to become the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee (UFWOC; now known as the United Farm Workers). Among the other issues the UFWOC engaged through the strike were the use of dangerous and toxic pesticides on fruits and vegetables, the differential wages between Mexican and Filipino farm workers and *Braceros* (i.e., contract laborers from Mexico brought to the United States through a federal program designed to alleviate agricultural labor shortages during World War II), deplorable living conditions, the use of undocumented workers as strikebreakers and the general dignity of working-class people. In addition to the strike by workers themselves, the movement gained momentum through a highly publicized consumer secondary boycott of grocery stores that sold nonunionized California grapes that, due to the use of pesticides, also posed general public health risks. A dramatic 350-mile march by the united Filipino and Mexican farm workers from Delano to California's state capitol, Sacramento, also brought the plight of agricultural labor to a national audience. After several long years, in 1970 the UFW finally signed contracts with major grape growers. Because of antimiscegenation laws the Filipino farm workers remained largely a bachelor society and by the end of the 1970s most had retired; however, the UFW now affiliated with the Change To Win Federation, continues to push for social and economic justice for farm workers today.

Although the FFLU as an independent organization had a very short history, its place in a larger story of labor activism remains significant. Although the Filipino presence in the farm worker movement has been largely erased in mainstream accounts, as an early constituent of what eventually became one of the most important strikes in U.S. labor history the FFLU contributed to a long legacy of immigrant Filipino mobilization against inequalities faced by all working people.

Jean-Paul R. DeGuzman

See also Filipino Agricultural Workers; Filipino American Domestic Workers; Filipino Piecemeal Sugar Strike (1924–1925); Itliong, Larry; Vera Cruz, Philip

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Filipino Federation of America (FFA)

The Filipino Federation of America (FFA) is a mutual aid society established on December 27, 1925, by Hilario Camino Moncado. Although still in existence today, the zenith of FFA political activity was under Moncado's charismatic leadership. A conservative organization that sought a leadership role in the mid-twentieth century immigrant Filipino community, the FFA's early political activities were refracted through a pronounced moral code and ethnic nationalism. Over the years, the Federation gave rise to a unique, transnational Filipino folk religion.

Founded in Los Angeles as a Christian, fraternal organization, the FFA vied for members alongside other well-known mutual aid organizations such as the Caballeros de Dimas Alang and the Legionarios de Trabajo. In addition to Moncado, other early members were young urban male Filipino immigrants who performed a variety of jobs to pay for their education. Ostensibly a fraternal organization, women also participated in FFA activities. The organization's popularity quickly grew and chapters were established in other centers of Filipino immigrant life in California and Hawaii. The Federation emphasized the centrality of God, an ethic of brotherhood and the importance of mutual assistance. Medical aid, English language classes, sharing information about employment and current events in the Philippines, and companionship for migratory Filipinos were among the services the FFA provided.

The FFA was a decidedly Christian organization; its documents were often peppered with invocations of Biblical scripture. Significantly, the religious overtones of the FFA were evident in the ways in which Moncado came to embody the "Equifrilibrium" (EFB) or master who guided both spiritual and political salvation, following in the footsteps of both Jesus Christ and the Philippine national hero, Dr. Jose Rizal. The juxtaposition of Christ, Rizal, and Moncado became a powerful "trinity" that guided the FFA. Although grounded in Catholicism, the FFA's religious dimensions were complex. Moncado emphasized the next coming of Jesus Christ, borrowing from American evangelicalism; yet, the FFA also displayed a Catholic folk mysticism grounded in *Doce-Doce* ("twelve-twelve") or the centrality of the number 12 in the membership structure of the organization, which would total the "mystical" number of 1728. Upon initiation into the Federation, members were required to fast and provided with *instuksyon* (instructions) on specific prayers designed to ensure moral rectitude and prevent harm. The spiritual and mystical development of the FFA was largely the work of Lorenzo de los Reyes, while "Mama" Luisa Cortez was one of a handful of women who took on a visible role in "spiritual training" for members.

Politically, FFA leaders framed the organization as a broker between the United States and the Philippines

and sought to build harmonious relationships between Filipino immigrants and Americans. Nevertheless, the FFA fervently advocated Philippine independence from the United States and attracted membership by appealing to that struggle. Their strategies for achieving independence, however, were often at odds with other Filipino organizations. Rather than disrupting existing social relations through strikes or other mobilization, the FFA emphasized that morality, temperance and sobriety were the best paths toward challenging damaging stereotypes of Filipinos and thus securing empowerment.

To accomplish these goals, the FFA set forth a series of moral codes to which their members had to abide. Challenging the detrimental stereotypes of the vice-ridden Filipino male, leaders exhorted members to abstain from drinking, gambling, and smoking. To forestall conflict between Filipinos and whites, FFA members were prohibited from attending taxi-dance halls and dating European American women. The organization emphasized "clean" living through recreational activities such as bowling and golf, which also signified the FFA's concern with introducing American culture to Filipinos. Documents indicate FFA members even removed meat from their diets reflecting other health movements in America beginning in the Progressive Era.

Crafting a clean, positive image of the Filipino community was one component of a larger political project. Moncado and his fellow leaders avoided any explicit discussion of colonialism and rather sought to translate and imbricate American values and ideologies into a burgeoning Filipino American identity politics. Moncado stressed "loyalty" to the U.S. Constitution as the cornerstone of democracy. FFA members proudly participated in American Independence Day celebrations and leaders often equated Dr. Jose Rizal with President George Washington as paragons of political leadership. Just a year after its founding, the FFA sponsored a Rizal Day celebration at USC's Bovard Auditorium, a significant event given that many immigrants still had Rizal's martyrdom in their memories. Moreover, the FFA promoted the use of the English language, as opposed to Tagalog, in its extensive print culture that included books, pamphlets, and a 52-page monthly newsmagazine entitled *The*

Filipino Nation that tied diasporic Filipinos across the United States together through local news and progress toward Philippine independence.

This political outlook that ironically deployed some markers of Americanization to achieve Filipino nationalist goals was often at odds with other Filipino organizations. The greatest schism occurred in the arena of labor relations and reflected the FFA's "clean" image as a strategy toward gaining political legitimacy. In Hawaii, the FFA was highly critical of the growing militancy of Filipino plantation workers who had initiated several strikes even before the Federation came into existence. In California, under the banner of forging better relationships with European Americans, the FFA created alliances with white agribusiness interests who attempted to block the unionization of the vast number of Filipino migratory laborers. The FFA refused to support a farm worker strike in the Salinas Valley in the 1930s and collaborated with immigrant Japanese growers in an attempt to thwart a strike initiated by the Filipino Agricultural Laborers' Association.

The FFA movement began to falter after the 1934 Tydings-McDuffie Act effectively ended Filipino migration to the United States. However, the folk religious practices of the FFA's "spiritual division" took on a new life of their own as Moncado and Reyes' disciples attempted to establish "Moncado Colonies" in the Philippines. Although Moncado died in 1956, the "religion" he helped found continued to spark interest throughout the 1970s in Hawaii and the Philippines. The FFA remains active in Stockton, California, today focusing on social and historical events.

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See also Filipino Agricultural Workers; Filipino Americans

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Filipino Language Movement (FiLM)

The Filipino Language Movement (FiLM) describes the collaborative efforts that lead to the legitimization of Filipino language classes in public K–12 schools in California in response to the passage of the federal No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act in 2002. Although valuable endeavors have been made since 1975 in teaching Filipino ("Filipino" is used throughout this article in reference to Filipino designated as the national language in the Philippines to be inclusive of other Philippine languages in addition to Tagalog) throughout California, the term "Filipino Language Movement" was used by the advocates of California Assembly Bill 420 (AB 420) entitled "Teachers: alternative language assessments: Filipino language." The bill was developed to address the endangerment of Filipino language classes in the state of California brought about by the passage of NCLB. FiLM served as the driving force behind the grassroots movement that helped pass AB 420, also known as the Filipino Language Bill on September 29, 2005. As a community-based sociopolitical movement, FiLM encompassed the efforts of several different Filipino education advocacy groups such as Filipino American Educators of San Diego County and Council for Teaching Filipino Language and Culture. Along with support drawn from many community organizations, FiLM's successful efforts in aiding the passage of AB 420 helped legitimize the status of the Filipino language throughout California.

Background of FiLM and AB 420

Although an existence of successful rallying efforts led to the establishment of Filipino language

classes in various school systems throughout California, the Filipino Language Movement, as an organized advocacy effort beginning in 2004, was born as a proactive response to the No Child Left Behind Act. The passage of this federal policy, which was signed into law in 2002, threatened the continuation of Filipino language classes. It required teachers to be deemed as “highly qualified” or proficient in the subject taught; however, this need could only be met by either the successful completion of a teaching credential program specifically for Filipino or by passing a subject examination in that subject area. Neither of which was offered during that time.

Recognizing this need, the Filipino advocacy organizations and individuals of FiLM gathered to organize their efforts to not only prevent the potential erasure of Filipino language classes but also to create a pathway for those who want to teach Filipino in the future. Until the passage of AB 420, Filipino was the only language among the nine prevalent languages in California with no formalized subject examination for teachers to verify their language proficiency. The absence of this heightened the risk of losing the highly enrolled Filipino language classes. However, meeting this requirement of NCLB was impossible without a formal accreditation from the California Commission on Teacher Credentialing (CTC).

Community Organizing Efforts Behind AB 420

To resolve this, FiLM acknowledged the need for legislative support. The group successfully appealed to former Assemblymember Shirley Horton, who represented the 78th District in San Diego County during that time, to champion this issue to the state. Recognizing the importance of heritage languages and multiculturalism in school systems (FILAMEDA), she authored AB 420, which would “require the CTC to adopt alternative assessments to ensure the credentialing of Filipino teachers by the NCLB deadline” (AB 420 bill).

The advocates behind FiLM were students, parents, community leaders, and supporting organizations. The Filipino American Educators of San Diego County (FILAMEDA) was the organization spearheading the lobbying efforts. Understanding the need

for a unified voice, this policy-driving organization was led by its former president Eleonor Castillo who became FiLM’s principal spokesperson accompanied by the strong support from experienced Filipino language teachers from the Council for Teaching Filipino Language and Culture (CTFLC). Students from various organizations within the Filipino Collegiate Collaborative also assisted in raising awareness about this issue. Supporting organizations and individuals contributed to the Filipino language movement by submitting petition signatures, sending letters to Congress, and providing testimonials from students and parents about the benefits of language classes. FiLM’s online petition collected over 3,600 signatures and numerous letters were mailed to key decisionmakers during various parts of the campaign. At the time of the lobbying efforts, Filipino had been taught in California as a world language for the past 30 years, student demand for Filipino Language classes has increased 35 percent over the last four school years.

Throughout the process of AB 420, this bill had bipartisan support since its introduction on February 15, 2005. Aside from Assembly member Horton, who was the principal author of AB 420, the official bill indicates that its coauthors were Assembly members Chu, Coto, DeVore, Huff, Jerome Horton, Jones, Plescia, and Vargas and Senators Chesbro, Ducheny, Maldonado, and Torlakson. The official supporters of AB 420 were: California Language Teachers Association; California Teachers Association; California Women Empowerment Network; Council for Teaching of Filipino Language and Culture; Council of Philippine American Organizations of San Diego County, Inc.; Councilmember Garcetti, Los Angeles City; Filipino American Educators Association, Inc.; Filipino American Educators Association of San Diego County; Filipino American Social Services of Solano County, Inc.; Solano County Board of Education; The Foreign Language Council of San Diego; University of California, San Diego, Associated Students; and Vallejo City Unified School District.

After FiLM’s successful lobbying through the Senate and Assembly, Governor Schwarzenegger signed the bill into law on September 29, 2005. Thus, the collaborative efforts of FiLM and its supporters successfully petitioned the state Commission on

Teacher Credentialing to establish a California Subject Examination for Teachers (CSET) on Filipino.

The next step was to ensure that funding was secured for full implementation of AB 420. FiLM along with Assembly member Horton continued their efforts in stressing the importance of the development of this test. As a result of their successful campaign and follow-up, the inaugural Filipino CSET was administered on November 4, 2006, which was two years ahead of the deadline. On the first examination, all teachers who took the test passed.

Current Status

Since then, the CSET Filipino has been offered twice a year to teachers planning on preserving the Filipino language through teaching. CTFLC has designed CSET: Filipino review classes to offer support for the exam. Since 2007, Alliant International University, located in San Diego, is currently the only university in California offering a teaching credential program specifically for Filipino. Although other universities have teacher-credentialing programs for other world languages, Filipino has yet to be included in the public university system.

According to the American Community Survey (2007), almost half (668,073) of all Filipino language speakers in the United States (1,480,429) reside in California. The top metropolitan areas of Filipino language speakers were Los Angeles (17.5 percent), San Francisco (11 percent), New York (9.1 percent) and San Diego (5.8 percent). Filipino language classes exist in K-12 schools throughout San Diego County (14), Los Angeles County (2), Alameda County (2), Solano County (2), and San Francisco County (4). The schools that offer Filipino as a world language have high concentration of Filipinos; however, the classes also enroll students of various heritage backgrounds. Because of the advocacy efforts of the Filipino Language Movement, Filipino classes were not eradicated by federal law requirements and, instead, provided a pathway for teachers to be officially authorized to teach Filipino throughout schools in California. Teachers, students, and community members desiring to continue the Filipino Language Movement may

consider developing Filipino language classes through continued advocacy of Filipino language classes.

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See also Filipino American Community Organizations; Filipino Americans

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Filipino Pensionados

Pensionados is the term given to Filipinos who were chosen to participate in a government-sponsored program to send students to the United States for high school and college education. This program was institutionalized during the U.S. colonization and Philippine Commonwealth periods, commencing in 1903, formally ending in 1914, and then revived from 1918 until 1943. Under a recommendation by a Taft Commission report in 1901 to undertake the training of local teachers, the Philippine Commission officially passed this program as Act No. 854 in 1903, picking by means of an examination its first 104 participants from a variety of provinces and school districts and including selected members of the elite. Supervised by William A. Sutherland, then the Spanish-language secretary to the first governor general of the Philippines William Howard Taft, the expanded *pensionado*

program was aimed at providing the scholars with direct exposure to Western civilization and training in various fields such as agriculture, education, mechanical and industrial arts, and civil administration. After their schooling and during their eventual return to the Philippines, these students were required to take the civil service examination and accept an appointment in local government offices if offered. Indeed, in the Philippines, they became involved in academic, political, industrial, business, and professional leadership positions, and they assisted in leading the advocacy for Philippine independence and the administration of the commonwealth government and beyond.

The first *pensionados* were all men between the ages of 16 and 25. They attended agricultural and technical schools such as the Agricultural College (now the Iowa State University) and Cincinnati Technical School (now the University of Cincinnati), teaching schools such as the State Normal School in New York (now the State University of New York at Oswego) and the Northern Illinois State Normal School (now the Northern Illinois University in De Kalb), and research universities such as Cornell University, Purdue University, University of Chicago, and Yale University. They were not housed in school dormitories or boarding houses but instead lived with American families. These *pensionados* were also sent to the Louisiana Purchase Exposition (otherwise known as the St. Louis World's Fair) in 1904 to serve as guides, waiters, and assistants and to be exposed to American ways of life. Five women were among the 39 *pensionados* who were selected into the program in 1904. In 1905, three women were part of the 34 *pensionados*. Between 1903 and 1914, 218 students were sponsored. By the time the program finally ended in 1943, almost 500 scholars would have benefitted from this program, many of them having been sent to the United States for graduate and professional degree programs, or just to take seminars and college courses or attend postgraduate programs.

Among those in the list of prominent *pensionados* were Francisco Benitez (who became the dean of the College of Education at the University of the Philippines), Antonio De Las Alas (who became a house representative, senator, secretary of the interior, secretary of finance, and director of the Bureau of

Public Works), and Camilo Osias (who became the first Superintendent of Schools, then a senator and, later, the secretary of education).

Rick Bonus

See also Filipino Americans

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Filipino Piecemeal Sugar Strike (1924–1925)

On April 1, 1924, Filipino sugar plantation workers in Hawaii initiated a strike that scholar John Reineke would dub “The Piecemeal Filipino Sugar Strike of 1924–1925.” His 1976 manuscript of the same title describes the disjointed—or piecemeal—nature of the strike, as well as the sugar industry’s and government’s systematic oppression of workers.

The strike was the final step in a series of actions undertaken by the High Wage Movement (HWM), led by Filipino sugar and dock worker turned lawyer and activist Pablo Manlapit, as well as George Wright, a local white AFL leader. As wholesale sugar prices fell from a record high of 12.33¢ per pound in 1920 to 4.63¢ per in 1922, wages also took a hit. Concentrated at the bottom rung of the sugar plantation labor ladder in unskilled positions, Filipino workers suffered disproportionately. In the fall of 1922, representatives of workers held a series of meetings, culminating in the HWM’s petition with a list of requests that garnered over 6,000 signatures. These requests included a raise in the minimum wage, workday hour reduction,

time and half for overtime and double time for Sunday work and holidays, equal pay for men and women in the same jobs, increases in wages to skilled and semi-skilled employees, and recognition of collective bargaining and the rights of employees to organize.

The petition was sent to the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association (HSPA) in April 1923, and again in November and December. The HSPA, sticking to its long-standing policy of neither recognizing nor negotiating with organized labor, ignored the petition every time. The HWM also sent its list of requests to individual plantation companies, and was again disregarded. In January 1924, the HWM issued a manifesto stating that a strike would follow in the event of the authorities' refusal of workers' demands. In March of that year, the group's executive committee drafted its "Strike Proclamation," calling for the action to begin on April 1.

The strike began on the island of Oahu and picked up haltingly elsewhere in Hawaii in the months following April. The action ultimately involved 34 of the islands' 49 plantations and three-fifths of the Filipino workforce. On September 9, 1924, violence erupted in Hanapepe on the island of Kauai as police fired on a mass of strikers, killing 16 and wounding others (four policemen were killed as well). The incident became known as the Hanapepe Massacre. Over 160 strikers were jailed and 76 were indicted for rioting, with 57 others pleading guilty to assault and battery charges. Indicative of the collusion between the sugar industry and local authorities, a county attorney was assisted by two special deputy attorney generals hired and paid for by the HSPA in the ensuing legal proceedings. The 72 men tried were provided a single counsel and convicted. HWM organizer Pablo Manlapit was charged with suborning perjury, convicted, and imprisoned until 1927.

The HSPA made no concessions to the Filipino strikers, just as it had ignored previous strikes spearheaded by Japanese workers in 1909 and 1920. If there were changes or developments on the HSPA's end in the aftermath of strikes, these were most often framed as initiatives extending from the paternal benevolence of the industry rather than concessions to labor union demands. In 1925, the HSPA—less interested in recognizing workers' needs than preventing protest and

unionization efforts—commissioned an outside firm to research conditions on plantations. The firm recommended that improvements be made on all fronts: from wages, hiring, promotions, and working hours, to housing, medical care, sanitation, education, and recreation. Although plantations moved forward with some changes in response, these would not be sufficient.

The failure of the 1924 Filipino sugar strike, along with failed Japanese-led strikes in years prior, underscores the particular legal, racial, and economic milieu of pre-war Hawaii. This was a time during which corporations colluded with local governments and law enforcement to oppress an immigrant workforce already stratified by racialized plantation hierarchies. In 1900, the Organic Act made way for labor organization by obviating the 1850 Masters and Servants Act that permitted indentured labor. That same year saw 18 strikes. By 1900, however, Hawaii sugar plantation owners had already coalesced to form the HSPA, controlled by the Big Five agencies. These agencies were owned by five families of missionary background who were variously allied through business partnerships, family ties, stock ownership, and other relations. Led by such a block, the HSPA operated as a monolithically antiunion entity. Starting with Japanese workers' Great Strike of 1909, the HSPA established its policy of neither recognizing nor negotiating with labor unions, especially in response to strikes. Repeatedly, the plantations of the HSPA united to bear out the cost of strikes, hired strikebreakers, evicted thousands of strikers and their families, and engaged in espionage to obtain information about labor movement activities and to disseminate misinformation.

Standing against such a force, Filipinos in the lead-up to the 1924 strike were at multiple disadvantages. They were relative newcomers to Hawaii compared to the Portuguese and Japanese. The sugar industry had turned to the Philippines, then a U.S. colony, for migrant labor after the Gentleman's Agreement of 1907–1908 halted migration of Japanese laborers. By 1919, there were over 10,000 Filipinos in Hawaii, and they made up 22.9 percent of the sugar workforce, with Japanese comprising 54.7 percent. The vast majority of Filipinos were poor young men without families whose turnover rate at plantations

was 83 percent in 1923. This translated to a lack of community networks and resources among Filipinos. As a result, the Filipino HWM that carried out the 1924 strike lacked key infrastructure and funding. The movement's prospects were grim, especially in light of the HSPA's power and the territorial government's recent passage of multiple anti-labor laws. This context—fused with a racial discourse that constructed Filipinos as essentially violent, volatile, and in need of imperialist discipline— informed the strike's ultimate failure.

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See also Filipino Agricultural Workers; Filipino Americans; Filipino Farm Labor Union (FFLU); Filipinos in Hawaii

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Filipino Repatriation Act (1935)

Just one year after the passage of the Tydings-McDuffie Act, which set the 10-year timeline for recognition of Philippine independence, the United States Congress approved the Filipino Repatriation Act of 1935. The act established a “voluntary” repatriation program that allocated \$100,000 to the Immigration and Naturalization Service to organize the return of Filipino immigrants back to the islands. The act and program were extended three times, lasting from April 1936 to July 1941 with the total cost of the program reaching \$250,000. Despite concerted efforts by INS officials, however, only 2,064 Filipinos total were repatriated. The Tydings-McDuffie Act and the Filipino Repatriation Act, taken together, illuminate how the end of formal U.S. control of the Philippines was motivated in significant part by nativist desire to exclude and expel Filipino immigrants to protect American society and economy from the perceived racialized and sexualized threat posed by its former colonial wards.

At the end of the nineteenth century, acquisition of the Philippines had been viewed as necessary to U.S. economic growth, but as the Great Depression deepened, concerns grew sharply over the cost of governing the Philippines as well as over the labor competition posed by Filipino immigrants. Because Filipinos were classified as U.S. nationals, they were exempt from immigration quotas. By the 1930s, over 45,000 mostly young male Filipinos had immigrated to the mainland U.S., filling the agricultural labor vacuum left by the exclusion of Chinese, Japanese, and Asian Indian immigration. Unlike previous waves of Asians, however, Filipinos had already been exposed to American history and culture prior to their arrival because of U.S. occupation and the establishment of a public education system in English in the islands. Such an exposure made Filipino immigrants more apt to claim belonging in U.S. society, resisting labor disenfranchisement and conditions of de facto segregation. For example, Filipinos organized the 1934 Salinas lettuce strike and the 1939 Stockton asparagus strike as well and defied antimiscegenation laws by consorting with lower-class white and Mexican women at taxi dance halls. Such labor militancy and interracial fraternization sparked anti-Filipino riots in the West, such as the 1929 Watsonville Riot that lasted five days. West Coast white labor organizations began campaigning for Filipino exclusion; however, their national status made such exclusion legally untenable. Independence and ultimately repatriation were seen as the solutions to Filipino economic and sexual competition.

Once Congress passed the Tydings-McDuffie Act in 1934, it revoked the national status of Filipinos and rendered them aliens ineligible for citizenship. Though Filipino immigration was limited to 50 a year, anti-immigrant forces began to advocate for repatriation. Such a move was unnecessary, however, as Filipino immigration had already begun to slow because of reports of nativist hostility and widespread unemployment. By 1932, the Philippine Bureau of Labor had already reported immigration numbers dropping to 1,306 as compared to 11,360 in 1929. Moreover, Filipinos were already returning to the islands on their own volition for various reasons such as the completion of the terms of their labor contracts. Even Filipino leaders themselves were already

contemplating their own repatriation programs to avoid forced deportation and to alleviate indigence. In 1933, the Filipino resident commissioner in Washington, D.C. supported a congressional resolution to subsidize the return of Filipino immigrants. The resolution failed to pass because it did not make clear whether or not repatriated Filipinos retained the right of return. In 1935, Richard Welch definitively denied that right in his proposal that ultimately became the Filipino Repatriation Act of 1935.

Initially, Welch and INS officials anticipated as many as 10,000 Filipinos would take advantage of the Act. The first repatriates, however, were wards of the state who were incarcerated, ill, or mentally unstable. The majority of Filipinos refused to participate in the program, whether in protest of the racist motivations behind repatriation or simply because of pride. Edward Cahill, the San Francisco District Commissioner of the INS, attempted to combat negative perceptions by even arranging for participants in the program to attend local colleges for days and receive a certificate in agricultural training before being sent back. At the end of the first year, barely 150 had been repatriated. Most of those who did actually choose repatriation seem to have been materially better off than most Filipino immigrants of the time. They had already accumulated a certain amount of possessions, capital, and work experience that could be utilized once home. Along with the problem of low participation, INS officials were also challenged by the question of mixed-race families. Technically, the government could only fund the passage of Filipinos, and the Philippine government disapproved of the white wives of Filipinos as potential disruptive presences in society and burdens to the state. Officials, however, could not stop white wives from purchasing their own tickets to accompany their husbands. Of the journey itself, many Filipinos complained of appalling treatment by INS officials, such as restriction of free movement and inedible food. Once in the Philippines, it is not quite clear how repatriates fared. Some seem to have faced challenges assimilating back into society, such as reportedly developing affectations of superiority and aggressiveness because of their extended time in the United States. Others, however, used their skills gained abroad to become local entrepreneurs.

The ultimate failure of the repatriation program can be read as indicative of the level of political resistance in the Filipino community that had originally sparked the program itself. Filipinos, refusing to be marginalized in U.S. society, formed labor unions and interracial coalitions that were read as economic and sexual threats to U.S. society. Independence and repatriation were meant to solve the Filipino problem. The sheer number of Filipinos who refused to participate speaks to the community's resistance not only to repatriation specifically but to racist hegemonic forces generally.

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See also Filipino Americans

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Filipino Transnationalism

Although “transnationalism” has increasingly become synonymous with traversing national boundaries, the term seems to encompass more than this commonsense notion of migration, denoting the varieties of travel, communication, exchange, and consciousness that new technologies have made possible in the late twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Indeed, transnationalism seems to build upon earlier forms of migration by going beyond a one-way or unidirectional movement. First, it tends to be *circular* in nature, marking out a “third” or “in-between” space, economic or cultural, across national borders, which nation-states have precisely failed to capture. Second, transnationalism tends to subvert the conventional notion of migration from

the Third World to the First World, or from an underdeveloped periphery to a developed core. Rather, it involves just as often movements in the opposite direction. Third, transnationalism tends to be diasporic in nature, seeming to involve a multivectoral dispersion away from a homeland. Hence, it often involves a cultural response to exile, a sense of displacement from a home that expatriates nonetheless continue to remember and engage. From these perspectives, Filipino transnationalism might thus be seen as the dynamic relationship between a sense of “Filipino” national or ethnic identity and the circulation across borders of Filipino bodies that tends to subvert such a unity.

During the late twentieth and twenty-first centuries, Filipino transnationalism has come to be synonymous with the phenomenon of overseas contract workers and their movements back and forth from their areas of work to their Philippine homeland. Joining “permanent or settler immigrants” to traditional destinations like the United States, Canada, and Australia, an almost identical number of Filipinos work overseas with temporary contracts. After Mexico, the Philippines has become the world’s second largest exporter of labor. The majority of them during the 1990s were destined for the Middle East, one-fourth to East Asia (esp. Japan, Hong Kong, and Singapore), and 6 percent to Western Europe and North America. Women, in particular, have made up the vast majority of the Filipino labor outflow. Observers have remarked at the especially large remittances they send to the Philippines. In 2004, for instance, the 7.4 million temporary and permanent (as well as legal and illegal) Filipino overseas migrants remitted nearly \$8 billion, making up 10 percent of the Philippines’ gross domestic product. This phenomenon has been made possible by the combination of Philippine government recruitment, deployment, and protection of workers abroad and by businesses related to migration, including recruiters, travel agents, insurance services, and investment services.

Although an engine of circular migration has been established with overseas foreign labor, such a movement, over time, has resulted in the inevitable settlement of Filipinos and Filipinas in certain regions of the world. They in turn have been making frequent journeys to their Philippine “home,” even though de

facto they have become members of the countries where they work. Still, there is a disparity in the levels of assimilation of Filipinos around the world, as with other migrants, as the receiving country’s laws and its public culture of immigration influence their integration into the overseas nation’s culture, economy, and social life. Filipinos in Spain, the United States, and Canada, for instance, can more easily integrate into the dominant society as a result of immigration laws favorable to foreign labor, professional work, family reunification, residency, or citizenship. Their counterparts in Japan, the Gulf States, or Germany, have, however, faced stringent residency and citizenship laws. In very real terms, they remain a people in limbo, a truly deterritorialized, if not pariah population.

Given the greater participation of women in the Filipino migrant stream, one might speak of a *feminization* of Filipino migration in the late twentieth and twenty-first centuries. The varying demands of the global labor market account in part for their prominence in the transnational migration stream, the other part being Filipinas’ English-language skills, high level of literacy, professional training, and their willingness to make tremendous sacrifices personally for the sake of their families as well as to expand individual opportunity. Globally, there has long been a shortage of qualified nurses to staff expanding health care industries. As a result of its history of nurses’ training and nurse export established during the U.S. colonial period, the Philippines has long been an exporter of nurses. Filipina nurses and, one should add, a growing number of male nurses, have been in demand all over the world, although ironically, there are nursing shortages in the Philippines itself. Besides nurses, Filipino women and a smaller number of Filipino men, many of them from poor or low-income backgrounds, have been responding to developed nations’ needs for domestic labor, home care, and elderly care to make up for the increasing labor force participation of women in developed countries as well as the faster rates of aging and negative population growth rates.

Some of the most sensational abuses of their labor have occurred in these arenas, especially in the Middle East and East Asia where Filipino nurses often face verbal abuse, oppressive conditions of labor, and not a small measure of racism and sexism, working for

male or female heads of households. Filipinas congregating in large numbers, if not multitudes, in parks on Sundays to share stories of home, to eat together, or to commiserate about their bosses has become a common sight in places such as Hong Kong's Central Station or in Madrid's parks. Their sensational sacrifices, the billions of dollars they remit to support the Philippines, and their concrete impact on families, local communities, and national life in the Philippines has led the Philippine state to recognize their contributions. The government, for instance, grants duty-free and tax-free privileges for overseas workers. Likewise, since the 1990s, Filipina laborers have come to be labeled as "national heroes." Although a welcome development for the workers, such cultural capital depends on their ability to send back money and goods from overseas. This, however, makes them subject to the economic fluctuations in metropolitan economies, many of which have faltered in the late twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Ironically, they have also increasingly become subject to much "shabby treatment" and bureaucratic red tape at Philippine airports by government officials who regard them as "nobodies."

Notwithstanding these complex developments, the contemporary Filipino experiences of deterritorialization, exile, and circular migration are not novel or exceptional to the digital age. In fact, these processes may be seen as an expansion or generalization of social experiences already at work in the modern Filipino history. Contemporary Filipino transnationalism is but the latest manifestation of an ongoing historical engagement with colonialism and neocolonialism, which has always been fought in transnational terrain. In this light, I discuss the reform struggle against Spain in the late nineteenth century, the independence campaign under U.S. colonial rule, and the political struggle against the Marcos dictatorship of the 1970s and 1980s.

The forces that set in motion the first transnational movement among Filipinos were long in emerging as a result of the decentralized, highly localized character of Philippine societies and the poor means of transportation and communication at the time of the Spanish conquest. Not until the mid- to late-nineteenth century, when new forms of transportation and communication

were superseding archaic ones, did a sense of national consciousness begin to emerge. By the 1810s, the galleon trade between Manila and the Viceroyalty of New Spain, which had linked the Philippines to Spain (via Acapulco) was terminated, a casualty of the independence movements that gripped Spain's Latin American colonies, including Mexico, which was to become independent in 1821. Only the Philippines and Guam in the Pacific and Cuba and Puerto Rico in the Caribbean-Atlantic would remain in the Spanish orbit. Spanish colonial administration of its new empire was restructured into a new bureaucratic arm, the *Ministerio de Ultramar*, or overseas ministry, in the 1860s. Meanwhile, the opening of the Suez Canal in Egypt in the 1860s made possible an abbreviated steamship voyage from Spain to its Far Eastern colony, which was becoming more and more valuable to the empire as a result of the expansion of the new cash crop, tobacco. Yet, not only did improved transportation facilitate commerce and colonial administration between Spain and its colonies, it also made possible traffic in the opposite direction, from the colonies to the metropole and back in the guise of children of *mestizo* elites from all over the Philippines, hitherto unknown to each other, seeking advanced education in Western Europe. Out of these overseas encounters with Western modernity and the common experiences of discrimination, political agitation, and social encounter in the metropole, a sense of Filipino identity and national belonging would emerge. The Filipino reform struggle in Spain, known as the Propaganda Movement, was followed by a revolutionary independence struggle whose geographic centers came to include British Hong Kong, Qing China, the empire of Japan, Australia, and the United States. Independence was attained in June 1898 with help from the United States, but no sooner was it proclaimed than the United States itself turned colonizer and unleashed a war of pacification that suppressed independence agitation to American rule.

Under United States colonial rule from 1899 to 1946, a second transnational movement, the Philippine independence movement, would arise, a movement for political separation from the United States that eventually produced independence legislation in the Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1934. During the early stages of

American rule, Filipino elite nationalists were divided among each other on the question of the future status of the Filipino nation under U.S. sovereignty. A political party favoring U.S. statehood for the Philippines, the Partido Federal, was the first one to be recognized by U.S. colonial administrators. However, Filipino sentiment for independence remained strong and Filipino political leaders exploited this constant undercurrent among the masses in the electoral contests made possible by U.S. rule under the slogan of “immediate, absolute, and unconditional independence.” Under such a platform, the Partido Federal was defeated, the Nacionalista Party was founded, and elite leaders Sergio Osmeña and Manuel Quezon soon led “Philippine independence missions,” legislative delegations sent to lobby for Philippine independence in the U.S. Congress. In the United States, the work of the resident commissioners and other Philippine colonial officials, such as labor investigators and labor commissioners supplemented the work of the missions. Yet, the legislative work of the missions and commissioners notwithstanding, it should be noted that the elite did not have a monopoly on proindependence sentiment. Indeed, the unofficial mission of labor leaders such as poet and labor leader Benigno Ramos, who spoke in several cities among Filipino laborers in the United States, as well as the sentiments of transnational figures such as Hilario Camino Moncado, a mystical figure and head of a semireligious confraternity, contributed to keeping sentiments of independence alive and strong among the Filipino masses across the Pacific.

A third and final development crucial to the history of Filipino transnationalism is that of the anti-Marcos movement, a movement from the late 1960s to the mid-1980s opposing President Ferdinand Marcos and the First Lady, Imelda Romualdez Marcos, who ruled the country from 1965 to 1986. Although seen as a single campaign, the anti-Marcos struggle involved several phases—the first was opposition to his support for the U.S. war on Vietnam and his creeping authoritarianism to 1969; the second was resistance to martial law, which he declared in September 1972, and exposure of human rights abuses and crony capitalism; and the last was the attempt to recover billions of dollars of pilfered national funds, to seek reparations for

political prisoners, and to prosecute human rights violations after his overthrow in February 1986 and exile to Hawaii. At the height of Marcos’s rule, the Philippine state’s power extended to overseas Filipino communities. It blacklisted dissenters, used intelligence services and local gangs to intimidate critics, and seduced immigrants with discounted travel fare and VIP treatment in the Philippines, if not by outright bribery. A heterogeneous group of social actors involving young Filipino American men and women of the civil rights and anti-Vietnam War movements as well as recent Filipino immigrants and political exiles emerged in the United States to oppose these moves. The movement also included various non-Filipino individuals—white, black, Latino, Asian, and American Indian—who were inspired by the Philippine struggle.

Given such an agenda and diversity of actors, it is not surprising that the anti-Marcos movement took on an intensely transnational character. Numerous political opponents and critics of Marcos traveled extensively throughout the United States, often at the behest of opposition groups well established in the country. A special impetus to the anti-Marcos movement was the presence of respected high-profile oppositionists like Senators Raul Manglapus and Jose Diokno, and later, the coming of Benigno “Ninoy” Aquino and his family and residence in New England. But the movement was not just one way. Anti-Marcos oppositionists traveled to the Philippines on fact-finding commissions to investigate human rights violations, refugee resettlement policies stemming from the Philippine state’s war against Muslim Filipinos, the spread of prostitution and disease in often untouchable U.S. bases, and for many other reasons. Opposition leaders in the United States, frustrated with Marcos, supported more “extreme” measures, including terrorism, as well as financial and moral support for the outlawed Communist Party of the Philippines and its military wing, the New People’s Army.

The prospects for Filipino transnationalism remain positive in the near future, despite various warning signs. Indeed, Filipinos on both sides of the Pacific continue to take advantage of opportunities to work abroad and live at home, despite the potential costs of such arrangements in terms of discrimination, strains

on family life, and personal health. Filipinos in the United States, in particular, continue to return as *balikbayans*, providing the image of success for Filipinos all over the world. “1.5 generation Filipinos” (those born in the Philippines and raised in the United States) and second-generation Filipino Americans (those born in the United States) have increasingly become exposed to the Philippines. Study-abroad and language-training programs, advanced research fellowships, nongovernmental organizations, and many other groups have provided ways to engage the birthplace of their forebears. Some have also moved to the Philippines for better opportunities, whether to study in Philippine universities (medical schools, for instance, which are highly impacted in the United States), to pursue careers in the movies, television, sports, stand-up comedy, and other performative venues, or to tap into the booming business in outsourced telephone support operations. Still, recent developments have blunted the expansion of transnational activities, including the subsequent travel restrictions placed by the State Department on the Philippines in the wake of 9/11 and the spread of the war on terror in Mindanao, which has placed study abroad programs on hold. Moreover, the declining value of the dollar as well as the worldwide economic downturn have made overseas labor migration less palatable as developed countries have made drastic cuts in production, laid off more workers, or simply gone out of business. Still, Filipinos across the Pacific are likely to take advantage of the openings made possible by globalization and transnationalism so long as poverty, unemployment, lack of opportunities, and racial and gender discrimination continue to circumscribe their lives.

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See also Filipino Americans

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Filipino Women and Global Migration, History of

Filipina or Filipino women’s global migrations are most often associated with the various waves of women who, since World War II, emigrated from the Philippines, and moved through global circuits while crossing multiple national borders. At the same time, transpacific migration during the first few decades of the twentieth century is typically associated with large numbers of Filipino men leaving the Philippines and entering the United States as agricultural workers, laborers in the service sector, and as government-sponsored exchange students, otherwise known as *pensionados*. Indeed, the number of Filipino men far exceeded the number of Filipino women entering the United States. Gender norms first established during the Spanish colonial period dictated strict supervision of unmarried women and therefore deterred many Filipinas from emigrating the Philippines. Moreover, Filipino women, unlike their male counterparts, were not actively recruited for employment or educational opportunities abroad. Such factors led to the significantly lower numbers of Filipina global migrants during the early twentieth century. Despite these impediments, Filipinas did indeed leave Philippine borders traveling through global circuits for a variety of reasons and encountered different migrant experiences.

These developments in Filipina global migrations, both in terms of motivations and barriers, occurred within the context of a long-standing colonial heritage. Thus, although Filipinas migrated in transnational circuits for a multitude of reasons, it is important to recognize the role that United States imperialism and colonial projects in the Philippines played in creating Filipina transnational mobility. To understand the foundations of such colonial legacies and its connection to Filipina global migrations, we must look to a longer history of Filipina transnational movements, particularly during the U.S. colonial period of the early twentieth century. Examining the history of Filipina global migrations pre-World War II, brings to light the diversity among Filipinas moving across transnational circuits, the multiple motivations to migrate and the impediments against migrations, and situates these developments within the context of U.S. imperialism

Filipina Migration and Labor

The Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association (HSPA) actively recruited Filipino laborers who, as colonial wards of the United States, could bypass race-based and national origin immigration restriction laws and thus could fill the desire for cheap labor for plantation owners. As a result, the first migrations of Filipinos in large numbers were to Hawaii. Furthermore, because of poverty and farm tenancy in the Ilocos and Visayan rural provinces of the Philippines, working-class Filipino men and women viewed the United States as a place of economic opportunity that would help alleviate their poverty. Between the years 1909 and 1934, a total of 103,544 Filipinos migrated to Hawaii and of that number, 8,952 were Filipinas. The HSPA recruited Filipinas and allowed married men to bring their families as part of a strategy to quell rising rebellion and strikes in Hawaii. From Hawaii, a significant amount of Filipinos and Filipinas migrated to the mainland seeking new economic opportunities, particularly in the service and agricultural sectors.

Filipina immigrants met with a clash of traditional ideas concerning Filipina womanhood with the everyday harsh realities of living and working in the United States. Filipinas needed to negotiate their status and

roles in a society where Filipino men outnumbered them seven to one in a society where they faced racism, sexism, and exploitive labor conditions. The demand to survive in harsh economic conditions urged Filipinas to enter the labor market in the agriculture and service industries, which also brought them into conflict with long-standing gender ideologies that upheld the woman's place was only in the home. The association with women and the domestic space, however, remained strong, and Filipinas worked both outside of the home in their places of employment but in the home as well.

The gender imbalance between Filipino women and men bestowed upon the women a sense of power in terms of their ability to not adhere to older traditional views of courtship and marriage. For example, in her diaries, Angeles Monrayo revealed how her mother, Valeriana Monrayo, challenged normative views on marriage by leaving her husband and taking a lover. The ability to pick and choose who they wanted be intimate with, live with, or marry gave a sense of empowerment to the Filipinas in agricultural communities. These changes, however, did not completely transform patriarchal hierarchies. For example, the gender imbalance also created an environment of potential violence toward Filipinas. Because of the low numbers of Filipino women in the mostly male labor camps in Hawaii, *coyboy coyboy*, the infrequent, but still very serious and dangerous practice in which a woman was kidnapped and raped by unmarried men, occurred.

Despite the fact that the number of Filipinas immigrating to the United States as laborers during the early twentieth century was relatively low in comparison to Filipino men, their experiences provide further insight into their specific concerns, negotiations, and realities that they faced as Filipino women.

Pensionadas

Through the Pensionado Act of 1903, the United States colonial government established a government-sponsored student exchange program, providing scholarships to Filipinos who sought to study at American universities. Colonial officials regarded education as a means to "Americanize" Filipinos. The student

exchange program sought to send Filipino students to American institutions with the intention that these students would bring newly acquired skills, knowledge, and exposure to American modern culture back to the Philippines and thus help create the ideal colonized subject. One way that the American colonial government masked their intents was to present the inclusion of Filipino women in the *pensionado* program as a measure to bring progress and gender equality to the Philippines. Despite the rhetoric of equality and opportunity, such programs targeted Filipinas from the middle and elite classes. In doing so, the *pensionado* program revealed what type of Filipina would be considered acceptable in the United States and at American educational institutions.

The rhetoric of modernity and progress through education came into conflict with the prevalent gender norms first established during the Spanish colonial period in the Philippines that discouraged Filipinas from the middle and upper classes from leaving the “protection” of the home and family. Taking advantage of the fissures created by such conflicts, some Filipinas left the Philippines to attend American universities. For example, five Filipinas received scholarships in 1904 and three Filipinas in 1905. Other Filipinas received privately funded scholarships during and even after the tenure of Pensionado Act.

In 1919, Encarnacion Alzona participated in the *Pensionado* program. As a *pensionada*, she earned a master’s degree from Radcliffe College and a doctorate from Columbia University by 1923. Alzona was the first Filipina to obtain a doctoral degree and became the first Filipina historian. In 1932, she returned to the United States to participate in the Barbour Scholarship Program at the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor. The program sought out “Oriental women of noteworthy achievement in scholarship and service in the Orient.” Alzona, like the majority of Filipina exchange students, hoped that earning a degree from an American university would ensure her success in the Philippines. As a member of an elite Spanish mestizo family, Alzona, like other *pensionadas* of her class, did not need wages earned abroad to support herself and her family. Rather, migrating to the United States provided her the cultural capital to secure a prestigious professorial position at the University of the

Philippines. Thus, most Filipina *pensionadas* did not settle in the United States but returned to the Philippines.

Perhaps in response to the gender barriers that kept the number of Filipina exchange students low in comparison to Filipino men, Alzona extended her influence to help other Filipinas gain passage to and study in the United States. Alzona viewed education as a way for Filipinas to gain equal standing with Filipino men, although she was critical of U.S. colonialism in the Philippines. For example, Alzona strongly encouraged Fé del Mundo, who would later establish the first children’s hospital in the Philippines, to continue her study of medicine in the United States. Alzona wrote letters of support to Philippine President Manuel Quezon, recommending del Mundo as a bright and talented medical student. Her backing aided del Mundo in receiving a scholarship to attend any university in the United States. Del Mundo traveled to Boston, where she obtained a medical degree at Harvard Medical School. Upon finishing medical school, del Mundo continued her residence at the University of Chicago. When she wanted to extend her leave in the United States to continue her work in pediatrics, she again turned to Alzona to support her request to President Quezon. While living in Boston, del Mundo asked Alzona to also help her sister, Corazon, come to the United States to pursue medicine.

Although both the Philippines and the United States offered very limited opportunities for trans-Pacific crossings for Filipinas, Alzona used her prominent status to create a network that would allow Filipino women to sojourn to the United States. Furthermore, their correspondence revealed that as transnational Filipina students, who moved back and forth between the borders, they needed to navigate within mechanizations of both the United States and the Philippines. As women, they faced the difficulty of being considered intellectually inferior to men in both Filipino and American societies. As Filipino women, they battled against their position as colonial wards and notions of their inferiority to white Americans. Lacking the numbers to build a critical mass or community of Filipinas in the United States, *pensionadas* often faced feelings of isolation and loneliness. Unlike other immigrants who entered the United States in

“waves,” these women often relied on letter-writing to build and maintain transnational relationships with family, friends, and colleagues.

Isabel “Dimples” Cooper: Migrating to Fulfill Personal Desires and Gain

Filipinas also traveled through global circuits to fulfill their own personal gain and desires. For example, during the 1920s and ’30s, Isabel “Dimples” Rosario Cooper, a famous vaudeville performer and Philippine cinema actress who is mostly remembered as performing the first on-screen kiss in a Philippine film, migrated between multiple destinations to pursue her acting career. U.S. imperial expansion of markets and the importation of Hollywood films not only influenced the establishment of a Philippine cinema system but also introduced the lure of Hollywood to Filipino spectators. With Hollywood as the golden standard of cinema throughout the globe, Filipino actresses and actors viewed Hollywood as a place where fantasies of fame, celebrity, and success could be realized. Cooper’s own dreams of advancing her career and fantasies of Hollywood urged her to seek work opportunities in Los Angeles in the late 1920s and again in the late 1930s. Cooper, unlike other Filipino men and women who sought employment abroad, was not motivated by a sense of filial duty or the need to help economically support family in the Philippines. However, Cooper, like other Filipino actors and actresses, found that her identity as a Filipina coupled with racism in the United States severely limited her ability to land roles in Hollywood films.

In 1930, Cooper again left the Philippines but this time to continue her relationship with General Douglas MacArthur in Washington D.C. Whatever her hopes she had set for their relationship, the power differences between the two because of their race, gender, class, age, and citizenship would create difficult challenges for Cooper while living in Washington. As a white, male, powerful military and political figure, MacArthur had the capability of using his status to control Cooper. MacArthur demonstrated his power over Cooper by determining the conditions of their relationship and Cooper’s lifestyle while in Washington D.C. For example, upon their arrival, he placed her in a secret

apartment close to his office. The location made it convenient for him to see her when his schedule permitted, though this convenience was not extended to Cooper. MacArthur restricted her to the apartment to keep their relationship hidden from the public eye.

Perhaps the most blatant example of MacArthur’s sense of power over Cooper was his attempt to deport her to the Philippines. In 1934, the same year that saw the passage of the Tydings-McDuffie Act, an act that reclassified all Filipinos, including those in the United States, from colonial wards to aliens, MacArthur abruptly ended his relationship with Cooper and attempted to deport her to the Philippines. MacArthur’s attempts to send Cooper back to the Philippines revealed that he considered her, much like her Filipino contemporaries in the United States, as expendable. Measures that sought to revoke Filipinos’ status as U.S. nationals and attempts to send them back to the Philippines rendered them as undesirable immigrants.

Despite Cooper’s precarious legal position as a Filipina in the United States, she was determined to remain. Making claims to U.S. citizenship through her American father, Cooper was able to legally avoid the alien status established by the Tydings-McDuffie Act. Cooper, like many other Filipinos and Filipinas, needed to go through great lengths and navigate a legal system designed to render them as undesirable aliens to remain in the United States. Cooper eventually settled in Los Angeles where, just as she had the previous decade, Cooper continued to struggle against the racism of Hollywood in her pursuit of an acting career. Not much is known about Cooper between the 1940s and the time of her death in 1960. Some biographies written on MacArthur suggest that she spent the latter years of her life trying to sell the story of her relationship with MacArthur. Cooper eventually overdosed on barbiturates and died in 1960.

Legacies of Colonialism on Filipina Immigration Post-World War II

During the postwar years, gendered migration included the influx of Filipino women into the United States as a result of the War Brides Act of 1945 and the Veterans’ Alien Fiancées Act of 1946. In the 1950s, Filipina nurses educated in English-language

schools established in the Philippines traveled to the United States under the State Department's Exchange Visitor Program. Filipina nurses were then recruited to work in American hospitals as a result of nursing shortages. Instituting nursing education and hiring systems provided the means for the United States to tap into cheap labor to address the nursing shortages, particularly in inner-city hospitals. American-established nursing education and employment programs were examples of U.S. expansion into the Pacific under the guise of American benevolence. Such postwar education and fellowship programs were modeled after the previously established *pensionado* programs. By 1960, there were 67,435 Filipinas who comprised 37.1 percent of the Filipino American population. Later, the 1965 Immigration Act notably reversed previous immigration restrictions and quotas based on national origins and race. This act legally opened U.S. borders to "desirable" immigrants based on family reunification or occupational characteristics.

Such changes to immigration laws made it possible for large numbers of Filipinas to enter the United States. These legal changes, in addition to the financial difficulties because of a weak economic infrastructure in the Philippines that resulted from colonial economic exploitation, an oversupply of educated Filipinos, and political strategies implemented by the Marcos regime resulted in the mass exportation of Filipina laborers beginning in the early 1970s. In 1972, after declaring martial law, then-president Ferdinand Marcos established a neoliberal outward-oriented strategy of development to earn foreign capital, and thus the overseas Filipina/o worker or OFW was created. Marcos regarded and promoted Filipino men and women as national heroes to develop the Philippine economy that manifested, more often than not, in exploitive labor practices. By the 1990s, Filipino women made up the majority of overseas Filipino workers. The high demand for Filipinas care workers, including nurses, domestic workers, and entertainers has caused the proliferation of Filipina labor migrations to over 160 countries. The high numbers of Filipinas migrating for employment as care workers reifies the notion that women innately are nurturing caretakers and at the same time feminizes these types of jobs. Furthermore, the continued belief that the Philippines is a source

for bodies and cheap labor for the rest of the world is a product of the legacy of U.S. colonialism.

These developments in Filipina global migrations occurred within the context of a long-lasting colonial heritage. Thus, although Filipinas migrated in transnational circuits for a multitude of reasons, it is important to recognize the role that United States imperialism and colonial projects in the Philippines played in creating Filipina transnational mobility. To understand the foundations of such colonial legacies and its connection to Filipina global migrations, we must look to a longer history of Filipina transnational movements, particularly during the U.S. colonial period of the early twentieth century.

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See also Filipina War Brides; Filipino Americans; Filipino *Pensionados*

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Filipino World War II Veterans

The recruitment of Filipinos to fight in the Pacific theater for the United States during World War II must be understood within the context of colonization of the Philippines by three imperial powers: Spain, the United States, and Japan. Spain colonized the Philippines beginning in the sixteenth century and ruled the country for over 300 years; the United States colonized the Philippines as its "commonwealth" at



Filipino American veterans stand in front of a chained statue of General Douglas MacArthur in MacArthur Park, Los Angeles, California, June 27, 1997. The veterans were demonstrating in support of full benefits for Filipino American World War II veterans. (AP Photo/Seanna O'Sullivan)

the turn of the twentieth century to maintain a favorable location from which to trade with China; and the Japanese invaded in the 1940s as part of its imperialistic agenda in Asia.

Before the arrival of the Japanese, the United States had instituted the Philippine Independence Act (also known as the Tydings-McDuffie Act) in 1934 to aid the transition of the Philippines as an independent nation by 1946. Under this Act, the Philippines was able to establish its own constitution and government, but the United States still had influence over its foreign affairs and national defense, and were thus able to integrate the Philippine Army into the U.S. military at the start of World War II. The merger of the Philippine Army with the U.S. armed forces stationed in the Philippines resulted in the formation of the United States Armed Forces in the Far East (USAFFE).

The USAFFE was not the only capacity in which the Filipino veterans served. The other three primary

categories are as follows: (1) veterans of the Philippine Scouts, established in 1901 by the United States immediately after its colonization of the islands; (2) veterans of the anti-Japanese guerrilla units in the Philippines recognized by the United States; and (3) veterans of the New Philippine Scouts, recruited by the U.S. Army after October 1944 before the end of War. There is also a small number of Filipino veterans directly recruited into the U.S. Armed Forces. As Filipino veteran scholars note, the case of these Filipino veterans is contentious because of their induction into the U.S. military as "U.S. nationals" because the Philippines was still in its transitional phase into becoming recognized as an independent nation and was thus still considered a commonwealth during the war.

Satoshi Nakano distinguishes between the Filipino World War II veterans who enlisted in the Philippines and those who enlisted in the United States. He identifies the Filipino veterans who were first-generation

immigrants living in the United States and volunteered to become members of the Filipino Infantry Regiment there as “Filipino-Americans,” whether or not they naturalized as U.S. citizens after the war. He reserves the term “Filipino veterans” to those who were born in the Philippines and were living there upon enlistment into military service. It is these Filipino veterans who would experience discrimination after the war with the 1946 Rescission Act, signed by President Harry S. Truman, which revoked the recognition of the Filipino veterans’ services as active. Of the foreign U.S. military veterans in 66 countries who helped secure U.S. victory during World War II, only the Filipino veterans were denied immigration privileges, as well as recognition and benefits.

The campaign to support lawsuits seeking naturalization began in the mid-1960s, nearly 20 years after the immigration privilege was first denied to Filipino veterans. The 1965 Immigration Act, which abolished the national origins quota system and established a preference system for family members and skilled workers, facilitated the entry of many Filipinos. Filipinos were compatible with the legislation’s provisions because they had studied in U.S.-based educational institutions and work in the fields that were in high demand in the United States such as healthcare institutions and the physical sciences. When the Filipino veterans who arrived in the United States, mostly through family sponsorship, applied to acquire citizenship they were denied on the basis that their applications were 20 years late. This began the battle over naturalization in the courts were met with a mix of wins and losses for the Filipino veterans. The 1988 case *INS vs. Pangilinan*, a loss for the Filipino veterans, ultimately demonstrated that the issue must be placed in the hands of the U.S. Congress, and not with the U.S. courts.

The response of the U.S. Congress was the passage of the 1990 Immigration Act. The Filipino veterans naturalization bill was incorporated into the Act, with the help of Congress members such as Senator Daniel Inouye (D-Hawaii), Congressman Tom Campbell (R-California), and Congressman Benjamin Gilman (R-New York). The Act provided Filipino veterans the means to acquire American citizenship and facilitated their mass migration, most of

whom were already in their 70s at the time of their arrival to the United States. Congressman Campbell had imagined that many of the elderly veterans would choose to remain in the Philippines to be with their families, but by 1998, 28,000 Filipino veterans have become U.S. citizens. The U.S. Congress made some amendments to the provision in hopes of limiting the number of veterans that venture to the United States in their old age: the Congress made it possible for veterans to naturalize in the Philippines and also extended the deadline to February 2001, which resulted in 10,000 veterans’ applications for naturalization in the Philippines. Some of these veterans still moved to the United States to receive Supplemental Security Income (SSI) payments.

The Act, however, did not provide any benefits for these veterans from the U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs (DVA). For those in the United States, the veterans were limited to receiving SSI payments, rendering these elderly veterans poor and unable to petition for their family members to join them in the United States. The SSI payments of \$505 per month in 1998 to these veterans were in contrast to the payments along with benefits received by those recognized as American veterans: \$772 per month as well as old age pensions and free medical care at veterans hospitals throughout the United States and in other places in the world with significant U.S. military presence. Additionally, American veterans receive assistance with burial plots in a national veterans cemetery and funeral flags from the government. The Filipino veterans were not entitled to any of these benefits even though they were naturalized as American veterans after 1990.

After some Filipino veterans in the United States discovered that they did not have access to medical care from the DVA, they began to organize around the issue of benefits. They staged public demonstrations, such as that held on July 12, 1997, when the veterans and their allies, including Congressman Bob Filner (D-California), chained themselves to the fences in front of the White House Garden. The veterans rallied the Filipino American community to support their cause, which brought about the formation of advocacy organizations for the veterans and their families, such as the American Coalition for Filipino Veterans

(ACFV), National Alliance for Filipino Veterans Equity (NAFVE), and Justice for Filipino American Veterans (JFAV). The efforts of experienced Filipino American activists helped the veterans place even greater pressure among congressional leaders to attend to the benefits issue.

The Filipino Veterans Equity Movement sought to acquire equal benefits for the veterans regardless of nationality, whether one had U.S. citizenship or Philippine citizenship. The movement leaders believe that veterans, naturalized as U.S. citizens or not, should receive American veterans benefits. However, because the number of veterans is waning, they and their advocates were ready to make compromises, even though lump sum settlements were not the initial preferences. After more than 10 years of struggle over the benefits issue, President Barack Obama signed the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act on February 18, 2009, and it contained a provision called the “Filipino Veterans Equity Compensation Act.” The provision allotted one-time, lump sum payments in the amounts of \$15,000 for the veterans with U.S. citizenship and \$9,000 for those with Philippine citizenship. This legislation was made possible by the efforts of the various Filipino veterans advocacy groups and with the support of Filner, Inouye, Representative Xavier Becerra (D-California), Senator Daniel Akaka (D-Hawaii), and other members of the Congressional Asian Pacific American Caucus.

The estimated number of Filipino veteran survivors after the war is between 200,000 and 250,000. Today, after over 60 years since the 1946 Rescission Act, fewer than 18,000 live to experience full recognition from the United States as veterans and to receive some of the compensation for their service. Many veterans, now in their 80s and 90s, still struggle to claim their benefits because of the delays in Army’s National Personnel Records documentation verification processes. Some veterans living in the United States are still hoping to petition for their families to join them. The Military Families Act, sponsored by Filner and is still in progress at this time, contains a provision for the Filipino Veterans Family Reunification to exempt from immigration visa quotas the sons and daughters of Filipino World War II veterans naturalized in the 1990 Immigration Act.

Jimiliz M. Valiente-Neighbours

See also Akaka, Daniel K.; Filipino Americans; Filipino Americans in World War II; Inouye, Daniel K.

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Filipinos in Hawaii

Like the majority of Filipino migrant laborers who came to the West Coast of the United States during the early 1900s, many Filipinos also left their homes and families in the Philippines to come to Hawaii. In a search for cheap “unskilled” labor to bolster a booming sugar economy, Albert F. Judd arrived in the Philippines in 1906 to recruit plantation workers. A Honolulu lawyer and business agent for the Hawaiian Sugar Planters’ Association (HSPA), Judd successfully recruited 15 Filipino laborers who set foot in Hawaii to become the first of a long line of imported Filipino sugarcane and pineapple laborers now popularly referred to as *sakadas*.

Filipinos were the last of several immigrant groups brought to Hawaii as expendable labor. The pressure to increase recruitment numbers intensified after the 1907–1908 Gentlemen’s Agreement halted migration of Japanese laborers, who at the time made up 75 percent of Hawaii’s plantation workforce. At the same time, as efforts by Japanese laborers to organize and strike for equitable wages and working conditions began to gain serious traction, plantation owners



Filipino workers on a plantation in Hawaii take a break from spraying crops, ca. 1940. (Eliot Elisofon/Time Life Pictures/Getty Images)

looked to the Philippines as an alternative source of labor.

Many factors made the Philippines a desirable place for labor recruitment. For one, since the Philippines became a U.S. colony following the Spanish American War in 1898 and the Philippine-American War from 1899 to 1902, Filipinos were considered U.S. “nationals.” Occupying this position enabled Filipinos to enter the United States in unlimited numbers although remaining restricted from privileges that come with full citizenship, such as the right to vote, own land, or buy real estate. Furthermore, as a nation with a large population of agrarian people already

facing economic hardship, to plantation owners the Philippines represented a docile and plentiful solution to any worries about labor stability.

The year 1909 marked the beginning of HSPA’s more organized recruitment efforts in the Philippines, where they focused on recruiting physically strong, uneducated, poor single men from Visayas and Ilocos, two rural regions in the Philippines. Through the capitalistic, profit-driven logic of plantation owners, able-bodied, illiterate, and “unskilled” Filipinos were the perfect workers, willing to conform to the exploitative working conditions and unjust management practices already in place. During formal outreach presentations,

recruiters in the Philippines painted Hawaii as an exotic and beautiful “land of glorya” in their presentation full of opportunities to earn income and make a decent living. Eager to improve the lives of themselves and their families, Filipinos signed three-year labor contracts. Recruitment efforts continued until the 1930s when Filipinos became the largest migrant labor group, representing roughly 70 percent of the entire sugar and pineapple workforce.

The gender imbalance among Filipino/a men and women also shaped social relations during this period. In 1920, there were roughly seven Filipino men for every one Filipina women. Angeles Monrayo—one of the few Filipina women in Hawaii—wrote in her diaries about being pursued by older men and being offered marriage at 14 years old. She even earned up to \$9 a day during weekend get-togethers, where Filipino men would pay up to \$.10 a dance. Her experiences show how the everyday lives of *sakadas* were both racialized and gendered, offering an important lens to the male-centered perspectives common to this time period.

Sugar plantation workers represented a variety of nationalities: Hawaiian, Filipino, Puerto Rican, Chinese, Japanese, Portuguese, and Korean; however, from 1910 onward, the majority of workers were Portuguese, Japanese, and Filipino. To maintain control and foreclose any possibilities for interethnic solidarity, plantation owners employed a “divide-and-conquer” strategy to manage workers. A racial hierarchy in terms of status and power existed in descending order among Portuguese, Japanese, and Filipino workers. Top-tier management positions were entirely occupied by *haole* (white) workers, whereas Portuguese and Japanese workers could be found in supervisory, skilled, and semiskilled jobs. Filipinos were almost entirely relegated to the bottom of the hierarchy into “unskilled” jobs requiring the most labor-intensive and backbreaking work. This consisted of planting, cane cutting, hoeing, fertilizing, hauling, and fluming for 10 to 12 hours a day, 26 days a month, with very little to no opportunity for advancement.

Plantation owners also used a multitiered wage system to pit workers against each other. For example, Japanese cane cutters were paid \$0.99 a day, whereas Filipino cane cutters were paid only \$0.69 a day. Plantation managers used this system to carefully regulate

Filipino and Japanese workers, fostering interethnic rivalry and division although still ensuring that nothing interfered with their ability to fulfill their everyday work duties. The lack of a common language between Filipinos further reinforced these divisions.

Racial and economic inequities profoundly shaped the living conditions of all laborers, as higher-ranking positions came with access to better quality housing and recreational facilities. Housing was racially and economically stratified, with most plantations forcing workers to live in separate camps. On at least one plantation, for example, the housing pattern resembled a “pyramid,” with the big, luxurious home of the *haole* manager at the top of the hill; nice homes of the Portuguese, Spanish, and Japanese *lunas* (plantation foremen) below; then the wooden houses of the Japanese camp; and at the bottom, the most run-down houses of the Filipino camp. The sewage system was also part of this pyramid organization, with the ditches servicing the toilets starting from the top of the manager’s home moving downward all the way to the bottom of the Filipino’s living confines. In other words, the literal flow of human sewage reflected how a white racial hierarchy permeated the workers’ most intimate spaces.

Nonetheless, many Filipinos refused to succumb to their dismal working and living conditions, realizing that working together can bring about change. In 1919, Pablo Manlapit organized the Filipino Labor Union (FLU) to mobilize Filipino sugar plantation workers, discourage any further Filipino immigration to Hawaii, and inform the Philippines of Hawaii’s inequitable working conditions. Manlapit played a key role in organizing Filipino workers alongside Japanese labor managers and workers of the Federation of Japanese Labor (FJL) to form the Higher Wage Movement. In December 1920, the FLU and the FJL submitted their demands to the HSPA. Though they submitted their demands separately, they had many in common, such as higher minimum daily wages, better quality recreational and medical services, equal pay between men and women, eight-hour (as opposed to 10- or 12-hour) work days, and overtime pay. The HSPA refused to honor the demands, resulting in roughly 8,300 Filipino and Japanese workers organizing a five to six month strike. As 77 percent of the state’s workforce, the multiethnic strike represented a serious threat to

HSPA. Despite the strikers' eventual defeat in 1920, these actions sent a clear statement to the HSPA, repudiating initial stereotypes of Filipinos as simple-minded and subservient.

Dissent from *sakadas* continued in 1924 when Manlapit called for another strike resulting in 20 violent and fatal encounters between strikers and police officers. Remembered now as the Hanapepe Massacre, on September 9, 16 Filipino plantation workers were shot dead and 4 sheriffs died from stab wounds. Just six days after the massacre, Manlapit was found guilty in a conspiracy trial that sent him to Maui Prison for a sentence of one to two years.

The year 1946 marked the last wave of *sakadas* to enter Hawaii. Unlike their earlier predecessors from 1906 to 1934, this group included families with high school and sometimes even college level-education. The story of Filipinos in Hawaii is one of survival, resistance, and the power of personal and collective will, despite oppressive and seemingly insurmountable circumstances.

Jonathan Magat

See also Ethnic Communities in Hawaii; Filipino Americans; Manlapit, Pablo

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Fong, Hiram (1906–2004)

Hiram Fong was a businessman and politician from Hawaii. He was the first Asian American to be elected to the Senate (1959–1977), the only Republican to ever hold a Senatorial seat from the state of Hawaii, and the first Asian American presidential candidate in the United States of America.

Hiram Fong, also known as Hiram Leong Fong, was born on October 15, 1906 in Honolulu, Hawaii to Chinese immigrant parents from Gwangtung Province, China. A graduate of the University of Hawaii, Fong received his BA in 1930 after only three years of study. After college, Fong worked and later went on to study law at Harvard University in Cambridge, Massachusetts. He received his DJ law degree in 1935.



Senator Hiram Fong. (Library of Congress)

Around the time he started his political career, Fong founded his law firm that would eventually transform into what was known as Fong, Miho, Choy, and Robinson. It is a diversified law firm that incorporated four partners with four different ethnic backgrounds (Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Caucasian-Hawaiian). Also, during this period of Fong's life, aside from becoming involved in politics, he was also a dedicated businessman who took on many projects and sat on boards of various businesses. The businesses he was involved in included Market City Shopping Center, Board of Finance Enterprises, Kalani Holdings, and later in his life he was an honorary consultant for China Airlines. Although Fong would eventually resign from his law practice upon his election to the Senate, he remained a devoted businessman all his life.

Like many in his generation, Fong was a veteran of World War II and served with the U.S. Army Air Corps (1942–1944). By the time he was honorably discharged, Fong was a major with the Judge Advocate of the 7th Fighter Command of the 7th Air Force. However, he would retain his rank and continue to offer his services in the U.S. Air Force Reserves until his retirement with the rank of colonel.

Fong's political career began when he was elected as representative of the 5th District to the Territorial House of Representatives in 1938. He would serve in the Territorial Legislature between 1938 and 1954, and also served as the House speaker between 1948 and 1954. During his 14-year tenure in the Territorial Legislature, Fong was dedicated to serving the Hawaiian people. Particularly, in 1945 he helped the passage of the landmark Little Wagner Act that allowed agricultural workers to unionize.

Aside from his work in the Territorial Legislature, Fong was also a staunch supporter of Hawaiian statehood and served as a member of the Statehood Committee. He testified before the U.S. Senate Committee in support of the statehood movement on multiple occasions (Hawaii became the 50th state in 1959).

A liberal Republican in his early life, Fong drew support from his own party as well as Democrats. However, as Hawaiian politics gravitated toward a Democratic dominant playing field, Fong lost his legislative seat in 1954.

Nonetheless, after Hawaii was recognized as a state, Fong defeated his Democrat competition and was elected as one of Hawaii's first senators in 1959. Moreover, Fong not only became the first American of Asian ancestry to hold a senatorial seat, but he is also to this date, the only Republican senator from the state of Hawaii. Fong would also go on to win two more reelections (1964 and 1970), serving a total of three consecutive terms before his retirement in 1977.

During Fong's 17-year tenure as senator, he would serve on the Post Office and Civil Service Committee, the Appropriations Committee, the Judiciary Committee, the Special Committee on Aging, and various other subcommittees. Also an advocate of civil rights, he cosponsored and was committed to the passage of the Immigration Reform Act of 1965, which guaranteed foreign persons equal access to immigration process regardless of race or country of origin. Fong was also a champion of the Asian American community, which had very little political clout at that time.

Fong also ran twice (1964 and 1968) for the Republican presidential nomination as a favorite son candidate. During the 1964 Republican National Convention, he received votes from the Hawaiian and Alaskan delegations. Asides from being the first Asian American to receive votes at a major party convention, he was also the first Hawaiian-born individual to run for president of the United States of America.

In 1976 Fong opted not to run for reelection and retired from the U.S. Senate after 17 years of service. He was succeeded in his Senate seat by Masayuki "Spark" Matsunaga. After a long and distinguished career as a politician and businessman, Fong was the recipient of 11 honorary degrees from institutions in the United States and abroad. He was also the recipient of various awards and honoraries. In 1997, the Hiram L. Fong Endowment in Arts and Sciences at the University of Hawaii was established.

An exemplary person of hard work, dedication, and service to the nation as well as civil rights, Hiram Fong passed away on August 18, 2004, in his home, just two months short of his 98th birthday. In August 2006, the United States Postal Service dedicated the Kapalama Station to Fong as the Hiram L. Fong Post Office Building.

Jeanette Yih Harvie

See also Chinese Americans; Political Representation

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Fong Yue Ting v. United States (1893)

The landmark case of *Fong Yue Ting v. United States*, 149 U.S. 698 (1893), arose after Congress's passage of the Geary Act in 1892. The Geary Act, a federal law, extended the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882's restrictions on free Chinese immigration into the United States for another 10 years and, among other things, also imposed a new requirement for registration and certification. This new registration and certification requirement demanded Chinese persons already present in the United States to carry "certificates of residence" to serve as evidence that they entered the United States legally and had the right to remain within the country. These new Geary Act requirements were met with strong resistance from the Chinese immigrant communities across the United States. Eventually, several Chinese persons refused to register for the certificates of residence, and suit, under the name of Fong Yue Ting. The case was brought before the United States Supreme Court to determine the constitutional validity of the Geary Act. Per a five-to-three decision delivered by Justice Horace Gray in 1893, the Supreme Court stated that Congress had the right to provide a system of registration and identification of any class of aliens within the country as well as the power to

take all proper means to carry out that system. The court reasoned that because the United States, as a sovereign nation, held the power to exclude any person or any race it wished, the United States also necessarily held the lesser power to deport any person or race it wished. As a result, in *Fong Yue Ting v. United States*, the Supreme Court upheld the constitutional validity of the Geary Act of 1892.

The seeds for this monumental United States Supreme Court case were planted amid racial hostility against foreigners and various anti-Chinese immigration legislations in late nineteenth-century America. Upon the expiration of the original Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, whereby Chinese immigration was virtually suspended, California Democratic Senator Thomas Geary introduced a bill extending the Exclusion Act's terms for another 10-year period. His efforts led to the passage of the Geary Act, which, most notably, extended the Chinese Exclusion Act for another decade and established a system for all Chinese persons residing within the United States to apply for and carry a certificate of residence at all times. The Act further spelled out that individuals failing to register for and carry the requisite certificate of residence would be subject to immediate deportation or imprisonment for a year of hard labor. Furthermore, the Geary Act also placed the burden of proof of the right to be in the United States on Chinese persons and deprived Chinese immigrants of various protections in the courts.

Implementation of the Geary Act and its certificate of residence requirements were met with strong resistance among Chinese communities across America, and many Chinese residents refused to comply with the new law's requirements. According to Iris Chang, a Chinese consul urged his countrymen to abstain from compliance, and members of the Chinese community in cities such as San Francisco and Los Angeles destroyed official registration notices. Xiaojian Zhao notes that in San Francisco the Chinese Six Companies, also known as the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (CCBA), registered strong protests with the collector of internal revenue and rallied the Chinese community to legally challenge the Act. Through the posting of fliers in Chinatowns across the country, the Six Companies called for the Chinese

community to unify and resist registration. With confidence that the Geary Act's requirements were unjust, the Six Companies spearheaded a legal fund to challenge the Act and assembled a team of distinguished attorneys to contest the law's requirements. Eventually, three Chinese individuals facing deportation under the Act brought suit and, upon appeal, reached the United States Supreme Court in 1893 as *Fong Yue Ting v. United States*. The suit sought the Court to determine the constitutional validity of the Geary Act's requirements.

Unfortunately, in spite of these efforts on the part of the Chinese community and the conviction of the Six Companies that it would win the case, the Supreme Court held that just as a nation had the right to determine its own immigration policy, it also possessed the right to force all foreign nationals to register under the Geary Act. The court, per Justice Horace Gray's majority opinion, reasoned that the United States' power to forbid and regulate immigration necessarily included the lesser power to regulate the stay, and even the expulsion, of aliens within the United States. The court thus affirmed Congress's right to implement a system of registration and identification of any class of aliens residing within the United States, and stated that Congress also had the power to use all proper means to carry out that system. As a result, the Geary Act was upheld as constitutional and valid. However, it is noteworthy that the Court's decision included three separate dissenting opinions, including one by Chief Justice Melville Weston Fuller. Chief Justice Fuller explained that once Chinese aliens lawfully acquired residence in the United States, the Constitution placed limits on their expulsion. Additionally, he opined that the United States government could not arbitrarily deal with "persons lawfully within the peace of its domain."

The Court's ruling was a significant setback for the Chinese in America given their extensive efforts in resisting and contesting the Geary Act's requirements. According to Zhao, this legal defeat diminished the prestige of the Chinese Six Companies and that, for a period following the Court's decision in *Fong Yue Ting v. United States*, the organization faced an internal power struggle.

Alvin Luo

See also Chinese Exclusion Acts (1882–1943); Geary Act (1892)

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Fujita, Scott (1979–)

Scott Fujita, born on April 28, 1979, in Ventura, California, was adopted at six weeks of age by a third-generation Japanese American, Rodney Fujita, who was born at the Gila River Internment camp and his wife Helen. Scott, a two-sport athlete in football and basketball at Rio Mesa High School, was raised in Oxnard, California. Fujita is a 10-year veteran linebacker of the National Football League (NFL) who played for the for the Kansas City Chiefs, Dallas Cowboys, Cleveland Browns, and the 2010 Super Bowl champion New Orleans Saints.

After graduating high school, he attended University of California, Berkeley earning both his bachelor's and master's degree. He was not recruited but earned a spot on the football team through open tryouts. During his senior year, he won accolades including All-Pac 10 honorable mention and All-Pac 10 Academic Team. In 2002, Fujita entered the NFL draft and the Kansas City Chiefs selected him in the fifth round.

Although Scott Fujita is Caucasian, he is proud of his family's Japanese heritage. He is extremely close with his paternal grandparents, Nagao and Lillie Fujita. Scott's grandfather, Nagao, served in the U.S. Army with 442nd all-Japanese Regiment Combat Team in Europe while his parents were imprisoned in the War Relocation Authority (WRA) camp in Arizona. It was in this WRA camp that Lillie gave birth to Rodney in 1943. While incarcerated, Nagao's parents could not pay the mortgage and lost all of their farmland in California. Scott was upset that he had not learned about Japanese incarceration through his

formal education and conducted his own independent research on this subject.

In 2010, the NFL began investigating the New Orleans Saints for placing illegal bounties or money distributed for hard hits and knocking opposing players out of the game. There were rumors that Fujita was the main actor of “Bountygate.” According to documentarian Sean Pamphilon, Fujita never took any money nor placed money into the pool, and it was Fujita who pushed the filmmaker to turn in key evidence of this program to the NFL. Commissioner Roger Goddell suspended Fujita, currently a member of the Cleveland Browns, for three games for his role in Bountygate. Fujita appealed this decision, but on June 8, 2012, arbitrator Stephen Burbank supported Goddell’s power as commissioner to discipline players. In December 2012, a report by former NFL commissioner Paul Tagliabue declared that Fujita did not engage in “conduct detrimental to the league,” and vacated his suspension.

Terumi Rafferty-Osaki

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Fung, Edward (1922–)

Edward “Eddie” Fung, a native of San Francisco, has the distinction of being the only Chinese American soldier to be captured by the Japanese during World War II. He was then put to work on the Burma-Siam railroad, made famous by the film *The Bridge on the River Kwai*.

Born June 20, 1922, to immigrant parents from Guangdong Province, Eddie was the fifth of six children. His father was a jeweler and watchmaker; his mother sewed at home. He grew up in San Francisco’s Chinatown during the Great Depression and time of racial segregation. Like many other second-generation Chinese Americans, he was expected him to do well in American school and Chinese school, to be obedient and respectful to his elders, and to never bring shame to the family by misbehaving. Yet at American school, through books and movies, and in his contacts with the outside world, he was encouraged to be a rugged individualist, to speak his mind, and to pursue any line of work or lifestyle he pleased.

Being curious and rambunctious kid, Eddie resented the restrictions of Chinatown life and yearned to explore the wider world. At 13, he ran away from home and found a job as a houseboy in Antioch, across the bay from San Francisco. At 16, he dropped out of high school to pursue the romantic life of a cowboy on horseback. He worked for two years as a ranch hand in Texas, tending cattle and horses and learning to be a jack-of-all trades—part mechanic, part vet, and part carpenter. He also learned how to do his share of hard work despite his small physical stature (4 feet and 10 inches tall and weighing 90 pounds). And he came to appreciate the code of conduct exhibited by Texas cowboys he met along the way—a mixture of rugged individualism, neighborly cooperation, and a strong sense of honor.

At 18, Eddie decided to join the Texas National Guard without realizing that the United States was heading for war. He was assigned to the 1st Battalion of the 131st Field Artillery Regiment and trained to be a machine gunner at Camp Bowie, Texas. In late November 1941, Eddie’s battalion was sent to the

Philippines as reinforcements. En route, Pearl Harbor was attacked and his convoy was diverted to Australia and then sent to Java (Indonesia today) to help the Netherlands defend its colonial outpost. Within a few days, Japan won the battle for Java and Eddie became one of 140,000 Allied soldiers, and the only known Chinese American, to be captured by the Japanese in the Pacific theater. Along with 61,000 American, British, Australian, and Dutch prisoners, Eddie was sent to Burma to undertake the impossible task of building a railroad through 262 miles of tropical jungle.

For the next 42 months of captivity, Eddie suffered through Japanese beatings, tropical diseases, and starvation in the POW camps. Working under brutal slave labor conditions, the men completed the railroad in 16 months, at the cost of 12,500 POW and 70,000 Asian civilian lives. Eddie attributes his survival to his Chinese upbringing, which made it easier for him to adjust to the meager rice-and-vegetable diet, trade with the local Chinese, and scrounge for food and medicine. His work experience as a ranch hand helped him endure the hard labor in prison camp. The military discipline and camaraderie of fellow American soldiers helped to boost morale, maintain sanitary conditions in the camps, and provide mutual assistance whenever needed. Most important, his unit was lucky enough to get Dr. Henri Hekking as their camp doctor because he saved many lives, including Eddie's, with his knowledge of tropical medicine.

Eddie was finally liberated on August 19, 1945, after the Japanese surrendered. He came home to a hero's welcome and finished his formal schooling on the G.I. Bill, earning a BA degree in chemistry from Stanford University. He married Lois Yee, a microbiologist, in 1956 and the couple made their home in San Francisco. Eddie worked as a metallurgist for Livermore Lab until he retired in 1977, at which time he replaced jogging with tai chi chuan as his favorite pastime. He also made several trips to Asia with Lois, visiting his ancestral village for the first time and revisiting the railroad in Thailand. After his wife passed away in 1999, he met and married Judy Yung, professor of American studies at UC Santa Cruz. The two collaborated on his memoirs, *The Adventures of Eddie Fung: Chinatown Kid, Texas Cowboy, Prisoner of War*, based on 75 hours of oral history interviews.

In retrospect, being taken prisoner by the Japanese has been the focal point of Eddie's life. He left home as a Chinatown kid just out for adventure and returned from the war a grown man with a better appreciation for life. He says that the war and the hardships he suffered as a POW taught him to respect other people's feelings and not to treat anyone unkindly as he had been treated. It also gave him the self-confidence and tools to solve any problem that might come up. And it helped him come to terms with his ethnic identity and what it means to be a Chinese American.

Judy Yung

See also Chinese Americans

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Future Prospects of Asian Americans

Asian Americans are one of the racial categories recognized by the U.S. government. The U.S. Office of Budget and Management defines Asian Americans as persons in the United States who originate from the Far East (i.e., East Asia), Southeast Asia, and the Indian Subcontinent (i.e., South Asia). Based on the history and current status, this essay prognosticates the future prospects of Asian Americans in population growth and composition, socioeconomic adaptation, societal acceptance, political representation, position in the U.S. racial hierarchy, and transnationalism.

Population Growth and Structure

Asian Americans had been the fastest-growing racial or ethnic group in the United States from 1970 to 2000. The Asian population (excluding Native Hawaiians and other Pacific Islanders) grew from 980,337 in 1960 to somewhat more than 1.4 million in 1970, 3.3 million in 1980, 6.9 million in 1990, and about 11.9 million (Asian alone and in combination with two or more races) in 2000. The growth rates by decade were 46.8 percent in the 1960s, 129.9 percent in the 1970s, 108.8 percent in the 1980s, and 72.2 percent in the 1990s, which were much greater than the growth rates of other racial or ethnic groups, including Hispanics, in the corresponding periods. According to the latest data from the U.S. Bureau of the Census, in 2008 the Asian population grew to 15.2 million and represented a 27.7 percent increase in the period of 2000 to 2008, which was slightly slower than the growth rate of Hispanics, 28.9 percent, in the same period. This slowdown can be partly attributed the larger population base, which made a very high growth rate much harder to sustain.

According to the latest projections of the U.S. Bureau of the Census (2008), the non-Hispanic Asian population (alone and in combination with two or more races) will increase to 20.8 million in 2020, 26.3 million in 2030, 32.3 million in 2040, and 38.6 million in 2050. Figure 1 shows the dynamics of U.S. racial and ethnic composition in the next four decades. Although Asians (total including alone and two or more races) and Hispanics will increase significantly in percentage shares of the total U.S. population, the non-Hispanic white population will continuously shrink in proportion, and blacks and American Indians will maintain almost constant rates of growth. The percentage of the Asian population in the total U.S. population will grow from 5.1 percent in 2010 to 8.8 percent in 2050. Note that the foregoing middle-range projections were based on the assumption that current rates of fertility, mortality, immigration, and age and sex structure will remain unchanged. Nevertheless, the current or even higher level of Asian immigration is likely to continue in the near future, opening the possibility that the future Asian population and its growth rate could be greater

than these projections. Although immigration will function as the main source of Asian population growth, fertility may play an increasing role as the second and higher generations come of age. The growing number and proportion of Asian Americans point to an increasing weight of Asian Americans in American life. Asian Americans will play a more important role in shaping the U.S. economy, education, medicine, science and technology, norms and values, even politics and entertainment. America is and will be no longer just black and white. Asian Americans can no longer be ignored or sidelined for any important issues in this nation.

The current six largest Asian groups—Chinese, Filipinos, Asian Indians, Vietnamese, Koreans, and Japanese in this order—will retain the top six spots for at least half a century unless some unexpected events take place. Nevertheless, the relative positions of these six groups could change. Chinese, Filipinos, Asian Indians, and Vietnamese are likely to continue their fast growth because of the expected large immigration flows from their homelands. In particular, with a 133 percent population growth rate in the 1990s, Asian Indians are likely to move into second place in one or two decades and even eventually into first place in the future. In addition to the six largest groups, other Asian groups, especially Pakistanis, Cambodians, Laotians, Hmongs, Thais, and Bangladeshis, could gain in size and proportion, although in the aftermath of 9/11, the immigration of some Islamic groups may be negatively affected.

The Asian population is approaching the old age cutoff point (35) with a median age of 32.1 years in 2000, which was about five years younger than non-Hispanic whites but somewhat older than blacks, American Indians, and Hispanics. The projections by the U.S. Bureau of the Census (2008) show that like the total U.S. population and each of the major racial or ethnic groups, the Asian population will be gradually aging in the next four decades. By 2015, the Asian population (alone and in combination) will become an old population with a median age of 35.6, which will be younger than non-Hispanic whites (42.1), but older than blacks (32.8), American Indians (31.1), Native Hawaiians and other Pacific Islanders (32.0), and Hispanics (27.8). By 2050, the Asian population will be

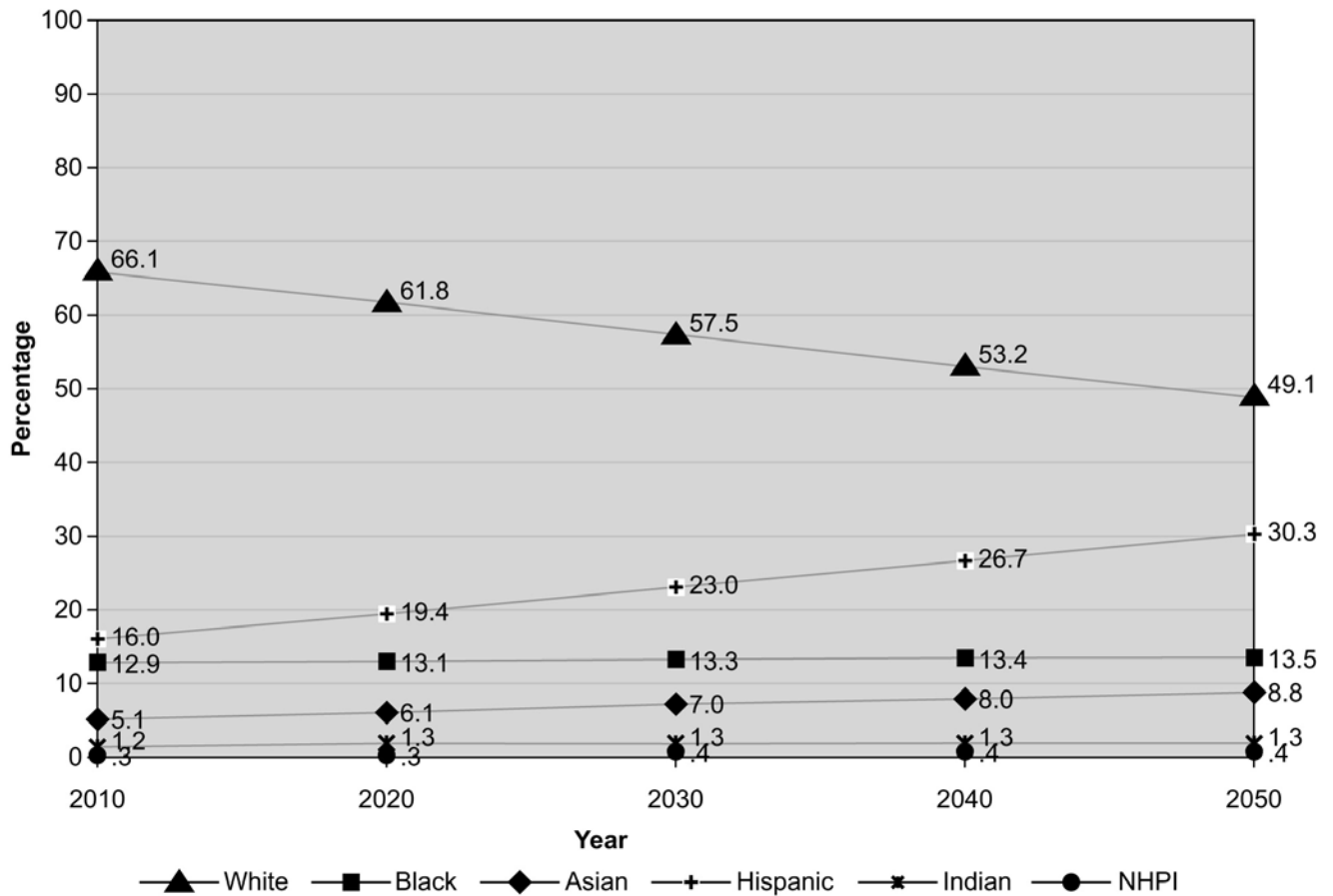


Figure 1. Projected Percentage Distribution of U.S. Population by Race/Ethnicity, 2010–2050.

40.9 years old in median age. Old-age support, nursing homes, and services for elderly Asian Americans will emerge as top issues. Unlike the early history of Asian Americans where a bachelor’s society characterized several major Asian groups such as Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, and Filipinos, sex ratio imbalance is not and will not be a problem for the Asian population presently and in the near future.

The Asian concentration in the West has steadily declined over time whereas the South and Northeast have unceasingly gained more shares. One can anticipate a gradual dispersion of the Asian population to different regions over time as new Asian Americans learn about the newly adopted country and move to places that can maximize their opportunities. It is also very likely that Asian Americans will continue to attach to several states, especially California, New York, Texas, Hawaii, New Jersey, Illinois, Washington, Florida, and Virginia, and several urban centers

such as New York, Los Angeles, San Jose, San Francisco, Honolulu, San Diego, Chicago, and Houston. But they will disperse further to other states and cities in the near future. The continuous concentration of the Asian population in a few states and urban centers suggests a heavy Asian impact on political and social events and outcomes in those places. The dispersion, on the other hand, points to the expansion of Asian influence in other locales.

Currently, the first generation (i.e., the immigrant generation) constitutes approximately two-thirds of the total Asian population. In the near future, we are likely to see a rapid nativization of Asian Americans or a fast growth in second generation and third or higher generations among Asian Americans. These changes could have important implications for the socioeconomic adaptation, societal acceptance, political representation, and identity formation of Asian Americans. The changes also call for more research

not only on second-generation but also on third- or higher-generation Asian Americans.

Socioeconomic Adaptation

For Asian Americans as a whole, two possible future trends concerning their socioeconomic adaptation can be predicted. One is the continuously strong showing of Asian Americans in average socioeconomic performance. The other is the continuous, or in some cases increased, variation in socioeconomic performance among Asian Americans across ethnic, class, generation, and gender lines as the Asian population diversifies.

Since second- and higher-generation Asians are the future of Asian Americans, their socioeconomic adaptation can best manifest the future socioeconomic adjustment of Asian Americans. Compared with Asian immigrants (i.e., the first generation), second- and higher-generation Asian Americans will encounter fewer barriers and no doubt fare much better socioeconomically. Their educational credentials are normally superior to their peers because Asian parents tend to send their children to the best schools possible and to encourage their children to pursue graduate education. A great educational credential is often a stepping-stone for employment opportunities. With superior credentials, second- and higher-generation Asians will not have many troubles finding work in their professions. Professionalization has become a hallmark of the occupational adjustment of second- and higher-generation Asians and will remain so in the future. Although the “glass ceiling” problem will not disappear any time soon, its effects on native-born Asians will be mitigated. With no problems in English and communication skills, training of leadership ability in schools, U.S. educational credentials, and familiarity with American culture (e.g., customs, norms), second- and higher-generation Asian Americans will gradually pierce the glass ceiling to gain executive and managerial positions in the future. Although class polarization will persist among the Asian immigrant generation, class homogeneity will characterize the socioeconomic adaptation of second- and higher-generation Asians. It is expected that this class homogeneity phenomenon will continue among the

U.S.-born Asians and will perhaps be even more so among third- or higher-generation Asian Americans.

Societal Acceptance

Historically, Asian Americans had been cast in a negative light and largely rejected by American society as reflected in such stereotypes as the “yellow peril,” “heathens,” and “unassimilable aliens,” and they have encountered exclusion and discrimination. Despite significant progress over time, currently Asian Americans are still not fully accepted as mirrored in such stereotypes as “perpetual foreigner,” passivity, despotism, cunning, and nerdiness. There is a long way to go before Asian Americans can be fully accepted in American society.

Notwithstanding the existing problems and obstacles, we can expect a gradual process of growing acceptance of Asian Americans by American society in the near future, although this could take some time. This prediction is based on the following considerations. First, as the Asian population increases, Asian Americans will be seen less as strangers to the American public. Second, as the second- and higher-generation Asians come of age and make their imprints in every field and every corner of America, images of Asian Americans will be polished. Third, Asian Americans’ continuing strong socioeconomic performance will enhance their positive images. Fourth, an increasing societal emphasis on multiculturalism will also facilitate the social acceptance of minorities including Asian Americans. Fifth, the continuous and concerted efforts of Asian Americans and their organizations to combat anti-Asian racism through the media and other channels will help reduce prejudice against Asians and increase their social acceptance. It should be emphasized that the social recognition of Asian Americans will not come naturally and that Asian Americans will not be viewed and treated as American as other Americans without fighting with anti-Asian racism. Racism against Sikh and other South Asian Americans and the racialization of them as possible terrorists linked to the Al Qaeda network despite their non-Arab descent after 9/11 remind us of how formidable the task of combating anti-Asian racism is. Finally, the emergence of Asian countries as major economic and

political powers and the increasing interest of white Americans in Asian cultures may also contribute to the growing acceptance of Asian Americans.

Political Representation

One of the pressing priorities on the agenda of Asian America is political empowerment. Historically, Asian Americans have been politically powerless. Hence, they could not shield themselves from all kinds of institutional discrimination and injustice in immigration, citizenship, employment, housing, intermarriage, and incarceration. Currently, Asian Americans are largely underrepresented in the American political system. Nevertheless, Asian Americans are making significant strides in political representation and emerging as an important political force.

We can expect that the political representation of Asian Americans in government will continue to rise. A number of factors contribute to this possible tendency. First, an increasing population base lays a foundation for a growing political representation. Second, an increase in the proportion of Asian Americans who are U.S. citizens will boost the eligible voting population and the chance of electing Asian American politicians. Third, the emergence of Asian-majority cities will increase the chance of electing Asian American representatives. Fourth, Asian voters' registration drives will further increase the likelihood of electing politicians of Asian descent. Fifth, the push of Asian American organizations (e.g., the 80/20 Initiative, the Organization of Chinese Americans, Japanese American Citizens League) at various levels of government to make Asian American appointments will effectively increase Asian political representation. Sixth, a growing interest of second- and higher-generation Asians in politics will change the dynamics of Asian Americans in the political system. Finally, despite diversity of Asian American groups in national origin, class, culture, religion, generation, and political ideology, pan-Asian American organizations recognize the need to form pan-Asian political coalition to promote the economic and political interests of Asian Americans. Pan-Asian coalitions building will spur Asian political participation and therefore impact their political representation.

Position of Asian Americans in the U.S. Racial Hierarchy

What will the position of Asian Americans be in the U.S. racial system in the foreseeable future? There are several conceivable scenarios. One scenario is for Asian Americans to become whites or join the ranks of the majority group, following the experience of Germans, Irish, Italians, Jews, and other European groups. Evidence of Asian Americans' higher socioeconomic status than other minority groups and even than whites in some indicators, their residential integration with whites, and high interracial marriage rate between Asians and whites would put Asians and whites in parity and "qualify" them for the social status of the white majority. However, in my view the prospect of the "becoming whites" scenario is minimal for a number of reasons. First and foremost, the white racial boundary is not likely to stretch to visible nonwhites such as Asians despite their high degree of assimilation. High socioeconomic status and high residential assimilation do not automatically translate into a redefinition of the racial minority status of all Asian Americans as a group or a boundary crossing of Asian Americans into the dominant group. Second, although high Asian-white intermarriage can blur the boundary between the two groups, the interracial marriage rate has yet to reach the point that will melt down the boundary between whites and Asians. In fact, estimates based on the 5 percent PUMS data from the 1980, 1990, and 2000 U.S. Censuses reveal that the Asian-white intermarriage rate declined from 18 percent in 1980 to 15.3 percent in 1990, and 12.7 percent in 2000. On the other hand, from 1980 to 1990, interethnic marriages among Asian groups had increased, despite a slight decline in the next decade. This trend could continue in the near future along with the projected increasing size of Asian population. Third, continuous new Asian immigration flows will also reinforce the Asian ethnic and panethnic boundaries. Fourth, Asian Americans have not been fully accepted as Americans as reflected in the prevalent stereotype of "perpetual foreigners" and discrimination. Lastly, there is no indication that Asian Americans will be inclined to "whiten" themselves.

Another scenario is for Asian Americans to merge into the nonblack ranks, a new category laid out by Gans. Nevertheless, becoming nonblack, which indicates racial boundary shifting, is less likely to happen either because quasi-whites (a category of nonblack) differ significantly from whites in their positions and experiences. Hence, the nonblack label may not be very meaningful in real life.

Joining the nonwhite or Third World coalition is the third scenario for Asian Americans. Although it is necessary for Asian Americans to join a nonwhite coalition, the feasibility of such an alliance remains questionable. A significant segment of the Asian American population is reluctant in or ambivalent about supporting the people of color coalition mainly because of self-interest due to the gap between Asian Americans and other minority groups in socioeconomic status. Quite a few Asians share more economic interest with whites. Although blacks and Latinos (except for Cubans) lean toward the Democratic Party, Asian Americans were more or less evenly divided between the Democratic Party and the Republican Party at least until recently. Furthermore, severe conflicts between minority groups documented in research in the last two or three decades further add to the difficulty of building the Third World coalition.

The most likely scenario for Asian Americans in the twenty-first century is to occupy an intermediate position in the U.S. racial hierarchy. That is, Asian Americans will not be subsumed under the categories of white, nonblack, nonwhite, or black; instead, they are likely to remain in a middle position between whites and other minorities. Asian Americans will not be fully accepted as equal as whites, but they will be perceived and treated differently from whites and from blacks, American Indians, and Latinos. They will be viewed as a more “deserving” race (to use Gans’s language), the so-called “model minority,” than other minority groups. On the other hand, they will not be promoted or assisted by government and social programs as much as what other minorities receive. They will be somewhere in the middle of the racial hierarchy. They will remain a separate minority group not fully fusing into white society.

Asian Americans and Transnationalism

The meanings of “transnationalism” vary widely. I define immigrant transnationalism as the process in which immigrants as well as their social institutions engage in regular and sustained involvement in economic, political, social, cultural, or personal practices across national borders. The most salient feature of immigrant transnationalism is the emergence of a growing class of “transnational migrants” or “transmigrants” who live their lives across international borders. Immigrant transnationalism is a significant phenomenon in the Asian immigrant community.

It can be anticipated that immigrant transnationalism will continue to rise and expand in the Asian immigrant communities in the foreseeable future, given accelerating economic and cultural globalization, continuing dual citizenship proliferation, increasing transnational labor movement, advancement in air transportation and communication technology, and immigrants’ rational choice to maximize their life chances, which give rise to immigrant transnationalism. On the other hand, whether transnationalism will remain significant and tenacious among second or higher generations is a moot issue. There is some evidence that transnational activities such as visits to ancestral lands and remittances, often on an occasional basis, continue into the second generation among Chinese, Filipinos, Koreans, Vietnamese, Cambodians, Laotians, and some other Asians. Nevertheless, second- or higher-generation Asian Americans will be less likely than their first-generation counterparts to engage in transnational practices and especially to become transnationals. This, however, does not preclude the possibility that a small number of native-born Asians may find transnationalism as a path to expand their career opportunities and pursue a transnational lifestyle under certain special circumstances.

Conclusion

Asian Americans have experienced, and will continue to experience, a phenomenal population growth. Second- and higher-generation Asian

Americans will outshine the Asian immigrant generation in socioeconomic adaptation. Although the prospect for them to be fully accepted as Americans in the near future is not rosy in light of their past and present experiences, Asian Americans will meet with growing social acceptance over time. Albeit powerless historically and largely underrepresented presently, Asian Americans will gradually gain political clout. The foregoing anticipated achievements and progress are not very likely to elevate the position of Asian Americans in the U.S. racial stratification system to “white” or “nonblack” any time soon. Most likely, Asian Americans will occupy a middle position in the U.S. racial hierarchy in the foreseeable future. Immigrant transnationalism is growing in the Asian immigrant communities and will continue to rise in the future in the age of globalization. It could persist into the second generation under some special circumstances.

Philip Q. Yang

See also Transnational Political Behavior

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Asian Americans

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Asian Americans

AN ENCYCLOPEDIA OF SOCIAL, CULTURAL,
ECONOMIC, AND POLITICAL HISTORY

Volume 2: G–O

XIAOJIAN ZHAO AND
EDWARD J. W. PARK,
Editors



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Contents

List of Entries, vii

Preface, xix

Acknowledgments, xxi

*Introduction: Asian Americans in the Twenty-First
Century*, xxiii

Chronology, xxxi

THE ENCYCLOPEDIA, I

Primary Documents, 1255

Selected Bibliography, 1343

Editors and Contributors, 1351

Index, 1361

This page intentionally left blank

List of Entries

- Adopted Asian Americans
- Agbayani, Benny
- Aguila, Chris
- Ah Quin Diary
- Ah Yup, In Re* (1878)
- Ahn, Philip
- Ahn Chang Ho
- Aikido in America
- Akaka, Daniel K.
- Alexander, Meena
- Ali, Agha Shahid
- Ali, Saqib
- Alien Land Laws
- “Aliens Ineligible for Citizenship”
- Allen, Horace Newton
- American Coalition for Filipino Veterans (ACFV) Incorporated
- American Missionaries in Postwar Japan
- American-Style Concentration Camps
- Angel Island Immigration Station
- Anti-Asian Miscegenation Laws
- Anti-Asian Violence, History of
- Anti-Chinese Riot and Expulsion in Seattle (1886). *See* Seattle Anti-Chinese Riot and Expulsion of 1886
- Anti-Chinese Riot in Tacoma. *See* Tacoma Anti-Chinese Riot of 1885
- Anti-Hate Crime Laws
- Anti-Japanese Movement in Hawaii
- Anti-Trafficking Movement
- Aoki, Richard
- Ariyoshi, George R.
- Artists in New York (1900–1940)
- Asian American Adoptees. *See* Adopted Asian Americans
- Asian American Artists in New York (1900–1940). *See* Artists in New York (1900–1940)
- Asian American Athletes and Christianity. *See* Athletes and Christianity
- Asian American Campaign Finance Scandal of 1996
- Asian American Campaign Strategy. *See* Campaign Strategy
- Asian American College Students. *See* College Students
- Asian American Comparative Collection (AACC)
- Asian American Identity. *See* Authenticity in Asian American Identity
- Asian American Labor in Alaska
- Asian American Labor Movement. *See* Labor Movement
- Asian American Legal Defense and Education Fund (AALDEF)
- Asian American LGBT Activism. *See* LGBT Activism
- Asian American Movement (AAM)

- Asian American Muslims
- Asian American 1.5 Generation. *See* 1.5 Generation Asian Americans
- Asian American Political Alliance (AAPA)
- Asian American Sites and Museum Exhibits (Pacific Northwest and Great Basin)
- Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders (AAPIs) in Higher Education
- Asian Americans for Action (AAA)
- Asian Americans in Hollywood. *See* Hollywood, Asian Americans in
- Asian Ethnic Banks
- Asian Immigrant Women Advocates (AIWA)
- Asian Law Caucus
- Asian Music in America
- Asian Pacific Heritage Month
- Asian Religions and Religious Practices in America
- Athletes and Christianity
- Authenticity in Asian American Identity
- Bacho, Peter
- Baek, Cha Seung
- Balcena, Bobby
- Bangladeshi Americans
- “Barred Zone.” *See* Immigration Act of 1917 and the “Barred Zone”
- Barroga, Jeannie
- Bartlett, Jason
- Bellingham “Anti-Hindu Riot” (1907)
- Bemis, Polly (Lalu Nathoy): Perspective 1
- Bemis, Polly (Lalu Nathoy): Perspective 2
- Bhutanese Americans
- Boat People
- Boggs, Grace Lee
- Buddhism in Asian America
- Buddhist Churches of America (BCA)
- Bulosan, Carlos
- Bunker, Christopher Wren and Bunker, Stephen Decatur
- Bunker, Stephen Decatur. *See* Bunker, Christopher Wren and Bunker, Stephen Decatur
- Burlingame Treaty of 1868
- Cambodian Americans
- Cambodian Community in Lowell, Massachusetts
- Cameron House
- Campaign Strategy
- Cao, Lan
- Cao Zishi
- Cayetano, Benjamin
- Cha, Theresa Hak Kyung
- Cham in America
- Chan, Jeffery Paul
- Chan, Kenyon
- Chan, Sucheng
- Chandrasekhar, Subrahmanyam
- Chang, Diana
- Chang, Iris
- Chang, Michael
- Chang, Sarah
- Chang and Eng (The Siamese Twins)
- Chang-Díaz, Franklin Ramón
- Chao, Elaine L.
- Charr, Easurk Emsen
- Chaudhary, Satveer
- Chawla, Kalpana
- Chay Yew
- Chen, Chin-Feng
- Chen, Joan
- Cheng, Lucie
- Chern, Shiing-Shen

- Cheung, King-Kok
- Chiang, Yee. *See* Yee Chiang
- Chin, Frank
- Chin, Vincent
- China Daily News, The (CDN)*
- China Lobby
- Chinatown, New York
- Chinatown, 1982 ILGWU Strike. *See* 1982 ILGWU Strike in New York's Chinatown
- Chinatown Gangs in the United States
- Chinese American Baseball
- Chinese American Childhood
- Chinese American Community Organizations
- Chinese American Funerary Rituals
- Chinese American Youth in Multiethnic Chicago
- Chinese Americans
- Chinese Americans and World War II
- Chinese Christians in America
- Chinese Confession Program
- Chinese Cuisine in the United States
- Chinese Exclusion Acts (1882–1943)
- Chinese Exclusion, Repeal of (1943)
- Chinese Fisheries in California
- Chinese Garment Workers in San Francisco
- Chinese Hand Laundry Alliance of New York (CHLA)
- Chinese Herbal Medicine
- Chinese Immigrant Cemeteries
- Chinese Immigrant Workers in Multiethnic Chicago
- Chinese in the U.S. Civil War
- Chinese Language Schools in the United States
- Chinese Lion Dance in the United States
- Chinese Mining in America
- Chinese New Year Parade
- Chinese Railroad Workers
- Chinese Restaurants in the United States
- Chinese Students in the United States since 1960
- Chinese War Brides
- Chinese War Brides Act. *See* War Brides Act (1945)
- Chinese World (Sai Gai Yat Po)*
- Chinese-Vietnamese Americans
- Ching, Fong
- Cho, Margaret
- Choi, Susan
- Chouinard, Bobby
- Chow, Amy
- Chu, Judy
- Chu, Steven
- Chung, Connie
- Chung, Eugene Yon
- Churches and Ethnic Identity
- Clay, Bryan
- Cohota, Edward Day
- College Students
- Comfort Women
- Committee of 100 (C-100)
- Concentration Camps. *See* American-Style Concentration Camps
- Conger, Hank
- Contemporary Filipino American Communities. *See* Filipino American Communities (Contemporary)
- Contemporary Japanese American Communities. *See* Japanese American Communities (Contemporary)
- Dalai Lama. *See* Tenzin Gyatso (14th Dalai Lama)
- Dandekar, Swati
- Dardelle, Antonio
- Dawson, Toby
- Dear Wing Jung v. United States of America* (1962)
- DeSoto, Hisaye Yamamoto

- Dinh, Linh
- Dīpāvali
- Divakaruni, Chitra Banerjee
- Draft Resistance in Internment Camps
- Draves, Victoria “Vicki” Taylor Manalo
- Du, Miranda
- Duong, Wendy N.
- Eaton, Edith Maude. *See* Sui Sin Far
- 80/20
- Espineli, Geno
- Ethnic Communities in Hawaii
- Ethnoburb
- Eu, March Fong
- Evangelicals and Korean American Community Formation
- Evangelicals on the College Campus
- Evora, Amanda
- Ex Parte Mitsuye Endo* (1944)
- Filipina War Brides
- Filipino Agricultural Workers
- Filipino American Baseball
- Filipino American Communities (Contemporary)
- Filipino American Communities (Historical)
- Filipino American Community Organizations
- Filipino American Domestic Workers
- Filipino American National Historical Society (FANHS)
- Filipino American Newspapers
- Filipino American Youth Cultures
- Filipino Americans
- Filipino Americans in World War II
- Filipino Cuisine in the United States
- Filipino Cultural Night. *See* Pilipino Cultural Night (PCN)
- Filipino Farm Labor Union (FFLU)
- Filipino Federation of America (FFA)
- Filipino Language Movement (FiLM)
- Filipino *Pensionados*
- Filipino Piecemeal Sugar Strike (1924–1925)
- Filipino Repatriation Act (1935)
- Filipino Transnationalism
- Filipino Women and Global Migration, History of
- Filipino World War II Veterans
- Filipinos in Hawaii
- Fong, Hiram
- Fong Yue Ting v. United States* (1893)
- Fujita, Scott
- Fung, Edward
- Future Prospects of Asian Americans
- Gabriel, Roman
- Geary Act (1892)
- Gee, Margaret (Maggie)
- Gender, Race, and Class in Political Participation
- Ghadar*
- Ghadar Party
- Glass Ceiling Debate
- Golf, Asian and Asian American
- Gong, Lue Gim
- Gonzalez, N.V.M.
- Gotanda, Philip Kan
- Goyal, Jay
- Goyle, Raj
- Graphic Novelists
- Graves, Danny
- Guam, U.S. Presence in
- Guthrie, Jeremy
- H-1B Visa
- Ha Jin

- Hagedorn, Jessica
- Haley, Nikki Randhawa
- Harada, Tsuneo “Cappy”
- Harada House
- Hawaii, Ethnic Communities in. *See* Ethnic Communities in Hawaii
- Hawaii, Filipinos in. *See* Filipinos in Hawaii
- Hawaii, Japanese Americans in. *See* Japanese Americans in Hawaii
- Hawaii, Multiracial/Multiethnic Experience in. *See* Multiracial/Multiethnic Experience in Hawaii
- Hawaii, Plantation Workers in. *See* Plantation Workers in Hawaii
- Hawaiian Cuisine
- Hawaiian Religion. *See* Native Hawaiian Religion
- Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders. *See* Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders
- Hayakawa, Samuel Ichiyé
- Hayakawa, Sessue (Kintaro)
- Hayslip, Le Ly
- Hells Canyon Massacre (1887)
- Hindus in the United States
- Hirabayashi v. United States* (1943)
- Hirahara, Naomi
- Hirayama, Satoshi “Fibber”
- Hirono, Mazie K.
- Hmong American Women
- Hmong of Minnesota and California
- Ho, David
- Ho, Fred (Fred Wei-han Houn)
- Hollywood, Asian Americans in
- Honda, Mike
- Houston, Velina Hasu
- Hsüan Hua
- Hu, Chin-Lung
- Huang, Guangcai (Wong Kong Chai or Chae)
- Hula
- Hwang, David Henry
- I Wor Kuen (IWK)
- Ichioka, Yuji
- Iijima, Kazu Ikeda
- Iko, Momoko
- Immigration Act of 1917 and the “Barred Zone”
- Immigration Act of 1924
- Immigration Act of 1990
- Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952. *See* McCarran-Walter Act of 1952
- Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986
- Inada, Lawson Fusao
- Independent Chinese Language Newspapers during the Cold War
- Indian American Community Organizations
- Indian Americans
- Indian Cuisine in the United States
- Indian Denaturalization Cases
- Indian Ethnic Economy
- Indian Exclusion
- Indian Women in America
- Indians in American TV and Film
- Indigenous Groups and the Asian American Experience
- Indochina Migration and Refugee Assistance Act of 1975
- Indonesian Americans
- Inouye, Daniel K.
- Itliong, Larry
- Jaisohn, Philip
- Jang, Jon
- Japan Bashing

- Japanese American Baseball
- Japanese American Christianity
- Japanese American Citizens League (JAACL)
- Japanese American Communities (Contemporary)
- Japanese American Community Organizations (Historical)
- Japanese American Draft Resistance. *See* Draft Resistance in Internment Camps
- Japanese American Transnational Families
- Japanese American Women in the 1930s
- Japanese Americans
- Japanese Americans in Hawaii
- Japanese Americans in Japan
- Japanese Exclusion
- Japanese Farm Workers in America
- Japanese Immigrant Press
- Japanese Immigrant Women
- Japanese Language in Asian American Studies
- Japanese Transnational Identity
- Japanese War Brides
- Jen, Gish
- Jindal, Piyush “Bobby”
- Judo in America
- Kahanamoku, Duke
- Kao, Charles K.
- Katipunan ng mga Demokratikong Pilipinos (KDP)
- Kawamoto, Evelyn Tokue
- Keller, Nora Okja
- Khorana, Har Gobind
- Kibeï
- Kim, Derek Kirk. *See* Graphic Novelists
- Kim, Elaine H.
- Kim, Jay
- Kim, Richard Eun Kook
- Kim, Ronyoung
- Kim, Young Oak
- Kingston, Maxine Hong
- Kochiyama, Yuri
- Kogawa, Joy
- Konno, Ford Hiroshi
- Kono, Tommy
- Kooskia Internment Camp
- Korea, U.S. Punitive Action in (1871)
- The Korea Times*
- Koreagate
- Korean American Churches
- Korean American Community Foundation (KACF)
- Korean American Ethnic Economy
- Korean American Farmers in the United States
- Korean American LGBT Movements in Los Angeles and New York
- Korean Americans
- Korean Americans and Transnationalism
- Korean Americans in Hawaii
- Korean Americans in the Cold War
- Korean and Korean American Golf
- Korean Aviation School in America (1920–1921)
- Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA) and the Korean American Community
- Korean Cuisine in the United States
- Korean Immigrant Women in America
- Korean Independence Movement in the United States
- Korean National Association (KNA)
- Korean-Black Relations
- Koreatown
- Koreatown Immigrant Workers Alliance (KIWA)
- Korematsu, Hirabayashi, and Yasui Coram Nobis* Cases
- Korematsu v. United States* (1945)
- Kuo, Hong-Chih

- Kwan, Michelle
 Labor Movement
 Lahiri, Jhumpa
 Lai, Him Mark
 Lam, Tony
 Lang, Ping
 Lang Lang
 Lao American Ethnic Economy
 Lao Americans
Lau v. Nichols (1974)
 Law-Yone, Wendy
 Lee, Ang
 Lee, Bruce
 Lee, C. Y.
 Lee, Chang-rae
 Lee, Dai-ming
 Lee, Don
 Lee, Hazel (Ah Ying)
 Lee, Kyung Won (K. W.)
 Lee, Min Jin
 Lee, Robert G.
 Lee, Rose Hum
 Lee, Sammy
 Lee, Tsung Dao
 Lee, Wen Ho
 Lee, Yan Phou
 Lee, Yuan Tseh
 Leong, Russell
 LGBT Activism
 Li, Choh Hao
 Li, Yi
 Lim, Genny
 Lim, Shirley Geok-lin
 Lin, Jeremy
 Lin, Maya
 Lin, Tung-Yen (T. Y.)
 Lin, Yutang
 Lincecum, Tim
 Little India and South Asian Communities
 Little Saigon and Vietnamese American Communities
 Liu, Henry
 Lo, Lormong
 Locke, Gary
 Los Angeles Riots (1992)
 Louganis, Greg
 Lowe, Pardee
 Lu, Ed
 Luce-Celler Act of 1946
 Ma, Yo-Yo
 Maharishi Mahesh Yogi
 Malaysian Americans
 Manlapit, Pablo
 Manzanar Children's Village (1942–1945)
 Manzanar Riot (1942)
 Marshall, Charles K. *See* Cao Zishi
 Matsui, Doris O.
 Matsui, Robert T.
 Matsunaga, Masayuki "Spark"
 McCarran-Walter Act of 1952
 McCunn, Ruthanne Lum
 Mehta, Zubin
 Meng, Grace
 Minami, Dale
 Mineta, Norman
 Mink, Patsy Takemoto
 Misaka, Wataru
 Moon Festival
 Mori, Toshio

- Moua, Mee
- Mukherjee, Bharati
- Multiracial Asian Americans
- Multiracial/Multiethnic Experience in Hawaii
- Mura, David
- Murayama, Milton
- Nagano, Kent
- Nagasu, Mirai Aileen
- Nakanishi, Don T.
- Nambu, Yoichiro
- Nathoy, Lalu. *See* Bemis, Polly (Lalu Nathoy)
- National Civil Rights Movement Against Anti-Asian Violence. *See* Chin, Vincent
- National Maritime Union (NMU) and Chinese Seamen
- Native Hawaiian Religion
- Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders
- Ng, Poon Chew
- Ngor, Haing S.
- Nguyen, Dat
- Nguyen, Dustin
- Nguyen, Jacqueline H.
- Nguyen, Madison (Phuong)
- Nhat Hanh, Thich
- Ni, Fu-Te
- Nichibei Shimbun* (Japanese American News)
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- Noguchi, Isamu
- Odo, Franklin
- Ohno, Apolo Anton
- Okada, John
- Okihiro, Gary
- Okubo, Minè. *See* Graphic Novelists
- Omachi, George Hatsuo “Hats”
- Omi, Michael
- 1.5 Generation Asian Americans
- Ong, Han
- Onizuka, Ellison
- Otsuka, Julie
- Ozawa, Seiji
- Ozawa v. United States* (1922)
- Page Law (1875)
- Paik, Nam June
- Pak, Gary
- Pakistani Americans
- Pan-Asian American Coalitions
- Parachute Kids
- Park, Richard
- Park, Tongsun
- Park Yong-man
- Parque, Jim Vo
- Pei, I. M.
- People v. Hall* (1854)
- Phan, Aimee
- Pierce, Joseph
- Pilipino Cultural Night (PCN)
- Plantation Workers in Hawaii
- Polamalu, Troy
- Political Participation. *See* Gender, Race, and Class in Political Participation; Political Representation
- Political Representation
- Poon, Lim
- Prostitution in Late Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century Asian Immigrant Communities
- Radical Organizations
- Ramakrishnan, Venkatraman
- Redress Movement. *See* Excerpt from the Civil Liberties Act (1988)

- Refugee Act of 1980
- Refugee Camps and Southeast Asian Migration
- Religion and Its Social Function in the Japanese American Community
- Rhee, Syngman
- Robles, Al
- Romulo, Carlos P.
- Saiki, Patricia F.
- Sakata, Harold
- Sam, Sam-Ang
- Santos, Bienvenido N.
- Sasaki, Sokei-an
- Saund, Dalip Singh
- Saxton, Alexander P.
- Science and Technology
- Scott, Robert
- Scott Act (1888)
- Seattle Anti-Chinese Riot and Expulsion of 1886
- Seau, Junior
- Self-Employment
- Sexuality
- Shimomura, Osamu
- Shin, Paull
- Shin-Issei/Shin-Nisei Identity
- Siamese Twins. *See* Chang and Eng (The Siamese Twins)
- Sikh Temple Massacre (Oak Creek, WI) (2012)
- Sikhism in the United States
- Singaporeans in America
- Siv, Sichan
- Son, Diana
- Sone, Monica
- Soong Mei-ling
- South Asian American Transnational Politics
- South Asian Communities, Little India and. *See* Little India and South Asian Communities
- South Asian Ethnic Identity
- Southeast Asian Academic Achievement
- Southeast Asian American Press
- Southeast Asian American Youth and Crime
- Southeast Asian Archive at the University of California, Irvine, Libraries
- Southeast Asian Migration. *See* Refugee Camps and Southeast Asian Migration
- Southeast Asian Refugee Resettlement, Organizational Leadership of
- Spickard, Paul Russell
- Sri Lankan Americans
- Suburbanization
- Sue, Stanley
- Sui, Anna
- Sui Sin Far (Edith Maude Eaton)
- Sumida, Stephen H.
- Sun Yat-sen
- Sung, Betty Lee
- Survey of Race Relations on the Pacific Coast
- Suzuki, Bob H.
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- Suzuki, Shunryū
- Swap Meet
- Sylvanus, Thomas
- Tacoma Anti-Chinese Riot of 1885
- Taekwondo in America
- Tahir, Saghir
- Taiwanese Americans
- Takagi, Dana Yasu
- Takaki, Ronald Toshiyuki
- Tan, Amy

- Tao, Terence
Tape v. Hurley (1885)
 Tarak Nath Das
 Tatupu, Mosiula Faasuka
 Tenzin Gyatso (14th Dalai Lama)
 Tét
 Thai American Organizations
 Thai Americans
 Thai Cuisine in the United States
 Thai Temples
 Thai Town
 Thao, Cy
 Third World Strikes
 Third World Unity
 thúy, lê thi diem
 Tibetan Americans
 Tien, Chang-Lin
 Ting, Samuel Chao Chung
 Tokyo Rose
 Tomine, Adrian. *See* Graphic Novelists
 Tomney, John
 Tongs and Tong War
 Tourist Industries
 Townsend, Raymond Anthony
Toyota v. United States (1925)
 Tran, Ham
 Transnational Political Behavior
 Transnationalism. *See* Filipino Transnationalism;
 Japanese American Transnational Families; Japanese
 Transnational Identity; Korean Americans and
 Transnationalism; South Asian American
 Transnational Politics; Transnational Political
 Behavior
 Trungpa, Chögyam
 Truong, Monique
 Tsao, Chin-Hui
 Tsiang, H. T.
 Tsien, Roger Y.
Tsoi Sim v. the United States (1902)
 Tsunoda, Joyce S.
 Ung, Chinary
United States v. Gue Lim (1900)
United States v. Thind (1923)
United States v. Wong Kim Ark (1898)
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 U.S.-Korea Treaty of 1882
 Ut, Huynh Cong “Nick”
 Vera Cruz, Philip
 Victorino, Shane
 Vietnamese American Anticommunism
 Vietnamese American Communities, Little Saigon
 and. *See* Little Saigon and Vietnamese American
 Communities
 Vietnamese Americans
 Vietnamese Americans, Chinese-. *See* Chinese-
 Vietnamese Americans
 Vietnamese Cuisine in the United States
 Vietnamese Ethnic Economy
 Vietnamese Nail Salons
 Vietnamese Women in America
 Villa, José García
 Villafuerte, Brandon
 Vivekananda
 Voting Patterns
 Wang, An
 Wang, Chien-Ming
 Wang, Vera
 Wang, Wayne
 War Brides Act (1945)

- Ward, Hines
 Watsonville Riots (1930)
 Wei Min She (WMS)
 Williams, Sunita L.
 Wong, Anna May
 Wong, Elizabeth
 Wong, Jade Snow
 Wong, Kailee
 Wong, Sau-ling
 Wong, Shawn
 Woo, Hong Neok
 Woo, Shien Biau (S. B.)
 Woods, Tiger
 Workingmen's Parties
 Wu, Chien-Shiung
 Wu, David
 Xiong, Joe Bee
 Yamaguchi, Kristi
 Yamanaka, Lois-Ann
 Yamasaki, Minoru
 Yamashita, Karen Tei
 Yamato Colony of California
 Yamauchi, Wakako
 Yang, Chen Ning
 Yang, Gene Luen. *See* Graphic Novelists
 Yang, Henry T.
 Yang, Qing (Yong Seen Sarng)
 Yao Ming
Yasui v. United States (1943)
 Yau, Shing-Tong
 Yee Chiang
 Yellow Brotherhood (YB)
 Yep, Laurence
Yick Wo v. Hopkins (1886)
 Yoneda, Karl G.
 Yoon, Sam
 Yu Lihua (Helen Yu)
 Yung, Judy
 Yung Wing
 Zenimura, Kenichi
 Zhang, Caroline
 Zhang, Yitang
 Zia, Helen

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Preface

We are honored and humbled to serve as the editors of *Asian Americans: An Encyclopedia of Social, Cultural, Economic, and Political History*. This three-volume encyclopedia is a collaborative effort of more than two hundred scholars from various fields and disciplines. The project is committed to making research results and records about Asian Americans readily available in one reference source, where the interested reader can locate the facts, events, trends, or policies concerning Asian Americans, Asian American history, and Asian American studies. Conscious efforts were made on a number of fronts to reflect some of the important developments in Asian American studies and to cover underrepresented groups. Most of the entries build upon existing literature, whereas new research was conducted to cover understudied areas and topics. We gave special attention to issues concerning race, class, and gender relations, as well as transpacific and transnational dimensions of Asian Americans.

Given the diversity and complexity of the ethnic group and the rapid pace of growth of Asian Americans in a fast-changing world, we recognize that the completion of such an undertaking is only one step to our ever-expanding knowledge of the Asian American experience. The field of Asian American studies is relatively young. We trust this book will create a foundation for the expansion of academic inquiries. By making these records more readily accessible, we hope to reach out to a wider audience and inspire more future research.

Beginning in 2000, the U.S. Census Bureau has identified Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders as an independent race category separate from Asian Americans. Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders have unique histories and experiences of their own, and their affiliations with the United States are quite different from those of Asian Americans. To lump Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders together with Asian Americans is to marginalize these groups of people. Nevertheless, because they had been grouped together with Asian Americans by government agencies and academic institutions, readers are more likely to look for information about them from Asian American reference books. For this reason we have made an effort to include some entries on Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders in this project.

This comprehensive reference project contains approximately 600 entries. Cross-referencing is provided in some entries by the use of *see also* lines. An archive of primary sources in Volume 3 is an important addition to the project, which will enable the student to advance beyond narrative summary of historical research. A detailed chronology in Volume 1 offers a quick glance of historical facts and events. We considered several options of organizing the project but eventually settled on the A–Z

arrangement for easy look-up. In addition to the alphabetical list of entries in the front matter, the index serves as a useful tool for name/subject searching.

Transliteration of Names

The transliteration of personal names in this book is sometimes inconsistent for a number of reasons. In most Asian societies, the family name precedes an individual's given name. Asians living in the United States often invert their family and given names following American and European practice, but some have chosen not to do so. For example, Rhee is the family name of Syngman Rhee, a prominent Korean American community leader and the first president of the Republic of Korea, and Yao is the family name for Yao Ming—the former Houston Rockets NBA star from China who never inverted his family and given name. Different transliteration systems and regional dialects also prevent consistency in translation and conversion. Chinese from Taiwan or pre-1949 China transliterate names according to the Wade-Giles system, whereas those from the People's Republic of China use the pinyin transliteration system, one that has been adopted by most academic institutions and educational programs in the United States and throughout the world.

Acknowledgments

It would not be possible to consolidate such a wealth of scholarship, information, and source materials into one reference book without the contributions of over 200 scholars. To build a diverse and inclusive list of entries, we reached out to accomplished scholars and graduate students in both humanities and social sciences, and we also solicited entries from a large number of writers and independent scholars in law, journalism, political activism, and other fields. Our editorial process is one of community building, through which we enjoyed the luxury of having a productive conversation with a large community of scholars. We sincerely hope this project will help expand such a conversation among scholars and students.

We want to thank everyone who has generously shared their scholarly expertise in their entries as well as their ideas and acts of encouragement. Several colleagues and scholars deserve special acknowledgment for their concrete suggestions in the planning stage of the project, and for their efforts in helping to recruit contributors. Sucheng Chan, who insisted that encyclopedia entries should be comprehensive, definitive, and reliable, not only contributed her own original essays, but also helped secure entries from a number of prominent scholars. Suggestions from Diane Fujino, Pei-te Lien, Ruthanne Lum McCunn, and Zuoyue Wang added invaluable guidance to several subject areas. We also want to thank the University of California, Santa Barbara, and the Dean's Office of the Bellarmine College of Liberal Arts at the Loyola Marymount University for providing a welcoming environment for research and writing. Contributions from our colleagues as well as excellent administrative support from Elizabeth Faulkner, Elizabeth Guerrero, and Arlene Phillips from these two universities are very much appreciated. We also want to thank Katie Do, Fang He, Yanjun Liu, Myung Jin Lee, Andrew Turner, and Tian Wu for their assistance.

Finally, we would like to thank the editors at ABC-Clio, especially James Sherman, Kim Kennedy-White, and John Wagner. PreMediaGlobal, especially project manager Magendrarvarman Nithyanandam, provided superb service in copy-editing, typesetting, proofreading, and indexing of the book. We would also like to thank Ellen Rasmussen for photographic research.

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Introduction: Asian Americans in the Twenty-First Century

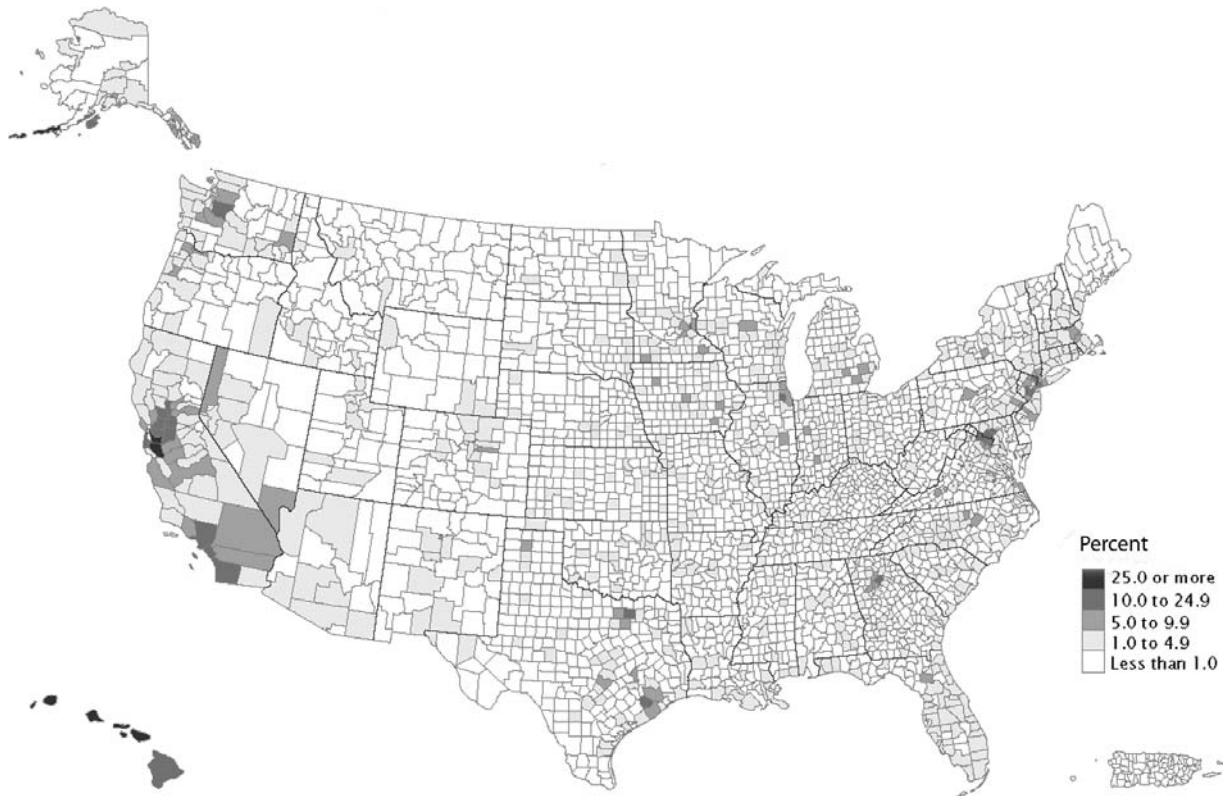
Beginning from the California Gold Rush, Asians have settled in the United States for more than 160 years. The two major groups that arrived first in the late nineteenth century originated from China and Japan. They were joined by immigrants from Korea, the Philippines, and India in the early decades of the twentieth century. Until the late 1960s, however, the Asian population in the United States was small. Between 1951 and 1960, immigrants from Asia accounted for only 6 percent of the total immigrants to the United States. The rate of Asian immigrants began to increase substantially beginning in the 1970s after the Immigration Act of 1965 ended the national origin quota system. Post-1965 Asian immigrants came in large numbers, and they came from many more Asian nations and regions. Most significant changes occurred in the late 1970s and 1980s, when large waves of Southeast Asian immigrants arrived as refugees after the Vietnam War.

Today's Asian America is built by immigrants and their descendants who originated from countries in South Asia, East Asia, and Southeast Asia. In the 1960s, a new generation of Asian Americans, inspired by the Civil Rights Movement, began to organize across ethnic lines in search of a unified front in their struggle for racial equality and social justice. Increasing visibility of Asian Americans as one of the more prominent minority groups in recent decades has had significant impact in political, economic, and social realms; it has also affected race and ethnic relations in the United States in profound and complicated ways.

Population and Distribution

Asian America has become the fastest-growing racial group in the United States, increasing from 3.8 million in 1980 to 6.9 million in 1990, to 10.2 million in 2000, and to 17.3 million in 2010 (including 2.6 million mixed-race individuals). It comprised 5.6 percent of the total U.S. population of 308.7 million. Between 2000 and 2010, the total U.S. population grew by 9.7 percent, from 281.4 million to 308.7 million, whereas the Asian American population increased more than four times faster, with a growth rate of 46 percent. It is worth noting that about 2.6 million people reported to be Asian in combination with other races, which represents 15 percent of the Asian American population. Mixed race Asian Americans is the fastest growing subgroup of the Asian American population.

A high percentage (46 percent) of the Asian American population resided in the West in 2010, constituting 11 percent of the region's total population. Meanwhile,



Asians as a percentage of county population: 2010.

22 percent of the population lived in the South (3 percent of the region's population), 20 percent in the Northeast (6 percent of the region's population), and 13 percent in the Midwest (3 percent of the region's total population). The percentage of the total Asian American population residing in the West had declined recently, however, from 49 percent to 46 percent within a decade. Meanwhile, the proportion of Asian population in the South increased from 19 percent to 22 percent.

Nearly three-fourths of the entire Asian American population resided in ten states in 2010, led by California, home to 5,556,592 Asian Americans. The other states with large populations of Asian Americans were New York, 1,579,494; Texas, 1,110,666; New Jersey, 725,356; Hawaii, 780,968; Illinois, 668,694; Washington, 604,251; Florida, 573,083; Virginia, 522,199; and Pennsylvania, 402,587. All these states have experienced substantial growth of their Asian American population in the past decade. Texas, Florida, and Virginia each enjoyed a growth rate of between 71 to 72 percent, and this pattern continues to show the increasing dispersal of Asian Americans out of their traditional population centers on the West Coast and in Hawaii. Following these states in Asian population growth are Pennsylvania (62 percent), Washington State (53 percent), and New Jersey (52 percent). In comparison, the growth rate is relatively low in Hawaii (11 percent), although the Asian population represents over 50 percent of the entire population. Asians represented 62 percent of Honolulu's population and 51 percent of the population in Kauai. In terms of actual population numbers,

California had the largest gain of Asian American population over the decade, from 4.2 million in 2000 to 5.6 million in 2010. Within California, Asian population constituted more than 25 percent of the total population in four counties, all within the San Francisco-San Jose metropolitan area. Metropolitan areas with the largest population of Asian Americans were Los Angeles (1,884,669), New York (1,878,261), San Francisco Bay Area (1,577,790), Chicago (532,801), Washington, D.C. (517,458) and Honolulu (477,503).

Chinese American, the oldest Asian ethnic group in the United States, was the largest group of Asian America in 2010 (3.8 million). The next two largest groups were Filipinos (3.4 million) and Asian Indians (3.2 million). Given the high rate of immigration in the past decade, these three groups constituted 60 percent of the entire Asian American population. At the same time, since its implementation in 1990, the Diversity Immigrant Visa Program that allows citizens of countries with low rates of immigration to secure permanent residency in the United States have added to the diversity of Asian Americans. In addition to this program, economic and political changes in Asia ranging from rapid development to civil wars have resulted in new immigrant groups from Bhutan to East Timor.

Immigrants constitute a significant majority of adult Asian Americans. According to an analysis of the 2010 census by the Pew Research Center, 59 percent of Asian Americans and 74 percent of its adult population were foreign-born, compared with 13 percent of the total U.S. population. However, there were significant demographic variations within different subgroups. For instance, 75 percent of Korean Americans were foreign born, but only 38 percent of the Japanese American population were immigrants. Among the foreign-born Asian Americans, 54 percent were women. The female-to-male ratio was greater than two-to-one among Japanese immigrants, but males outnumbered females among immigrants from India.

Chinese, next to Spanish, is the most widely spoken non-English language in the United States. In 2010, an estimated 2.8 million people aged five and older spoke Chinese at home. Other Asian languages spoken by a large number of Asian Americans at home are Tagalog, Vietnamese, and Korean. Over half of the foreign-born Asian American population (53 percent) self-reported that they could speak English well, higher than other foreign-born groups in the United States (45 percent).

Socioeconomic Status: Improvement and Gaps

Before World War II, most Asian Americans worked at unskilled and low-paying jobs, often in racially segregated ethnic communities or as migratory agriculture laborers. After World War II, especially since the Civil Rights Movement, Asian Americans have gained access to the mainstream job market; their socioeconomic status has also shown significant improvement. Such improvements have been reported in the Census in every decade since 1970, reinforcing a “model minority” image for Asian Americans.

Asian Americans, however, are not a monolithic population. In the 2010 Census, the estimated median household income for Asian Americans was \$66,286—higher than it was for the overall U.S. population (\$50,831), the non-Hispanic white population (\$56,178), the Hispanic population (\$38,818), and the black population (\$33,137). However, there were wide gaps among different Asian groups. Asian

Indians had a median household income of \$90,711, for example, but the Bangladeshi median household income was only \$48,471.¹ Median household wealth (net worth) for Asian Americans was \$83,500 in 2010, higher than the median household wealth for the overall U.S. population (\$68,529), and higher than it was for Hispanics (\$7,800) and blacks (\$5,730) by large margins. But median household wealth for Asian Americans was significantly lower than it was for non-Hispanic whites (\$112,000). These data on income and wealth should take into account the fact that higher percentages of Asian Americans are urban dwellers concentrated in California, Hawaii, and New York, regions known for their high costs of living. In addition, it is crucial to understand that immigration is a highly selective process. For instance, whereas the median household income of Asian Indians was much higher than that of Hispanics in 2010, the per capita Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of Mexico was over six times that of India (\$10,146 and \$1,514, respectively, in 2011).

Poverty and health insurance rates provide different angles to assess socioeconomic status of Asian Americans. In 2010, about 12.2 percent of Asian Americans were reported by the Census Bureau as living in poverty. In comparison, poverty rates for non-Hispanic whites, Hispanics, and blacks were 9.9 percent, 26.5 percent, and 27.4 percent, respectively. Although poverty rates for Filipino, Japanese, and Indian Americans were relatively low (6, 8, and 8 percent, respectively), 26 percent of Hmong Americans were living below the poverty line. It is worth noting that although 16.5 percent of Asian Americans did not have health insurance in 2009, that rate increased to 18.4 percent in 2010. Nearly a quarter of both Pakistani and Bangladeshi Americans (23 percent) and more than a fifth of Korean (22 percent) and Cambodian (21 percent) Americans were uninsured, whereas the percentage of people without health insurance among non-Hispanic whites, Hispanics, and blacks were 13.5 percent, 30.7 percent, and 20.8 percent, respectively.

Employment patterns for Asian Americans are also complex. Although 48 percent of Asian Americans aged 16 and older were employed in management and professional occupations in 2010, about 17 percent of them worked in service occupations, 22 percent in sales and office occupations, and 10 percent in production, transportation, and moving and shipping occupations. In comparison, only 40 percent of employed Americans held management and professional jobs. Occupational distribution among different Asian groups, however, was diverse. Although two-thirds of Asian Indians held jobs in management and professional occupations, only about a third of Vietnamese Americans did so. Hmong and Cambodian Americans were relatively underrepresented in management and professional positions (20 to 21 percent). Whether Asian Americans with comparable educational levels and professional qualifications are earning the same pay or achieving equal professional advancement opportunities remains to be a serious question. Business ownership rate among Asian Americans continued to grow. In 2007, 1.5 million businesses were owned by Asian Americans, reflecting a 40.4 percent increase from 2002. It must be noted that a large proportion was small businesses, as 44.7 Asian American-owned businesses were in repair and maintenance, personal and laundry services, professional and technical services, and retail trade.

One Asian American group that has usually been overlooked is undocumented immigrants. Undocumented Hispanic immigrants have received most public and

media attention, and they account for approximately three-quarters of the total undocumented population in the United States. The U.S. government officially estimates that about 10–11 percent of the U.S. undocumented immigrants are from Asia, constituting approximately 13–15 percent of the Asian immigrant population. Whether undocumented Asian immigrants have been undercounted remains an open question. If so, their population would have a significant impact on socioeconomic status of the overall Asian American population.

Educational Attainment: Achievement and Gaps

Recognizing both growth and diversity of Asian Americans are especially important in reading statistics of Asian Americans in education. A most remarkable characteristic of the Asian American population is its high level of educational attainment. About 49 percent of Asian Americans aged 25 and older had at least a bachelor's degree in 2010, which was much higher than that of the total U.S. population (28 percent). However, levels of educational attainment for different Asian American groups were uneven. About 70 percent Asian Indian Americans, for example, had at least a bachelor's degree, but only 14 percent of both Cambodian and Laotian Americans held a similar degree.²

The analysis by the Pew Research Center also showed high educational attainment among the new Asian immigrants: 61 percent of the immigrants between the ages of 25 and 64 have at least a bachelor's degree, almost twice as high as non-Asian immigrants. About 81 percent of new immigrants from India held a college degree, but only 17 percent of immigrants from Vietnam had attended college. Further behind immigrants from Vietnam are new immigrants from Cambodia and Laos who have much lower college education attainment.

A higher percentage of Asian Americans 25 and older had graduate or professional degrees than the total U.S. population (20 percent to 10 percent). The Pew Research Center revealed that Asian American students and students from Asia accounted for 25 percent of doctorate degrees granted at U.S. universities in 2010, with considerable numbers in engineering, science, mathematics, computer science, physical science, and life science. Asian or Asian American students also received 20 percent of PhDs granted by U.S. universities in social sciences. These high levels of educational attainment helped Asian Americans find professional jobs. U.S.-trained Asian students from China and India have also been the main beneficiaries of H-1B visa program, which revitalized in 1990, this visa program also provided temporary employment opportunities for foreign-trained Asians in “specialty occupations,” especially in engineering, sciences, and business-related professions. With employer sponsorship, a significant percentage of H-1B visa holders have successfully adjusted into immigrant status. Foreign students from India and China, as well as skilled workers, were the two top-ranked groups to benefit from the program, and they received three-fourths of all H-1B visas granted to Asia in 2011. Indians alone accounted for 56 percent of all the H-1B visas granted by the United States in 2011, whereas those from China received an additional 8 percent. Although considerable numbers of students from Korea, Philippines, Japan, and Taiwan also benefited from this temporary visa program, very few students from other Asian nations were able to do so.

Conclusion

Improved socioeconomic status and increased visibilities of Asian Americans in U.S. politics, educational institutions, and other areas of American life have impacted the development of American society in significant ways. In many parts of the United States, Asian Americans have changed the social landscape of cities and neighborhoods, integrating their customs, values, languages, foods, and institutions. The increasing presence of Asian Americans has enriched the American society, but it has also challenged and strained the nation. Unfortunately, accompanying the drastic demographic changes were also incidents of racial conflict and hate crime, as well as a resurfacing anti-immigrant sentiment. Increasing political participation of Asian Americans has shown impressive results, as more and more of their representatives have been either elected or appointed to political, government, and judiciary posts at local, state, and national levels. In turn, Asian Americans have been able to more effectively pursue political and policy issues that concern them the most: social justice, immigration, health care, public support for education, U.S. foreign relations, and international trade. Their devotion to education and their high enrollment in colleges and universities have had a great impact in educational reform, and many colleges and universities across the United States have established and expanded course offerings in Asian American studies, in Asian history, culture, and languages, and developed educational exchange programs with more and more Asian nations.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, the Census Bureau projected that the Asian American population will grow to 37.6 million by the year 2050, comprising 9.3 of the total U.S. population. The rapid growth of Asian American population of the late twentieth century was the result of large waves of new immigrants from Asia, which became possible after the Immigration Act of 1965 and a host of legislations that addressed the immigration and refugee issues. There is no doubt that new immigrants will continue to come from Asia in significant numbers in the next few decades. In addition to immigration policies of the United States and changing U.S. diplomatic relations with Asian nations, globalization and the development of global economy will play an increasingly important role in determining sources of Asian immigration and directions of Asian migration. Scholars have already noticed that economic development and high living standard in Japan have made emigration less attractive in the past few decades. Korean immigration peaked in the 1970s and 1980s, but it declined in the late 1990s. Although the number of Chinese immigrants continued to grow, the rate of growth has slowed in the past decade. Developments in other parts of the world may also affect Asian migration, as more and more individuals are also paying attention to different opportunities in Europe, Australia, South and Central Americas, Africa, as well as in their neighboring Asian countries. From an Asian diaspora perspective, it would not be difficult to find that Asian emigration has become increasingly multidirectional, in which the United States is one destination (the most attractive one) among many others. Moreover, an increasingly large number of Asian Americans have resettled to Japan, Korea, China, and other Asian nations and many more are moving between Asia and the United States. All these developments will play important roles in shaping Asian immigration and the contours of twenty-first-century Asian America.

Xiaojian Zhao and Edward J. W. Park

Notes

1. Comparison between median household income of Asian Americans is based on tables released by Census Bureau in September 2010, see United States Census Bureau Newsroom, “Income, Poverty, and Health Insurance Coverage in the United States: 2011” (September 12, 2012); comparison between median household income between Asian Indian Americans and Bangladeshi Americans is based on a report from an earlier release from the Bureau, see United States Census Bureau News Release, “2010 Census Shows Asians are Fastest-Growing Race Group” (March 21, 2012).

2. The Pew Research Center’s analysis of Asian Americans, based on the 2010 U.S. Census, selects only six Asian American groups. Many smaller and less well-to-do groups are left out. See, Pew Research Center, *The Rise of Asian Americans*, July 12, 2012.

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Gabriel, Roman (1940–)

Roman Ildonzo Gabriel, Jr. was a professional football player who played in the National Football League (NFL) from 1962 to 1977. He starred as the quarterback for the Los Angeles Rams and Philadelphia Eagles. He was the NFL Most Valuable Player in 1969. Gabriel is the son of a Filipino immigrant and the first Asian American to start as an NFL quarterback.

Born on August 5, 1940, in Wilmington, North Carolina, Roman Gabriel was born to a Filipino father, Roman Gabriel Sr., who immigrated to the United States from the Philippines in 1925, and an Irish American mother, Suzanne. Gabriel attended New Hanover High School where he first played organized football. He then went on to star as quarterback for North Carolina State's football team where he was a two-time All-American. He also won the ACC Player for 1960 and 1961. During his college career, Gabriel set 22 school and 9 ACC football records.

In 1962, the Los Angeles Rams selected Gabriel as the second overall pick in the NFL Draft. With Rams head coach George Allen at the helm, Gabriel thrived as starting quarterback. In his second season as starter, the Rams had a record of 11-1-2 and won the Coastal Division. He won the NFL's Most Valuable Player Award in 1969 and was selected to the Pro Bowl four times in his career. He was traded to the Philadelphia Eagles in 1973, where Gabriel was named Comeback Player of the Year.

After Gabriel retired from professional football, he worked as a color commentator for CBS's NFL coverage. He also worked as the head coach of Cal Poly Pomona's college football team and then for the

now-defunct Raleigh-Durham Skyhawks of the World League of American Football during the 1991–1992 inaugural season. He also had a brief acting career, playing a prison guard in the 1968 movie *Skidoo* and a Native American in John Wayne's *The Undeclared* in 1969.

Joseph Bernardo

See also Filipino Americans

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Geary Act (1892)

The Geary Act—named after California Congressman Thomas J. Geary—required Chinese laborers living in the United States to carry registration cards, effective one year from the passage of the Act on May 5, 1892. If the Chinese laborers were caught without a registration card, they would be subjected to arrest and deportation. An exception existed for those who could find one credible white witness willing to testify that the Chinese person was not able to obtain the certificate because of an "accident, sickness, or other unavoidable cause." The Act, in practice, affected only Chinese laborers; however, every Chinese resident was a potential target, as they had to prove that they were legally entitled to reside in the United States.

Section 1 of the Geary Act also extended the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 (set to expire in

May 1892) by another 10 years; therefore, it would be another 10 years before Chinese laborers could immigrate to the United States, unless another extension was enacted before the expiration date. In addition, Section 2 of the Act required that a Chinese person convicted of unlawful entry into the United States be deported. Section 3 required any Chinese person arrested to establish by affirmative proof that he has a lawful right to remain in the United States. Because the statute made it a federal crime to be an illegal residence of the United States, the punishment was a year of imprisonment at hard labor followed by deportation (Section 4). The fifth provision specified that no bail amount would be set for any Chinese who was denied entry and thereafter applied for federal habeas corpus, but such application shall be heard and determined promptly (Section 5). Section 6 required all Chinese laborers to obtain registration cards. Sections 7 and 9 focused on the duties of the secretary of the treasury to make rules and regulations for the efficient execution of the Act. It also specified the necessary forms needed for the collectors of internal revenue to issue the certificates. Finally, anyone who engaged in the fraudulent creation of the certificates was guilty of a misdemeanor (Section 8).

The Chinese responded to the registration cards requirement—Section 6 of the Act—by disobeying it. This was the second instance by the Chinese populace in the United States to disobey a law; the first was in response to the 1870 San Francisco Cubic Air Ordinance—regulating the living quarters of tenants, primarily targeting the Chinese. The Chinese Six Companies led the resistance to the registration cards requirement. The Chinese Six Companies (also known as the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association) provided various assistance and services to the Chinese predominantly on the West Coast, thereby earning the trust of the Chinese population. To challenge the validity of the Geary Act, the Chinese Six Companies asked every Chinese person to donate \$1 to help pay for the legal expenses. They promised to assist anyone who was arrested for not registering, but would not assist those who ended up in trouble following registration. Their coordinated efforts amounted to 107,000 Chinese people refusing to register. The Chinese Six Companies believed that

protesting against this Act was important, as the Act violated the United States Constitution, as well as the 1880 treaty.

On the East Coast, the Chinese were also protesting the Geary Act. In New York, they formed the Chinese Equal Rights League. The League organized a mass meeting following the passage of the Geary Act to protest the unconstitutionality of the new law and adopted a resolution condemning it.

Back on the West Coast, the Chinese Six Companies hired attorneys to prepare for the approaching registration deadline of May 5, 1893. The attorneys for the Chinese carefully planned out who would be arrested, how they would bring the suit, and when to appeal the challenge to the United States Supreme Court. All of this had to be done before the end of the Supreme Court's term, scheduled to end on May 15, 1893. The attorneys representing the Chinese residents agreed to bring the suit in the courts of New York, as the legal team consisted of New York attorneys. On May 6, 1893, three Chinese laborers were arrested for not carrying registration cards, in violation of Section 6 of the Geary Act. The men were ordered deported by the federal district court judge and petitions for *writs of habeas corpus* were filed. The court dismissed the writs and ordered the men to be detained by the federal marshal. The cases were consolidated and appealed to the United States Supreme Court, in what is known as *Fong Yue Ting v. United States*, 149 U.S. 698 (1893).

In *Fong Yue Ting v. United States*, Justice Gray of the Supreme Court explained, “Chinese laborers . . . like all other aliens residing in the United States . . . are entitled . . . to the safeguards of the constitution, and to the protection of the laws. . . . But they continue to be aliens, having taken no steps toward becoming citizens, and incapable of becoming such under the naturalization laws; and therefore remain subject to the power of congress to expel them, or to order them to be removed and deported from the country, whenever, in its judgment, their removal is necessary or expedient for the public interest.” The Court added that the right to exclude or expel aliens is an inherent right of every nation; Congress's power to expel aliens may be exercised by executive officers. So, Sections 6 and 7 of the Act were constitutional and valid.

This reasoning drew a powerful dissent from Justices Brewer, Field, and Fuller. Justice Brewer wrote, “I rest my dissent on three propositions: First, that the persons against whom the penalties of section 6 of the act of 1892 are directed are persons lawfully residing within the United States; secondly, that as such they are within the protection of the constitution, and secured by its guaranties against oppression and wrong; and, third, that section 6 deprives them of liberty, and imposes punishment, without due process of law, and in disregard of constitutional guaranties, especially those found in the 4th, 5th, 6th, and 8th articles of the amendments.”

The unsuccessful attempt to challenge Sections 6 and 7 of the Geary Act in *Fong Yue Ting v. United States* was a huge setback for the Chinese Six Companies. After losing the legal battle, the Chinese Six Companies also lost the trust of the Chinese people. With no registration card and deportation on the horizon, the Chinese people looked elsewhere for help.

On October 4, 1893, the House Committee on Foreign Affairs recommended that registration per the Geary Act be extended by six months. They noted that the Chinese had relied to their detriment upon the advice of constitutional legal scholars about the validity of the Act. This amendment to the Geary Act was passed on November 3, 1893. The amended Act also contained additional provisions such as a broadened definition of laborer (skilled and unskilled laborers) and added a definition for merchants. It also required witnesses to be persons other than Chinese.

Although the Chinese lost when they challenged Sections 6 and 7 of the Geary Act, they won when they challenged Section 4 (one year imprisonment at hard labor for not registering) in *Wong Wing v. United States*, 163 U.S. 228 (1896).

Wong Wing, along with three other men, was found to be unlawfully residing within the United States. Wong Wing and his companions were sentenced to imprisonment at hard labor and ordered to be deported. *Writs of habeas corpus* were sought but never issued. The defendants appealed to the United States Supreme Court. The court, in addressing the constitutionality of Section 4, stated that the United States can prohibit aliens from coming to the United States and expel those already here on public policy

reasons. However, when Congress seeks to subject aliens to punishment at hard labor, the accused *must* be provided with a judicial trial to establish his guilt, as provided by the Fifth and Sixth Amendments to the United States Constitution.

Jennifer J. Lee

See also Chinese Exclusion Acts (1882–1943); *Fong Yue Ting v. United States* (1893)

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Gee, Margaret (Maggie) (1923–2013)

Margaret Gee (better known as Maggie Gee) is one of the two Chinese American women who served in the Women Airforce Service Pilots (WASP) during World War II.

Gee was born in Berkeley, California, on August 5, 1923. Her father was an immigrant from China, and her mother, Ah Yoke Gee, was born and raised in Monterey Bay in California. After her father passed away in 1930, Gee's mother supported a family of six children as a sewing woman.

When Gee was in fourth grade, she and her sister planned to visit China with their uncle, but news came that Japan had invaded China, and they canceled the trip. For most of the 1930s and early 1940s, Gee followed her mother to rallies and fundraising drives in San Francisco's Chinatown to support China's war of resistance, but she noticed that her peers knew very little about what was going on in China. Not until Pearl Harbor in December 1941 was Gee's support of the war effort in China also seen as a patriotic response to the United States.

After high school, Gee attended the University of California at Berkeley. Living at home, she worked at odd jobs to pay for tuitions and school supplies. During World War II, opportunities to work in defense industries became available to ethnic minority women. Following in her mother's footsteps, Gee supported



Chinese American Maggie Gee during World War II. (Xiaojian Zhao collection)

herself by working as a welder at night in a shipyard in Richmond, and attended classes during the day. After her college graduation in 1942, Gee got a day job as a draftswoman at the Mare Island Navy Shipyard.

At the navy shipyard Gee became close friends with two of her coworkers. The three girls decided to learn to fly. In late 1943, they traveled to Nevada to attend an aviation school. Shortly after her graduation, Gee was recruited by the Women Airforce Service Pilots (WASP) and became the second Chinese American woman, after Hazel (Ah Ying) Lee, to join the group.

Gee arrived at the WASP training camp in Avenger Field in Texas in February 1944. She was the only Chinese in a class of 107 young women. Very few nonwhite women were able to join the WASP; without the war, it would have been impossible for Gee, a Chinese American woman, to become a member of this elite group of American women pilots. After graduation Gee received her silver wings and went to active duty at the WASP squadron at the Las

Vegas Army Air Force Base. There she ferried military aircraft and gave instruction to male pilots of the base.

In October 1944, the WASP was ordered to disband. As the Allied victory became apparent, the military began to downsize, and its female personnel were the first to go. Gee received a letter from General Hap Arnold confirming the Army's decision. In the letter, the general said that keeping women pilots in service would mean replacing young men, and he said that he knew that members of the WASP wouldn't want that to happen. Most of the women pilots were disappointed and confused about their future. Gee and her classmates went through the same training program as the men. At the Las Vegas Army Air Force Base, Gee was an instrument instructor and taught many male pilots how to fly. Like most of her female classmates, she flew small single-engine aircrafts, which were more dangerous than the larger ones. Even though they all worked for the military, women in the WASP were not given official military status. After the WASP squadron in Las Vegas was shut down at the end of 1944, Gee went home without veteran status, and she could not enjoy any of the benefits specified by the G.I. Bill.

But the war had forever changed Gee's life. Returning to home in Berkeley from the WASP, Gee felt that there was nothing in the world men could do that women could not. When she went to graduate school, she chose physics, which was generally considered a field of study exclusively for men. She also served as the president of the Chinese Students Association at Berkeley. After graduation Gee lived in Europe for four years. When she returned to the United States in 1958, she landed on a job in the theoretical division of the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory. She was the only female physicist in her group for many years. Gee retired in 1988 but remained as a consultant to the laboratory for many more years.

In 1972, Gee went to Avenger Field in Texas for a 30th anniversary reunion of the WASP. The reunion sparked five years of political lobbying for recognition from the military. On Thanksgiving Day in 1977, President Jimmy Carter signed the WASP amendment into law. On May 21, 1979, 34 years after the war, the United States Air Force officially recognized the status of World War II women pilots.

Gee was active in politics in Berkeley and served on many commissions. A long-time Democrat, she was a member of the 1992 Democratic Party Platform Committee and actively involved in the Berkeley Democratic Club and the Berkeley Community Fund. She was also a California State Democratic Party Executive Board member and served on the Alameda County Democratic Central Committee. On March 10, 2010, Gee and all other surviving women of the WASP were awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor by President Barack Obama. Gee passed away on February 1, 2013, at age 89.

Xiaojian Zhao

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Gender, Race, and Class in Political Participation

Studies of political participation emphasize the importance of basic socioeconomic status, race, and gender in explaining the differences in voting and other participation rates between women and men, nonwhites and whites, and the better-educated, higher-income class from the less-educated, lower-income class among the American public, in general. Although researchers on Asian American political participation generally affirm the utility of these factors, they also find that gender and class factors alone are insufficient to account for differences across racial groups. In fact, as to be shown, blanket application of these two factors in understanding of Asian American political participation may sometimes make the studying of the phenomenon more puzzling to the casual observer.

Because the average education levels and median household incomes of Asian Americans are consistently higher than those of most Americans in recent decades, basic socioeconomic status theory predicts the population to have higher overall rates of participation in voting and other political activities. However,

studies using the U.S. Census and other survey data consistently find that voting-age Asian Americans register and vote at rates lower than their counterparts in other major U.S. racial and ethnic groups; their participation rates in political activities other than voting are also often lower than (non-Latino) whites and blacks. This seeming paradox—high average socioeconomic status and low average rates of political participation—among Asian Americans leads many to suspect that education and family income may have less or a different impact on the participation of Asian Americans than on other groups of Americans.

Indicators of socioeconomic class matter, for they imply greater access to resources such as money, time, knowledge, and civic skills that facilitate political participation. However, for a majority immigrant and relatively affluent nonwhite population such as Asian Americans, educational attainment may not be directly translated into political knowledge and skills if education is received mostly from non-U.S. and non-Anglophone institutions. Neither is family income as reliable an indicator of wealth for Asians as for average Americans because of the multiple sources of household income and expenses that transcend national borders. Interethnic diversity and experiences of racial marginalization may further complicate the translation of socioeconomic achievements into political resources.

Research focusing only on the voting behavior of Asians supports the idea that persons with better education and higher family income are also more likely to register, to report voting in elections, and to participate more frequently in activities other than voting, including writing or phoning a government official, donating money to a campaign, signing a petition for a political cause, taking part in a protest or demonstration, and other types of activities. In general, education matters more for voting than for registration or other types of political activity, whereas family income matters more for activities other than voting than for registration or voting. However, for political activities such as voter registration and voting that require citizenship, residency, and other prerequisites, these legal factors are often more potent than socioeconomic status to explain the gap in participation rates between Asian and other racial and ethnic groups.



Election official Henry Tung helps Kiyoko Nishi drop her vote into the ballot box at a polling station at St. Paul's Lutheran Church in Monterey Park, Los Angeles County, November 6, 2012. (Frederic J. Brown/AFP/Getty Images)

Because as many as three-fourths of voting-age Asian Americans were born outside of the United States, a potential voter must petition for U.S. citizenship through naturalization to become eligible to register to vote, which then qualifies one to cast a ballot in a U.S. election. In the November 2008 elections, for example, 69 percent of Asians as compared to 98 percent of (non-Latino) whites and 94 percent of blacks among voting-age persons were U.S. citizens by birth or by naturalization. As high as 59 percent among Asians, but only three percent among whites and 5 percent among blacks, acquired U.S. citizenship by naturalization. Whereas only one-third among voting-age Asians reported voting in the election, as compared to 65 percent among voting-age whites and 61 percent among voting-age blacks, as high as 86 percent of Asians who were registered to vote reported voting in the election—a rate that is only four

percentage points below the white rate and three percentage points below the national average. By taking into consideration the legal barriers to voting participation, Asian Americans are found to participate in the voting process at nearly as high a rate as other Americans.

The impact of race on voting and other participation goes beyond the subjective group identity of being racially Asian. A defining difference between the meanings of being Asian and other Americans is the former's group image of being perpetual foreigners and hence the perception by some of Asian Americans as illegitimate outsiders in American mainstream politics. Generally, about one in three Asian Americans report having some experience of discrimination based on their race or ethnicity. Whereas this negative experience may alienate individuals and hurt the social and political adaption of immigrants, it may also serve as a source of political mobilization by raising the

group consciousness of U.S.-born Asians. Although experience with discrimination does not exhibit a strong relationship with voting registration among citizens and voting among the registered, both men and women who experienced discrimination are slightly more likely to vote and they are significantly more likely to be more active in activities beyond voting, everything else being equal.

Research done mostly with white American women demonstrates that, despite much improvement in American women's status in employment, education, and family life in the twentieth century, women continue to face different role expectations than men. They were told to focus on their responsibilities to home and family and stay away from politics and public life. As a result, they are found to be less likely to develop an interest in politics and a sense of political efficacy than their male counterparts. They show less knowledge than men about the federal government and national politics. They do not participate as much in political discussions and do not run for office for it is not deemed appropriate for women.

In addition to differences in gender role expectations, another reason limiting women's full participation in politics is the disparity in opportunity structure created by the differential treatment of men and women in the framing and interpretation of laws, the regulations written to carry them out, and in the enforcement of both. Although most overt forms of sex discrimination in employment, access to housing, and educational opportunities were made illegal in the United States under a number of laws enacted since the 1960s, subtle forms of discrimination still exist. Many women face additional constraints on their ability to participate politically because of situational factors, such as the demands of family life, and structural factors, such as lack of education, direct experience or mentoring, organization, and money.

American women of Asian descent are subjected to the biases in socialization and social structure in U.S. society that are similar to those experienced by white American women, but their gendered experiences may be different from white women because of factors related to race, nativity, class, ethnicity and the interlocking nature of these systems of power. Like Asian men in America, Asian American women have

historically been forced to confront a system permeated with pervasive and covert forms of racism, sexism, and colonization that limited their opportunities for social, economic, and political participation. This common experience of racialization, of being treated as neither black nor white, nor woman nor man, but of the foreign "other," may help undermine the gender gaps among Asian Americans. Compared to white immigrant women, Asian immigrant women might have special socialization disadvantages in the United States because they mostly originated from cultures in which the proper roles and opportunities for women were especially restricted. They may also be less likely to be connected to U.S. social networks such as labor unions and church organizations. Like other women of color, Asian American women have often been relegated to lower class status through exploitation, segregation, and subordination because of the interactive effect of racism and patriarchy in a competitive capitalist economy. Nonetheless, their being perceived as intricately connected to an "enemy" homeland in Asia may set apart the experience of Asian American women from other American women because of the loyalty question.

Examining voter registration and voter turnout among those who were eligible in the November 2008 elections, Asian women registered and voted at the same rates as Asian men—56 percent among citizens and 86 percent among registered voters. The lack of a gender gap in voting participation among Asians is unique when compared to black, Latino, and white patterns where women tend to register and vote at higher rates than their male counterparts. However, Asian American women's rates of registration and voting among eligible persons are also the lowest of all groups of women. Results from a post-2000 election survey (PNAAPS) show significant gender gaps in participation beyond voting. Sixty-one percent of the women and 50 percent of the men in the survey do not report engagement in any type of political activity beyond voting in the prior four years. Twenty-four percent of the men and 20 percent of the women are involved in at least one type, and 25 percent of the men and 18 percent of the women in at least two types of political activity beyond voting. Neither are Asian American men and women equally likely to participate

in political activity that supports an Asian American candidate or issue concern. Men more frequently engage in that type of political activity, with 23 percent of the men and 17 percent of the women reporting activity in support of an Asian American candidate or issue during the previous four years.

In sum, although Asian American women now vote in proportions equal to men, they are less likely to become politically active in areas beyond voting than Asian men and they are less likely to register and vote than other groups of American women with comparable backgrounds. Asian American women's low rates of voting participation may be linked to their unique socialization and social network challenges. Their lower levels of political participation beyond voting than their male counterparts may be linked less to women's lower levels of political interest and knowledge than their receiving lower levels of contact by political parties and individuals associated with political mobilization efforts such as requesting to donate money, attend meeting or rallies, or contacting newspaper/TV/radio station editors.

Pei-te Lien

See also Political Representation; Voting Patterns

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Ghadar

On November 1, 1913, the Ghadar Party issued its first weekly publication of *Ghadar* (Mutiny) from its headquarters in San Francisco. Circulated across the world, the anticolonial tract declared itself from the outset to be the exiled enemy of the British Raj. The paper boldly declared that, "today there begins in foreign lands, but in our country's language, a war against the English Raj . . . What is our name? Ghadar. What is our work? Ghadar. Our name and our work are identical."

By publishing an anticolonial perspective of British rule in India, *Ghadar* sought to produce knowledge that would counter British claims of benevolent rule and Indian loyalty and, perhaps more importantly, to mobilize Indians across the world to participate in a revolutionary movement to overthrow British rule and to build a strong and independent Indian nation. In less than a year, the Ghadar Party was circulating 2,500 copies of *Ghadar* in Gurumukhi, the Punjabi script, and 2,200 in Urdu each week. Within six months the paper had reached China, Japan, Manila, Sumatra, Fiji, Java, Singapore, Egypt, Paris, South Africa, South America, British East Africa, and Panama and was quickly banned in India.

Several themes dominated *Ghadar*. First, the paper urged Indians to cease military service and argued that the willingness of Indians to serve in the British Indian Army contributed to British exploitation and imperial expansion. Related to this, *Ghadar* argued that Britain's taxation policies in India financed its imperial conquest and expansion and that Britain used these taxes, as well as Indian soldiers, to perpetuate and enforce British imperialism and thus to oppress people across the globe. *Ghadar* routinely provided statistics of British exploitation of India including high rates of taxation, the major loss of lives taken by famines and droughts, and the British Indian government's neglect of education and public health to highlight a third major theme, namely, that India's impoverishment was because of imperial economic policy and that the wealth of Britain was built on the labor and exploitation of its colonies. Evoking what Har Dayal, the first editor of *Ghadar*, referred to as the "British Vampire," *Ghadar* insisted that, rather than bring

prosperity and opportunity to India, British economic policies drained India's wealth out of the subcontinent.

Ghadar advocated revolution rather than constitutional reform, and its writers argued that self-rule would not come to India by following the lead of Indian moderates who appealed to constitutional channels but through armed revolution. Rejecting colonial promises that Indians would be given their independence when they were deemed "fit" for self-government, *Ghadar* urged Indians to *take* their freedom immediately, rather than waiting for the British to grant them independence in some unspecified future. Finally, *Ghadar* sought to create a politicized Indian public by connecting geographically dispersed Indian migrants through a shared national identity and a common revolutionary program that transcended caste, religious, and regional difference. According to the writers of *Ghadar*, the formation of a national identity and the realization of a revolutionary armed struggle against British imperialism were critical to self-determination in India, as well as the most effective means to combat racism abroad and advance the Ghadar Party's struggle for racial equality and justice across the globe.

Seema Sohi

See also Ghadar Party

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Ghadar Party

The Ghadar Party was the most revolutionary group of Indians to organize against the British Empire outside of India during the early twentieth century. The

emergence of the party can be traced to the spring of 1912, when a group of Indian mill workers near Astoria, Oregon, known as the Pacific Coast Hindi Association, began meeting every Sunday to discuss issues ranging from economic exploitation to racial discrimination in the Pacific Northwest. These meetings were the catalyst for the emergence of the Ghadar Party's revolutionary anticolonial politics, which exhorted Indians to rise up against the British Empire through armed revolution.

A coalition of Punjabi migrant workers and Bengali and Punjabi intellectuals and students, the Ghadar Party theorized racial oppression abroad and colonial subjugation in India as inextricably linked. In less than a year, the party claimed to have thousands of members and dozens of branches along the North American Pacific Coast, including Vancouver, Portland, Astoria, St. John, Sacramento, Stockton, and Berkeley, as well as in Panama, Manila, and Shanghai. The branches of the party were linked by the circulation of its weekly publication, *Ghadar*, from the party's headquarters in San Francisco. Although the party's leaders were Hindu, Sikh, and Muslim—who routinely emphasized secularism and unity despite linguistic, religious, and regional differences—about 90 percent of its membership was comprised of Punjabi Sikh males, nearly half of who were veterans of the British Indian army and whose loyalty and service to the empire was presumed by British officials.

What united these seemingly disparate groups was their common belief that they had been pushed out of India because of colonialism and now experienced a shared sense of humiliation as degraded colonial subjects across the world. The Ghadar Party was an exilic creation that arose out of the crucible of anti-Indian racism in the United States and colonial domination in India. The Ghadar Party's goal of an independent India was inseparable from attaining racial equality abroad. Racial discrimination and violence in North America produced an anticolonial consciousness among the migrant workers and shaped the trajectory of the party's politics in ways fundamentally different from nationalists in India, specifically by exceeding visions of an anticolonial nationalism solely focused on territorial politics *in* India. The Ghadar Party articulated both a nationalist politics, aimed at establishing a

free Indian nation-state, and a transnational politics of antiracism, aimed at attacking racially discriminatory immigration and naturalization laws and land-owning policies in North America and in white settler territories including Canada, Australia, and South Africa.

With the outbreak of World War I, the Ghadar Party launched three major revolutionary missions aimed to overthrow British rule: the February 1915 uprising in India, the *Annie Larsen/Maverick* expeditions, and the Siam-Burma plan. Heeding the call of their leaders, who proclaimed that the need for British troops in Europe presented an opportune moment to organize uprisings in both India and British imperial outposts, between 1914 and 1918, the Ghadar Party mobilized nearly 8,000 Indians from North and South America as well as East Asia to return to India as revolutionaries determined to overthrow British rule.

Anticipating their return, British officials arrested hundreds of returning Ghadarites before they ever disembarked from the ships that carried them home, dealing a severe blow to the party's plans. Those who were not detained quickly made contact with Indian revolutionaries across the country and fixed February 21, 1915, as the day that simultaneous uprisings would erupt across India. The uprisings would center on convincing Indian soldiers to strike against British officials first, thereby inspiring the masses to rise up and overthrow British rule. Arguing that Indian military service perpetuated the status of Indians as slaves to the empire and pawns used to slaughter the world's colonized peoples and reinforce the brutality of British rule, Ghadarites visited military cantonments to recruit soldiers. Additionally, they prepared bombs, gathered arms, produced flags, and collected materials for destroying railways and telegraph wires, looting treasuries, and distributing arms and ammunitions. Their plans, however, never came to fruition because of the workings of British intelligence.

In January 1915, the Ghadar Party joined forces with German officials and, under the auspices of the Berlin India Committee, financed the purchase of two ships in California, the *Annie Larsen* and the *Maverick*, both of which were seized before fulfilling their plan to carry over 8,000 rifles, 4 million cartridges, and hundreds of revolvers to India. During the spring of 1915, the Party focused its efforts on the Siam-

Burma plan, with the goal of converting the Indians in Siam to the cause of freedom, training them in military warfare, and then invading India from Burma. The Siam-Burma plan, however, never materialized.

Although Ghadarites believed their successful efforts in recruiting Indians in the United States would generate the same kind of enthusiasm in India, they discovered that India was not as ripe for revolution as they had hoped. Leaders of the Indian National Congress, priests of several important Sikh *gurdwaras* (temples), and many nationalist leaders in India strongly denounced the party. Although Ghadarites in North America successfully highlighted the interconnectedness of colonialism, racial subjugation, and economic exploitation to mobilize thousands along the Pacific Coast, they were unable to convince their countrymen in India to join them.

The revolutionary aims of the Ghadar Party contributed to the rise of British counterinsurgency across the world. British authorities viewed the party as the most dangerous threat to their rule in India during the World War I and, in response to their anxiety over the return of thousands of Indians from abroad with newfound political ideals and aspirations, passed a series of repressive measures in India between 1914 and 1916 including the Ingress into India Ordinance (September 1914) and the Defense of India Act (March 1915). Thus, British officials used the return of Ghadarites to implement legislation that gave the British Indian government special powers to deal with revolutionary threats during the war and paved the way for a new wave of repressive laws in India. In the United States, the party was severely weakened by the incarceration of much of its leadership after the 1918 Hindu-Conspiracy trial in San Francisco.

The Punjabi workers who comprised the rank-and-file of the party's membership carried the Ghadar ideology beyond World War I and led the party's second incarnation in the 1920s with strong communist affiliations. Following the success of the Bolshevik revolution, Ghadarites turned to Moscow for political training, theoretical guidance, and moral and material support and the party sent batches of trainees to Moscow and India to continue organizing against British rule, only now with a strong communist bent. This turn to communism meant that both the U.S. and British

states continued to keep a close eye on the party, which continued its political work in the United States into the 1940s.

Seema Sohi

See also Ghadar

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Glass Ceiling Debate

Despite being heralded as the successful “model minority,” many Asian Americans encounter a “glass ceiling” phenomenon in which they find it increasingly difficult to attain promotions or pay associated with the highest ranks in their fields, despite excellent educational credentials and workplace performance. The glass ceiling metaphor originally focused on women and gender discrimination but has expanded to include racial and ethnic minorities, both women and men. When applied specifically to Asian Americans, the

terms “bamboo ceiling” or “sticky floor” have been coined to indicate the particular forms of blocked career mobility and individual, cultural, and organizational barriers confronting Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders. These particular barriers often relate to stereotypical notions that Asian Americans are passive, lack leadership ability, do not speak English well, have technical but not creative skills, and are overly group-oriented.

Official data sources, such as the 2010 United States Census, consistently show that Asian Americans have achieved notable levels of socioeconomic success. For example, among the major racial and ethnic groups, Asian Americans have the highest rates of college degree attainment (over 52 percent are college graduates as opposed to the national average of under 30 percent). Asian American households have the highest median income, and employed Asian Americans have the highest rates of working in a “high skill” occupation (executive, professional, technical, or senior management). Statistics like these form much of the basis for Asian Americans being portrayed as the successful model minority who have not experienced discrimination.

Nonetheless, a deeper look into these statistics reveals that Asian Americans are significantly underrepresented as corporate executives (although overrepresented in professional and technical positions). Studies also show that whereas Asian Americans are the most educated of all racial groups, they frequently earn less income per year of education than do whites. Thus, their high levels of educational attainment do not necessarily translate into high pay. Furthermore, although Asian American households have the highest median income, on a per capita basis, Asian Americans still trail whites in terms of income attainment. Finally, data from a 2005 Gallup Organization poll found that 31 percent of Asian Americans surveyed reported incidents of discrimination at work, the largest percentage of any racial or ethnic group.

Glass Ceiling Mechanisms and Barriers

Glass ceiling barriers can be direct and overt, such as blatant racial and ethnic prejudice on the part of executives, supervisors, or managers, but they can also be

more subtle, indirect, covert and, hence, more difficult to recognize and confront. Scholars describe how glass ceiling barriers can arise from “homosocial reproduction,” or how people instinctively are more comfortable around people who are similar to them in terms of race, gender, social class, and other markers of social difference. In many workplaces, those who make hiring and promotion decisions still tend to be disproportionately upper-middle class white males. Therefore, based on the idea of homosocial reproduction, these managers and supervisors are more comfortable around others who look and act like them or with whom they share similar backgrounds and identities. As a result, when others who are outside of this normative group try to join their ranks, there is an unconscious or even conscious effort to exclude them or to relegate them to second-class status. This type of exclusion can occur through different mechanisms that produce glass ceilings for Asian Americans.

Outreach and Recruitment. Many companies consciously or unconsciously bypass Asian Americans during outreach and recruitment of potential employees. This is frequently based on the implicit assumption that Asian Americans do not fit their image of a dynamic and charismatic executive or corporate leader.

Institutional Tracking. As previously mentioned, Asian Americans are disproportionately overrepresented in professional and technical jobs, such as engineers, scientists, or medical doctors. These jobs tend to pay well up to a certain point, but as studies show, they can also quickly reach dead ends that have no promotion ladders or career tracks leading to supervisory or executive positions. Such jobs have even been called “white collar sweatshop” occupations and are heavily reliant on Asian American labor and expertise but offer little promise for advancement. Many supervisors or managers see Asian American workers in these occupations as serious, focused, and proficient workers but bypass them when considering promotions to managers, supervisors, or executives.

Access to Informal Networks. Asian American workers can also have a hard time penetrating the informal “old boy networks” that exist in many occupational settings. These social networks can exist inside formal work environments (i.e., chatting around

the water cooler or between cubicles) or outside the office (i.e., drinks after work or playing golf). Such informal interactions are important because, as studies show, they are where social bonds and trust between workers and their superiors can develop and where informal mentoring can occur, along with the exchange of important information that can help career advancement. Inclusion in these networks is further hampered by the stereotype that all Asians are foreigners and less likely to participate in informal interactions based on intimate cultural and social knowledge.

Alleged Deficiencies in Skills. Supervisors and managers sometimes think that Asian American workers do not possess the language, communication, or leadership skills required for promotion. Although some Asian Americans are skilled at technical aspects of their jobs, their superiors may judge them not to have the “soft skills” related to personality, attitude, and behavior that would give them the competitive edge and vision associated with supervisors and executives. Within this scenario, Asian Americans are sometimes hurt by cultural traditions that emphasize the importance and success of the group rather than of individuals, as many Asian Americans are raised and socialized to not draw attention to themselves and to work diligently and cooperatively in the background. As such, it can be common for Asian Americans to remain quiet in work meetings, or to undersell themselves and more readily acknowledge the contribution of others. Although such tendencies have value in certain settings, they generally go against the norm in the American corporate environment, where individuals are frequently rewarded for highlighting their individual expertise and successes.

Different Standards of Performance. At times, special or different standards of evaluating employee performance or biased rating and testing systems are applied to Asian American workers. Some of these different standards are based on individual subjectivity, bias, arbitrariness, or preference on the part of managers and supervisors when they evaluate Asian American employees. At other times, the biases are inherent in the standards themselves. As an example, at one time, the San Francisco Police Department required all candidates to be at least 5'8" tall. A group of Asian American candidates brought suit against

the police department alleging this requirement to be discriminatory and won their case, leading the police department to drop that requirement.

Ways to Overcome the Glass Ceiling

In 2009, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC, the federal agency in charge of enforcing employment non-discrimination laws) issued a report on workplace discrimination against Asian Americans in federal government jobs. The report recognized and elaborated on many of the glass ceiling barriers mentioned above. The EEOC also described the following recommendations on how such discrimination can be alleviated within the federal government.

- Develop strong leadership and personal commitment to diversity among agency leadership from the top down to the rank and file.
- Ensure that supervisor/manager assessments of their Asian American employees are fair, objective, and free from cultural biases.
- Ensure that the EEOC agency does its job properly in being accessible to Asian American employees who have a complaint and in properly investigating such complaints.
- Collaborate with Asian American community organizations and leaders to encourage and recruit Asian Americans to work in the federal government.
- Actively support Asian American employee groups that have the potential to foster greater worker loyalty, productivity, and satisfaction.
- Provide Asian American federal employees who have documented skill deficiencies the opportunities and resources to address them and to improve their skills and qualifications.

Although written specifically for the federal government, these recommendations can also be applied in the private sector and in corporate settings to address ongoing glass ceiling barriers that limit Asian American workers from attaining promotion and pay raises.

Miliann Kang

See also Indian Women in America

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Golf, Asian and Asian American

The current state of Asian and Asian American golf provides an excellent lens through which to understand an aspect of early twenty-first century Asian America life. Although the game's most popular and visible figures are American born, much of its strength and longevity lies in the migration of golfers to America from various parts of Asia. Some of these recent arrivals have chosen to settle in America, whereas others continue to move back and forth between the United States and various Asian locales.

Tiger Woods's arrival on the world golf stage in the mid-1990s was supposed to usher in a new generation of African American golfers. It did not. But his athletic style of play and his strong cultural presence did influence a generation of young golfers from across the world. Although Woods has been credited with blurring the color line between black and white in golf, his mother's Thai roots and his own openness about his multiethnic background makes him central to a conversation about Asian American golf. His influence can particularly be seen on two young Asian American golfers: Michelle Wie and Anthony Kim.

When the Hawaiian-born Wie turned professional at the age of 16, she seemed poised to follow the Woods model of child prodigy turned successful



Y. E. Yang of South Korea celebrates after winning the 91st PGA Championship at the Hazeltine National Golf Club in Chaska, Minnesota, August 16, 2009. Tiger Woods is in the background. (AP Photo/Charlie Neibergall)

professional golfer. At the age of 10, she qualified for the Women's U.S. Amateur Public Links Championship. At 12, she became the youngest player to qualify for a Ladies Professional Golfers Association (LPGA) event. And at 14, she played in the final group of the Kraft Nabisco Championship, one of the major tournaments on the women's tour.

When Wie turned professional, and signed endorsement contracts with Nike and Sony, many in the golf and corporate worlds assumed that she would transform the women's game in the way Woods had transformed the game in general. However, Wie's ascendance has not nearly been as meteoric, with plenty of starts and stops on and off the course. Although she did deliver on some of her early promise, winning twice on the LPGA tour in the 2009–2010

season, as a point of comparison, Woods won 15 tournaments on the PGA tour in his first four years.

Anthony Kim, who like Wie is a child of Korean immigrants, had success early after turning professional. Kim was born in Los Angeles and attended the University of Oklahoma. In his first start in a PGA event, Kim tied for second. In 2008, Kim won both the Wachovia Championship and the AT&T Championship, two tournaments that are known for their strong fields. In 2010, he won the Shell Houston Open.

Although Wie and Kim have played well and are strong commercial draws, there are a number of Asian-born golfers who, after Woods, have done quite a bit to change the competitive and social landscape of both the men's and women's game, both of which have traditionally been populated by players from Europe and the United States. Golfers from South Korea and India have had a particularly important presence.

South Korea

From Seoul to Los Angeles to Queens, Koreans and Korean Americans have taken to golf in large numbers. Similar to the turn to classical music instruction among Asians and Asian Americans, golf is an aspirational sport in which families can demonstrate their upward mobility by devoting time and money to their children getting better at the game.

The combination of golf's presence in Korean cultural life, along with a few key players, has radically shaped a generation of golfers and allowed them to become a vital force in global golf.

When Y. E. Yang defeated Tiger Woods at the 2009 PGA Championship, his victory was important in more than one regard. Woods is known as the best closer in the game for good reason. In the 14 major championships Woods has won, he was atop the leaderboard going into the final day of play. That streak ended when Yang came from three shots back to defeat Woods.

In this win, Yang did something no one had done before against Woods in a major championship. He also became the first South Korean golfer to win a major in the men's game. But perhaps most important, Yang's victory was symbolic of the maturation of

Korean golf on America shores. It was a process that had started years before.

Before Yang's breakout victory, K. J. Choi had been the most visible male South Korean player. Choi started off in Korea as a competitive power lifter before turning to golf. For much of the 1990s, he played in Asia, and started playing full time on the PGA Tour in 2000. Since then, he has won eight times in the United States.

Although Yang and Choi have greatly increased South Korean visibility in American golf, one has to look at the women's game to understand just how much South Korean golfers have reshaped the golf landscape.

When Se Ri Pak won the Women's U.S. Open in 1998, she inspired an entire generation of Korean and Korean American golfers to follow in her footsteps. Since winning that first major, Pak has won three more major championships. And when she has not been winning, there have been plenty of other Korean and Korean American golfers who have. Inbee Park, Christina Kim, Angela Park, Jiyai Shin, Seon Hwa Lee, and Jane Park, among many others, can now be seen week in and week out in the professional game.

The success and dominance of these women in golf, along with players from other parts of Asia, has made the game exciting but has also led to backlash.

In 2008, the LPGA passed an English-only policy, which would force all players to speak English in their interactions with the press and tournament sponsors. Under the policy, the players would have to pass an English proficiency test to continue playing on the tour. The LPGA argued that the policy decision was a way of achieving linguistic continuity.

The response to the policy was swift. The move was widely interpreted as the LPGA's worry that a certain Asian invasion was diluting the product of women's golf in the United States. In addition, the legality of such a policy was questioned. Under heavy criticism, the policy was soon revoked.

Although the success of Korean and Korean American golf owes something to the economic growth of Korea in the past several decades, the growth of Indian golfers owes something to both India's current economic growth and British colonial presence starting in the eighteenth century.

India

When the British colonized India, they brought tonic to ward off the malaria, and gin, cricket, and golf to pass the time. When it opened in 1829, the Royal Calcutta Golf Club became the first course in the world outside the British Isles. But in the years since, it has been cricket that has stuck and gained widespread popularity throughout South Asia.

Now, nearly 200 years after the Royal first opened, golf is finally having a major spike in popularity in India. The Asian Tour has two-dozen Indians playing on it and now makes two stops in India; private golf clubs from Bangalore to Mumbai have opened their doors for junior programs, and slowly, public courses are beginning to open.

The increased popularity is owed partly to India's massive economic growth in the past two decades, much of it coming in the form of a widening middle class. Golf does, after all, take some money to play. But the popularity can also be traced to a group of golfers, with varying connections to India, who have made their names primarily on the PGA Tour. The stories and careers of Vijay Singh, Jeev Milkha Singh, Daniel Chopra, and Arjun Atwal tell us plenty about the movement of Indians across the globe and the return of golf to India.

Vijay Singh was not born in India, did not grow up there, nor is he a frequent visitor. Starting in 1878, the British imported indentured workers from India to work the sugarcane fields in Fiji. After their terms were over, the Indians had a choice to go back or to stay. Most stayed, including Singh's ancestors.

As a teenager, Singh quickly became the best golfer on the island, and set his sights beyond. His first stop was Australia. In 1982, he played in small tournaments, but soon thereafter was kicked out for running up phone bills at the various courses where he played. He was, it seemed, homesick. He then moved on to the Asian Tour, where in 1984, he won his first professional tournament in Malaysia. His confidence, cockiness, and hard work as a teenager in Fiji had paid off. He was on his way.

But in 1985, an event occurred that has radically shaped his life and legacy. Playing in the second round of the Indonesia Open in Jakarta, Singh was accused of

improving his score by a stroke before signing his scorecard. The Asian Tour judged that he had cheated and suspended him indefinitely from the tour. In the years since, Singh has maintained his innocence, although those who were around him at the tournament contend otherwise. Whatever the truth, the accusation of cheating, which in sport is the cardinal sin, has followed him like a black cloud ever since.

Disqualified from tours in a large chunk of the Eastern Hemisphere, Singh took a job as a club pro in Borneo. After working there for a couple of years, he did his time on a tour in Africa, winning the Nigerian Open, and then migrated north, winning in a Swedish tour event. In 1989, Singh won in Europe; four years later, he started playing in the United States, where he has made his home since.

On the PGA tour, Singh has won over 30 times, including three major championships. His best year was 2004 when Singh won nine tournaments, including a major, and dethroned Tiger Woods atop the World Rankings.

If Vijay's family left India in the nineteenth century, another Singh (no relation) is one of the India's most successful homegrown products. Self-taught athleticism and an independent streak run through Jeev Milkha Singh's family. In a cricket-crazy country, his father Milkha Singh represented India in the 400 meters in running at the 1960 Olympics in Rome.

Jeev concentrated on golf starting in his early teens. After playing in junior tournaments throughout the world, he came to America in 1992. Two years and a Division II title later, Jeev left Abilene Christian University in Texas and started playing on the Asian Tour. Although he won consistently through the 1990s, he made his breakthrough in 2006 and 2008, when he won in both Europe and Asia.

When Jeev Singh was a junior golfer in India, he played often with Daniel Chopra. Chopra was born in Stockholm to a Swedish mother and an Indian father who met as students in London. At the age of seven, after his parents divorced, Chopra moved to India to live with his grandparents. They were members of the Delhi Golf Club and introduced young Daniel to the game. He had a place to practice and play.

After spending many years on the Asian and European Tours, Chopra won the Ginn sur Mer Classic in

2007 for his first PGA victory. And then in early 2008, he won the Mercedes-Benz Championship in Hawaii, the biggest win of his career, in a tough field comprised exclusively of winners on the PGA Tour from the previous year.

Taken together, these three golfers, along with Arjun Atwal, who grew up playing golf at the Royal, and after winning on both the Asian and European tours, had a breakout win in 2010 on the PGA Tour, reflect the diversity of Indian golf. In addition, the four players, particularly Vijay Singh, have contributed to further diversifying the look of the game in the United States.

Japan, Taiwan, and Beyond

Although Asian American, Korean, and Indian golfers have been the most visible in the sport, there are plenty of other players impacting the game.

Japan, which hosts a strong tour where many of these players have played, has two young golfers making themselves known. There is the young phenomenon Ryo Ishikawa, who has been extremely successful at home and is beginning to play more in the United States. Although Ishikawa represents a promise for the future, Ai Mizamoto has cashed in on her skills already. She has won on the LPGA Tour several times and along the way taking over the number one spot in the world rankings.

Since the retirement of Annika Sorenstam and Lorena Ochoa, the two most dominant golfers of the past 20 years, several different golfers have been fighting for the top spot, including the Taiwanese golfer Yani Tseng, who has already won three major championships, all by the very young age of 25.

This has not been an exhaustive list of every Asian and Asian American golfer. Rather, the golfers discussed have been used to sketch out the current state of golf and to consider the larger implications of Asian and Asian American presence in the sport. What are these implications?

First, the combination of Asian American golfers and the recent migration of golfers from Asia is reshaping how we understand Asian American cultural life. Second, with these golfers joining the upper echelons of professional golf, along with Europeans and

Americans, golf has come to represent a top-heavy globalization. The expense of becoming good at the game will probably prevent a genuine democratizing of the game. But that does not mean that the game has not changed in important, exciting ways in light of the success of Asian and Asian American golfers.

Sameer Pandya

See also Korean and Korean American Golf; Woods, Tiger

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Gong, Lue Gim (c. 1860–1925)

Horticulturalist Lue Gim Gong's hardy, frost-resistant orange brought him national fame. Estimates of its contributions to the Florida's citrus industry soared into the millions of dollars, and his achievements were honored in the Florida Pavilion at two World's Fairs: Chicago in 1933, New York in 1940.

Born around 1860 in Lung On village, Toishan District, an area renowned for its oranges, Lue learned how to cross-pollinate and graft from his mother before leaving for America as a boy of 10 or 12. He landed in San Francisco, then crossed the continent to North Adams, Massachusetts, becoming one of 125 Chinese laborers in C.T. Sampson's shoe factory. At the Sunday school organized to "Christianize" and "citizenize" the Chinese, Lue was singled out for special attention by his teacher, Fanny Burlingame, a brilliant mathematician and botanist who was prevented by ill health from pursuing a career.

By the early 1880s, he was baptized and a member of the Burlingame household, sleeping in the bedroom adjoining Fanny's but working without salary as a gardener and stable hand. Then, diagnosed with consumption and given only a year to live in 1886, Lue decided to return to his family. His queue cut, he was taunted as a *mo been yun*, "man without a queue." He alienated villagers by preaching Christian doctrine and Western

hygiene, and when he ran away from a marriage his family had arranged for him, Lue's name was struck from the clan genealogy. Years later he sent a letter of apology and \$500 for his betrothed, but there was no reply, and his name has never been restored to the clan genealogy.

To circumvent the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act, Fanny sent Lue enough money to buy merchandise so he could enter the country posing as a merchant and join her in DeLand, Florida, where she was wintering. For the next 16 years, the two wintered on property she purchased in DeLand, summered at her family home in North Adams, and Lue is in the official Burlingame genealogy as Fanny's adopted son. His acceptance by Fanny's family died with her in 1903, however. In an agreement worked out by the deacon of the First Baptist Church, Fanny's sisters gave Lue \$12,000 and the DeLand property as compensation for decades of unsalaried service—but on condition that he leave North Adams forever.

Motivated by a severe freeze during his first winter in Florida, Lue had been trying since 1888 to develop an orange that would withstand sudden cold snaps. He'd begun by pollinating Harts Late with pollen from what he believed to be a Mediterranean Sweet tree. "One orange containing fifteen to eighteen seeds resulted from the crossing. From these seeds about twelve trees were raised, no two of which proved alike. [The] fruit seemed to be such an improvement on Harts Late that Mr. Lue budded fifteen trees with this variety in one side and Harts Late [Tardiff] on the other. About thirty other trees were budded with this variety on one side and other varieties on the other."

By 1909 Lue was ready to test the new orange he'd developed. Good sized and full of juice, the fruit was hardy, enduring frosts with no apparent damage. It was also capable of hanging on a tree through the rainy summer, allowing it to be held off the market until oranges were scarce and the highest price could be secured. Growers hailed the Lue Gim Gong orange as the year-round orange Florida needed to become competitive with the California citrus industry. In 1911, the same year the orange won the Pomological Society's Wilder Silver Medal, the prestigious Glen St. Mary Nurseries contracted with Lue for the right to propagate and sell finished trees.

All he ever received from the Nursery was \$200. So when Lue developed a grapefruit that could stand temperatures 10 to 15 degrees lower than ordinary varieties, he refused to sell any rights to it, giving away the budwood instead. He also did not market a unique perfumed grapefruit that he perfected. The crop from his grove, in its prime, should have generated an income of around \$6,000 in a good year. But distributors cheated him. Moreover, as his fame spread, visitors to his grove numbered in the thousands. Welcoming all, Lue proudly showed them his grove, conducted a brief service in a prayer garden he had created, and then gave them his fruit.

When accidents and deteriorating health made it impossible for Lue to work the grove properly, friends from North Adams who wintered in DeLand tried to help him, as did readers of the *Florida Grower* whose editor repeatedly asked growers to send him money. The cash raised saved Lue's property, but his spirit was broken, and his only companions were his animals: a pair of horses and a rooster that he called his children.

When he died on June 3, 1925, hundreds attended his funeral, and the town's leading citizens served as his pallbearers. Newspapers across the country published lengthy obituaries praising his horticultural accomplishments. That citrus authorities now consider the Lue Gim Gong orange indistinguishable from the Valencia in no way diminishes his achievement: At the DeLand Historical Society, Lue is honored with a bust in an outdoor pavilion, and his grove is depicted in a mural at the Volusia County Court House.

Ruthanne Lum McCunn

See also Chinese Exclusion Acts (1882–1943)

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Gonzalez, N.V.M. (1915–1999)

Nestor Vicente Madali Gonzalez is a transnational literary figure primarily recognized for his works in English that focus on rural life in the Philippines, though he also produced works in Filipino. His oeuvre is an interesting example of the intersection of Philippine literature in English and Filipino American literature. The history of Philippine literature in English and the hegemony of English language are tied to the colonial relationship between the Philippines and the United States. After the United States acquired the Philippines as a result of the Spanish-American War of 1898, the Philippines remained under U.S. colonial rule, excepting the Japanese occupation during World War II. Some of the awards Gonzalez received throughout his career reflect this interconnected history between the Philippines and the United States. The Philippines was designated a commonwealth of the United States in 1935 and in 1940 Gonzalez was awarded an Honorable Mention in the First Commonwealth Literary Contest for his novel *The Winds of April* (1940).

His early writing career was financially based in the United States through fellowships and teaching positions at American institutions. Gonzalez received three Rockefeller grants, the first in 1949–1950 to study at Stanford University, Kenyon School of English, and Columbia University, the second in 1952 to study and travel to India and the Far East and the third in 1964 to study and travel to Europe. Although he was not a college graduate, he was a life-long academic who wrote, studied, and taught at several institutions in both the Philippines and the United States including the University of the Philippines, University of Santo Tomas, University of Washington, UCLA, and California State University, Hayward (CSUH, now California State University, East Bay). He was designated an emeritus professor of English in 1982 at CSUH, received an honorary doctorate from the University of the Philippines in 1987 and was the University of the Philippine's International Writer-in-Residence in 1988, and was the 1988–1999 Regents Professor at UCLA. Although much of his time and career were spent in the United States, Gonzalez's imaginary was fixed in the Philippines and his works

are part of the Philippine literary canon. He is a recognized national figure of the Philippines as a winner of and the Cultural Center of the Philippines Award for the Arts in 1990, winner of the Philippine Centennial Award for Literature in 1998, and his novel, *The Bamboo Dancers* (1959), won the Republic Cultural Heritage Award and the Jose Rizal Pro-Patria Award in 1960. Most notably, he was conferred into the Order of National Artists of the Philippines in 1997.

N.V.M. Gonzalez is best known for his production of short stories that provide detailed tableaux of daily life in the Philippines and are often incorporated into Asian American literature courses as examples of Filipino American writing. He produced seven short story collections: *Seven Hills Away* (1947), *Children of the Ash-Covered Loam* (1954), *Look, Stranger, on This Island Now* (1963), *Selected Stories* (1964), *Mindoro and Beyond* (1979), *The Bread of Salt and Other Stories* (1993), and *A Grammar of Dreams and Other Stories* (1997). Of his three novels *The Winds of April* (1940), and *A Season of Grace* (1956) continue his focus on the land and those who work it, whereas *The Bamboo Dancers* (1959) departs to an international scene mimicking Gonzalez's own studies and travels abroad.

Maria Theresa Valenzuela

See also Filipino Americans in World War II; Filipino World War II Veterans

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Gotanda, Philip Kan (1951–)

Philip Kan Gotanda, a third-generation Japanese American, was born in Stockton, California, where his father was a practicing physician. The lure of science was a definite possibility as Gotanda enrolled in UC Santa Barbara and then UC Santa Cruz. However Gotanda's initial interest lay in music. The late 1960s and early 1970s were a time of turmoil and change and Gotanda, guitar in hand, hoped to be a part of the music scene. He was involved with the Asian

American jazz fusion band Hiroshima and even formed a musical group with David Henry Hwang on violin. In the case of these two individuals, music's loss was certainly the theater's gain. Frustrated at not being able to find success in a musical career, Gotanda took a short hiatus to Japan to "find" himself. As Michael Omi explains in his introduction about Gotanda in *Fish Head Soup and Other Plays* (1991), "Like many Sensei who visit Japan, Gotanda came to realize just how much he was not Japanese, a trip to the ancestral homeland only underscored his Americanness." Gotanda decided to enter the Hastings School of Law from where he graduated with a degree in law in 1978. It was when working as a legal aid that he started to turn his attention to writing as a mode of expression. The result was his first play, a musical, *The Avocado Kid or Zen in the Art of Guacamole* (1978). The play with music, lyrics, and text by Gotanda juxtaposed Asian Americana with popular culture and was first staged by the East West Players in Los Angeles in 1978.

The late 1970s was an ideal setting for the exploration of the Asian American experience and the time could not have been better for artistic and creative input. Gotanda had certainly found his niche. He wrote with great enthusiasm: *A Song For a Nisei Fisherman* (1981) was produced by the Asian American Theatre Company, *Dreams of Kitamura* (1983) was soon followed by *The Wash* (1987), which was produced by the Eureka Theatre in San Francisco. The following year saw the Berkeley Repertory Theatre's premier of *Yankee Dawg You Die* (1988). This play offered a humorous yet thought-provoking look at Hollywood and the Asian American actor. It is still very relevant in today's context, as Asian Americans continue to jostle for a rightful place in the "industry."

In 2005, Gotanda published two short plays, *White Male Manifesto* and *Natalie Wood is Dead*, under the heading *Under The Rainbow* (2005). The latter play was an answer to *Yankee Dawg You Die*, wherein the two characters in question, a mother and daughter, were both involved with the entertainment business.

Gotanda has published a prodigious body of theater work. In the 1990s, he published *In the Dominion of Night* (1994), a spoken word performance that Gotanda and his band, The New Orientals, performed

in Royce Hall, UCLA, *Day Standing on Head* (1994), and *Ballad of Yachiyo* (1995), which he based on his aunt whom he never knew and only rarely heard of among his family circle. As the new century dawned, Gotanda turned to reconstruction after World War II in *Sisters Matsumoto* (2000), which premiered at the Seattle Repertory Theatre. This was followed by *The Wind Cries Mary*, loosely based on Henrik Ibsen's *Hedda Gabler* (1890), *Floating Weeds* (2003), *A Fist of Roses* (2003), *Under the Rainbow* (2005), and *Yohen* (2006).

Gotanda like his friend and colleague David Henry Hwang has diversified, using his musical background to good purpose. A symphony by Kent Nagano *Manzanar: An American Story* (2005) with text by Gotanda was performed at Berkeley and UCLA. He is collaborating with the father and son team of John Duykers and Max Gitech Duykers on an opera, *Apricots of Andujar*. In the medium of film, Gotanda wrote the screenplay for *The Wash*, which was based on his play and made into a film by the American Playhouse in 1988 starring Mako, Nobu McCarthy, and Sab Shimono and directed by Michael Toshiyuki Uno. In 1992 Gotanda wrote and directed two short films, *The Kiss* (1992) and *Drinking Tea* (1996). He wrote and directed his first full length feature *Life Tastes Good* (1999) with Sab Shimono, Julia Nickson, and Tamlyn Tomita.

Coming to the more recent present, Gotanda's *After the War* (2007), which focused on the "No, No Boys" after the Japanese internment was produced at the American Conservatory Theater in San Francisco followed two years later by *#5 Angry Red Drum* (2009). Currently, Gotanda is in the process of developing *Hell Screen* adapted from "Jigoku hen" a short story by the acclaimed Japanese short story writer, Ryunosuke Akutagawa. Currently in residence at UC Berkeley, he is working on a play about the original Siamese twins *I Dream of Chang and Eng*.

Ambi Harsha

See also Hwang, David Henry; Nagano, Kent

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Goyal, Jay (1980–)

Jay Goyal is an Indian American politician from the state of Ohio. He was first elected into the Ohio House of Representatives when he was merely 26 years old and served as the majority whip during his second term. Goyal represents the Democratic Party and also his hometown of Mansfield, Ohio.

Goyal grew up in Mansfield, Ohio, and later received his BS in industrial engineering from Northwestern University. After college, Goyal went home and became the vice president of his family's business—Goyal Industries, which was founded by his father. For several years, Goyal worked for the family business and was involved in the daily operation of the manufacturing firm. He worked to expand the size and the scope of the company.

In 2006, when Goyal was 26 years old, he was approached by members of the local Democratic Party encouraging him to run for the seat of the retiring state representative Bill Harnett. Goyal spent the election season knocking on doors and talking candidly about his vision and priorities for the state of Ohio. He was elected for the first time in November 2006 to the Ohio House of Representatives from the 73rd district.

Goyal has won two subsequent reelection bids—one in 2008 and the other in 2010. Since becoming a state representative, Goyal has been a member of the Economic Development, Finance, and Appropriations Committee and the Veterans Affairs Committee. He is also the vice chair of the Faith-based Initiatives, as well as a member of the subcommittee on Agriculture and Development. Notably, during his second term, Goyal served as the majority whip in the 128th Ohio General Assembly. He is also very involved and passionate about a variety of political, albeit nonlegislative committees. For example, he is the cofounder of the Ohio Heartland Young Democrats. He is also the chairman of the Richland County Democrat Party's Membership Enhancement Committee.

Although just an up-and-coming young politician, Goyal has already been widely recognized in his community for his hard work and dedication as state representative. In particular, he was one of the two members of the Ohio House selected by a bipartisan panel to receive a fellowship from the Bowhay

Institute for Legislative Leadership Development. Additionally, he has received an award from the Ohio Civil Rights Commission. Furthermore, he was named the 2009 Legislator of the Year by the Ohio Association of Developmental Disabilities.

In a 2006 interview (right after his election), Goyal was asked about his experience running as a candidate with a South Asian background in a mainly rural, white community. Goyal responded that on top of the challenge of convincing voters that he was a serious and viable candidate (since he was a young newcomer), he also had to prove that he is indeed a member of the community. Specifically, he reiterated his family's story of immigrating to the United States and then starting a business—the story of the “American Dream.”

Jeanette Yih Harvie

See also Goyle, Raj; Haley, Nikki Randhawa; Indian Americans; Jindal, Piyush “Bobby”; Political Representation

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Goyle, Raj (1975–)

Raj Goyle was an Indian American politician from Kansas. He represents the Democratic Party and is a current member of the Kansas House of Representatives. Goyle ran in the 2010 congressional election but lost to Republican Mike Pompeo.

Raj Goyle, or Rajeev Kumar Goyle, was born on June 9, 1975 to parents who immigrated to the United States from India. Goyle grew up in Wichita, Kansas, where his parents run a small clinic. Like many other children, Goyle was a Cub Scout and he participated in many extracurricular activities. Notably, Goyle helped to organize a recycling effort in the local

Wichita community as well as an effort to clean up the Arkansas River in downtown Wichita.

Goyle received a bachelor's degree from Duke University and a JD from Harvard Law School. After the completion of law school, he went to work as a clerk for a federal judge. Goyle's many professional experiences prior to his service in the Kansas House of Representatives include contract attorney, lecturer of American politics at Wichita State University, and one of the founders of a small technology company.

In 2006, Goyle ran for a seat in the Kansas House of Representatives and won. He is currently serving his second term as state representative. A significant piece of legislation that Goyle has helped to pass since the beginning of his terms is the law restricting where Fred Phelps could picket at the funerals of fallen soldiers. He has also supported tax cuts for Kansans, which Goyle believes will create local jobs for all. In the Kansas House of Representatives, Goyle is a member of the judiciary, the taxation, and the Veterans, Military, and Homeland Security Committees.

In the summer of 2010, Raj Goyle won the primary for the Democratic nomination to represent Kansas's 4th district in Congress. His main opponent was the Republican nominee, Mike Pompeo.

During his congressional campaign, Goyle made economic issues his main focus. He is an advocate for keeping “American jobs” at home and he also vowed to protect and create Kansas jobs. In terms of Kansas's troubled aircraft industry, a major difference between Goyle and Pompeo was that although Pompeo had the backing of business, Goyle was backed by the union of aircraft workers. Furthermore, although Goyle's opponent supported tax cuts and deregulation of businesses to create more jobs, Goyle advocated for private/public partnership to protect local Kansas (aircraft) industries. However, even after a hard fought campaign, in which Goyle was able to raise \$1.7 million in terms of campaign funds, he was beaten by Republican Mike Pompeo during November 2010's general elections.

Jeanette Yih Harvie

See also Goyal, Jay; Haley, Nikki Randhawa; Indian Americans; Jindal, Piyush “Bobby”; Political Representation

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Graphic Novelists

Graphic novels have become popular with Miné Okubo's *Citizen 13660* (1946), Art Spiegelman's *Maus* (1986), and more recently with Marjane Satrapi's *Persepolis* (2000). Graphic novels employ both images and words to narrate a story that has a beginning, a middle, and an end. In this sense, a graphic novel is different from comics, which are printed in sequential arrangements of images and balloons and do not present a full story in a single illustration. Recently, the phrase graphic novel has come under criticism by some as a marketing tactic to sell comic books in bookstores rather than on magazine stands. There is contentious debate whether the word "comics" presents an air of frivolity and the term "graphic novels" signals more serious work. However, in this entry we look specifically at graphic novels that deal with race and ethnicity. One reason for this is that one of the first works to be published as a graphic novel was *Sabre: Slow Fade of an Endangered Species* (1978). The cover of *Sabre* featured a heavily armed African American man and the plot involved several battles to attain freedom. Since then, several graphic novels have been published that deal with issues of race, ethnicity, gender, class, and sexuality.

Several graphic novels are autobiographical or biographical in nature. *Maus* is a biography of Spiegelman's father's experiences as a Polish Jew during the Holocaust. *Citizen 13660* is an autobiographical account of Okubo's experiences at Tanforan and Topaz camps during the Japanese American internment. *Persepolis* depicts Satrapi's coming of age in

Iran during the Islamic Revolution. As is the case with these three influential works, graphic novels can serve as cultural documents that shed light on historical atrocities and unjust power relations. Graphic novels can also enable the reader to inhabit and view a world that is foreign to him and learn from that visual and textual encounter on the page. The space of the graphic novel also functions as a cultural space for critical engagement with ideologies of race, gender, nation, class, and sexuality. The layout of images and words on the page in a graphic novel can help construct the racial subject and serve as a form for ethnoracial expression.

Discourses concerning "otherness" can also be critically reimagined in the space of the graphic novel. Because graphic novels must work within a limited space, they often rely on character stereotypes. However, graphic novels do not merely replicate stereotypes; they often dismantle the ideology present behind the stereotypes. The visual language that is presented in the graphic novel can challenge iconographic images of racial, ethnic, and gendered representations. One way of doing this is to personalize the generalized stereotype. The graphic novel offers a space in which the reader can connect with the image of the "other" on the page because the stereotypical image is familiar, yet open himself up to the character's experiences that is unfamiliar to the reader. Visual strategies such as the spaces between words and images, the spaces of the word balloons, the spacing of the frames of panels, and the gutter spaces between panels also generate a temporal sense that as the panels change and shift as do the identities of the characters. This signals the changing nature of all identities including the reader's. The graphic novel urges the reader to open up to the identities of the characters and reevaluate their own identities as well.

Prominent Asian American Graphic Novelists

Of the several graphic novelists of Asian American background, four of the most prominent are presented here.

Miné Okubo (1912–2001). *Citizen 13660* is not merely another narrative of the Japanese American

internment, but a work of art that performs a theory of citizenship, one that is conceived through the irony and contestation found in the internment. *Citizen 13660* offers us a different way of discussing the internment, one that underscores the tensions among nation, race, and representation. Although *Citizen 13660* does not have the dialogue balloons and sequential imaging as other graphic novels, its account of the Japanese American internment heavily depends on an image-based narrative. Published in 1946 before the term “graphic novel” was coined, Okubo’s work foregrounds and prefigures the modern graphic novel.

Citizen 13660 displays a subversive critique of the internment, not simply in its narrative texts but especially through the gaps, inconsistencies, and contradictions between the texts and the accompanying drawn images. These contradictions in the compositional sequence of *Citizen 13660* brings attention to the inconsistencies between U.S. legal policies toward Japanese Americans and the discourse employed by the government to foster patriotism and jingoism during times of war. Okubo’s text portrays the paradoxes of the U.S. government, which though fighting under the banner of freedom and liberty took those treasured values away from its own citizens and residents. To secure an image of a unified nation, those of Japanese descent were placed in concentration camps that were scattered throughout California, Colorado, Arizona, Arkansas, Idaho, Oregon, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming.

It is through *Citizen 13660* that America first saw and read personal accounts of the camps through the eyes of an internee. Because internees were not allowed to have cameras in the camps, Okubo recorded camp life in her sketches and drawings. Although white Americans like Ansel Adams did come to Manzanar Relocation Center in California to take photographs, Okubo’s work offers the first glimpse of the camps from the vantage point of an internee. Her work, *Citizen 13660*, is a subversive critique of the internment camps and U.S. governmental policies that interned over 120,000 people of Japanese descent, two-thirds of whom were American citizens by birth. Her graphic novel serves as an instrument through which Okubo simultaneously unmask the contradictions inherent in American citizenship

and depicts the resilience of the Japanese American community.

Gene Luen Yang (1973–). Yang is best known for *American Born Chinese* (2006), which was the first graphic novel to be nominated for the National Book Award. *American Born Chinese* was the first graphic novel to win the American Library Association’s Printz Award. It also won the Eisner Award for the Best Graphic Album. In 2009, Yang collaborated with Derek Kirk Kim and won the Eisner Award for *The Eternal Smile*. Yang’s other works include *Gordon Yamamoto and the King of the Geeks* (2004), *Prime Baby* (2010), and *Level Up* (2011).

American Born Chinese has three distinct storylines involving three protagonists: the Monkey King, Jin Wang, and Cousin Chin-Kee. The first story of the Monkey King draws from the popular fourth-century Chinese novel, *The Journey to the West*. Yang employs the character of the Monkey King to reflect on his own experiences as an Asian American. The Monkey King desires respect, faces ridicule and disappointment, tries to be someone he is not, and in the end finally accepts himself. The second story is about the coming of age of Jin Wang, a Chinese American boy who lives in a white suburb. The last story is of Cousin Chin-Kee who embodies all the negative stereotypes of Asian Americans including the villainous Fu Manchu, the servile Charlie Chan, and a sexually devious predator of white women. Cousin Chin-Kee is depicted as a perpetual foreigner who wears his hair in a queue, has slanted eyes, buck teeth, and speaks with a heavy accent. In incorporating the character of Cousin Chin-Kee, Yang addresses the yellow peril that white America has harbored against Asians and Asian Americans since the early nineteenth century. Yang utilizes the stereotypical figure of Cousin Chin-Kee to make yellow peril hypervisible and expose the racist and xenophobic ideologies that lie beneath such stereotypes.

Yang yokes together the celebrated and iconic Chinese literary figure of the Monkey King and the rejected and marginalized typecast of Cousin Chin-Kee to reflect upon the landscapes through which an Asian American man negotiates his identity. Yang lives and teaches in California.

Derek Kirk Kim (1974–). Derek Kirk Kim is author of *Same Differences and Other Stories* (2004), which won the Eisner Award and the Harvey Award. Since its publication, *Same Differences and Other Stories* has been translated into French, German, Korean, Italian, and Spanish. Kim has also worked on several collaborations. He illustrated a story in the graphic novel, *Fables: 1001 Nights of Snowfall* (2006) by Bill Willingham and contributed to *Flight: Volume One* edited by Kazu Kibuishi (2006).

Kim also authored *Good as Lily* (2007), which was illustrated by Jesse Hamm. Kim collaborated with Gene Luen Yang in *The Eternal Smile* (2009), which garnered both Kim and Yang an Eisner Award. Currently, Kim is working on *TUNE*, a science fiction comedy series. It is scheduled to be released in 2012 by First Second Books. In addition, Kim has written and directed a documentary short, *Raina Lee vs. The Infinite Garage* (2011) and the web series *Mythomania* (2011). The character of Andy Go, who is the protagonist of *Mythomania* and *TUNE*, is an Asian American aspiring cartoonist who faces struggles, challenges, disappointments and opportunity. Kim incorporates several Asian American characters in his work and addresses race and gender stereotypes. Kim immigrated to the United States with his family at the age of eight and currently lives in Los Angeles.

Adrian Tomine (1974–). Adrian Tomine is best known for his ongoing series *Optic Nerve* for which Tomine won the Harvey Award for Best New Talent in 1995. Issues 1 to 4 of *Optic Nerve* were collected in *Sleepwalk and Other Stories* (1998), and issues 5 to 8 were collected in *Summer Blonde* (2002). Issues 9 to 11 were compiled into a graphic novel called *Shortcomings* (2007).

Tomine is fourth-generation Japanese American and both of his parents and grandparents spent time in Japanese American internment camps (1942–1946). Much of Tomine's earlier work does not mention his racial background or deal with racial issues such as the internment that has haunted the Japanese American community. As such, Tomine has been criticized by some for masking his Japanese American identity. Although he drew himself in several of his works, he often drew his glasses opaque so that his

eyes could not be seen and his racial identity remained vague. The majority of his characters in *Sleepwalk and Other Stories* and *Summer Blonde* are Caucasian and his earlier works seldom discuss racial issues. However, in his graphic novel, *Shortcomings*, Tomine explores race and racial stereotypes. Ben, the protagonist of *Shortcomings* struggles to find his own identity by working through such stereotypes.

Tomine has also published *Scenes from an Impending Marriage* (2011). In addition to authoring the above-mentioned works, Tomine also works as an illustrator for *The New Yorker*. Tomine grew up in Sacramento and attended UC Berkeley where he received a Bachelor of Arts in English. He lives in Brooklyn, New York with his wife Sarah Brennana and his daughter Nora Emiko Tomine.

Stella Oh

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Graves, Danny (1973–)

A son of a Vietnamese mother and a European American father, Danny Graves was a dependable Major League relief pitcher for several years. Born in Saigon in 1973, Graves was drafted out of the University of Miami by the Cleveland Indians of the American League in 1994. In 1996, Graves made his Major League debut for the Indians. However, his most productive season was with the Cincinnati Reds as a closer in 2000, when he saved 30 games and recorded an excellent 2.56 Earned Run Average. Graves appeared in his last Major League game in 2006 but pitched two more seasons in the minors.

Joel S. Franks

See also Vietnamese Americans

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Guam, U.S. Presence in

Guam is a 212 square mile island located in the western Pacific Ocean. It is the southernmost island of the Mariana Islands chain. The other inhabited islands of this archipelago include Rota, Tinian, Saipan and farther to the north, Pagan, Anatahan, and Alamagan. The Marianas are volcanic islands located north of the equator, 1,550 miles east of the Philippines, and 1,600 miles south of Japan. It is believed Guam’s indigenous inhabitants known as Chamorros migrated to the island from Southeast Asia beginning in 4500 B.C. Others believe Chamorros are the aboriginal inhabitants of the island who trace their lineage to the brother and sister gods named Fu’una and Puntan.

The Spanish-American War of 1898 marked the beginning of a new colonial empire in Guam. The Treaty of Paris was signed on December 10, 1898, and granted the United States ownership of Guam, the Philippines, Puerto Rico, and protectorate rights in Cuba. The United States government viewed Guam as a strategic location to supply their ships and to serve as a cable station to communicate with its other colonies in the Pacific. On August 7, 1899, Captain Richard Leary arrived in Guam to serve as the first U.S. naval governor of Guam. The arrival of the first American governor resulted in the transfer of power from Spain to the United States that included all the land on Guam that was occupied by the Spanish governor. This also marked the ending of Spain’s colonial rule over Guam which had lasted from 1665 to 1898.

From 1899 to 1941, the U.S. government empowered the U.S. naval commander stationed in Guam with absolute authority. This power created a social and political climate that gave full legal and political power to the U.S. naval captain/island governor. The captain of the U.S. naval ship that was stationed in Guam would serve two to three year terms as island

governor. During this period, Chamorros were classified as American nationals. However, most Chamorros did not migrate to the United States because they were not actively recruited as laborers in the case of Filipinos.

The U.S. government implemented a policy of “benevolent assimilation” that attempted to Americanize Chamorros (Rogers, 114). This included implementing an education program that was similar to that of American Indian boarding schools. This curriculum was centered on four primary subjects that included English language use only, health and sanitation, vocational training, and citizenship training (Underwood, 148). If students did not adhere to school policies and curriculum, they were physically punished. In addition, their parents faced punitive fines if their children did not follow school policy. Moreover, the U.S. naval government implemented an island-wide medical and health program that sought to reeducate Chamorros to utilize what they believed were proper health practices, which were based on western ideas of modernity and medicine. These medical practices resulted in school and village-wide treatments for hookworm and other diseases.

The U.S. naval government passed several other laws in an attempt to westernize Chamorro society. In 1919, the naval commander passed Order No. 308, which declared that all married women had to bear the surname of their husbands (Souder, 45). In addition, children were mandated to bear the surname of their fathers. This law was significant because up until this time, Chamorro culture was matrilineal. This meant that Chamorros traced their family heritage through their mothers. Furthermore, the U.S. naval government attempted to restructure Guam’s economy. During the first two decades of American rule, several U.S. governors attempted to develop a cash crop economy on the island. This agricultural economy was centered on the production of copra (dried coconut meat), which was used primarily for cooking and animal feed. American governors also encouraged Chamorros to participate in an agricultural market economy instead of a subsistence economy by promoting open-air markets for the sale of their goods rather than the Chamoru tradition of trading food and supplies.

Throughout the pre-World War II period, Chamorros responded in various ways to American colonial rule. In 1901, several Chamorros submitted a formal petition of dissatisfaction for being under U.S. military rule. These petitioners hoped that the U.S. government would grant Chamorros increased civil liberties and property rights as American nationals. One of the most important issues that Chamorros fought for during this era was political self-determination. The U.S. naval government did not respond until 1917 with the creation of the Guam congress. The congress was appointed by the U.S. naval governor and its members did not have any legislative powers. It was formed primarily to serve as an advisory board to the naval governor. Ultimately, the naval governor had the right to ignore or follow the recommendations of the Guam congress.

On December 8, 1941, the Japanese military attacked the island of Guam. This offensive came hours after the bombing of Pearl Harbor. By December 10th, the Japanese military had taken official control of the island by forcing U.S. naval Captain George McMillin to sign a letter of surrender. The Japanese military quickly took control of the island by occupying all public buildings in the capital village of Hagatna. Moreover, they implemented martial law, which consisted of strict surveillance of all island residents. The Japanese military followed in the footsteps of the U.S. military by implementing a colonial education system that forced all school children to speak Japanese only and to learn Japanese cultural customs. In addition, Chamorros were forced into three primary forms of labor. Some were forced to work as agricultural laborers to produce food for the Japanese military. Others were forced into civilian military labor to assist in the construction of military installations throughout the island. Finally, the smallest percentage of laborers was forced into sex slavery as prostitutes for the Japanese military.

By summer 1944, the U.S. military had made advances throughout the Pacific. The Japanese military responded to the oncoming American invasion by conducting group massacres in several Chamorro villages. As a result, hundreds of Chamorros throughout the island were killed. Furthermore, the Japanese military began to force people from their village homes into

concentration camps as a means to prevent them from supporting the American invasion. On July 21, 1944, the U.S. military invaded Guam and officially reoccupied the island by August 10, 1944. Consequently, the U.S. military reoccupation of Guam led to the reinstatement of U.S. naval autocratic rule. Moreover, the U.S. military continued its mobilization efforts by confiscating land and recruiting labor outside of Guam to help construct military bases and installations to wage war against Japan.

The post-World War II era resulted in several changes for Guam and its people. First, the U.S. military engaged in a massive military buildup that witnessed the construction of Northwest Air Field (later renamed Andersen Air Force Base) and several other installations throughout the island. The U.S. government subcontracted various companies to construct these installations. In turn, these companies recruited people from the Philippines, South Korea, and other Pacific Islands to work on these projects. This major military project transformed Guam into a major base for U.S. military operations during the Korean and Vietnam Wars.

Many Chamorros believed the return of the United States coupled with the hardships that they endured during Japanese occupation would bring positive change to their political status. Specifically, Chamorros sought for the granting of U.S. citizenship and the opportunity of self government. However, the U.S. government reinstated the U.S. naval government system. From 1946–1949, Chamorro frustration with the lack of political self-determination increased. The U.S. government had discussed giving U.S. citizenship and more political power to the Guam Congress but nothing materialized from these conversations. The result was the growth of Chamorro dissatisfaction with the military's unilateral decision making and the U.S. government's ambivalence for Chamorro political status. In March 1949, the Guam Congress staged a walk-out as an act of protest against U.S. naval rule and for the lack of self-government. This walkout was led by several Chamorros including Carlos P. Taitano who utilized his international media contacts to generate publicity for their actions. A few days later, U.S. naval Governor Charles Pownall ordered the Guam Congress to reconvene or face removal from their

positions. This threat did not work and the Guam Congress continued their protest.

By May 1949, the U.S. government was forced to react to the negative media reports of American autocratic rule. President Harry Truman decided that the Department of the Interior would take over the administration of Guam. This transfer eventually led to the Guam Organic Act of 1950. On August 1, 1950, President Truman signed this federal law that had made several important changes such as designating Guam as an unincorporated territory, granting U.S. citizenship to Chamorros, the creation of a limited bill of rights, and establishment of executive, judicial, and legislative branches known as the Government of Guam.

Even with the creation of a bill of rights and a civilian island government, the U.S. government continued to assert its authority upon the people. From the end of World War II to 1962, the U.S. government had created a security travel clearance that required U.S. military approval for travel to and from the island. The result was the opening for the development of tourism in Guam and for the opening of Chamorro migration to the United States mainland. Furthermore, even though the Organic Act of 1950 created a civilian governing body, the island governor was appointed by the U.S. government until 1968. The passing of the "Elective Governor Act," granted Chamorros the power to elect their own governor.

The 1970s and 1980s was an era that saw the establishment of various commissions that examined the possibilities for Guam's political status. Beginning in 1975, the Guam Legislature created several commissions to determine what options were most viable for Guam's status. These political status options included commonwealth, statehood, and continued unincorporated territory. In 1982, an island-wide vote was taken and the majority of voters wanted the establishment of Guam as a commonwealth of the United States. Chamorro leaders went forward and created a draft for commonwealth status that included giving the Government of Guam authority in regards to U.S. military bases on the island and for Guam's congressional representative veto power over federal law pertaining to Guam. This draft was reviewed by U.S. Congressman Udall, who recommended that the

U.S. Congress would not approve these two contingencies. The revision process marked the beginning to the end for the quest of commonwealth. Issues such as political in-fighting, disagreements over a new draft, and the transition of Guam political representatives slowed the revision process and eventually stalled.

Recently, the U.S. government has reasserted its commitment to military building in Guam. The 9/11 attacks resulted in the remilitarization of Guam and the reorganization of the U.S. military in the Asia-Pacific region. The U.S. government has proposed a military reorganization that would result in the transfer of 8,000 U.S. Marines from Okinawa to Guam. This would include an estimated 10,000 dependents and 12,000 temporary guest workers to construct and prepare Guam's infrastructure for this transfer. This transfer is scheduled for 2012 and coupled with increasing migration of Chamorros to the continental United States will have major cultural, demographic, social, political, and environmental implications.

Alfred P. Flores

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Guthrie, Jeremy (1979–)

Possessing Japanese ancestry on his mother's side, Jeremy Guthrie was a starting pitcher for the Baltimore Orioles of the American League and currently pitches

for the Kansas City Royals. Born and raised in Oregon, Guthrie starred as a pitcher for Stanford and then was drafted by the Cleveland Indians of the American League in the first round in 2002. Guthrie made his Major League Baseball debut with the Indians in 2004. However, he did not start pitching regularly until Baltimore attained his services for the 2007 season, when he became a member of the Orioles' starting rotation. In 2010, Guthrie won 11 games and lost 14 but achieved a respectable 3.83 ERA.

Joel S. Franks

See also Japanese American Baseball

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H

H-1B Visa

Since the Chinese Exclusion period, persons arriving in the United States were often sorted into two broad categories: those who were here temporarily, primarily for business, study, or tourism; and those who intended to stay permanently, eventually becoming American citizens. The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 made these categories explicit: Chinese laborers were to be excluded and prohibited from further settlement in the United States, but merchants, students, and tourists were still allowed to come. Subsequent congressional legislation in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries retained the distinction, and in the Immigration Act of 1952, Congress classified “immigrants” differently than “non-immigrants.” “Immigrants” would be admitted as “permanent residents” who could petition for American citizenship after five years of continuous residency in the United States; “non-immigrants” would be admitted on visas with strict time limitations, after which they either had to renew their visa, or return to their home countries. Those who remained beyond the valid date of their temporary visas fell “out of status.”

Although Congress had provided for the migration of “temporary workers” before in other pieces of legislation, Congress created the H visas explicitly in the Immigration Act of 1952. They were divided into three broad categories: the H-1 was for professionals and persons in “specialty” occupations, people who possessed a college degree or advanced training for their work; the H-2 was for persons “performing services that were unavailable” in the United States; and the H-3 was for industrial trainees. For all of the H visas, an American employer had to petition for this visa on

behalf of a foreign worker; that is, the employer is the formal “petitioner,” and the worker is the “beneficiary.” Workers may not “self-petition” for an H visa. In the legislative debates about the H visa, few ever expected that many people would enter under these categories, and indeed, very few persons were ever admitted under the H-3. Many thousands more, however, came under the H-1 and the H-2.

The H-2 visa had its own unique history: its origin were rooted in the Bracero Programs during World War II, when the federal government organized the temporary migration of thousands of agricultural workers from Mexico to meet a shortage of laborers in that particular sector of the economy during the war. After the war, the H-2 was created primarily for unskilled workers in low-wage industries. Many corporations and growers complained, however, that the statutory requirements for hiring H-2 workers were so onerous, especially within new legislation passed in 1986, that many employers simply hired these workers without petitioning for their lawful status. If anything, the major problem with H-2 visas was that they often went unused.

In recent years, the H-1 has had the opposite problem. There have often not been enough, despite significantly more complicated statutory requirements: in 1990, Congress amended the H visas and created sub-categories for the H-1, including the H-1B for “specialty occupations.” A “specialty occupation” that requires: (a) a theoretical and practical application of a body of highly specialized knowledge, and (b) attainment of a bachelor’s or higher degree in the specific specialty (or its equivalent) as a minimum for entry into the occupation in the United States. All employers petitioning for an H-1B on behalf of a foreign worker

had to show proof of the worker's qualifications. In addition, the employer had to have advertised the same position so that American workers had opportunities to fill the job first. The employer had to pay the same wage and provide the same working conditions to a foreign worker so as to eliminate any economic incentives to hire foreign workers over American ones. Employers could gain permission to hire foreign workers for three years, and then petition for another three years—all persons on an H-1B were expected to return to their home countries after six years in the United States. All of these rules were designed to protect American workers from "unfair" foreign competition in the labor market, a goal that many Republicans and Democrats had shared. Congress allotted 65,000 H-1B visas per year, but by 1997, these were not enough to meet employer demand. Many companies were insisting that Congress increase the cap, or abolish it altogether.

By the mid-1990s, most companies petitioning for H-1B workers were in information technology industries. Vast and powerful changes in communication technologies had been rearranging every facet of American life—personal computers were becoming ubiquitous, as were cell phones and other electronics. Within the industry, competition among firms was intense: innovations in software and in hardware could yield billions of dollars in sales, and so firms and venture capitalists poured billions of dollars in research and development projects that might result in huge profits. All of this activity required highly skilled workers, people trained in computer science, engineering, and other allied fields. In fact, highly skilled workers were probably the most important "input" that this industry had, and many companies complained that there were simply not enough American workers for this sector.

In 1990, in recognition of the growing importance of highly skilled workers, Congress had increased the number of immigrant visas for employment categories from 54,000 per year to 140,000 per year. By 1995, those visas were going fast, too, and although Congress considered raising this number further, many constituents were concerned that too many foreign workers were coming too quickly, without properly measuring the impact of all of this migration on

American workers. Others insisted that unless Congress admitted more highly skilled workers from abroad, American leadership in the high technology industry would disappear, as other firms in other countries would pull ahead of the United States in what was a global, competitive industry. Congress was locked in an acrimonious debate about "foreign workers" for much of the 1990s, and the shortage of H-1Bs in 1997 brought the issue again to the center of attention.

After two long and painful debates, Congress did eventually agree to increase the caps for *nonimmigrant* visas, particularly the H-1Bs, first in 1998, and then again in 2000. The American Competitiveness and Workforce Improvement Act of 1998 increased the number of H-1B visas available over three consecutive years: 115,000 in 1999, 115,000 in 2000, and 107,500 in 2001. The American Competitiveness in the Twenty-First Century Act in 2000 changed the numbers again: 195,000 H-1B visas in 2001, 195,000 in 2002, and 195,000 in 2003. Nonprofit institutions, especially colleges and universities, could apply for H-1B workers who were not counted against these caps. There were other major changes: on the one hand, applying for an H-1B became quite expensive, and part of the money went to a fund whose purpose was to increase the number of American workers in high technology fields, especially through scholarships and other educational incentives; on the other hand, the H-1B visa itself was more attractive for foreign workers, in a number of ways. They were "portable," meaning that if an H-1B worker left one firm for another, his new employer didn't have to petition all over again for another H-1B visa for that same person. An H-1B worker could also declare an intention to stay permanently in the United States—instead of returning to their home countries to apply for another, permanent residency visa, they could do that while they were in the United States on an H-1B. And if they did apply for permanent residency, they could stay in the United States lawfully until their petition was finally settled. In many ways, the statutory requirements for getting an H-1B were now very similar to the ones for an EB-2 or an EB-3, the two visas for permanent residency in the United States based on employment. Indeed, about half of all H-1B visa holders had successfully applied for an EB visa by the late 1990s,

and so they were moving from a nonimmigrant category into permanent residency, with the possibility for American citizenship.

The race and class consequences of this one form of migration have been profound. Ever since 1990, over half of all H-1B beneficiaries have been from Asia, including people from India, the People's Republic of China, Taiwan, South Korea, and the Philippines. In many years, they constituted about 80 percent of H-1B recipients—by the late 1990s, more Asian migrants were entering the United States as temporary skilled workers than as permanent residents on employment-based visas. (A majority of people admitted as permanent residents under the employment preferences were also from Asia.) All this had a cumulative effect: by 2000, every high-technology region in the United States had significant increases in the population of Asian professionals, and a great many were temporary workers. Because these workers often brought their families with them, and because they also started families while they were working here, many Asian professional families now have “mixed immigration status,” where one or both of the parents are “nonimmigrants” and the kids are American citizens. These families are also more likely to have higher incomes and to be better educated than the general population. Although Congress did not reauthorize a higher number of H-1B visas after 2002, the number of people traveling back and forth on this particular visa is staggering: in 2008, about 1.1 million separate entries were made into the United States by persons holding an H-1B visa and their dependents. This was perhaps the most obvious sign that the American economy was truly global, and that the most highly skilled were perhaps the most kinetic of all.

The dominance of Asians in the high technology economy has continued in recent years, and this was part of a set of broader trends whose origins were rooted in Asia many decades ago. Since the end of World War II, Asian states made substantial investments in their educational infrastructure and in certain sectors of their economy. South Korea, for example, made massive investments in education in the 1960s: many of the most prestigious institutions, as well as new colleges and universities, invested heavily in science and technology research, and some of the best

students from South Korea finished their education in the United States. Many returned to teach at the elite South Korean universities. Similarly, after 1979, central planners in Communist China made massive investments in a wide range of infrastructure projects that would position the nation for competition in a capitalist global economy. Demand for advanced training in science and technology grew at an astonishing rate at Chinese universities, and the best Chinese students often traveled abroad for their education. In India, successive governments had supported centralized, state control of markets since national independence after World War II, but by the late 1980s, political momentum had shifted away from India's federal government to allow for a much less regulated and much more competitive economic environment in the Indian states. Under Prime Minister Narasimha Rao in 1991, India liberalized rules governing foreign investments, privatized many of its national industries, and implemented tax reforms designed to stimulate long-term investments in the economy, among other important market-based reforms. These policies led to sustained economic growth in many regions throughout the country. Massive investments in education also followed: although the Indian Institutes of Technology had been established in 1950, shortly after independence, 8 of the 15 campuses were opened after 1991, and 3 more will be opened over the next decade. These policies have had obvious, transnational consequences, as over half of all H-1B visas have gone to beneficiaries from India alone since 1990.

American migration policies have also had transnational consequences as well, and the H-1B is a prime example of this trend. By design, not all H-1B beneficiaries will remain in the United States—though some will adjust to permanent residency and American citizenship, others will return to their home countries, either because their visas expire or because of economic recessions and layoffs. For many highly skilled workers, however, economic and business conditions in their home countries offer many more opportunities than just a generation ago: in many Asian nations, professionals who had worked temporarily in the United States have launched successful business ventures, and they often occupy privileged positions in the labor force. Coming to the United States, returning to their

home countries, producing goods and services that have a worldwide demand—all of these phenomenon suggest what one scholar has called a “brain circulation” of highly skilled persons around the world.

John S. W. Park

See also Chinese Exclusion Acts (1882–1943); Indian Exclusion; Japanese Exclusion

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Ha Jin (1956–)

Ha Jin is an acclaimed poet and fiction writer as well as professor of English and creative writing at Boston University. He is one of the most prolific writers in America. Over the course of the past two decades, he has published three compilations of poetry, four collections of short stories, six novels, one collection of lectures, numerous critical essays, and even one libretto.

Ha Jin has won a plethora of awards for his writing, including the National Book Award for Fiction (1999), two PEN/Faulkner Awards for *Waiting* (1996) and *War Trash* (2004), three Pushcart Prizes, and a Kenyon Review Prize. His short story compilation *Under the Red Flag* (1997) won the Flannery O’Connor Award for Short Fiction, *Ocean of Words* (1996) was awarded the PEN/Hemingway Award, and *The Bridegroom* (2000) was awarded the Asian American Literary Award. In addition, he has held several fellowships—including a Guggenheim Fellowship (1999)—and was elected a fellow of the American Academy of the Arts and Sciences (2006).

Ha Jin holds degrees from Heilongjiang University (BA in English), Shandong University (MA in English), and Brandeis University (PhD in English). He also took classes in Boston University’s MFA program in creative writing at the beginning of his career. Besides his current faculty position at Boston University, Ha Jin has also taught at Emory University.

Born Jin Xuefei in Liaoning, China, in 1956, Ha Jin grew up during the Cultural Revolution

(1966–1976), a time when schools were shut down and books were burned. Despite the fact that Ha Jin’s father was an officer in the military, his maternal grandfather’s past as a landowner resulted in the government denouncing his mother and her family, making life difficult for the Jin family for a period of time. At the age of 14 he joined the Red Guard. He also worked at a railroad station as a telegraph operator. In 1976, at age 20, Ha Jin began to teach himself English via an English-learning radio program. By 1977, he learned the language well enough that upon passing the college entrance examinations. Upon completing his BA in English at Heilongjiang University and his MA in English from Shandong University, Ha Jin decided to pursue doctoral studies in the United States at Brandeis University in 1985.

Though Ha Jin originally had planned on returning to China as a professor of literature, in 1988, while he was still working on his doctoral degree on Anglo-American modernist poetry, he decided to become a writer. However, when the Tiananmen Massacre occurred in 1989, Ha Jin made the decision to stay in the United States and become a spokesman for the downtrodden in China. Choosing to write in English because he wanted to separate himself from Chinese state power, he took on “Ha Jin” as his nom de plume and very quickly completed the manuscript for his first published work, *Between Silences: A Voice from China*, a volume of poetry that he published in 1990. In the preface, he states, “I speak for those unfortunate people who suffered, endured or perished at the bottom of life and who created the history and at the same time were fooled or ruined by it.”

Much of Ha Jin’s early work does the work of bearing witness to the struggles of those at the “bottom of life,” as well as average Chinese citizens who must negotiate the many sources of tension and pressure that define Chinese life. His second collection of poetry, *Facing Shadows* (1996), functions as his response to the Tiananmen Massacre, and also illustrates a portrait of his life as an immigrant. Ha Jin’s third collection, *Wreckage* (2001), examines ancient Chinese history’s relationship to modern China. His first three short story collections, *Ocean of Words* (1989), *Under the Red Flag* (1997), and *The Bridegroom* (2000), all focus on everyday life in China—exploring the lives of

soldiers patrolling the border between China and the Soviet Union, rural commoners negotiating sociopolitical and cultural changes, and life in China in the 1980s as the country moves from Maoism to socialism. His fourth collection, *A Good Fall* (2009), delves into the experiences of Chinese immigrants in America.

Though Ha Jin is a critically acclaimed poet and short story writer, he is best known and most celebrated for his work as a novelist. He is considered one of the most prominent and influential nonnative authors who writes in English, following in the tradition of Joseph Conrad and Vladimir Nabokov. His novels, *In the Pond* (1998), *Waiting* (1999), *The Crazy* (2002), *War Trash* (2004), *A Free Life* (2007), and *Nanjing Requiem* (2011) all received overwhelmingly positive receptions. Of his body of work, *War Trash* is most acclaimed—securing a position as a finalist for the Pulitzer Prize. Though Ha Jin’s work is predominantly concerned with documenting the lives and tragic circumstances of the downtrodden in China, *A Free Life* marked a departure from his usual narrative treatment as it not only takes place in America, but is also a politically charged and a highly autobiographical bildungsroman that follows the arduous journey of immigrant self-fashioning and success-making in a country of opportunity. It is dedicated to his wife and son, “who lived this book.”

Despite Ha Jin’s success and the popularity of his books about contemporary China and Chinese culture, his work is blacklisted and banned from publication in China, with the exception of *Waiting*, which was heavily edited prior to publication, and *Nanjing Requiem*, which was published in China with minor editing and released simultaneously with the American release. Most of his work translated into Chinese is published in Hong Kong and Taiwan, where a large body of scholarship on his writing exists.

Ha Jin continues to translate Chinese culture for a non-Chinese audience, creating subtle and nuanced stories that explore the complexity of everyday lives in simple and concise prose. He currently lives in Boston with his wife and son, in self-imposed exile from China. Since his departure from his native country in 1985, he has never returned.

Krystal Shyun Yang

See also Chinese Americans

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Hagedorn, Jessica (1949–)

Jessica Hagedorn is one of the most celebrated novelists in contemporary Asian American literature. Hagedorn is perhaps best known for her novel *The*

Dogeaters (1990), which was nominated for the National Book Award and won the America Book Award of the Before Columbus Foundation. Ishmael Reed, the poet and writer, described Hagedorn as a “vanguard artist” whose novels “make the typical American novel look very gray.” Hagedorn is a colorful artist not only as a novelist but also as a poet, playwright, short story writer, nonfiction writer, screenwriter, editor, performance artist, multimedia artist, and musician. Hagedorn utilizes her diverse artistic background by blending stylistic elements from poetry, fiction, music, and performance art to portray the vibrant and often gritty urban life in her uniquely edgy, tough, and witty voice.

Jessica Tarahata Hagedorn was born in Manila in the Philippines on May 29, 1949. She grew up during the reign of the Ferdinand Marcos dictatorship. In 1963, Hagedorn immigrated to the United States at the age of 14 with her family. In San Francisco, where her family settled, Hagedorn was exposed to the city’s diverse multicultural scenes, to which she attributes a substantial part of her artistic development. Hagedorn’s career as a writer was especially supported by Kenneth Rexroth, a well-established poet and critic, who upon reading young Hagedorn’s poetry invited her to his dinner party. “From the first time I walked into his apartment, with all the cubist paintings on the walls, I knew that I wanted to live in that world,” Hagedorn recalls. Impressed with Hagedorn’s writing ability, Rexroth introduced her to the world of bookstores, libraries, and familiarized her with the writing community in San Francisco. At 16 Hagedorn gave her first public reading onstage at one of Rexroth’s poetry readings. After graduating from high school, Hagedorn attended the American Conservatory Theater, studying acting, fencing, and martial arts. In 1975, Hagedorn brought two of her passions together—music and poetry—by forming a poet’s performance rock band called the West Coast Gangster Choir, for which she was the lead singer and songwriter. Hagedorn moved to New York City in 1978, renaming her band The Gangster Choir and pursued her career as a writer and performance artist.

Among her multifaceted talents and interests, Hagedorn asserts: “Writing is always my base. Above all, I am a writer first.” In 1973, Hagedorn’s work of

poetry “The Death of Anna May Wong” was published in an anthology, *Four Young Women: Poems*, edited by Kenneth Rexroth. In 1975 her first collection of poetry, *Dangerous Music*, was published, and in 1981 *Pet Food and Tropical Apparitions*, a collection of her poetry and prose, was published. Selections from *Pet Food* and *Dangerous Music* were later reissued under the title *Danger and Beauty* (1993). While in New York, several of her drama pieces were professionally produced, including *Mango Tango* (1978), *Tenement Lover: no palm trees/in new york city* (1981), *A Nun’s Story* (1988), and *Holy Food* (1989). But it was her first novel, *Dogeaters*, published in 1990, that caught national attention and earned her the distinction of being a finalist for the National Book Award and winning the American Book Award from the Before Columbus Foundation. Set in the Philippines under a Marcos-like regime, the novel is a vitriolic exploration of class divisions, rampant commercialism, and structural violence in a country afflicted by centuries of Western colonization and political corruption. The success of *Dogeaters* continued as it was adapted into a theatrical stage play and performed in San Diego at the Mandell Weiss Forum of the La Jolla Playhouse in 1998. The play version, *Dogeaters: A Play about the Philippines*, was published in 2006.

Hagedorn’s second novel, *The Gangster of Love*, appeared in 1996. It is a semiautobiographical work about the protagonist Rocky’s immigrant experience in San Francisco and forming her rock and roll band called Gangster of Love. Hagedorn employs a multi-layered structure with the graphic portrayal of the urban underbelly life infused with violence, sex, and drugs, similar to that of *Dogeaters*. Hagedorn’s third novel, *Dream Jungle*, published in 2003, is set in the Philippines from the Spanish colonial age to the American colonial age, and shows the recurring themes of Hagedorn’s critique of U.S. colonial and neocolonial influence in the Philippines. *Dream Jungle*, like her other novels, also reveals Hagedorn’s own intense love-hate relationship with her homeland. In the short essay titled Homesick, Hagedorn describes her novel writing projects as follows: “It is a journey back I am always taking. . . . I am the other, the exile within, afflicted with permanent nostalgia for the mud . . . Manila again, Manila again, Manila again.”

Hagedorn's major achievement as an editor is the groundbreaking anthology *Charlie Chan Is Dead: An Anthology of Contemporary American Fiction* published in 1993. It was the first anthology of Asian American fiction published by a major press, featuring the works of 48 Asian American writers, both published and then-unpublished. For its wide range of authors of different cultural backgrounds and literary styles, and for Hagedorn's conscious selection of "riskier" work, critics viewed it as a "daring compilation" that was different from other formal standard anthologies. Although Hagedorn's work focuses on Asian American experiences, Hagedorn feels ambivalent about the confining label, Asian American. In 2004, Hagedorn edited the sequel *Charlie Chan is Dead 2: At Home in the World (An Anthology of Contemporary Asian American Fiction)*, in which she broadens the definition of "What is/what makes Asian American literature?" as that which is ever "expanding and evolving."

Just as her works defies all kinds of categorizations, Jessica Hagedorn cannot be described as one type of artist. What she values most in her own writing as well as other works is fearlessness, and with her undaunted passion she continues to unsettle boundaries and provide a new edge in Asian American literature. Her recent works include *Most Wanted* (2006), a musical she wrote with composer Mark Bennett, which was later produced at the La Jolla Playhouse in October 2007.

Joomi C. Kim

See also Wong, Anna May

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Haley, Nikki Randhawa (1972–)

Nikki Haley is an Indian American politician from South Carolina. A successful businesswoman, Haley was a member of the South Carolina House of Representatives from 2005 to 2010. In the 2010 election season, Nikki Haley was the Republican gubernatorial candidate for South Carolina. On November 2, 2010, she defeated her Democratic opponent, Vincent Sheheen, and became the first minority governor in the history of South Carolina, as well as the second Indian American governor in the United States (after Governor Bobby Jindal of Louisiana). She assumed office as governor on January 12, 2011.

Haley was born Nimrata Nikki Randhawa in Bamberg, South Carolina on January 20, 1972. Her parents are Sikh immigrants from India. She grew up in her native South Carolina and attended Clemson University, where she graduated with a BS in accounting. After graduation, Haley worked as an Accounting Supervisor for FCR, Inc. and five of its subsidiaries. She eventually went to work for her family's clothing firm and helped to manage the multimillion dollar business.

An astute businesswoman, Haley has strong ties to the business community. In 1998, Haley was selected to the Board of Directors of the Orangeburg County Chamber of Commerce. In 2003, she was named to the Board of Directors of the Lexington Chamber of Commerce. She was also the treasurer of the National Association of Women Business Owners in 2003 and its president in 2004. Overall, Haley has been very involved in her community and has proven herself to be an important local business leader.

In 2004, Haley defeated the incumbent state representative in a Republican primary. She later went on to win the office of state representative from Carolina's 87th district as she ran unopposed. Since then, she has won three subsequent reelection bids. During her time in the state legislature, Haley kept a low profile but has garnered the reputation of a political reformer

and fiscal conservative. Specifically, she introduced legislations that would require lawmakers to reveal more of their votes on key issues. Additionally, in 2009, Haley was named “Friend of the Taxpayer” by the South Carolina Association of Taxpayers for her efforts as a fiscal conservative in the state legislature. She served as the secretary of the Medical, Military, Public and Municipal Affairs Committee and was elected in 2005 (as a freshman), as the majority whip in the South Carolina General Assembly.

In June 2010, Haley emerged from the Republican gubernatorial primaries as the front-runner. Although Haley does not consider herself a “Tea Party candidate,” she has received significant support and endorsement from the Tea Party movement as well as Tea Party politicians such as Sarah Palin. During her campaign, Haley faced allegations of extramarital affairs by two men, which she repeatedly denied. Haley also had to overcome questions about her faith (conversion to Christianity). On November 2, 2010, Haley defeated her Democratic opponent Vincent Sheheen to become the first female minority governor in the state of South Carolina. She is also the second Indian American to be elected as governor in the United States.

Jeanette Yih Harvie

See also Jindal, Piyush “Bobby”; Political Representation

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Harada, Tsuneo “Cappy” (1921–2010)

Tsuneo “Cappy” Harada was born in Santa Maria, California. A lifelong athlete, he competed in high

school and semipro baseball, ultimately scouting for the San Francisco Giants. In high school, he played in exhibition games against future Hall of Famers Ted Williams, Bob Lemon, and Jackie Robinson.

Harada was scouted by the St. Louis Cardinals before World War II broke out. Harada joined the military intelligence service and was shipped out to help the United States in the Pacific Theater campaigns. Wounded twice, he continued with the U.S. military for 10 years during the Occupation of Japan. Harada was placed in charge by General Douglas MacArthur with reestablishing Japanese athletics to help build morale. Harada focused on baseball and resurrected professional baseball and the national High School Baseball Tournament at Koshien.

In 1949, Harada arranged a baseball goodwill tour of Lefty O’Doul and the San Francisco Seals in Japan. In 1951 and 1953, the Joe DiMaggio All-Stars and the New York Giants also brought Major League Baseball stars to Japanese ballparks. A highlight of Harada’s time spent in Japan was hosting DiMaggio and his wife, actress Marilyn Monroe, on their honeymoon to Japan in January 1954. With Harada’s assistance, the Yankee Clipper squeezed in some batting clinics for Japanese baseball players.

From 1951 to 1954, Harada became a special advisor to the Tokyo Giants of the Japanese Baseball League (JBL). Under Harada, the Giants took four straight JBL championships. He also pioneered a two-league format and adopted a World Series–style playoffs in Japan.

In 1965, Harada was named general manager of the Lodi (California) Crushers, now called the Rancho Cucamonga Quakes, in California League Class A (affiliate of the Los Angeles Angels of Anaheim since 2001). The team was a minor league affiliate of the Chicago Cubs (1966–1968), and Harada was the first Nisei (second-generation Japanese American) to be named a general manager in professional baseball. In 1966, he was named executive of the year by the *Sporting News* and the National Association of Professional Baseball.

For over 20 years, Harada worked for the San Francisco Giants as a special assistant in the scouting and player personnel department. He also worked with player development, basic business operations, and

Trans-Pacific scouting. Harada is credited with signing the first Japanese player to a Major League contract, left-handed pitcher Masanori Murakami. He was acquired by the Giants from Japan's Nankai Hawks in 1964. Murakami played two seasons and had a career record of 5 wins and 1 loss. Between the 1970s to the late 2000s, Harada served as an advisor to Major League Baseball. Harada died of heart failure on June 5, 2010, at the age of 88 in California.

Kerry Yo Nakagawa

See also Japanese American Baseball

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Harada House

The Harada House is a National Historic Landmark located in downtown Riverside, California and reflects the struggle of early Asian immigrants. The California Alien Land of 1913 prohibited immigrants ineligible for citizenship from buying land or property. This law was a sign of the strong anti-Asian sentiment present in California at the time. Jukichi and Ken Harada were pioneers as they worked to make Riverside their home. Jukichi first emigrated from Japan to the United States in 1898. He had worked on a U.S. navy ship as a food service worker, which spurred his migration to the United States and his later work in restaurants. His wife Ken and young son Masa Atsu would arrive a few years later and he would go on to manage and operate the Washington Restaurant in downtown Riverside, which prided itself for serving American food.

Years later, his next three children were born. He was determined to provide housing that was safe and

sanitary following the death of his first American-born son. Knowing that as an immigrant he was unable to purchase a home, Jukichi was able to purchase a home at 3356 Lemon Street under the names of his American born children Mine, Sumi, and Yoshizo. Located in a middle-class neighborhood at the time, the neighbors vehemently opposed their presence. Even in her old age, Sumi would recall the hatred, harassment, and prejudice that their family continually faced. Neighbors had wanted them to leave their neighborhood and even tried to buy them out. Jukichi refused stating that the house was owned by his American-born children. Over 60 neighbors signed a petition calling for the family's eviction. Eventually charges through the Attorney General of California were filed alleging violation of the California Alien Land Law.

On December 14, 1916, the trial of the *The People of the State of California v. Jukichi Harada, et al.* began and the case gained national notoriety because it was the first case to test the constitutionality of the Alien Land Law. The suit claimed that an immigrant, Jukichi Harada, was ineligible for citizenship and therefore was not allowed to possess, acquire, transfer, or enjoy any real property in the state of California. On September 17, 1918, Judge Hugh Craig of the Riverside County Superior Court ruled in favor of the Harada family. Because the three children were American citizens, he ruled that Mine, Sumi, and Yoshizo, who were born in the United States, were entitled to equal protection as any other U.S citizen no matter their parentage. Appeals to the decision were not pursued and that allowed other immigrants that followed to acquire property under their children's name. The Alien Land Law was modified over time to close various loopholes, and it was not officially overturned until after World War II.

Through the 1910s to the 1930s, the Harada family expanded with the births of Harold and Clark and the adoption of Roy Hashimura. In these two decades, they continued to raise their family and operate their family restaurant and boarding house business. By the 1940s, many of the children had grown up and moved out of the home with the exception of Sumi and Harold.

The Harada family experienced their next great challenge with the bombing of Pearl Harbor in 1941.

On February 19, 1942, the family's life was again interrupted. President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed an executive order ordering all people of Japanese descent residing in the designated area of the West Coast to be placed in internment camps. By May 23, 1942, the Harada family was evacuated to Poston, Arizona and later to Topaz, Utah. During the years the family was interned, the Harada family would face the death of father Jukichi and mother Ken.

During the internment, Harold had gone on to serve in the 442nd Regimental Combat Team and after the internment went on to complete his dental education. After the internment, Sumi Harada spent time in Chicago and eventually returned in 1945 to her Riverside home alone. Thanks to their family friend Jess Stebler, who cared for their home during their internment, Sumi was able to return home after the war, which was often not the case for many other Japanese Americans. With the passing of her parents and with the restaurant being closed, Sumi opened the Harada home to others by turning the house into a boarding home for many other Japanese Americans who were returning from internment. When there was no longer a need for a boarding home for Japanese Americans, Sumi found work as a housekeeper and worked for many years.

In honor of her parents' fight against the 1913 California Alien Land Law, she had saved everything including old photographs, letters, documents such as passports and birth certificates, letters, photographs, and newspapers pertaining to their immigration, their legal fight, their incarceration, their restaurant business, and other key moments in the Harada family. She was a keeper of all her family's memories. She kept all of it, which would later be shown after her passing in a curated exhibition at the Riverside Metropolitan Museum in 2009.

Sumi lived to see her parents' efforts recognized nationally and locally. In 1977, the city of Riverside recognized the home as a city landmark. In 1990, President George Bush designated the home as a National Historic Landmark. She also received several awards within the Southern California Japanese American community for her family's fight against the 1913 Alien Land Law.

Until a few years before she passed, Sumi Harada was active in speaking about her experiences to local

college and high school students. She was poignant and direct about the racism that her family suffered during her family's fight to keep their home on Lemon Street and their later subsequent evacuation and incarceration during World War II. She was a long-standing member of the local Riverside Japanese American Citizens League and First Congregational Church in Riverside. She was also continually recognized in the Asian American community as an advocate and fighter for civil rights for all. At the University of California, Riverside, an annual award, the Sumi Harada Award, which reflects the work of the Harada family in their fight against the 1913 Alien Land Law, is given out to this day to a student, staff, or faculty member who has been an advocate of Asian American issues.

Sumi Harada passed away in 2000 at the age of 90. The house was passed on to her brother, Harold Harada, who died in 2003. The family donated their home, artifacts, and archives to the City of Riverside under the stewardship of the Riverside Metropolitan Museum in 2004. The Riverside Metropolitan Museum curated an exhibit "Reading the Walls: The Struggles of the Haradas, A Japanese American Family" in 2009–2010, which focused on 100 years of history of the Harada family. The Museum, in partnership with the Riverside Unified School District, developed a history curriculum for 11th graders focused on Riverside's stories of internment and return. Currently, the house is being restored by the city with future plans for a civil rights museum and education center. The Museum is also cataloging the extensive Harada collections, enhancing the website information, and developing plans for the long-term preservation and interpretation of the National Historic Landmark Harada House.

Grace J. Yoo

See also Alien Land Laws; Cameron House

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Hawaii, Ethnic Communities in

See Ethnic Communities in Hawaii

Hawaii, Filipinos in

See Filipinos in Hawaii

Hawaii, Japanese Americans in

See Japanese Americans in Hawaii

Hawaii, Multiracial/Multiethnic Experience in

See Multiracial/Multiethnic Experience in Hawaii

Hawaii, Plantation Workers in

See Plantation Workers in Hawaii

Hawaiian Cuisine

Hawaiian cuisine can be split into two categories: Native Hawaiian and “local.” Local cuisine is comprised of Native Hawaiian food combined with food brought by the various ethnic immigrants to Hawaii. Hawaiian cuisine gives one a glimpse into the deep

and diverse story of the people of Hawaii and provides a taste of Hawaiian history.

Native Hawaiians brought plants and animals, that is, the taro plant, sweet potatoes, pigs, chickens, and dogs, when they sailed to Hawaii from the Marquesas. The taro root is used to make poi, wherein the taro root is boiled and then mashed into a paste. Kālua pig is cooked in an imu (an underground pit layered with hot rocks), where it is roasted and steamed over several hours. Laulau is fat, pork, or fish, and taro or sweet potatoes wrapped in tī leaves, and roasted with the pig in the imu. In addition to the nonnative foodstuffs, the various fish and birds native to Hawaii where a part of the Native Hawaiian diet.

As early as 1794, Chinese arrived in Hawaii beginning the importation of Asian ethnic laborers. Shortly thereafter sugarcane plantations began to flourish and with it the plantation culture that was a combination of Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Filipino, German, Portuguese, and Native Hawaiian cultures. The Chinese introduced tea, rice, and other foods preserved (dried and salted) from China. Japanese laborers brought *musubi* (rice balls), *daikon* (radish), *miso* (seasoning), *tofu*, *somen* (wheat noodles), *mochi* (rice cakes), and *ume* (pickled red plums). Koreans introduced *kimchee* (pickled vegetables) and other dishes. Filipinos introduced *bagoong* (salted fish). German sausage and potato salad was brought by German laborers. The Portuguese introduced sweetbread, Portuguese sausage, and blood sausage.

Over time, Native Hawaiian cuisine has added various dishes of opihi, raw fish, and ahi poke (raw tuna, kukui nuts, seaweed, and spices). Local cuisine also added new dishes: chicken adobo, chicken long rice, *malasada* (sugar coated fried bread), teriyaki chicken and beef, *manapua* (pork buns), plate lunch, and *bento* boxes. Other dishes adapted, like kālua pig with the addition of cabbage. *Musubi* adapted so that it can be made with SPAM. Loco moco is a local adaptation of *bibimbap*, a Korean mixed dish of rice, vegetables, egg, and meat. The loco moco is an egg over-easy on top of rice, a hamburger patty, and covered in gravy. King’s Hawaiian Bakery specializes in a Hawaiian adaptation of the Portuguese sweetbread.

Nationally known fast food restaurants, such as McDonald’s, have also incorporated local cuisine into

their Hawaiian restaurant menus. For breakfast, one can order pancakes with Portuguese sausage or SPAM. For lunch, one can order *saimin* (noodle soup) with SPAM.

Today, Hawaiian cuisine is not only found in Hawaii, but also on the mainland through chains of Hawaiian cuisine restaurants, both high-end and fast food. With the proliferation of these restaurants, a local from Hawaii is able to get their fix of kālúa pig, Portuguese sausage, SPAM *musubi*, and sweetbread. This is a continuation of Hawaiian history through its food.

Niccole Leilanionapae'aina Coggins

See also Chinese Cuisine in the United States; Ethnic Communities in Hawaii; Filipino Cuisine in the United States; Indian Cuisine in the United States; Korean Cuisine in the United States; Thai Cuisine in the United States; Vietnamese Cuisine in the United States

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Hawaiian Religion

See Native Hawaiian Religion

Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders

See Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders

Hayakawa, Samuel Ichiyé (1906–1992)

S. I. Hayakawa, a complex and colorful figure who was arguably the most controversial Nisei of the twentieth century, was born in Vancouver, Canada. His father was a labor contractor and operated a struggling import-export business. Samuel Ichiyé, the eldest of four children, grew up in Cranbrook, B.C., Calgary,

and Winnipeg. Between 1926 and 1927, around the time that Hayakawa received his BA from the University of Manitoba, his family moved to Japan. Hayakawa chose to move with a brother to Montreal, where his uncle Saburo was living. There he earned a masters at McGill University, putting himself through school by driving a taxi.

In 1929, Hayakawa left Canada and enrolled at the University of Wisconsin. There Hayakawa met and subsequently married a white woman, Margedant Peters. In 1935, following completion of a thesis on the poet/essayist Oliver Wendell Holmes, he received his PhD. After graduation, Hayakawa intended to return to Canada, but could not find work, and returned to Wisconsin.

In 1939, Hayakawa was named professor of English at the Armour (now Illinois) Institute of Technology and moved to Chicago. Meanwhile, he became attracted by Alfred Korzybski's ideas on General Semantics. Korzybski argued for systems of thinking and language that reflected the fluid nature of reality. Hayakawa sought to popularize Korzybski's theories by writing a textbook titled *Language in Action*. After a preliminary version was released, the book was taken up by a major New York publisher and published in December 1941. Thanks to a selection by the Book-of-the-Month Club, it earned large sales.

The young Hayakawa repeatedly expressed a determination not to be limited or pigeonholed by his Japanese background. He concluded that ethnic particularism and ghettoization invited social division, whereas assimilation and participation in democratic society promoted positive communication and equality. Thus, Hayakawa deplored ethnic-based organizations. He nonetheless participated in struggles for civil rights—in 1936 he visited Ottawa as part of a delegation from the Japanese Canadian Citizens League and lobbied unsuccessfully for voting rights for Nisei in British Columbia. In 1943, Hayakawa joined the African American newspaper *The Chicago Defender* as a weekly columnist. He continued his column until January 1947. Although he strongly supported equal rights for blacks, he favored multigroup action on a nonracial basis, particularly organization of consumers' cooperatives, to achieve it.

Hayakawa's relations with Japanese communities remained uneasy through the wartime and postwar era. Because he lived in Chicago, Hayakawa was spared mass confinement. He quietly assisted the resettlement of Japanese Americans in Chicago; but only sporadically, and uneasily, addressed anti-Asian discrimination in his newspaper column. Although he sympathized with Nisei victimized by official prejudice, his faith in assimilation and resistance to ethnic particularism led to clashes. In 1952, he criticized the Japanese American Citizens League's (JACL's) support for the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act, which granted limited immigration and naturalization rights to Issei. By supporting a "heartless," repressive, and illiberal bill based on Cold War politics, Nisei were putting their own interests ahead of that of the immigrants who would be damaged by the law. Hayakawa's opposition represented an impressive statement of principle, especially because he was himself barred from U.S. citizenship because of his Japanese ancestry. It was only after passage of McCarran-Walter that he was able to become naturalized.

After the dispute over McCarran-Walter, Hayakawa again distanced himself from Japanese communities. By this time, he had become a well-known figure as an educator and semanticist. In 1955 he was appointed professor of English at San Francisco State University. He likewise served as editor of the linguistics journal *Etc.* In 1968–1969, a "Third World" coalition of students at San Francisco State launched a strike, demanding ethnic studies programs and protesting the Vietnam War. When the college's president resigned, Hayakawa accepted the post and became notable for his outspoken opposition to strikers: on one occasion he even ripped out the wires from their sound truck at a demonstration. His efforts drew widespread media attention and support from conservatives.

Upon retiring from San Francisco State University in 1973, Hayakawa became a newspaper columnist; he then parlayed his popularity into a successful campaign for the U.S. Senate on the Republican ticket in 1976. Hayakawa thus became the first senator of Asian ancestry from a mainland state. However, during his single Senate term, Hayakawa aroused the ire of Japanese Americans when he publicly opposed official apologies and redress for wartime confinement in a

speech before the JACL. After leaving the Senate, Hayakawa became a consultant on East Asian relations. He sparked further liberal outrage by cofounding U.S. English, a lobbying group dedicated to making English the official language of the United States.

Greg Robinson

See also Japanese American Citizens League (JACL); Japanese Americans; McCarran-Walter Act of 1952

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Hayakawa, Sessue (Kintaro) (1886–1973)

Sessue Hayakawa, whose given name was Kintaro Hayakawa, was a Japan-born actor who achieved fame and widespread recognition in the early decades of the U.S. film industry. His role in the Cecil B. DeMille film *The Cheat* (1915) made him a star, but he is most well known to contemporary audiences for his Academy Award–nominated performance as Colonel Saito in the David Lean epic *The Bridge On the River Kwai* (1957). At the height of his career he was as celebrated as Charlie Chaplin, Douglas Fairbanks, and William S. Hart, and although he often played the villain, American audiences also saw him as a romantic leading man.

Hayakawa was born in Japan in 1886. His earliest ambition was to become a naval officer but an accident that resulted in a ruptured eardrum led to his dismissal from the Naval Academy in Etajima. He immigrated to the United States in 1907 and enrolled at the University of Chicago in 1908 to study political economy. His first work as an actor was in plays for the Japanese American community in Los Angeles produced by Fujita Toyo. Thomas H. Ince of the New York Motion Picture Company saw Hayakawa perform and hired him for a series of Japanese-themed films. Hayakawa first appeared on film in *O Mimi San* (1914). In his next film, *The Wrath of the Gods* (1914), he played a supporting role as an elderly father. The film starred his future wife Tsuru Aoki, the adopted daughter of the well-known Japanese American artist Toshio Aoki,

and the niece of the Kawakamis, a Japanese husband and wife acting duo.

Hayakawa first gained popular recognition for his portrayal of a Japanese spy in Paris in *The Typhoon* (1914). The film introduced themes of identity, assimilation, and interracial romance that would become prominent in Hayakawa's film oeuvre. His character, Dr. Nitobe Tokoramo, is a Japanese diplomat who mingles with Parisian high society and carries on an affair with a French paramour although secretly compiling a report on France for Japan. When his lover, Helene, insults Japan he strangles her in a fit of anger and then allows a young student to be executed for the murder so that he can complete his mission. Tokoramo commits suicide at the film's conclusion over his love for Helene and his guilt over allowing someone else to take the blame for her death.

In 1915, Hayakawa started working at the Jesse L. Lasky Feature Play Company. His portrayal of the wealthy Japanese art dealer Tori in *The Cheat* garnered him acclaim in the United States and abroad, and made him a bona fide movie star. *The Cheat*, directed by industry veteran Cecil B. DeMille, features Fanny Ward as Edith Hardy, a wealthy woman who loses a \$10,000 Red Cross fund in a bad investment. She fears irreparable damage to her reputation should her theft of the funds be discovered, and so she agrees to give herself to Tori in exchange for a check in the amount of the money she has lost. At the appointed hour Edith visits Tori at his home, but with a check from her husband that reimburses him for the loan. Tori accuses her of reneging on their deal and, in one of the most memorable scenes in silent cinema, he brands her shoulder to mark his possession of her. Edith shoots Tori in desperation and then escapes. Edith's husband, Richard, appears on the scene and takes responsibility for the shooting. At the trial, Edith comes forward with the truth of what really happened and the courtroom erupts into chaos. As the film comes to a close the crowd in the courtroom is descending upon Tori.

The Cheat was a hit, lauded nationally and internationally for its innovative aesthetics and sensational subject matter. However, the Los Angeles-based Japanese newspaper *Rafu Shimpo* campaigned against the film, and the Japanese Association of Southern California protested the film to the Los Angeles City

Council. In the film's 1918 re-release, which is the version available today, the nationality of Hayakawa's character is changed from Japanese to Burmese, and the character is named Haka Arakau and described as a "Burmese ivory king."

After the success of *The Cheat*, a number of star vehicles featuring Hayakawa were released beginning with *Alien Souls* (1916). In some of these films Hayakawa portrayed an immigrant eager to assimilate American ways, often willing to sacrifice his happiness and, if necessary, his life for the well-being of the white American couple or family at the center of the films. In others, he reprised the theme of the villainous Japanese with a refined exterior. Hayakawa played non-Japanese roles as well, including Native American, Hawaiian, Mexican, and Chinese characters, and Tsuru Aoki often appeared in supporting roles in his films.

Hayakawa established his own film production company, Haworth Pictures Corporation, in 1918. One motivation was his well-publicized desire to make films that would more accurately represent Japanese people and culture. The first film produced by Haworth was *His Birthright* (1918). *The Dragon Painter* (1919) is the most well known of the Haworth films today. Although some of the early productions offered more authentic representations of Japan and the Japanese, public expectations and industry conventions made it difficult for Hayakawa to transcend established roles, narratives, and backgrounds.

In 1922, amid growing anti-Japanese sentiment and his declining popularity in the United States, Hayakawa traveled to Japan for the first time since he immigrated to the United States. He was celebrated by some as a Japanese who had found success abroad, although others criticized the kinds of characters he portrayed in film and saw him as a product of foreign ideals. Hayakawa spent the next three decades working in France, Britain, the United States and Japan in films and the theater. In 1957 his portrayal of the commander of a Japanese prisoner of war camp in Southeast Asia during World War II in *The Bridge on the River Kwai* made him a celebrity again. He was nominated for the Oscar for Best Supporting Actor, and it is the role that most audiences today know him for. Hayakawa died on November 23, 1973, in Tokyo.

Jeanette Roan

See also Hollywood, Asian Americans in; Japanese Americans

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Hayslip, Le Ly (1949–)

Though a Vietnamese immigrant woman with only three years of elementary education in Vietnam, Le Ly Hayslip has not only become an author of two compelling memoirs with the assistance of a Euro-American professional writer and her eldest son but also emerged as a major promoter of reconciliation between Vietnam and the United States and an important advocate for humanitarian aid for postwar Vietnam. Her first memoir, *When Heaven and Earth Changed Places*, offers a unique perspective on why the Viet Cong could effectively mobilize the people in their struggle against the Americans and what limited options Vietnamese civilians, particularly young women, could have in South Vietnam during the war.

Born in Ky La in Central Vietnam on December 19, 1949, Hayslip grew up witnessing the Vietnamese struggle against the French and participating in the Viet Cong fight against the Americans. Because of her arrest and release from a notoriously brutal prison in South Vietnam, Hayslip lost the trust of the Viet Cong and left for Saigon to make a living. She worked as a house maid, a black marketer, and a nurse assistant for several years. After a few exploitative relationships with American servicemen, Hayslip finally married an American subcontractor, Ed Munroe, and came to San Diego, California. She was

24 years old when Munroe died, and was remarried to Dennis Hayslip who died shortly after the marriage. With the funds left by her second husband, Hayslip invested in the stock market and real estate and finally started her own restaurant business as a successful entrepreneur.

Upon its publication in 1989, Hayslip’s first memoir, *When Heaven and Earth Changed Places*, immediately gained public attention and served as an alternative voice to the American popular representation of the Vietnam War in the Reagan era. Structuring the memoir around two contrasting narrative voices that represent her former self as a Vietnamese peasant girl and her new self as a successful Vietnamese American entrepreneur, Hayslip offers an insightful explanation about why the Vietnamese villagers had supported the Viet Cong during the war, what unfortunate options Vietnamese civilians and women particularly had been given during the war, and how she would come back to Vietnam and help her family members and people in need. Although the voice of the Vietnamese peasant girl gives the American readership a glimpse of life and work in South Vietnamese villages and cities before and during the war, the voice of the Vietnamese American entrepreneur reassures the American readership of the values of human rights and critiques the theory and practice of the Vietnamese Communists. In the end, Hayslip calls for reconciliation between the United States and Vietnam and tries to “re-enlist” American veterans in her project of humanitarian aid to Vietnam and the Vietnamese.

If Hayslip’s first memoir is defined by her political message of reconciliation, then her second memoir, *Child of War, Woman of Peace*, is preoccupied with her own private life and love affairs. As if it were a return of the repressed, Hayslip explains how unhappy she was with her first husband, Ed Munroe, who had been twice her age, and why she would be attracted to a young Marine officer for a brief love affair. Hayslip also elaborates on how she dated and married Dennis Hayslip after Munroe’s death. After the death of her second husband, Hayslip invested in the stock market and real estate and finally started her own restaurant business. By publicizing her private life, Hayslip not only challenges the stereotype of Vietnamese women as passive sexual objects catering to Western

men but also demonstrates her talent in business and management.

In a certain way, Hayslip's memoirs have interwoven in the American literary and popular representation of the Vietnam War and the Vietnamese and explained in a convincing way why and how the American military could not win the hearts and minds of the Vietnamese people. Today, she continues to promote reconciliation and understanding between Vietnam and the United States and contributes to the reconstruction of the postwar Vietnam.

Yuan Shu

See also Vietnamese Americans

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Hells Canyon Massacre (1887)

On May 25, 1887, over 30 Chinese gold miners were massacred in Hells Canyon in northeastern Oregon. The brutal crime was not discovered until weeks later when several bodies floated down river and another group of Chinese miners reported what they found at the site. In the following spring, several members of a gang of known rustlers were indicted for the murder including Bruce Evans, J. T. Canfield, Hezekiah (Carl) Hughes, Omar LaRue, Hiram Maynard, and Robert McMillan, a boy of 15. Another youth who was arrested, Frank Vaughan, confessed his role and was later released. Evans, Canfield, and LaRue fled and were never brought to trial. A jury trial found three of the gang (Hughes, Maynard, and McMillan) not guilty. The court journal for the trial contains a blank page for the day that prosecution testimony was heard.

The murderers stole several thousand dollars of gold dust, but racial hostility was also an apparent motive for the massacre. Local authorities covered up details of the massacre, and the trial did not receive press coverage. Additionally, white settlers largely ignored the massacre in historical accounts. Reparation claims by the Chinese government for a series of attacks on Chinese people and property between 1885 and 1887 did not include the Hells Canyon massacre because so few facts were known by the Chinese government. The United States agreed to make an indemnity reparation payment of \$276,619.75 to the Chinese government in October 1888 following the enactment of the Scott Act, which barred tens of thousands of Chinese from returning to the United States from China.

The names of most of the Chinese miners are not known, but records include the names of a dozen including crew leaders Chea Po and Lee She. The miners were all from the Punyu district of Guangzhou (Canton). Chea Po's crew was organized by the Sam Yup Company in San Francisco and included eight with the surname of Chea, probably of the same clan. In this period approximately 60 percent of those mining in the Idaho territory and Oregon were Chinese.

Although the exact number killed is not certain (various accounts recorded the number as 31 or 34), the magnitude of the massacre may have exceeded other more publicized murderous outrages against Chinese residents in the western United States such as the Rock Springs, Wyoming massacre of 1885 in which at least 28 were murdered, and the Los Angeles lynching and attack in 1871, which took 19 lives.

A granite memorial was dedicated at the site in June 2012 with the inscription: "Chinese Massacre Cove, site of the 1887 massacre of as many as 34 Chinese gold miners. No one was held accountable."

Paul Englesberg

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Hindus in the United States

Hinduism is the world's oldest continuously practiced religion. With close to a billion followers, it is the third-largest religion after Christianity and Islam. Hinduism does not espouse a single belief system, creed, or scripture; neither does it claim a founder. The term, "Hindu" was originally used by ancient Persians to refer to the people living in the area of the Sindhu River, today known as the Indus River, and beyond. "Hindu," a variant form of "Sindhu," was, therefore,

a geographical designation rather than a religious one. Much later, the British used Hindu as a religious label in an attempt to distinguish certain practices and beliefs from other religions found in India. Some would argue that the term *sanatana dharma*, which means "eternal natural law," describes the religion better than the term Hinduism. During the nineteenth century, Christian missionaries in India chose the word *dharma* as a translation of "religion." *Dharma* refers to a person's social duty based on gender, age, and caste. Thus, *dharma* implies a prescribed way of acting rather than a belief system and indicates a person's place in an interdependent social structure. Prescribed activities include appropriate ways of relating to others, the types of food one eats, and the work in which one engages. In this sense, *dharma* refers broadly to Hindu culture.



Hindu priest sprinkles water on worshipers as he blesses the congregation at the Prem Bhakti Mandir Hindu temple during the "Nine Nights of Navratri" festival in the Jamaica, Queens, neighborhood of New York City, October 17, 2012. (AP Photo/Kathy Willens)

Understanding Hinduism as *dharma* is relevant to understanding Hinduism in America. One should not assume that a person identifies as a Hindu because she holds a certain set of beliefs or because he worships in a particular way. Most immigrant Hindus identify with the designation because, very simply, they were born into a Hindu family. Even an atheist may self-identify as Hindu based on this criterion. The distinguishing line between religion and culture is not easily drawn in Hinduism. Being Hindu often means embracing a set of values, the strongest among these being commitment to family and respect for elders.

The term “American Hindu” applies largely to first-, second-, and third-generation immigrants from India, but it includes others as well. Countries with large Hindu populations include Nepal, Mauritius, Fiji, Guyana, Suriname, Zambia, and Trinidad, as well as European countries, particularly England. People have immigrated to the United States from these countries as well as from India. Since 1965, when an Immigration Act ended a national quota system on Asian immigrants to the United States, Hinduism has increasingly become a part of America’s religious landscape. The Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life reported in its 2007 survey of religion in the United States that about 900,000 Hindus reside in the United States, comprising about 0.4 percent of the population. Immigration continues to expand, demonstrated by the fact that eight out of ten Hindus in the United States are foreign born. The Pew survey found that Hinduism has the most stable identity of any religion in the United States, with 90 percent marrying within their faith. It is likely that these statistics will change, however, as second and third generations of Hindu immigrants embrace American culture. According to the Hinduism scholar Vasudha Narayanan, many assimilated members of second-generation Hindus are marrying into other traditions.

This 900,000 figure does not include the growing number of Americans who believe in karma and reincarnation, practice Hindu-style meditation or chanting, or have a Hindu guru. Even though they do not identify themselves as Hindu in surveys, they represent a distinct influence that Hinduism is having in the United States. Interest in Hinduism was first

sparked in the early part of the twentieth century. In 1893, Vivekananda spoke at the World Parliament of Religions in Chicago, and the Vedanta Society that he established is still active in America. It was this organization that built the first Hindu Temple in the United States in 1906. In 1920, Paramahansa Yogananda spoke in Boston as a delegate to the International Congress of Religious Liberals and later established Self-Realization Fellowship, another Hindu-inspired organization that is still active today. Beginning with the Immigration Act of 1965, Hindu missionary activity increased as many gurus came to teach, and sometimes permanently reside, in the United States. Interest in Hindu practices expanded greatly in the early 1970s. Close to a million people began the practice of Transcendental Meditation as taught under the auspices of Maharishi, renowned for being the guru of the Beatles. In 1975 alone, 292,517 people were initiated into the technique of Transcendental Meditation.

Another type of Hindu influence can be seen as non-Indians become interested in the cultural traditions of India. Diwali, for example, the Indian “Festival of Lights,” is becoming a tradition at college campuses across the United States. Indians and non-Indians work together to create shows that feature various styles of Indian music and dance. Through movies, fashions, and food, Indian culture is infiltrating American society. One might argue that this phenomenon represents Indian culture and not Hinduism per se. Yet if an important identifying characteristic of Hinduism is cultural traditions, and if non-Hindus are establishing new customs of celebrating Diwali, of painting henna designs on brides, or of wearing saris instead of Western-style formal wear to high school proms, it could easily be argued that Hinduism is expanding its sphere to incorporate those who do not hail from a traditionally Hindu society.

Based on these trends, “Hindus in the United States,” is more complex than a simple documentation of immigrant Hinduism can reveal. As cultures and religions increasingly intermingle in the twenty-first century through marriage and cultural globalization, the idea of particular religions being identified only with particular immigrant groups may need to be reexamined. It is still possible at this time, however,

to identify practices and attitudes that correlate with Hindu immigrants. Furthermore, the desire of some immigrant Hindus to remain faithful to the practices and values of their country or state of origin and to pass these on to their children is evident. Because immigrant Hindus are a minority in the United States, a certain amount of homogenization of these practices and values must take place. The languages, cultures, and specific religious practices of immigrants vary depending on the country of origin or even the state of origin within India. These various groups must find common ground when relying on fewer social resources than would be available to them in their home country or state. With an increasing number of immigrants, however, it is sometimes possible to maintain unique Hindu groups, as can be seen with the Swaminarayan *sampradaya* (sect) based in Gujarat, which has its own temples in many cities throughout the United States.

Hinduism in the Home

Hindu identity is maintained primarily through family traditions. The home serves as a center for religious life. Hindu values and traditions of belief and worship are passed from one generation to the next through storytelling, through media such as books, comic books, movies, videos, music, songs, and satellite connection to Indian TV, and through worship at home altars. For example, the incarnation of Vishnu in the form of Ram maintains his popularity in the United States for Hindus as he has for many centuries in India. Children learn his story, related in the epic *Ramayana*, through the 78-episode TV series created in 1987–1988 by director Ramanand Sagar, which is now available on DVD. Children may also learn about Ram through the popular *Amar Chitra Katha* comic book series. The story of Rama's return to Ayodhya may be told on Diwali, the night of the festival of lights. The Hindu god Shiva may be celebrated on the night of *Mahashivaratri* through a gathering of friends and family within the home, where *bhajans* and *kirtans* would be sung and a tray filled with lights offered to a representation of him. Food, after being placed before an altar, would be offered as *prasad*, a grace-filled gift, to family and guests. Many Indian-

American families watch Indian television channels through satellite TV. Some rely on satellite to connect them to the teachings of gurus, which are broadcast daily.

Almost all Hindu homes have an altar. Some altars are simple and may have only one deity represented by a picture or a small statue. Others are quite elaborate, containing many deities as well as representations of gurus, living or deceased. In some homes an entire room is set aside for daily worship. However, it is more common for altars to be set up in the kitchen pantry or the bookcase of a home office. The doors of the pantry or case can be closed when not in use. One shelf may be used to display a deity and other shelves used as storage space for candles and incense. The daily rituals that women (and sometimes men) perform vary. The first step in worship never varies, however, and that is bathing before the worship begins. The simplest form of daily worship involves lighting a candle or turning on an electric light on the altar. More complicated worship involves chanting *shlokas* (hymn verses) to one or more deities. For those who have time, ritual worship may entail a full hour of chanting and offering gifts of light, food, flowers, or water to the deities. The simpler forms of worship are more common with the busy lives that many immigrant Hindus lead. In fact, some create their altar in a place that will naturally be passed on the way to the garage, such as a laundry room. That way they can stop and say a short prayer on their way out the door before they begin work or school. A simple prayer is viewed as enough to create a touchstone to Hindu religion and serve as a reminder to children of their heritage.

Social customs that have helped to define Hinduism such as arranged marriages, specified gender roles, and caste still have a place in the United States, although some of these customs are changing. The practice of not dating before marriage is a feature of Hinduism in the United States that is likely to change in the coming years as more assimilation occurs. Currently, however, dating is not common. This is partly due to the fact that Hindu parents stress academic excellence, and therefore teens and young adults have little time for dating. Arranged marriages are still acceptable to many Hindus of the younger generation. "Arranged" usually means parents or other family

members suggest prospective partners. Even when young adults choose their own relationships, certainly the approval of parents is sought and valued. Gender roles appear to be changing in an American setting. Women often will perform public ritual ceremonies that once were reserved for men. Attitudes toward women during their menstrual cycles are also changing. Women in some households prepare food while menstruating. However, it is still quite common for women not to touch sacred objects or perform worship during their menstrual cycle. The caste system has been an integral feature of Hinduism for millennia. Traditionally, Hindus belong to the caste (*jati*) into which they were born. Some still seek to marry within their caste. Many immigrant Hindus, however, feel that the caste system is no longer important. In fact, many second- and third-generation Hindus do not even know their caste background.

Hinduism in Temples

In India temples are found in every village and in every neighborhood of large cities. People always have a sacred haven where they can worship. If there is no physical structure, a tree, a river, or a rock can represent the holy, and worship occurs at all of these sites. When the first Indian immigrants arrived in the United States, no designated Hindu holy places existed. As more Hindus arrived, they began to gather in people's homes to worship together. Over time the need for a place set apart from the cares of the world became obvious. Immigrants also wanted to associate with others who shared the same language and culture. Culture, ethnicity, and religion are deeply intertwined for Hindus. Attempts to build solidarity through forming secular organizations with others from the same region of India generally proved to be weak. Often the religious affiliations of those in the group who are more highly represented slowly change the nature of the secular organization to a religious one (Kurien 7). Thus, religious organizations in the form of Hindu temples are much stronger than secular organizations, yet these temples serve purposes beyond what many in the West might consider religious. Temples serve not only as places of worship, but also as cultural centers that offer classes in Indian languages, dance, and

music. Political holidays, such as India's Independence Day, are often celebrated in temples.

Hinduism in India can be very generally categorized as those who worship Vishnu as their chosen deity (Vaishnavites) and those who worship Shiva (Shaivites). Followers of a form of the goddess, such as Kali, are also common. Thus, temples are usually dedicated to one of these major deities. One would not enter a temple of Shiva and find a *murti* (statue) of Vishnu. This is not the case in the United States. All of the major deities are housed within a single temple so that people from many *sampradayas* (sects) can worship together. The style of architecture and the style of sculpture also vary, with the most noticeable differences occurring between the North and the South of India. In the United States the style of the *murtis* or architecture may be representative of the greatest population of Hindus in the area where the temple is built. As the number of immigrant Hindus increases, however, several temples may be built in a single city so that the same divisions of people and language groups that occur in India are duplicated in the United States.

One example of regionally based temples is the Swaminarayan *sampradaya* and its related organization, the Bochasanwasi Akshar Purushottam Sanstha, or BAPS. The Swaminarayan Temple stresses its Gujarati heritage, and classes in Gujarati are held on Sundays as part of the Sunday School for children. Swaminarayan temples are associated with a guru, Pramukh Swami, part of a *parampara* (guru lineage) that originated with Sahajanand Swami, also known as Swami Narayan (1781–1830). Swami Narayan and other gurus in his lineage are considered by their followers to be incarnations of the divine. As is the case with most Hindu gurus, several lines of descent result as different people claim to be the successor of a guru. One of these lines of descent led to the founding of BAPS, which has a million followers around the world. It is very popular among Gujaratis who come to America, even though it makes up only about 5 percent of the population of Gujarat, and one-third of the Swaminarayan sect for the state. Scholar of American Hinduism, Raymond Brady Williams, found that one-third of the 224 American BAPS followers whom he surveyed became members after their arrival in the United States and that 80 percent of first-generation

immigrants in BAPS became more interested in religious matters after coming to the United States. This speaks well for the organization's role in helping to maintain a strong Hindu heritage in the United States. BAPS considers itself to be a "socio-spiritual organization" that addresses all the needs of its members. It stresses charity and responds to crises with donations and services.

Hinduism in the United States is continually evolving. Undoubtedly, Hindu temples will proliferate as Hindu immigration increases. The homogenization of sects that marked the early phase of Hinduism, from the 1960s to the turn of the millennium, appears to be changing to accommodate different strains of Hindu religiosity. It is also the case that some Hindu values and customs regarding gender roles and caste are changing. As Hindus marry people of other religions, it remains to be seen how much they will hold to traditional styles of Hindu worship and values in the home and in religious organizations. On the other hand, some Indian immigrants are more religious than they would be if they had remained in their birth country because their ties to Hinduism help to create a sense of identity. As with followers of other religions in the United States, it is likely that some will become more secular whereas others will seek ways to intensify their religious identity.

Lola Williamson

See also Asian American Muslims; Asian Religions and Religious Practices in America; Buddhism in Asian America; Dīpāvalī; Japanese American Christianity; Religion and Its Social Function in the Japanese American Community

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Hirabayashi v. United States (1943)

The initial trial *Gordon Kiyoshi Hirabayashi v. the United States of America* was held in the United States District Court in Seattle, May 1942. The charges were: violation of Public Law #503, Curfew Act, and violation of Civilian Exclusion Order No. 57. Gordon Hirabayashi was found guilty of each offense charged in the two count indictment.

The District Court decision was appealed in February 1943 and transferred to the Circuit Court of Appeals, which passed the case on to the United States Supreme Court on March 27, 1943. *Gordon K. Hirabayashi v. United States*, United States Supreme Court: Curfew 320 U.S. 81, 638 S.Ct. 1375; Exclusion 105, 63 Supreme Court, 1387. On June 21, 1943, the court upheld the validity of Hirabayashi's conviction on the curfew order alone.

Gordon Hirabayashi v. United States of America: writ of Coram Nobis (regarding United States District Court ruling in Seattle, May 18, 1944). The Court denied the Government motion to dismiss, and set a hearing on the writ of *coram nobis* for June, 1985.

Gordon K. Hirabayashi v. United States of America: United States Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit, March 2, 1987. The judgment of the district court as to the exclusion conviction was reexamined. The judgment as to the curfew conviction was reversed and the matter was remanded with instructions to grant Hirabayashi's petition to vacate both convictions.

Gordon K. Hirabayashi

Gordon Hirabayashi, a Nisei, second-generation Japanese American, was born in Seattle in 1918 and raised in the small rural community of Thomas just south of Seattle. It was a closely knit Japanese American community with supportive Euro-American neighbors.

Gordon's youth revolved around relationships not only in the Japanese American community but also with the American society. Gordon's activities included Japanese- and Euro-American networks, Elementary School, religious, Boy Scout, and sports activities. As such, Gordon's childhood entailed the merging of both Japanese American and American experiences. At the University of Washington, Gordon continued his religious affiliations. He became a student leader in the University YMCA and joined the University Quaker meeting. He also joined the Japanese American Students Club.

World War II

On February 19, 1942, President F. D. Roosevelt, acting under his emergency war powers, issued Executive Order 9066. The Order enabled the secretary of war and the military commanders under him to carry out any necessary steps to protect national security, including removal of any suspicious individuals from military areas. A proclamation issued March 24, 1942, that was essentially a curfew order, restricted the movement of certain individuals including persons of Japanese ancestry, whether citizens or not. General John L. DeWitt's order confined all enemy aliens: Germans, Italians, and Japanese—including U.S. citizens of Japanese ancestry—to their homes between 8 p.m. and 6 a.m. The same curfew order also restricted travel to a radius of five miles from a given individual's home.

The government soon posted an official proclamation on telephone poles and Post Office bulletin boards: NOTICE: TO ALL PERSONS OF JAPANESE ANCESTRY, BOTH ALIEN AND NON-ALIEN, ordering all Japanese and Japanese Americans into camps run by the military and then civilian authorities.

American Citizenship

Because of his American citizenship and Christian religious principles, Gordon Hirabayashi believed that both curfew and mass detention were unnecessary, discriminatory, and unjust. He decided to resist both orders, on principle, and retained a lawyer.

Hirabayashi's decision caught the attention of progressive Seattle community leaders, and quickly his stand garnered the status of a test case with support on the part of religious and political sympathizers.

Hirabayashi and his Quaker lawyer, Art Barnet, presented themselves at the Seattle FBI office on May 13, 1942 with Gordon's written statement, "Why I Refuse to Register for Evacuation." In the statement, Gordon wrote:

Over and above any man-made creed or law is the natural law of life—the right of human individuals to live and to creatively express themselves. No man was born with the right to limit that law . . . This order for the mass evacuation of all persons of Japanese descent denies them the right to live . . . Over sixty percent are American citizens, yet they are denied on a wholesale scale without due process of law the civil liberties which are theirs . . . If I were to register and cooperate under those circumstances, I would be giving helpless consent to the denial of practically all of the things which give me incentive to live. I must maintain my Christian principles. I consider it my duty to maintain the democratic standards for which this nation lives. Therefore I must refuse this order for evacuation.

With the support of the Gordon Hirabayashi Defense Committee, made up of progressive supporters in the University District, the initial trial proceeded. Lawyer Frank Walters, argued the 5th Amendment right of due process was violated by the exclusion order, emphasizing that Gordon had never been accused of posing a danger in terms of espionage or sabotage, the two ostensible reasons for the exclusion proclamation. He moved that the Court dismiss the indictment on the grounds that the defendant had been deprived of liberty and property without due process of law. Furthermore Gordon and his lawyer charged that Executive Order 9066, Proclamations 2 and 3, and Civilian Exclusion Order #57 of the Military commander, as well as Public Law #503, were all unconstitutional and void. The judge pronounced Gordon guilty of each offense charged in the two counts of the indictment. His trial lasted just one day.

Hirabayashi and his lawyers pursued judicial review at the United States Supreme Court. In May 1943, his case was given a hearing, and in the following month his convictions were upheld. In an interesting twist of fate, the justices decided to hear only the curfew aspect of Hirabayashi's case, and ultimately upheld the right of the president and Congress to take any necessary measures needed, in times of crisis, to defend national security. Although the case generated judicial debate, all of the Supreme Court justices ended up concurring with the majority ruling in regard to the legality of the imposed curfew.

Implications of the Hirabayashi Case

There are at least three reasons to revisit to *Hirabayashi v. the United States* today. First, it illustrates a situation where the standard principle of checks and balances broke down. Instead, that is, of fully tackling the issue of mass removal and mass incarceration of an entire ethnic/racial group, the Supreme Court Justices dodged a key constitutional issue by focusing only on the wartime need for curfew regulations.

Second, given the partial success of Hirabayashi's *coram nobis* case in 1986, it has now been demonstrated that the war department manipulated evidence and essentially lied to the Supreme Court in making its case. Using the government's own documentary record, that is, Hirabayashi's legal team was able to demonstrate that military leaders and federal officials knew full well that Japanese Americans did not constitute a wholesale threat to national security, and that there were means in place to identify and contain those persons inside of the community who may indeed have constituted a potential threat. This point would have reinforced Hirabayashi's claim that the Fifth Amendment was being violated by the federal government's actions.

Third, as legal historian and scholar Eric Muller has pointed out, in a post-9/11 world, the domestic use of a wholesale curfew against an identifiable segment of the U.S. population—such as Middle Eastern, or Muslim, Americans—is a much more likely scenario should any site on the lower 48 states be subject to a large, violent attack. In this sense, the Supreme Court's Hirabayashi ruling could take on a new

relevance, especially because the mass incarceration of a domestic population would be relatively unlikely, not only because of the expense, but also because the public at large would probably not support such a measure.

Lane Ryo Hirabayashi and James A. Hirabayashi

See also Korematsu, Hirabayashi, and Yasui Coram Nobis Cases

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Hirahara, Naomi (1962–)

Born on May 12, 1962, in Pasadena, California, Naomi Hirahara is the daughter of Isamu and Mayumi Hirahara. She attended Stanford University and graduated with a degree in international relations and had the opportunity to study at the Inter-University Center for Advanced Japanese Language Studies in Tokyo and volunteer in Ghana, West Africa. For nine years, Hirahara worked as a reporter and editor of the *Rafu Shimpo*, a Japanese American newspaper based in Los Angeles during the redress and reparations movement (a pivotal moment in history for Japanese Americans) and the Los Angeles riots. In 1996, Hirahara left the newspaper to pursue other writing endeavors and attended Newman University in Wichita, Kansas as a Milton Center Fellow in creative writing. After the completion of the program, Hirahara returned to California and began to write and publish her own work, even establishing her own small press, Midori Books. Currently, Hirahara resides in Southern California with her husband, Wes, where she leads a number of writing workshops. She is also an active member of her church and serves on the board of the Southern California chapter of the Mystery Writers of America.

Although Hirahara is best known for her beloved character Mas Arai and his subsequent and often reluctant detective adventures, she began writing nonfiction that focused mostly on marginalized or little-known Japanese American history. Hirahara’s nonfiction is region-specific and illuminates local history that is important to particular community formations in Southern California. For instance, *Green Makers: Japanese American Gardeners in Southern California* (2000) examines the history of this group of Japanese Americans who struggled against discrimination and faced economic limitations as they labored to keep their communities green and beautiful. Hirahara has also authored two biographies for the Japanese American National Museum: *An American Son: The Story of George Aratani, Founder of Mikasa and Kenwood* (2000) and *A Taste for Strawberries: The Independent Journey of Nisei Farmer Manabi Hirasaki* (2003). In addition to her accounts of these two influential Japanese American community members, she compiled the reference book, *Distinguished Asian American Business Leaders* (2003), which highlights the lives of 96 businessmen and -women whose stories are informative as well as inspiring. In 2004, she coauthored *Silent Scars of Healing Hands: Oral Histories of Japanese American Doctors in World War II Detention Camps*, which looks at how these men and women provided medical assistance to fellow internees with limited equipment, technology, and funds. She also released the book, *A Scent of Flowers: The History of the Southern California Flower Market* (2004) that examines the contributions of ethnic families to this particular industry through their personal stories and photographs.

Hirahara’s first mystery, *Summer of the Big Bachi* (2004) took her 15 years to conceptualize, research, and complete. Her novel follows Mas Arai, a Kibei Hibakusha gardener turned sleuth who is forced to remember his traumatic past as a Hiroshima atomic bomb survivor as he searches for a person from that past. Kibei refers to a Japanese American who was born in the United States but grew up in Japan whereas Hibakusha refers to a Hiroshima atomic bomb survivor. Mas is loosely based on Hirahara’s own father who was born in California but taken to Japan as an infant; he was only miles away from the epicenter of

the atomic bomb but survived. At the end of the war, he returned to California and became a gardener and landscaper much like the fictional Mas. Hirahara weaves this particular history into her novel because it was not only an important part of her own family’s personal story but one that has remained silent within the community. Although Hirahara did not expect to continue with Mas’s character, *Summer of the Big Bachi* is the first of the current four in the Mas Arai series—which may be continued. The second of the series, *Gasa-Gasa Girl* (2005) follows Mas who stumbles upon a murder when he visits his daughter who is in need of his help. *Snakeskin Shamisen* (2006) won an Edgar Allan Poe Award in 2007 for the category of Best Paperback Original and highlights the Okinawan community in South Bay, California. The fourth in the series is *Blood Hina* (2010), whose mystery revolves around the disappearance of an ancient Japanese doll display that Mas must solve when the blame is placed upon his friend. Hirahara has also written a young adult novel, *1001 Cranes*, about a young girl who is living through her parents’ divorce but strengthening her own relationships to family and friends through the tradition of origami.

Wendi Yamashita

See also Japanese Americans; Kibei

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Hirayama, Satoshi “Fibber” (1930–)

Satoshi “Fibber” Hirayama was an all-star Japanese American baseball player who began his serious baseball days as a 12-year-old farm boy in Exeter, California. During World War II, his family was relocated

with thousands of other Japanese Americans to Poston, Arizona, site of Internment Camp Number Two. When there, he played sandlot football and moved on to organized baseball within the camp's 32-team league.

Hirayama refined and developed his baseball skills with the competitive nature of camp ball. After the war, his family returned to California's San Joaquin Valley. He finished high school and received a scholarship to play baseball at Fresno State College. There he lettered in football and baseball. His incredible base path speed led to two records that stood for more than 40 years: 76 stolen bases in a season and 5 stolen bases in one game.

With speed on the base paths and a strong arm in the outfield, his world-class skills earned him a contract from the Stockton Ports, a farm team of the St. Louis Browns. He became one of the first Japanese Americans from Fresno to play professional baseball. But one year later Uncle Sam called; from 1953 to 1955, Hirayama continued his baseball days as a soldier at Fort Ord. Many of his teammates went on to Major League clubs.

After being discharged, Hirayama signed with the Hiroshima Carp in the Japanese Baseball League. Both Hirayama and fellow teammate Kenshi Zenimura were received with incredible fanfare and popularity. They were the first mainlanders to play in Japan. More than 100,000 fans showed up at the Hiroshima train station to greet these two U.S. ballplayers. Hirayama became a two-time All-Star and competed in Japanese-MLB All-Star games against future Hall-of-Famers like Mickey Mantle, Whitey Ford, and Stan Musial.

Hirayama played for Hiroshima for 10 years, and later became a scout for the Carp organization in Japan and in the Dominican Republic. During his career, Hirayama exemplified the competitive spirit of a young Nisei who rose to many of life's challenges. He pioneered baseball in California and abroad in Japan. He truly is one of the game's great ambassadors and a legend in Japanese American baseball history.

Kerry Yo Nakagawa

See also Japanese American Baseball; Zenimura, Kenichi

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Hirono, Mazie K. (1947–)

Mazie Hirono is a Japanese American politician from the state of Hawaii. She has served Hawaii's 2nd Congressional District since 2007 and was lieutenant governor of Hawaii between 1994 and 2002. She is also the first immigrant woman to serve in Congress.

Mazie Keiko Hirono was born on November 3, 1947, in Fukushima, Japan to a Hawaiian-born mother and a Japanese-born father. However, to escape an abusive relationship and provide a better future for her children, Hirono's mother left Japan and brought her children to the United States. Hirono was eight years old at that time. Coming from humble beginnings, Hirono had to work to put herself through school. She graduated from high school and later received a bachelor's degree from the University of Hawaii in 1970. Hirono wanted to help people and had originally intended on becoming a social worker. However, she became interested in politics when she realized that social workers can help only those who are in need at a very basic level whereas changes in politics will be able to generate wide-sweeping effects. After college Hirono worked in the state legislature and gained experience in politics through working on other people's electoral campaigns. After working for five years, Hirono went off to law school and received a doctor of jurisprudence from Georgetown University Law School in 1978.

After law school, Hirono returned to Hawaii to practice law. She served briefly as the deputy attorney general before entering private practice. Hirono entered politics when she was elected into the Hawaiian State

Legislature in 1980. She served with the Hawaiian House of Representatives between 1980 and 1994. She also served as the chairman of the Consumer Protection and Commerce Committee between 1987 and 1992.

In 1994, Hirono decided to move up the political ladder and subsequently won the Democratic nomination for lieutenant governor. She was paired with Ben Cayetano and they would win their first of two terms in 1994. During her time as lieutenant governor, Hirono focused her efforts on cultivating a good relationship with the legislature and pushed for issues such as workers' compensation reform. She also worked to better Hawaii's transportation infrastructure and reshaped the bureaucratic structure of the state elections office by moving it out of the lieutenant governor's office.

At the end of her second term, Hirono intended to run for governor even though she did not have the endorsement of Cayetano, with whom her working relationship had become estranged. She ran against Republican opponent Linda Lingle and eventually lost the race.

Temporarily out of public office, Hirono devoted herself to the Democratic Party. After Patsy Mink passed away in 2002, she approached Mink's husband for permission to use Patsy's name for a political action committee that would support the political campaign of pro-choice women candidates. The Patsy T. Mink Political Action Committee was founded on January 7, 2006.

When Congressman Ed Case announced his intentions to challenge Daniel Akaka for the Senate seat in 2006, Hirono entered the race to fill Case's then vacant 2nd District congressional seat. Hirono was successful and became the first immigrant woman to be elected to Congress.

Since Hirono's election, she has joined the Committee on Education and Labor, and the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure. The education of young children is one of the many issues that Hirono champions. In the 110th Congress she sponsored the PRE-K Act, which would have provided funding for state-approved pre-k education. However, this piece of legislation never made it out of Congress. Nonetheless, she received recognition from the

national preschool advocacy organization Pre-K Now for her work.

Hirono is also known as a progressive voice in Congress. In June 2009, she delivered a statement on the House floor highlighting the work of Dr. Tiller after the U.S. House of Representatives issued a resolution condemning the murder of the controversial Dr. Tiller, who was one of the only few publicly known physicians that still performed late-term abortions (abortions after the 21st week) in the United States.

Aside from legislative work, Hirono is also involved in multiple caucuses. Some of her most important ones include the House Democratic Caucus, the Congressional Asian Pacific American Caucus, the Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues, and the Congressional Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender (LGBT) Equality Caucus. Hirono was elected to the U.S. Senate in 2013 in a special election to replace Daniel Akaka.

Jeanette Yih Harvie

See also Cayetano, Benjamin; LGBT Activism

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Hmong American Women

Hmong American women have made tremendous strides during the last 35 years in the United States. Although conscious of the barriers women encounter in the face of prevailing male privilege in Hmong society, one must also avoid the temptation to engage in imperialist impulses by crediting their progress to Euro-American influence alone. Hmong women's achievements must be balanced between tradition and new opportunities. Despite occupying an inferior

status in traditional society, women have always had influential cultural, economic, and political roles. Opportunities have increased for Hmong women in the United States, but their progress is also deeply rooted in a tradition that accords a level of autonomy to the female sex. Hmong American women have been especially talented in pushing the boundaries of this autonomy, helping to lift their people to new heights.

Hmong cultural practices give the appearance of a rigidly organized patriarchal society, but historians argue for a matriarchal past that was gradually eroded by Han Chinese patriarchy during thousands of years of subjugation. Today, in America, traces of Hmong matriarchy remain evident. Women are the repositories of cultural wisdom exemplified in the role of the *Maum Phauj* (“Grand Aunt”), the oldest living aunt of the paternal clan who possesses the power to remove curses, forestall calamity, and change traditions. Moreover, women have religious and social roles as shamans, herbalists, midwives, fortune tellers, and spirit mediums with access to the supernatural world. Women shamans and healers are accorded the same respect as males following a ceremony.

By and large, men continue to monopolize the rituals having to do with birth, marriage, and death, but the Hmong have no mandates against women becoming funeral masters or marriage negotiators. Hence, women are beginning to display their mastery of the *qeej* bamboo instrument at the funerals of youths. The funerals of respected elders remain the exclusive preserve of male ritualists, however. Moreover, women have yet to be invited to become marriage negotiators. Nonetheless, changes are occurring in the Hmong American community that contests the discourse of a rigid, patriarchal society dominated by men.

Meanwhile, Hmong women’s economic value has remained a constant over time. Scholars argue that women have had a powerful economic clout since 1975 as their beautiful *padau* (embroidery) commanded incomes of over \$1 million annually—much more than the income generated by family farming. This fact is not a surprise because women have always been essential breadwinners in the family back in the mountains of Laos. Hmong folktales highlight women’s indispensable role in men’s financial, social, and political climb. A far contrast from the Western

Sleeping Beauty who awaits the kiss of a prince, Hmong women are depicted in folktales as diligent, clever wives and “dragon princesses” who fashion their “orphan” husbands into wealthy princes. This important economic distinction is reflected in the collection of a bride price for every woman at the time of marriage. The bride price is paid to the parents for raising a daughter, and also as compensation for the loss of her future economic contributions. The bride price relinquishes a daughter from the worldly and spiritual responsibilities that her brothers must assume for the parents—caring for them in old age and feeding their spirits after death.

Polygyny in traditional society may also have been linked to the economic importance of women. To increase wealth and personal standing, a Hmong man may marry multiple wives who contribute to the family work load. In general, however, the burdensome bride price that could easily exhaust a family’s lifetime savings often worked to prevent polygyny in the past. Only the wealthiest Hmong men like Lo Bliia Yao (five wives), Ly Foung (four wives), and General Vang Pao (seven wives) could afford more than one wife. Today, in America, the bride price is largely symbolic, being set by the Hmong 18 Council at \$5,000 maximum. Ironically, this low rate, which could be saved up in a single year by middle-income Hmong American families, has allowed Hmong men to more easily afford minor wives. The incidence of Hmong men legally divorcing their wives so that they could import a minor wife from Asia seems to be on the increase.

Women’s economic value is reflected in the division of labor in traditional society. Hmong women bore the brunt of the agrarian lifestyle, having double duty outside and inside the home. Robert Cooper argues, however, that “sexual division of labour within the productive process is not unduly weighted against women . . . [despite] . . . a distinction in household routine that does not contradict a ‘master-servant’ interpretation of the marital relationship” (Cooper 1984, 136). In traditional society women worked beside men in the fields while also presiding over the majority of household chores such as cooking, cleaning, child-rearing, and preparing feeds for domestic animals. Women also gathered edible forest products, cultivated small gardens of vegetables and fruits, and collected

firewood and fetched water. Weaving, sewing, and embroidery were the exclusive preserves of women. Men, on the other hand, built houses, hunted, fished, and engaged in silversmith work, forged tools and weapons, and fashioned silver jewelries. Men were forbidden to touch women's *padau* because it was believed that to do so would result in their inability to trap game. Accordingly, hunting and trapping were exclusive preserves of men. Women were also warned not to set traps that would catch only snakes. The war and displacement from Laos have forced some flexibility in labor divisions, however. In the refugee camps of Thailand, for example, men often aided in the sewing of "story cloths" that commanded vital revenues. Hmong men in Laos today also participate in replicating these tapestries that are sold to tourists for hundreds of dollars each. Income from *padau* far surpasses hard labor, which commands an average annual salary of only \$200.

Back in Laos Hmong women have not had much opportunity to assume political roles. They remained mainly as influential wives who connected men to power. Hmong leaders such as General Vang Pao, for example, emerged by virtue of their ability to form marriage alliances by taking wives from dominant clans. In the United States, Hmong women have seized the opportunity to be political pioneers, however. Choua Lee ran a successful campaign as a school board member in St. Paul, Minnesota in 1992, becoming the first elected Hmong American official. Even with more pomp and fanfare, Mee Moua captured a Minnesota state senate seat for her Eastside St. Paul district in February 2002. Other notable political women are Kazoua Kong-Thao and Vally Moua Varro, Mee's younger sister, both of whom currently sit on the St. Paul School Board. Although more Hmong men than women have sought political office in Minnesota, only Cy Thao, a former member of the Minnesota House of Representatives, has claimed success similar to the women. Unlike the women in Minnesota, Hmong women in other states have not been able to make similar inroads into politics. Hmong men in Wisconsin and California lead in political elections.

The educational attainment of Hmong women is quite stunning considering that they were the most

disadvantaged back in Southeast Asia. Hmong men have only begun to obtain education in the second decade of the twentieth century. Women lagged behind until the period of the Secret War in the 1960s, when the Hmong were displaced from the mountains into the lowlands where schools were located. At that time, a handful of girls from influential families began to gain access to education. A few among them were able to advance enough to obtain teachers' training certificates. The only systematic effort made by General Vang Pao toward educating Hmong women of this period, however, was to recruit them as nurses for wounded soldiers. Hmong women were not given the opportunity to study abroad.

Despite multiple barriers, Hmong American women have been able to obtain postgraduate professional degrees and doctorates. Some of these notable women are Drs. Pa Houa Yang and Zoua Pa Yang, the first female graduates of the University of Wisconsin–Madison Medical School; Drs. Phoua Xiong and Yeng Yang, the first female graduates from the University of Minnesota Medical School; Kaoly Lyfoung, who was the first woman to obtain a law degree from the University of Minnesota; and associate professor Dia Cha, formerly of St. Cloud State University. Other highly educated Hmong women who have been recognized for their community work are Maykao Hang, a Brown University and University of Minnesota alumna and the current CEO of the Wilder Foundation in St. Paul, and Kao Ly Ilean Her, the Executive Director of the Council on Asian Pacific Minnesotans. Jiu Lee ranks among the most enterprising Hmong businesswomen in the United States, having founded the Golden Harvest market in St. Paul that is referred to by Hmong as "taj laj Ntsum" (Jiu's market). Mai Neng Moua and Kao Kalia Yang are distinguished for their respective landmark publications, *Bamboo Among the Oaks* and *The Latehomecomer*. Representing the West Coast is Dr. Leena Her, a graduate of Stanford University and assistant professor at Kennesaw State, part of the University of Georgia system. These are just a handful of the many highly educated Hmong American women who are emerging as role models in various fields.

Overall, Hmong women still lag behind men in educational attainment. The 2000 Census reports that

among a population of 186,310, 56.8 percent of Hmong women across the United States have completed no schooling compared to 33.5 percent of men. Hmong men also have higher graduation rates with 34.4 percent holding high school degrees as compared to just 20.1 percent of women. The disparity is similar at postsecondary levels where 16.5 percent of Hmong men held bachelors or associates degrees in contrast to 7 percent of women. Only 2.1 percent of men and 1 percent of women held postgraduate degrees.

Although women lagged behind in degree attainment, the perception in the community is that women are succeeding at a higher rate. This view is perhaps skewed by the fact that women had been largely deprived of educational opportunities in Laos so the achievements today are much more striking to the mind. Another reason might also be that high-achieving Hmong women have commanded more mainstream attention as well, helping to reflect an image of more success to the Hmong community. When Mee Moua and Cy Thao won elections in 2002, for example, Mee got more press attention than Cy. Her educational credentials as an alumna of Brown University and a law school graduate from the University of Minnesota were emphasized.

On the other hand, the perception that women are achieving more has some basis. Hmong professors and counselors at various higher educational institutions note a growing disparity in the number of Hmong men and women enrolling in higher education. The sex ratio of Hmong students, like that in the mainstream white population, is shifting in favor of six women to four men. A former Hmong professor at Concordia University in St. Paul, Minnesota, observed more male Hmong students than female students at Concordia in the early 1990s. But from the mid-1990s forward, the enrollment of female Hmong students increased. Professors and administrators at the University of Minnesota and the University of Wisconsin–Madison, two Big Ten schools with substantial Hmong student populations, noted similar statistical disparities. As men are expected to be the cultural bearers and leaders in the community, the declining enrollment and lower graduation rate of males is arousing concern. If the trend continues, women will surpass men in degree attainment within the next few decades.

Presently, men dominate the educational achievement rate, a fact consistent with the cultural expectations and investments parents placed on males. Although there are Hmong American women like Mee Moua and novelist Kao Kaolia Yang who generate a positive view of Hmong women's progress, the statistics reveal that they are still the exception. Moreover, men often do not get as much mainstream press, but they are the esteemed members of the community. They are rarely addressed without their educational titles and they are regarded with respect and deference whereas high-achieving Hmong American women occupy ambiguous positions. At community events, for example, high-achieving women are dealt with some awkwardness whereas high-achieving men are immediately accorded honor by being invited to join the male elders at the table. Yee Chang, Mee Moua's husband, often delighted in telling me how he had to refuse such overtures to sit as an honored guest at the table of men on Mee's behalf even though she was the senator and not him. Although the mainstream press shows a bias toward Hmong women, the Hmong community definitely elevates men.

Although Hmong American women have made considerable gains in educational attainment, past observations about a lesser investment and encouragement from parents for girls to obtain an education still ring true. Overall, Hmong Americans still value the role of mother and wife for Hmong women more than any other role. Urgings for girls to delay marriage for an education are usually tempered with immediate advice to also avoid becoming spinsters. Not surprisingly, early marriage remains persistent, revealing the latent value esteemed by the community. The impact of early marriage is becoming apparent in the community as evident in the influx of divorces. As early marriages are not legally registered, there is no accurate statistics of their dissolution, but the Hmong American divorce rate is high enough to draw the critical remarks of Mee Moua during her keynote address at the Minneapolis Hmong New Year's Festival in December 2007. The devastating impact of early marriage and divorce is high for Hmong women who are stigmatized and highest for children who can do little besides bearing the results of the breakdown of family social values.

Mai Na M. Lee

See also Hmong of Minnesota and California; Moua, Mee; Thao, Cy

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Hmong of Minnesota and California

Origin and Immigration to the United States

The Hmong Americans are a minority indigenous to China where 10 million of their coethnics, referred to as “Miao,” still reside today. They were a nonliterate people, but their funeral dirge, the *qhuab ke* (Instructions of the Way), which is passed down orally, refers to an origin in the Yellow River basin of northeastern China. Hmong Americans still instruct the souls of their deceased to return to this region to convene with their ancestors. Over the millennia, the Hmong were gradually pushed south by the expanding Han empire. They arrived at the Vietnamese frontier in large numbers during the latter Ming and the Qing periods. The first groups of Hmong entered Laos by about 1820. Others made their way from Laos or Burma into Thailand by 1850.

Hmong leaders who played crucial roles during French rule were part of the last massive influx from China in the mid-nineteenth century. They arrived in

Southeast Asia just as the French began conquering Vietnam from the south. The Hmong response to the French was not uniform. They engaged in resistance as well as collaboration. Messianic leaders who maintained the desire to reconsolidate their ancient kingdom entered French colonial history by leading rebellions. Foremost among these leaders was Pa Chay Vue, who led the largest, most expansive movement against the French from 1918 to 1921. Other Hmong leaders—secular political leaders—found a common interest with the colonial masters. The rivalry for control among the secular leaders was a weakness exploited by the French. As French appointment was essential for recognition as the dominant Hmong leader, these men rallied to serve the French.

The Hmong also occupied a region strategic to French rule of Indochina. The Hmong made up 30 percent of the population in Xieng Khouang, Laos, and inhabited the mountains that encircled the Plain of Jars. Bisecting these mountains is Colonial Route 7 (CR7), the road that connected the French administrative centers of Hanoi and Saigon in Vietnam to the Lao royal capital of Luang Prabang and the administrative seat of Vientiane. CR7 was the easiest access to landlocked Laos. Hmong leaders who competed for influence over the population in the early twentieth century sought the favor of the French by conscripting Hmong villagers to construct and later, during the height of the Cold War, to defend CR7 from Communist incursion into the Lao kingdom.

The families of Lo Blia Yao (d. 1935) and Ly Fong (1888–1939) ranked foremost among those who benefitted from French rule. Rivalries between these two families fueled the division of the Hmong during the French and American wars in Indochina. Blia Yao was recognized as the paramount Hmong leader in 1910 when he supervised the construction of CR7. Ly Fong was Blia Yao’s secretary and son-in-law, but literacy in Lao and French allowed his family to eclipse Blia Yao. Ly Fong’s son, Touby Lyfong (1918–1978), was appointed as Blia Yao’s successor in 1939, four years after his death. Lo Faydang, Blia Yao’s son, felt entitled to inherit the position. He joined the Japanese and then the Viet Minh against Touby and the French. Touby, on the other hand, used his prestige to recruit a Hmong army of 9,000 to aid

the French in retaking the strategic Plain of Jars after World War II. When the French lost in 1954, at the height of Cold War paranoia, the Americans intervened in South Vietnam. In Laos, they appointed another Hmong leader.

By 1961, Laos had become stagnantly divided between pro-American rightists, pro-Soviet leftists, and independent neutralists who showed signs of leaning to the left. Deeply concerned, Central Intelligence Operative William (“Bill”) Lair rallied Hmong support. He had heard of Vang Pao, Touby’s protégé who had been fighting the Communists since 1945. Vang Pao was the first Hmong officer with the rank of colonel in the Royal Lao Army. Lair found him on the retreat at Thavieng, a village north of Vientiane. Lair offered weapons, ammunition, and salaries for his soldiers and food for their wives and children. Vang Pao promised Hmong recruits for training in the defense against Communism. This historic meeting laid the grounds for an army of 30,000, trained and financed by the American Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). Until the Paris Peace Accords in 1973, the Hmong army bottled Communist advances along CR7 on the strategic PDJ, standing between Hanoi and Vientiane. After U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam, the Hmong faced Communist reprisals. Vang Pao and 2,500 of his officers and their families were airlifted to Thailand in May 1975. The Hmong population followed them by foot, losing family members to mines, gunshots, starvation, and drowning as they swam across the Mekong River. Decades later, as Hmong Americans began to make socioeconomic strides in the United States, Vang Pao forgot how he had left the Hmong behind in Laos as he sneaked away by helicopter. He claimed credit for “bringing the Hmong to America.” Vang Pao, in effect, urged many Hmong to remain in Laos to fuel his resistance efforts.

Touby Lyfoung, Vang Pao’s predecessor, remained with the Hmong in Laos where he was arrested and detained at a seminar camp. After he endured torture and hard labor for three years, Touby provoked a guard to shoot him while he was bathing in a river in 1978. Touby’s uncle and long-time rival, Faydang, became an influential Hmong leader in the Lao People’s Democratic Republic until his death in 1986. Faydang had won but, as great historical ironies

go, those Hmong who lost the war and moved to the West are now the envy of the victors who triumphed and remained in Laos. Even members of Faydang’s family have defected quietly under the guise of “refugees” and immigrated into the United States.

The Hmong of Minnesota

The Hmong who came to America have endured multiple generations of war trauma from 1945 to 1975. Moreover, several generations of Hmong Americans have suffered confinement behind barbed wired refugee camps like Ban Vinai, Chiang Kham, Nam Phong, and Wat Thamkrabok from 1975 to 2004. Dependent on American rice drops during the Secret War and fed by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in the Thai camps, multiple generations of Hmong have grown up never knowing the life of autonomous subsistence farmers in the mountains of Laos. The effects of war trauma on the Hmong remain unfathomable, and can perhaps be best captured by literary efforts. Historical analysis alone would be insufficient. Poor mental and physical health is evident from the onset of Hmong arrival on United States soil. During the early 1980s, men began dying mysteriously in their sleep, arousing the concern of the medical community who found no physiological cause. These “sleep deaths” tapered off into the 1990s as the Hmong acculturated to the mainstream. Today, Hmong Americans have a disproportionately high rate of kidney stones and cancer deaths.

The Hmong were the backbone of America’s Secret War in Laos, but they were deemed too primitive to be accepted as refugees to the United States in 1975. This perception existed in spite of the fact that Hmong men had mastered the modern war technologies introduced by the French and the Americans. By 1967, men like Lee Lue had mastered flight as T-28 pilots. Lee holds the Guinness World record for flying the most combat flights—over 5,000 missions. Oblivious about such Hmong heroes, policy makers in Washington D.C. engaged in legalism, using the Hmong’s nonliteracy against them. There was no written contract between Bill Lair and Vang Pao, they argued. The United States was not lawfully obligated to extend aid to displaced Hmong refugees. Vietnamese and

Cambodians were accepted for immediate resettlement, although the Hmong starved in the squalor of the Thai camps. Jerry Daniels, CIA advisor to Vang Pao at Long Cheng, advanced a moral obligation. He and other Americans, he said, had promised to “take care” of the Hmong should the United States lose the war in Vietnam. Embarrassed by the media exposure, U.S. policy makers amended the Indochina Migration and Refugee Assistance Act to include the Hmong. Ironically, the Hmong did not want to come to America. They had the largest no-show cases when called for screening. Immigrant caseworkers were baffled.

Only General Vang Pao and his closest associates were allowed into the country in 1975. When Hmong refugees followed in 1976, American policy makers took efforts to scatter them throughout the country so as not to place too heavy a burden on any one state. Dispersal, it was argued, would also allow rapid assimilation of this archaic group. Unbeknownst to Americans, Hmong socioeconomic and spiritual identity is intricately tied to their clans, not the nuclear family. In the mountains of Laos, the Hmong lived in villages containing a single patrilineal clan. Each clan has its own leader and ritual experts who possessed genealogical knowledge important for ancestor worship. No birth, marriage, or funeral rituals could be performed without the ritual experts or the clan. For this reason, Hmong families relocated to certain regions to reunite with clan members. Within a few years, pockets of Hmong populations appeared in areas like the Twin Cities and Fresno.

Hmong refugees began arriving in Minnesota in early 1976. Why this region with its frozen winter has become their home has puzzled many, but Hmong legends do tell of their migration from the tundra of northern Asia. Moreover, although the Hmong came to the United States from the tropics of Southeast Asia, they had never acclimated to the humid lowlands where mosquito-borne diseases were rampant. They were, after all, aboriginals from the more temperate zone of China. In Southeast Asia they preferred to settle in the cool redoubts of the mountains and seldom ventured to the lowlands. Only the wars of the mid-twentieth century drove them from the heights.

Perhaps credit for the concentrated Twin Cities population is owed to its liberal, progressive attitude. When the United States opened its doors to Indo-chinese refugees, local Christian churches volunteered as sponsors for the Hmong. These sponsors generously provided the crucial necessities such as housing, furniture, basic utensils, food, and clothing. As it also happens, many of the educated Hmong elites with leadership and language skills were among the first to be welcomed by Minnesotans. These elites took the initiative in solidifying the social services targeted to the Hmong, attracting others to migrate to the region. By 1980, Hmong elites had joined forces with General Vang Pao to find their own branch of a Twin Cities Lao Family Community, Inc., a private, non-profit agency that focused on English education and job training. The organization also began hosting the Hmong New Year Festival and the Fourth of July Soccer Tournament, publicizing and attracting more Hmong to the region. Because the Twin Cities area also ranks high among regions with good job prospects, good education, and a high standard of living, many Hmong have found this place ideal for starting a new life.

According to the 2000 Census data, the Hmong American population has grown to 186,310. Fifty-six percent of this population is under 18 years of age. Minnesota contains the second-largest population with 45,443 Hmong. Of this group, 97 percent (44,205) reside in the Minneapolis-St. Paul metropolitan area, the most densely concentrated Hmong population of anywhere in the nation. The remainder live in rural towns such as Winona, Rochester, Tracy, Duluth, and other smaller cities. Overall, Asians make up 3.5 percent of the 5 million inhabitants in Minnesota. The Hmong accounted for a third of this Asian population. They are the second-largest minority in St. Paul with 25,000 individuals, or 78 percent of the Asian population in the city. African Americans are the only minority that outnumbered the Hmong in St. Paul. The concentrated population has made the Hmong politically influential in the Twin Cities area in recent years.

As a nonliterate people, the Hmong were the most educationally disadvantaged Indochinese refugees.

In the 1950s a Hmong messianic figure invented the *Phaj Hauj* script and Western missionaries invented the Romanized Phonetic Alphabet (RPA) for the Hmong language. These scripts, however, were taught primarily to followers of the messianic leader and to Hmong converts in Christian churches. By the 1970s, 90 percent of Hmong villagers in Laos were still non-literate. Hmong began obtaining literacy in Lao in noticeable numbers only during the period of the Secret War (1961 to 1973) when literacy was promoted as part of army induction for men who served as Special Guerrilla Soldiers (SGU). A minuscule number of Hmong women from high-status families also obtained literacy at this time through training as nurses and teachers.

The low literacy rate in Laos is reflected among the refugee population. Obtaining an education remains a major challenge for Hmong American youths who cannot count on parental guidance. Poor performance on standardized tests and high dropout rates characterize the youth population in secondary and postsecondary schools across the United States. According to the Census 2000 data, 27 percent of Hmong Americans have a high school diploma or equivalent degree, 12 percent held associates or bachelor's degrees, and only 1.5 percent held graduate degrees. These figures are far below those of the general U.S. population where 48 percent had high school diplomas, 22 percent held college degrees, and 9 percent had graduate degrees. Some argue, however, that considering the low literacy rate of Hmong coming out of Laos as refugees, the Hmong Americans have made more strides than any other Indochinese group during the last 30 years in exile.

The Hmong in Minnesota have educational accomplishments comparable to the national statistics. By 2000, 53 percent of the Hmong in Minnesota had completed no schooling. Of those who had some form of education, 24 percent had a high school degree or equivalent, 8 percent had associate or bachelors' degrees, and 1 percent had a master's degree or higher. The national exposure of educated Hmong such as former Minnesota State Senator Mee Moua, a graduate of Brown University and the University of Minnesota, generate the perception among Hmong Americans that the Minnesota Hmong are the highest Hmong

achievers in the United States. Moua's landmark election in 2002 gained her a place in American history as the first Hmong and Southeast Asian American to serve at the state level. Hmong-owned newspapers in the Twin Cities like the *Hmong Times* and *Hmong Today*, and a couple of radio stations and a television program also endorse the success of Hmong Minnesotans.

During the last 30 years, the Hmong community has lifted itself economically by its shoestrings. The earliest arrivals in the Twin Cities can be divided into the few elites who had some education and the vast majority of nonliterate, uneducated Hmong who spoke no English. In the early years, the elites became the primary mainstay of the community, serving as teachers, interpreters, and social service workers. In the 1980s, several farming projects were developed in the Twin Cities in the hopes of establishing Hmong self-sufficiency. These projects included a program spearheaded by the University of Minnesota Agricultural Extension Services in collaboration with Lao Family Community. Hmong individuals were introduced to modern farming techniques, including proper usages of fertilizers and pesticides. Although these farming programs ended by 1985, Hmong farmers who completed the training went on to rent or buy their own land and became thriving participants of numerous farmers' markets in St. Paul and Minneapolis today. Younger, more educated Hmong Americans have begun to explore organic and flower farming as well. These younger farmers cater more to large industries.

The Hmong community has come far in their economic development since the agricultural efforts of the 1980s. Unlike the younger generation of American-born Hmong who engaged in the conspicuous consumption of middle-class America, first-generation refugees focused on basic necessities. This frugal moral value has been the foundation for eventual success in home ownership—over 50 percent in the Twin Cities—and in business investments. During the last two decades, the Minnesota Hmong have moved into professional fields. Some have become business owners, stimulating the formation of the Minnesota Hmong Chamber of Commerce in 1996. The Chamber has over 150 members, representing health clinics, law firms, restaurants, car dealerships, grocery stores, tax and consulting services, and other businesses. Hmong

entrepreneurs also own a bank, bars and night clubs, real estate companies, elderly home care businesses, and hotel chains. Hmong business owners thrived in the midst of the recession. In 2009, a group of nine businessmen opened Hmong Village, a building complex that contained over 20 restaurants and 250 merchant stalls. Hmong businesses in the Twin Cities command revenues exceeding over \$100 million.

The wealth in the community is evident since 2000 when Hmong families began moving to Arkansas, Missouri, and Arizona to start chicken farms. These families invest down payments of over \$250,000 to purchase farms that range in price from \$500,000 to several million dollars. Often engaged in unskilled, low-paying jobs, it is mind boggling how frugal Hmong families had to be to come up with such lump sums after only 30 years in America. Although there is no official statistics available, there are reputedly many Hmong millionaires in the Twin Cities.

Organizations geared toward serving the community remains quite prominent today. St. Paul boasts over 10 Hmong nonprofit organizations. Although not without scandals, Lao Family Community ranks as the oldest and most established and continues to monopolize festival events like the New Year's Festival and the Fourth of July Soccer Tournament. Beginning in the 1990s, political differences within Lao Family stimulated younger leaders to branch out. Other prominent organizations in St. Paul include the Hmong American Partnership (HAP), the Hmong Cultural Center, and the Center for Hmong Arts and Talents (CHAT). CHAT is perhaps unique in its focus on developing literature and art to define a space for Hmong in American society. Youth efforts have led to Mai Neng Moua's landmark anthology, *Bamboo Among the Oaks*, and Kao Kalia Yang's *The Latecomer*. These literary breakthroughs further solidify the reputation of the Minnesota Hmong as a dynamic group.

The large Hmong population in St. Paul has made them politically influential. The Minnesota Hmong began seeking elective office in 1991 with the election of Choua Lee to the St. Paul School Board. Neal Thao replaced her in 1995 and served for seven years. Two Hmong women, Kazoua Kong-Thao and Vallay Varro, currently sit on the St. Paul School Board.

Kong-Thao was first elected in 2003, and Varro, the sister of Mee Moua, won her election campaign in November 2009. These recent political successes may be owed to a turning point in Hmong American history in 2000 when Congress passed the Hmong Veteran's Naturalization Act. For decades, Hmong elders had delayed seeking citizenship because of language barriers and because they dreamed of returning to Laos with General Vang Pao. The tenor of Hmong American political thinking changed in 1998 when President Bill Clinton's Welfare Reform policies threatened to cut off financial assistance to noncitizens. A Hmong man in Wisconsin saw the reform as another American betrayal and protested by committing suicide when he received his termination notice. For once, Vang Pao and the veterans' groups were forced to galvanize to address the well-being of Hmong in America. They rallied Minnesota Congressmen Bruce Vento and Senator Paul Wellstone to spearhead the veterans' bill, which waived the English language requirement for Hmong veterans of the Secret War, their spouses, and widows. Elders naturalized under the bill began exercising their voting rights, which shifted the political landscape of Minnesota. In 2002, Mee Moua garnered the votes of newly naturalized Hmong elders in District 67. Concurrently, Cy Thao also won a seat in the Minnesota House of Representative in District 65A.

Moua's victory drew the attention of local politicians who realized the changing demographics of their constituents. Since 2000, Minnesota politicians like Congresswoman Betty McCollum, former Minnesota Governor Tim Pawlenty, current Governor Mark Dayton, Minneapolis Mayor R. T. Rybeck, and St. Paul Mayors Randy Kelley and Chris Coleman have engaged the community by making public appearances at Hmong events. Both Kelley and Coleman have Hmong individuals on their advisory boards. In 2004, Mayor Kelley even made a historic trip to Thailand to address concerns about the grave desecration occurring against relatives of Hmong Americans buried on the grounds of Wat Thamkrabok. Indeed, when the winning margin is minuscule, such as during the last gubernatorial contest between Mark Dayton and Tom Emmer in November 2009, the Hmong vote could be critical. Dayton, who triumphed in the recount, had the endorsements of Dr. Yang Dao and General Vang

Pao, the figureheads who represent opposing Hmong political views.

The Hmong of California

Although it does not make much sense for the Hmong who came from a tropical region to resettle in frozen Minnesota, California seemed the ideal place with its warm climate and fertile farming communities in the Central Valley. In the 1980s and 1990s, many Hmong across the United States relocated to California for the prospect of farming. The presence of General Vang Pao in Southern California was another lure. A few months after being airlifted out of Laos into exile in Thailand in May 1975, Vang Pao found himself in trouble. The Lao Communist government had sentenced him to death in absentia and was demanding his extradition. They feared Vang Pao would stage a retaking of Laos. Anti-American Thai student protestors who wanted U.S. elements out of the country also added pressure. The Thai government demanded that Vang Pao leave. CIA operative Jerry Daniels arranged for Vang Pao and his family to settle on a ranch in his home state of Montana. Vang Pao felt isolated. He relocated to California where he founded the first Lao Family Community, drawing an influx of Hmong to the West Coast.

By 2000, California contained the largest Hmong population with 71,741 individuals. The majority of Hmong in California were dispersed throughout the Central Valley from Chico City down to Fresno. Fresno had the largest concentration of Hmong in California and the second largest in the United States with 24,442. Sacramento ranked third nationally, with 18,121 Hmong. There are smaller pockets in Stockton, Merced, and other cities. The Hmong in California lagged behind Hmong in other states in economic, educational, and political achievements. The unique demographics of the region may be a cause. Minorities account for a majority in the state. The Hmong face stiffer competitions for unskilled jobs and for placements in social services and in higher educational institutions. Complicating this issue is the higher standard of living in California that made it hard to own homes or start businesses. More capital is required for the same standard of living as in the Midwest. Consequently, the Californian Hmong fared the worst, with more than half dependent on public

assistance, living below the poverty line. The Hmong median household income is about \$25,000, twice as low as the median Californian household income. Moreover, Hmong Californians are more likely to be employed in service occupations, sales and offices, and in management jobs with much lower pay and less likely to be in manufacturing jobs like those in other states. Consequently, only 16 percent of the Hmong in California owned their homes.

The Hmong in California also fall behind in academic achievements. According to the 2000 Census, over 50 percent have less than a high school diploma with a mere 7 percent holding a bachelor degree or higher. Living in a region with high concentrations of Asian Americans may unfairly place them under the stereotype of the model minority when in fact the Hmong Californians ranked among the lowest-achieving Asians.

The promise of an agrarian life lured many Hmong to the fertile Central Valley of California in the 1980s. Hmong from Minnesota, Wisconsin, Oregon and other states flocked to the region in the hopes of becoming self-sufficient farmers. The Hmong were subsistence agrarians in Laos, but in America the lack of education became a huge barrier in this endeavor. Many did not possess the language to master the technologies and marketing skills of farming. Others lacked the capital to get started. Half of those who flocked to Fresno, for example, anticipated engaging in agriculture, but less than 20 percent maintained an interest when faced with language and technical challenges. Stuck in a city that had few job prospects and, without the funding to relocate again, many Hmong ended up on public assistance and flooded the public housing projects in the city. Although the majority failed to make their interest in farming into a reality, most Hmong households in Fresno maintained small gardens where they grew some of the vegetables needed to sustain their families. Also, like those in Minnesota, a small number of Hmong families in the Central Valley have struck out on their own, renting plots to grow vegetables that they sell at farmers' markets. During the last few years, the Hmong in California have found new consumers in Minnesota. Their vegetables and fruits supply the Hmong markets in the Twin Cities.

It is quite a paradox that of the Hmong enclaves in California, those living in Fresno, one of the most

poverty-stricken cities in America, are perceived as the most progressive. The Fresno Hmong have the highest rate of poverty compared to those in other places. Perhaps the progressive perception has something to do with Fresno being host to the largest Hmong New Year Festival in America, luring thousands of Hmong from across the United States and around the globe. Unlike in Minnesota where the freezing winter weather forced an indoor celebration in sports stadiums like the River Center in St. Paul and the Metrodome in Minneapolis, the Fresno New Year takes place outside, nurturing the nostalgia for a past long gone. For Hmong Americans, the Fresno New Year Festival is the next best thing to going back to celebrate in Laos. The Hmong in Fresno also boast having two Hmong radio stations that broadcast throughout the Central Valley. Furthermore, there are a number of Hmong-owned businesses: 10 supermarkets, a couple of medical and chiropractic clinics, some video rental stores, a few ranches and farms, and some insurance and financial services agencies.

Fresno also housed prominent Hmong nonprofit organizations. Among them are the Fresno Inter-denominational Refugee Ministries (FIRM), Stone Soup Fresno, Lao Family Community of Fresno, and the Fresno Center for New Americans (FCNA). FCNA is praised as being the most effective in serving the civic and political needs of the Hmong, with more than 40 staff and an annual budget of over \$2 million. FCNA aimed to “foster leadership and civic engagement among individuals of Southeast Asian descent in Fresno County.” The efforts of the organization may be reflected in the historic election of Blong Xiong to the Fresno City Council in 2006. Xiong was the first Hmong in the state of California and the first Asian American in Fresno to occupy a city council seat. Tony Vang preceded Xiong as the first Hmong to hold elective office in the state. Vang was elected to the Fresno City School Board in 2002. The Hmong Californians are thriving amid major challenges.

The Passing of an Era: Facing Challenges in Minnesota and California

In 2007, in a stunning about-face, the U.S. government arrested Vang Pao and 11 others for allegedly

conspiring to retake Laos. Vang Pao was jailed until an outcry of Hmong Americans across the nation forced the presiding judge to grant bail. He was later cleared of all charges. In December 2009, Vang Pao declared his historic return to Laos. As during the last 30 years, this publicity stunt also bore no fruit. Vang Pao died of pneumonia on January 6, 2011, ending an era in Hmong American history. Although the elder generation bemoaned his loss, the vast majority of Hmong Americans have moved on. Over 65 percent of the Hmong American population is under 35 years of age. They are completely disconnected from Vang Pao’s legacy. Vang Pao’s family has made an attempt to launch him into the annals of American history by requesting a burial at Arlington National Cemetery. Washington has yet to reply at the time of this essay. The family planned a funeral “fit for a king.” They want his body exhibited in California and Minnesota prior to internment.

The Hmong Americans have made great strides, but challenges linger. Poverty, unemployment, low educational attainments, and cultural and linguistic barriers remain. Moreover, polygynous marriages outside of the law, high divorce rates, single motherhood, and gang issues plague Hmong Americans. Cultural and linguistic loss that leads to a crisis of identity and, in some cases, violence, have become a serious concerns. The Hmong in Minnesota have been besieged by domestic murder-suicides since 1998. The victims were mostly women and children. Tragedy has also haunted the Hmong in Fresno where eight teenagers committed suicide between 1998 and 2001. Hmong in other regions of the United States were not immune to similar turmoil. The Hmong have taken the initiative to address some of these issues by establishing Eighteen Clan Councils in Minnesota, Wisconsin, and California to mediate marital and other disputes. The Hmong Cultural Center in St. Paul focuses on teaching rituals related to marriage and funerals, elaborating custom law. Hmong political efforts in Fresno led to the passing of the Bill AB78 in 2003, which mandates the teaching of Southeast Asian history in the public schools. This law may open the way to introduce Hmong history to the mainstream and to Hmong youths long disconnected from the elder generation. In the face of challenge, Hmong

Americans have proven resilient and adaptive through community engagements.

Mai Na M. Lee

See also Hmong American Women; Moua, Mee; Thao, Cy

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Ho, David (1952–)

David Ho is a Taiwanese American scientist whose research on AIDS has broadened our understanding of HIV and has given humanity a chance to fight it. *Time* magazine named David Ho their 1996 Person of the Year for his insights on the underlying mechanisms of HIV as well as his development of an anti-HIV

cocktail to combat the AIDS epidemic. David Ho is currently the head of the Aaron Diamond AIDS Research Center, where he continues his research in collaboration with other scientists to understand the virus and treat HIV-infected patients.

David Ho was born as Ho Da-i in 1952 in Taichung, Taiwan. Two years later, David's younger brother, Phillip, was born. David's father, Paul Ho, served as a translator for U.S. troops in China during World War II. In 1957, Paul left for the United States to pursue a degree at Colorado State University and later, a master's degree in engineering at the University of Southern California, while the rest of the family remained in Taiwan. When he was 12, David, his younger brother, and his mother, Sonia Ho, joined Paul in Southern California when Paul was finishing his degree.



Twelve-year-old David Ho poses with his younger brother Phillip at Disneyland shortly after his family immigrated to the United States in 1965. (Phillip Ho collection)

David was educated in Taiwan up until the sixth grade, and he did not know any English when he entered school in the United States. At the time, American schools did not have a special English class for new immigrant students. Feeling disadvantaged because of his difficulty in school, Ho developed an underdog mentality, motivating him to achieve and giving him the tenacity to pursue his goals. Although classes were difficult for David at first, he quickly learned English and excelled in his schoolwork, graduating with honors from high school.

After high school, Ho attended the California Institute of Technology, at first majoring in physics but later changing to biology, graduating summa cum laude in 1974. Because of his interest in molecular biology, Ho applied for and entered Harvard Medical School, earning his MD in 1978. He performed his clinical training at UCLA Medical School between 1978 and 1982. It was during his residency at Cedars Sinai Hospital in Los Angeles that Ho was exposed to some of the very first AIDS patients, which inspired him to study the disease. In 1982, Ho decided to continue studying HIV at Massachusetts General Hospital in a virology lab led by Martin Hirsch. While working under Hirsch, Ho was able to identify and isolate the HIV virus in the blood and semen and verified that the virus could not be transmitted through saliva.

In 1987, Ho took a position at the UCLA Medical School to continue his AIDS research. While collaborating with Robert Schooley, Ho was able to show that HIV was very active in the late stages of AIDS. Because of his knowledge in the field, in 1990, Ho was hired as the director of the Aaron Diamond AIDS Research Center in New York. This position allowed Ho more resources to conduct his research. In 1991, Ho, in collaboration with George Shaw, demonstrated that HIV was also very active in the early stages of AIDS but entered an apparent dormant state in the intermediate stages. The conventional wisdom had been the apparent dormant state indicated success with early treatments and efforts should be put toward preventing the late stages of AIDS. It was not until 1995, when Ho, Shaw, and Schooley determined that during the intermediate stages of AIDS, the immune system was actually losing its battle against HIV, that

researchers' changed their focus to developing vaccines and treating the early stages of infection.

Ho's approach to defeating HIV in the early stages is known as Highly Active Antiretroviral Therapy, or HAART. His first design proposed the use of a cocktail of three drugs, a new protease-inhibitor and two other viral medications, to treat patients in the early weeks of infection. Clinical results were very successful with the HIV in treated patients nearly eradicated. For his successful demonstration that HIV could be fought that *Time* magazine named David Ho their 1996 Person of the Year. Today, continuous developments by Ho and other researchers have improved the treatments and drugs used in the HAART strategy, which has been adopted by the World Health Organization for its use around the world.

Since Ho's development of a promising HIV treatment, he has been asked to become part of several new groups whose goals include developing treatments for AIDS. Ho is part of the Committee of 100 and leads the China AIDS Initiative to improve China-U.S. relations and coordinate resources to address the spread of HIV in China. Ho is also the principle investigator for the Ho Ibalizumab Development Consortium. In collaboration with TaiMed Biologics, Ho aims to develop the antibody Ibalizumab to disable HIV in a person's body. This technology is seen as one of the most promising new strategies for treating HIV and has received funding from the Gates Foundation.

Ho's achievements have been recognized by research institutions and governments around the world. He has received 12 honorary doctorates from various institutions in the United States and abroad, including Columbia University and Tsinghua University. In addition, Ho is an honorary professor of the Peking Union Medical College and the Chinese Academy of Medical Sciences. In 2001, Ho received the Presidential Citizens Medal. In 2006 Ho was inducted into the California Hall of Fame.

Today, Ho continues his research as the scientific director and chief executive officer of the Aaron Diamond AIDS Research Center, coordinating researchers as they search for treatments and vaccines. To date, Ho has authored over 400 papers on HIV and AIDS and continues to publish his new findings. Ho still gets

excited when he gets a new idea, and disappointed when leads do not pan out. Although Ho has personally discovered much of what we know about HIV and AIDS, he has always believed that science is a collaborative effort, with researchers contributing their knowledge, insights, and findings. But David Ho's incredible tenacity for achieving his goals is part of what has made him the scientist who pioneered humanity's counterattack against AIDS.

Robert O'Dowd

See also Taiwanese Americans

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Ho, Fred (Fred Wei-han Houn) (1957–)

Born Fred Houn, Fred Ho is a baritone saxophonist, composer, producer, educator, author, activist, and Marxist theoretician. He was born in Palo Alto, California, to Chinese parents who came to the United States in the 1940s. He grew up in Amherst, Massachusetts, where his father was a professor of political science. He joined the Marines in 1973 and after his service enrolled at Harvard University, majoring in sociology and graduating in 1979. He continued his studies in music, composed, founded, and led bands, collaborated with various artists, and taught at a

number of universities. He has won many awards and honors for his compositions, operas, music/theater epics, oratorios, martial arts ballets, and revolutionary multimedia performances.

He became a Marxist and a revolutionary early in life and dedicated himself to revolutionary change through music. As a student his activism led to the formation of the Harvard-Radcliffe Asian-American Association, the East Coast Asian Student Union, the Asian American Resource Workshop, Asianimprov Records, the Asian American Arts Alliance, and the Afro-Asian Arts Dialogue with the poet Kalamu Ya Salaamu.

In the 1970s his political consciousness evolved from that of a "yellow revolutionary nationalist," to one who was profoundly influenced by the Chinese revolution, Chairman Mao, Malcolm X, and the Black Panthers. He joined I Wor Kuen, named after the Boxers, the nationalists who opposed foreign imperialism in China. Composed mainly of Asian American college students, IWK's 10-point program and revolutionary socialism was similar to that of the Panthers. It also supported a breakfast program for school children—again like the Panthers. After merging with the Red Guard Party, from the San Francisco Bay Area, IWK initiated the demand for Asian American Studies programs in universities and colleges. He eventually broke with this organization.

Ho's different works stress the importance of multiculturalism along with anti-imperialism, antiracism, and antipatriarchal values. He draws upon jazz, blues, popular American music, and the folklore and operatic traditions of Asia and the Philippines, and founded a number of multicultural orchestras. In 1982 he founded the Afro-Asian Music Ensemble, recording *Tomorrow Is Now!* (1986). He also led the Asian American Art Ensemble and his Monkey Orchestra.

In the 1980s he founded the Asian Pacific American performance art trilogy, *Bamboo that Snaps Back*. It was presented at the Whitney Museum in New York City and in various other U.S. venues. He also wrote a bilingual Chinese American opera, *A Chinaman's Chance*, employing a combination of Western and traditional Chinese instruments and writing a libretto in Chinese and English.

Monkey: Part One, performed by the Monkey Orchestra, features a famous trickster character,

Monkey, from a sixteenth-century fantasy novel. Ho modified the story, however. The work contains radical allegorical themes, and two of its acts are part of a larger work, an Afro-Asian multimedia musical, *Journey Beyond the West*.

His DVD, *The Black Panther Suite*, is dedicated to this political party, placing it within the historical perspective of slavery and its atrocities, and twentieth-century instances of police brutality. The concept and music were created and composed by Ho, whereas the Afro Asian Music Ensemble played the score. Poets Jayne Cortez and Andrea Lockett read poetry for this suite.

His palette is broad, including boogie-woogie, swing, bebop, avant-garde, and Afro-Latin—from the Pan African heritage, and songs from a Pan Asian collective, including folk as well as operatic traditions. This is evident on *The Underground Railroad to My Heart*. “Joys and Solos,” the first selection is a jam session in which *sona*, the Chinese double reed instrument, plays “free” along with a string bass and drum kit. Ho considered this to be a “first” for jazz and for Chinese music. “The Underground Railroad to My Heart Suite,” “an anti-bourgeoisie boogie-woogie,” is “a call for rededication and commitment to revolutionary socialism despite the corrupting and opportunistic yuppie-decade of the 1980s.” The suite celebrates the slaves’ secret routes from the South to the North and contemporary underground routes for resistance movements. It spotlights the tragic experiences of Native Americans, as in “Trail of Tears”; “Sanctuary” is for the Sanctuary movement of Central American refugees; “An Bayanko” (“For My Country”) is the anthem of the nineteenth-century Philippine nationalist labor movement, Katipunan, and features a traditional instrument, the kulintang. “Kang Ding Love Song” and “Lan Hua Hua” (“Blue Flower”) are Chinese, “Bambaya” employs Ghanaian rhythms to express resistance to neocolonialism, and “Strange Fruit Revisited” and “Caravan” are Ho’s arrangements of traditional jazz standards.

Tomorrow Is Now! also presents his revolutionary perspective with his compositions, including “T.C.B. (Taking Care of Business);” “A Black Woman Speaks,” with poetry from Sonia Sanchez; “Blues to

the Freedom Fighters”; and “Ganbaro!,” which was dedicated to Japanese American workers.

Ho has had a distinguished career and won many honors and awards. He was the recipient of fellowships from the McKnight and American Composers Forum (2000), the National Endowment for the Arts (1993 and 1994) and the New York Foundation for the Arts (1989) and was honored with five Rockefeller Foundation Multi-Arts Projects Awards (2002, 2000, 1999, 1998, and 1991) and the Duke Ellington Distinguished Artist Lifetime Achievement Award (1988).

Douglas Daniels

See also Chinese Americans; I Wor Kuen (IWK)

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Hollywood, Asian Americans in

Asians and Asian Americans have been a part of the U.S. cinema since its beginnings. However, the structures of the industry, including the considerable financial capital involved, profit-driven productions, lack of diversity at the decision-making levels, and preconceived notions about the expectations of mass audiences have all constrained the kinds of Asian American characters and narratives seen in Hollywood productions. In particular, specific cinematic

stereotypes as well as practices such as casting European American actors in “yellowface” make-up for Asian roles have emerged as conventions in the film business. Criticisms of these stereotypes and practices have also existed since the beginnings of cinema. In the contemporary era, even as some Asian Americans have found success behind the camera, working as directors for example, Asian American actors continue to find it challenging to succeed in Hollywood given the kinds of roles and stories for which they are typically considered.

In the earliest period of film history, prior to the establishment of the movie industry in Hollywood, there were a handful of representations of Asian Americans in film such as the Edison Manufacturing Company’s documentary-style actualities *Arrest in Chinatown, San Francisco, Cal.* (1897) and *Parade of Chinese* (1898). Images of people and landscapes in Asia and the Pacific were also made, particularly in the context of U.S. military interventions in the region, including the Spanish-American War, the annexation of Hawaii, the Philippine-American War, and the Boxer Uprising in China. Short fictional scenes also existed, for example, the American Mutoscope and Biograph Company’s *The Chinese Rubbernecks* (1900) and *The Heathen Chinese and the Sunday School Teachers* (1904), or Edison’s cinematic version of a popular vaudeville act, *Robetta and Doretto, No. 2* (also known as *Chinese Laundry*). The brief documentary scenes taken in the United States and abroad offer interesting glimpses of Asians and Asian Americans at the turn of the twentieth century. The fictional scenes, with white performers playing the parts of the Chinese characters, reinforced racist discourses of the Chinese as foreign and inassimilable.

By the 1910s, the popular serials of the period such as *The Exploits of Elaine* (1916) and *The Perils of Pauline* (1919), both starring Pearl White, featured Chinese villains. Two films from the silent era are especially remembered today for their representations of Asians: Cecil B. DeMille’s *The Cheat* (1915) and D. W. Griffith’s *Broken Blossoms* (1919). *The Cheat* stars Sessue Hayakawa, a Japanese man who immigrated to the United States in 1907 and was the first movie star of Asian descent in U.S. history. Although the film was a spectacular success, some Japanese Americans protested the film’s negative representation

of the Japanese, and in the film’s 1918 re-release (the version that is available today), Hayakawa’s character was changed to a Burmese ivory king named Haka Arakau.

D. W. Griffith’s film *Broken Blossoms* (1919) was in part a response to the charges of racism leveled against his 1915 film *The Birth of a Nation*, which chronicled the rise of the Ku Klux Klan in a sympathetic fashion. *Broken Blossoms* ostensibly promotes tolerance of racial difference through the contrast between the gentle and sensitive Chinese man Cheng Huan, played by the white actor Richard Barthelmess, with the brutal and abusive boxer Battling Burrows. The distinctions between the two men are most clearly seen in their treatment of Lucy (Lillian Gish), the fragile young daughter of Battling Burrows. Although the film is meant to offer a more positive portrayal, like *The Cheat*, *Broken Blossoms* implies a prohibited desire for white women on the part of Asian men. However, in *The Cheat* Tori is shown as superficially civilized, but essentially brutal and primitive, whereas *Broken Blossoms* attempts to represent the Chinese man as more civilized and gentle than the Westerner by playing on stereotypes of Asian masculinity as effeminate and passive.

Aside from Sessue Hayakawa, the only other major star of Asian descent in the early decades of the Hollywood film industry was Anna May Wong, a Chinese American who was born in Los Angeles in 1905. Wong played her first starring role in *The Toll of the Sea* (1922), a Madame Butterfly narrative. Although Hayakawa was seen as a leading man, and frequently involved in romantic narratives with white women in his films, the relationships were nearly always dissolved at the conclusion of the film, often through the death of Hayakawa’s character. Taboos against miscegenation also severely limited the roles available to Anna May Wong, who was rarely cast as a female lead opposite a white male actor, and whose characters were frequently punished by death at the conclusion of the film for their romantic interest in white men. One notable exception was *The Daughter of Shanghai* (1937), which paired Wong with Korean American actor Philip Ahn and allowed them a happily ever after ending. Both Wong and Hayakawa spoke out against Hollywood’s stereotypical representations

of Asians, and Hayakawa opened his own film production company, Haworth Pictures, in 1918 as part of an effort to gain greater control of the films he appeared in. Both Hayakawa and Wong also looked to Europe for opportunities beyond what Hollywood offered.

As a cinematographer in Hollywood, James Wong Howe, who was born in China in 1899 and immigrated to the United States as a young boy, did not face the same kinds of challenges as actors of Asian ethnicities in the U.S. film industry did, though he did experience the anti-Asian racism of his time in his personal life. Nevertheless, Wong was able to build a storied career for himself beginning in the silent era in the 1920s and extending up until the year before his death in 1976. Over the course of photographing well over 100 films, Howe was nominated for 10 Academy Awards and he won twice, for *The Rose Tattoo* (1955) and *Hud* (1963).

One of the most notorious stereotypical Asian characters, Dr. Fu Manchu, first appeared in a U.S. film in *The Mysterious Dr. Fu Manchu* (1929) with the Swede Warner Oland in the title role. Although Fu Manchu is not an American character—he was created by the British writer Sax Rohmer—he has served as the progenitor of many evil Asians in U.S. popular culture, such as Ming the Merciless from the Flash Gordon series. Ironically, following his depictions of the evil Dr. Fu Manchu, Warner Oland then became famous in the 1930s for playing the good Chinese detective Charlie Chan, created by author Earl Derr Biggers and based on a Chinese American detective on the Honolulu police force named Chang Apana. Interestingly, the first three Charlie Chan films, in which Chan was a relatively minor character, featured Asian actors as Charlie Chan: George Kuwa in *The House Without a Key* (1926), E. L. Park in *Behind That Curtain* (1927), and Kamiyama Sojin in *The Chinese Parrot* (1928). Although Detective Charlie Chan was intended as a positive contrast to the criminal Dr. Fu Manchu, both characters were primarily portrayed by white actors, and represented narrowly conceived stereotypical traits, albeit from opposite ends of the good-evil spectrum. Over time, Charlie Chan's fortune cookie aphorisms and asexual, accommodating demeanor have become as derided as an offensive stereotype of Asian Americans as the more obviously negative Fu Manchu.

In the 1930s, the political instability in China inspired stories with Chinese warlords, including *Shanghai Express* (1932), *The Bitter Tea of General Yen* (1933), and *The General Died at Dawn* (1936). Each of these films led to protests from the Chinese government over their representations of China and the Chinese people. However, there was also a growing sympathy for China in the United States, particularly in light of the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931, which inspired more positive portrayals of China. The most famous of these is Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer's cinematic adaptation of Pearl Buck's novel *The Good Earth* (1937). Although the film was shot primarily in California, and starred two European American actors, Paul Muni and Luise Rainer, the story of a humble Chinese farmer and his family was hugely influential upon American attitudes toward the Chinese. Anna May Wong had hoped to play O-Lan, the role for which Luise Rainer eventually won an Academy Award, but all of the main characters and significant supporting roles were filled by European American actors, though scores of Asian Americans from the West Coast were enlisted as minor supporting characters and extras in the film.

The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941 and the subsequent U.S. entry into World War II dramatically shifted the representation of Asians by Hollywood to vituperatively racist images of Japanese enemies. The mass incarceration of Japanese Americans that followed Executive Order 9066 meant that primarily Chinese American and Korean American actors played these roles. Overtly racist representations of the Japanese occurred in a broad range of film genres, from war films such as *The Purple Heart* (1944), about the brutal treatment by the Japanese of a group of captured American airmen, to the cartoon *Bugs Bunny Nips the Nips* (1944), in which the wisecracking rabbit outwits the Japanese in a series of vignettes that dispatch the racist caricatures in scenes of extreme animated violence. As China was an ally in the war, Hollywood offered sympathetic portrayals of the Chinese and their resistance against Japanese aggression in films like *Dragon Seed* (1944), based on a novel by Pearl S. Buck and starring Katharine Hepburn in "yellowface" make-up as a Chinese woman who rallies her fellow villagers to resist

the Japanese. In a rare example of an Asian American playing a lead role in such narratives, Anna May Wong, who was very involved in helping to raise money for China relief efforts, portrayed an anti-Japanese resistance fighter in *Lady from Chungking* (1942); according to studio publicity, she donated her salary for the film to the United China Relief fund.

In the postwar era of Cold War liberalism narratives of cross-cultural understanding, frequently represented in the form of interracial romances between white American men and Asian women, highlighted a purportedly new U.S. attitude toward racial difference. The Communist victory in China in 1949, the Korean War, and the change in status of Japan from wartime enemy to perceived bulwark against the spread of Communism, meant that the Japanese were now portrayed in more favorable terms than the Chinese by Hollywood. An exemplary film from the period is *Sayonara* (1957), based on the James Michener novel of the same name. Marlon Brando stars as Major Gruver, a U.S. pilot in the Korean War who falls in love with Hana Ogi, a Japanese performer played by second-generation Japanese American Miiko Taka in her film debut. Red Buttons won an Oscar for his supporting role as Joe Kelly in the film. One of the other nominees for the Best Supporting Actor award that year was Sessue Hayakawa, for his portrayal of Colonel Saito in *The Bridge on the River Kwai* (1957), which suggests that portrayals of the Japanese as World War II enemies had not entirely gone out of fashion despite the changed political and historical circumstances. Hollywood's narratives of the war and the postwar period involving Asians typically unfolded in foreign rather than domestic settings, therefore offering no acknowledgment of the Japanese American incarceration in concentration camps during World War II. *Japanese War Bride* (1952) is therefore unusual in that its narrative of a white Korean War veteran who brings his Japanese wife home to Salinas, California explicitly acknowledges the Japanese American incarceration. Hollywood would eventually tackle the subject more directly in *Come See the Paradise* (1990), though the Kawamura family's experience of incarceration is mediated by the subjectivity of the white character Jack McGurn (Dennis Quaid).

Hollywood's typically greater interest in Asians in Asia rather than Asian Americans, with the exception of the use of Chinatowns as an atmospheric setting, makes the film *Flower Drum Song* (1961) all the more significant. The film was based on the popular Rodgers and Hammerstein Broadway musical, which was itself based on the novel by Chinese American author C. Y. Lee. The film stars an impressive Asian American cast including Nancy Kwan, Miyoshi Umeki, James Shigeta, and Jack Soo, along with a number of Asian American supporting cast members. Nancy Kwan was known for her role as a Hong Kong prostitute in *The World of Suzie Wong* (1960) whereas James Shigeta's Japanese American detective in *The Crimson Kimono* (1959) was one of the few Asian American male leads of the time. In addition to showing that Asian Americans could indeed sing and dance, the film's San Francisco setting and themes of Asian expectations and American desires, identity, and assimilation, engaged with issues that many Asian Americans could recognize, albeit articulated in the discourses of late 1950s and early 1960s popular entertainment with admittedly stereotypical representations of Asian traditions. The same year also saw one of the most offensive Asian stereotypes of the era in Mickey Rooney's "yellowface" portrayal of Mr. Yunioshi in *Breakfast at Tiffany's* (1961), a character that was purportedly based upon the Japanese American artist Yasuo Kuniyoshi.

One of the most memorable films of the 1970s, Roman Polanski's *Chinatown* (1974), featured Asian Americans only as background despite the title of the film, which comes to stand for the perversity, darkness, and corruption at the heart of the narrative. On the other hand, revisionist Westerns such as Robert Altman's *McCabe and Mrs. Miller* (1971) and the Mel Brooks comedy *Blazing Saddles* (1974) began recognizing the Chinese American presence in the Old West, though in a fairly minimal way. One of the most notable absences from the U.S. film and media industry in this decade was that of the martial arts star Bruce Lee, who was born in San Francisco but made the films that he is famous for in Hong Kong after learning that Hollywood would offer him few opportunities. Although he achieved some measure of recognition for playing the sidekick Kato in the television



Ang Lee, winner of the Academy Award for Best Director in 2005 and 2013. (Carrie Nelson/Dreamstime.com)

series *The Green Hornet*, his Hong Kong martial arts films made him an enduring global icon.

Although the American war in Vietnam was covered extensively in print news media and on television, films of the war did not appear immediately after the U.S. withdrawal. The majority of these films, including the most well known of them—*The Deer Hunter* (1978), *Apocalypse Now* (1979), *Platoon* (1986), and *Full Metal Jacket* (1987)—focused upon the experience of U.S. soldiers in Vietnam, and the featured soldiers were mostly either white or African American. Asian Americans had few roles to play in these films, except perhaps as Vietnamese villagers or soldiers. The war continues to cast a shadow, however, on Mickey Rourke's New York City police officer Stanley White, a Vietnam veteran who vows to clean up Chinatown in *The Year of the Dragon* (1985). The film's return to violent portrayals of Chinatown and stereotypes of Chinese gangsters led to mass protests by Asian Americans against the film's racism, sexism,

and xenophobia, resulting in the unusual act of inserting a disclaimer in the opening of the film. The vehement protests of the depictions in *The Year of the Dragon* must be contextualized in relation to the paucity of Asian American representation in mainstream films of the period. The most familiar among them were Pat Morita's wise martial arts master Mr. Miyagi in the three *Karate Kid* films (1984, 1986, and 1989) and Gedde Watanabe's cringe-worthy Long Duk Dong from *Sixteen Candles* (1984).

The rising economic strength of Japan and its effects upon the U.S. was a prominent source of anxiety beginning in the 1980s, and it served as the underlying theme of the film *Rising Sun* (1993). The Media Action Network for Asian Americans (MANAA), founded in April of 1992, launched a nationwide campaign against the film. Japan, in particular, and East Asia, more generally, were also increasingly associated with advanced technology in the 1980s, which was visible in the *mise-en-scène* of Ridley Scott's 1982 film *Blade Runner*, which imagines a future Los Angeles suffused with Japanese images.

The 1993 release of the film adaptation of Amy Tan's bestselling novel *The Joy Luck Club*, directed by Wayne Wang, based on a screenplay written by Tan and Ronald Bass, and executive produced by Janet Yang and Oliver Stone, marked the first time that an Asian American story written, produced, directed by, and starring Asian Americans was made by Hollywood. The film was well received by critics and was widely seen by audiences, though some Asian Americans criticized the film's representation of Asian American men. Prior to *The Joy Luck Club*, Wang, who was born in Hong Kong, was known for his independent film classic *Chan is Missing* (1982) as well as *Dim Sum: A Little Bit of Heart* (1985) and *Eat a Bowl of Tea* (1989), an adaptation of the Louis Chu novel. Through the 1990s and the 2000s Wang has worked steadily, making big-budget films such as *Maid in Manhattan* (2002) as well as smaller films like *Smoke* (1995) and *The Princess of Nebraska* (2007). In 1993 U.S. audiences were also introduced to Taiwan-born director Ang Lee's work through his film *The Wedding Banquet* (1993). Lee has since been a mainstay of Hollywood, helming features as varied as *Sense and Sensibility* (1995), *The Ice Storm* (1997), *Hulk*

(2003), and *Brokeback Mountain* (2005). His *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon* (2001), an international coproduction, was nominated for both Best Film and Best Foreign Film Oscars; it won for Best Foreign Film. M. Night Shyamalan, who was born in India and raised in a suburb of Philadelphia, first came to notice with his direction of the Bruce Willis film *The Sixth Sense* (1999) and has since written, directed, and produced a number of films, primarily in the genres of science fiction, fantasy, and horror.

The 1990s popularity of Chinese Fifth Generation films and Hong Kong action films, whether of the John Woo gunplay variety or martial arts films, heightened interest in bringing Asian actors to Hollywood. Despite the fact that most of these actors, including Gong Li, Jackie Chan, Michelle Yeoh, Chow Yun-Fat, and Jet Li are international stars, in Hollywood films they have typically been paired with American costars or relegated to supporting roles. The popularity of martial arts films was also visible in the decision to hire the prominent Hong Kong director and fight choreographer Yuen Wo-Ping to train the actors and choreograph the fight sequences for the film *The Matrix* (1999).

The first decade of the twenty-first century has seen both repetitions of familiar stereotypes as well as new developments in the representations of and opportunities for Asian Americans in Hollywood. The 2002 acquisition of Justin Lin's *Better Luck Tomorrow* by MTV Films marked a significant moment in the history of Asian Americans in Hollywood. Lin's story of four Asian American teenagers who become involved in a life of crime received a great deal of support from Asian American communities, with groups organizing to see the film to ensure its continued distribution across the United States. The success of *Better Luck Tomorrow* led to considerable attention for Lin, who has gone on to make several Hollywood films, among them *Annapolis* (2006) and a number of films in the *Fast and the Furious* film franchise including *The Fast and the Furious: Tokyo Drift* (2006), *Fast & Furious* (2009), and *Fast Five* (2011). Karyn Kusama, one of the few Asian American women directors in Hollywood, also established her career in the 2000s. Kusama's directorial credits include *Girlfight* (2000), *Aeon Flux* (2005), and *Jennifer's Body* (2009).

Two years after the release of *Better Luck Tomorrow*, the stoner comedy *Harold & Kumar Go to White Castle* (2004) appeared. The film, which stars John Cho and Kal Penn in the title roles, launched a film franchise with three feature-length films to date: *Harold & Kumar Go to White Castle*, *Harold & Kumar Escape from Guantanamo Bay* (2008), and *A Very Harold & Kumar 3D Christmas* (2011). The Asian ethnic identities of the two main characters are present yet implicit in much of the films, and some critics have seen the success of these films as a sign that U.S. film audiences are willing to accept Asian Americans as lead characters in mainstream films. Nevertheless, controversies over casting in Hollywood continue. Two of the most highly publicized instances were the film *21* (2008), which was based on a book chronicling the real-life exploits of a mostly Asian American group of MIT students. Yet in the film, the main characters are all white. Similarly, the cinematic adaptation of the much beloved Nickelodeon animated series *Avatar: The Last Airbender* was accused of "white-washing" the series, which takes place in an Asian-inspired world. In the film *The Last Airbender* (2010) the film cast white actors in the lead roles and Asians as the villains of the film. Although there are currently more Asian American actors working in the United States than perhaps ever before, very few are seen as stars with the power to carry a big-budget Hollywood film, and it remains difficult for Asian Americans to find success within the mainstream film industry.

Jeanette Roan

See also Ahn, Philip; Hayakawa, Sessue (Kintaro); Lee, Bruce; Lee, C. Y.; Tan, Amy; Wang, Wayne; Wong, Anna May

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Honda, Mike (1941–)

Mike Honda is a currently serving Democratic congressman from California's 15th District. Geographically, Honda's district encompasses western San Jose and the Silicon Valley, which he has represented since 2001. Honda is of Japanese descent.

Michael Makoto Honda was born on June 27, 1941, in California. Like many others of Japanese ancestry, Honda spent considerable time with his family in an internment camp in Colorado during World War II. Honda's family eventually returned to their native California and Honda graduated in 1968 with bachelor's degrees in biological science and Spanish from San Jose State University. During college, Honda took time away from his studies and served in the Peace Corps between 1965 and 1967 in El Salvador. He would later earn a Master of Arts from San Jose State University in 1974. Before Honda's political career, he was a science teacher and later served as a principal in public schools.

In 1981, Honda won his first election and started his political career from the San Jose Unified School Board. He was later elected to the Santa Clara County Board of Supervisors in 1990 and served in the California State Assembly between 1996 and 2000.

In 2000, Honda, a staunch Democrat, was successful in his bid for the House seat after defeating his moderate Republican competitor. Since then, Honda has so far been up for reelection six times without

any serious challenge. He was re-elected in 2010 and 2012 and is currently serving his district in Congress. As a representative for the Silicon Valley, Honda has emphasized his commitment to high-tech industries as well as the infrastructure accommodations of a fast-growing region. Since his election, Honda has served on the Science Committee and the Transportation and Infrastructure Committee and was later appointed to join the influential Appropriations Committee in 2007. Honda also sits on various subcommittees. In terms of his role within the Democratic Party, Honda was selected as House Democratic senior whip in 2007 and works closely with the Democratic Caucus to promote Democrat agendas.

Honda, a champion of civil rights, has served for many years as the chair of the Congressional Asian Pacific American Caucus and is the founder and the chair of the Congressional Ethiopia and Ethiopian American Caucus.

True to his commitment to civil rights, Honda voted for the Local Law Enforcement Hate Crimes Prevention Act of 2009, which will provide assistance to law enforcement agencies in the prevention as well as prosecution of hate crimes.

Honda is also adamant about protecting voting rights for all Americans, especially those serving in the military or residing overseas. It is Honda's belief that unnecessary bureaucratic red tape prohibits or deters those Americans living abroad from exercising their voting rights. Moreover, Honda's personal experience from serving in the Peace Corps as a young man made him sympathetic to the plight of those who try to vote from outside the United States.

In response to the aforementioned problem, Honda cosponsored the Overseas Voting Practical Amendments Act of 2009, which he hopes will help eliminate voting restrictions for Americans overseas based on state residency or other state-enforced requirements (such as having the ballot printed on a certain type of paper). This bill will also provide funding for the dissemination of voting information to those living abroad. As of August 2009, the Overseas Voting Practical Amendments Act of 2009 is still under consideration in the 111th Congress.

On a similar note, Honda maintains that all Americans should have the right to vote regardless of

race, ethnicity, or English proficiency. In response to the growth of language minorities in the United States, Honda supports the renewal and provisions under the Voting Rights Act that states English proficiency cannot become a criterion in determining whether one has the right to vote. For Honda, language minorities should not and cannot be disenfranchised because of their potentially lower levels of English proficiency.

Honda is one of the few Asian Americans who have served in the U.S. Congress since the inception of the United States of America. His commitment to civil rights, particularly fighting inequality in the education system, has earned him the Civil Rights Award from the National Education Association (NEA).

Jeanette Yih Harvie

See also Political Representation

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Houston, Velina Hasu (1957–)

Velina Hasu Houston was born to Lemo Houston and Setsuko Takechi and as she herself exclaims "I am a child of war." Her father was part black and part Blackfoot Indian and her mother was from provincial Japan. They married in Japan at the end of World War II.

It is interesting to note that her parents had to undergo psychological testing before they were allowed to marry. Houston grew up around Junction

City, Kansas, which bordered Fort Riley. This was where there was a sizable Japanese Americans military community who had been assigned to live after the end of World War II. Having lost her father at the young age of 11, she was brought up by her Japanese mother in the ethnic subcommunity of Fort Riley, Kansas. This scenario was a confusing collection of "Wide plains and narrow minds" writes Houston. At a relatively young age, Houston developed a love for Haiku and dramatic literature. She went on to study Mass Communications and Theater at Kansas State University in 1979. Her multicultural background provided her the necessary impetus to devise and teach a class entitled "Guess Who Is Coming to Dinner?"

She continued her graduate studies and received an MFA in Theater Arts (playwriting) from the University of California, Los Angeles, 1981.

She completed her PhD in critical studies in cinema and television, from the University of Southern California in 2000.

At the age of 22, Houston developed an interest and tape-recorded stories of her mother and other similarly displaced Japanese women friends in Kansas. Out of her studies came the trilogy of plays, *Asa Ga Kimashita (Morning Has Broken)* (1981), *American Dreams* (1984), and *Tea* (1987). The first of the plays is set in postwar Japan and examines the Japanese side of the war bride experience: How the country, the family, and the people in love adjusted and overcame the struggle to break out of traditional roles. The sequel to this play examined the American side of the story, as the young couple struggled for acceptance and recognition from the American family. *Tea* is the final chapter in the trilogy, where four Japanese international brides search for acceptance in their small Kansas community. This third play has been the most successful of Houston's writings. It has been produced in numerous venues using both naturalistic and Japanese theater techniques.

"My stories are about love, fear, cultural conflict and the struggle to break out of tradition. Those are fairly universal human experiences, aren't they?," says Houston.

She is currently associate dean of Faculty of School of Theatre at University of Southern California.

Velina Hasu Houston has won the following awards:

- Best New Play for *Petals and Thorns*, 1982
- National First Prize, Lorraine Hansberry Playwriting Award, 1982
- Rockefeller Foundation Playwriting Fellow, 1984 and 1987
- Dramalogue Outstanding Achievement Award in Theatre for *Asa Ga Kimashita*, 1985
- Los Angeles Weekly Drama Critics Award for *Asa Ga Kimashita*, 1985
- Best Plays by Women Worldwide: The Susan Smith Blackburn Prize for *Tea*, 1986
- National First Prize, American Multicultural Playwright's Festival for *Tea*, 1986
- San Diego Drama Critics Circle Award for *Tea*, 1987
- Dramalogue Outstanding Achievement in Theatre Award for *Tea*, 1989
- McKnight Foundation Fellow, 1989
- Japanese American Women of Merit Award, 1990

Ambi Harsha

See also Japanese Americans

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New Plays in Development by Velina Hasu Houston

Cinnamon Girl

Civilization (Prequel: *This Is My Country*, and Sequel: *Creature Comforts*)

Cymru Am Byth

Cymru Am Byth (Wales Forever)

Disenchanted Christmas

The DNA Trail (Commission, Silk Road Theater Project)

Eight Months

The Eyes of Bones

The Last Resort

The One-Ten Project (Commission, Los Angeles Opera)

A Spot of Bother

The Territory of Dreams

The Tongues of Men and Angels

Full-length Plays by Velina Hasu Houston

Albatross, 1988

American Dreams, 1984

Asa Ga Kimashita (Morning Has Broken), 1984

Bloody Hell (Or) I Wouldn't Change a Thing About You, 2006

Broken English (Formerly The Melting Plot), 1989

Calligraphy, 2010

Calling Aphrodite, 2007

Christmas Cake, 1991

Civilization, 2010

Cultivated Lives, 1996

The House of Chaos, 2007

The Ideal And the Life, 2002

Ikebana (Living Flowers), 2000

Kapiolani's Faith, 1991

Kokoro (True Heart), 1994

The Legend of Bobbi Chicago, 1987

My Life a Loaded Gun, 1988

Necessities, 1991

Nobody Like Us, 1979

As Part of Messy Utopia, 2007

The Peculiar And Sudden Nearness of the Moon, 2006

Rain, 1993

Sentimental Education, 1997

Shedding the Tiger, 2001

Snowing Fire, 1993

As Sometimes in a Dead Man's Face, 1994

Tea, 1987

Thirst, 1986

Tokyo Valentine, 1992

Waiting For Tadashi, 2002

One-act Plays by Velina Hasu Houston

Amazing Grace, 2001

Amerasian Girls, 1982

The Confusion of Tongues, 1991

Freckles, 2009

Free Verse, 2001

Hula Heart, 1996

Japanese and Multicultural at the Turn-of-the-Century, 1994

Kumo Kumo, 1993

The Lotus of the Sublime Pond, 2001

The Matsuyama Mirror, 1995

Point of Departure, 2001

Something to Say, 2002

Switchboard, 1979

Hsüan Hua (1918–1995)

Hsüan Hua (Pinyin Romanization: Xuanhua) was a Chinese Chan Buddhist monk who established the Sino-American Buddhist Association, now called the Dharma Realm Buddhist Association, in 1968 and

founded the City of Ten Thousand Buddhas in the Ukiah Valley of California in 1976, which remains one of the largest Buddhist monasteries in the United States.

Born Bai Yushun near the city of Harbin in north-east China in 1918, Hsüan Hua became a novice monk after his mother's death when he was 19 years old. After a period of scriptural study and meditation practice, he left for southeastern China in 1946 to meet the celebrated Linji Chan master Xuyun, and upon his arrival two years later Xuyun soon confirmed Hsüan Hua as his teaching heir. In 1949 Hsüan Hua moved to Hong Kong and successfully established two new monasteries and published a short-lived Buddhist magazine. This period also proved influential because it was Hsüan Hua's first direct encounter with Western culture and spurred his interest in spreading Buddhist teachings beyond Asia.

By 1959, a group of Hsüan Hua's disciples made their way to San Francisco and founded the San Francisco Buddhist Lecture Hall. Feeling the time was right after a year's stay in Australia, Hsüan Hua arrived in San Francisco in 1962 and became the first Chinese Chan lineage holder to settle permanently in America. With a growing group of disciples he founded the Sino-American Buddhist Association in 1968 (changed to the Dharma Realm Buddhist Association in 1984) with the explicit mission to promote the growth of Buddhism in the West. The organization continued to expand, establishing a translation institute for Buddhist scriptures in 1970 and publishing a monthly magazine starting the same year. In 1976 Hsüan Hua opened the City of Ten Thousand Buddhas, a sprawling monastic compound covering almost 500 acres. Throughout the next two decades Hsüan Hua held numerous ordination ceremonies in the United States and traveled around the world on lecture tours, continuing his personal commitment to spread the teachings of Buddhism.

Hsüan Hua died in Los Angeles in 1995, leaving behind a sizable Buddhist community with a network of temples and branch temples in the United States and Asia.

Peter M. Romaskiewicz

See also Buddhism in Asian America; Buddhist Churches of America (BCA)

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Hu, Chin-Lung (1984–)

Chin-Lung Hu is the first Taiwanese infielder who played in Major League Baseball (MLB). Well known for his defensive skills, he made his MLB debut with the Los Angeles Dodgers as a shortstop in 2007. Hu was born in Tainan, a city in the south of Taiwan renowned for cultivating excellent baseball players, such as Chien-Ming Wang and Hong-Chih Kuo. He began to play for the Taiwanese team and to impress scouts in international games since senior high school. Hu signed a Minor League contract with the Dodgers in 2003 for US\$150,000 (the third Taiwanese player for the Dodgers after Chin-Feng Chen and Hong-Chih Kuo). In 2006, Hu had an outstanding year as a member of the Taiwanese team in the World Baseball Cup and Doha Asian Games. The same year he played well in the Minor Leagues Futures Game. Hu was selected to participate in the Futures Game again in 2007 and was selected the game's most valuable player.

Yuchun Kuo

See also Chinese American Baseball; Taiwanese Americans

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Huang, Guangcai (Wong Kong Chai or Chae) (1824–1886)

Huang Guangcai was the earliest recorded Chinese sojourner in South Carolina and the southern United States in 1843 and 1844. He was the first Christian

convert and one of the first Chinese ministers related to an American mission in Shanghai. Serving as an Episcopal minister for 35 years, he was mentor to a younger generation of Chinese ministers in Shanghai and may be considered one of the founders of St. John's University.

A native of Gulangyu, Xiamen, Fujian, China, Huang was born November 17, 1824. He studied at the village school for boys and memorized the "Three Character Classic." His parents became domestic helpers of Episcopal China missionaries William Jones Boone and Sarah Amelia deSaussure Boone when they arrived in Gulangyu in 1842.

After the death of Sarah Boone in 1842, Huang accompanied William Jones Boone to America in 1843 and 1844. He stayed for a period in Boone's home town of Walterboro, South Carolina with Boone's younger brother Phillip. He accompanied Boone in visiting the dioceses of New York, New Jersey, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Louisiana. He likely attended the marriage of Boone to Phoebe Elliott, the sister of Bishop Stephen Elliott, at St. John's Church, Savannah, Georgia, on September 5, 1844, and Boone's consecration as missionary bishop to China, at St. Peter's Church, Philadelphia, on October 26, 1844. At times he served as babysitter to Boone's children, as comprador to Americans doing business in China, and as a Chinese teacher to new missionary recruits.

Huang returned to Xiamen in 1845 while Boone and his new missionary recruits went on to Shanghai, but his parents and two brothers soon died, and he decided to rejoin Boone in Shanghai. He was then converted and baptized on Easter Sunday, April 17, 1846. He was ordained deacon on September 7, 1851, and priest November 8, 1863. He married in May 1854. His wife was a graduate of Wenji Girl's School and the first Chinese girl baptized in Shanghai. Throughout his career Huang kept very busy as a preacher, pastor, visitor to the sick, and Bible study teacher. He served faithfully as priest of Christ Church and Church of Our Saviour, Shanghai, as chaplain at St. Luke's Hospital, and at numerous other mission stations. Huang died November 11, 1886. He had two children who survived to adulthood: a daughter Huang Su'e

(Wong Soo-ngoo or Wong Shu-ngo, aka Susan N. Wong, 1855–1918) who served as matron to a girls' school in the elite Sino-Protestant community and in 1888 married Francis Lister Hawks Pott, the principal of St. John's College; and Huang Ding (Theodore T. Wong, 1874–1919), an educationalist.

Thomas G. Oey

See also Chinese Americans

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Hula

Hula is an indigenous Hawaiian form of dance that combines mele (song or chant) with dance moves. Hula is significant because it is a highly visible part of indigenous Hawaiian culture that has simultaneously retained its original foundation in hula kahiko (ancient), and modernized in hula 'auana (modern). A person can experience the complex history of Hawaii through hula.

The history of the Hawaiian Islands is the primary reason that today there are two broadly known forms of hula. Hula kahiko is hula that was danced during ancient times. This hula is done with mele that is chanted called mele hula. The mele is the most important aspect of the hula, with the hula used to accompany or emphasize the words. There is hula pahu (sharkskin-covered drum), which combines chant and pahu with hula. There is hula 'āla'apapa that combines a historical oli (chant) and the ipu (single gourd) with



Dancers from the Lei Hulu Hula School in Moiliili perform before the lei-draped statue of King Kamehameha in Honolulu, during the annual celebration of Kamehameha Day, June 11, 2004. (AP Photo/Carol Cunningham)

hula. There is hula ‘ōlapa, set to a mele inoa (name) that has a structured musical tone, unlike the other hula that are unstructured. Kahiko is performed in a more energetic way with movements that are still and vigorous. Kahiko is performed standing, squatting, or sitting, depending on the kaona (meaning) of the mele. Kahiko was intimately tied to ancient Native Hawaiian religion. In particular the hula pahu and mele pahu originated in the rituals held in the ancient heiau (temples). The drums and the worship of the akua (gods) were more important than the hula. Various indigenous instruments are used in kahiko. The kumu (teacher) will use the ipu heke (double gourd) or the pahu. The ‘ōlapa (dancer) can use the ipu, the ‘ili‘ili (small smooth stones), the papa hehi (treadle board), the kāla‘au (dancing sticks), the ‘ulī‘ulī (gourd rattle with feathers on top), or the pūniu (fish skin-covered coconut shell knee pahu), depending on the mele. The ‘ōlapa would adorn themselves with indigenous

plants and flowers, that is, the maile, the lehua, the hala, the fern, the ‘awa, and the ‘ie‘ie. In addition to the plants and flowers, the ‘ōlapa would dress with indigenous clothing, that is, their pahu (skirts) could be made of tapa-cloth or tī leaves.

With European contact and the arrival of American Congregationalist missionaries, Hawaiian society began to change and with it hula. The missionaries did not approve of hula; its glorification of the body shocked them. Once the missionaries became advisors to the Hawaiian monarchy a series of value laws were passed. One of those laws banned hula from the public sphere. Hula continued to survive and be performed in the rural parts of the islands. In 1883, hula returned to the public sphere with the coronation of King David Kalākaua, nine years after he started his reign. Derided by his detractors as the “Merrie Monarch” for his love of Hawaiian culture, King Kalākaua believed Hawaiian culture was important for Hawaiian sovereignty. In this he encouraged all manner of Hawaiian arts, including being the author of several mele and oli. His sister, Lili‘uokalani, who would be Hawaii’s last monarch, also was a prolific writer of Hawaiian mele and oli. By the time of King Kalākaua’s coronation, there were not many Hawaiians who knew or could perform kahiko, primarily because hula was passed down from the kūpuna (elders) to the next generation orally by means of memorization and practice. Since European contact, many indigenous Hawaiians succumbed to European diseases that they had no resistance to, many of them kūpuna who could pass on their knowledge. Hula began to adapt to this loss.

Hula ‘auana is modern or Westernized hula. This hula is performed with mele that is sung. Unlike kahiko, the mele is not as important as the hula. Mele is done in Hawaiian, as well as, hapa-haole (English songs about Hawaii). There is hula ku‘i that is the modern version of hula ‘ōlapa and is more closely associated with tourism, along with hapa-haole. There is hula noa (hula free of taboo), which is hula that is unrestricted by customs or traditions. ‘Auana is performed slower with more graceful movements. The kumu will use Western electronic instruments. The kumu may sing in falsetto, a favored way of singing the mele. The guitar, steel guitar, slack-key guitar,

bass, and the 'ukulele are the primary instruments used. However, occasionally the piano, flute, or violin are used. The 'ōlapa continues to adorn themselves with indigenous plants and flowers; however, their clothing is more modern, that is, pants, the mu'umu'u, shirts, dresses, and, sometimes, shoes.

Since the Hawaiian renaissance of the 1970s, hula competitions have concentrated on kahiko and 'auana. Kāne (men) performed kahiko during ancient times; however, over time it was not seen as masculine to hula. A more bombastic form of kāne kahiko developed during the renaissance and has made hula more masculine and less effeminate. Hula competitions evolved as an avenue for hālau to compete and gain public performance experience. It is also an avenue to continually maintain and revitalize the culture of hula. However, it is an issue to be assessed critically that most of these events are held at tourist sites.

The kumu hula and the haumana (students) are the two main components of a hālau (school). Most hālau begin with the haumana asking permission to enter the hālau with an oli (chant) that they are ready to learn. If the kumu agrees that the haumana are ready to learn, she or he will oli that the haumana may enter. As the haumana enter, they oli that they have come properly prepared. A haumana becomes an 'ōlapa (dancer) through the performing of hula.

Hula has continued to flourish on the mainland with hula hālau throughout California, Arizona, and Las Vegas. Hula has reached global status, with hālau in Japan, Mexico, and Europe. In Japan, hula has gone even further by being adapted to fit the Japanese *iemoto* (guild system), where there is a Japanese assistant teacher in-between the haumana and the kumu. It is the assistant teacher who will learn from the kumu, and then return to Japan and teach their haumana. Many of the hālau in Japan are extensions of a hālau in Hawaii. Despite its movement farther and farther from Hawaii, hula remains Hawaii-centric with mainland hālau looking to Hawaii colleagues or competition judges for validation.

Although considered controversial by some, hula is continually modernized with hula being performed to opera arias, techno music, or rhythm and blues. Although hula is a distinctly indigenous Hawaiian cultural form of dance, as more non-Hawaiians learn hula

and as more Hawaiians move out into the Hawaiian diaspora, hula will continue to adapt to new environments.

Niccole Leilanionapae'aina Coggins

See also Ethnic Communities in Hawaii; Native Hawaiian Religion

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Hwang, David Henry (1957–)

Born in San Gabriel, California, David Henry Hwang graduated from Harvard Boy's School in the Hollywood Hills and entered Stanford University in 1975. It has become common knowledge now that David Henry Hwang's introduction to the world of plays and playwriting came about in 1979, when he first performed and produced *FOB (Fresh off the Boat)* (1980) at the Okada House dormitory at Stanford University. The play premiered in New York in 1980, at the Joseph Papp Public Theatre and won the Obie award for Best Off Broadway Play (1980–1981 season). By this time, it had evolved into something culture specific involving elements of Chinese-style opera versus the ritual embodiment of a Sam Shepard play. Hwang was well qualified to initiate the changes. His initial introduction to music came at home at a very early age. (His mother, a talented pianist studied music at the University of Southern California.) Furthermore, in 1978, Hwang attended the Padua Hills Playwright Festival under the tutelage of Sam Shepard.

FOB was followed by *The Dance and The Railroad* (1981), which also developed a similar theme of the merger of East and West. An autobiographical *Family Devotions* (1981) followed. The second phase of Hwang's theatrical journey started with his "Japanese" phase. *The House of Sleeping Beauties* (1983) and *The Sound of a Voice* (1983) inspired by the writings of Yasunari Kawabata, Yukio Mishima, and Lafcadio Hearn. A period of introspection followed in the late 1980s, which led to a play, *Rich Relations* (1986), where the characters were not Asian specific.

Hwang's best known play is *M. Butterfly* (1988), which was based on an article in the *New York Times* (05/11/1986) titled "France jails two in odd case of Espionage." The play itself is a deconstruction of Giacomo Puccini's opera, *Madama Butterfly*. The play was an unqualified success and went on to win the Drama Desk award for Year's Outstanding New Play, Outer Circle Critics award for Best Broadway Play, the John Gassner award for Best New American Play, and the coveted Tony award for Best Play on Broadway. The play was later made into a film directed by David Cronenberg.

Post-*Butterfly*, David Henry Hwang has been involved in a variety of projects. He went on to complete a set of short plays, *Bondage* (1992), *Trying to Find Chinatown* (1996), *Bang Kok* (1996), *Merchandising* (1999), *Jade Flowerpots and Bound Feet* (2001) and *The Great Helmsman* (2007). Two full length plays, *Face Value* (1993), *Golden Child* (1996) for which he won an Obie award. In 2007 his play *Yellow Face* premiered at the Mark Taper Forum in Los Angeles and also went on to win an Obie award. He went on to adapt *Tibet Through a Red Box* (2004) for the theatre from Peter Sis's book of the same name. And his *Chinglish* opened in 2011. A musical based on the legendary Bruce Lee and an autobiographical play based on a memoir by Tsai Chin are other future projects.

Hwang has also gone on to contribute his literary and musical talents towards the writing of screenplays: *M. Butterfly* (1993), *Golden Gate* (1994), *The Lost*

Empire—NBC TV series (2001), and *Possession* (2002). He wrote and staged a revival of the 1958, Rodgers and Hammerstein Broadway musical *Flower Drum Song*, which earned him a third Tony nomination. Hwang reworked the original to put it in a more current perspective. Not restricted to just writing plays, Hwang has been active as an opera librettist. He has collaborated with musician and composer Philip Glass on *1000 Airplanes on The Roof* (1988), *The Voyage* (1992), and *The Sound of A Voice* (2004). Further collaborations include *The Silent River* (1997) with the Asian American composer Bright Sheng; *Ainadamar* (2003) with the Argentine composer Osvaldo Golijov; and *Alice in Wonderland* (2007) with the Korean composer Unsuk Chin. He cowrote *Aida* (2000) the musical with lyrics by Tim Rice and music by Elton John. The book for the Disney production of *Tarzan* was written by Hwang, with music by Phil Collins and, more recently, the *The Fly* (2008) with Howard Shore. He even cowrote a song for Prince entitled *Solo* for the latter's 1994 album, *Come*.

In 1998, the Asian American Theatre Company based in Little Tokyo, Los Angeles honored David Henry Hwang by naming its main stage, The David Henry Hwang Theatre. Hwang has subsequently gone on to be recognized by various organizations and cultural institutions. From 1994 to 2001, he served on the president's committee on the Arts and Humanities. In Hwang's own words "In the long run, if the ethnic theatres do their jobs properly, they should phase out their own existence. I think the future is not in mono-ethnic theatre, but in multicultural theatres that will do a black play, an Asian play, a white play, whatever."

Ambi Harsha

See also Hollywood, Asian Americans in

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I Wor Kuen (IWK)

Founded in 1969, the I Wor Kuen (IWK) was a national revolutionary Marxist-Leninist-Maoist collective of Asian Americans dedicated to the self-determination of Asian Americans and other aggrieved groups in the United States. Its name, translated “Righteous Harmonious Fist,” was inspired by disenfranchised Chinese peasants and farmers who led the anti-imperialist Boxer Rebellion. Forming first in New York City, the IWK believed that a revolution of the masses would result in the necessary and inevitable overthrow of capitalism and imperialism in the United States and abroad. In 1971, they merged with the Red Guard Party in San Francisco and formed the first national Asian American revolutionary organization.

The theory and practice of the IWK was strongly influenced by the community-centered praxis that emerged from the liberation movements in black, Puerto Rican, Chicano, and American Indian communities, particularly the Black Panther Party and Young Lords Party. Inspired by the 10-Point Program of the Black Panther Party, the IWK issued a 12-Point Platform that advocated for the self-determination of Asian Americans, Asians, and Third World and oppressed peoples; an end to sexism, racism, national borders, and the military; community-controlled local education, fair and accessible housing, health care, and child care; the release of political prisoners; and the establishment of a socialist society.

The IWK believed that the struggle against capitalism and imperialism required a unified front of workers and activists that was led by a revolutionary vanguard of “oppressed nationalities,” or members of

aggrieved and disenfranchised communities of color. Critical of the external and internal racisms that divided communities, the IWK actively forged interracial and international coalitions with people of color and radical organizations to build a mass movement and socialist alternative to the capitalist and imperialist United States nation-state.

In addition to developing revolutionary theory, the IWK’s objective was to “serve the people” through community-based programs in New York City and San Francisco Chinatowns that complemented their efforts to build the broad-based mass movement needed to end global capitalism and the oppression of Third World peoples. They offered services and workshops that addressed pressing issues faced by Asian Americans and other communities of color on the United States, such as police brutality, fair housing, and health care. Modeled after the Free Breakfast for Children program created by the Black Panther Party, the IWK created a Free Lunch Program that fed elderly community members. They also conducted political education workshops that explored the history of Asians in the United States, discussed Marxist-Leninist-Maoist political theory, introduced participants to political organizing, and explicitly contextualized the struggle of Asian Americans to that of Third World peoples everywhere. The IWK organized a bilingual childcare collective, created Chinatown’s first draft counseling center, made tuberculosis testing accessible to local residents, and worked closely with African Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Chicanos around state repression. They also engaged in local struggles such as the anti-eviction movement at the International Hotel in San Francisco and the struggle for adequate and accessible health care in the Lower

East Side community of New York City. Their efforts were met by intimidation and harassment from politically conservative community leaders, particularly Kuomintang supporters, the police, and their allies; however, the opposition only affirmed the significant impact of the IWK on the community's political consciousness and activist culture.

The organization's praxis was regularly articulated in *Getting Together*, the official political organ of the organization. First published in February 1970, *Getting Together* was a bilingual newspaper that featured articles, editorials, and art in both Chinese and English. Topics included political theory, news about Asian and Asian American struggles, updates about movements occurring in communities of color, polemical critiques of other Marxist organizations, and reports about international revolutionary struggle.

On December 26, 1972, the San Francisco-based IWK founded the Chinese Progressive Association (CPA), a community-based and community-centered mass organization that connected ideological critiques of imperialism, capitalism, and racism to everyday grievances. Although most of the staff were IWK members, the CPA was a distinct community center with no formal organizational affiliation with the IWK. At the same time, its operations and programs complemented and emulated IWK politics. CPA members held open public forums to assess community needs and brainstorm solutions. It immersed itself in local politics, challenged misconduct by police and immigration officials, and supported political prisoners. It also held weekly film nights, community dinners, political education classes, artistic workshops, and encouraged intergenerational dialogue.

The IWK and CPA were both located at the International Hotel, arguably the headquarters for the most radical Asian American revolutionary organizations in the United States. Organizations such as the Wei Min She, Everybody's Bookstore, Asian Cultural Center, and members of the Katipunan ng Demokratikong Pilipinos (Union of Democratic Filipinos) actively organized around antiracist, anti-imperialist, and anticapitalist platforms that espoused community self-determination and national liberation. All of these organizations famously organized around tenants' rights in the landmark International Hotel anti-eviction

movement. Although the organizations notoriously engaged in heated political and ideological debates, their praxis and commitment is foundational to the legacy of Asian American radicalism.

In September 1978, the IWK merged with the Chicano-led August 29th Movement and formed the League of Revolutionary Struggle (LRS). In 1979, the LRS merged with the East Wind Collective and Seize the Time Collective, which were comprised of mostly Japanese Americans, and Chicanos and African Americans, respectively. The following year, the LRS merged with the Revolutionary Community League (formerly the Congress of Afrikan People) to become one of the most important multiethnic, multinational revolutionary Marxist-Leninist-Maoist organizations in United States history. The LRS dissolved in 1990.

May C. Fu

See also Katipunan ng mga Demokratikong Pilipinos (KDP); Wei Min She (WMS)

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Ichioka, Yuji (1936–2002)

Yuji Ichioka was born in San Francisco as a son of Japanese immigrants. Having interned at the Topaz internment camp in Utah during the Pacific War at the age of six, Ichioka returned with his parents and siblings to Berkeley, where he stayed until high school graduation in 1954. Ichioka then served in the United States Army and was stationed in Germany; after his discharge, he attended UCLA and graduated in 1962.

Intending to pursue modern Chinese history with a fellowship, Ichioka moved to New York City to enroll in a Columbia University graduate program, which he quit soon after. It was during this period that he became deeply involved in social justice and civil rights issues in collaboration with African American and other minority activists. After leaving the intellectual Ivory Tower, Ichioka worked as a youth guidance counselor in predominantly minority neighborhoods of New York City. His commitment to minority empowerment soon led to a strong interest in the history of Asian Americans, providing a background for his first trip to Japan in the winter of 1966. As he often discussed later, Ichioka's encounter on a Yokohama-bound ship with aged Japanese immigrants from Brazil peaked his interest in migration history and migrant experience. After returning from Japan, where he established lifelong friendships with progressive-minded Japanese, Ichioka enrolled in the Asian Studies graduate program at the University of California, Berkeley, to write a master's thesis on a Japanese nationalist of the Meiji era, titled "Takayama Chogyu and his Nihonshugi: Its Nature and Significance" (1968).

Ichioka's contribution to the Asian American Movement and Asian American Studies took place during his graduate education at UC Berkeley. Along with his partner Emma Gee, who he had met at Columbia, Ichioka played a central role in forming the Asian American Political Alliance—an organization of mainly college-age radical Asian activists in the area, who participated in the interracial Civil Rights and anti-Vietnam War movement. Ichioka is credited with coining of the term "Asian American" to bring different Asian groups under a panethnic political coalition for the causes of racial equality, anti-imperialism, and social justice. Along with Gee and other activists/students, Ichioka was involved in the development of first Asian American studies courses UC Berkeley. When students at UCLA successfully demanded a course on Asian Americans in 1969, Ichioka was selected as the first instructor, thereby beginning his lifelong affiliation with UCLA. Ichioka and Gee served as founding members of the Asian American Studies Center there. When taking part in curriculum building and other administrative matters, Ichioka promoted research

and archival development relating to Japanese immigration history. His role as an archivist, cataloger, and custodian of the Japanese American Research Project (JARP) Collection was illustrative of his multifaceted contribution to historical scholarship on Japanese Americans.

Committed to producing scholarship for the benefit of social justice and community empowerment, Ichioka made him available for off-campus lectures and other nonacademic speaking engagements. This same activist-scholar impulse, however, also turned Ichioka rather critical of recent Asian American scholarship that tended to overindulge in the use of theoretical jargon and abstraction.

At the same time, Ichioka was ahead of an academic trend in Asian American studies. For example, he was among the first to break new ground in transnational studies as early as the mid-1980s despite his refusal to depart from empirical historical research. Before such studies became popular in the field, Ichioka advocated comparative studies of Japanese in the Western Hemisphere. He pioneered in the critical analysis of immigrant nationalism and transnationalism, albeit without relying on fashionable theoretical formulations. These developments coincided with another notable shift in Ichioka's scholarship from research on leftists, common laborers, and immigrant women to an analysis of the "second generation problem" and other controversial subjects, like Nisei "disloyalty." At the time of his death in September 2002, he was preparing a manuscript for his second book, and he was contemplating a major conference and research on Kibei. When he passed away, Ichioka was research associate and adjunct associate professor of history at UCLA. He was married to Emma Gee, a scholar of Asian American women and history, as well as a writer and labor activist.

During his career as a professional historian, Ichioka traveled numerous times to Japan for research and teaching while publishing two major monographs: *The Issei: The World of the First Generation Japanese Immigrants, 1885–1924* (Free Press, 1989), and *Before Internment: Essays in Japanese-American History*, edited by Gordon H. Change and Eiichiro Azuma (Stanford University Press, 2005). Other publications include: two edited volumes: *Karl G. Yoneda*,

Ganbatte: Sixty-Year Struggle of a Kibei Worker (1983), and *Views from Within: The Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement Study* (1989); two major annotated bibliographies: *A Buried Past* (1974), and *A Buried Past II* (1999); and dozens of path-breaking journal articles in *Amerasia Journal*, *Pacific Historical Review*, *Agricultural History*, and *California History*, among others. His personal papers and research materials are available at UCLA's Special Collections.

Eiichiro Azuma

See also Japanese Americans; Japanese Transnational Identity; Kibei; Yoneda, Karl G.

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Iijima, Kazu Ikeda (1918–2007)

The youngest of three daughters, Kazu Ikeda Iijima was born in West Oakland's Chinatown. Her father, Kando Ikeda, was an avowed Issei nationalist who published a local Japanese language newspaper, and her mother, Tsukiko, worked as a domestic in neighboring Piedmont County. The Ikeda children were rooted, but not limited, to the Oakland Japanese American community. Ikeda, like many young Bay Area Nisei, participated in ethnic Japanese activities. She visited Buddhist Temple and attended Japanese Language School. She also played on integrated sports teams and wrote several stories for her high school literary journal. However, the onset of the Great Depression, the tragic passing of her mother in 1933, and her decision to enroll at UC Berkeley in 1935 ended this sheltered life and exposed Ikeda to radical ideas for the first time.

The 1930s witnessed a dire economic downturn, entrenched U.S. racism, and rising fascist movements in Europe and Japan. Yet Ikeda remained largely unaware of the severity and interconnectedness of these crises until introduced to Marxist analyses by

her older sister Nori, who was by then a Communist Party (CPUSA) member. It was the Communist Party's antiracist principles and Marxist approach to tackling racism in particular that won Ikeda over to the Party, which she joined in 1938. As she later recalled, "we couldn't understand why everyone hated us [Japanese Americans] so much. So when my sister talked about communism and socialism we responded to that." Furthermore, the multiracial Berkeley chapter of the Young Communist League (YCL), the "only place where we didn't face racism" according to Ikeda, carried out their socialist ideals in their everyday interactions, a stark contrast to the anti-Asian discrimination the Ikeda sisters experienced in Oakland.

Ikeda's activism within the YCL brought her into contact with like-minded Japanese Americans in the East Bay Area, with whom she formed the Oakland Nisei Democratic Club in 1938. Created as a political outlet for working-class Japanese Americans, many of whom were close to the CPUSA, the Oakland Nisei Democrats attempted to recruit Niseis to progressive causes and provide a counterweight to the more conservative JACL. Yet the impact of the Nisei Democrats extended beyond local Japanese American communities. For instance, the Club supported picketing GM workers in Oakland and helped to pass a resolution at the 1938 Young Democrats convention that committed the California Democratic Party to ending racial discrimination.

Shortly after the attack on Pearl Harbor, however, the Communist Party revoked the membership of West Coast Japanese Americans, including Ikeda's, under the pretext of an antifascist alliance with President Roosevelt. This betrayal was compounded by the CPUSA's silence on the unconstitutional internment of Japanese Americans under Executive Order 9066, which Ikeda and the Nisei Democrats protested in defiance of the Party. These setbacks inadvertently set the stage for Ikeda to focus on her personal life and establish herself as an independent radical. In 1942, she married Tak Iijima, a member of the 442nd Army unit in the Topaz, Utah concentration camp. After the war, the couple resettled to New York City, where they had two children, Chris and Lynne. In New York, now Iijima joined the Japanese American Committee for Democracy (JACD), a left-wing, anti-imperialist

organization where she served as editor of their newsletter. Her involvement with the JACD was the exception to an otherwise apolitical period, however, as she put activism on the backburner, until the 1960s, to concentrate on raising her children.

Inspired by the Black Power's penetrating critique of U.S. racism and instillation of cultural pride, Iijima and her friend Minn Matsuda created Asian American for Action, or Triple A, one of the first East Coast pan-Asian organizations, in 1968. Triple A's primary focus was the Vietnam War. According to Triple A, U.S. imperialism in Southeast Asia was facilitated by American dehumanization of the Vietnamese, which mirrored the racism encountered by Asian Americans, and an imperialist drive for the region's natural resources. As an experienced organizer, Iijima helped mobilize weekly Triple A meetings and demonstrations along with her two children, including two large anti-imperialist rallies in Washington D.C., and mentored a new generation of Asian American activists, who appreciated her flexible approach to the changing political environment. Iijima later became recognized as the "Mother of the Movement" and continued to be political active until she passed in 2007. Today, Iijima is remembered not only as a tireless advocate for social justice but also as a caring mother, wife, and community member.

Megan White

See also Japanese American Citizens League (JACL); Japanese Americans

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Iko, Momoko (1940–)

When she was but two years old, Momoko Iko was forced to leave her Wapato, Washington, home along with her parents to relocate to the Heart Mountain Internment camp in Wyoming. After their release in

1945, the family had to move to New Jersey to start a living as migrant laborers. It was here that the young Iko was exposed to heartfelt stories from other displaced Japanese who congregated frequently at her home. The family eventually settled in Chicago.

Momoko Iko started writing when at Northern Illinois University and completed her undergraduate degree in English at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign in 1961. She went on to complete her MFA degree from the University of Iowa. Iko's initial attempts at writing were confined to prose and poetry. She initially concentrated on personal essays that included a prose poem entitled *And There Are Stories, There Are Stories*.

Iko happened to see a call for plays in a notice advertising the submission of plays for a playwriting contest sponsored by the East West Players. Out of this inspiration came her first play *Gold Watch* (1972), which premiered at the Inner City Cultural Center, Los Angeles, under the direction of Bernard Jackson. The play is one of the first literary pieces that spoke against the abuse of power and the shame of incarceration. The play deals with the issue of forced relocation and the consequent results of what happened to the Japanese American community after Pearl Harbor. Not only does the play address prewar issues among the Japanese community, but also examines the Kibei, the American-born children of Japanese immigrants who were sent away to Japan to be educated. The varied nature of their allegiances and dilemma did pose a problem for them, given the context that they were living in. The direct and indirect effects of the internment camps pervaded many facets of Japanese American society. *Gold Watch* was shown on PBS in November 1976 with Phillip Baker Hall, Robert Ito, and Mako.

Iko has also written *Flowers and Household Gods* (1975), which centers around the Kagawa family gathering at a funeral. Here Iko examines how the family structure slowly disintegrates as individuals grow, assimilate, and move out. The structural net of the family widens and as generations grow, a crisis of identity develops. What is traditional and encompassing has been severed by the throes of the internment. Old memories are brought up and along with it a reopening of old wounds. *Boutique Living and Disposable Icons*

(1987), the sequel, concentrates on a wedding 20 years later in the Kagawa household. There is a confusion of identity here followed by not only a generational difference but one of values. Her other plays include: *Boutique Living and Disposable Income* (1973) and *When We Were Young* (1974).

Iko has won numerous awards for her writing from the East West Players, The Rockefeller Foundation, The National Endowment for the Arts, and the Zellerbach Foundation.

Ambi Harsha

See also Japanese Americans; Kibei

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Immigration Act of 1917 and the “Barred Zone”

On February 5, 1917, the United States Congress overwhelmingly passed the Immigration Act of 1917. The most stringent immigration law to date, the 1917 Act at once established a literacy requirement for immigrants over 16 years of age; a head tax for entry into the country; barred the entry of “idiots,” “feeble-minded persons,” “epileptics,” “insane persons,” alcoholics, “professional beggars,” all persons “mentally or physically defective,” polygamists, and anarchists; and increased the statute of limitations for deportation from three to five years for immigrants deemed to have subversive political beliefs and associations. Additionally, the 1917 Immigration Act excluded from the United States all peoples living within a constructed geographic region referred to as the “Barred Zone.” The “Barred Zone”—defined through longitudes and latitudes—included all immigrants from India, Burma, Siam, the Malay states, Arabia, Afghanistan, part of Russia, and most of the Polynesian Islands. In effect, the “Barred Zone” included almost all of Asia except Japan and the Philippines.

Because Chinese and Japanese laborers were already excluded from the United States through the

Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 and the Gentleman’s Agreement of 1907, the “Barred Zone” component of the 1917 Immigration Act was intended to target Indians. However, an informal and extralegal system of Indian exclusion in the United States had been established nearly a decade prior to the passage of the 1917 Immigration Act. The restriction of Indian immigration through the “Barred Zone” Act had several precursors: most notably the manipulation of the “likely to become a public charge” clause, in which, beginning in 1909, immigration inspectors began excluding 50 percent of Indians seeking entry to the United States by arguing that, because of racial prejudice against Indians in the Pacific Coast states, Indians would have difficulty obtaining employment and thus were likely to become public charges; the rewriting of immigration policy in the summer of 1913 to prohibit migration from the U.S. imperial territories, most notably Hawaii and the Philippines, thereby closing immigration routes that Indians traveled to circumvent restrictive immigration policies at mainland U.S. ports, particularly in San Francisco and Seattle; and the attempts of U.S. officials in the spring of 1913 to use of the anti-anarchy law of the 1903 Immigration Act to exclude and deport Indians in the United States.

The Immigration Act of 1917, like the Immigration Acts of 1903 and 1924, illustrates how anti-immigrant and antiradical laws were often indistinguishable in the twentieth century. The antiradical clause of the act stated that “any alien who at any time after entry shall be found advocating or teaching the unlawful destruction of property, or advocating or teaching anarchy or the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States or of all forms of law or assassination of public officials shall be taken into custody and deported.” In effect, the Act broadened U.S. antiradical immigration laws by expanding the opportunities for officials to deport someone for post-entry political organizing or association. In doing so, the Act reflected how, in the eyes of federal officials, the “foreign agitator” was undoubtedly an “undesirable alien.”

With the passage of the 1917 Immigration Act, deportation became the quickest and most effective method for U.S. authorities to suppress what were deemed dangerous or subversive political actors and movements. The Act allowed Congress to avoid due

process and thus not feel obliged to determine the rights of political radicals through what was viewed as the long slow process of courts. Originating with the anti-anarchist legislation of the 1903 Immigration Act the Immigration Act of 1917 was part of a continuum of antiradical legislation in twentieth century U.S. history that expanded deportation policy and restricted what constituted permissible belief and action. The newly revised deportation policy of the 1917 Immigration Act and the “Barred Zone” provision were not mutually exclusive but rather illustrative of the inseparability of anti-immigrant and antiradical sentiment at this time.

The “Barred Zone” Act was in effect until 1946, when the Luce-Celler Bill amended the 1917 Immigration Act, but still allowed entry to only 100 Indians per year under the existing quota system. It was not until the Immigration Act of 1965, which ended racially discriminatory policies in immigration law, that South Asians began migrating to the United States in significant numbers.

Seema Sohi

See also Chinese Exclusion Acts (1882–1943); Immigration Act of 1924; Immigration Act of 1990; Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986; Indian Exclusion; Japanese Exclusion; Luce-Celler Act of 1946

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Immigration Act of 1924

The Immigration Act of 1924 (Sixty-Eighth Congress, Sess. I Chap. 190. 1924) was signed into law May 26, 1924, by President Calvin Coolidge. Its provisions

went into effect July 1, 1924. The law remained on the books until all traces of discriminatory provisions against Asians in immigration law were removed by Congressional action in 1965.

Immigration historians consider this legislation to be concerned primarily with narrowing national origin quotas, especially those assigned immigrants coming from southern Europe and the Mediterranean. By tightening quota-based legislation first approved in 1921, the law represented a further restriction on immigration in general and an attempt to limit newcomers as much as possible to those coming from northern Europe and Great Britain. The law also affected Japan immigration rights, thereby profoundly impacting future relations both between the United States and Japan and between Japanese immigrants and their (primarily Caucasian) neighbors.

Just how the Immigration Act of 1924 reflected prevalent negative attitudes among the American citizenry, not just toward immigration in general, but also toward Japanese immigration in particular, is not immediately apparent. The Act contained no specific mention of the Japanese. Included, however, was a provision prohibiting the immigration to the United States of any “aliens ineligible to citizenship.” This legalist euphemism in reality applied only to Asian emigrants as a result of a series of Supreme Court rulings defining Asians in general as the only racial group not eligible to become naturalized American citizens. Because prior restriction acts had already excluded all other Asians from the right to immigrate to the United States, in 1924 the phrase applied specifically only to the Japanese. Hence, the presence of the phrase ‘aliens ineligible to citizenship’ in the Immigration Act of 1924 clearly and unequivocally was meant to refer solely to the Japanese, the only Asian immigrant community ‘ineligible to citizenship’ still nominally permitted unrestricted immigration access to the United States.

During congressional consideration of the proposed legislation, numerous additional factors influenced the course of the debate over the Immigration Act of 1924 and its implied focus on Japanese exclusion. Nativist sentiment hostile to unfettered immigration was particularly robust at the time: the report accompanying the introduction of the legislations on

February 9, 1924, for example, declared all those seeking immigration to the United States “a great undigested mass of alien thought, alien sympathy, and alien purpose [and] . . . a menace to the social, political, and economic life of the country” (Congressional Record 68: 1, 3–4). The United States was also in the midst of a presidential election campaign; this made objections to the prevailing public mood regarding immigration restriction difficult for members of either major political party to endorse. As a consequence, initial Coolidge administration opposition to the bill gradually faded away. Within the Republican party itself, West Coast exclusionists, aware of the call for party unity in the face of the strength of the Democratic opposition, used the opportunity presented by the bill to push their long-held desire to prohibit Asian immigration altogether in exchange for their continued party loyalty.

Many in the United States also saw Japan in the mid-1920s as an increasingly threatening international presence. The generally perceived failure of Wilsonian principles (introduced in the aftermath of World War I) to ensure world peace and stability fueled growing American unease over Japanese expansionist intentions (which, some believed, included a desire to annex the West Coast of the United States). In their eyes, the Japanese immigrant community already present represented the vanguard in this planned extension of Japan’s overseas empire. Their presence needed to be carefully monitored; moreover, no more of their countrymen should be allowed to join them.

The credence given Social Darwinism at the time likewise impacted the specific debate over Japanese exclusion. Race mixing weakened the gene pool and undercut the American ability to survive the competition with other societies and cultures. There was also the question of potential “assimilability”: Japanese seemed particularly unsuited because of racial differences and the great disparity in customs evident between American and Japanese cultures. Skin color and slanted eyes, small stature together with differences in diet, language and religion were frequently cited as evidence that the Japanese immigrant represented essentially an inassimilable alien community.

In Japan, news of the proposed congressional action regarding exclusion was taken to be a major

diplomatic affront. Japan had long sought to assert her diplomatic equality with the nations of Europe and the United States. Since the late nineteenth century Japan had pursued *bunmei-kaika* (civilization and enlightenment), accelerating the modernization process by adopting and adapting imported Western models, to achieve *fukoku-kyohei* (a strong nation and a powerful army), acquiring in the process a substantial overseas empire. All these accomplishments, it now appeared, seemed incapable of assuring Japan the equal status she craved in the eyes of the world community.

When these issues were brought to their attention, American government officials sought to assuage Japanese concerns over the maintenance of her current unique diplomatic status by downplaying the impact of the congressional debate on the reality of Japanese immigration rights. In this respect, diplomats and State Department officials alike pointed to the Gentlemen’s Agreement of 1908 with the United States that defined an arrangement by which Japan agreed informally not to allow emigrants to leave the Empire if their planned destination was the United States, Mexico, Canada, or Hawaii. This agreement, in the eyes of American government officials, precluded any need to impose the ban proposed in the legislation then before the House and the Senate.

In support of this position, Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes voiced the administration’s support for an alternative proposal suggesting the current arrangement with Japan concerning emigration be allowed to stand unaltered. This move, however, only served to focus congressional attention for the first time on the Gentlemen’s Agreement itself. Legislators favoring exclusion now proclaimed the Agreement a treaty that had been negotiated in secret and had never been approved by Congress as required by the Constitution. In response, Secretary Hughes asked the Japanese ambassador to the United States, Hanihara Masanao, to clarify the contents of the agreement in writing, thereby hoping to undercut criticism of the arrangement reached in the document some two decades earlier.

Ambassador Hanihara did so in a letter dated April 10, 1924, addressed to the American secretary of state. The impact of the Hanihara letter, however,

proved the opposite of that which was intended. Congressional supporters of exclusion seized on the letter's conclusion in which Hanihara warned of "grave consequences" should the ban on "aliens ineligible to citizenship" be included in the final version of the immigration act. These critics interpreted that phrase as both a "veiled threat" against the United States and interference in the nation's internal affairs by a foreign power. In response an extraordinary session of the Senate was convened almost immediately, leading to abrupt passage of the pending legislation with the exclusion clause still intact on April 16, 1924. The Senate bill was then sent to a joint Senate-House committee for reconciliation with the previously passed House version; final passage of the bill occurred soon after in early May 1924.

In Japan media coverage of the congressional debate had focused almost exclusively on the proposed ban on Japanese immigration rights, so much so that the legislation came to be referred to in press accounts as the Japanese Exclusion Act of 1924. The eventual passage of the Act was interpreted, therefore, as an unjust and discourteous insult directed specifically against Japan and the Japanese. By singling out Japan in its exclusion provision, the Immigration Act of 1924 was seen both to undermine Japan's international position and to malign her national honor and prestige on racial grounds alone. All this despite the facts that Japanese immigration into the United States had been minimal since 1908 and the Japanese government had scrupulously adhered to the provisions of the earlier informal Gentlemen's Agreement.

Japanese public reaction to congressional passage of the Immigration Act of 1924, organized by a wide variety of press, patriotic, religious, educational, labor, fraternal and social associations, led to numerous well-attended rallies and protest meetings throughout the Empire. As part of the protest movement, a *funshi* (indignation suicide), widely reported in the Japanese press, took place as did planning for a national boycott of imported American goods. These efforts at direct action initially were aimed at persuading the American president to veto the bill once it reached his desk.

These public protests, rallies, and boycotts accomplished little in the short run; Coolidge signed the bill with only minimal hesitation. However, the public

outcry in Japan against exclusion did serve to initiate a reassessment of Japanese popular opinion toward the United States. Generally favorable in response to the outpouring of American aid to Japan in the aftermath of the Great Kanto earthquake of 1923 and the successful conclusion of the Washington Naval Disarmament Conference in 1922, Japanese public views now began to question whether Americans would ever accept Japanese as diplomatic equals on the international scene.

This domestic Japanese concern with winning a sense of diplomatic equality had long been a goal of the Japanese government; ever since the imposition of the unequal treaties in the mid-nineteenth century, Japan had sought to assure her survival as an independent nation state through the quest for international acceptance on the basis of "equality" with the imperialistic nations of the West. Recent events had prompted many in Japan to assume that elusive sense of equality had at long last been achieved: the Japanese had successfully renegotiated the last of the unequal treaties; the Anglo-Japanese Alliance had provided Japan with a powerful Western ally; Japanese forces had contributed to the Allied war effort during the Great War; Japanese diplomats had been included in the naval limitation negotiations in London and Washington. The international outpouring of relief following the Great Kanto Earthquake had for many confirmed this newly acquired stature; now, suddenly, actions being taken by the United States Congress appeared to threaten these hard-won gains.

In the end, attention given the exclusion act in Japan served both to focus public opinion on Japan's precarious international position in general and to bring to the fore specific fears of American antagonism directed toward Japan, seen as increasingly vulnerable, both economically and diplomatically, to external dangers due to an engrained racism impossible to overcome. It is not too difficult to perceive in this reassessment taking place among many in Japan in 1924 the seeds of those thought processes leading eventually to Japan's adventurism on the Asian continent and her involvement in World War II.

Internal reaction among the Japanese American population resident in the United States at the time tended toward an increased interest in both assimilation

and in the defense of the immigrant community against external threat. Second-generation Japanese Americans particularly sought to ensure access to the larger culture through education and the enhancement of Japanese cultural traits similar to those found in their American surroundings. In the 1930s this led to the formation of the Japanese American Citizens League. The JACL, which was later to become an important political action committee speaking out on issues of interest and importance to the Japanese American community, was clearly structured in these early years to emphasize the quest for assimilation among Japanese in the immigrant community.

The Immigration Act of 1924 is, therefore, not to be seen merely for the formal end to immigration from Japan it brought about but also for its long-term impact on Japan's relations with the United States and on the resident Japanese immigrant community's commitment to the prudence of self-effacing assimilation rather than self-defeating direct confrontation.

Lee Arne Makela

See also Chinese Exclusion Acts (1882–1943); Immigration Act of 1917 and the “Barred Zone”; Immigration Act of 1990; Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986; Indian Exclusion; Japanese American Citizens League (JACL); Japanese Exclusion; Luce-Celler Act of 1946

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Immigration Act of 1990

Also known as S.358, the Immigration Act of 1990 was first passed by Congress on October 27, 1990, signed by President George H. W. Bush on November 29, 1990, and took effect on October 1 of the following year. As a revision to the Immigration and

Nationality Act of 1965, otherwise known as Hart-Celler, this new immigration reform raised the existing quota of 530,000 visas for immigrants to 700,000, increasing the ceiling cap by 40 percent. For the Asian American community, this allowed for marked increase in immigration from Asia through preferences in family-sponsored immigration and employment-related immigration.

The act organized the structure of immigration policy along three immigrant categories: family-sponsored immigration, employment-based immigration, and diversity immigration. To facilitate for more rapid family reunion, the new outlines changed the annual cap of 54,000 visas to 140,000 visas annually for this particular type of immigration. In keeping with the old law, this act exempted immediate relatives (minor children, spouses, and parents) of U.S. citizens from the quota restrictions.

There exist four preferences for family-based immigration. The first preference is given to the unmarried sons and daughters of U.S. citizens. Below that are spouses and minor children as well as unmarried sons and daughters of noncitizen permanent residents. The next preference is reserved for married sons and daughters of U.S. citizens. Lastly, brothers and sisters of U.S. citizens fall under the fourth preference category. As such, the new law reserves a ceiling of 480,000 visas for family-based immigration and demands the maintenance of at least 226,000 visas. For the newer Asian ethnic groups like the Vietnamese, the number of visas reserved for family reunification allowed for a surge in their absolute and relative numbers of immigration. Similarly, Chinese from the Fujian province were able to take advantage of this category.

As a response to the growing need for qualified professionals from the business sector, employment-based immigration was enacted with the goal of recruiting highly skilled and educated workers, people of talent, and laborers in selected fields. As with the family-sponsored category, professionals from Asia were able to utilize this path toward immigration. In contrast to the existing law, which allotted 54,000 visas for employees and their families, the Immigration Act of 1990 increases the quota to 140,000. Of this number, the visas are divided into five separate

groups. In the first group, special privilege is conferred upon the designated “priority workers”: business executives, researchers, and professors who possess “extraordinary skills.” Individuals who achieved recognition in the fields of science, arts, business, education, and/or athletics also fit into this classification. Asian professionals in the fields of medicine and technology were some of the new immigrants who qualified for this category. Through the employment of workers who can operate at the highest level in any profession, lawmakers and businesses hoped to strengthen the American labor markets and the U.S. economy.

Individuals of “exceptional ability” and professionals who had acquired advanced degrees in their area of specialty make up the second category of work-related immigration. To secure a visa, these individuals must obtain a certificate from the Labor Department as confirmation of the shortage of workers in their field of expertise. The third preference category encompasses bachelor’s degree holders, skilled workers, and “other workers.” The professionals and skilled workers who qualify for visas under this category must demonstrate competency and ability in an area that requires two or more years of training. The inclusion of “other workers” allows for unskilled workers with little to no training experience to fill the empty slots for certain American industries.

Investment visas offer another dimension to the economic component of the immigration law, one that was designed to help bolster the U.S. economy through the creation of jobs. Specifically, it targets entrepreneurs who would be willing to invest US\$1 million or more in a business project. Such endeavors must be able to employ at least 10 citizens or permanent resident workers. Furthermore, these enterprises should be in the process of or established after November 29, 1990, and entrepreneurs must show proof of investment and of continuous business operation to maintain their Legal Permanent Residence status. Lastly, the final category is reserved for special immigrants such as religious ministers or priests, and workers employed in government agencies and qualifying international organizations. Among the 140,000 visas, 10,000 each are assigned for these two categories.

Diversity immigration showcases a new approach taken by lawmakers toward immigration. Under this new category, it is the responsibility of the Attorney General to determine the rates of immigrations in American states or regions. Places that receive 50,000 or more are considered of High Admissions standing. In contrast, regions that experience a dearth of immigration are classified as Low Admissions and granted greater preference as a way to encourage diversity. Moreover, this part of the law denies visas to those from countries that have sent immigrants in significant numbers. For the first time, Congress introduced a lottery system known as the Diversity Visa Lottery Program, which randomly assigns visas to those who are eligible for entry to the United States.

The Immigration Act of 1990 further created new types of employment migrants while making changes to previous ones. Among the existent categories of nonimmigrants, or temporary visa holders, only H-1B visas experienced changes under the new act. Under the old law, H-1B visas were defined as “persons of distinguished merit and ability in the fields of business, sports, and entertainment.” The new law divides the last two into groupings “O” and “P” and allows these individuals to stay in America for only the duration of their event or activity. Business professionals in H-1B category must hold a bachelor’s degree or an equivalent and are required to show confirmation of the need for their skills. In addition to H-1B visas, the categories of “Q” and “R” were created that deals with nonimmigrants engaged in cultural exchange and those working in religious sectors. Lastly, Congress introduced an annual quota of 65,000 for the distribution of H-1B visas.

Other noteworthy changes in the new law included the establishment of a “temporary protected status,” changes in the naturalization process, and removal proceedings. Nonimmigrants who have resided in the United States but who cannot safely return to their home country because of extenuating circumstances such as natural disasters or civil and political conflict qualify for temporary asylum. In matters of naturalization, the immigration act transfers power from the courts and states into the hands of the Attorney General. With a more lenient stance toward the English requirement for older immigrants (over 50 years of

age and residency in the United States for at least 20 years) and the shortening of the state residency requirements from six months to three months, these provisions helped facilitate the process toward citizenship for many who had difficulty acquiring English or moved residence across states.

Under other provisions of the immigration law, Congress sought to hasten the deportation of convicted immigrants by eradicating safeguards that might have protected against unfair removal. As such, it allowed for the immediate deportation of any noncitizen engaged in violent forms of criminal activity and other offenses such as dealing in drugs and laundering money. In a similar vein, exclusionary measures that once guarded against the admittance of HIV positive immigrants were abandoned in the new act. Instead, excluded are those whose physical or mental health can pose a threat the larger public and individuals with a history of drug abuse. It should be noted that people who are affiliated with Communism, have a record of terrorist activity, or whose immigration might negatively affect foreign relations are still barred in the new law from entry.

Phung Su

See also Chinese Exclusion Acts (1882–1943); H-1B Visa; Immigration Act of 1917 and the “Barred Zone”; Immigration Act of 1924; Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986; Indian Exclusion; Japanese Exclusion; Luce-Celler Act of 1946

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Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952

See McCarran-Walter Act of 1952

Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986

President Ronald Reagan signed the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) into law on November 6, 1986. The legislation was also known as the Simpson-Mazzoli Act and it included penalties against employers who knowingly hire workers without documentation. Another important component revolved around pathways to legalization. The bill granted temporary status to undocumented workers who had been continuously present in the country since January 1, 1982. A pathway to permanent resident status would be provided after 18 months from the granting of temporary residence. A third component of the bill incorporated an agricultural foreign worker program, including the admission of 60,000 to 75,000 H-2 agricultural workers, and the right to replenish foreign workers in the event of a labor shortage. IRCA constituted comprehensive immigration reform, and its provisions generated much controversy.

Though efforts to curb undocumented immigration had been present and only partially successful since the 1950s, the Reagan administration granted priority to the issue of immigration. Attorney General William French Smith led the administration’s comprehensive immigration effort. Senator Alan K. Simpson (D-Wyoming) and Kentucky Congressman Romano L. Mazzoli (D-Kentucky) introduced the first version of this legislation to the 97th Congress in 1982. However, consideration of the bill was delayed and ultimately left unresolved by both the 97th and the 98th Congresses. Senator Simpson introduced the bill again in 1985 in the Senate as S. 1200, and Congressmen Peter W. Rodino (D-New Jersey) and Mazzoli introduced the bill in the House as H.R. 3080. The bill passed in both houses of the 99th Congress on this third attempt.

Short-term changes in migration dynamics followed the passing of IRCA. These include the return of migrants to their home countries in some cases, the delaying of coming in others, and still for others, the acceleration of claims for legal status. In the longue durée, however, evidence suggests that the bill failed to curtail undocumented immigration.

Although the impact of the bill is typically discussed in relation to the experience of Mexican

immigrants, IRCA also had implications for Asian Americans. Notably, the issue of undocumented immigration was entangled with the recent arrival of refugees largely from Cuba and Southeast Asia. Early legislative recommendations to the president addressed immigration and refugee laws, and were submitted by the Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy.

The employment sanctions component of IRCA raised concerns about the eligibility of Latino and Asian immigrants to work. One criticism was that implementation of employer sanctions promoted discrimination against individuals who were perceived as foreign, including Asian immigrants with limited language proficiency. This discrimination based on national origin was reported to be higher in areas with more immigrant concentrations. Discussions of undocumented workers have often been framed around the Mexican immigrant experience. However, IRCA provisions also impacted undocumented Asian Americans. Though the impact of IRCA on Asian Americans has been understudied, backlash against IRCA and anti-immigrant legislation have been attributed to the increasing Latino and Asian composition of immigration.

Phi Hong Su

See also Chinese Exclusion Acts (1882–1943); Immigration Act of 1917 and the “Barred Zone”; Immigration Act of 1924; Immigration Act of 1990; Indian Exclusion; Japanese Exclusion; Luce-Celler Act of 1946

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Inada, Lawson Fusao (1938–)

A third-generation Japanese American (Sansei) born in Fresno, California, on May 26, 1938, Lawson Fusao Inada is a well-known poet, writer, activist, and educator. At the age of four, Inada and his family were forcibly relocated to the Fresno County Fairgrounds and later incarcerated at an internment camp in Jerome, Arkansas before finally arriving at Amache, Colorado. After the war, the Inada family returned to Fresno and luckily enough were able to resume their business, the Fresno Fish Market, because it and their home had been looked after by their neighbors. At the age of 18, Inada met jazz singer Billie Holiday at one of her shows and instantly became inspired to write poetry. Inada took classes at Fresno State University and eventually attended the University of Iowa’s Writers’ Workshop. In Iowa, he met his wife Janet and they have two grown children, Miles and Lowell. Inada also received his MFA from the University of Oregon and began teaching at Southern Oregon University where he remains an emeritus professor of English. Inada has received many awards and honors including the Guggenheim Fellowship in 2004, the American Book Award for *Legends from Camp* (1992), and the Oregon Book Award for another collection of poetry, *Drawing the Line* (1997). Inada has also served as chair of the National Steinbeck Center and a judge for the National Book Award in Poetry. And from 2006 to 2010 Inada was appointed the fifth Oregon poet laureate, whose role is to foster the art of poetry, encourage literacy and learning, address central issues relating to the humanities and heritage, and reflect on public life in Oregon. The Oregon poet laureate must provide public readings and partake in numerous public events to not only share their work but to inspire others to engage in poetry as a creative expression.

Inada articulates poetry as a way to express himself and finds it not only therapeutic to write poetry but to share it with others. Although his poems are very personal and about particular experiences (often internment), Inada believes that poetry can be about finding universality or common ground that allows one to find acceptance of self and others through writing. His idea of poetry transcends the personal and is a type of communication that can even be therapeutic to

the audience. For Inada, poetry is much more than words on a paper—it should be read aloud, celebrated, and shared. Inada’s poetry has been published in many anthologies, but it has also been published in separate volumes including: *Before the War; Poems as They Happened* (1971), *Legends From Camp* (1993), and *Drawing the Line* (1997). In *Legends from Camp*, Inada addresses his internment memories through poetry as a way to take a hold of history and go beyond the facts. He addresses dispossession, loss, confusion, and childhood in verses that are lyrical, light, and performative despite their heavy and serious content. Inada’s work is often written in this way, stemming from his past ambition to be a jazz string bass player, which he says has influenced and inspired his work. But this collection of poems is more than just about internment it also covers a variety of subjects from Inada’s life: his love of jazz, Oregon, and family.

In addition to his poetry, Inada is the coeditor of two major Asian American literature anthologies, *Aiiieeeee! An Anthology of Asian American Writers* (1974) and *The Big Aiiieeeee! An Anthology of Chinese American and Japanese American Literature* (1991) both of which highlights the importance of Asian American writing while being critical of the way the mainstream imagines Asian Americans to be. Although these anthologies focus on Japanese American and Chinese American literature, Inada and his fellow coeditors established a concrete literary history and genealogy that validated the Asian American experience. Inada is also known for reintroducing works that have been forgotten and for writing introductions to John Okada’s *No-No Boy* and Toshio Mori’s collection of short stories. He is also the editor of *Only What We Could Carry: The Japanese American Internment Experience* (2000), a collection that voices the struggles and emotions of internees through a variety of expression ranging from art and poetry to letters and newspaper clippings.

Wendi Yamashita

See also Chan, Jeffery Paul; Chin, Frank; Mori, Toshio; Okada, John

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Independent Chinese Language Newspapers during the Cold War

Shortly after their arrival in America in the mid-nineteenth century, the Chinese started to publish their own ethnic newspapers to keep the community informed about events and issues pertinent to their group interests. A strong attachment to the homeland, similar to many other ethnic groups, and a hostile environment in the United States, had combined to sustain a keen interest among the immigrants in the affairs of China, particularly its political development. Most of the early newspapers adopted the Chinese language as the medium of communication and were devoted to mobilizing the Chinese immigrants in various homeland-oriented political causes, the culmination of which was the support of China against Japanese aggression in World War II.

The Cold War profoundly affected the historical trajectory of Chinese Americans and that of their ethnic newspapers. In the late 1940s, the Chinese American press had emerged from World War II as a vibrant and competitive industry, with about 15 dailies and weeklies published in the continental United States and Hawaii (N.W. Ayer & Sons 1950). Although China politics, epitomized by the confrontation between the Communist-led People’s Republic of China (PRC) and the Nationalist regime who had retreated to Taiwan in 1949, continued to dictate many publishing enterprises, a host of independent newspapers were also on the scene to report on American and Chinese news from a relatively neutral ground and to struggle for their freedom of speech against the forces of the Cold War.

One of the most venerated and widely circulated community newspapers was the *Chinese Times (Jinshan shibao)*, which was started by the Chinese American Citizens Alliance (CACA) in San Francisco

in July 1924. True to its claim as the “only Chinese daily owned, edited and published by citizens of the United States,” a line that appeared under its title on the front page, the paper took the community’s livelihood in America, rather than the maintenance of China ties, as its core concern. At a time when many other papers were preoccupied with China’s complex political situation, the *Chinese Times* reported more extensively on international news and America’s domestic policies, especially the U.S. immigration and naturalization policies. Publishing more pages than its peers, the *Chinese Times* was a continuous success and had ranked among the highest circulated Chinese American newspapers until the 1970s.

Closely matching the influence of the *Chinese Times* was the *Chinese World* (*Sai Gai Yat Po*, *Shijie ribao*). The paper traced its origin to *Mon Hing*, a weekly published in San Francisco since 1891. Later it was taken over by members of the Protecting Emperor Society (*Baohuanghui*, later the Chinese Constitutionalist Party), became a daily, and changed its name to *Sai Gai Yat Po* in 1908. Since 1945, the paper resurged from years of oblivion under the able management of Dai-ming Lee (1904–1961), a Hawaiian-born Chinese and leader of the Constitutionalist Party. Simultaneously running two constitutionalist organs—the other being the *New China Daily Press* (*Xin Zhongguo ribao*) in Honolulu—Lee had conscientiously used his papers to propagate support for democratic constitutionalism and the preservation of Chinese cultural traditions in China. With each paper reporting a daily circulation of eight to nine toward the late 1950s, Lee’s editorial columns on both made him one of the most conspicuous Chinese American opinion leaders of the time.

Apart from the well-established daily newspapers, weeklies also grew rapidly and carved out for themselves a stable market share. Compared with the daily papers, the weeklies covered less-current news but included a greater variety of recreational and practical content, such as popular literature, historical anecdotes, legal consultation, advice columns, and so on. In San Francisco, the *Chinese Pacific Weekly* (*Taipinyang zhoubao*) was launched by Gilbert Woo (1911–1979) and several other liberal intellectuals in 1946 for reporting the current affairs from a mild and

nonpartisan standpoint. In 1942, Chin-fu Woo (1910–2003) established the *Chinese American Weekly* (*Zhong Mei zhoubao*) in New York, whose circulation rose to 6,000 within three years. The commercial success of the paper led to the birth of the daily *United Journal* (*Lianhe ribao*) in 1952, which grew to be New York’s most widely circulated Chinese newspaper in the following decades.

Although all of these newspapers were committed to neutral news reporting and politically unattached to either the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) or the Guomindang, they were not without certain inclination with regard to homeland politics. Most often a paper’s political tone was determined by one or two dominant personalities, usually the chief editor or columnist. Under the control of pro-Guomindang editors, the *Chinese Times*, the *Chinese American Weekly*, and the *United Journal* tacitly supported the Nationalist government. The *Chinese Times*, for instance, kept for many years the practice of recording the year with the Republic of China’s calendar system and openly acknowledged Chiang Kai-shek as the legitimate president of China. Notwithstanding some mild criticism of the Guomindang, both the *Chinese American Weekly* and the *United Journal* also sided with Taiwan because of Chin-fu Woo’s deep aversion to CCP’s harsh domestic policies in the 1950s.

Greater Cold War pressures were felt by those who were less willing to rally to the Nationalist leadership. As China became an open enemy of the United States in the Korean War (1950–1953), the anti-Communist hysteria led by Joseph McCarthy picked up momentum and cast a shadow over the lot of Chinese in America. A chief victim in the Chinese American press industry was the *China Daily News* (*Meizhou huaqiao ribao*), the New York-based Chinese Hand Laundry Alliance’s paper well-known for its vocal support of the PRC. After the Korean War broke out, the paper was boycotted by Guomindang supporters. Subscribers to the paper were accused of being Communist and Chinatown businesses were intimidated into withdrawing their advertisements. Because of the advertisements placed by the PRC-controlled Bank of China, the paper was further placed under a 53-count indictment, including violations of the Trading with the Enemy Act. It was found guilty in 1954 and

sentenced to a \$25,000 fine. The chief editor Eugene Moy was sentenced to two years' imprisonment (later reduced to one).

The legal persecution of the *China Daily News* was a somber reminder of the chilling effect of the Cold War on the freedom of the Chinese American press. Despite its neutral standing, the *Chinese Pacific Weekly* was under duress because of its candid reports on the Nationalist misrule and business association with a pro-CCP newspaper, the *China Weekly (Jinmen qiaobao)*. As a result, it was intimidated by the Guomintang forces. With his paper endangered, Gilbert Woo became more cautious with China politics. The paper specifically advised the readers to cut all political ties with China, be they with the Chinese Communists or the Guomintang, so as not to endanger the survival of the whole community.

The *Chinese World* was exposed to similar pressures despite its very different political views. A vocal champion of democratic constitutionalism in China, Dai-ming Lee had explicitly encouraged Chinese Americans to play a greater role in the democratic process of China. His consistent criticism of both the Guomintang and the CCP made him a mutual target for their respective supporters in America. In 1951, because of his refusal to endorse Chiang Kai-shek's leadership, Lee was entangled in a heated pen war with two Guomintang party organs in San Francisco, the *Young China Morning Paper (Shaonian Zhongguo chenbao)* and the *Chinese Nationalist Daily of America (Guomin ribao)*. At one point, he had to call in the police to guard against the harassment of Guomintang hoodlums. Nevertheless, Lee's persistence in the incident convinced non-Chinese observers that he was running a truly free and unbiased press. To commend his "determination to carry on the best traditions of a free press," the Associated Press then accepted the *Chinese World* as its first member from the Chinese American press industry. In the following years, Lee continued to hold a keen interest in initiating political changes in China and was active for a while in fostering an overseas-based "third force." However, his China-bound effort produced few material results.

As the danger and futility of engaging in homeland politics became increasingly apparent, Chinese

American newspapers hastened the shift of focus from China to America. This transition was also dictated by the sociodemographic changes of the community. In 1940, the number of native-born Chinese population surpassed that of the foreign-born for the first time (Fessler 1983, 191). During World War II, the Chinese Exclusion laws were repealed in 1943, and the War Brides Act (1945) and the Alien Fiancées and Fiancés Act (1946) allowed Chinese women to come in large numbers. Chinese immigrants also gained the right to naturalization. All these changes encouraged greater affiliation with the United States.

The Chinese American press consciously adapted themselves to the changing needs of the community. One sign of this was the trend toward bilingualism. To attract readers from native-born generations and increase communication with the larger American society, the *Chinese World* launched an English section in December 1949. The *Chinese Pacific Weekly* started an English pictorial section in mid-1952, but it held out for only three months because of the shortage of manpower and funds.

A truly bilingual press with equal emphasis on both languages did not emerge until much later, when the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 (Hart-Celler Act) and the progress of the civil rights movement paved the way for the ever greater role Chinese Americans would play in the social, political, and cultural fields. In January 1967, following the epoch-making election of March Fong Eu (then March K. Fong) to the Californian legislature, the *East/West (Dong xi bao)* started publishing as a 10-day journal in San Francisco. As its name suggested, the journal pledged to bring together the "best of two worlds." For instance, one of its regular features was teaching Chinese characters, phrases, and classical poems in English.

The coming of new waves of immigrants and the gradual spread of Chinese population to different parts of the United States compelled a new drive for unity across the community. Taking advantage of the improved communication and transportation technologies, some large newspapers tested their strength with national expansion. The *Chinese World* again took the lead and launched a New York edition in 1957. But this ambitious move proved ill-planned and took

a heavy toll on the paper's finances. With the death of Dai-ming Lee in 1961, the paper quickly lost momentum and closed down in 1969. The New York-based *China Times* (*Zhongguo shibao*) also tried to expand to San Francisco and Chicago in 1963, but the result was frustrating as well.

After weathering the political strains in the Cold War, the Chinese American ethnic press encountered greater challenges from powerful publishing ventures from Hong Kong, Taiwan, and later the People's Republic of China. Since the 1960s, new forces began to cut into the already packed Chinese press market, the most influential including the successful *Sing Tao Daily* (*Xingdao ribao*) imported from Hong Kong and the *World Journal* (*Shijie ribao*, different from the *Chinese World*) funded by Taiwan. Compared with these well-funded and professionally operated publishing enterprises, the ethnic press, which depended heavily on the devotion of one or two individuals, proved fragile. Although the appearance of numerous new papers and the significant improvement in coverage and content seemed to usher in a booming period in the Chinese American press industry, many historical papers that had survived the war and McCarthyism gave up one by one in the new era of commercialism. By the end of the year 1970, Chin-fu Woo decided to cease the *Chinese American Weekly* to concentrate on the *United Journal*. When he retired in 1998, the *Journal* had to close down as well. When Gilbert Woo died in 1979, the *Chinese Pacific Weekly* merged with the *East/West* and its name disappeared in 1986. The *East/West* itself ceased publication in 1989. Only the *Chinese Times* was taken over by the *Sing Tao* in 2003, allowing it to carry on a venerable history as the longest-running Chinese newspaper in America.

Xilin Guo

See also *China Daily News, The* (CDN); Lee, Dai-ming

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Indian American Community Organizations

Even after an ethnic group has gotten its footing in a new country, members still turn to one another for support. Ethnic organizations are a response to a felt affinity to coethnics, but more so they are popular because they serve individuals' needs. Indian American organizations, as is true for other ethnic groups, span a variety of types, including religious, cultural, educational, professional, social, and political. They are diverse in terms of their infrastructure, level of organization, and size. Some are local whereas others are national and international. And some rely entirely on volunteers whereas others have paid staff and attract major celebrities to their events. Here I explain the various kinds of organizations popular for Indian Americans and

elaborate on their main agendas, accomplishments, and challenges.

Religious and cultural organizations are often the first kind that immigrants start. Community members gradually built temples, mosques, gurdwaras, synagogues, and churches as parents realize that they were not going to move back to India and want their children to be raised within their religion and culture. A common concern of immigrants generally is the too strong influence of mainstream American culture at the expense of (often more conservative) ethnic culture. Religious organizations often communicate to members the superiority of their culture although to outsiders they embrace a multicultural logic that everyone's culture is equally valuable.

Secular cultural organizations, often tied to regions and castes within India, similarly attract large numbers of attendees to their events. These volunteer-run associations have annual conferences that draw in members from across the country. Sessions at the conferences involve cultural programming, panels on business or political trends, youth concerns and cultural shows, and the like. Informally these can provide spaces for parents to pursue marital options for their children.

Cultural and religious organizations provide more than cultural and spiritual guidance. They also serve professional and civic needs. When at a religious or cultural function, individuals network, learn of employment opportunities, share business tips, learn procedures of how to navigate state bureaucracy, and more. In other words cultural organizations help members integrate into their local community and economy whereas simultaneously affirming boundaries between them and other groups.

These organizations also provide youth with a supportive community in the face of public scrutiny of their background. Many Indian Americans experience cultural, religious, and racial discrimination while growing up in the United States. Questions on where they are "really" from, why they "worship cows," if they bathe properly, and the like are commonplace for Indian Americans regardless of generation. But these accusations can be more emotionally damaging for those raised in the United States, for such persons often do not have transnational memories to fall back

on for support. Such treatment creates a distance from most Americans and an increased solidarity with their ethnic and religious groups, and possibly with other Asian Americans as well. Youth who grow up uninterested or even ashamed of their background often become committed to it as they go further into adolescence and start to conceive of marriage and parenting. Cultural and religious organizations become key spaces for persons to affirm group ties and a positive self-identity. For instance, college religious organizations offer youth a space to learn about their faith and rebut common stereotypes. Increasingly, religious organizations have youth groups and opportunities for youth to participate in services.

Nevertheless, second-generation Indian Americans may turn, ironically, to nonreligious organizations to further their commitments to their religion. Religious services typically take place in Sanskrit, Hindi, Punjabi, Gujarati, or other native Indian languages. Those raised in the United States often cannot understand what is being said, which detracts from their comfort in religious spaces. Also, given that most attendees are older and first generation, young adults or teenagers of the second generation often feel isolated, even when attending with their families. Religious services become read as full of rituals and expressions whose meaning they do not understand. In effect, religious services can cause the younger generation to become disaffected from their religion. In response some in the second generation look to their social organizations or to popular culture to learn more about their religion with varying levels of commitment. Religious organizations are slowly adapting to this reality. Some have television screens with English versions of what is being said. And, youth groups are increasingly vibrant.

Beyond cultural and religious organizations, the most common types of organizations for Indian Americans are professional, social, social justice, political, and creative arts. Indian American men participate in the labor market at rates higher than the national average (in 2000, 79.1 percent and 70.7 percent, respectively), whereas women participate a bit less (54 percent and 57.5 percent, respectively). Each major occupational group has its own professional association. These include the Asian American Hotel

Owners' Association (AAHOA), the Association of American Physicians of Indian Origin (AAPI), The Indus Entrepreneurs (TiE), the Asian American Convenience Store Association (AACSA), South Asian Journalists Association (SAJA), South Asian Bar Association (SABA). These associations hold regional and national conferences, offer information sessions, publish magazines, seek political influence, create networking opportunities within their industry, and other types of organized activities.

Members of each association typically are members of other, larger mainstream associations that also serve their profession (e.g., American Medical Association for physicians). Still, the ethnic-based associations are seen as worthwhile because Indian Americans can face issues that their professional peers do not. For instance, Indian American motel owners often are "owner-operators," that is they do not simply run motels but own them as well. AAHOA is the largest hospitality association in the nation assisting owners of motels. Indian American physicians, as predominantly immigrants, care about immigration laws regarding physicians in ways that other medical or immigration organizations do not, which help give AAPI its distinctive role. And Indian Americans across professions face stereotypes or challenges that most others in their professions do not. Indian American or South Asian American professional organizations offer strategies to handle such problems. Most of all, members enjoy networking with persons whom they can feel more connected to.

NYTWA is different than the others in that it represents workers and is an official union within the AFL-CIO. About 60 percent of New York City taxi cab drivers are South Asian American, which makes the drivers' struggles for rights an ethnic struggle as well. NYTWA assists drivers in challenging impositions on them from the city and owners (e.g., the requirement of global positioning systems in cars), in seeking health care given drivers' lack of health insurance, in ameliorating police relations, and other job-related challenges.

Although not a professional organization, the volunteer-run Network of Indian Professionals (Net-IP) targets professionals (i.e., college educated, career-minded) and is the largest national association

for mostly Indian American young adults. Primarily social in nature and appealing to singles, its branches across the nation sponsor networking happy hours, business sessions, charity events, book clubs, and the like.

Other volunteer organizations targeting a similar demographic are centered on the creative arts. These are found in major cities that have a large enough South Asian American population interested in pursuing creative expression. For instance, the South Asian Women's Creative Collective in New York City started in 1997 to encourage South Asian American women to share their work with one another and with outsiders in a culturally appropriate manner. It has moved beyond offering internal guidance to artists and now sponsors festivals that publicly display artwork and other creative expression. Similarly, Subcontinental Drift is a spoken word and creative arts collective for South Asian Americans that started in Washington, D.C., and has spread to New York City and Chicago. Held once a month, these open-mics allow everyday South Asian Americans, mostly in their 20s and 30s and raised in the United States, to perform original or cover others' songs, poems, skits, comedy routines, and the like. The stated purpose is less to nurture professional aspirations, although that likely happens, than to offer an opportunity for a community feeling around creative expression. Other arts associations can be found in other major cities as well.

A common theme to these creative arts organizations is social justice and politicized commitment. Some of the themes taken up include intimate partner violence, race relations, queer persons' interests, and gender roles. It is not a coincidence, for instance, that most such organizations adopt a South Asian rather than singular nationality as their orientation. Much of the topics dealt with pertain to all South Asian Americans, such as cultural or racial dilemmas. Also, there is an interest in breaking down nationalisms that limit the solidarity across groups.

Social justice and political nonprofit organizations are growing in the community as well. One of the earliest and most prolific types is intimate partner violence organizations. In 1985, Manavi started in New Jersey as the first organization dedicated to such needs of women. Similar organizations now serve women in

cities across the country. A year later TriKone started in the Bay Area, the first organization in the nation dedicated to advancing the needs of lesbian/gay/bisexual/transsexual/queer South Asian Americans. Sister TriKone organizations have started in Atlanta and Chicago, and other LGBTQ South Asian American organizations have started elsewhere. Both intimate partner violence and LGBTQ organizations are sometimes criticized by fellow South Asian Americans as promoting an undesirable image of the community. For instance, the South Asian Lesbian and Gay Association in New York City has had trouble on and off being allowed to participate in the New York City India Day Parade, much like a comparable Irish American organization had trouble being allowed to march in New York City's annual Irish Day Parade. Indian American political and social organizations run these parades and see it as their mission to represent the community to elected officials and view the presence of these organizations in the parades as counter-productive to their goals. Political organizations advocate for better U.S.-India relations and the advancement of Indian Americans generally.

A final kind of organization is education focused. Indian Americans are known for their high educational achievements: Almost two-third of Indian Americans have a college degree or more, compared to a quarter of the general population. Educational organizations help Indian Americans take advantage of educational resources in their local areas. One type of educational organization that has become popular among Indian Americans revolves around spelling bees. A few Indian-only or Indian-centered organizations sponsor spelling bee competitions, with regional events and national championships. In fact, some of the Indian Americans who go on to win the Scripps National Spelling Bee previously participated in these Indian American competitions. These popular organizations also sponsor math, science, and other "bees."

Although outlined here as distinct organizations, many overlap. For instance, religious spaces often are venues for the educational competitions or even intimate partner violence counseling. The professional organizations, like AAHOA, sponsor political ambitions for India-U.S. relations as well as cultural programming. What results is a multifaceted community

with strong organizational links. As Indian Americans mature they pursue more and more avenues to affirm their background while connecting to their American environment. The organizations, as common for immigrants generally, serve both to affirm ethnic ties and facilitate the population's comfort and success in the United States.

Pawan Dhingra

See also Indian Americans; Indian Ethnic Economy; Indian Exclusion; Indian Women in America; LGBT Activism

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Indian Americans

The United States is today home to one of the largest overseas Indian communities in the world. Though the early history of Indian Americans can be traced to as far back as the 1890s, their contemporary history extends back to the passage of new legislation in 1965 that lifted restrictions on the entry of Indians into

the United States. From a community then numbering in the few thousands, the Indian population has grown by leaps and bounds to nearly 3.2 million in 2012 according to U.S. Census Bureau. However, for a community that commands the highest per capita income of any racial or ethnic group, as well as the highest rate of college graduates, Indian Americans have so far not played a significant role in American politics. Where before Indians had made known their presence most visibly in the professions, particularly in medicine and engineering, extending in recent years to computer-related industries and investment banking, today the community is far more diversified with large number of Indians entering into the taxi business, fast food franchises, and hospitality industries. But much else marks the growth and visibility of the Indian American population, such as the rapid proliferation of Indian restaurants, the emergence of acclaimed writers, the construction of Hindu temples, the demarcation of Little Indias in major metropolitan areas, and the myriad signs of an emerging familiarity on the part of the wider American population with such diverse aspects of Indian culture as Bharatnatyam, yoga, ayurveda, Indian classical music, and tandoori cooking.

Political History: The Early Phase, Pre-1965

Peasants from the province of Punjab first began appearing on the West Coast around 1898–1999, seeking work in Washington’s lumber mills and California’s vast agricultural fields. Though predominantly Sikhs, they were described as “Hindus” or more commonly “Hindoos.” The trickle of some 20 to 30 emigrants annually over 1898–1902 had risen to 271 emigrants in 1906, but those fleeing inhospitable Canada were in for another brutal reception. Almost from the outset they were seen as inassimilable, possessed of “immodest and filthy habits,” and regarded as the “most undesirable, of all the eastern Asiatic races . . .” In two separate incidents in 1907, both in the state of Washington, Indians were subjected to racial attacks and compelled to seek protective custody, and over the course of the next several years the Asiatic Exclusion League as well as an excitable press continued to sound alarm bells on the hazards of permitting “Hindoos” in the presence of white people.

The first Indian student arrived in 1901, and in less than a decade a small body of Indian students had congregated at UC-Berkeley, the polytechnic at San Luis Obispo, and a few agricultural colleges. The renowned nationalist leader, Lala Lajpat Rai, visited the United States in 1905 and was followed by other political rebels opposed to British rule in India, among them Har Dayal, Ram Chandra, Tarkanath Das, and Bhai Parmanand. Their ambition was to win recognition for India’s aspirations to independence, and to this end the “Hindi Association of the Pacific Coast,” more popularly known as the Ghadar (Revolutionary) Party, was founded in Oregon in 1913. Even as the party newspaper, *Ghadar*, fomented outright rebellion against colonial rule, British authorities impressed upon Americans to mount a successful prosecution of the party’s adherents on charges of collaboration with Germans to deprive the British of their sovereignty over India. Though the Ghadar movement was short-lived, the movement drew into its fold peasants and intellectuals, farmers and students, and Hindus, Sikhs, and Muslims, thereby holding up the example of a concerted struggle, in which all classes of Indians would have an honored place, that might free Mother India from the clutches of a colonial empire.

The period before 1923–1924 can be described as one in which calls for the exclusion or restriction of Indians were pitted against the demand for migrant labor. The Immigration Act of 1917 effectively barred all Asians from entering the United States; although Indians entertained the hope that as “Caucasians” or “Aryans” they might legitimately gain citizenship, in the landmark Bhagat Singh Thind ruling the court declared that “in the understanding of the common man,” which was declared to be consonant with the intentions of the Founding Fathers, “white” clearly denoted a person of European origins. Thus the émigré from Amritsar, Bhagat Singh Thind, though a Caucasian of “high-caste Hindu stock” who had lived in the United States since 1913 and even served in the U.S. Army, was not entitled to naturalization. In the late 1930s, the India Welfare League and the India League of America renewed efforts to obtain citizenship for Indians, and similarly fought to increase the support for Indian demands for independence from British rule. But none of these feeble challenges could arrest

the decline that the Indian community had begun to experience since 1924. The 1940 Census found 1,476 Indians in California, a sharp drop from the 10,000 Indians estimated to be resident in California around 1914. At least 3,000 Indians were to return to their homeland between 1920 and 1940.

Led by the charismatic Sikh merchant J. J. Singh, the continued Indian lobbying finally resulted in congressional approval of the Act of July 2, 1946, which permitted Indians, a mere 1,500 of whom remained in the United States at this time, both the right to naturalization and the right to enter the United States in very small numbers. Among the Indians to acquire American citizenship was Dalip Singh Saund. A mathematician by training, an activist by inclination, and a farmer by profession, Saund made history for Indian Americans by being elected to Congress in 1956 and serving in the House of Representatives for six years.

Demography, Professional Life, and Political Participation

The Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1965, which set a quota of 20,000 for each country in the Eastern Hemisphere but placed immediate family members outside the numeric limits, opened the door to Indians and remains, with some modifications, the legislation that has permitted continued expansion of the Asian Indian population. Within 10 years, the number of Asian Indians had grown to 175,000, and an astonishing 93 percent of the population was listed in a census report as “professional/technical workers”; their numbers and educational levels may have had some part to play in the Census Bureau’s decision to reclassify, with effect from 1980, immigrants from India, in accordance with their wishes, as “Asian Indians.” The educational attainment level of Asian Indians has remained very high, even if the percentage of those who earn their living as professionals has declined. Across all groups, according to the 2000 Census, nearly one out of four Americans 25 years and older had earned at least a bachelor’s degree; however, among all Asian Americans the figure rises to 44.1 percent, and to an astounding 63.9 percent among Asian Indians. By 2012, 28 percent of all Americans

25 years and older had a college degree, but among Taiwanese and Asian Indians the numbers had gone up to 74 percent and 71 percent, respectively. In 1998–1999, one-half of 134,000 H-1B visas issued to highly qualified or skilled individuals were granted to Indians alone, and by 2003 some 400,000 Indians were holders of H-1B visas. Though the H-1B is not an immigrant visa, typically a very large percentage of H-1B visa holders eventually acquire permanent residency.

Census findings and other detailed studies over the last few decades point to some other broad patterns of Indian settlement and well-being. First, Indians incline to settle predominantly in urban areas, with heavy concentrations in the New York-New Jersey area, in Chicago and its western suburbs, the Washington, D.C. area, the Bay Area in Northern California, in Southern California around Los Angeles and Orange County, and in the urban belt of Texas. Second, though immigrants from India generally have done well for themselves, there are considerable pockets of poverty among Indian Americans. California presents stark contrasts: 40 percent of the 2,000 dotcom businesses in Silicon Valley in 1999 were started by Indians, but in the state’s Central Valley, where agricultural work predominates, 14 percent of Asian Indians in 2005 were living below the poverty level, 39 percent had little or no proficiency in English, and 35 percent failed to complete high school.

Though Indian Americans have as a whole done well for themselves, their success has been far from seamless. In the mid-1980s, racist physical attacks against Indians in New Jersey were common enough that their tormentors became known as the “dotbusters” after the *bindi* placed by some Hindu women on their forehead before the eyebrows. In the aftermath of the 9/11 terrorist attacks on the United States, a turbaned Sikh mistaken for a Muslim became the first murdered victim of “American revenge,” and hate crimes against Indians rose substantially. The mass shooting at the Oak Creek Sikh temple in Wisconsin on August 5, 2012 by a white supremacist, which left behind six dead, has made Sikhs feel that they are especially vulnerable to racist attacks and discrimination. However, discrimination is generally much less dramatic, even if the outcomes are always unpleasant.



Teacher Nivedita Shivraj conducts class during the India Heritage Camp in New York, August 17, 2006. Hindus in the United States are beginning to adopt the American practice of summer camp as a way to pass their faith and culture along to their youth. (AP Photo/Mary Altaffer)

Doctors trained in India who made their way to the United States, the largest such ethnic group of physicians in the country, found that the laws governing admission of doctors into the medical profession were being tightened, and the Association of American Physicians from India (AAPI) was formed to represent this constituency. Until very recently, there was a persistent feeling that a glass ceiling prevented the advancement of Indians to the highest positions in the corporate world, Wall Street, and university administrations. Lately, the greater concern appears to be that Indian Americans should take more cues from Jewish Americans and Pakistani Americans, who are viewed as being far more aggressive and suave in lobbying Congress, manipulating public opinion, and influencing American administrations. Broader-based organizations such as the Federation of Indian American Associations (FIA), as well as more community-based organizations, are astute enough to realize that the name of Mohandas Gandhi is India's greatest asset

and earns Indians living abroad goodwill and some cultural capital, and they have sought to place Gandhi's statues in nearly all the major American cities.

Religion and Culture in the Diasporic Setting

Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry David Thoreau, the most famous among a group of intellectuals known as the American Transcendentalists, took a keen interest in Indian philosophy in the mid-nineteenth century. Sikhs, who accounted for the bulk of the early immigrants, would go on to establish a gurudwara, or house of worship, at Stockton in 1915. Swami Vivekananda's electrifying address to the World Parliament of Religions, held in Chicago in 1893, would earn him many admirers and some followers. In subsequent years, a group of activists and intellectuals became staunch advocates of Gandhi's ideas and they were ardent spokespersons on behalf of Indian independence.

To mark the growth of Hinduism, one could do no better than to begin with Swami A. C. Bhaktivedanta, a Bengali Vaishnava who arrived in the United States in 1965 and established the International Society of Krishna Consciousness (ISKCON). His followers, dubbed the “Hare Krishnas,” were to be seen at airports and university campuses, but their singular achievement may have been to popularize vegetarianism. In the early years, the Hare Krishnas attracted many Hindus to their temples; but as the community put down roots, it gravitated toward more familiar rituals and settings, converting existing unused structures into temples or commissioning new ones. In Chicago, to take one illustration, the Hindu Temple of Greater Chicago was founded as a non-profit organization in December 1977, and its members, many of them doctors and other professionals, had been able to construct two temples at a large complex in Lemont. In the mid-1980s, the Balaji temple, in the western suburb of Aurora, was built at the cost of \$4 million, with the funding deriving largely from Telugu-speaking professionals.

Temple Hinduism displays a number of critical features. First, as the community has grown in size and affluence, temples have become larger. The Balaji temple is featured in tourist guides, but it pales in comparison with the \$30 million Shri Swaminarayan Mandir in Bartlett, some 40 miles from Chicago. Similarly vast Swaminarayan temples—using limestone from Turkey, Italian marble, and teak from Burma, and employing hundreds of Indian craftsmen—are to be found in Atlanta and Houston. Second, the managers, priests, and devotees increasingly tend to insist that temples be constructed according to guidelines specified in the *shilpa sastras*, or manuals of temple architecture. The tendency, more pronounced than in earlier times, is to embrace a textbook view of Hinduism. Third, temples are less likely to be distinctively sectarian or regional: at the relatively new Hindu Temple of Central Florida (Orlando), where a substantial portion of the pan-Indian Hindu pantheon is to be found, one gopuram (gateway) is described as being in the (south Indian) Chola style, the other in the “Naga” or northern Indian style. Fourth, practitioners of Hinduism show a keen awareness of the temporal calendar of American secularism and seek to signify

the manner in which Indian conceptions of Hinduism might be wedded to American notions of liberty. Formal dedications of a number of temples have been performed on July 4, and temple authorities often plan religious events around American secular holidays. Last, more so than in India, the temple often doubles as a community center, and Hinduism truly becomes, as its advocates argue, a “way of life.”

We see parallel processes at work in the attempt among Indian Americans to forge some engagement with American and Indian culture. Some Indians have a highly reified notion of Hindu culture, and one complaint frequently aired by Indian teens and college students is that their parents have a conception of Indian culture, such as its alleged hostility to premarriage dating, that is no longer recognizable in India among people of a similar class and educational background. At the other end, Indians cognizant of American discourses of multiculturalism, identity politics, and artistic autonomy have sought to give shape to distinct forms of literary expression or work as cultural activists. Political participation at one time meant predominantly membership in one of the two political parties, but there is growing awareness that the conception of the political can mean much more, such as the struggle against racism, gender discrimination, homophobia, and neo-imperialism.

There are numerous ways in which South Asians have attempted to carve out a niche for themselves in the cultural sphere, producing, for example, champions in the last 7 out of 10 years in the National Spelling Bee. Some in the community attribute the success of their children to the work habits, discipline, upbringing, and intrinsic cultural values of middle class Indians. Indeed, in private conversations at least, many Indians can be heard adhering to the view that America is sadly deficient in culture. Indian culture thus becomes an anodyne that ameliorates American culture’s corrosive influence on the young. Many Indians shelter behind what they construe as the most authentic representations of traditional culture: daughters are tutored in bharatnatyam, a classical dance form of immense refinement, whereas sons enroll in bhangra, a boisterous dance of the Punjab countryside. At universities, “heritage” students have become increasingly vocal in voicing demands for courses in Indian

history, religion, and culture, whereas the more religious minded gravitate toward the Hindu Students Council, an association dedicated like its parent organization, the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (World Hindu Council), to the idea that a resurgent Hindu India has much to teach the world with its rich spiritual inheritance.

*Politics, Literature, and Intellectuals:
Landscapes of Representation and Resistance*

Over a few decades, as they have learned to negotiate cultural mores and political practices in the United States, Indian Americans have gained more confidence. A largely business organization such as the Asian American Hotel Owners Association (AAHOA), which represents the thousands of Gujaratis with surnames such as Patel, Desai, and Shah who own the bulk of the country's motels, would never had the daring until recently, as it did in 2005, to invite to its annual convention the Chief Minister of Gujarat, Narendra Modi, whose visa for the United States was revoked owing to allegations that he permitted, even instigated, a horrific pogrom against Gujarat's Muslims in 2002. The movement against Modi was spearheaded by another organization of Indian Americans that has only made its presence felt in recent years, the "Campaign Against Genocide," comprised mainly of university professors and activists. The most prominent Indian academics in the humanities and social sciences, such as Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, Homi Bhabha, and Arjun Appadurai, may not yet have a wide public profile, but they have played a critical role in shaping their own disciplines and wider intellectual practices.

Indian American writers have been able to command significant audiences. It must be said, however, that America figures very marginally, if at all, in the writing of authors of the greatest distinction who settled in the United States, among them Raja Rao, G. V. Desani, Salman Rushdie, and Amitav Ghosh. Vikram Seth, after his magisterial attempt at the great California novel, *The Golden Gate* (1986), written as 690 tetrameter sonnets, quit America—both as an abode and in his writings. One may be justified in arguing that these are essentially Indian writers who

write for transnational audiences and are themselves little beholden to national boundaries. American landscapes figure more prominently in the writings of Abraham Verghese, who has penned a poignant narrative on AIDS in small-town America, or the much-loved poet Agha Shahid Ali. But it is perhaps in the writings of Asian Indian women writers—Bharati Mukherjee, Jhumpa Lahiri, Meena Alexander—that the condition of being an Indian, and often a woman, in the United States is more deeply explored. The novelist and short story writer Chitra Divakaruni has a large following among young Indian women deeply concerned about arranged marriages, the pressures to conform, and the burden placed upon them to act as bearers of Indian traditions.

*Politics, the Homeland, and the Future of
Indians in the United States*

Indian Americans retain strong, occasionally complicated, ties with the "homeland." It is important to underscore the fact that Indian Americans, unlike Indians in older diasporic settings such as Trinidad or Fiji, have been viewed by the Indian government since the early 1980s as constituting a different class of immigrants. The term NRI, or Non-resident Indian, was effectively invented for them. Though NRIs are viewed in India with considerable ambivalence, invoking both envy and some derision for their supposed inability to deal with hardship, they are viewed as having brought pride to India and are distinguished from the descendants of indentured laborers. The NRIs frequented India often, bringing back consumer goods and the latest technological gadgets; indeed, the winter holiday season (December-January) became known as the NRI season, as Indian Americans descended upon the motherland and in a brief spell submerged themselves in the sounds, sights, smells, and experiences of the motherland. For their part, Indian Americans strove to make India more hospitable to foreign investment, and over the years they have successfully prevailed upon the Indian government to rescind regulations that forbid NRIs from owning property in India. In recent years, even the brain drain is beginning to be reversed: a few tens of thousands of Indian Americans have relocated to India, bringing capital,

entrepreneurial skills, technical know-how—and much else, such as gated communities, American-style condominium complexes, mall culture, and so on.

What is even more striking is how the politics of South Asia is echoed in the politics and lives of diasporic communities in the United States. When Indians successfully petitioned the City Council to have one of the thoroughfares in Chicago's Devon Avenue named after Mohandas Gandhi, the Pakistanis persisted in having the cross street named after Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan. Much more dramatic, and rife with consequences, is the support rendered to various political movements in India among their adherents in the United States. Radical Sikhs based in the United States have longed supported the now-defunct Sikh secessionist movement in India, though lately the Sikh community's advocates, among them the members of SMART (Sikh Media Advisory and Research Taskforce), have realized that the greater task at hand is to sensitize all Americans, and in particular state agencies, about Sikh faith and history, the right of Sikhs to wear a turban to work, and the use of the kirpan or ceremonial dagger.

Support for Hindu militancy, and more broadly the vigorous even aggressive affirmation of pride in Hindu culture, has taken many forms. Many Indian Americans were firmly committed to the agitation that eventually led to the destruction of the Babri Masjid, a sixteenth-century mosque in north India that is claimed by nationalist Hindus as the prior site of the birthplace of the deity Lord Rama. There is firm documentary evidence to suggest that Indian Americans contribute generously to the activities of the Hindu nationalist organizations, the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP) and Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), though often this money is channeled into sister organizations that claim nonprofit status. There was almost no condemnation among the Gujarati Hindus in the United States of the pogrom in the state of Gujarat that left 2,000 Muslims dead, and websites put up by engineering students and Silicon Valley software programmers offer boldly revisionist accounts of Indian history, claiming that the largest genocide in history was perpetrated over 800 years of Muslim rule against Hindus.

Turning to the question of Indian American involvement in American politics, for the first time in

American history, as was mentioned earlier, two Indian Americans—Bobby Jindal (Louisiana) and Nikki Haley (South Carolina)—occupy the office of the governor of an American state, though neither, it should be emphasized, has displayed the remotest interest in South Asian affairs, and both are open advocates of staunchly Christian, conservative, and free market values. More Indians have entered local and statewide races than ever before, but this is a narrow conception of the political life. Indians have, on the whole, been reluctant to enter into coalitions with Hispanics, African Americans, and other working-class minorities: not only is association with such groups seen as a liability, but the supposition that they are truly a “model minority” has informed the conduct of many Indian Americans. However, there is reason to be hopeful as well, considering the gamut of political opinions to which Indians subscribe. The Leased Drivers Coalition (LDC), which represents Bangladeshi, Pakistani, and Indian cabdrivers in New York City, has struck work successfully on several occasions to protest against working conditions and thus offered a visceral demonstration of South Asian working class people's ability to organize across religious and ethnic lines. The Restaurant Opportunities Center of New York, led by the young activist Saru Jayaraman, has been able to mobilize exploited immigrant workers at leading New York restaurants and win compensation for affected workers. The South Asian Network (SAN) in Southern California has similarly done stellar work to secure just wages for South Asian workers in industries where exploitation is rife, open up shelters for battered women, aid immigrants lacking proper documentation, and so on. There is thus reason to believe that the multiple legacies of the Ghadar movement—the struggle for Indian independence, promoting awareness of civil rights, the women's movement, and antiracism—will continue to stir Asian Indians to a greater political awareness.

Vinay Lal

See also Asian American Muslims; Bangladeshi Americans; Dīpāvalī; *Ghadar*; Ghadar Party; Haley, Nikki Randhawa; Hindus in the United States; Indian American Community Organizations; Indian Cuisine in the United States; Indian Denaturalization Cases;

Indian Ethnic Economy; Indian Exclusion; Indian Women in America; Indians in American TV and Film; Jindal, Piyush “Bobby”; Pakistani Americans; South Asian American Transnational Politics; South Asian Ethnic Identity; Tarak Nath Das; Vivekananda

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Indian Cuisine in the United States

India is known as a country full of variety, of language, culture and habits. Quite naturally this interesting mixture also pervades the culinary domains of the country. Generally speaking, when you say Indian food in the United States and pretty much anywhere in the world, one is referring to a standard fare based on Moghulai or Indo-Persian style of food. The chicken tandoori and tikka masala are the most popular dishes. The “naan” roti or bread is a firm favorite with the locals, who love the crisp dry touch to go with the curried meats and vegetables at hand.

Broadly speaking Indian cuisine can be divided into Andhra, Karnataka, Kerala, Tamil Nadu, all of which come under the South Indian umbrella. Gujarat, and Goa form the west with Bengal in the east and Punjab in the north. If one extends oneself to the South

Asian diaspora, we will have Sri Lankan that will be bracketed with the south. Bangla Desh will align with Bengali cuisine and Pakistani with Punjab. In fact, Bangla Deshi and Pakistani cuisine have gained popularity among those seeking to savor Asian food.

However in the West and particularly in the United States, it is only in the recent past that locals have been exposed to regional cuisines of India. They are accessible now in the metropolitan areas of New York, Texas, and California. It is slow in coming, but discerning patrons in these areas are looking for something new and different in Indian cuisine. They are not confined to the kormas, tandooris, channa masalas, and raitas that have become your average standard fare. The Indian buffet has also been transformed in some restaurants, where a judicious mixture of north and south Indian cuisine is provided.

The heaviness of north Indian cuisine is now being tested by the south and western Indian variety. The south has its own regional subdivisions and in the west, the predominantly vegetarian Gujarati cuisine is proving popular in New York and California. A renowned Indian chef and cooking instructor Julie Sahni once remarked in the *San Francisco Chronicle* about 10 years ago, that “Southern Indian cooking is the closest thing to California cuisine, because you can’t hide the ingredients.” By this she meant that the dishes, especially the vegetables, were flash cooked with herbs and ginger and chilies, making it healthier and lighter to the palate. For the vegetarian conscious, south Indian and Gujarati cuisine is par excellence.

The popularity of the north Indian dishes cannot be overlooked. What is important here is the quality of the dishes being served. In India, the dishes are spicier, in some cases oilier and the vegetables have a tastier edge to them. Difference in milk products between India and the United States tend to alter the taste in dairy-based dishes, especially desserts. However, any upscale Indian restaurant offering north Indian moghulai cuisine will usually serve a quality fare with carefully orchestrated dishes to satisfy the palette.

Indian bread or *roti* is the one item that most people look for in a north Indian restaurant. *Roti* is the generic name for bread. The three main types are, *Chappattis*, made from whole *durham* wheat and water, with little or no oil and flattened out and prepared on

a griddle. *Naan* is made from white flour and cooked on an open flame or in a *tandoor* oven. *Parathas* are a thicker, heavier fare prepared with a lot more oil, added before and during cooking. The *paratha* is often stuffed with vegetables, onion, cheese, and spices. (There is a popular Sri Lankan/Tamil Nadu variety that is prepared with egg and/or ground meat, onions, and green chili, which are then and diced to form a spicy dish.)

Latest in the line of Indian culinary varieties is Indian Chinese. Yes, there is a small but significant Chinese community of Haka origins who for over a century have made India their home. They are about 20,000 strong confined mostly to the eastern Indian state of Kolkata (formerly Calcutta). The food that has evolved is similar to the fare served up in Southeast Asian countries, namely Malaysia and Singapore. The dishes are not of traditional Chinese origin and tend to be flavored with coriander, cumin, and turmeric. The embellishment of green and red chili peppers with a sweet, salty soy sauce and a hot red sauce culminate in a “Chinese” curry termed *Manchurian*.

This Indian Chinese creation has gained great popularity and the chicken as the main ingredient has also been substituted in turn by cauliflower, to satisfy the vegetarian clientele. Currently this style of Indian serving is gaining popularity in Indian urban centers. The younger generation seems to greatly favor this new wave. It has also caught the fancy of Indian patrons in major metropolitan areas in the United States.

There is, however, a significant part of the Indian population who are vegetarians. This section will usually turn to south Indian fare. The concept of short eats, *tiffin* and snacks has an unparalleled variety in the south. It has been slowly gaining popularity worldwide. The most popular item being the south Indian crepe, *dosai* (mispronounced in other parts of India and currently replaced and referred to by the name *dosa*). It is usually served with potato curry and coconut chutney. Snacks and sweets are a big part of Indian cuisine. In fact most Indian grocery stores will almost always have a section set aside for sweets and savories. There is no tradition of baking in standard Indian cuisine. Consequently the proliferation of various kinds of sweets rich in milk, ghee, and cheese.

These days there are a number of Indian, Pakistani, Sri Lankan, and Bangladeshi restaurants in most big urban centers. You may also find them in food courts in shopping malls and as an appendage to a grocery store. What are you looking for in Indian food? That is the cardinal question. Variety, quality, or simply a lunch buffet that you can stuff yourself with.

If you are looking for variety and quality, check out the reviews for the restaurants in your area. Read up a bit on a particular type of Indian cuisine. When you finally arrive at the place of your choice, enjoy the variety, but don't expect to return home with styrofoam.

Ambi Harsha

See also Chinese Cuisine in the United States; Filipino Cuisine in the United States; Hawaiian Cuisine; Korean Cuisine in the United States; Thai Cuisine in the United States; Vietnamese Cuisine in the United States

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Indian Denaturalization Cases

In 1923, when the Supreme Court rendered its decision in *United States v. Thind*, it was confirming more than just the racial boundaries of whiteness—it was also testing the legal boundaries of citizenship. Bhagat Singh Thind had successfully attained naturalization in Oregon in 1920 and if the Supreme Court was now to determine that he was not white, he would be dispossessed of his citizenship as having been “illegally procured” under Section 15 of the Naturalization Act of June 29, 1906. In effect, *Thind* was not a case about naturalization, but about denaturalization. The answer to the question as to whether Thind was white was legally significant in that not only could it be used to prevent immigrants of Indian origin from naturalizing in the United States in the near future, but also in that it could be used to denaturalize those immigrants of Indian origin who had managed to naturalize in the preceding years despite existing laws restricting naturalization to “free white persons” and those of African nativity or descent. Indeed, following the ruling, the

Department of Justice directed federal attorneys around the United States to begin denaturalization proceedings against more than 69 men of Indian origin who had naturalized in federal and local courts around the United States since 1908.

Protests to the *Thind* decision and the denaturalization proceedings were immediate, both in the United States and in India. Because Indians were then subjects of the British Empire, some argued that Indian immigrants in the United States held all the rights, privileges, and immunities of citizens of the British Empire including the right to apply for U.S. citizenship. The denaturalizations continued, however, as the British consular offices in the United States refused to intervene, quite possibly because they perceived the Asian Indian community in the United States to be a hotbed of anti-British activity. Others caught in the dragnet of the Department of Justice offered a range of innovative arguments in the courts against denaturalization. For example, Qamar-ud-din Alexander and John Mohammad Ali argued that despite being born in South Asia, they were not Hindu, but Persian and Arabic respectively, and thus, white. Sakharam Ganesh Pandit, a resident of the United States since 1906, made a heart-rending case in court about the economic and personal losses that he would have to endure were he to lose his citizenship. Noting his status as a notary public, an attorney, and as a man married to a white woman, Pandit argued that were his naturalization certificate to be set aside, not only would his wife lose her citizenship, but that he would lose his license to practice law and the ability to support his family.

As the denaturalizations continued and relief from courts seemed hard to come by, Taraknath Das took his fight to the U.S. Congress. Das, who was also married to a white woman, convinced Republican Senator David Reed of Pennsylvania to introduce a resolution to confirm the citizenship of those South Asian men who had naturalized and of the women they were married to. Senator Reed's efforts were, however, unsuccessful when some senators protested on the ground that the bill would set an "uncomfortable precedent." Meanwhile, Pandit continued to persevere in the courts and eventually won a victory in 1927 when the Supreme Court agreed with him that the laws could

not be applied retroactively and that the United States, by waiting to commence denaturalization proceedings for years after the initial act of naturalization, had lost its right to bring such proceedings forward. The result of Pandit's case brought relief to the Asian Indian community as the commissioner of naturalization finally recommended that all denaturalization cases that were then pending be discontinued. It was too late, though, for many—by then approximately 65 Indians had already been denaturalized. For some of them, the struggles to regain their lost U.S. citizenship continued for decades. In fact, it was not until 1946 when, amid efforts led by the India Welfare League and the India League of America, that Congress finally passed the Luce-Celler Act, which gave Indians the right to naturalization and also set an annual quota of 100 immigrants from India.

The denaturalization proceedings against Asian Indians, although a short-lived phenomenon, had a lasting impact on the Asian Indian community in the United States. Under the existing Alien Land Laws in many of the states on the U.S. West Coast, Indians who were denaturalized and who owned land in California were subsequently told to immediately dispose of their properties and to terminate all leases. Courts also refused to issue marriage licenses to Indians wanting to marry white women. Furthermore, the denaturalizations curtailed the transnational, particularly anti-British, activities of immigrants who now could no longer leave the United States unless they gave up the right to return. In conjunction with the 1917 Immigration Act, this episode of denaturalizations led to the collapse of the South Asian community in the United States: It is estimated that close to 3,000 South Asians left the United States between 1920 and 1940. The denaturalization proceedings illustrate not only the commitment of the state toward maintaining a white citizenry but also its power to exclude from citizenship anyone it deemed "undesirable." In this, the denaturalizations certainly fulfilled the purpose of maintaining the racial and legal boundaries of nation and citizenship. They also succeeded in continuing the prevalence of seeing Asian immigrants as "alien" others against whom U.S. citizenship and national identity could continue to be defined.

Kritika Agarwal

See also Indian Exclusion; *United States v. Thind* (1923)

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Indian Ethnic Economy

When you purchase breakfast at a Dunkin' Donuts, later grab lunch at a 7-11 convenience store, have dinner at a Subway Sandwich shop, then flag down a taxi, which then takes you to a motel for the night, there is a good chance that you spent your day in Indian-run businesses. Indian Americans own and run a variety of small businesses that cater to the mainstream. This is in addition to the more obviously ethnic-owned enterprises found in predominantly Indian and South Asian districts, such as Devon Street in Chicago, in Artesia (CA), Jackson Heights in Queens (New York City), in Edison and Jersey City (NJ), and smaller but still distinguishable districts in major cities across the country. Ethnic entrepreneurship has been a common means for immigrant groups to get a foothold in the new economy, and Indian Americans are no exception.

As of 2000, the self-employment rate of foreign-born Indian Americans was 12.8 percent, whereas for native-born whites it was 14.1 percent. This is not constant: in 1990 it was 16.4 percent and 13.7 percent for Indians and whites, respectively, and in 1980 it was 12.2 percent and 12.8 percent, respectively.

Indian Americans are associated with a variety of entrepreneurial categories, including taxi driving, motels/hotels, convenience stores, fast food restaurants, gas stations, diamond stores, newspaper stands, restaurants, and farming. And this does not count the other large number of self-employed Indian Americans in medicine and information technology. Different

ethnicities within Indian Americans tend to gravitate to certain kinds of businesses. For instance, Punjabis have been known to farm or own gas stations or drive taxis, whereas Gujaratis are known to own motels and fast food restaurants.

The fact that certain ethnic groups gravitate toward certain kinds of businesses raises the question as to why and how. For Indian Americans those trends cannot be explained simply. They rarely ran similar businesses in India before emigrating, for instance. There are three main causes of an ethnic group tending toward entrepreneurship: (1) an opportunity exists in a particular industry; (2) the group has the resources to take advantage of that opportunity; and (3) it has the motivation to pursue self-employment.

Indian American motel owners provide insights into how these three factors work. Opportunities arise as current owners of a business want to move out and no other group is in place to step in. For instance, during the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s, inexpensive hotels and motels in San Francisco were increasingly open for purchase as European American and Japanese American owners had left them. Such establishments were considered run down and had been targeted by the city during the Progressive Era as problematic sites of low moral and economic value. Motels, not just older hotels, also were struggling economically. As common for ethnic businesses, these opportunities required little investment of money and no costly equipment. The greatest need was time and manual labor and so they were a viable option for immigrants with limited resources. Other groups did not compete for this opportunity given the limited financial gains. These businesses often fit a middleman minority profile, of serving disenfranchised, frequently minority customers while advancing the capitalist goals of major corporations (e.g., vendors and franchises).

Second, the ethnic group must have the resources necessary to enter into a business. These include human capital, such as education and finances, as well as social and cultural capital. Ethnic entrepreneurs commonly rely on social capital within their community. Gujarati American motel owners often borrowed money from their relatives and friends, at times with no interest, to make the down payment for their property. These same networks provide information on

where to purchase goods, how much to pay, and other information necessary to manage their businesses. Also, family members living in India who can immigrate to the United States are a major source of labor in the motels. After years of saving money and learning the business, they can then go on to purchase their own property. Indian Americans also often have enough American cultural skills, such as command of English, to run a business that caters to the mainstream.

Finally, the motivation to open a business can come from external and internal sources. Some common external sources are an inability to practice one's preferred vocation in the United States because one's educational credentials are not recognized, because language skills are not sufficient to perform their jobs, or because one is not given proper positions due to discrimination. In other words, a sense of blocked mobility can motivate people toward self-employment. For Indian Americans, these problems often were joined with an internal motivation. Many saw self-employment as a desirable means of mobility. For instance, Gujarati American motel owners or their immediate ancestors often were farmers in Gujarat, and they had a preference for self-employment rather than working for someone else. That same motivation encourages business ownership in the United States, even if a motel has little in common with farming. Although small businesses can pay nice dividends, most of the time owners earn a middle-class or lower-middle-class income. During economic downturns or weak tourism, their businesses suffer greatly. They get by reducing costs even at great personal and family sacrifice.

These same three general reasons for entrepreneurship also explain the large number of South Asian Americans in taxi driving in major cities. Approximately 60 percent of New York City cab drivers are South Asian American. Drivers choose this line of work because the opportunity fits their relatively low level of education and English skills, even if they have substantial assets in India. They learn about taxi driving from their networks. Motivation to take on this lower-status, dangerous occupation comes from a sense of lacking other meaningful options to earn enough money to provide for their families. Few

anticipate their children driving cabs and instead expect them to get the education necessary for an advanced career. Although the drivers themselves aspire to professional jobs, they lack the financial resources or the time to acquire the needed education and skills.

Similarly, Indian (mostly Gujarati) and Pakistani Americans dominate the market of Dunkin Donuts franchises in Chicago and surrounding areas (Cambodian Americans dominate Dunkin Donuts in California). Indian Americans who were professionals first purchased them after encountering obstacles in their white collar careers or not finding the work as economically and personally fulfilling as they had anticipated. Like motel owners, they saw small business as a way to increase their revenue and provide opportunities for family members with limited human capital who could emigrate from India. For these family members, the opportunity to learn a small business and eventually purchase their own was enough incentive to leave India. Undocumented immigration from India has further added to the pool of cheap laborers, which increases owners' resources. With limited English skills and education, these employees start at the lowest level in the store and gradually work their way up, over years, to pass the franchise exam (often after more than one try). So, a combination of individual motivated to own or work in a business, the resources to acquire a business and find employees, and opportunities in a locality encouraged this ethnic niche.

Like other immigrant groups, Indian Americans also have opened stores in "ethnic neighborhoods" that appeal to their own customer base. Such areas, whether Jackson Heights or Devon Street, often had vacant stores or weak business life before the entrepreneurs consolidated there. The most common stores in these areas traditionally have been grocery stores, sari and jewelry stores, and electronics stores. In these stores people find products normally not available elsewhere, such as electronics that require 220 volt current, for people to take with them when traveling home. Other stores include restaurants, travel agencies, doctor offices, and bookstores.

Although the story so far is one of immigrant entrepreneurialism based on hard work, resources, opportunities, and other factors, success in small



Zaki Shariff, right, assists a shopper looking for sari fabric at the Taj Sari Palace store in the Indian American community on the far north side of Chicago, Illinois, December 29, 2004. (Tim Boyle/Getty Images)

business is not that simple. Owners face a variety of challenges in running a business. Many immigrant small business owners are middleman minorities, as mentioned previously. Middleman minorities serve disenfranchised customers who have few other commercial options. They frequently encounter resentments and hostilities from their customer base and wider society. Customers can feel that owners charge too much for goods and take advantage of their lack of shopping options. Broader society often sees these businesses as taking advantage of a population with few options and being run by stingy immigrants of questionable morality. For instance, low budget motels in inner cities can be targeted by politicians as places of crime, such as prostitution and drug dealing, even though such acts take place in even upscale hotels.

Even entrepreneurs who are not middleman minorities face racism. Taxi drivers worry about physical attacks, some life threatening, and racist slurs. In

one notable incident, Ahmed Sharif, a cabdriver from Bangladesh, was stabbed in the throat by a passenger after the passenger confirmed that Sharif was Muslim. Taxi cab drivers also complain on occasion of disrespect from police officers because of their weak English skills. Less dramatic but still unnerving, motel owners see potential customers leave their premises once they notice an Indian behind the counter. Non-Indian motel owners may place “American-owned” signs outside their motels to signify that the motel is not owned by Indians. Stereotypes about the Indian American businesses as smelly, poorly run, of low ethics, and the like. Following 9/11, racism facing South Asian Americans only worsened. The first dramatic hate crime, but not isolated, was the murder of Balbir Singh Sodhi three days after 9/11. Sodhi owned a gas station in Mesa, Arizona. Wearing a blue turban, he was gunned down that morning at his gas station by Frank Roque, who wanted revenge for the terrorist

attacks. According to Sodhi's brother, Sodhi was committed to the United States and wanted to purchase an American flag as part of his patriotism the day before, but could not find any. A model citizen in many ways, Sodhi's choice to practice his Sikh religion at his business was his only "crime."

Race and religion are not the only sources of inequality facing entrepreneurs. Women receive less respect than men. Husbands and wives typically work in the business together, although on occasion one will keep his/her day job and the spouse will work full time in the business. Within a family business, women often have less authority than men in making major decisions or dealing with outside vendors. Even if the wife has more experience with the business than the husband, he has ultimate authority on business decisions, such as whether to invest in a new business, what changes should be made to the business, and which contractors to hire. The reasons cited are men's typically higher education level and English skills, along with mistreatment from outside vendors, which in turn makes it easier to have men as the public face.

Generally speaking, most children of immigrant entrepreneurs swear off the family business when they are younger. Nevertheless, children of entrepreneurs often go into occupations that allow significant autonomy, including self-employment. For Indian Americans, this same trend continues. Those who grew up in the family business may often regret the experience, because they must work in the business and lose a "normal childhood," especially if they have to physically live in the business (as common for motel owners). Yet, they encounter similar frustrations in their careers as did their parents. Despite often having white-collar jobs, they see a glass ceiling or feel that their occupation will not lead to the same economic benefits and autonomy as small business ownership promises. Also, Indian immigrants, unlike Korean immigrants for instance, do not see self-employment as a last resort, a factor shown to encourage children to pursue self-employment. The children draw from their parents' resources. For motel owners, for instance, the second generation takes advantage of the social capital and background knowledge of their parents and chooses to stay in motels if opening a business. They often enter

franchises of a higher level than their parents, and so feel that they are moving up from their parents even though they rest within their parents' industry.

Employees of Indian American small business owners are typically of the same background as found at comparable small businesses in their geographic area. Coethnics like working in ethnic-owned businesses because of the cultural similarities and opportunities for self-employment down the road. Employers consider coethnics more trustworthy and hard working. Employers also know if coethnic employees have debts, their immigration status, and responsibilities to their families, whom the owners may know and this creates a more compliant workforce. Explicit tensions between workers and owners are few, partly because employees see their employment as temporary on their way to business ownership.

Given that businesses are practically all-consuming, it is no surprise that owners' personal lives revolve around the business. Who they befriend, what time they cook dinner, how often they can socialize as a family outside the business depend on business calculations. For instance, socializing with a coethnic who owns a competitive business is difficult because of the inherent competition between them. Who children marry can be influenced by the business, for owners look for spouses for their children who they think respects and understands their business, and so tend toward fellow business owners. In pursuit of a good investment, owners and their families will choose a business location possibly far removed from their coethnics. This creates challenges for owners in forming a sense of community, but one that owners deal with by finding spaces to interact that are removed from the business, such as temples, sporting events, and the like.

The remarkable achievements of Indian American small business owners, like their peers of other ethnic groups, depend on many factors. Their progress will continue and will move into other industries as opportunities arise that fit their resources. But, when documenting their achievements, caution should be used in celebrating ethnic entrepreneurship. Being a small business owner is a challenging endeavor with many financial risks and social and familial costs.

Nevertheless, ethnic entrepreneurship will remain a central part of the Indian American community.

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See also Indian Americans; Indian American Community Organizations; Indian Women in America

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Indian Exclusion

Calls for the exclusion of Asian Indians from the United States in the early twentieth century were situated in two broader political contexts of the time: the passage of restrictive immigration policies targeted at Asians and U.S. government's policy of antiradicalism. Though anti-Asian racism was deeply embedded in American politics and culture at this time, calls for Indian exclusion were based not only on charges that Indians were unassimilable and an economic threat to white workers but also that they were dangerous and subversive. Indian anticolonialists, who had organized a movement to overthrow the British Empire from the United States, were accused of using the country as a base for their own radical politics. In their calls for exclusion, congressional representatives and immigration authorities focused both on questions of public health and economic competition, as well as the alleged dangers of Indian anticolonialism, calling for Indian exclusion as a means to restrict political radicalism. As such, the exclusion of Indians from the United States was not simply the latest manifestation of anti-Asian racism, which had already worked to exclude Chinese and Japanese laborers, but also part of a broader campaign to rid the nation of foreign radicals.

In the brief period of substantial Indian migration to the United States—mostly between 1906, when Indians first started arriving in significant numbers, and 1917, when they were excluded through the

“Barred Zone” provision of the 1917 Immigration Act—calls for Indian exclusion were densely intertwined with antiradicalism. U.S. officials, working closely with British authorities, linked Indian anticolonialism to broader imperial concerns about the rise of anticolonial movements across the Pacific world and the threats they posed to Anglo-American hegemony. At the same time, the anticolonial and anticapitalist articulations of many Indian radicals coincided with and helped fuel the assumptions of officials in the Justice and Immigration Departments that the deportation of “alien” agitators would restore harmonious labor relations.

At the same time, anti-Asiatic movements across British white settler colonies shaped the implementation of exclusionary policies and practices directed at Indians in the United States. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, U.S. immigration authorities, labor leaders, and congressional representatives situated their calls for Asiatic exclusion in transnational contexts, pointing to anti-Asian restrictive immigration laws in Canada, South Africa, and Australia to demand similar legislation in the United States. Whereas these settler colonies were consolidating and enforcing white supremacy across the Pacific by passing a series of exclusionary laws directed against Asians, U.S., British, and Canadian authorities in Vancouver, San Francisco, Washington D.C., Ottawa, London, and across India simultaneously issued warnings about the danger of Indian radicals plotting on the North American Pacific Coast. Bureau of Immigration files, surveillance reports, official correspondence, and congressional hearings attest to both the activism of Indian anticolonialists and the vigilance and scrutiny of the states that monitored them. U.S. officials pointed to the subversive nature of Indian migration to demand exclusionary and politically repressive laws as well as greater border enforcement. Thus, calls for Indian exclusion in the United States were rooted in anti-Asiatic movements across the Pacific and the joint efforts of U.S. and British officials to repress nationalist movements across Asia.

U.S. Immigration authorities—particularly Commissioner-General Anthony Caminetti and San Francisco-based inspectors Samuel Backus and Frank Ainsworth—routinely worried that Indians were

coming to the United States to organize a revolutionary movement in India and were using the country as a base from which to publish and distribute anticolonial periodicals and to incite their countrymen to prepare and train for a revolution to overthrow British rule. Although authorities were particularly alarmed by the emergence of the revolutionary Indian group known as the Ghadar Party in 1913, they insisted that even seemingly nonpolitical Indian organizations like the Pacific Coast Khalsa Diwan Society were actively engaged in assisting with Indian migration to the United States to educate and politicize them and then facilitate their return to India to overthrow British rule.

Unlike other immigrant groups, Indians did not have a strong national government to protect them from discriminatory laws in the United States. The British government did not intervene on their behalf nor did it oppose U.S. efforts to enact exclusionary immigration policies targeted at Indian migration. The British government’s refusal to come to their defense radicalized Indian migrants who came to believe and that they would not be treated with equality and dignity abroad unless they became free as a people. Given the close links between Indian migration and anticolonialism, British officials were not opposed to U.S. exclusionary efforts. U.S. and British officials routinely cast Indian labor camps and student groups as fertile ground for the spread of political radicalism and linked their calls for Indian exclusion to the need for greater measures to restrict political radicalism. As such, Indian exclusion operated hand-in-hand with radical repression.

Although the “Barred Zone” Act of 1917 is generally recognized as the first piece of official legislation that excluded Indians, U.S. immigration authorities had been manipulating and amending existing immigration laws to exclude the majority of Indian migrants through extralegal measures since 1909, when they began exploiting the “likely to become a public charge” clause to prohibit Indians from gaining entry at Pacific Coast ports. In addition to aggressively using medical examinations as grounds for exclusion, inspectors argued that racial prejudice against Indians in the Pacific Coast states, where the vast majority intended to find work, was so great that they would have difficulty finding employment and were therefore

“likely to become public charges.” Immigration officials used the public charge clause to begin excluding 50 percent of Indians by 1909. Commissioner-General of Immigration Daniel Keefe later acknowledged that, prior to the “Barred Zone” Act, it was the general policy of the Immigration Service to exclude as many Indians as possible using the public charge clause. That year, inspectors excluded 331 Indian migrants and allowed entry to only 337. In 1911, 517 migrants gained entry, whereas 862 were excluded, and over the next five years, immigration inspectors admitted fewer than 600 Indians to the United States.

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See also Chinese Exclusion Acts (1882–1943); Immigration Act of 1917 and the “Barred Zone”; Japanese Exclusion

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Indian Women in America

Indian women, and South Asian women, more generally, have been portrayed in Indian mythology and culture to be the preserver and holder of Indian culture. Although there is no one defining idea of Indian womanhood because of various regional, class, linguistic, religious, and ethnic differences, the dominant image

is one where the woman is defined in relation to her status (i.e., mother, daughter, or wife) to men and her ability to maintain the home and to bear children. Although a woman’s role may also include being an economic contributor to the family, the primary role for a woman is the maintenance of the home and the family under patriarchal definitions of a woman’s role. Indian immigrant women often struggle with being the symbolic representative of the homeland and also having to negotiate alternative cultural norms and expectations associated with women in the United States.

One area that defines the complex narrative of gender, migration, ethnicity, and feminism is the relationship of Indian women to marriage. South Asians view marriage as an essential institution and the defining marker (regardless of career or profession) of a woman’s social status. Marriage, in South Asia, is seen as a relationship between families that can take into account individual preferences but ultimately the duty to family outweighs individual desires. If an Indian woman challenges the expectations of marriage (through divorce, being unmarried, alternative sexuality, or marrying outside of the Indian community), she is often depicted by some members of the community as too Westernized, betraying the family, or even deviant. This cultural and social pressure applies to first-generation immigrants as well as second- or third-generation Indian American women. For many immigrant Indian women, regardless of class, arranged introductions and arranged marriages are the primary means through which men and women meet and marry. The adherence to Indian family values and cultural norms is often expressed through marriage.

Arranged marriage carries the connotation of marrying an Indian whereas a love marriage is often but not always associated with the individualistic act of marrying out of the racial and ethnic group. Fiction by South Asian writers often focuses on relationships and arranged marriage such as Chitra Bannerjee Divakaruni’s short story collection *Arranged Marriage* and Jhumpa Lahiri’s short story collections and her novel *The Namesake*. Romantic and marriage expectations are at the center of both popular and independent films that feature Indian Americans or Indians in America. Popular films among the Indian diasporic population that have marriage as a central component include

most Hindi films produced in India (Bollywood) as well as English language films such as *Chutney Popcorn* (1999), *Monsoon Wedding* (2001), *Bend It Like Beckham* (2002), and *The Namesake* (2006). Each of these films features a debate about life partners and romance and often includes a vibrant set that showcases Indian culture through marriage.

Gurinder Chandra's Bollywood-influenced film *Bride and Prejudice* (2003) is an updated version of Jane Austen's novel *Pride and Prejudice*. The narrative emphasizes the centrality of marriage in Indian diasporic culture as the film traverses the geographical locations of India, England, and the United States. The film comments on the historical legacy of British imperialism in India and the seduction of American corporatization and consumerism through the budding romance of Lalita Bakshir (Aishwarya Rai), a middle-class Indian woman from Amritsar in the Punjab, and Will Darcy (Martin Henderson), a white American hotel heir and manager from Los Angeles, California. The film offers a contemporary discussion on arranged marriage, Indian immigration to the U.S. and U.K., and the expectations and approaches to marriage of Indian immigrant bachelors. The marriage that first brings Darcy and Balraj to India is an "arranged marriage." When Darcy comments that the idea of arranged marriage seems "backward," Lalita advocates a more tolerant approach and instead says that in contemporary times meetings are more like a global dating service. She points to the wedding they are currently attending and says it works for them. But when Darcy seems to see India only as a country full of people who need to develop a more Westernized sensibility toward marriage, Lalita associates him with a group of men who can only see people and specifically women in India as "simple" and the embodiment of traditional Indian values without seeing the individual. Darcy, however, shows how he values Lalita's culture and family and at the end of the film wins Lalita. However, one of Lalita's alternative Indian suitors is Mr. Kohli who admits that he has returned to India to find a "traditional girl" because he believes the U.S.-born Indian girls have lost their Indian values or "have become the lesbian." The implication is that the United States has changed the normative structure of marriage and family, which values patriarchy and heterosexuality. The

idea of "lost values" reflects a change in the desires of Indian American women who are perhaps also not as enamored with economic and professional status. External stereotypes and depictions of arranged marriage are not only a narrative storyline in Indian dramas but also in American ones where Indian women characters are often faced with a cultural dilemma of having an arranged marriage or marrying for love. In these cases, arranged marriage is seen as a backward and restrictive cultural value that does not allow for individual romantic love.

The development of online Indian match sites and marriage conventions in the United States by first-generation immigrants are influenced by their desire that both first and second generations should marry not only within their own ethnic and racial group but also within a specific regional group. The initial advertisements for the Matri marriage convention for Gujarati matches, for example, occurred in venues such as temples, Indian businesses and associations, and local newspapers and Indian magazines. Most of the participants heard of the convention through word of mouth. Although the convention is currently a national one, most of the promotion for the conference is passed around through the networking of local Indian families and communities. The proliferation of organized dating clubs and activities within the Indian community worldwide as well as online matching sites such as shaadi.com are a response to contemporary concerns on the part of the older and younger generation about traditional ideas of long-term relationships and marriage.

The institution of marriage also opens up a discussion of other social and community issues in ethnic communities such as divorce, domestic abuse, and lesbian, gay, and bisexual populations. Women's shelters for those who have experienced domestic abuse in the South Asian community have become the site for women to resist the confining roles thrust upon them and provide support to South Asian women who are often in abusive relationships because of their adherence to the preservation of marriage and culture. Scholars, however, point out that although the organizations can be helpful, shelters also promote American cultural norms of the individual that do not always appreciate or understand the complex narratives of

the lives of Indian immigrant women. Second-generation women are also aware of the pressure to marry, be a good Indian daughter, and be loyal to their family values. Alternative sexuality and sexual preferences and marriage to non-Indians threaten the notion of Indian cultural identity. For example, the decision of the 1995 India Day Parade Board of Organizers who did not allow South Asian Lesbian and Gay Association (SALGA) to participate in the New York cultural parade because they did not represent “traditional” Indian values highlights how some conservative members of the community wish to preserve an image of Indian culture that relegates women to specific patriarchal roles of wife and mother.

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See also Indian Americans; Indian Ethnic Economy; Lahiri, Jhumpa

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Indians in American TV and Film

Representations of Asian Indians in twentieth-century American film and television are rooted in colonial images of India from early film and television when India was a part of the British Empire and also from immigrant narratives to the United States following the passage of the 1965 Hart-Celler Immigration Act. By the beginning of the twenty-first century representations were also affected by transnational media that

depict Indians as global citizens and by the attacks of 9/11 in the United States that cause complications for Indians and their narratives as American citizens and immigrants.

Unlike other Asian American groups, South Asian Americans do not have a history entwined with war or colonialism in relation to the United States but instead are linked to the United States economically and politically by the ties of capitalism and a British-based democracy; India is represented as an Asian country with Western (if not American) values. Early Hollywood portrayals emphasized Indians in the context of British history rather than as part of U.S. history. Most Hollywood images of South Asians were confined to British tales of adventure or spiritual discovery set in colonial India. Hollywood films focused on three thematic threads that characterized narratives of India and Indians: the spiritual guru and mystical religions, the poor rural villagers, and the treacherous or noble natives rising up against the British.

The first theme in colonial narratives emphasized India as an impoverished mystical place with religious cults. Many of the distinctions between different religions in India, including Hinduism, Islam, Sikhism, and Christianity, are lost or lumped into the idea of power-hungry, blood-sacrificing religious cults that threaten the rule and order of the British. Thomas Edison’s *Hindoo Fakir* (1902), the first film depiction of India, emphasized these traits and Hollywood films, directors, and writers continue to recycle this image in action adventure films about India through the end of the twentieth century. One example is *Indiana Jones and the Temple of Doom* (1984) that was popular at the box office. An updated version of pre-World War II serial adventures for the 1980s, Steven Spielberg’s second Indiana Jones film was primarily set in 1930s British India. The plot featured adventurer and archeologist Dr. Jones as an American hero who rescues a Hindu idol and saves the native villagers (and his friends) from the villainous Indians in power who are members of the blood cult of Kali.

The second thematic thread depicts India as a foreign geographical landscape that emphasizes the differences between the poor and the wealthy. The mud hut villages and starving natives are contrasted with the opulent palaces and forts. In films such as

the *Rains of Ranchipur* (1955) and *The Rains Came* (1939) the drought-stricken fields lie next to vast lush jungles readily available for elephant and tiger hunts and illicit romance. Even in the contemporary setting of 1980s India, the James Bond film *Octopussy* (1983) manages to show Bond in the midst of a tiger hunt in the jungle where he is pursued by a power-hungry South Asian prince, threatened by a henchman with a turban, and has a liaison with one of many white Bond girls dressed in Indian clothing. In this film, India is the exotic background and playground for exiles and white Westerners rather than a thriving and modern democratic nation.

The third and most prolific theme in Hollywood films depicts the primitive hordes and rebels in the northern frontier of India (also known as the Trunk Road that goes from India through Pakistan to Afghanistan) as defying and rising up against the heroic forces of the British Indian Army. Different films repeat stock characters such as the orphaned waif, the loyal native, the religious fanatic or fakir, and the snake charmer. The film *Gunga Din* (1939) was a popular film in which the native water boy (played in brown makeup by white actor Sam Jaffe) is mortally wounded but manages to warn his British soldier friends of an impending attack by sounding a bugle. In this film, the loyal native saves the British. In addition, the act of cross-dressing or performing as the native Indian *other* were the topics of popular narratives ranging from the exploits of Lawrence of Arabia to Rudyard Kipling's *Kim*.

There were few Indian actors playing lead roles in early Hollywood films. Like many ethnic and racial characters in Hollywood, white actors wearing makeup and performing as Indians played most of the characters. During the 1940s, one of the few Indian actors on-screen was Sabu. As a young boy, Sabu was sent from India to England by an English director to learn English and he eventually starred in 23 films including *The Elephant Boy* (1937), *The Thief of Baghdad* (1940), and *Song of India* (1949). His image as the wily and mischievous native youth endures and is a role model for other portrayals of native or Indian youth such as Kipling's famous character Mowgli in *The Jungle Book* (1942).

Academy Award-winning best pictures featuring Indian actors include the films *Gandhi* (1982) and

Slumdog Millionaire (2009). Although these films are critically acclaimed and popular they also feature some of the same colonial themes of earlier times but are updated to show modern India. The biopic *Gandhi* is about one of most important leaders of the Independence Movement, but the film still emphasizes India's British history and the natives who lead the Independence movement. The other film to feature India, *Slumdog Millionaire*, is about a poor orphan, similar to Kim and Mowgli, in contemporary India who uses his street smarts to escape his precarious situation and find true love.

After 1965, representations of Indians in television and film also developed stories of immigration and assimilation for Indians in the United States but most of the roles were white actors performing as Indians. Some of the depictions focused on Indian cultural traits and practices adopted by American youth in the counterculture movement of the 1960s and 1970s. Peter Sellers (in brown face performance) played Indian immigrant Hrundi Bakshi in *The Party* (1968) where he plays the sitar, has a pet monkey, and is deemed "cool" by college students. Hippie culture and spiritual mysticism were associated with popular figures such as the Maharishi Mahesh Yogi who was the spiritual guru to the Beatles.

In the 1980s, the representations of Indians were similar to general representations of Asian Americans as new immigrants with foreign accents and model minority sidekicks. The comedies, *Short Circuit* (1986) and *Short Circuit 2* (1988) starred white actor Fisher Stevens performing in brown face as robotics scientist Ben Jabituya. Television series such as *The Jewel in the Crown* (1984) and *The Far Pavilions* (1984) continued to focus on the British Raj but did not reflect contemporary life for South Asian Americans in the United States. The first film in the Star Trek franchise, *Star Trek: The Motion Picture* (1979), cast Persis Khambatta, former Miss India 1985, as Lt. Ilia, a bald Deltan (humanoid alien) Star Fleet officer of the next generation, but the Indian character most remembered in the Star Trek franchise is Khan Noonien Singh (played by Mexican American actor Ricardo Montalban) first on television in the episode, "Space Seed," and later as Captain Kirk's nemesis in the film *Star Trek 2: The Wrath of Khan* (1982).

One of the most famous Indian Americans in American popular culture is animated character Apu Nahasapeemapetilon, the proprietor of the Springfield Kwik-E-Mart on the longest-running television show, *The Simpsons* (1989–). White actor Hank Azaria performs his signature Indian accent. Before Apu's appearance on *The Simpsons* in 1990 there were small parts on television and in film but unlike other Asian Americans groups such as Chinese, Japanese, Korean, or Filipino or Vietnamese associated with early American history, spiritualism, and American military action and movements, South Asians were not as visible on popular American mainstream media. Recurring roles for South Asians started on a regular basis during the turn of the twenty-first century as their roles in world business and entrepreneurial areas became more prominent. Independent films and documentaries about South Asians in the United States began to appear and were available for distribution via video, DVD, and satellite in American popular culture.

The end of the Cold War ushered in a new era of economic and labor flows, particularly in the communications and technology industries. In the 1990s, satellite television and other images of Indians were available in the United States including the increase in independent films and documentaries that featured stories about contemporary Indians in the United States. Indian and British Indian directors using Indian and British Indian actors made financially successful independent films in Britain, Canada, and the United States about South Asian immigrants in the United States including *Mississippi Masala* (1991) with Denzel Washington and Sarita Choudhury, *Chutney Popcorn* (1999), and *American Desi* (2001) with Kal Penn. Independent films such as the critically acclaimed *Monsoon Wedding* (2001) set in India fostered an interest in Indian stories, and *The Namesake* (2006) and the 2009 Academy Award-winning *Slumdog Millionaire* (2008) were some of the first films in the English language to be widely recognized by an American audience.

In the first 10 years of the twenty-first century, Indians appeared as sidekicks and model minority characters on television. Although independent film created more complex characters, Indians on American television and in film were mostly young men who

played the smart, foreign-looking, out-of-place emasculated geek who is always the sidekick and never the leader. National Lampoon's *Van Wilder* (2002) featured actor Kal Penn as a foreign exchange student named Taj Mahal from India. The smart but socially awkward, fresh-off-the-boat Indian immigrant male character continues to appear in various forms on shows such as *The Big Bang Theory* (2007–) with particle astrophysicist Rajesh Koothrappali (Kunal Nayyar) and as scientists in dramas such as *Heroes* (2006–2010). All the four networks featured television shows with South Asian or Indian American actors in the first part of the century.

The twenty-first century also offers alternative and expanded roles for Indians outside the roles of the model minority. This includes comedic satires of the model minority in the feature film *Harold and Kumar Go to White Castle* (2004) where an Indian American (Kal Penn) and a Korean American (John Cho) are the lead actors in the film. Actor Kal Penn is part of the successful *Harold and Kumar* film franchise (2004, 2008) and played memorable television characters on the FOX series *24* (2007) and *House* (2007–2009). Indian American women are delivering award-winning performances in drama and comedy. British Indian actress Archie Panjabi won a Golden Globe in 2010 for her performance in *The Good Wife* (2009–) and writer/actress Mindy Kaling writes for *The Office* (2005–2013) and plays character Kelly Kapoor. On reality television, Padma Lakshmi is the host of the popular Bravo show, *Top Chef* (2006–) and Sanjaya Malakar (Spring 2007) and Anoop Desai (Spring 2009) were in the top 10 finalist of Fox television's *American Idol* (2002–).

There are an increasing number of Indians appearing in American film and television with more diverse storylines. Although many of the colonial and immigrant images still dominate there are also more complex stories that are being told. In addition, Indian characters are being played by Indian, British Indian, and Indian American actors and actresses and scripts are being written by more Indian writers and filmed by Indian American directors. In 2010, the series *Outsourced* premiered on NBC and the first American television show set in India. The show featured an ensemble cast with five South Asian and South Asian

American actors as well as South Asian and South Asian American writers. The increase of roles for Indian (Irfan Khan and Anil Kapoor) and British Indian (Reshma Shetty, Dev Patel, Frieda Pinto) actors points to the popularity and importance and continued presence of Indians in American film and television.

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See also Hollywood, Asian Americans in; Indian Americans

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Indigenous Groups and the Asian American Experience

Race, as a social construct, has typically been bound to U.S.-centric or white-Western-centric ideologies of race and ethnicity. In the United States, ethnicity has become tied to nation-state identities without consideration to the ethnoracial projects that happens outside of its nation-state boundaries. Even in its concept of “Asian,” the racialization of a continent differs not only between federal and state definitions, but also to how academia has placed communities and bodies not bound to nation-state identities into categories that do not always represent them. Complexity of race and ethnicity has always confused not only entities of power such as governments and institutions, but also within the communities that have been racialized and ethnicized. The constructed and imagined borders of “Asia” are not only a project of white, Western Orientalists but are also a project within the field of academia, especially within ethnic studies and cultural studies. “Asia” and what is “Asian” have always been topics of continued construction and debate within academia and within social imagination. If Asia is continually being constructed and (re)defined, often in

most cases, by those who write Asian narratives, then the critique of communities that are bound to those identities must also be analyzed. Ethnic identity in Asian nation-states does not transfer to the academic and social consciousness in the United States. Thus, ethnic and tribal minorities in Asia are not only displaced within the host nation-state that their communities are part of, but also within the academia. In academia, ethnic and tribal minorities of any nation-states have been placed in an anthropological framework, often associated with precolonialism and premodernity. Very few ethnic or tribal minorities who have immigrated to the United States have been formally recognized as a separate ethnicity from that of their host nation-state and many of these minorities are still seen as being connected to their communities back in “Asia.”

Ethnic and tribal minorities outside of the nation-state identities became visible because of U.S. presence in Asia, whether it be through military intervention or colonialism. Others came to the United States because of immigration acts that allowed a broader sphere of refugees who have fled their host nation-state to neighboring nation-states. Yet for others, their host nation-states’ laws determine if they are considered a different ethnicity at all. Many ethnic and tribal minorities under national laws of their host nation-states are seen as dialect or cultural communities, stripping them of their self-determination and ethnic identities. This is especially true in nation-states that wish to create a homogenous national identity at the expense of ethnic and tribal minorities. Immigration of ethnic and tribal minorities, therefore, is difficult to address within ethnic studies and Asian American studies because the researcher must be well versed in the ethnoracial projects and national identity laws that are found in the nation-state that is being studied. Just like the racial project in the United States when addressing Native Americans, federal recognition of these communities must be considered as to whether such analysis of diversity is properly addressed: There is no homogenous nation-state found in “Asia.”

Though Philippines is presented in history books and sometimes even within Asian American studies as a homogenous nation-state, it is actually a fairly diverse nation-state with over 150 ethnic groups. The

Philippine government recognizes that it is a pluralistic nation-state of diverse ethnicities. Even within the Philippine Constitution there is no reference to a homogenous nation-state of one ethnicity and one culture. During President Ferdinand Marcos's rule, the ethnic groups of the Philippines were changed into "dialects" in hopes of creating a nation-state identity that is considered purely Pilipino. The Philippines would only be recognized as diverse by its population's regional origin and/or religion. Yet the portrayal of the Philippines in academia is still homogenous and has created an imagined monolithic identity. Unlike other groups who came to the United States to find job and educational opportunities, indigenous communities or *Katutubos* (derived from the Tagalog word meaning "indigenous" or "of the earth") came as exhibits in the different World Fairs that were scattered throughout the country during the early 1900s. Igorots, Lipis, Aetas, Moros, and Lumads—five groups that claimed nationhood—were put into the "Philippine Village" in World Fairs, sometimes alongside Bisayans (a racialized group composed of about 20 ethnolinguistic communities). President of the United Nations General Assembly, Carlos Romulo, in 1943 stated the following when addressing the issue of Igorots being considered Pilipino.

Even in the Philippines, to cite one recurrent source of annoyance, stories were frequently sent to America concerning our wild tribes, the Igorots, in which they were represented as Filipinos. These primitive Black people are no more Filipino than the American Indian is representative of the United States citizen. They hold exactly the same position—they are our aborigines. The fact remains that the Igorot is not Filipino and we are not related, and it hurts our feelings to see him pictured in American newspapers under such captions as "Typical Filipino Tribesman." (Romulo 1943: 59)

The Igorots, the eight tribes of the Cordillera region, were not the only race that was discriminated against in the Philippines. The Moros, the 13 Islamized tribes and ethnic minorities of the southern Philippines, were not considered to be Pilipino under the

constitution until 1935 along with all the different racialized nations found in the archipelago. Today, Igorots, Moros, and Lipis (a term used to describe Christianized and non-Christianized tribes and ethnic communities found in the island of Luzon, but has now lost its usage by Pilipinos) began to immigrate to the United States in the 1980s. Lipis, groups such as the Hambali/Sambalis and Ibanags, have immigrated to the United States but have no formal concentration or organization specific to the ethnic group. They are concentrated in California, Hawaii, and Nevada, and though not documented in any formal research, village organizations are located in these states that bring the community from a particular village or city together. Unlike the Lipis, Igorots and Moros have formally organized either as whole nation or by particular tribes. BIBAK/BIBMAAK organizations are found in major regions in the United States with California having the most Igorots concentrated in one state. BIBAK/BIBMAAK is the acronym of the provinces found in the Cordilleras where the Igorot community is originally from. Moro associations are still divided along tribal lines, and the three main Moro tribes found in the United States are the Maguindanao/Maguindawan, Maranao/Muranaw, and Tausug/Tau Sug. They are scattered throughout the country with a heavy population found in California. The Moros, unlike the Igorots and Lipis, face discrimination within Philippine-America because of their adherence to the Islamic faith. Many Moros also faced harsh discrimination post-9/11 along with other Muslim communities in the United States.

In the 1970s, Hmongs and Miens immigrated to the United States after the Secret War that happened throughout Laos and Cambodia. The presence of Hmongs and Miens in Asian American studies has always been linked to the United States involvement in the Vietnamese-American War and its involvement throughout Southeast Asia. Separated from being considered Lao or Khmer, Hmongs and Miens have been recognized within Asian American studies as ethnically different from Lao or Khmer, yet they were not the only communities that came out of the U.S. presence in Southeast Asia. Part of the refugee community that appeared during the Vietnamese-American War and the Secret War were the Chams. The Chams are

Islamized ethnic minorities found in Cambodia and Vietnam, and both are protected within the Vietnamese and Cambodian constitutions as national minorities to freely practice their culture and their religion in predominantly Buddhist nations. Though they have rights within their host nation-states, their community is split between two countries and their citizenship is based on the country where their village or community is located. They are transnational people who have to request permission to visit their community, which may be on the other side of the border. Cham in the United States can be found predominantly where Hmong and Mien have been displaced as refugees. Yet even though they are in communities with Lao, Khmer, Viet, Hmong, and Mien, they are considered “others” because of their faith. Navigating through being refugees in the United States as Muslims, they not only experience racism and xenophobia but also Islamophobia. Though little research has been conducted on Cham American experiences, many Cham American youth have resorted to telling their stories through online social media outlets such as blogs and social network sites. Cham American youth address their struggles of coming from refugee communities, racism they face not just from white America but also from other Southeast Asian Americans and the growing Islamophobia in the country.

Since the passage of the Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act (AEDPA) and the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRAIRA), both in 1996, detention and deportations have increased exponentially. These laws replaced a discretionary system with mandatory detention and deportation and expanded the grounds of deportation to include minor offenses. These two acts have drastically affected the South East Asian communities. Although Khmer American and Lao American male youths have been targeted for deportation back to Asia, Cham Americans have also been affected not only by these two acts, but also with laws that have been enacted because of the events of 9/11. Cham Americans, as an identity, have created a particular dynamic in the study of race, ethnicity, and religion within Asian American studies. As a multitransnational community, Cham American experiences are negotiated not only through the lens of the U.S. presence in

Southeast Asia, but also U.S. relations with the Islamic world.

Another group that has been hypervisible in the U.S. social context yet hyperinvisible within Asian American studies is Tibetan Americans. Tibetan American experiences are closely tied to Tibet’s condition under Chinese Communist rule. Though Tibetan, in itself, is a national identity, Tibet as a former nation-state was also comprised of multiple ethnic groups with different religious affiliations. With the United States intervention during the Cold War to stop the advancement of Socialism and Communism, the U.S. government waged war against China with the help of Tibetans. The Secret Tibetan War against China with the help of U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) ran from the late 1950s to the early 1970s. During this period, Tibetan refugees who left Chinese-controlled Tibet and fled to neighboring India and Nepal were granted immigration rights to the United States and began to establish communities throughout the United States; largest among them are the Tibetan communities in California, Colorado, Minnesota, New York, and Washington D.C. The typical image of Tibetans is one surrounded with visuals of Vajrayana Buddhism, monastics, and resistance to Chinese Communism. Rarely mentioned are Tibetan Muslims a significant religious minority in Tibet. Tibetans, in general, straddle a particular role in the American imagination, often connected to white liberal activism against Chinese colonialism. Yet, in the field of Chinese and Chinese American studies, Tibet and Tibetan American experiences are silenced and, at times, even erased. Whereas the Chinese Han majority comprises the majority of the ethnic groups found in China, non-Han and even non-Mandarin Hans have been homogenized in the Han Chinese framework even in diaspora. In Chinese American studies, Tibetan American experience and Tibet in general is largely invisible. Tibet and Tibetan American experiences are always tied to Buddhism and Buddhism in the United States. Tibetan identity is bound to self-help books, religious manuals, and new age adaptation of Buddhism usually experienced by white Americans. Tibetan American experiences are thus a reflection of white liberal imaginary, suspending Tibetan Americans in a temporal space outside of modernity.

Though this essay seeks to address ethnic and tribal minorities outside of the nation-state identity and within Asia-America, the construction and incorporation of these communities are still deeply rooted in their condition back in their host nation-states. It is difficult to address such communities who have been historically silenced within the fields of ethnic studies and Asian American studies. Within Asian American Studies, ethnicity is deeply tied to the nation-state identity and incorporating ethnic and tribal minorities within the narrative complicates the perceived definition of “ethnicity.” This entry’s three examples of the Igorots and Moros from the Philippines, Cham from Cambodia and Vietnam, and Tibetans show the complexity of addressing ethnic and tribal minorities in diaspora within Asia-America. Three examples of this complexity are articulated by analyzing (1) the nation-state’s political ethno-racial project and its translation in diaspora (Igorots, Lipis, and Moros), (2) the nation-state’s geopolitical structure and its translation in diaspora (Chams), and (3) the visibility of communities within different spheres and its construction within social imaginations (Tibetans). Asian American studies must be more open to ethnic pluralism found in Asian nation-states and examine how it contributes to the creation and maintenance of Asian ethnicities in the United States.

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See also Cham in America; Filipino Americans; Hmong American Women; Hmong of Minnesota and California

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Indochina Migration and Refugee Assistance Act of 1975

The Indochina Migration and Refugee Assistance Act of 1975 was passed on May 23, 1975, signed into law by President Gerald Ford. The Act was passed following failed diplomatic and military efforts to prevent Vietnam from unification under a Communist regime. The Act allocated federal funding for programs that provided structural support and financial assistance to refugees resettling in the United States. Hundreds of thousands of Southeast Asian asylum seekers, mostly from Vietnam, benefited from the program. A Gallup Poll taken in 1975 showed that only 35 percent of Americans supported refugee resettlement in the United States with 54 percent of Americans opposed and 12 percent undecided.

The withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam was performed in coordination with Operation Frequent Wind, a U.S. State Department–led maneuver designed to evacuate all U.S. government personnel in Saigon and thousands of South Vietnamese allies who had diplomatic or military connections to the United States. Families of individuals who had professional or economic ties to the United States or high social standing were also included in the evacuation. Early estimates allowed for the removal of 18,000 Vietnamese allies along with all U.S. forces and personnel. In April 1975, with evacuation needs more apparent, President Ford authorized the removal of nearly 65,000 South Vietnamese refugees by U.S. cargo plane under Operation Frequent Wind. In sum,

approximately 130,000 refugees from Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos successfully made it to the United States in this period of evacuation, half escaping by their own means in the first two weeks of May after the conclusion of Operation Frequent Wind. The escape of these 130,000 refugees comprised the “first period” of three major periods of migration resulting from the war.

Under the 1975 Indochina Migration and Refugee Assistance Act, which was championed in Congress by Senator Edward Kennedy and Representative Liz Holtzman, refugees from Southeast Asia were admitted with special status, qualifying them for integrative support that included financial assistance (Refugee Cash Assistance—RCA) and medical services (Refugee Medical Assistance—RMA). Four processing centers were established to handle the arrival and documentation of the refugees. Temporary centers were located at Eglin Air Force Base, Florida; Fort Indiantown Gap, Pennsylvania; Camp Pendleton in Oceanside, California; and Fort Chaffee in Arkansas, the last temporary center to close in December 1975. Arrivals were screened, photographed, processed, and assigned alien registration numbers that would be their badge of identity until they chose to apply for naturalization after five years in the United States. After one year of residency, the refugees qualified for Legal Permanent Resident status. Because of the highly organized nature of resettlement, refugees receiving assistance under the 1975 Act are the most extensively documented immigrant population admitted to the United States.

Voluntary Resettlement Agencies (VOLAGs), contracted with the U.S. government, handled the logistics of implementing program benefits locally and aided refugees who had passed initial screening. VOLAGs issued cash coupons, dispersed food allowances, located temporary shelters, and provided other social services such as remedial language classes. The most urgent task of the VOLAGs was to locate sponsors for refugee families. VOLAGs were comprised of charity organizations, nonprofit groups, or volunteer religious congregations, including the International Rescue Committee, the Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Services, the Tolstoy Foundation, the American Fund for Czechoslovak Refugees, the American

Council for Nationalities Service, the United States Catholic Conference, Church World Service, Hebrew Immigration Aid Society, and the Travelers Aid International Social Service of America. Although families were able to choose which VOLAG they wanted to be assigned to (religious preference, for example), they had less control over who their sponsor would be or where they would end up. Sponsorships came from local congregations, corporations, and individual families.

As a matter of policy, and to placate anti-Vietnamese sentiment, VOLAGs carefully dispersed refugee families widely to avoid overtaxing any single community with an influx of foreign nationals. The practice of geographic dispersal, however, undermined the successful integration and socialization of Southeast Asian refugees in a number of ways. Cultural isolation and lack of a socially empathetic community exacerbated the trauma of escape and resettlement. Language barriers made communication almost impossible in many instances, causing frustration for both refugees and their sponsoring communities, and sometimes contributing to latent and not-so-latent anti-Vietnamese hostility. Additionally, extended families were often separated to serve the principles of the dispersal program, intensifying the trauma of war and dislocation. As a result of intense cultural and social isolation, most families eventually opted for a “secondary migration,” a migration pattern highly characteristic of Vietnamese refugees who were initially settled under the dispersal program.

Secondary migration was a voluntary, often long-distance migration undertaken by Vietnamese families toward metropolitan regions that offered more racial and ethnic diversity and economic potential. The patterned migration gradually gained critical mass as Vietnamese enclaves established themselves in California, Texas, Louisiana, Washington, and Florida. These epicenters of Vietnamese cultural and social networks formalized into a patterned movement known as “chain migration,” the preference held by new Southeast Asian immigrants for regions already well established with extended family networks, social and cultural familiarity, economic opportunity, and, perhaps most important, a sense of familiarity. California and Texas remain the two most popular states with

47 percent and 11.3 percent of the total Vietnamese American population, respectively.

Although a number of Vietnamese American communities flourish today, in 1975 many doubted the successful integration of the Vietnamese into U.S. society. Some Americans protested the idea of inviting “the Asian enemy” into their backyards. Many doubted the ability of an assumed “backward” people to acclimate to modern American life. To ensure their success, Vietnamese refugees created alternative networks of support to supplement the aid provided by the 1975 Refugee Assistance Act. In addition to secondary migrations, refugee families devised informal “patchwork” households in which several adult members of an extended family contributed to rent, food, childcare, housework, manual labor, and other needs. Additionally, the trauma of escape sometimes bound unrelated individuals to each other as adopted kinfolk, creating networks of support that extended beyond blood and marriage ties. These adaptive measures have been crucial to the tight-knit character of the Vietnamese community and the successes afforded it under the 1975 Indochina Migration and Refugee Assistance Act.

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See also Boat People; Refugee Camps and Southeast Asian Migration

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Indonesian Americans

Indonesian Americans are immigrants and their descendants originated from the Republic of Indonesia in Southeast Asia. In 2000, this group became the fifteenth largest group of Asian Americans.

Indonesian immigrants began to come to the United States in considerable numbers in the 1950s. Some of them first arrived in 1953 through the

International Cooperation Administration (ICA) program, which enabled teachers from the medical school of the University of Indonesia to enroll in advanced programs at the University of California, Berkeley. The ICA also arranged scholarships for faculties at the Bandung Institute of Technology to study at the University of Kentucky in 1956. Some of these students eventually settled in the United States. A few thousand arrived after the enactment of the 1965 Immigration Act, which granted a large quota to each nation, and when the Transition to the New Order in Indonesia became violent and chaotic. Most of these immigrants were Chinese Indonesian. More immigrants arrived in the following decades, and an increasing number of them were sponsored by their family members or relatives who had already gained U.S. citizenship. By 1990, there were 30,085 Indonesians living in the United States. The 2000 Census counted 63,073 individuals as Indonesian. The count was 95,270 in 2010. It should be noted that although Indonesia is the fourth most-populous country in the world, the growth of the Indonesian ethnic community in the United States is relatively slow. This partly has to do with the fact that Indonesia is a multiethnic nation. Ethnic Chinese from Indonesia, for example, are very likely to identify themselves as members of the Chinese American community.

The majority of Indonesian Americans reside in metropolitan areas of Los Angeles, San Francisco, Houston, New York, and Chicago. There are no visible ethnic enclaves, partly because of the diverse cultural, linguistic, and religious background of the community. Most Indonesian immigrants are Muslims with their unique dietary and other traditional customs. Austronesian, the official language in Indonesia, is the most popular language spoken in immigrant households. The immigrants celebrate their traditional holidays as well as Christmas and Easter. Chinese from Indonesia are more likely to affiliate with Chinese American business clusters and celebrate traditional Chinese holidays.

With 65 percent of its population born outside the United States according to the 2010 Census, Indonesian America is an immigrant majority community. A large percentage of the immigrants (35%), however, had become naturalized citizens. Most Indonesian American age 5 and older spoke a language other than

English at home (67%), and 30 percent of the population age 5 and older had limited English proficiency. The census reported 20 percent of Indonesian American households as linguistically isolated.

About 94 percent of Asian Americans had at least a high school diploma, compared to 86 percent of the total Asian American population. Less than 47 percent had obtained a bachelor's or higher degree, compared to 49 percent of the total Asian American population.

Per capita income for Indonesian Americans was \$25,729, compared to \$28,342 of the total Asian American population. Poverty rate of Indonesian Americans was 12 percent, higher than the 11 percent rate reported for all Asian Americans. About 2 percent of the households received cash payments from public assistance. The unemployment rate for Indonesian Americans 16 and older was 6 percent, the same as all Asian Americans. More than half (55%) of Indonesian Americans were homeowners, and 5 percent of the population lived in overcrowded housing. 15 percent of the population had no health insurance.

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See also Asian American Muslims

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Inouye, Daniel K. (1924–2012)

Elected in 1959, Daniel Ken Inouye became the first American of Japanese descent to serve in the United States Congress. Inouye began his congressional career in the House of Representatives representing the new state of Hawaii. His career in the House lasted until 1963, at which time Representative Inouye became Senator Inouye. Inouye served in the United States Senate until his death in 2012, when he was a member of the powerful Appropriations Committee.

Born in Honolulu, Hawaii, on September 7, 1924, Daniel Ken Inouye had a typical Nisei childhood growing up in a Japanese ghetto in Honolulu. Inouye's family was poor and he parked cars at the Honolulu stadium to earn money. He also gave his friends haircuts at discounted rates as few families could pay the 20 cents it cost for a cut at the barber. Inouye himself never saw the inside of a barbershop until he went to high school. School was one of Inouye's passions. He attended Honolulu's public schools, graduating from McKinley High School in 1942 with dreams of becoming a surgeon.

The attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941 gave Inouye his first hands-on experience with emergency medical care as the 17-year-old applied his first-aid training to civilian casualties of the conflict. Despite Inouye's and other Japanese Americans' displays of heroism, Japanese Americans were discharged from Hawaii's National Guard units and rejected from the Selective Service System. Unable to enter the service, Inouye decided to continue his medical training by attending the University of Hawaii and majoring in premedical studies. However, in 1943, when still in his first year at college, the United States Army announced plans to accept a limited number of Japanese Americans to form a combat team. Inouye enlisted in March 1943, a decision that would forever change the course of his life.

Inouye was accepted into the all-Nisei 442nd Regimental Combat Team. Before embarking to Mississippi for training, Inouye's father made his son promise to repay the *on*, or debt he felt his family owed the country, and urged his son not to bring dishonor to the family name. Inouye did not disappoint his father. After training, Inouye and his combat regiment headed for Italy with the U.S. Fifth Army. Sergeant Inouye and the 442nd combat regiment endured three grueling months of the Rome-Arno campaign before his unit was sent to the French Vosges in what would be two of the war's bloodiest weeks. Inouye's unit successfully rescued a Texas battalion encircled by German troops. In addition to becoming a platoon leader and receiving a battlefield commission as a second lieutenant, Inouye's heroism earned him a Bronze Star. Further, the rescue of the so-called "lost battalion" went down in the U.S.



Senator Daniel Inouye greets President John F. Kennedy, 1963. (Donald Uhrbrock/Time Life Pictures/Getty Images)

Army annals as one of the most significant battles of the twentieth century.

Back in Italy during the closing months of the European campaign, Inouye led his platoon in an assault on a heavily defended hill when he took a bullet to the abdomen, which only very narrowly missed his spine as it exited out his back. Despite his injury, Inouye embarked on a solo assault of a machine gun nest that had his men pinned down. By lobbing two grenades, Inouye was able to inflict heavy damage on the enemy but not without great cost to himself. In retaliation, a German rifle grenade destroyed his right arm at close range. Yet even with a shattered arm and wound to the abdomen, Inouye managed to throw his last grenade with his left arm before a bullet from a submachine gun hit him in the leg and knocked him down the hill. By the close of the war, Inouye had

made the rank of captain and been awarded the Distinguished Service Cross. In addition to his Bronze Star and Distinguished Service Cross, Inouye was also awarded 12 other medals, including the Purple Heart with cluster, but Inouye's greatest military honor would not come until June 21, 2000, when he was belatedly awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor for heroism in battle during the World War II.

After the war, Inouye spent 20 months in Army hospitals recovering from his injuries, including the loss of his right arm. Although Inouye had certainly repaid his *on*, he was not yet done. The loss of his arm ruled out the possibility of a surgical career and so Inouye searched for a new profession to pursue, one that would lead to a lifetime of public service. Entering school on the G.I. Bill, Inouye once again attended the University of Hawaii, but rather than

graduating pre-med, he graduated in 1950 with a degree in government and economics. Inouye next traveled to Washington, D.C., where he attended George Washington University Law School, earning his J.D. in 1952. Inouye was admitted to the bar in 1953 and began practicing law; he served as Honolulu's assistant public prosecutor from 1953 to 1954. In 1954, Inouye began his career in politics by serving as the majority leader in Hawaii's Territorial House of Representatives from 1954 to 1958 and as a member of the Territorial Senate from 1958 to 1959.

In 1959, Inouye made history by becoming the first American of Japanese descent to serve in the United States Congress following Hawaii's admission to the Union. On the third anniversary of Hawaii's statehood, Congressman Leo O'Brien stated before Congress of Inouye that the moment when Inouye raised his *left* hand to take the oath of office at his swearing-in ceremony "a ton of prejudice slipped quietly to floor of the House of Representatives" (Inouye 1967, 276). Inouye served as a Democrat in the 86th and 87th sessions of Congress before his election to the United States Senate in 1962.

During his time in the Senate, Inouye had an illustrious career. In his keynote address before the 1968 Democratic National Convention, he urged racial tolerance. He served on the Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities, which was charged with the responsibility for investigating the Nixon scandal. He was also involved in the Iran-Contra investigations. Perhaps because of his upbringing in a city as diverse as Honolulu, Senator Inouye had long been a supporter of civil rights, social welfare legislation, and social justice. Inouye was behind the formation of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians whose report proved instrumental in granting former Japanese internees with reparations and redress. He was also a long-time advocate of Native American concerns, including issues of gaming and sovereignty. He served as both chair and vice-chair of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs. Senator Inouye also served as chair of the powerful Senate Appropriations Committee in the 111th Congress. Senator Inouye died in December 2012 at the age of 88.

Katie O. Swain

See also Japanese Americans; Japanese Americans in Hawaii; Matsunaga, Masayuki "Spark"; Political Representation

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Itliong, Larry (1913–1977)

Larry Dulay Itliong was a farmworker and union organizer who was instrumental in the founding and development of the United Farm Workers (UFW) in California and was also a significant figure in the struggle for labor and civil rights for Asian Americans, immigrants, and workers.

Itliong was born on October 25, 1913, to Artemio and Francesca Itliong, one of six children, in the San Nicolas municipality of the Pangasinan province in the Philippines. Itliong obtained a sixth-grade education before immigrating to the United States in 1929 at the age of 15. In the United States, harsh and exploitative labor conditions existed for Pilipina/o workers, similar to those historically endured by other workers of color. Racism was blatant in both government policies and social norms, especially as the United States fell deeper into the Great Depression. This sometimes led to riots, arrests, and lynchings. It was this environment that pushed Larry Itliong into the struggle for economic and social justice.

Itliong worked in the railroads, canneries, and fields as he migrated around several states including Alaska, Montana, California, and Washington. In 1930, not long after Itliong arrived in the United States, he joined his first strike in the lettuce fields of

Monroe, Washington. He also helped organize asparagus workers in Stockton, California, and salmon cannery workers with the International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) Local 37 in Seattle, Washington. There he was made a shop steward, and then vice president in 1953. In 1956 Itliong cofounded the Filipino Farm Labor Union in California. In 1965, he led a strike against grape growers in the Coachella Valley in Southern California that resulted in higher wages but ultimately failed to negotiate a contract with the growers. At that time Itliong was a lead organizer of Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (AWOC), an AFL-CIO union.

Itliong is perhaps most well-known for his leadership in the 1965 strike against growers in central California where many Pilipina/os lived. In their struggle for just wages and working conditions, on September 5, 1965, Itliong led AWOC to call a strike against 33 grape growers near Delano. Three days later the 2,000 mostly Pilipina/o members of AWOC began the Delano Grape Strike. Soon after, the Cesar Chavez-led National Farm Worker's Association (NFWA) joined the AWOC strike on September 16. Subsequently the strike went on to receive worldwide attention and acclaim as it broke new ground unionizing farmworkers, immigrants, Latinos, and Asian Americans. In 1967, AWOC and NFWA formed the United Farm Workers Union-AFL/CIO (UFW). Cesar Chavez was elected president, Larry Itliong was second in command, Dolores Huerta became first vice president, and Pilipino labor leaders Philip Vera Cruz, Pete Velasco, and Andy Imutan assumed other executive positions.

Despite the success of the Delano Grape Strike and the UFW, issues emerged within the leadership. These included differences in tactics and a growing disparity in the support and recognition afforded to Chavez and the more numerous Mexican workers. A lasting testament to these disparities can be the revisionist history of the Delano Strike and the UFW that attributed the struggles and success to solely Mexican workers under the singular leadership of Cesar Chavez. Itliong

eventually resigned from the UFW and became president of the Filipino American Political Alliance. It was the first national political Pilipino American organization and a key alliance between Pilipino laborers and professionals. By 1970, there were chapters in over 30 cities. In addition to his work with the Alliance, Itliong was instrumental in creating Pablo Agbayani Village, which was named after a worker who had died picketing during the Delano Strike. Agbayani Village was a housing development dedicated to aging Pilipino manong workers who had paved the way for social justice for farmworkers and immigrants. The Village was opened in 1974 by the UFW headquarters in Delano.

Itliong passed away on February 10, 1977, in Delano at the age of 63, and was survived by his wife and seven children. His many honors include "Larry Itliong Day" in Carson, California, dedicated in 2010, and a 2012 resolution passed by the California State Legislature to honor him. There is a collection of his documents, The Larry Itliong Papers, archived at Wayne State University in Michigan.

Benji Chang

See also Filipino Agricultural Workers; Filipino Americans

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J

Jaisohn, Philip (1864–1951)

Philip Jaisohn was born Seo Jae-pil on January 7, 1864, in Boseong County, Korea. He played a key leadership role in the modernization, reformation, and liberation efforts of Korea (and later South Korea) as it underwent structural changes from being a monarchical regime, Japanese colony, military government, to eventually becoming a democratic republic. Jaisohn is remembered by a lengthy list of characteristics and achievements that include founder and last surviving member of Korea's first Independence Club (Tongnip Hyophoe), father of the reform movement in Korea, first Korean to be naturalized as a U.S. citizen, the first Korean American to earn a medical degree at an American institution, and chief adviser on Korean Affairs to the Commanding General of the United States Army Forces in Korea. Whether it was in Korea, Japan, or the United States, Jaisohn fought tirelessly for Korea's political freedom wherever his life took him.

Born to Korean aristocracy (yangban class), Jaisohn spent the early years of his life in an environment of social and material privilege. However, his father, who had bigger dreams for his son, sent Jaisohn to Seoul at the age of seven to live with his uncle who was a court minister at the Royal Palace. Under his uncle's guidance, he started a grueling process of acquiring an education as a Confucian scholar. During this time he established an intellectual friendship with Kim Okkyun, who was 10 years his senior and would later go on to be a prominent reformist alongside Jaisohn.

After passing a series of Civil Service Examinations in 1882, Jaisohn spent the following year in Japan as the leader of a pioneering delegation of 60

students. The group, sent by the Korean court, attended the Toyoma Army Academy where they trained in military tactics and drills, and acquired Western knowledge on modern sciences, geography, and history. Jaisohn was deeply inspired by his experiences in Japan, and upon returning to Korea was full of ambition to forge a modern Korean army that would fend off unwelcome intervention from foreign powers.

Unfortunately, Jaisohn's attempts were met with disappointment as a group of conservatives, who seized control of the Korean government when Jaisohn was in Japan, had sided with the Manchu rulers of Imperial China. Consequently Jaisohn became one of the leaders of the Kapsin Coup—a militant effort to seize political power from the Korean monarchy and establish institutional changes that would transform Korea into a modern nation-state. The coup was led by a group of reformers including Kim Okkyun, Pak Yonghyo, Hong Yonsik, and So Kwangbom, who had all spent time being educated abroad and were critical of the Korean state's acquiescent attitude toward political autonomy. The coup began on the night of December 4, 1884, and its leaders were in power for three days before limited military resources led the coup to its failure.

Jaisohn was immediately exiled from Korea with the rest of the coup leaders. The group first landed in Nagasaki, Japan, where they decided among themselves that Jaisohn along with Park Younghyo and Soh Kwang Bum would flee to the United States. Jaisohn arrived in San Francisco in April 1885 where he initially found work at a furniture store. Jaisohn began developing a sense of community as he learned English at the YMCA and attended a local church. He anglicized his name from Seo Jae-pil to Philip

Jaisohn. Two years into his new life in San Francisco, a Christian benefactor introduced Jaisohn to J. W. Hollenback, a wealthy coal mine operator from Pennsylvania. Hollenback took a personal interest in Jaisohn and offered financial support for Jaisohn to attend the Harry Hillman Academy in Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania. Jaisohn relocated in September 1887 and received an education at the academy until 1889; he was naturalized as a U.S. citizen the following year.

When in Pennsylvania, Jaisohn learned that his family in Korea had been killed for his involvement in the coup and that Kim Okkyun had been assassinated in Japan. Despite his grief, Jaisohn had no choice but to continue his life in exile and spent time translating Chinese and Japanese medical books into English in Washington D.C. He then attended George Washington University Medical School, where he received his degree in 1892. Two years later, Dr. Philip Jaisohn opened a private medical office and married Muriel Armstrong—the niece of former president James Buchanan and daughter of the U.S. Postmaster General.

In the aftermath of Japan's victory in the first Sino-Japanese War in 1895, Korean government pardoned those involved in the Kapsin Coup. With the pardon, Jaisohn returned to Korea in the same year. Upon his return, Jaisohn mobilized politically by publishing *The Independent (Doknip Shinmun)*, founding the Independence Club (Doknip Hyophoe), and helping build the Independence Hall and Gate (Doknip Mun). *The Independent* was Korea's first civilian newspaper; it was written in Korean and English and strove to promote democracy and enlighten the public on political and economic issues. The Independence Club was a political organization of reformists and activists working toward their vision of an independent Korea governed by its people. Here Jaisohn became a mentor to future leaders of the Korean independence movement including Syngman Rhee and Ahn Chang Ho.

Three short years after returning to Korea, conservatives accused Jaisohn and the Independence Club of conspiring against the monarchy by attempting to institute a Republic, and once again Jaisohn was requested to leave the country.

Jaisohn returned to Pennsylvania where he worked as a researcher for the Wistar Institute of the University of Pennsylvania. He continued ardently organizing

around issues of political and social reform in Korea. He established The League of Friends of Korea, which grew to include a membership of 10,000 and 19 branches throughout the United States. He established the Korean Congress of Philadelphia and the Bureau of Information of the Republic of Korea.

Jaisohn made a final trip to Korea after Japan's defeat in World War II and the division of the peninsula. The U.S. military government appointed him chief advisor to the military governor during its occupation of South Korea. As the Republic of Korea's first presidential elections took place, Jaisohn was petitioned by 3,000 individuals to run as a candidate. However, he eventually rejected the overture in 1948 because he believed himself to be a divisive figure when political unity was desperately needed. Jaisohn then returned to Media, Pennsylvania to resume practicing medicine until his passing on January 5, 1951—2 days before his eighty-seventh birthday.

Hyein Lee

See also Korean Americans

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Jang, Jon (1954–)

Jon Jang is an innovative Chinese American jazz pianist, composer, and leader of ensembles whose works integrate Chinese folk music and American jazz. He was born on March 11, 1954, in Los Angeles and grew up in Palo Alto, California. During his childhood, he learned to play an electric keyboard, the French horn, and trumpet, but he did not learn to play the piano until he was 19 years old. He attended the Oberlin Conservatory of Music, majoring in piano performance and graduating in 1978 with a bachelor of music degree.

When he was a young adult, Jang discovered that his paternal grandfather's last name was Woo (Hu) and not Jang. His grandfather had come to the United States as a paper son. From 1882 to 1943, the Chinese exclusion laws prohibited Chinese from immigrating into the United States. One way that Chinese young men (and in rare cases, young women) used to surmount such a hurdle was to buy papers sold by Chinese in the United States who were U.S. citizens and who were allowed to bring their China-born children to the United States as "derivative" citizens. Individuals paid hefty sums of money to assume the identities of the children of these paper fathers, memorizing the latter's entire family histories and detailed descriptions of their homes and villages so that they could answer tricky questions posed by immigration officials upon their arrival on Angel Island in San Francisco Bay that served as an immigration station between 1910 and 1940. Jon Jang's grandfather was among thousands of paper sons who slipped into California this way. This family history inspired Jang to compose pieces that evoke memories of Angel Island and paper sons. He says his is a musical language that memorializes "paper sons, paper songs."

Jang is truly an Asian American musician, *not* because of his Chinese ancestry, but because he draws upon the tonalities and instruments used in both Chinese folk music and American jazz in his compositions. According to him, his musical notations "look Chinese" on paper but sound "American" when played. He has produced a steady stream of music inspired by the travails of Asian American history as well as events in China. His first album, *Are You Chinese or Charlie Chan?*, came out in 1984.

His major works include *Reparations Now! Concerto for Jazz Ensemble and Taiko* (1988) that references the Japanese American struggle for redress and reparations for their incarceration in concentration camps during World War II; *Tiananmen!* (1992) that alludes to the 1989 Communist Chinese government's crackdown on Chinese students demonstrating for democratic freedoms; the score for a dramatic adaptation of Maxine Hong Kingston's *The Woman Warrior* (1994); *Island: The Immigrant Suite, no. 1* (1995) that signifies Angel Island; *Two Flowers on a Stem* (1995) dedicated to his mother; *Island: The Immigrant Suite,*

no. 2 (1996); the score for filmmaker Renee Tajima-Pena's documentary, *My America . . . or Honk if You Love Buddha* (1997); *Sweet Whisper of a Flower* (1998) that commemorates the 1906 San Francisco earthquake that left Chinatown in rubble and forced the displaced Chinese to build a new Chinatown across the bay in Oakland; an album, *Big Bands Behind Barbed Wire* (1999); *Portrait of Sun Yat-sen* (2001) to mark the centennial of the 1911 Chinese Republican Revolution; *Silk Roads* (2001); *Far East Suite* (2003); *Paper Sons, Paper Songs* (2006); *Unbound Chinatown* (2007); *Chinese American Symphony* (2007) that celebrates the heroic labors of Chinese railroad builders who constructed the Central Pacific Railroad—an orchestral work that uses not only Western instruments but also an anvil, a whistle, and an *erhu* (a Chinese string instrument)—that begins and ends with the slow, rhythmic strikes of an anvil; and *Angel Voices: Rhapsody on Angel Island Poetry* (2008).

Jang has paid tribute to the great African American singer Paul Robeson in *Cantata for Paul Robeson and Mei Lanfang* (1997) that features an African American baritone, a Chinese soprano, a jazz quartet, a chamber music ensemble, and African American and Asian American instrumentations. Mei Lanfang was China's best known and most beloved Beijing Opera singer—a man who played female roles and sang soprano. Jang first heard Chinese traditional melodies, not in Chinatown or in his family, but rather, in a record featuring Paul Robeson singing Chinese folk songs with a choir in 1941. In 2002, he produced a second panegyric to Robeson, *When Sorrow Turns to Joy—A Musical Tribute to Paul Robeson*. Jang has also composed for and performed with numerous Asian American, African American, and Latino American artists and musicians.

Jang is the recipient of many awards, including a Mid-Career Visionary Artist Award from the Ford Foundation, grants and commissions from the Creative Work Fund, the San Francisco Arts Commission, Meet the Composer New Residences, Chanticleer, the Library of Congress, the Rockefeller MAP Fund, Creative Capital, the Kronos Quartet, and a National Endowment for the Arts Jazz Composition Fellowship. He is the cofounder of Asian Improv Records and serves as the musical director of the Jon Jang Sextet and the Pan Asian Arkestra whose members often

perform with him. He has given concerts all over the world and teaches a course on Asian American music in the Asian American Studies Program at the University of California, Berkeley.

Sucheng Chan

See also Japanese Americans

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Japan Bashing

Japan bashing refers to anti-Japanese sentiment caused by U.S.-Japan trade friction during the 1970s and 1980s. Despite severe damage to its land and infrastructure during World War II, Japan experienced rapid economic growth from the mid-1950s to the early-1970s, a phenomenon called the “Japanese economic miracle.” During the U.S. occupation of Japan and up until the early 1950s, most Americans regarded products made-in-Japan as cheap and low quality. However, vast improvements in manufacturing led to a rapid increase in product quality and, subsequently, an increase in exports, particularly to the United States. By 1968, these economic developments had improved the Japanese economy so much that Japan’s Gross National Product was second only to that of the United States. However, the U.S. economy had been suffering from a deep recession, and its trade balance slipped into deficit in the 1970s. America’s trade deficit with Japan grew from \$1.2 billion in 1970 to \$43.5 billion in 1985.

The massive trade imbalance between the United States and Japan developed into a serious political issue. The United States placed restrictions on the importation of Japanese textiles, consumer electronic goods, and steel in the 1960s to 1970s, and on automobiles in the 1980s. American manufacturers complained that competition with Japan was “unfair”—politicizing the issue and refusing to recognize that American products were becoming less competitive as Japanese imports became increasingly affordable and higher in quality. The U.S.

government demanded that Japan voluntarily limit exports to the United States, and to open its closed domestic market to U.S. agricultural products. It imposed a high tariff on particular Japanese imports, enacted a series of trade sanctions, and accused several Japanese manufacturers of “dumping” products in the U.S. market.

On the other hand, many Americans became curious as to why Japan had been able to achieve such rapid economic success. Several books about Japanese business management systems became popular, including Ezra Vogel’s *Japan as Number One: Lessons for America* (1979) and William Ouchi’s *Theory Z: How American Management Can Meet the Japanese Challenge* (1981). These books disseminated several key concepts and terms of Japanese management such as *kaizen* (continuous improvement), *keiretsu* (a group of closely interconnected companies), and *kanban* (the just-in-time system of efficient production).

Anger and Fears Regarding Japan’s Economic Power

Strong anti-Japanese sentiment quickly spread throughout the United States in the 1980s and the early 1990s. Many blue-collar workers in manufacturing blamed Japan for their unemployment and showed their anger publicly: members of United Automobile Workers destroyed Japanese automobiles with hammers in large demonstrations, and images of such displays were widely circulated by U.S. media outlets. Additionally, several members of the U.S. Congress smashed Toshiba radios in front of Capitol Hill in 1987 to show their anger when Toshiba and a Norwegian company sold submarine technology to the Soviet Union, a violation of an agreement among Western bloc nations. In the early 1990s, many activists, politicians, and labor union representatives led “Buy American” campaigns to boycott Japanese products. To calm anti-Japanese sentiments in the United States, Japanese manufacturing corporations adopted a strategy of “localization”: they moved sites of production to the United States and employed American workers rather than exporting finished products.

Many Americans also felt threatened by Japanese corporations’ substantial investments in the U.S.

market during Japan's bubble economy from the late-1980s to the early-1990s. They were shocked to find that Japanese companies purchased companies or real estate properties considered to be important American cultural icons. For example, Sony purchased CBS Records in 1987 and Columbia Entertainment Pictures in 1989; Mitsubishi Estate Company became the primary owner of Rockefeller Center in 1989. The cover of *Newsweek* on October 9, 1989 carried the headline "Japan Invades Hollywood" and an image of a Japanese *geisha*, mimicking the logo of Columbia; it implied fears that all precious American cultural assets might be bought and remade by Japanese corporations. The *Newsweek* issue also included a poll indicating that Americans feared Japan's economic power more than the Soviet Union's military power. Such views of Japan were also reflected in Hollywood movies in the 1980s and 1990s. One of the most popular movies of this genre was *Rising Sun* (1993), which portrays a conspiracy led by a fictional Japanese company in California with connections to Japanese criminal gangs.

Influence on Asian American Communities

Anti-Japanese sentiment rarely resulted in physical violence against Japanese nationals living in the United States, but it did trigger a brutal hate crime against a non-Japanese man in 1982. Vincent Chin, a Chinese American, was beaten to death in Detroit, Michigan, by two Caucasian autoworkers—Ronald Ebens and Michael Nitz. Nitz had been recently laid off. Mistaking Chin for Japanese, Ebens and Nitz blamed their job losses on "Japanese like him" and killed him with a baseball bat on the streets of Detroit. Despite finding the men guilty of manslaughter, the court sentenced them to just three years' probation and fined them \$3,780 each. This verdict outraged Asian American communities and led them to file a lawsuit against Ebens and Nitz, charging that they violated Chin's civil rights; however, the murderers still served no jail time.

Fear and anger regarding Japan's economic power from the 1980s through the early 1990s rekindled racial hatred of Japan felt during World War II. The U.S. media revived "yellow peril" with imagery of "trade war" and "economic Pearl Harbor." Moreover,

the term "Japan bashing" appeared in major U.S. newspapers most frequently around the fiftieth anniversary of Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor. However, anti-Japanese sentiment dwindled as Japan's bubble economy burst in the mid-1990s and its economic power declined just as China emerged as a new source of America's economic anxiety. Japan bashing serves as a reminder of how economic competition can cause widespread hostility especially when mixed with racialized images.

Yoko Tsukuda

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Japanese American Baseball

Introduction

Similar to the story of Negro Leagues baseball, Japanese Americans were forced to play in their own leagues between the late 1890s and 1940s because of bigotry and discrimination in white America. When Japanese immigrants first arrived in the United States during the late 1800s, they brought their knowledge of and passion for baseball, a game that was first introduced to Japan during the 1870s. For the Issei (first-generation Japanese American), participating in the national pastime provided an opportunity to display their skill and ability as athletes and develop a bond with those who already played the game in their new country. Despite the fact that ballplayers of Japanese ancestry first attempted to join the majors in the late 1890s, Japanese Americans did not break into the big leagues until the 1970s. Since then, only a handful of Nikkei (Americans of Japanese ancestry) players have reached baseball's highest level. Despite the small number of Japanese American players to reach the

majors, the collective impact of their historic legacy can still be felt in the game today.

Japanese American Baseball Origins: Formal Team and League Development

It is commonly believed among historians that American schoolteacher Horace Wilson first introduced baseball to Japan in 1872. However, a recent argument has been made that Leroy Lansing Janes, also a teacher from the United States, arrived a year earlier and introduced the game to his students at Kumamoto. Regardless of the dispute about its origins, it is well documented that the game of baseball became the most popular team sport in Japan by the end of the nineteenth century.

Japanese American Baseball in Hawaii. Alexander Joy Cartwright, the man called “The Father of Modern Baseball,” is credited with establishing the rules of today’s game and organizing the first baseball club in 1845, the New York Knickerbockers. Four years later he settled in Honolulu and spent the rest of his life teaching baseball throughout the Hawaiian Islands. In 1899, the first known Japanese American team—the Excelsiors—was organized in Honolulu by Reverend Takie Okumura. In 1905, pitcher Gikaku Steere Noda organized the Hawaiian Asahi, and within a decade, highly competitive leagues were developed along ethnic lines with Japanese American teams competing against Chinese American, Portuguese, Hawaiian, Caucasian ball clubs and an African American military team, the 25th Infantry Wreckers.

Japanese American Baseball on the Mainland. Japanese immigrants living on the U.S. mainland played on integrated teams as early as the late 1890s. According to the *Sporting News*, in 1897 manager Pasty Tebeau of the major league Cleveland Spiders attempted to sign an unidentified player from the amateur baseball leagues of Chicago only known as the half-brother of Japanese wrestler Sorakichi Matsuda. Another Japanese player, outfielder Shumza Sugimoto who reportedly once played for the Negro League Cuban Giants, was scouted by New York Giants’ manager John McGraw in 1905. As a result of Sugimoto’s presence at the

Giants spring training, the color line was officially and publicly extended to exclude players of Asian ancestry from participating in white professional baseball.

In 1903, the first Japanese American team on the mainland, the Fuji Athletic Club, was founded in San Francisco by artist Chiura Obata. Seven years later, the first official Japanese American Baseball League was organized by Jiu Jitsu professor Tokugoro Ito. Headquartered in Seattle, Washington, the new league was comprised of six teams from West Coast cities throughout Washington and California. The 1920s and 1930s were considered the Golden Era of Japanese American baseball. With the Nisei (second-generation Japanese American) coming of age, the passion for the game grew to new heights. For all Nikkei, the game reflected a renewed sense of optimism in finding a place in America. Each Sunday, Japanese Americans across California, Washington, Oregon, Utah, Wyoming, Denver, and Nebraska went “baseball crazy.” Japanese American baseball teams on the West Coast, in the western U.S. and Midwest also offered a highly competitive and financially successful brand of baseball and entertainment for fans from all ethnic backgrounds during this period.

Games versus High-Caliber Competition. A common belief among early twentieth-century Japanese American baseball players was that to be the best you had to compete against the best. For this reason, the Nikkei baseball pioneers scheduled games against the top talent from the Pacific Coast League, California Winter League, Major League, and Negro League barnstormers, and visiting teams from Japan. In games against each league and level, Japanese American players not only proved they were worthy of being on the same field, on many occasions they were the victors. A study of Japanese American Baseball Leagues box scores and game summaries between 1920 and 1940 reveals that the caliber of play closely resembles the common assessment of the Negro Leagues—in that not every player had enough talent to play in the majors; however, the stars of the league proved time and time again that if given the opportunity, there is little doubt that they could have competed with their white counterparts at the highest level.

Included on the list of high-caliber competitors were Hall of Fame players Babe Ruth and Lou Gehrig from the Major Leagues; Biz Mackey and Andy Cooper of the Negro Leagues; Tony Lazzeri, Joe DiMaggio, and Lefty O'Doul of the Pacific Coast League, and Shinji Hamazaki and Victor Starfin of the Japanese Professional Baseball Leagues. The top teams and all-stars of the Japanese American Baseball Leagues were:

- Alameda Taiku-Kai: Harry Kono, Mike Nakano, Kiyo Nogami, Richard "Cy" Towata
- Arroyo Grande Y.M.B.A.: Kaz Ikeda, Seirin Ikeda
- Cheyene Nisei: Minol Ota
- Clovis Commodores: Fumio Ikeda, Hy Ikeda
- Denver Nisei: George Akimoto, Dick Kitamura
- Florin Athletic Club: Herb "Moon" Kurima
- Fresno Athletic Club: Harvey Iwata, John Nakagawa, Ty Saiki, Fred Yoshikawa, Kenichi Zenimura
- Guadalupe Packers: George Aratani, Charlie Hiramatsu, Moriso Matsuno, Fred Tsuda
- Hanford Y.M.B.A.: Ben Mitsuyoshi, Shig Tokumoto
- Hawaiian Asahi: Joe Takata, Andy Yamashiro (the first Japanese American player to sign a professional baseball contract, 1917)
- Hood River Nisei: Kay Kiyokawa
- L.A. Nippons: Jimmy Horio, Jack Kakuuchi, George Matsuura, Al Sako, Joe Suski
- L.A. Nisei All-Stars: Masao Iriyama, Noboru Iriyama
- Monterey Nisei: Oyster Miyamoto
- Salinas Taiyos: Harry "Tar" Shirachi
- San Fernando Aces: Pete Mitsui
- San Pedro Skippers: Ichi Hashimoto
- San Jose Asahi: George Hinaga, Russ Hinaga, Henry Honda, Harry "Jiggs" Yamada
- Seattle Asahi: Frank Fukuda
- Stockton Yamato: Kenso Nushida (the first Japanese American to play in the Pacific Coast League, 1932), Tadashi Henry "Bozo" Wakabayashi (the first Japanese American player

inducted into the Japanese Baseball Hall of Fame, 1964)

- Vancouver Asahi (Canada): Ty Suga, Roy Yamamura

Prewar Goodwill Ambassadors. For Nikkei ball-players, as Kerry Nakagawa wrote, putting on a baseball uniform was like wearing the American flag. Through their adoption of, and love for, the game of baseball, Japanese Americans believed they were demonstrating their loyalty to the United States. At the same time, they still maintained connections with their culture, family, and friends in Japan. One way to stay connected was through a shared love of baseball. Japanese American teams embarked on numerous goodwill tours to Asia during the first half of the twentieth century. The Seattle Asahi pioneered goodwill efforts with several tours to Japan (1914, 1915, 1918, 1920, and 1921). Between 1922 and 1931 no Major League team toured Japan. During this MLB absence, Japanese Americans and their Negro League counterparts played a key role in exporting the great American game to Japan and welcoming dozens of visiting Japanese teams to the United States. Noteworthy Nikkei teams that participated in goodwill tours to Japan and other parts of Asia included: the Seattle Asahi (1923), the Fresno Athletic Club (1924, 1927), the San Jose Asahi (1925), the Aratani Guadalupe Packers (1927), the Stockton Yamato (1928), the Los Angeles Nippons (1931), and the Alameda-Kono All-Stars (1931, 1937).

The competitive interactions against touring U.S. teams helped the Japanese improve their skill level, elevate the overall level of play, and eventually empower them to start their own professional baseball league in 1936. What's more, when Japanese Americans were not involved directly on the field during tours, they were often involved behind the scenes. Because they knew the language and cultural customs of both countries, Japanese Americans often played a significant role in facilitating the outbound tours of Caucasian and African American teams, and U.S.-inbound tours of Japanese teams. Key figures in pre-war goodwill efforts included Japanese Americans Takizo Matsumoto, Kenichi Zenimura, Harry Kono, and George Irie.

Games during World War II Incarceration. Perhaps one of the most unique, fascinating, and tragic chapters in all of U.S. baseball history is Japanese American Internment Camp baseball during World War II. The national pastime behind barbed wire started shortly after President Franklin Roosevelt wrote his famous “Green Light Letter” to Judge Kennesaw Mountain Landis encouraging the commissioner to continue the 1942 baseball season. Weeks later Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066 and set the stage for the removal and incarceration of more than 120,000 West Coast Issei and Nisei. In each of the 10 camps scattered across the American West and Arkansas, baseball was key to survival. It helped boost morale for everyone, players and spectators alike. Each camp had at least one baseball field and competitive leagues. In camps like Gila River, Arizona; Heart Mountain, Wyoming; and Jerome, Arkansas, where the skill levels were more advanced, games were scheduled against the top high school, college, and semipro teams from surrounding cities. Ultimately, the scoreboard of these games mattered far less than the relationship-healing that occurred between incarcerated Japanese Americans and the free Americans living beyond the barbed wire of the camps.

Postwar Goodwill Ambassadors. Just as it was important to improve postwar relations on the local level with Caucasians, Japanese Americans knew it would be critical to do the same on an international level with Japan. Unfortunately, participation in the Japanese American Baseball Leagues after 1945 never returned to their prewar levels. For those Nikkei who still loved the game and wanted to compete at the highest level, they had few options. American-born players like Satoshi “Fibber” Hirayama, Kenshi and Kenso Zenimura, and Wally Yonamine were ready for the big leagues, but the big leagues weren’t ready for them. So instead they went to Japan to play in the Nippon Professional Baseball League during the 1950s. Also instrumental in rebuilding U.S.-Japanese baseball relations after the war was Tsuneo “Cappy” Harada, a former ballplayer once scouted by the Cardinals and a decorated member of the Military Intelligence Service. Harada was selected by General Douglas McArthur to arrange goodwill tours of Major League teams in

postwar Japan. He was later named special assistant to the Tokyo Giants (1951–1954), contributing to the team’s four straight Japanese Baseball League championships.

The Japanese American Baseball Legacy

Between the 1920s and 1950s, the pioneers of Japanese American baseball touched the lives of hundreds of young ballplayers who in turn passed their wisdom on to future generations. The beneficiaries of their efforts include pitcher Ryan Yoshitomo Kurosaki, first Japanese American to break into the Major Leagues by joining the St. Louis Cardinals in 1975. Other Nikkei beneficiaries include Lenn Sakata, Atlee Hammaker, Onan Masaoka, Don Wakamatsu, Travis Ishikawa, Shane Komine, and Kurt Suzuki.

The torch of the Japanese American Baseball legacy is arguably best carried forward by the lifelong work of men like Nisei pioneers George “Hats” Omachi, Satoshi “Fibber” Hirayama, and Kenso “Howard” Zenimura. When the war ended in 1945, Omachi became a regular in the lineup for Kenichi Zenimura’s Fresno Japanese ballclub. In 1968, Omachi joined the New York Mets as their central California scout, and later provided services for the San Francisco Giants, Pittsburgh Pirates, Milwaukee Brewers, and Houston Astros. By the early 1970s the number of Japanese Americans participating in baseball declined, so he formed the Omachi All-Stars, a multiethnic team comprised of the best players in the Fresno County area. Players from the Major Leagues to the little league levels benefited from Omachi’s guidance. His list of protégés to reach the majors included Bobby Cox, Tom Seaver, Will Clark, Rex Hudler, and Geoff Jenkins.

During World War II, Satoshi “Fibber” Hirayama and his family were relocated to Poston, Arizona. After the war, his family returned to California’s San Joaquin Valley where he finished high school and received a scholarship to play baseball at Fresno State College. Hirayama signed with the Hiroshima Carp in the Japanese Baseball League, where he joined fellow teammate Kenshi Zenimura in 1955. Hirayama became a two-time All-Star and competed in Japanese MLB All-Star games against Mickey Mantle, Whitey Ford, and Stan Musial. He played for Hiroshima for

10 years and then went on to a successful career as a scout for the Carp organization in Japan and in the Dominican Republic. As a scout for the Hiroshima Carp's Dominican Republic Beisbol Academy, Hirayama's list of signees included Major Leaguers Timon Perez and Alfonso Soriano.

Kenso "Howard" Zenimura followed in his father's footsteps by serving as one of baseball's international ambassadors and as a mentor dedicated to developing young players. In 1978, P. A. Shibata, founder of the Japanese Boys League, recruited Howard Zenimura to manage the international traveling team of 14 to 15-year-old players. In 1982, the organization changed its name to the International Boys League (IBL) and the first IBL tournament was held in Osaka, Japan, with four Japanese teams and four foreign teams participating. When looking for assistant coaches for the team, Zenimura selected Don Wakamatsu, a 19-year-old catcher from Hayward, California, to serve as an assistant coach with the Fresno IBL team. This was Wakamatsu's first trip to Japan, and the experience would later prove to be an invaluable cross-cultural experience that prepared him for his future role as the manager of the Seattle Mariners, a Japanese-owned major league team featuring several players from Japan on the roster.

Few baseball fans know the story of early twentieth-century Japanese American baseball. In an effort to preserve their history, the non-profit Nisei Baseball Research Project (NBRP, www.niseibaseball.com) was founded in 1996 by filmmaker and historian Kerry Yo Nakagawa. The NBRP founder is also the nephew of John Nakagawa, the slugger recognized as the "Nisei Babe Ruth." The NBRP has been instrumental in having Japanese American baseball and its remaining pioneers recognized by professional baseball teams, museums, schools, and students throughout the United States and Japan. The wartime chapter of Japanese American baseball has also been preserved in the children's book *Baseball Saved Us*, the documentary *Diamonds in the Rough*, an ESPN *Behind the Lines* feature, and in the major motion picture *American Pastime*.

Despite the general lack of awareness of Japanese American baseball history, the impact of their leagues is still visible in today's game. It is subtle, though,

and only visible to the educated and informed. Their legacy is not a retired uniform number on the outfield wall of a major league stadium, but the names on the back of the major league uniforms. Players of Japanese ancestry like Ichiro Suzuki, Hideki Matsui, Daisuke Matsuzaka, Kenji Johjima, Hideki Okajima, Kurt Suzuki, and Don Wakamatsu are indebted to the efforts of the Nikkei baseball pioneers. At the turn of the twenty-first century, the national pastime has officially become the "International Pastime," and arguably, this is the enduring legacy of Japanese American baseball.

Bill Staples, Jr.

See also Chinese American Baseball; Filipino American Baseball; Zenimura, Kenichi

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Japanese American Christianity

In 1885, the Meiji government of Japan began to allow large-scale emigration of laborers to Hawaii and the United States. These immigrants, who were raised with a combination of Buddhist and Shinto teachings from their homeland, encountered a new society where Christianity was the dominant religion. For many of the Isseis that were struggling in their new surroundings, the practical lessons offered by Christian

churches became especially appealing. Within the next decade, several Japanese American Christian churches had been established throughout the West Coast and Hawaii. In fact, it was not until 1899 that the first Japanese American Buddhist temple was built. For this earliest wave of Japanese immigrants, Christian organizations played a pivotal role in their acculturation to the United States.

However, stepping foot on American soil was not necessarily the immigrants' first encounter with Christianity. Christianity in Japan can actually trace its history back to the sixteenth century, when Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries reached Japan and converted up to an estimated 10 percent of the population to Catholicism. However, in the early seventeenth century, the Tokugawa Shogunate expelled all foreign missionaries, and what little Christianity remained was forced underground into what are now referred to as *Kakure Kirishitan*, or "Hidden Christian," communities.

Early Japanese America and the Christian Church

On March 31, 1854, Commodore Matthew C. Perry sailed to Japan and, by 1858, coerced the ruling Tokugawa Shogunate to sign the Treaty of Kanagawa, thus ending Japan's three centuries of seclusion. This moment marked the beginning of trade between Japan and United States and also enabled Christian missionaries to proselytize within Japanese borders. By the start of the Meiji Era in 1868, American and Canadian missionaries from several Protestant denominations had established a number of mission schools throughout Japan. Many of the earliest students at these mission schools were *shizoku*, or members of the former samurai class, which had previously been abolished by the Meiji Emperor.

In the early 1870s, a *shizoku* student from Yamaguchi Prefecture named Kanichi Miyama made his way to Tokyo, where he opened a clothing store. It was in the early years of the Meiji Era, when the Japanese government encouraged wealthy young men to travel abroad to Europe and the United States to learn and bring back skills to help modernize Japan. Miyama was a perfect candidate to heed this call, and would eventually travel to San Francisco in 1875 at

the age of 27. Before departing, he met Rev. George Cochrane, who was one of the earliest Canadian Methodist missionaries in Japan. Rev. Cochrane wrote Miyama a letter of introduction to his Methodist colleague in San Francisco, Rev. Thomas Guard.

Soon after arriving in San Francisco, Miyama and two other young Japanese men visited Rev. Guard at the Powell Street Methodist Episcopal Church. Apparently unsure of what to do with these Japanese immigrants, Guard instead directed them to the nearby Methodist Episcopal Chinese Mission, just about one mile away in Chinatown. Christian missionaries such as Rev. Otis Gibson had been in Chinatown since at least 1852 in response to the over 25,000 Chinese laborers living and working there. Despite the large Chinese population, there were likely only about 200 Japanese in San Francisco at the time.

Rev. Gibson of the Methodist Episcopal Chinese Mission allowed these young Japanese men to study English and have regular Bible study sessions in the basement of his Chinatown church. On February 22, 1877, Kanichi Miyama became the first legal Japanese immigrant to the United States to be baptized, and soon was instrumental in creating the *Fukuinkai* (Gospel Society), which was the first voluntary Japanese organization in the United States. In addition to promoting Christian teachings and values, the *Fukuinkai* also hosted English lessons and several secular workshops to help the Japanese immigrants settle into their new surroundings.

The Initial Growth of Japanese American Christianity

By 1881, the *Fukuinkai* had split into two different factions, with one remaining under the guidance of Rev. Gibson and the Methodist Episcopal Church, whereas the other moved under the influence of the Presbyterian Church. In 1885, this Presbyterian group, known as the Tyler *Fukuinkai*, organized the earliest Japanese American church, the First Japanese Church of San Francisco (present-day Christ United Presbyterian Church). That same year, the Methodist Episcopal Church California Conference officially allocated a budget of \$2,100 for a Japanese mission in San Francisco, which led to the establishment of the

Japanese Methodist Episcopal Church (present-day Pine United Methodist Church) under the leadership of Bishop Merriman Colbert Harris and his now ordained assistant, Rev. Kanichi Miyama. In 1887, the Methodist Episcopal Church California Conference became aware of the large masses of Japanese laborers immigrating to Hawaii (which at the time was still an independent kingdom). Rev. Miyama joined with Congregationalist minister Dr. C. M. Hyde of the Hawaii Evangelical Association and created the Japanese Methodist Church in Hawaii (present-day Harris United Methodist Church) and Nu'uuanu Congregational Church.

By the 1890s, Japanese American communities throughout California, Hawaii, and several other Western and Rocky Mountain states had their own Christian churches. Although the Methodists and Presbyterians were the earliest denominations to specifically reach out to the Japanese immigrant community, several other groups soon followed, such as the Congregationalists, Baptists, and Episcopalians. In fact, some of the different denominations even worked with one another to focus on specific geographic areas for practical reasons. For example, in 1901, Methodist Bishop M. C. Harris and Presbyterian superintendent Dr. Earnest Sturge created an agreement so that the Methodists would focus on Santa Clara County, whereas the Presbyterians would take care of Santa Cruz and Monterey counties. This led to certain churches changing their denominational affiliations, such as Westview Church in Watsonville, California, which switched from Methodist to Presbyterian.

Throughout the early decades of the twentieth century, Japanese American Christianity continued to grow, especially as increasing numbers of Japanese laborers married and started their own families. During this period, it is estimated that 15 to 20 percent of all Isseis were Christians, with even higher numbers for their Nisei children, who greatly contributed to the exploding new church memberships. In 1920, many of the different Japanese American Christian churches began to work together to host a conference for high school and college-aged Niseis. The Young People's Christian Conference (YPCC) became extremely popular and would eventually bring upward of 500 young Japanese Americans together from various

churches to socialize as Japanese American Christians. Although YPCC stopped because of World War II, several subsequent Japanese American Christian youth summer camps such as the Lake Sequoia Retreat, Japanese Evangelical Missionary Society (JEMS), Mt. Hermon Conference, and the United Methodist Asian American Summer Camp trace their roots to these early annual meetings.

Japanese American Churches and World War II

On December 7, 1941, Pearl Harbor was bombed by the Imperial Japanese Navy. Due in part to the combination of war hysteria and a general distrust of Japanese Americans, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066, which led to the forced incarceration of over 110,000 individuals of Japanese descent living on the West Coast into concentration camps scattered throughout the United States. The Japanese American churches in the affected regions, some of which were now over 50 years old, were forced to shut their doors for the duration of the war.

Even though the churches closed, Japanese American Christians continued to actively practice their faith throughout their stay in temporary assembly centers and more permanent concentration camps. The Pacific Japanese Provisional Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, which had just been formed in 1940, was forced to hold their annual meeting in 1942 at the Santa Anita Racetrack Assembly Center under armed supervision. All 10 of the concentration camps had regularly scheduled Christian worship services, as well as Sunday Schools for the children. In many cases throughout the different camps, Christians received preferential treatment over Buddhists, who were viewed as "less-American."

In the years immediately following World War II, Japanese Americans resettled throughout the country. Although many would eventually return to their former West Coast hometowns such as San Francisco and Los Angeles, a significant number chose to start over in cities such as Chicago and Minneapolis. As new Japanese American communities sprouted in these cities, Japanese American Christian churches were also formed there during the late 1940s and early 1950s.

For the Japanese American Christians that chose to reopen their churches on the West Coast, a series of new issues began to affect the direction of their respective congregations. During World War II, Japan was clearly the enemy of the United States. In response to constant villainization of Japan by the American media, it is understandable that many of the young Japanese Americans (who were most likely born and raised in the United States) began to distance themselves from culturally Japanese signifiers such as language and customs. Instead, many Japanese Americans chose to adopt a much more patriotic identity, as can be seen in the thousands of Japanese Americans who volunteered for the highly decorated 100th Battalion and 442nd Regimental Combat Team.

By the 1950s, Niseis began to take senior leadership roles within many of the Japanese American Christian churches. For the first time, the ethnically Japanese leaders of these churches were native English speakers who could better serve their increasingly English-speaking congregations. As the Sansei generation was generally born during and immediately following World War II, it is possible that many were raised in households that chose to ignore much of their Japanese heritage. Perhaps not coincidentally, these years line up chronologically with the dissolution of the Methodist Pacific Japanese Provisional Conference in 1964. This dissolution, which sought to create a more “colorblind” church, caused all Japanese American Methodist churches to be removed from an ethnic grouping and instead be placed under the supervision of geographic-based leadership. This is particularly significant because it occurred during the Civil Rights Movement when many ethnic minority groups took the opposite route and instead chose to proudly embrace their heritage.

Recent Developments of Japanese American Christianity

By the 1980s and 1990s, most of the original Issei founders had passed away, and Japanese American Christian churches encountered an entirely new set of issues to face. Some of the churches have disappeared, and many have distanced themselves from their historically Japanese American identity to several different

degrees. Ontario Community United Methodist Church in Eastern Oregon, for example, currently has an aging Nisei and Sansei population, whereas the younger church members are almost exclusively white. Meanwhile, some churches such as Buena Vista United Methodist Church in the San Francisco Bay Area now have an increasingly panethnic congregation that reflects its local neighborhood. In 1990, the Japanese Congregationalist and United Methodist churches in Fresno, California merged to create the United Japanese Christian Church. Evergreen Baptist Church in Los Angeles, which is now one of the largest and most well-known pan-Asian congregations, developed from a specifically Japanese congregation. At the other end of the spectrum, Wesley United Methodist Church in San Jose Japantown is one of the last remaining Japanese American churches to employ a full-time Japanese-speaking minister, specifically to serve the significant shin-Issei community.

A recent survey has estimated that 43 percent of all Japanese Americans claim a Christian identity. Although this number is less than the nearly 80 percent of all Americans that identify as Christian, it is significantly larger than the 1 percent Christian population in Japan. Although it is true that many Japanese American Christians have since joined mainline Christian congregations and are no longer members of Japanese American churches, the historical significance of Japanese American Christian churches remains. In fact, only a couple generations prior, it would have been impossible for Japanese Americans to worship anywhere else. From their humble roots inside a Chinatown basement, Japanese American Christian churches have persevered in the face of injustice and are now well into their second century of ministry. Today, they lead the way for the next generation of church members that are increasingly diverse ethnically, generationally, and geographically.

Dean Ryuta Adachi

See also Asian Religions and Religious Practices in America; Japanese Americans; Religion and Its Social Function in the Japanese American Community

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Japanese American Citizens League (JACL)

The Japanese American Citizens League (JACL), the largest and most established ethnic Japanese political and social organization in the United States, has had a long and sometimes controversial history within Nikkei communities.

The JACL was founded in 1930. It emerged out of a set of fledgling West Coast Nisei groups, notably the American Loyalty League. From the beginning, the JACL established itself as a Nisei organization. It restricted its membership to American citizens, and its leaders adopted an accommodationist strategy of Americanization, including exclusive loyalty to the United States and adoption of American cultural styles. Its leadership was generally composed of young journalists, lawyers, and other professionals (many of them Republicans) such as Clarence Arai, Thomas T. Yatabe, and James Sakamoto. Sakamoto, the editor of

the Seattle Nisei newspaper, *Japanese American Courier*, not only served as JACL president from 1936 to 1938 but made the organization’s newsletter, the *Pacific Citizen*, into a regular monthly publication. The JACL opened numerous local chapters on the West Coast, plus a handful in the Rocky Mountain states.

Although in theory the early JACL set itself up against immigrant-led community organizations and Japanese consulates, in practice its chief lobbying agenda was in support of Issei against legal discrimination that was based on Issei’s inability to become naturalized citizens by U.S. federal law. The JACL won a major victory by blocking passage of race-based legislation in California banning fishing licenses for Issei. In 1931, the JACL funded lobbyist Susu-Mago’s journey to Washington, where she fought successfully to suspend the Cable Act, which stripped Nisei women of citizenship if they married Japanese aliens. Four years later, following a lobbying campaign by Tokutaro “Tokie” Slocum, the Lea-Nye Bill, which



Fred Tayama, chairperson of the Southern District Council of the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL), explaining curfew and travel laws to two fellow Japanese Americans in 1942. (Library of Congress)

permitted Asian immigrants who had fought in World War I to naturalize, was passed. In 1938, Walter Tsukamoto was elected JACL national president. He persuaded the school board in Florin, California to abolish the segregated “oriental” school where Nisei had been forced to attend.

In the months before the onset of World War II in the Pacific in December 1941, the JACL campaigned to demonstrate the loyalty of the Japanese community by pressing Nisei to renounce their Japanese citizenship and extolling Nisei military service. A few insiders, such as Ken Matsumoto, worked with official intelligence agencies as informants. Following the Japanese raid on Pearl Harbor, JACL leaders wired President Franklin Roosevelt to offer their full support. The organization formed an Anti-Axis Committee to root out suspected subversives. The rapid closure of Japanese consulates and the mass arrests and internment of Issei leaders following the outbreak of war left a void in community leadership, which the inexperienced JACL leaders strained to fill. They lacked the tools to combat the strength of anti-Japanese campaigns on the West Coast and the exclusion of Nisei enlistees from the armed forces. In a sign of desperation, JACL secretary Mike Masaoka, a new recruit from Utah, proposed that the army form a Nisei suicide squadron as a guarantee of group patriotism.

The issuing of Executive Order 9066 on February 19, 1942, forced JACL leaders to choose between affirming group loyalty and defending Nisei constitutional rights. When Masaoka and other JACL members testified before the Congressional Tolan Committee, they protested racial bias but agreed to “evacuate” if there was an actual military necessity. In the following days, the group’s leaders made the reluctant decision to support the wartime military removal of West Coast Japanese Americans. JACL leaders argued, with considerable logic, that resistance to mass removal would be suicidal and would serve only to confirm widespread allegations of community disloyalty. Masaoka later alleged that he and Saburo Kido had been summoned to the Presidio, where army officials had threatened military action to round up Nisei if the JACL did not cooperate. It seems highly doubtful that such a meeting, if it ever took place, by itself prompted the JACL’s cooperation. Rather, the

evidence suggests that JACL leaders offered federal authorities their assistance with removal in hopes of displaying patriotism and helping soften official policy. They also may have hoped to solidify the JACL’s place as primary representatives of ethnic Japanese.

For a small and powerless group as Japanese Americans, especially in a time of intense crisis, such a policy of collaboration was surely justifiable. Still, the widespread community opposition that the policy inspired was understandable. Nisei militants denounced the JACL as “the Jackals,” who they claimed sold out the community from misplaced patriotism, vanity, or self-interest. Worse, JACL leaders refused to support the legal challenges of Gordon Hirabayashi and Minoru Yasui to Executive Order 9066, and instead denounced the defendants as self-styled martyrs and misguided—thus further alienating the mass of Nisei. (The JACL later shifted to support the two cases when they were heard before the Supreme Court.)

Ironically, despite its loyalist reputation, the JACL did not fully support official policy. The group helped fund and distribute Socialist Party leader Norman Thomas’s pamphlet “Democracy and the Japanese Americans,” which referred to Executive Order 9066 as “totalitarian justice” and called for its rescission. Mike Masaoka was the guest speaker at a protest meeting that Thomas organized in New York in June 1942. The JACL endorsed the legal cases of Mitsuye Endo and of Ernest and Toki Wakayama, who filed *habeas corpus* suits challenging their confinement, because these cases did not touch on the initial removal. Indeed, former JACL President Walter Tsukamoto joined the legal team for the Wakayamas’ aborted lawsuit, as well as for the 1942–1943 federal court case *Regan v. King*, which challenged Nisei citizenship.

As the West Coast was closed to Japanese Americans, the JACL resolved to move its operations to Salt Lake City. In the process, JACL leaders made a less-covered policy decision that, although little noticed at the time, had important and lasting consequences. In March 1942, President Saburo Kido invited noted journalist Larry Tajiri and his wife Guyo to transform *The Pacific Citizen* into a full-fledged weekly newspaper to replace the shuttered West Coast Nisei press. This was a strikingly audacious move for the JACL,

especially as it had lost most of its financing during removal—it relied chiefly on dues from the few intact chapters outside the excluded area. Equally surprising was the choice of Larry Tajiri for editor, as he had never been close to the JACL and had in fact been a frequent critic of its program. The Tajiris moved to Salt Lake City just before such “voluntary evacuation” was halted and assisted Hito Okada in setting up the JACL office there. The weekly *Pacific Citizen* debuted in June 1942. It remained the JACL’s chief wartime activity.

During the war years, the JACL remained alternately embattled and influential. In mid-1942 Mike Masaoka persuaded the JACL to open a Washington office under his direction, in hopes of influencing policymakers and improving conditions for Japanese Americans. Even such success as he had, however, was turned against him when the House Un-American Activities Committee (Dies Committee) seized his office files and produced them as evidence of subversive tendencies. Meanwhile, the National Board sponsored a special conference in Salt Lake City in November 1942, where the delegates called for reopening of military service to Nisei. This action further envenomed divisions between JACLers and dissidents in camp. JACL activists confined in government camps were subjected to harassment and beatings by gangs of dissident inmates. Conversely, the JACL championed segregation of “disloyal” inmates. Once conscription was reinstated in early 1944, JACL chiefs called on the government to prosecute all draft evaders, and sent a delegation to the Cheyenne jail to try and talk the resisters of the Heart Mountain Fair Play Committee into abandoning their case.

With the surrender of Japan and the end of the war in September 1945, the JACL, which had been the only national Japanese American organization to survive the war, experienced enormous growth—even those who had opposed the organization’s wartime policies recognized that it was now the only established organization. Although its national headquarters (including *The Pacific Citizen*) remained in Salt Lake City, JACL leaders formed or reformed local chapters nationwide to assist resettlers and help organize community institutions in the new population areas. In

addition to political advocacy, JACL chapters organized social events, dinners, and sports leagues.

The JACL perceptibly shifted its platform at this time. Although it remained committed to its Americanization program, JACL leaders redoubled their legal campaign to secure full citizenship rights for Japanese Americans (including Issei, admitted as members for the first time). Under the leadership of counsel A. L. Wirin, a white Los Angeles lawyer, and his law partner, JACL president Saburo Kido, the JACL instituted successful Supreme Court lawsuits challenging California’s Alien Land Act and its discriminatory commercial fishing laws. JACL lobbyists also secured Evacuation Claims legislation, a first tentative step toward redress. Furthermore, in contrast to the pre-World War II era, Japanese Americans became active in interracial organizing. JACL leaders such as Larry Tajiri and Mike Masaoka urged Nisei to recognize that it was in their own self-interest to support civil rights for all. In July 1946, the JACL established a Defense Fund for civil rights litigation, including cases involving other minorities. JACL counsel joined lawyers from the NAACP and other groups in court suits against restrictive covenants and racially segregated schools. In 1950, the JACL became the only Asian American organization in the new umbrella group Leadership Conference on Civil Rights.

In 1952, the JACL secured its greatest objective with the passage of the McCarran-Walter Act. Though a repressive McCarthy-era law targeting “subversives,” it reopened (limited) immigration from Japan and for the first time permitted Japanese aliens to naturalize. That same year, the JACL moved its headquarters to San Francisco, and Larry Tajiri resigned as editor of the *Pacific Citizen*. His successor, Harry Honda, would remain editor for 50 years.

After 1952, the national JACL remained active in lobbying for civil rights bills, especially the repeal of laws forbidding racial intermarriage. (In 1966–1967, counsel William Marutani argued for the JACL in the Supreme Court case of *Loving v. Virginia*, which challenged “anti-miscegenation” laws.) However, local chapters emphasized social activities and became less visible in political activism. Indeed, such was the split between the National JACL and its chapters that in mid-1963, when national leaders accepted an

invitation by Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and the organizers of the March on Washington to send representatives to their rally, the move caused a furor. Several chapter presidents objected that the JACL should not identify itself too closely with the controversial movement, as it was not their fight and would alienate useful white allies. JACL president K. Patrick Okura finally convened an emergency National Board meeting to set policy, and a special committee produced a compromise policy statement. In the end, however, only some 35 JACL representatives attended the event. Similarly, in 1964 the National JACL campaigned against Proposition 14, an electoral initiative in California to permit racial discrimination in housing, but polls suggested that most Nisei statewide supported the proposed law.

In the late twentieth century, the JACL undertook two especially significant initiatives. First, the JACL supported redress for wartime confinement. Following a lobbying campaign by onetime inmate Edison Uno, the JACL voted resolutions in favor of compensation at its national conventions in 1972, 1974, 1976, and 1978 and formed a National Redress Committee. However, aware of divisions among Nisei, the JACL did not make the campaign for reparations a priority (though JACL leaders helped persuade President Gerald Ford to officially revoke Executive Order 9066 in 1976). Instead of immediate reparations payments, JACL leaders favored creation of a historical commission. After the U.S. Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians released its historical report in 1983, JACL lobbyists, led by Mike Masaoka, organized support for redress legislation, and can be credited in part with passage of the Civil Liberties Act of 1988.

Six years later, the JACL became embroiled once more in controversy over civil rights issues. Following a resolution introduced by Vice-President Bill Kaneko of Hawaii, in May 1994 the JACL National Board adopted a resolution supporting “the concept of marriage as a constitutional right” and declaring that legal prohibitions on same-sex marriage violated human rights. The board’s action catalyzed a storm of protest, and numerous members resigned from the organization. A local chapter in Utah launched a movement to repeal the resolution. In summer 1994 the JACL

National Council, made up of representatives from all chapters, narrowly voted to uphold the National board. To a degree, the controversy marked a generational shift within the JACL and a new opening for the group.

Greg Robinson

See also McCarran-Walter Act of 1952

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Japanese American Communities (Contemporary)

First-generation Japanese immigrants coming to the United States from the late nineteenth to the early twentieth centuries, called Issei, established and developed relatively self-sufficient ethnic communities. These communities—called “Japan Towns” or *nihon-machis*—consisted of residences, businesses, and a variety of community organizations such as temples, churches, and social associations. Such communities, or ethnic enclaves, served as refuges to protect Japanese immigrants and their children from racial discrimination and prejudice of the mainstream society, provided them with cultural commodities and services, and nurtured ties within and between communities across the western United States. Internment at camps in the interior of the country during the World War II resulted in the dispersion of many Issei and their families throughout the United States and damaged the social networks that Japanese communities had built. Although nearly 90 percent of Japanese on the U.S. mainland lived on the West Coast in the prewar period, the concentration had dropped to 55 percent in 1947. Yet, returnees from internment camps devoted themselves to rebuilding their communities, and many of the communities had regained their prewar liveliness by the early 1950s. [For prewar Japanese communities, see “Japanese American Community Organizations (Historical).”]

Decline of Historic Communities and Urban Renewal

The postwar prosperity of Japanese American communities was short-lived because of changes in the social and economic status of the subsequent generations and external forces including urban renewal movements. First, Nisei and Sansei (second- and third-generation Japanese Americans, respectively) achieved upward mobility in the postwar period. In the prewar period, few Japanese Americans could find mainstream white-collar jobs even if they had university degrees. However, as racial discrimination in U.S. society lessened in the postwar period, Nisei and Sansei became increasingly able to find jobs with higher socioeconomic status outside their ethnic communities. Japanese Americans who joined the military had opportunities to receive higher education in universities through the G.I. Bill, which made them more competitive in the mainstream job market. Nisei and Sansei became less interested in taking over small, family-owned businesses, which had constituted the socioeconomic basis of Japanese American communities. In addition, more Nisei and Sansei married non-Japanese, particularly Caucasians. As a result, many Nisei and Sansei moved out of urban ethnic enclaves to suburban areas where there were fewer Japanese Americans. When Japanese Americans, along with Chinese Americans, “attained” model minority status in the eyes of mainstream society by the mid-1960s, their urban ethnic enclaves had already begun to show decline.

Also, urban renewal programs conducted in major cities from the 1950s to the 1970s greatly impacted several Japanese American neighborhoods that were located in or near central business districts. City officials, with the support of the federal government, sought to revitalize deteriorated central business districts and encourage investment in these areas. Although downtown residents and businesses first welcomed redevelopment plans, their optimism faded when urban renewal resulted in mass evictions that were often coercive and rarely provided sufficient compensation for relocation. Japanese Americans often call this forced removal the “second relocation.”

Examples of historic urban Japanese American communities that were strongly affected by urban renewal include San Francisco’s Japantown and Los Angeles’ Little Tokyo. The redevelopment projects in the 1950s and 1960s essentially converted San Francisco’s Japantown from an ethnic residential area to a tourist attraction. The project led to the removal of about 8,000 residents, including many African Americans and Japanese Americans, and the demolition of 6,000 units of low-rent housing. The city offered a section of the project area to Japan-based corporations, which were experiencing rapid growth in Japan and were also eager to establish themselves in the United States. Residents and young Japanese American community activists established the Committee Against Nihonmachi Evictions (CANE) in response. However, in the end, these Japan-based corporations managed to open luxury hotels, a Japanese theater, and shopping malls. The malls not only provided a showcase for both traditional and modern Japanese cultural products such as foods, consumer electronics, and automobiles for domestic and international tourists but also housed overseas branch offices of many Japanese companies. However, CANE activists argued that making Japantown into a tourist destination commodified their community and degraded their culture.

The fate of Los Angeles’s Little Tokyo was similar to that of San Francisco’s Japantown. Expansion of the police administration building, Parker Center, led to evictions of about 1,000 residents in the early 1950s. Ironically, in the following decades, foreign investment in redevelopment from Japan resulted in the removal of a number of local residents and forced many Japanese American family businesses to close. Amid the growing Asian American Movement, younger Japanese Americans established the Little Tokyo People’s Rights Organization (LTPRO) to protest evictions and demolitions of facilities with historic and cultural significance to their community. Nevertheless, the redevelopment greatly changed the physical appearance of Little Tokyo. Although Japanese capital supported the completion of the luxurious New Otani Hotel and the Weller Court shopping mall, it also sponsored the construction of a couple of low-income housing units and the Japanese American Cultural and Community Center, which houses several

community organizations. The latter are considered the fruits of the LTPRO-led community protests.

Preservation of Historic Communities

The success of the redress movement in the 1970s and 1980s, which sought an apology and compensation from the U.S. government for the wartime internment, illustrates the growing political power and strength of Japanese American communities. However, nothing could reverse the exodus of younger Japanese Americans from old urban enclaves to the suburbs. Moreover, despite the large influx of Asian immigrants into the United States after the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 that have contributed to rejuvenation of existing communities and established a number of new Asian communities, the number of immigrants from Japan since 1965 remains relatively low. These factors account for the continued decline of Japanese American communities. For example, although Japanese Americans constituted the largest Asian American group until 1970, they fell to sixth largest in 2010, behind Chinese, Filipinos, Asian Indians, Vietnamese, and Koreans.

In the late 1990s, the preservation movement of historic urban Japanese American communities was initiated by community leaders who were worried about the unstable economy and the fading sense of Japanese American ethnicity. Long-time Japanese American residents were aging and Japanese American family-owned shops were closing one after another because they could not find anyone to take over their businesses. Accordingly, these businesses were purchased by others, particularly Korean American and Chinese American merchants, who transformed the properties into businesses reflecting their own ethnicities. The economic recession in Japan in the early 1990s caused the withdrawal of Japan-based companies from San Francisco's Japantown and Los Angeles's Little Tokyo, as well as a decrease in the number of tourists from Japan. Japanese American community leaders in San Francisco, Los Angeles, and San Jose acknowledged preservation and revitalization of historic urban communities as a common issue and began collaborating. They held the first nationwide community conference "Ties That Bind"

in Los Angeles in 1998, and a second one, "Nikkei 2000" in San Francisco in 2000. The coalition of these communities claimed that Los Angeles's Little Tokyo and the Japantowns in San Jose and San Francisco were the only remaining Japantowns in the United States and emphasized their historical significance. Their efforts resulted in California Senate Bill 307, approved in 2001, which provided \$450,000 for the preservation of those historic Japan Towns.

Each community also sought public recognition of the historical value of these communities. Los Angeles's Little Tokyo was designated as a National Historic Landmark District in 1995. The Japanese American National Museum that opened in the heart of Little Tokyo in 1992 has played an important role in educating young Japanese Americans and the general public about the experiences of previous generations of Japanese Americans. San Francisco's Japantown was designated as a Special Use District in 2005, which provided Japanese American communities the power to control land use within the neighborhood to some degree, so that the place retained a sense of Japanese cultural and historic identity.

New Suburban Japanese Communities

Although urban Japanese American enclaves continued to decline, an increase in the number of Japanese companies in the United States has led to the development of new suburban Japanese communities that are primarily composed of postwar Japanese immigrants and nonimmigrants such as business expatriates and their families. These communities developed in suburban cities such as Torrance and Costa Mesa in Southern California and Santa Clara in Northern California, where a number of Japanese companies are concentrated. Unlike prewar Japanese immigrants, who lived in urban ethnic enclaves, contemporary Japanese business expatriate families tend to avoid living close to other Japanese families, preferring instead to live in suburbs that have low crime rates and high quality schools for their children.

New suburban Japanese communities are usually composed of several clusters of commercial facilities close to major Japanese companies rather than having a central location for residences and community

organizations. Each cluster usually includes a supermarket, bookstore, several Japanese restaurants, and other services such as travel agents, real estate agents, law offices, clinics, and cram schools. Most of these businesses are operated by long-term Japanese residents and not by Japanese Americans. They were designed to primarily serve Japanese business expatriates and their families, who stay only temporarily in the United States and return to Japan eventually. Thus, they try to create a very similar environment to contemporary Japan by providing commodities and services of the same type and quality as are available in Japan. In this sense, these new communities provide comfort and cultural continuity to contemporary Japanese transnationals who are not accustomed to English language and American culture in a similar way that prewar Japanese communities did for immigrants. However, as many of those who constitute new communities are transient employees of global corporations who work outside of their residential areas, the sense of community is not very strong.

These new communities have few connections to historic urban communities or Japanese American communities under the leadership of the Sansei and increasingly Yonsei (fourth generation). The old and new Japanese communities have been separate, mainly because most Sansei and subsequent generations lack fluency in Japanese. Even though they share common cultural roots, they have different historical experiences and different perspectives and interpretations of Japanese culture. As long as contemporary Japanese immigrants and nonimmigrants enjoy the comforts and conveniences found in the cultural “bubble” of their suburban communities, they have few opportunities to interact with Japanese Americans even in areas like California, which has a large Japanese American population.

The growth of these new suburban Japanese communities presents a sharp contrast to the recent decline in historic urban Japanese communities. Japanese foreign capital, once directed to redevelopment of old Japanese communities, changed course and has been used to relocate Japanese businesses to suburban communities. Many Japanese companies consider investment in Japanese suburban communities as more lucrative than investments in historic urban communities, despite continuous efforts to revitalize the latter.

Contemporary Japanese American communities lack geographical centers as Japanese Americans disperse to the suburbs and are more residentially and socially integrated into the mainstream. Historic urban Japanese communities are no longer residential neighborhoods with small ethnic businesses like those that existed in the prewar period; rather, the areas in which these prewar communities existed, despite their renovations, have become largely symbols of Japanese American ethnicity today. They are still a hub of many community organizations, home to Japanese American churches and temples, and serve as the stage for traditional community events like summer *bon* festivals and New Year’s celebrations. Japanese Americans living in the suburbs occasionally visit for these events to remind themselves of their ethnic heritage.

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See also Japanese American Transnational Families; Japanese Americans

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Japanese American Community Organizations (Historical)

Organizations have constituted a key aspect of community life in Japanese America. Often dispersed through rural farming regions of the Western states and Hawaiian plantations, Japanese immigrants were connected to each other through their membership in community organizations. Ranging from political to trade, religious to educational, and from regional to generational, a wide variety of organizations developed complex, multilayered networks that tied together different geographic settlements of Japanese America. Fostering a sense of belonging among members, the emergence of organizations thus accounted

for the formation of an ethnic community and group identity that sustained it.

The Making of a Unified Ethnic Community: 1877–1900

Between the late 1870s and the turn of the twentieth century, as diverse types of Japanese immigrants (Issei) entered the Pacific Coast states, the preexisting religious and political divides among them paved the way to the formation of groups and institutions in early Japanese America. The first contingencies of Issei intellectuals and students showed remarkable propensity for organizing themselves according to their religious belief and political persuasion. One group consisted of Christian converts who formed the Fukuinkai, or Gospel Society, in San Francisco. Established in 1877, this first recorded community organization provided members with a spiritual and social shelter from the harsh life of being indigent student-laborers in a foreign land. Although ethnic churches were formed in the subsequent years, some of the important projects that Issei Christian leaders undertook in the early 1890s included an antiprostitution campaign and moral reform efforts among common immigrant laborers from rural Japan. In Hawaii, similar reformist efforts took shape after 1887 when Japanese Christian ministers came from San Francisco and Japan to proselytize plantation workers.

In the meantime, another group of early Issei student-laborers rallied around their political opposition against the Japanese government. Exiled in San Francisco after Tokyo's crackdown on the People's Rights movement of the mid-1880s, these Issei political activists established the Patriotic League in January 1888. Inspired by the rise of nationalist and expansionist ideologies in their homeland, other student-laborers also joined political formation in early Japanese America, setting off the birth of manifold political societies. Offshoots of these groups moved to Hawaii to agitate for Japanese franchise when the local white elite monopolized political control after the overthrow of the native monarchy in 1893. In San Francisco and Honolulu, these political societies published mimeographed and lithographed newspapers.

Although Issei Christians and immigrant political activists generally maintained tense relations, an anti-Japanese movement in California propelled them to form a unified ethnic front against indiscriminate racist assaults. The so-called bubonic plague incident of 1900, where Japanese and Chinese were quarantined together in San Francisco, served as a catalyst to the formation of the Japanese Deliberative Council of America. After protesting discriminatory treatment by the city officials, the council helped set up local affiliates in several Northern California towns, where many working-class Issei of rural origin lived and worked. Because exclusionists accused Japanese laborers as posing a racial peril to white America, the council and its locals subsequently engaged in a moral reform campaign among itinerant farm laborers to make them "assimilable." In Honolulu, too, the epidemic of bubonic plague resulted in the destruction of the Japanese district in 1900, and local Issei leaders and businessmen came together to demand reparations from the city government. In 1903, the ad hoc committee turned into the Central Japanese Association that drew enthusiastic, albeit short-lived, support from all over the islands. Hence, under the rising tide of anti-Japanese racism, the turn of the twentieth century marked the emergence of centralized community leadership under the Japanese Deliberative Council in California and the Central Japanese Association in Hawaii.

Japanese American Community Organizations after 1900

Subsequently, the mode of community formation became increasingly diverse and complex. In addition to political and religious factors, such matters as prefectural origin and occupation influenced the way in which Japanese immigrants configured internal divisions and groupings through the establishment of various community organizations.

Political and Social Organizations. The Gentlemen's Agreement of 1907–1908, a response of the United States and Japanese governments to the anti-Japanese movement in California, compelled Issei leaders to reconfigure and strengthen the regime of

community control and immigrant moral reform to counter the racist cry for racial exclusion. The constant in-fights and loose organizational structure of the Japanese Deliberative Council of America also necessitated the remaking of the key political organization under the mediation of the Japanese consul in San Francisco. In 1908, the Japanese Association of America emerged with a new leadership with greater influence over its affiliates and Issei residents—members or non-members. It originally encompassed all locals in California, Nevada, Utah, Colorado, and Arizona. But in 1915, the Central Japanese Association of Southern California was established in Los Angeles to which locals in Southern California, Arizona, and New Mexico came to belong. Founded in Portland in 1911, the Japanese Association of Oregon brought the Japanese of Oregon, Idaho, and Wyoming under its jurisdiction. Washington and Montana came under the Northwest American Japanese Association in Seattle after 1913. Tied to the respective Japanese consulates, these four central Japanese association bodies formed the Pacific Coast Japanese Association Deliberative Council in cooperation with the Japanese Association of Canada in Vancouver, British Columbia. In 1923, the San Francisco regional headquarters had 40 affiliated locals, Los Angeles 21, Seattle 15, and Oregon 10.

The Japanese associations exerted enormous control over ordinary Issei residents because the Japanese consulates delegated to them a set of administrative functions that were crucial under the Gentlemen's Agreement. Although stopping the coming of new laboring migrants, the bilateral agreement allowed family members of bona fide residents (including "picture brides") to enter the United States. Yet, in order for them to prove that they were indeed family members, new immigrants had to get their sponsors to obtain a certificate of residence from the nearby Japanese consulate. The local Japanese associations took care of this administrative function on behalf of Japanese diplomats, which made it difficult for Issei residents to disobey the Japanese associations and its leaders. Another important certificate was necessary for every male resident to file for annual deferment of military service. Under Japanese law, the failure to do so would make him a criminal.

As the premier political institution in prewar Japanese America, the Japanese associations took the initiative in community-based moral reform and Americanization campaigns during the 1910s when exclusionists all over the Western states touted Japanese unassimilability and Yellow Peril. The Japanese associations also spearheaded a legal battle against the alien land laws and the federal ban on Issei naturalization by sponsoring expensive test cases. In the early 1920s, these legal fights, including the historic case of *Takao Ozawa v. US* in 1922, reached the United States Supreme Court, where most test cases ended in devastating defeat for the Issei.

In Hawaii, no centralized network of the Japanese associations was constructed after the demise of the Central Japanese Association around 1905. Instead, Issei leaders set up institutional mechanism of political control on a regional basis. Often, certain individuals—merchants, labor contractors, professionals, and religious figures—assumed the role of issuing certificates for local residents, as they were directly connected to the Japanese consulate in Honolulu. Because most rural Japanese residents on the islands were concentrated in plantation labor camps under the tight clutches of local Issei elite, the basic mode of political organization in prewar Hawaii went without a centralized structure.

Religious Organizations. In cooperation with white missionary groups, Japanese immigrant Christians had been active in establishing churches and reform-oriented societies since the 1880s in both the American West and Hawaii. With the coming of "picture brides," chapters of the Japanese Young Women Christian Association (YWCA) were established in San Francisco and Los Angeles in 1912. The YWCAs offered newcomers English-language lessons, as well as courses on Western cooking and domestic skills. Meanwhile, Congregational and Presbyterian groups decided to unite forces to set up "union (*Godō*) churches" in some locales; Methodist Episcopal churches were also prevalent in prewar Japanese America. Backed by its nationalistic/ethnocentric characteristics, Japanese Holiness churches also extended their influence. In the continental United States, there

were a total of 65 Japanese Christian churches, and 46 in Hawaii.

It was not until around the turn of the twentieth century that Buddhists made notable efforts to organize themselves. Although the first Buddhist temple was built in Honolulu in 1889, the first contingents of *official* Buddhist “missionaries” came to Honolulu and San Francisco in 1898 from the Kyoto headquarters of the Jodo Shinshu Buddhist sect, marking the beginning of the Honpa Hongwanji Mission of Hawaii and the North American Buddhist Mission (later renamed the Buddhist Churches of America), respectively. These regional headquarters served as the umbrella organizations for local Buddhist “churches” in the islands and the continental United States. In their efforts to deflect the accusations of being “un-American,” Issei Buddhists adopted Christian-style worshipping and religious service by offering Sunday schools, incorporating “hymns,” and, on the mainland, changing the names from “temples” to “churches.” Before the Pacific War, 48 Jodo Shinshu Buddhist churches existed in the continental United States with 70 “missionaries” from Japan and some 80,000 lay members. The Honpa Hongwanji Mission of Hawaii had 39 temples. Although much smaller in number, other Buddhist sects also attempted to proselytize Issei residents by erecting temples in major concentrations of Japanese residents in Hawaii and California.

Kenjinkai (Prefectural Association). Another important community organization in prewar Japanese America was Kenjinkai, or Prefectural Association. Reflective of regional rivalries and differences in custom and dialect, Issei were prone to assemble themselves into Kenjinkai, which also offered the members a comfortable and familiar atmosphere. As working-class immigrants from rural Japan increased in number after the turn of the century, there emerged many associations of immigrant prefectures, including Hiroshima, Yamaguchi, Wakayama, Fukuoka, Kumamoto, and Okinawa. These prefectural associations constructed a horizontally structured network when linking up to their home prefecture. In local immigrant politics, rivalries between major Kenjinkai often caused bitter conflict, fragmenting ethnic

communities. At the same time, regional ties supported by prefectural associations provided a means of creating capital for business and farming through a rotating credit system.

Labor and Trade Associations. Occupation-based organizations constituted a central underpinning of Japanese immigrant community and economy. In Hawaii, most Issei were common plantation workers. A number of ethnic labor associations were established to coordinate community-wide support for striking Japanese workers. During the major strikes of 1909 and 1920, the Higher Wage Association and the Federation of Japanese Labor, respectively, took the lead. The leadership of these organizations consisted of not only labor representatives but also immigrant intellectuals, religious figures, and even merchants who backed the prolonged struggles of plantation workers against Hawaii’s sugar industry. In the American West, Issei labor groups were less organized and generally had only a short span of institutional life, as most workers were migratory farm laborers and excluded from mainstream organized labor. The Japanese-Mexican Labor Association of Oxnard, for example, folded not long after its historic victory over exploitative labor contractors and agribusiness in 1903 without the support of the American Federation of Labor.

Trade associations were equally, if not more, numerous among Japanese immigrants. Although practically Issei in any line of business formed a trade association in prewar Japanese America, the most well organized were farm associations in the Pacific Coast states. In California, the Japanese Agricultural Association brought local farm societies under its dictate, publishing the *Hokubei Noho (North American Agricultural Journal)* through the 1910s. Not only did the association provide news and reports relating to agricultural science and market through the journal, but it also acted as the defender of their collective economic interests and farming rights in the context of the struggle against the alien land law. Other trade organizations, like fishermen’s associations and merchants’ associations, mobilized their members against the attempts to curtail Issei economic activities through discriminatory legislation.

Second-Generation Oriented Organizations. Many community organizations reflected the interests of the second-generation Japanese Americans (Nisei) who rapidly increased in number after the Gentlemen's Agreement. Both religious organizations and Japanese associations sponsored Japanese-language schools in ethnic settlements. Under the exclusionist attacks on these schools, Issei educators of California founded the Japanese Teachers Association of America in 1913, which was later renamed the Association of Japanese Language Institutes. In Hawaii, the territory-wide Japanese Educational Association was formed in 1915. To counter the accusations of making imperial subjects out of Nisei, both central bodies adopted the basic pedagogical principle of teaching U.S. citizens their heritage language as supplemental to American public education. The localized textbooks were compiled in California, Washington, and Hawaii.

Meanwhile, as many Nisei reached adolescence, their own organizations came into being. Ethnic Christian churches sponsored Japanese YMCAs and YWCAs. Buddhist churches followed suit by organizing the Young Men's Buddhist Associations and the Young Women's Buddhist Associations. In Washington and California, the Seattle Progressive Citizens' League and the American Loyalty League made their debut as Nisei-led political organizations in the early 1920s. These groups merged into the Japanese American Citizens League in 1928, and its locals met for the first time at the national convention in 1930. The JACL emphasized loyalty, patriotism, and citizenship while working with the Issei-led Japanese associations. In Hawaii, no elaborate network of Nisei organizations emerged, but the Hawaiian Japanese Civic Association, established in 1927, adopted similar political platforms as the JACL. Its affiliates and partner organizations were founded in many Japanese settlements of the islands in the 1930s. Smaller groups of Nisei radicals had their own entities, including the Japanese section of the American Community Party, but they usually occupied fringes of ethnic community politics.

Wartime and Postwar Community Organizations. The Pacific War brought Japanese American

community organizations under direct control of the United States government. In Hawaii and the continental United States, Issei-centered associations and institutions were put out of commission as their leaders were arrested by the FBI as dangerous enemy aliens. Although community leadership was swiftly transferred to the second generation, two organizations were selected as the representatives of the ethnic community. In wartime Hawaii, the Nisei-led Emergency Service Committee, along with the Japanese division of the multiracial Morale Committee, coordinated the control and participation of local Japanese Americans in the war effort under the dictate of the military government. On the mainland, the JACL became the sole voice of Japanese America with its policy of "constructive cooperation" with the U.S. Army and the War Relocation Authority. Outside the internment camps, the resettlers' committees sprang up once "loyal" Nisei and Issei began to leave the camps for major cities of the Midwest. In New York, the Japanese American Committee for Democracy offered a strain of Nisei radical political activism in support of America's war effort against Totalitarianism.

The postwar years saw the revival of some Issei-based organizations in major settlements, like Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Seattle, as well as Honolulu. Yet, the Nisei-led JACL continued to dominate community politics. As former residents of the West Coast rebuilt their communities and businesses, ethnic churches and temples returned to life, and a variety of trade organizations reemerged. Through the late 1940s and the 1950s, such organizations as Kenjinkai and Japanese-language schools became less significant and relevant to the mainstay of Japanese American community life. On the one hand, the number of Issei diminished rapidly; on the other hand, many Nisei were cautious about the retention and display of ethnic culture because of the bitter experience of the wartime incarceration. Only after the Civil Rights Movement of the late 1960s did Japanese America witness a surge in the establishment of immigrant-centered associations and ethnic cultural organizations. Post-1965 newcomers (Shin Issei) and the third-generation Japanese Americans (Sansei) facilitated these changes.

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See also Japanese American Citizens League (JACL); Japanese Americans

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Japanese American Draft Resistance

See Draft Resistance in Internment Camps

Japanese American Transnational Families

Compared to immigration rates of other Asian countries, immigration from Japan to the United States has remained relatively low since the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 was enacted. However, as Japan's economic power has grown, a large number of Japanese corporate expatriates, called *chuzaiin*, have been migrating to the United States with their families for short-term assignments in U.S. offices of Japanese companies. Most of these Japanese families stay in the United States from two to five years, but some stay for much longer periods of time. They frequently migrate between the United States and Japan, continuously adjusting their lives as they move. Such experiences have made them transnational figures under the increasing globalized economy.

Japanese Nonimmigrants in the Postwar Period

The number of Japanese immigrants to the United States has remained steady, at approximately 4,000 to 5,000 per year, since the 1970s. In contrast, the number of nonimmigrant visitors from Japan is quite large;

moreover, these numbers have continued to rise as U.S.-Japan business relationships become tighter and overseas travel becomes more attractive to Japanese. The increasing value of the Japanese yen over the U.S. dollar, for example, has made travel to the United States very affordable for Japanese tourists. In 2010, there were around 3.8 million Japanese nonimmigrants entries to the United States; over 90 percent were as tourists or for business and stayed in the United States for less than three months. The remainder, however, consisted of "short-term resident nonimmigrant" visa holders who are allowed to stay in the United States for up to several years. This includes temporary workers, students, investors, and intracompany transferees.

North America has been home to the largest number of expatriate Japanese nationals since 1985. In 2010, approximately 40 percent of the 1 million Japanese expatriates around the world resided in the United States. This number includes those with permanent residency, but does not include naturalized Japanese or American-born Japanese. This is nearly three times greater than the number of expatriates living in China, where the second-largest population of overseas Japanese (130,000) resides. Corporate expatriates and their family members accounted for 122,000 of the short-term Japanese residents living in the United States in 2010, and tend to concentrate in metropolises such as New York, Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Chicago. However, as many Japanese companies have recently moved their production facilities to the South and Midwest regions of the United States to minimize labor costs, the number of Japanese expatriates living in cities such as Atlanta and Nashville is growing.

The Growth of Japanese Economy and Kaigai Chuzai

As Japanese companies' direct investments in U.S. markets increased from the 1970s through the 1980s, so did the number of Japanese business expatriates in the United States. For example, the number of such Japanese expatriates and their families more than doubled from 1974 to 1986, from about 20,000 to 47,000. The number of *chuzaiin* and their families from Japan living in the United States reached 100,000 in the 1990s. They entered the United States

with particular nonimmigrant visas. Those in managerial or executive positions obtain E-2 visas, which are for investors or self-employed business owners. They can renew the visas an unlimited number of times as long as the company remains economically stable. Other workers enter the United States on L visas for intracompany transferees. This type of visa usually allows employees to work in the United States for three years. A large number of E-2 and L visas have been issued to Japanese nationals recently. In 2010, for example, 10,239 E visas were issued to Japanese; this constituted 31.3 percent of all visas issued and was the largest number of visas granted to any given nationality. The number of L visas issued to Japanese comprised the third-largest group of L visa recipients and totaled 9,891 visas. Spouses and children of E and L visa holders are also permitted to enter the United States. The influx of a large number of Japanese expatriate families has led to a significant increase in the Japanese population and the development of Japanese communities in many regions of the United States, in urban and rural areas alike.

The characteristics of Japanese companies in the United States and their expatriates have shifted as the U.S.-Japan international economic relationship has changed. In the 1950s and 1960s, there were only a small number of Japanese business expatriates in the United States. They were mostly white-collar workers engaged in sales, marketing, and distribution of made-in-Japan products for American consumers. Only a limited number of promising, elite workers were given overseas assignments, *kaigai chuzai*. They were often promised higher career positions upon returning to Japan after the completion of their assignment. After the mid-1970s, however, Japanese expatriates have become diverse. In the 1970s, the U.S.-Japan trade imbalance emerged as one of the biggest political and economic problems between the two nations. Japanese manufacturing companies, especially in automobile and consumer electronics, opened factories in the United States and began to “localize” their products rather than selling imported products from Japan in the U.S. market. Localization of companies such as Toyota, Honda, and Panasonic accelerated in the 1980s when the value of the Japanese yen increased. Not only did these factors lead to a sharp increase in

the number of Japanese companies in the United States, but they also brought an increasing number of Japanese engineers and technical specialists into the newly established factories. Recently, overseas assignments are not necessarily considered a sure step toward a top position in Japanese companies. More and more, they are considered regular assignments for workers in companies that have international offices or factories.

Kigyo Johka Machi as the New Japanese Community

Japanese companies tend to concentrate in particular areas, which in turn engenders creation of professional networks and business associations, as well as the proliferation of Japanese communities. As Japanese companies assign more Japanese employees with families to U.S. offices and branches, various businesses that cater to these migrants continue to emerge. Such businesses include travel agencies, law firms, insurance agents, real estate agents, medical and beauty clinics, second-hand Japanese bookstores, restaurants, grocery schools, and cram schools. Employees at such businesses are often Japanese from Japan or others who are fluent in Japanese. The presence of businesses catering to Japanese and staffed with Japanese speakers has contributed to the creation of a so-called cultural “bubble.” As long as Japanese expatriates function inside the bubble, they have many of the same comforts and conveniences available in Japan: they can live almost as though they were actually in Japan.

The continued development of Japanese media contributes to the transnational nature of such communities. In the late 1980s, major Japanese newspapers began publishing overseas editions. Free local papers in Japanese were also published. Around the same time, Japanese TV news broadcasts began airing in major U.S. cities as soon as they aired in Japan, and today 24-hour Japanese cable TV broadcasts are available. More recently, the Internet has enabled overseas Japanese to access information about Japanese society as easily and quickly as those living in Japan.

Areas with a high concentration of Japanese companies and businesses are sometimes called *kigyo johka machi*, corporate castle towns. Local economies in these areas become dependent on the revenue from

Japanese companies. They also provide numerous jobs to local people. A noteworthy example is the city of Torrance in Southern California. In the late 1970s and 1980s, Toyota, Honda, and Panasonic replaced heavy industries and farming as major contributors to the local economy. Interestingly, although existing Japanese American populations in Southern California played an important role in helping Japanese corporations enter the U.S. market, contemporary Japanese expatriate families and their Japanese cultural “bubble” have little connection to the established Japanese American community.

Japanese expatriate families do not tend to reside in particular neighborhoods, which is very different from traditional ethnic enclaves that consisted of residences, businesses, and community facilities. Expatriate Japanese prefer to live in affluent and safer neighborhoods, which are often predominantly Caucasian. And although wives of Japanese businessmen tend to regard their extended stay in the United States as a type of “vacation,” they often attempt to reproduce their Japanese home in their foreign residence as much as possible. Such efforts ensure families remain culturally connected to Japan.

Education of Children

Children’s education is one of the major concerns for Japanese expatriate families. Most parents send their children to local public schools, hoping that their children become bilingual. Japanese children face difficulties with English in local schools, but many improve quickly as they learn to communicate with their American classmates. In addition to local schools, children go to *hoshuko*, Japanese supplementary schools, on weekends or after school. *Hoshuko* curriculum is supervised by the Japanese government, and the emphasis is on maintaining Japanese cultural and high-level language proficiency. In *hoshuko*, the children learn the same subjects taught in schools in Japan, using the same textbooks. But more important, they learn manners, discipline, and how to build relationships with teachers and other Japanese students. Because Japanese expatriate families plan to return to Japan, parents want children to remain familiar with Japanese-style education to ensure that their reentry into the school system in Japan is smooth.

Another alternative is full-time Japanese school, called *Nihonjin Gakko*, where only Japanese-speaking children are admitted and the entire curriculum is taught in Japanese. And finally, some children attend satellite schools operated by Japanese private schools. However, relatively few children go to these full-time Japanese schools, including those that have dormitories. In 2010, there were 79 *hoshuko*, 4 full-time Japanese schools, and 3 satellite schools in the United States. Recently, an increasing number of Japanese cram schools have opened branches in areas where there are large numbers of Japanese expatriate families because Japanese parents send their children to such schools in preparation for entrance examinations for high schools or universities in Japan.

The growing number of Japanese expatriates all over the world has resulted in the increase of *kikoku shijo*, which literally means “repatriated children” and refers to children who live and receive education outside of Japan. Some *kikoku shijo* have difficulties adjusting to Japanese schools. Their attitudes and behaviors have been influenced by foreign cultures, and often become an easy target for bullying. Today an increasing number of high schools and universities in Japan have established programs or special admission criteria for them.

Temporary or Permanent?

Although most Japanese business expatriates return to Japan after living in the United States for two to five years, not all of them follow the projected path. These expatriates are often not exactly sure when they will be told to return to Japan. Some employers extend the “temporary” assignments so that employees end up living abroad for more than 10 years. Some employers even request that expatriates apply for permanent residency in the United States. Meanwhile, some expatriates choose to stay longer or to become permanent residents in the United States through *kaigai chuzai* and, as a result, quit the job they came to do. Some change their legal status to self-employed and start their own businesses. Others find another employer to sponsor their visa and become local hires. Some expatriates marry American citizens and with permanent residency opt to remain in the United States.

In addition, family members sometimes greatly influence whether everyone in the family returns to Japan or stays in the United States. When Japanese children receive education in American schools for an extended period of time during overseas assignments, some of them hope to stay in the United States for higher education. Children are sometimes born to employees in the United States when their parents are on assignment. American-born Japanese children have more options regarding residency than their parents. Despite the supposedly temporary nature of contemporary Japanese business expatriate families' experiences in the United States, these people may become "immigrants" or permanent residents of the United States. They exemplify the complexity of distinguishing temporariness and permanence in the contemporary migration in the globalized world.

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See also Japanese Americans

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Japanese American Women in the 1930s

During the 1930s, young Japanese American women played significant roles as workers, ethnic community representatives, and cultural agents. Drawing on the values and customs of their immigrant parents, elements of mainstream American society, and the practices of friends and neighbors from other racial-ethnic groups, Nisei (U.S.-born second-generation) women helped to shape ethnic culture. In the difficult years of the Great Depression, the work of girls as well as boys was important to the family economy, whether tending crops on a farm or sweeping a hardware store. Facing racial barriers to participation in extracurricular activities in some districts, Nisei girls formed their own

network of lively organizations, particularly in urban areas. Through membership in clubs affiliated with churches, the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), and the Girl Scouts USA they gained access to recreation and leadership training, provided community service, and socialized with young men. Called upon to wear kimonos and perform traditional Japanese songs and dance at civic events, Nisei girls also served as highly visible representatives of the ethnic community.

Family Formation and the Emergence of the Nisei

Japanese American youth were the largest group of second-generation Asian Americans in the prewar period. In Hawaii, families grew up on the sugarcane plantations where Japanese men and women had been recruited as an early part of the labor force. In the continental United States, Japanese American settlements primarily took shape in the West, where many Issei (first-generation immigrants) engaged in farming or urban small business. The Gentlemen's Agreement of 1908 between the United States and Japan ended the immigration of Japanese laborers, but a loophole permitted the entry of family members of Japanese already residing in the United States. By the time the Immigration Act of 1924 stopped most Asian immigration to the United States, many Japanese women had arrived: some rejoined husbands who had immigrated earlier, some accompanied men who had returned to Japan to marry, and others came as picture brides to meet new spouses. As families formed, the numbers of Nisei grew steadily. They quickly became the majority in the Japanese American population—of the approximately 120,000 Japanese immigrants and their children incarcerated during World War II, two-thirds were U.S. citizens by birth.

The majority of the Nisei were born between 1910 and 1940; because of their wide age range and the diversity of their experiences in different rural and urban areas, it is hard to generalize about them. Prewar interracial relations varied by neighborhood and region. However, Japanese Americans, like many Asian Americans and people of color, faced prejudice and discrimination in the workforce, housing,

recreational facilities, and businesses such as restaurants and theaters.

The Issei valued education and encouraged their children to be disciplined, hard-working students. Besides attending public school, many Nisei were sent to Japanese school to gain grounding in Japanese language and culture. Girls were taught domestic skills such as sewing and knitting, and, when families could afford lessons, were expected to learn Japanese cultural arts such as *odori* (traditional dance) and *ikebana* (flower arranging).

The second generation grew up integrating the values and holidays of their Issei parents with mainstream customs as well as other ethnic cultural practices of friends and neighbors. Indeed, many families—whether Buddhist or Christian—not only celebrate New Year’s with special foods but also now observe Christmas and Thanksgiving. Like their non-Japanese American peers, the Nisei played baseball and basketball, listened to music on the radio, enjoyed movies, and learned to waltz and foxtrot.

Daughters and sons contributed significantly to the family economy, whether living on a farm or in the city. Rural children hoed, irrigated, and picked crops, nailed boxes, and tended farm animals. Their city peers helped clean and run small family businesses such as tofu shops, grocery stores, and restaurants. Girls were responsible for domestic duties from which their brothers were usually exempt, supervising younger siblings and doing household chores such as ironing, cooking, and cleaning. However, urban Nisei were more likely than their rural cousins to have free time and access to leisure pursuits.

Constructing a Nisei Social World

In the early twentieth century, shifting gender dynamics, embodied by the “New Woman,” spurred debate about appropriate roles for women in ethnic enclaves as well as in the larger society. Although remaining dutiful economic contributors to their families, many young Nisei women sought more freedom to socialize with their peers and to choose their own spouse. Urban Japanese American daughters wore flapper fashions, applied makeup, and learned to jitterbug. Like their Chinese American and Chicana sisters, they tried to

negotiate between mainstream ideas of modernity and the values of the immigrant community. Their participation in popular culture was complicated not only by racial barriers and economic limitations during the Great Depression, but also by Issei parents’ expectations regarding proper female behavior. Because daughters’ chaste reputations were markers of families’ standings in the ethnic community, girls were subject to greater surveillance and control than their brothers. In the face of such pressures, many of the second generation formed peer networks for camaraderie and recreation.

Girls’ clubs proliferated throughout the 1920s and 1930s, especially in cities like Seattle, San Francisco, and Los Angeles. Often affiliated with Buddhist and Christian churches, or organizations such as the YWCA and Girl Scouts USA, these groups constituted a parent-approved vehicle for youth activities. Clubs offered girls opportunities to compete in team sports, to hear educational speakers, to develop leadership skills, to learn handcrafts, to organize parties, and to socialize with Nisei boys. They also provided community service through fund-raising and other charitable efforts. Excluded from college fraternities and sororities, Nisei students established their own organizations, including Chi Alpha Delta, the first Asian American sorority, founded at the University of California, Los Angeles in 1929. The wide array of Japanese American youth club activities filled the pages of the English-language sections of newspapers such as the *Shin Sekai* in San Francisco and the *Rafu Shimpo* in Los Angeles.

Through their clubs, city girls both reinforced and pushed gender-role boundaries. For example, in joint activities with Nisei boys’ clubs, girls were often responsible for bringing the refreshments for hikes and socials; this underscored expectations of young women’s domestic role. By organizing club socials and engaging in couples dancing, Japanese American women expanded the sphere of activities their immigrant parents deemed acceptable for young females.

Japanese American women also took active roles in prewar artistic and literary endeavors. Writers such as Chiye Mori, Mary Oyama Mittwer, Toyo Suyemoto, and Hisaye Yamamoto participated in a Nisei

literary movement, submitting poetry, fiction, and essays to the ethnic press. Gyo Fujikawa began a long successful career as a painter and children's book illustrator, including a stint working for the Disney Studios. Despite the obstacles faced by women of color seeking to enter the performing arts and entertainment industry, a few Nisei persevered, such as dancer Dorothy Takahashi Toy.

In the prewar period, young Nisei women often served as representatives of the Japanese American community, dancing in kimono and singing Japanese songs. Girls were called upon to perform at celebrations in the ethnic community, at school festivals, and in parades and other civic events. Issei parents took pride in their daughters' accomplishment in ethnic cultural arts. Some Nisei enjoyed ethnic-cultural performance, but others felt uncomfortable about a role that, in the view of mainstream society, could seem to present them as foreign. By the eve of World War II, this role had grown increasingly complicated.

Courtship and Marriage

Like youth across the nation, second-generation Japanese Americans were influenced by mainstream films, music, magazines, and radio programs. Notions of romantic love, purveyed on the silver screen by stars like Clark Gable and Carole Lombard, colored their dreams. As courtship moved from the private to the public sphere in the United States, the urban Nisei were more likely to participate in peer socializing and dating, with dancing becoming highly popular.

Competing ideals of womanhood became particularly visible in the tensions regarding romance and marriage. Like their mothers, Nisei women expected that their future would revolve around marriage and family, but their notions of marriage differed from those of their parents. The Issei's marital partnerships had been arranged by their families; the Nisei, however, wanted to choose their own spouses and expected a union based on romantic love. Throughout the 1930s, the second generation increasingly moved away from arranged marriages. Mindful of the endogamous preferences of the ethnic community as well as of the antimiscegenation laws applying to people of

Asian descent in California and 13 other states, most expected to marry other Japanese Americans.

Of necessity, most Nisei women also expected their future to include entering the workforce. The older Nisei who came of age during the Great Depression faced limited opportunities and racial discrimination. A tiny minority of women succeeded in becoming professionals, such as doctors and nurses, often serving an ethnic clientele. Others vied for positions as secretaries and clerks within the Japanese American community, or continued working in family businesses. According to sociologist Evelyn Nakano Glenn (1986), agricultural labor and domestic service were the largest arenas of work for Issei and Nisei women during the prewar period. Given the dearth of choices, a small number set their sights on Japan, where they hoped to utilize their language skills to find positions.

During World War II uprooting and incarceration, Issei and Nisei women and men in the U.S. West endured enormous loss and hardship. Young women as well as men left the camps as soon as possible; barred from returning to the Western Defense Zone until after the war, they sought education and jobs in the East and Midwest. Working as domestic servants and factory operatives, they continued to play a role in the family economy as much as their circumstances permitted. Their labor and organizational experience would prove valuable in rebuilding postwar communities, as many Japanese Americans returned to the U.S. West. In the 1970s and 1980s women's organizational skills would also help fuel the Japanese American movement for World War II redress.

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See also Japanese Immigrant Women

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Japanese Americans

Japanese immigrants and their descendants have played an integral role in the formation of the United States and Hawaii. The story of Japanese in America is filled with incredible hardship, met with an unrelenting effort to thrive. The story of Japanese Americans begins during the twilight years of the Tokugawa Bafuku. During the two centuries of Tokugawa rule beginning in the 1600s, Japan maintained limited contact with the outside world. This policy changed with the fall of the Tokugawa Bafuku and the start of the “restoration” of Meiji rule in 1868. The first emigrants to leave Japan were recruited by Eugene M. Reed, an American businessman who served as consul general for the Kingdom of Hawaii. On June 19, 1868, 148 individuals arrived in Hawaii onboard the *Scioto*. A majority of the group came from the urban areas of Edo and Yokohama. Because they arrived during the first of the Meiji era of imperial rule, the group came to be known as the *gannenmono*, or “first year people.” This unauthorized recruitment of laborers, all of whom were nonfarmers, marked the beginning of Japanese labor migration overseas.

Once on the sugar plantations the laborers were subjected to virtual slave-like working and living

conditions. Within a month of their arrival in the Hawaiian Islands, the *gannenmono* filed a complaint with the Bureau of Immigration in Hawaii. The Meiji government was alarmed at this situation and quickly sent government officials to investigate the charges of mistreatment. Forty immigrants returned back to Japan. Two other shipwrecked men who had been in Hawaii since 1865 also secured passage home. Three years later, when the term of their contract expired, 13 men returned to Japan. The other 90 individuals remained in the islands and settled there, creating the foundation for the first permanent Japanese American community in Hawaii. Because of the mistreatment of the initial emigrants, there was no organized immigration of Japanese to the Hawaiian Kingdom for the next 13 years.

Mass emigration to the Kingdom of Hawaii did not begin until the early 1880s when a number of factors coalesced to support the movement. Following the Meiji Restoration, the Japanese government began levying heavy land taxes on farmers to build Japan’s industrial infrastructure. Although Japanese went to the cities to find employment, they soon discovered that jobs were scarce and wages low. The bleak economic conditions facing the Japanese population compelled people to seek their fortunes outside of the country. Beginning in 1885, the Meiji government declared large-scale immigration legal for the first time in two centuries. One year later a Labor Convention signed by the Hawaiian Kingdom and Meiji government opened a new era of Japanese labor migration to Hawaii. On Sunday, February 8, 1885, the *City of Tokyo* arrived in Honolulu with the first scheduled shipment of *kanyaku imin*, or immigrants, who came under government contracts. The group consisted of 676 men, 159 women, and 108 children. During the period of government-sponsored migration, which spanned nine years from 1885 to 1894, thousands of Japanese migrants arrived in Hawaii. Most migrants to Hawaii came from agricultural regions located in the southwestern prefectures of Japan, including Hiroshima, Yamaguchi, and Kanagawa. By the end of the contract-labor period in 1894, more than 30,000 Japanese in 26 shiploads migrated to the Hawaiian Kingdom. Beginning in 1894 the Meiji government turned the business of emigration over to private companies

licensed to recruit laborers. This marked the beginning of the *jiyu imin*, or “free migrant” period, which ended in 1908 with the passing of the Gentlemen’s Agreement.

Plantation Life

Under contract in Hawaii, Japanese migrants were required to work on sugar plantations for a period of three years. Although their monthly wages were greater than what they could earn in Japan, life as a plantation worker was harsh. Men and women toiled in the sugarcane fields in gangs of 20 to 30 from sunup to sundown. Constantly watched by a *luna*, or foreman, who was either white or Portuguese, both men and women were pushed to work harder and faster. Men were often charged with the tasks of hauling heavy cane stalks, while women were concentrated in field operations such as hoeing and stripping leaves.

Seeking to avoid the problems of prostitution, gambling, and alcoholism often existent in bachelor communities, the Hawaiian and Japanese governments actively promoted the immigration of *Issei* (first generation) women. They came as wives through the picture-bride system. In addition to working in the cane fields, women also bore the brunt of work in the home and plantation campus. Women were expected to care for their children and in the evenings they took in laundry for pay, as well as cooked, cleaned, and mended for large groups of single men. When the contract-labor system was outlawed in 1900 following the annexation of Hawaii to the United States, thousands of Japanese laborers left the plantations to work in downtown Honolulu. Others went home to Japan or moved to the West Coast until the passing of the 1908 Gentlemen’s Agreement ended this migration.

Issei Arrival in the Continental United States

On May 27, 1869, one year after the *Scioto*’s crossing, followers of feudal lord Matsudaira Katamori of Wakamatsu arrived in San Francisco on board the Pacific Mail Company’s *China*. This first group of Japanese to the continental United States consisted of samurai, farmers, tradesmen, and four women. They settled in Placerville, California, where they established the Wakamatsu Teak and Silk Farm Colony.

Because of unfavorable farming conditions, the attempt to establish a prosperous farm colony ultimately failed and at the end of two years most returned home.

Impoverished students, or *kugaseki*, preceded the arrival of Japanese immigrant laborers in the continental United States and were the first Japanese immigrants to come in large numbers. During the Meiji era there were two broad categories of students that went abroad to study: the elite government-scholarship holders and students who traveled at their own expense. The former group came from the upper class, was granted full stipends by the Meiji government and was concentrated on the East Coast of the United States. The latter came as sojourners at first, set on learning English and acquiring some kind of skill that would lead to a profitable career in Japan. While in the United States, the students had to work for a living and for this reason were also known as *dekasegi-shosei*, or student laborers. Beginning in the mid-1880s, scores of student laborers landed in San Francisco. In the eight-year period between 1882 and 1890 the Japanese government issued 3,475 passports to persons leaving for the United States, of which 1,519 were issued to students.

The large-scale emigration of Japanese laborers to the continental United States did not begin until the early 1890s. The passing of the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act forced employers in the United States to search for another source of cheap labor. Between 1891 and 1900, roughly 28,000 emigrants traveled to the American West Coast directly from Japan. Up until 1910 the Japanese American community in the continent was mostly comprised of young men who came to work in lumber mills, coalmines, and fish canneries of the Northwest. Social life for this young male population revolved around drinking and gambling. The Japanese women who migrated were few in number. American immigration statistics estimate that roughly 1,000 Japanese females arrived in the United States between 1861 and 1900. A majority of the initial female population was brought over to work as prostitutes, although some women came as independent migrants. By 1898 there were 161 Japanese women working as prostitutes in Japanese settlements along the West Coast. Both *Issei* men and women could be

found dispersed in states throughout the West Coast including California, Washington, Montana, Oregon, and Idaho.

Early Issei Community

By 1900, Issei men and women on the American continent lived in migrant labor camps and followed crops up and down the West Coast. Only a decade later, Japanese were the largest ethnic group among agricultural workers in both California and Hawaii. By the 1920s they eventually moved into settled positions as owners and managers of farms.

As Issei men settled down as farmers, they sent for their wives or arranged for “picture brides” to join them. These arranged marriages set up partnerships between Issei men and women who knew each other only from photographs. A man seeking a wife would send a photograph of himself back to Japan where a go-between would seek a suitable wife based on factors such as health, social class, and family background. The picture marriage was a way for Issei men to marry and raise a family in Hawaii or the continental United States without the expense of returning to Japan. By 1911 women made up half of all Japanese migrants to the continental United States. By 1920 there were 22,193 married Issei women in America. As in the Hawaiian Islands, women had to juggle working besides their husbands in the field, and also managing household duties.

Issei in urban areas initially worked as hired laborers and domestic servants. Just as their Issei counterparts in rural areas moved into positions of management and ownership, those in urban areas slowly moved into small-scale businesses. Ironically, discrimination against Japanese by labor unions and employers forced the Issei into small-business ownership. Los Angeles and Seattle proved to be centers for Issei entrepreneurship, but “Japan Towns” or *nihonmachi*s, could be found in many cities along the West Coast. The Issei worked together to launch their businesses, often relying on their *kenjinkai*, or network of people from the same prefecture (ken), for financial support. For these first-generation immigrants, the *kenjinkai* was the foundation of social organization and shaped business opportunities, marriages, and community.

Japanese Americans also formed and maintained ties around religious institutions. Buddhist temples and Protestant churches brought people together from different prefectures, and served as centers of activity and offered social welfare services. The first Buddhist temples were established in Hawaii during the 1890s and were followed on the continent in 1898. Many Issei were also members of Protestant churches, and membership offered them a connection to the world outside of their ethnic community. Women were often very active in religious organizations as it provided them with opportunities to network and socialize outside of the home.

Anti-Japanese Movement

By 1924, roughly 200,000 Japanese had migrated to the Hawaiian Islands and 180,000 to the continental United States. By this time, anti-Asian legislation had a long history in the United States: since the passage of the 1790 Naturalization Act that limited naturalized citizenship only for whites, court cases and federal laws defined Asian immigrants as, “aliens ineligible to citizenship,” a category from which other forms of discrimination stemmed. One of the first examples of institutionalized anti-Japanese sentiment occurred in October 1906 when the San Francisco School Board issued an order that regulated children of Japanese descent to segregated schools. Although this was largely a symbolic gesture, because there were relatively few Japanese elementary-aged children in school at the time, the order angered the Meiji government. Diplomatic negotiations ensued and as a result, the Gentlemen’s Agreement of 1907–1908 was negotiated between the United States and Japan. According to the Agreement, Japanese children would not be sent to segregated schools in exchange for a limit placed on Japanese immigration, which reduced the pool of eligible migrants to non-laborers or those coming to be reunited with family members. Movement between Hawaii and the continental United States was also banned.

In 1913, in reaction to the growing number of Issei agriculturalists on the West Coast, the California legislature passed a law that barred “aliens ineligible for citizenship” from owning property in the state and

limited the lease of agricultural property to no more than three years. This effectively banned Issei from owning land in the state of California. This law, known as the Alien Land Law, was also passed in several other states including Washington and Arizona. Despite this legal setback, the Issei found ways to work around the law, and placed land under the names of their second-generation (Nisei) American-born children.

In the early decades of the twentieth century anti-Japanese sentiment continued to grow on the West Coast and spread across the United States. The large number of Japanese picture brides that arrived in Hawaii and the West Coast and the resultant increasing numbers of second-generation Japanese American citizens became a major point of contention in the anti-Japanese movement. Exclusionists claimed that the large numbers of Japanese immigrant women allowed into the West Coast violated the spirit of the Gentlemen's Agreement. As a result, the Meiji government ended the "picture bride era" on March 1, 1920, when it officially stopped issuing passports to these women. At the time that picture bride emigration was banned, roughly 24,000 single Issei men remained on the continental United States. For most of these men, the end of the picture bride era sentenced them to a life of bachelorhood.

In 1924, Congress passed an immigration law that severely restricted the number of people who could enter the country. Although the new law set quotas for most nationalities, there were none set for Japan or any other nations whose peoples were "ineligible for citizenship." The 1924 Immigration Act effectively halted Japanese emigration to the United States. The law remained enforced until the passing of the 1952 McCarran-Walter Act, which granted Japanese an immigration quota of 185 persons a year and allowed Issei to be naturalized.

World War II Incarceration

Perhaps the greatest episode of racially motivated legislation against the Japanese American community was the 1942 forced incarceration of over 120,000 Japanese Americans, of which over two-thirds were U.S.-born American citizens. Within hours of the bombing

of Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, arresting squads set out throughout Honolulu and other areas of Hawaii, as well as Japanese American communities in the continental United States, and forcibly removed Japanese and Japanese Americans from their families and homes. This group of people, which included Japanese language teachers, consular officials, fishermen, and Buddhist priests, were sent to detention camps where they were held indefinitely. The sudden arrest of the Issei leaders left the Japanese American community in chaos.

On February 19, 1942, President Franklin Roosevelt issued Executive Order 9066 (EO 9066), which provided the initial authority for the mass incarceration of all Japanese immigrants and Japanese American citizens living in designated areas of Arizona, California, Oregon, and Washington. EO 9066 did not affect the few thousand Japanese Americans living on the East Coast. Interestingly, though, EO 9066 did affect Japanese living in other parts of the Americas: roughly 2,000 citizens and residents of Japanese ancestry were arrested from 13 Latin American countries and interned in the camps by the United States. In Hawaii, the Japanese who were arrested in the initial hours following the attack on Pearl Harbor were placed in one of the temporary holding camps across the island chain. On December 9, 1941, Sand Island Detention Center on Honolulu opened and soon became the camp that all Hawaii-based internees passed through. Beginning in February 1942, Sand Island internees began to be transferred to internment camps in the continental United States. Later that same year, dependent family members of the interned men were given the "opportunity" to join their husbands/fathers/brothers in internment camps. Over 1,000 dependent family members entered internment camps through this process. On March 1, 1943, Sand Island Detention Center was closed and the remaining internees were transferred to the Honouliuli Camp located in central Oahu.

Although the forced removal of Japanese and Japanese Americans was carried out by the U.S. Army, a separate wartime agency, the War Relocation Authority (WRA), operated the 16 assembly centers and 10 concentration camps located in sparsely populated parts of California, Arizona, Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, and Arkansas. These camps were:

Amache, Colorado; Gila River, Arizona; Heart Mountain, Wyoming; Jerome, Arkansas; Manzanar, California; Minidoka, Idaho; Poston, Arizona; Rohwer, Arkansas; Topaz, Utah; and Tule Lake, California. The last of the internment camps closed in March 1946.

Legal Challenges to Internment: Yasui, Hirabayashi, Korematsu, and Endo Cases

A few Japanese Americans challenged the government over the legality of the internment unsuccessfully in the courts. Four separate cases reached the U.S. Supreme Court between the years 1943 and 1944. In each of these cases, the Supreme Court avoided ruling on the constitutionality of detaining American citizens based on race. The first of the four cases, *Yasui v. United States*, came before the Supreme Court in 1943. Immediately following the attack on Pearl Harbor, Minoru Yasui, an American citizen and attorney, attempted to voluntarily enlist in the U.S. Army. He was rejected on racial grounds. A few months later, after his father was forced into an internment camp, Yasui purposefully sought arrest to challenge the curfew law placed on all Japanese and Japanese Americans. A lower court ruled that the curfew law was unconstitutional when applied to American citizens but deemed that this did not apply to Yasui because he had forfeited his citizenship by working for the Japanese consulate in Chicago. The Supreme Court reversed this ruling and rejected the proposition that Yasui's employment with the Japanese consulate forfeited his citizenship. The court maintained that the curfew was constitutional, however, and sent the case back to a lower court for sentencing. Yasui served nine months in jail for breaking the curfew law.

On May 16, 1942, Gordon Hirabayashi, a 24-year-old University of Washington student, went to the local FBI office to challenge EO 9066. Although he was imprisoned the charges against Hirabayashi were amended to include violation of the curfew order. A lower court found him guilty on both charges and sentenced him to 90 days in prison. Hirabayashi appealed the verdict and appeared before the court of appeals on February 19, 1943, exactly one year after EO 9066. Although the court avoided issuing opinions on the

legality of evacuation, it ruled unanimously that Congress had the right to make and enforce curfew laws.

The legality of the evacuation order was finally addressed by the Supreme Court in the 1944 case, *Korematsu v. United States*. After losing his job as a welder in Oakland, California because the Boiler Makers Union expelled all Japanese American members after the attack on Pearl Harbor, Fred Korematsu decided to marry his Italian American fiancée, Ida Boitano, and move to the Midwest. On March 18, 1942, and March 24, 1942, Korematsu underwent plastic surgery on his eyes and nose to disguise his racial identity and blend in with European Americans. Despite his claim of Spanish-Hawaiian ancestry, authorities arrested him for violating the exclusion order. A lower court found him guilty and passed a sentence of five years probation. Korematsu was then forced at gunpoint to join his family at the Tanforan Assembly Center. The Supreme Court subsequently upheld Korematsu's conviction on the grounds that the evacuation order was made out of "military necessity."

On December 19, 1944, the Supreme Court ruled unanimously that it was unlawful to detain or otherwise limit the freedom of a law-abiding citizen. The case of *Ex Parte Endo*, began in 1942, when the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) decided to oppose the firing of California's Japanese American state employees. The JACL also decided to challenge the legality of racial detention and toward that end brought suit against Milton Eisenhower, the director of the federal War Relocation Authority. The case was brought in the name of Mitsuye Endo, a second-generation Japanese American and former employee of the California Department of Motor Vehicles. Endo had never been to Japan, did not speak Japanese, and had a brother in the U.S. Army. Eisenhower and the WRA were challenged to show why Endo was being detained, because she was not a threat to national security. A day before the official ruling in the case was to be handed down, federal officials announced that detainees not considered "disloyal," were free to leave the internment camps. Although Endo and the JACL won their case, the Supreme Court once again failed to address the central question of the constitutionality of detainment by race.

Effects of Internment

One of the changes that internment brought to the Japanese American community was a breakdown in family life and organization. Issei patriarchs lost their place as the family provider whereas women, freed from most household chores, became active in camp organizations and worked in a variety of jobs. Meals were served at large communal mess halls and inmates often ate in social groups rather than with family members. Because of their position as American citizens and command of the English language, leadership positions in camp shifted to the Nisei. WRA officials often assigned the Nisei to positions as teachers, nurses, cooks, and firefighters. In 1943, Japanese American male citizens were encouraged to enlist in the U.S. Army, and in 1944 many were actually drafted for military service from behind barbed wire. To facilitate this process, the WRA and War Department launched a program designed to separate the “loyal” internees from the “disloyal.” The War Department created a questionnaire entitled, “Statement of Japanese Ancestry.” Questions 27 and 28 of the survey proved problematic. Question 27 read: “Are you willing to serve in the armed forces of the United States on combat duty wherever ordered?” Question 28 asked: “Will you swear unqualified allegiance to the United States of America and faithfully defend the United States from any or all attack by foreign or domestic forces and forswear any allegiance or obedience to the Japanese Emperor, or any other foreign government, power or organization?” As if asking a group of people incarcerated solely for their racial background to volunteer for the armed forces was not offensive enough, a “yes” to Question 28 implied that the Nisei once had an allegiance to Japan and its emperor.

Although over 1,600 men volunteered to serve in the army from the camps, numerous other male and female Nisei chose to either give “no” answers or refuse to answer the “loyalty questionnaire,” as a means to protest the mass removal and detention. This group was stigmatized as being “disloyal” and labeled “troublemakers” by the WRA. They were segregated and sent to the Tule Lake concentration camp, where reaction against registration through the loyalty

questionnaire resulted in massive resistance. Out of frustration with the way that their human rights were violated, many Nisei renounced their American citizenship and expatriated to Japan.

100th Battalion/442nd RCT

Positive answers to the questions made male Nisei of draft age eligible for service in the army. Besides those culled from the internment camps, more than 20,000 other Nisei served in the racially segregated 100th Battalion and 442nd Regimental Combat Team during World War II. At the time of the Pearl Harbor attack more than 2,000 Nisei in Hawaii were enlisted in the U.S. Army and Hawaii Territorial Guard. Although they were taken off active duty on account of their racial background, upon the recommendation of General Delos Emmons, they were taken to Oakland, California, where they were activated as the 100th Infantry Battalion on June 12, 1942. They would then spend the next six months training at Camp McCoy, Wisconsin.

With the claim that, “Americanism is not, and never was, a matter of race or ancestry,” President Roosevelt announced the formation of the 442nd Regimental Combat Team on February 1, 1943. Immediately upon the announcement of the 442nd, nearly 10,000 Hawaii Nisei volunteered and over 2,600 were accepted for induction. The 442nd arrived at Camp Shelby in March 1943 and began 10 months of segregated training—a period far longer than the 4 to 6 months of training that most troops received at the time. By the time they left Camp Shelby the unit had taken the motto, “Go For Broke!” On June 2, 1944 they arrived in Naples and met up with the 100th Battalion, which became the new 1st Battalion of the 442nd.

Although many of their parents, children, and wives were imprisoned in internment camps, members of the 442nd fought on the front lines of Italy and France. In late October 1944, the 442nd was ordered to rescue members of the 141st Regiment’s 1st Battalion, which was caught behind enemy lines. Although the daring rescue of the “Lost Battalion” has become legendary, the successful rescue resulted in 800 Nisei casualties to save 211 soldiers. In 225 days of combat,

the 442nd Regimental Combat Team/100th Battalion suffered the highest casualty rate and is the most highly decorated unit of its size in American military history. In the years following World War II, the 442nd RCT/100th Battalion's sacrifice and bravery was repeatedly cited in campaigns to overturn the Alien Land Laws still in effect and other discriminatory legislation.

Relocation, Resettlement, and Redress

As early as the summer of 1942, some Nisei were released to do farm work or attend college in the Midwest and East Coast. Other Nisei were released to find work in places such as Minnesota, Denver, and New Jersey. Outside of the camps Issei and Nisei often encountered "No Japs Wanted" signs and with only their labor and \$25 given to them by the WRA, they were forced to start their lives again.

One of the most significant consequences of the war for Japanese Americans living on the continental United States was the government's policy of "relocation" and "resettlement." Both of these terms refer to the WRA's policy of spreading the Issei and Nisei population away from the West Coast so as to avoid their concentration in Japantowns and ethnic enclaves. By July 1942, even as people were still entering the internment camps, the WRA was instituting policies for "leave" and permanent "resettlement" in the Midwest and on the East Coast. Although many Issei and Nisei did not want to leave camp for places they did not know, the most popular destinations for those who did was Denver and Salt Lake City. These two areas were closest to the West Coast and had supported Japanese American communities for some time. When Japanese and Japanese Americans were allowed to return to the West Coast in 1945, many of these resettlers left the Midwest to return to their homes. Although the Issei and Nisei population in areas of resettlement declined following the "reopening" of the West Coast, Japanese American communities can still be found in these areas today.

After the end of the war in 1945, a much different Japanese American community emerged from the internment. In the camps leadership had shifted from the Issei to the Nisei generation, and the task of

community rebuilding fell to the latter. When they returned, Japanese Americans tended to settle in urban and suburban neighborhoods. Although Japanese Americans clustered together in ethnic enclaves in the years prior to World War II, the population became much more geographically dispersed in the postwar years. Second- and third-generation Japanese Americans organized around churches, festivals, sports, and political organizations, and together they worked to rebuild their war-ravaged communities, which now extended beyond Japantowns and into outlying suburban areas. As an ethnic group, Nisei achieved middle-class status and gave way to the *Sansei* (third generation) who would continue this trend of economic mobility, educational attainment, and geographic dispersal.

Several of Japanese American political organizations, including the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL), National Coalition for Redress and Reparations (NCRR), and National Council for Japanese American Redress (NCJAR), spearheaded the massive movement for redress and reparations. This movement, which sought to obtain an apology and compensation from the United States government for its wrongful wartime incarceration, proved to be a force that invigorated the Japanese American community and linked generations together. The 1981 hearings of the Commission on the Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians served as a cathartic event for those imprisoned in the camps. Over 700 witnesses testified, many of who spoke in public about internment for the first time. In 1988, President Ronald Regan signed the Civil Liberties Act, which provided redress of \$20,000 for each surviving detainee. Over two years later, on October 9, 1990, the first redress payments were made to the oldest living survivors of internment. The Redress Movement sparked an interest in the history of their community and ancestors in younger Japanese American generations. In the early 1970s Sansei activists began making a yearly memorial pilgrimage to Manzanar. The pilgrimage has since become an annual event, and today many young Yonsei (fourth generation) and Gosei (fifth generation) make the journey.

The history of Japanese Americans is at once harsh and unrelenting, and full of examples of outright

prejudice that may seem unbelievable to today's generations. However, despite the challenges they faced when working on the sugar plantations of Hawaii or imprisoned in the internment camps during World War II, Japanese immigrants and their American offspring have managed to make a life and home here in the United States. Although Japanese American history contains many examples of sorrow and hardship, it also offers themes of resistance, tenacity, and success.

The 2010 census recorded 1.3 million Japanese Americans, including mixed-race individuals.

Christen Sasaki

See also Ex Parte Mitsuye Endo (1944); Japan Bashing; Japanese American Baseball; Japanese American Christianity; Japanese American Citizens League (JACL); Japanese American Communities (Contemporary); Japanese American Community Organizations (Historical); Japanese American Transnational Families; Japanese American Women in the 1930s; Japanese Americans in Hawaii; Japanese Americans in Japan; Japanese Exclusion; Japanese Farm Workers in America; Japanese Immigrant Press; Japanese Immigrant Women; Japanese Language in Asian American Studies; Japanese Transnational Identity; Japanese War Brides; *Korematsu v. United States* (1945); *Korematsu, Hirabayashi, and Yasui Coram Nobis* Cases; Manzanar Children's Village (1942–1945); Manzanar Riot (1942); Shin-Issei/Shin-Nisei Identity

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Japanese Americans in Hawaii

On June 19, 1868, 148 individuals arrived in Hawaii onboard the *Scioto*. These first Japanese immigrants to the Hawaiian Islands were recruited from the urban areas of Yokohama and Edo by Eugene M. Reed, an American businessman who represented sugar interests and also served as consul general for the Kingdom of Hawaii. Because they arrived during the first of the Meiji era of imperial rule, the group came to be known as the *gannenmono*, or “first year people.” The *gannenmono* were recruited to work as field laborers in Hawaii's burgeoning sugar industry.

Once on the sugar plantations, the laborers were subjected to virtual slaveworking and living conditions. Within a month of their arrival in the Hawaiian Islands, the *gannenmono* filed a complaint with the Bureau of Immigration in Hawaii. The Meiji government was alarmed by this situation and quickly sent government officials to investigate the charges of mistreatment. After three years only 90 individuals remained in the islands. This group created the foundation for the first permanent Japanese American community in Hawaii. Because of the mistreatment of the initial emigrants, there was no organized immigration of Japanese to the Hawaiian Kingdom for the next 13 years.

Beginning in 1885, the Meiji government declared large-scale immigration legal for the first time in two centuries. On Sunday, February 8, 1885, the *City of Tokyo* arrived in Honolulu with the first scheduled shipment of *kanyaku imin*, or immigrants, who came under government contracts. The group consisted of 676 men, 159 women, and 108 children. During the period of government-sponsored migration, which spanned nine years from 1885 to 1894, thousands of Japanese migrants arrived in Hawaii. Most migrants to Hawaii came from agricultural regions located in the southwestern prefectures of Japan, including Hiroshima, Yamaguchi, and Kanagawa. By the end of the contract-labor period in 1894, more than 30,000 Japanese in 26 shiploads migrated to the Hawaiian Kingdom. Beginning in 1894 the Meiji government turned the business of emigration over to private companies licensed to recruit laborers. This marked the beginning of the *jiyu imin*, or “free migrant” period, which ended



Japanese workers on a sisal plantation in Hawaii, about 1910. (Library of Congress)

in 1908 with the passing of the Gentleman's Agreement.

Plantation Life

Under contract in Hawaii, Japanese migrants were required to work on sugar plantations for a period of three years. Although their monthly wages were greater than what they could earn in Japan, life as a plantation worker was harsh. Men and women toiled in the sugarcane fields in gangs of 20 to 30 from sunup to sundown. Constantly watched by a *luna*, or foreman, who was either white or Portuguese, both men and women were pushed to work harder and faster. Men were often charged with the tasks of hauling heavy cane stalks, whereas women were concentrated in field operations such as hoeing and stripping leaves.

Seeking to avoid the problems of prostitution, gambling, and alcoholism often existent in bachelor communities, the Hawaiian and Japanese governments

actively promoted the immigration of Issei (first generation) women. They came as wives through the picture-bride system. In addition to working in the cane fields, women also bore the brunt of work in the home and plantation campus. Women were expected to care for their children and in the evenings they took in laundry for pay, as well as cooked, cleaned, and mended for large groups of single men.

In response to low wages and harsh working conditions, 1,500 Japanese laborers working on O'ahu plantations went on strike on May 9, 1909. Monetary and material assistance came from plantation workers on the islands of Kauai, Maui, and Hawaii. The strikers and their families were ejected from the plantations and ultimately returned to work. In January 1920 Japanese and Filipino laborers took part in the first multi-ethnic plantation strike in the islands. They demanded higher wages, better working conditions, and an end to wage discrimination based on race. For six months Oahu's sugar industry was virtually paralyzed and

planters lost an estimated \$11.5 million. Although the strike ended in a near total victory for the planters, it did bring some positive long-term changes for plantation workers and the Japanese American community. Over the next few years wages increased and housing and recreational facilities improved. Some of the most significant changes, however, did not occur on the plantations: following the 1920 strike, suspicions of a Japanese takeover of Hawaii began to develop among U.S. military forces.

Following the strike, Issei and Nisei (second generation) began a mass exodus off of the plantations and into the urban areas of Hawaii. In Honolulu, Japanese in urban areas congregated in the Kalihi, Palama, Kaka'ako, and Mo'ili'ili areas where they started small businesses to serve their community, such as retailing and food processing. Men also went into labor-intensive positions such as construction workers, plumbers, and electricians. Issei and the growing Nisei generation were also hired as domestic servants and women often worked as housemaids and cooks. By 1930, 49 percent of the retail stores in Hawaii were owned by Issei.

For the Nisei generation, emphasis was placed on adapting to a middle-class American way of life, and maintaining the cultural values of their Issei parents. This practice is evident in the education patterns of the Nisei generation. That Issei viewed the public education system as a major conduit to success is demonstrated in the increase in Nisei enrollment: although there were roughly 19,000 Nisei students in 1920, by 1940 that number had more than doubled. A great majority of Nisei students also attended Japanese language school in the afternoons: in 1930 more than 87 percent of those students who attended public schools during the day were also enrolled in Japanese language schools.

World War II: Internment

Nisei life in both the continental United States and Hawaii was dramatically changed by the December 7, 1941, attack on Pearl Harbor. That afternoon the Hawaiian Islands were placed under martial law and remained under command of the military government until October 1944. Within hours of the attack

arresting squads set out throughout Honolulu and other areas of Hawaii and forcibly removed Japanese and Japanese Americans from their families. This group of people, which included Japanese language teachers, consular officials, fishermen, and Buddhist priests, were sent to detention camps where they were held indefinitely.

On February 19, 1942, President Franklin Roosevelt issued Executive Order 9066 (EO 9066), which provided the initial authority for the mass incarceration of all Japanese immigrants and Japanese American citizens living in designated areas of Arizona, California, Oregon, and Washington. In Hawaii the Japanese who were arrested in the initial hours following the attack on Pearl Harbor were placed in one of the temporary holding camps across the island chain. On December 9, 1941, Sand Island Detention Center on Honolulu opened and soon became the camp that all Hawaii-based internees passed through. Beginning in February 1942, Sand Island internees began to be transferred to internment camps in the continental United States. Later that same year, dependent family members of the interned men were given the "opportunity" to join their husbands/fathers/brothers in internment camps. Over 1,000 dependent family members entered internment camps through this process. On March 1, 1943, Sand Island Detention Center was closed and the remaining internees were transferred to the Honouliuli Camp located in central Oahu.

World War II: 100th Battalion/442nd RCT

At the time of the Pearl Harbor attack more than 2,000 Nisei in Hawaii were enlisted in the U.S. Army and Hawaii National and Territorial Guards. Although they were taken off active duty on account of their racial background, these men performed vital duties such as guarding airfields and beaches. Upon the recommendation of General Delos Emmons, the men enlisted in the Hawaii National Guard were taken to Oakland, California, where they were activated as the 100th Infantry Battalion on June 12, 1942. They spent the next six months training at Camp McCoy, Wisconsin.

Despite their record of service, Nisei members of the Hawaii Territorial Guard were kicked out on January 19, 1942. They later formed the Varsity Victory

Volunteers (VVV) and spent most of 1942 working on military construction projects. The VVV disbanded in January 1943 and a majority of the men went on to become members of the 442nd Regimental Combat Team.

With the claim that Americanism is not a matter of race or ancestry, President Roosevelt, who had signed EO 9066 just a year before, announced the formation of the 442nd Regimental Combat Team on February 1, 1943. Immediately upon the announcement of the 442nd, nearly 10,000 Hawaii Nisei volunteered and over 2,600 were accepted for induction. On March 28, 1943 approximately 17,000 Japanese Americans gathered in Honolulu to send off the 2,600 Nisei volunteers. The 442nd arrived at Camp Shelby in March of 1943 and began 10 months of segregated training—a period far longer than the 4–6 months of training that most troops received at the time. By the time they left Camp Shelby the unit had taken the motto, “Go For Broke!” an expression that was originally used by crapshooters in Hawaii.

Alongside Japanese Americans from the continental United States who came from the internment camps where many of their parents, children, and wives were imprisoned in internment camps, Hawaii-born members of the 442nd fought on the front lines of Italy and France. In late October 1944, the 442nd was ordered to rescue members of the 141st Regiment’s 1st Battalion, which was caught behind enemy lines. Although the daring rescue of the “Lost Battalion” has become legendary, the successful rescue resulted in 800 Nisei casualties to save 211 soldiers. In 225 days of combat, the 442nd Regimental Combat Team/100th Battalion suffered the highest casualty rate and is the most highly decorated unit for its size in American military history. In the years following World War II, the 442nd RCT/100th Battalion’s sacrifice and bravery was repeatedly cited in campaigns to overturn discriminatory legislation targeting Japanese and Japanese Americans.

Postwar Revolutions

In Hawaii this mobilization for equality was evident in the 1946 ILWU-backed plantation and dockworkers strike, and the “revolution of 1954.” By the end of

World War II, Hawaii’s voting population had swung in favor of the laborers. Although Japanese laborers had been disenfranchised as “aliens ineligible for citizenship” in the years before World War II, by 1946 the Nisei generation had come of age and comprised a large percentage of the voting population in the islands. As Nisei soldiers returned home from a war that they helped win with much sacrifice, they demanded a Hawaii that offered equality of opportunity and a chance to take part in decision making. Beginning in the 1940s, the ILWU began a twofold strategy in organizing workers against the plantation elite: they would challenge the Republican planter class at the ballot box and the negotiating table. To this end the ILWU conducted voter registration drives on plantations. In 1946 sugar plantation workers won a wage increase after a 79-day strike and dockworkers repeated the feat after a 177-day strike that crippled island shipping.

Despite failed attempts to gain the political majority during the late 1940s and early 1950s, by 1954 the ILWU’s efforts to register voters from the laboring class paid large dividends. In the election of that year Democrats came away with two-thirds of the seats in the territorial house and 9 out of 15 seats in the senate. Although there had been no Nisei in the legislature in 1944, almost half of the 1954 elected legislators were second-generation Japanese Americans. Among those elected was Daniel Inouye, a veteran of the 442nd who adamantly fought against second-class citizenship for Japanese Americans. When the territory of Hawaii became a U.S. state in 1959, Inouye went on to become the first Asian American congressman. Three years later he became the first Nisei senator. In 1973 Hawaii elected George Ariyoshi, the first Japanese American governor in the nation.

The Hawaii in which the Sansei (third) and Yonsei (fourth) generations grew up is vastly different than that which faced their predecessors. No longer faced with outright racial discrimination, a majority of the Sansei generation entered professions such as education, law, and health care. Today Japanese Americans are among the socioeconomic dominant groups in Hawaii, making up the second-largest ethnic group in the islands. Nearly one-third of this population is of mixed ancestry, a product of the Sansei and Yonsei

generations' increasing out-marriage rate. Although Japanese Americans were the largest ethnic group in Hawaii for more than 60 years between 1900 and 1960, for the last half century the population has steadily decreased. This trend will most likely continue because of the low immigration rate from Japan and high out-migration rate of Yonsei and Gosei (fifth generation) to the continental United States.

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See also Ethnic Communities in Hawaii; Japanese Americans

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Japanese Americans in Japan

“Japanese Americans” refers to people of Japanese ancestry who are citizens or residents of the United States. Most Japanese Americans reside in the United States, but they also migrate to other places, including Japan. The broader definition of Japanese Americans used in the United States becomes problematic when talking about Japanese Americans in Japan. “Japanese Americans in Japan” includes U.S. citizens of Japanese ancestry living in Japan whereas Japanese nationals residing in the United States who return to Japan would be considered “Japanese returnees.” As of 2011, I estimate the number of Japanese Americans living in Japan to be about 7,000, which is approximately 13 percent of the 52,149 registered U.S. citizen residents. There are no official demographic data on this population because the United States and Japanese governments do not keep ethnic or racial information regarding U.S. citizens residing outside the United States.

Most Japanese Americans living in Japan were born and raised in the United States and moved to Japan as adults for a variety of reasons and lengths of

time. Younger (in their twenties to early thirties), single Japanese Americans who have not yet established careers tend to go to Japan for shorter periods of time—up to a year or two. These Japanese Americans are more likely to migrate to Japan because of an interest in connecting with their heritage culture and society. Those living in Japan as long-term residents tend to be married with Japanese spouses. These Japanese Americans are usually older (typically in their late 30s, 40s, and 50s) and, although culturally interested in Japan, tend to migrate primarily for work-related reasons. Most Japanese Americans in Japan migrate temporarily, many as college exchange and language students, as members of the Japan Exchange and Teaching (JET) Program, and as white-collar workers on limited contracts. Some Japanese Americans have “permanently” settled in Japan, though many who have the resources still have plans to return to the United States after retiring.

Similar to other U.S. citizens in Japan, most Japanese Americans can be found in urban areas. They are a highly educated population in general, almost all college-educated or in the midst of attaining their college degrees; many have graduate and professional degrees. Japanese Americans in Japan work predominantly in white-collar occupations, in contrast to far more numerous Japanese from Latin America (particularly from Brazil) who are mainly found working in factories doing unskilled work.

Similar to the U.S. Japanese American population, Japanese Americans in Japan include people with diverse backgrounds. They vary in citizenship status, have been raised in a variety of places, are multigenerational and are multiethnic and multiracial. If defined as U.S. citizens of Japanese ancestry, the Japanese American population in Japan includes Japanese emigrants who naturalized in the United States then return migrated back to Japan. Most Japanese Americans in Japan have been raised in Hawaii or the continental United States, with a small portion raised in Japan and internationally. Some were raised on U.S. military bases and few now work or are stationed in them. Japanese Americans have parents from the United States and Japan. Many have parents who are of Japanese ancestry but of differing generations (e.g., one Japanese immigrant parent, one

second-generation Japanese American parent). Others have one parent who claims Japanese ancestry and one who does not. Experiences in Japan are shaped by these characteristics—generations removed from Japan, exposure to Japanese language, and citizenship.

U.S. Japanese American migration to Japan can be organized into various periods, highlighting variations in generations, historical contexts, and motivations.

Nisei Educated and Socialized in Japan (1920s–1940s)

From the 1920s, as soon as there was a Nisei (second generation born in the United States, some of these American-born Japanese migrated to Japan. University of Pennsylvania Historian Eiichiro Azuma estimates between 40,000 and 60,000 Nisei to have been living in Japan in the 1930s. Majority of them eventually returned to the United States, although some of them remained in Japan.

According to Azuma, these Nisei in Japan can be divided into three categories. One group went to Japan as children and assimilated into Japanese society (some eventually returned to the United States). Some had moved to Japan with their parents, whereas others were sent by parents in the United States to live with their relatives in Japan temporarily. The second group consisted of a few hundred highly educated bilingual men and women who took on important positions in media, academia, government, and business in Japan. Ironically, Azuma notes, it was their racial exclusion from the United States that led them to search for opportunities in Japan. The third group was comprised of college and language students who planned to return to the United States after receiving their academic and cultural educations in Japan.

The Nisei who lived in Japan as children and then returned to the United States are referred to as “Kibei Nisei.” In Japanese, “Ki” means “to come” and “bei” refers to the United States. Most, if not all, Nisei in Japan were dual nationals. Some remained in Japan for the duration of World War II and were drafted by the Japanese military. In doing so, they lost their U.S. citizenship. Many Kibei Nisei returned to the United States and were drafted into the U.S. military as Military Intelligence Service (MIS) language specialists.

Anecdotally, there are stories of Kibei Nisei who were in Japan when World War II began and were drafted by the Japanese military, then upon returning to the United States after the war ended, they were again drafted by the U.S. military and, in many cases, sent back to Japan as MIS specialists. This double drafting dramatizes the dual pressures placed on Japanese Americans during the war.

Nisei Linguists and Nurses in Occupied Japan (1945–1952)

Once World War II ended, many Nisei men were stationed in Japan as part of the Allied Forces occupying Japan from August 1945 to April 1952. As language specialists, these members of the Military Intelligence Service (MIS) were in charge of translating and interpreting documents between English and Japanese: One Japanese American in the MIS was responsible for translating for the emperor. Most effective members of the MIS were Kibei Nisei who were born in the United States, sent to Japan for few years as children, then returned to the United States, and were drafted specifically as linguists because of their strong Japanese skills. Other Nisei raised only in the United States ranged greatly in their Japanese skills; the U.S. government provided language training before sending them to Japan and other parts of Asia and the Pacific.

During this period, some Japanese American women and children were also living in Japan. According to Brenda L. Moore, in 1946, 13 members of the Women’s Army Corps graduated from the Military Intelligence Service Language School and went to Japan. The women were told that when they arrived in Tokyo, they would be discharged and would work as civil servants; they were all assigned to the Allied Translator and Interpreter Section (ATIS) of the U.S. Army as clerks, secretaries, and translators. In addition, some Japanese American women were recruited as civilian nurses supporting the Occupation. Some members of the MIS brought their families with them, meaning that Sansei children were stationed in Japan with their Nisei parent(s).

Many Japanese Americans were able to reconnect with family members who had survived the war in Japan. The conditions for Japanese in the postwar

period were harsh, most lived in poverty and struggled to make ends meet. Most stories of their experiences in Japan during this period told by Japanese Americans include giving food and supplies to Japanese relatives and those in need, though research has also shown that some Nisei mistreated Japanese, abusing their power as part of the occupying forces.

Sansei Searching for Cultural Roots and Language Study (1960s–1970s)

During this period, as a result of the Asian American movement in the United States, many later generation Asian Americans, including Japanese Americans, were reclaiming their roots and asserting cultural and ethnic pride. As a way to assert ethnic pride, many Sansei (third-generation Japanese Americans) were interested in learning Japanese, because most Nisei stressed Americanization in the aftermath of internment and did not send their children to Japanese language schools. Many of these Sansei migrated to Tokyo as language and exchange students. International Christian University (ICU) in Mitaka City located in the western part of Tokyo prefecture, was host to many of these students. As a Christian university established by American missionaries in Japan, ICU already had a history of bilingual language education in English and Japanese; to this day it continues to host the University of California Education Abroad Program Center as well as individual exchange students who intend to improve their Japanese language skills and take academic classes on Japanese society and culture.

Attracted by Japan's Economic Bubble and the JET Program (1980s–)

With the development of the Japanese bubble economy (an overinflated economy that eventually “burst” in the 1990s) and the strong Japanese yen, people from all over the world were attracted to seek their fortunes in Japan. Japanese Americans were among these migrants who found jobs teaching English and working for various companies, especially those looking to expand their international employees and clientele.

In the late 1980s, the Japanese government, partly because of its economic strength, established the Japan Exchange and Teaching (JET) Program, bringing in foreign nationals to teach English, with the larger goal of “internationalizing” Japanese society. In addition to English and other foreign language teachers, the program also brings in college-educated foreign nationals to work in Japanese governmental offices, to organize international events, interpret, translate, and to advise on sports education.

Even after the bubble burst at the end of the 1990s, the establishment of Tokyo as a global city has drawn international businesspeople and professionals such as lawyers and doctors who serve this expatriate community. Many college-educated, working Japanese Americans are pulled by a powerful combination of economic opportunity and cultural affinity to Japan.

Japanese Traditional and Popular Culture

Many Japanese Americans have also migrated to Japan to learn about Japanese traditional and popular culture. For decades, Japanese Americans (as well as others outside of Japan) have been interested in Japanese kimonos, tea ceremony, religions, flower arranging, calligraphy, martial arts, and other forms of traditional arts and culture.

Since at least the 1980s, Japanese American interest in taiko has risen in the United States and, as a result, many Japanese Americans have gone to Japan to learn about Japanese styles of training and drumming. Kenny Endo, a Nisei/Sansei from Los Angeles now based in Honolulu, is one of the most famous Japanese American taiko artists. He trained in Japan for over a decade, developing his own style of drumming that he now teaches and for which he is world famous.

In more recent years, younger- and later-generation Japanese Americans have been attracted to live in Japan to study martial arts and to learn more about Japanese society generally because of a growing global interest in manga and anime. This interest in martial arts may actually be traced back to the 1960s and 1970s.

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See also Japanese Americans

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Japanese Exclusion

In American history, the period of Japanese immigrant exclusion is typically associated with the years between 1924 and 1945. The legal exclusion of Japanese immigrants from the United States actually commenced in 1907 and occurred in stages. The key restrictions on Japanese immigration were the Executive Order of March 14, 1907 (Executive Order 589), the Gentlemen's Agreement of 1907–1908, the termination of the picture-bride practice in 1920, and the Japanese exclusion clause to the Johnson-Reed Act (Immigration Act of 1924).

The Executive Order of March 14, 1907, which President Theodore Roosevelt issued, prohibited the migration to the United States of skilled and unskilled laborers who were citizens of Japan and held passports to Hawaii, Canada, or Mexico. The purpose of the order was to stop the flow of Issei (Japanese immigrants; literally, "the first generation") plantation laborers from Hawaii to California. Between 1900, following the enactment of the Hawaiian Organic Act that made Hawaii a territory of the United States, and 1907,

more than 68,000 Issei plantation laborers migrated from Hawaii to the U.S. mainland in search of jobs that paid higher wages.

In the Gentlemen's Agreement of 1907–1908, the Japanese Foreign Ministry agreed in a series of six written notes exchanged with the United States Department of State to cease issuing passports to both Japanese skilled and unskilled laborers for entry into the United States. The agreement exempted former legal residents of the United States, farmers who owned their crops, and wives, children under 20 years old, parents, and siblings of Issei resident laborers. Although the agreement did not bind it to do so, the Japanese Foreign Ministry imposed similar restrictions on Japanese immigration to Hawaii and Mexico.

The Foreign Ministry acceded to the Executive Order of March 14, 1907 and the Gentlemen's Agreement to bring resolution to a crisis that the San Francisco Board of Education had instigated in 1906. In October of that year, the Board of Education ordered ethnic Japanese and Korean students to attend the racially segregated Chinese School. The segregation order affected 93 Issei and Nisei (American-born children of Japanese immigrants; literally, "second generation"). With two exceptions, Issei parents declined to send their children to the Chinese School, which was situated in Chinatown, a district that the 1906 San Francisco earthquake and fire had devastated. Some parents also retained an Issei attorney to file a legal challenge to the segregation order in federal district court.

Desiring to defuse the crisis to maintain cooperative relations with the United States without harming Japan's international standing, the Japanese Foreign Ministry agreed to the immigration and migration restrictions only after the rescission of the segregation order. The Roosevelt Administration had pressured the Board of Education to rescind the segregation order for all ethnic Japanese students who were not overage for their grade levels. The rescission meant that Issei and Nisei students could resume attending racially integrated public schools in San Francisco.

Although excluding the immigration of laborers, the Gentlemen's Agreement also indirectly enabled the immigration of picture brides. The Gentlemen's

Agreement required all Issei residents of the United States to register with the Japanese Foreign Ministry. With the assistance of Japanese consular general officials, Issei community leaders established organizations named Japanese Associations to process registration applications and other forms, including applications to bring Japanese women into the United States as “picture brides” of Issei men whom they knew, in most cases, only through letters and photographs. There were four central bodies on the Pacific Coast—in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Portland, and Seattle—and 86 local associations across America.

Although Issei picture-bride marriages date back to the late nineteenth century, the Japanese Foreign Ministry had imposed various restrictions that prohibited picture brides of most laborers from entering the United States after the Gentlemen’s Agreement. Beginning in the summer of 1915, the Foreign Ministry opened picture-bride marriage eligibility to all Issei males provided that they met financial, age, and health requirements. Picture-bride marriages were crucial to Japanese American society. Until the 1910s, Japanese America had been predominantly a bachelor society. Picture brides altered community demographics, enabling substantive family formation and the growth of the Japanese American population.

Family formation enabled some Issei resident alien farmers to circumvent the California Alien Land Act of 1913 (Webb-Heney Act). The law prohibited the purchase of agricultural land and the leasing of agricultural land for more than three years to “all aliens ineligible to citizenship.” Although the law was unsettled at the time on the question of whether Japanese and Asian Indian aliens were “white persons” and thereby eligible for naturalized citizenship pursuant to the Revised Statutes of 1875, the majority view was that both groups were aliens ineligible for citizenship. The United States Supreme Court finally resolved the questions in *Ozawa v. U.S.*, 260 U.S. 178 (1922), holding that Japanese aliens were not Caucasian and therefore ineligible for American citizenship, and in *U.S. v. Thind*, 261 U.S. 204 (1923), holding likewise that Asian Indians were not “white” and therefore ineligible for citizenship.

To avoid the constraints of the alien land law, Issei farmers purchased or transferred title to agricultural

lands in the names of their Nisei children. Nisei were American citizens by virtue of their birth on American soil (see *U.S. v. Wong Kim Ark*, 169 U.S. 649 [1898]). This maneuver combined with race-based fears about the expanding ethnic Japanese population in California helped revive the Japanese exclusion movement shortly after the end of World War I, a war in which the United States and Japan had been allies.

At the behest of the Japanese Foreign Ministry, which desired to appease the Japanese exclusion movement, the executive board of the Japanese Association of America, a central body that was based in San Francisco, called for the termination of the picture-bride practice in late October 1919. The three other central bodies of the Japanese Association, along with many local associations, denounced the position of the Japanese Association of America. Four weeks later, the entire executive board resigned under pressure from local affiliates. Despite the overwhelming opposition of Issei to the termination of the picture-bride practice, the Japanese Foreign Ministry halted the issuance of passports to picture brides for travel to the United States as of March 1, 1920.

By terminating picture-bride marriages, the Japanese Foreign Ministry delayed Japanese exclusion. The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 had made Chinese ineligible to American citizenship and had excluded Chinese immigrants with exceptions for merchants engaged in international trade pursuant to treaty obligations, students, educators, religious ministers, and spouses and children of the excepted categories. With similar exceptions, the Immigration Act of 1917 (Asiatic Barred Zone Act; Dillingham-Burnett Act) contained a latitude and longitude clause that established a barred zone, excluding immigrants from countries in Southeast Asia, South Asia, and parts of Central Asia. By 1923, along with Filipinos, ethnic populations in the Japanese empire—Japanese, Koreans, Ainu, Okinawans, and Taiwanese—were among the few remaining Asian populations whom the United States had not yet excluded en masse.

Japanese exclusion became a national issue in 1924 during debate on an immigration bill in the United States House of Representatives. The primary purpose of the Johnson bill was to restrict immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe. To accomplish this

objective, the bill proposed a national origins quota system, limiting immigration from each foreign nation to an annual quota of 2 percent of the nation's foreign-born population residing in the United States as determined in the 1890 United States Census. Mass immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe to the United States did not begin until the 1890s. By utilizing the 1890 census to determine immigration quotas, the Johnson bill ensured low quotas from nations in Southern and Eastern Europe. In both intent and effect, the bill imposed racial quotas to maintain the Anglo-Saxon, Nordic, Teuton, and Celt racial majorities in the United States and inhibit growth of the "darker" European races.

The ethnic Japanese population in the United States was likewise small in 1890. Based on the 2 percent formula, the 1890 Census, and the existing Gentlemen's Agreement, Japan would receive an annual immigration quota of 146 persons. Despite the paltry number of Japanese immigrants admissible pursuant to these criteria, Japanese exclusionists in the United States House of Representatives sought tighter restrictions. They added a clause to the bill in March 1924 that prohibited the admission to the United States of any "alien ineligible to citizenship" except for aliens admissible as nonquota immigrants. The exceptions included merchants engaged in international trade, students, legal residents returning from visits abroad, religious ministers, college and university educators, and spouses and unmarried minor children under 18 years old of excepted persons.

Charles Evans Hughes, the United States secretary of state, asked United States Representative Albert Johnson (R-WA), the chairman of the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization and the primary sponsor of the Johnson bill, to remove the Japanese exclusion clause from the bill. After Johnson declined to do so, Secretary Hughes asked Masanao Hanihara, the Japanese ambassador to the United States, to write a note addressed to Hughes that summarized and supported the retention of the Gentlemen's Agreement. In his note of April 10, 1924, Ambassador Hanihara wrote that although the exclusion of an additional 146 Japanese per year was inconsequential, the unilateral method of exclusion was at variance with America's "high principles of justice and fair play in the

intercourse of nations." Hanihara further stated, "I realize, as I believe you do, the grave consequences which the enactment of the measure retaining that particular provision [Japanese exclusion] would inevitably bring upon the otherwise happy and mutually advantageous relations between our two countries." Two days later, the House approved the Johnson bill with the exclusion clause by a vote of 323–71.

After reviewing Ambassador Hanihara's note, Secretary Hughes sent copies of the note to the chairs of the House and Senate immigration committees. In early April, before receipt of Hanihara's note, Hughes had convinced a majority of the members of the Senate Committee on Immigration to support an amendment to the Johnson bill that would continue the Gentlemen's Agreement and subject Japan to the 2 percent immigration quota based on the 1890 Census, and thereby permit Japan to have 146 quota immigrants per year. Hughes believed that Hanihara's letter would help ensure Senate passage of the amendment.

On April 14, Senator Henry Cabot Lodge (R-MA), during debate on the Senate version of the immigration bill, motioned on the Senate floor for a closed executive session to discuss Hanihara's note. After returning from the session, Senator Lodge declared on the Senate floor that the phrase "grave consequences" in the note was a "veiled threat" against the United States. Lodge then stated that he would not support the amendment to remove the Japanese exclusion clause from the bill. Senator David Aiken Reed (R-PA), the chairman of the Senate Committee on Immigration, next took the floor and said that the "veiled threat" had also "compelled" him to vote against the amendment. When in executive session, Senators Reed and Lodge convinced most of their Senate colleagues to reject the amendment. Later that day, the Senate voted 76–2 against the amendment.

The Senate's reaction to Hanihara's note surprised both Secretary Hughes and Ambassador Hanihara. On April 17, in a letter to Hughes, Hanihara explained that the phrase "grave consequences" was not a threat but referred to the damage that an exclusion law would have on "the otherwise happy and mutually advantageous relations" between Japan and the United States. The next day, the Senate approved its version of the immigration bill, which included the Japanese

exclusion clause (“aliens ineligible to citizenship”), by a vote of 62–6. President Calvin Coolidge signed the bill into law on May 26, 1924, attaching a written statement that faulted Congress for the method utilized to achieve exclusion. The resulting Johnson-Reed Act made Japanese exclusion effective as of July 1, 1924.

The immigration restrictions coincided with the peak years of Japanese emigration. As a consequence of the restrictions that became effective between 1907 and 1924, and similar restrictions in Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, hundreds of thousands of Japanese instead immigrated to Brazil between the 1910s and late 1930s and again during the 1950s and early 1960s, Manchuria during the 1930s and early 1940s, and other locales in East Asia and Latin America. Although the United States technically ended Japanese exclusion with the enactment of the War Brides Act of 1945 and the McCarran-Walter Act of 1952, the War Brides Act applied only to Japanese spouses and children of American-citizen military servicemen, whereas the McCarran-Walter Act (Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952) capped other Japanese immigration at 185 per year. By the time the Hart-Celler Act (Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965), which abolished the quota system and relaxed immigration restrictions, became effective in July 1968, increasing affluence and robust economic growth in Japan had curtailed emigration.

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See also Chinese Exclusion Acts (1882–1943); Indian Exclusion; McCarran-Walter Act of 1952; *Ozawa v. United States* (1922); *United States v. Thind* (1923); *United States v. Wong Kim Ark* (1898); War Brides Act (1945)

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Japanese Farm Workers in America

Farming became a major means of transforming early Japanese immigrants to the U.S. mainland from sojourners into permanent settlers. Most of these Japanese immigrants had intended to return to Japan after making a good amount of money in the United States; however, it turned out to be not so easy. A successful harvest requires patience, persistence, and a significant amount of physical labor. Many Japanese immigrant farmers ended up settling in the United States permanently as they waited year after year for a crop abundant enough to ensure a comfortable life in Japan. Becoming a farmer was a lifetime dream for many early Japanese immigrants, who mostly came from farming villages in Japan where agricultural lands were often scarce. For others, farming was not the dream but the only option: Japanese immigrant laborers often had few choices aside from farming, as they were often excluded from other industries—particularly those dominated by Caucasian workers. The U.S. economy dramatically grew through industrialization in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and Japanese immigrant farm workers made great contributions to the development of agriculture on the West Coast. These Japanese farmers also played a key role in forging strong bonds within Japanese communities, especially when they faced discrimination.

From Migratory Farm Laborers to Farmers

Japanese immigrant laborers on the U.S. mainland first entered the agricultural industry as farm laborers through a labor-contracting system from the 1890s to the 1900s. They worked as harvesters on fruit and vegetable farms and also did other menial jobs such as railroad construction, mining, fishing, and working at canneries. Because they migrated from one farm to another, they were called *buranke katsugi* in Japanese, a term that referred to migrant laborers who carried



Japanese American farmer harvesting cauliflower on a ranch near Centerville, California. Photograph by Dorothea Lange. (Library of Congress)

only blankets with them when they moved. Japanese immigrant workers replaced Chinese laborers, who were banned from immigrating to the United States because of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. The labor-contracting systems were so exploitative that Japanese laborers were always placed in subordinate positions; they received lower wages than their Caucasian counterparts and were excluded from unions.

Japanese agricultural laborers passed through four stages to become independent farmers: (1) contract farmers, (2) share-tenancy, (3) cash-lease, and (4) ownership. First, contract farmers received fixed wages from landowners who provided land and all the necessary implements for raising a particular crop. Such a contract agreement was very popular among Japanese laborers as it required no capital. Some contract farmers became labor contractors, who worked as middlemen between landowners and laborers and supplied Japanese laborers to large-scale farms. After contract farmers saved enough capital, they moved to the second stage, share-tenancy. Under this system,

tenants and landowners shared the profit from the crops, but the shares depended on what resources each partner provided. If tenants had enough capital to supply horses and implements such as tools and seed, they would receive a higher share at harvest. Even though crop failure became a risk under share-tenancy, the better harvest they got, the more profit they could receive. In the third stage, cash-leasing, tenants leased the property from 1 to 10 years and received 100 percent of the profits from their crops. Although this agreement required much more capital than share-tenancy, it was a lucrative step to becoming independent farmers. With the ultimate goal of becoming landowners, Japanese farmers carefully saved money through these three stages. In 1913, out of 281,687 acres of the total agricultural landholdings of Japanese farmers in California, 55 percent was under cash-leasing agreements, 18 percent under share-tenancy agreements, 17 percent under contract agreements, and 9 percent was owned. Although there were several attempts to establish a farming colony for Japanese immigrants led by Japanese community leaders or business people, most Japanese immigrants became farmers by moving through these four stages.

Increased demands for fresh products in cities under the growing industrialization and urbanization helped Japanese immigrants become successful farmers and expand their farms. Although there were only 37 Japanese farms with 4,674 acres on the mainland in 1900, the number grew to 350 farms totaling 17,250 acres after two years and to 1,816 farms totaling 99,254 acres in 1910. Japanese farmers were mostly engaged in intensive agriculture and concentrated on producing short-term crops such as berries. They dominated production of several kinds of crops; for example, in 1929, they grew 94 percent of the berries, 92 percent of the celery, 86 percent of the tomatoes, 51 percent of the melons, and 40 percent of the potatoes in Southern California.

George Shima, "Potato King"

Several Japanese immigrants became successful farmers. Kinji Ushijima (1864–1926), who is also known by his English name, George Shima or his nickname, "Potato King," was one such farmer. Born to a farming

family in Fukuoka in the southern part of Japan, Shima arrived in San Francisco as a *dekasegi shosei* (student laborer) in 1889 and improved his English skills working as a schoolboy. He soon began to work as a migrant farm laborer in the Stockton-Sacramento delta area and then served as an agricultural labor contractor. Although agricultural development of the delta region had begun, significant tracts of inexpensive land had remained undeveloped because of the risk of occasional flooding. Shima saw great potential in these uncultivated lands and purchased them with the help of his Japanese friends. His first successful attempt at producing potatoes in the late 1890s led him to expand his farm to 3,000 acres in combination of ownership and joint tenancy by 1900; his landholdings totaled 28,800 acres by 1913. He became widely known as the millionaire “Potato King” by the end of the 1900s. It was estimated that 85 percent of the potato market in California was under his control in 1920. His great success was owed to his diligent effort to construct drainage systems to protect his farm from flooding. More than just a successful entrepreneur, Shima also played a leading role in Japanese communities. He served as the first president of the Japanese Association that was established in 1909 and fought the anti-Japanese movement head-on.

Keisaburo Koda, “Rice King”

Another successful Japanese farmer was Keisaburo Koda (1882–1964), who is known as “Rice King” of California. Koda was born in Fukushima, a northeastern part of the main island of Japan, as a son of an established rice miller and broker. He received a university education and became a school principal at the age of 20. Koda came to the United States in 1906 to study American education, but ended up becoming a migrant laborer. After working various short-term jobs on the West Coast and saving some money, he became an entrepreneur. His first venture was to open a laundry chain; later he established a tuna canning company near San Pedro with Japanese partners to process the catch made by Japanese American fishermen. He then founded another canning company to process vegetables in Los Angeles, which became very successful during the World War I economic

boom. Having sold this cannery for \$250,000, he sharecropped and leased more than 3,000 acres in Sacramento and began to grow rice in 1919. Although this new venture did not go well at first, he received financial support from a Jewish business partner and made a profit of \$50,000 from 2,000 acres in 1923. In the following three years, his farm profits averaged between \$20,000 and \$30,000 a season. By 1932, he had expanded his farm to over 10,000 acres. Koda also popularized the use of airplanes to seed large-scale farms. This innovation became popular among farmers in California. He established the “Kokuho Rose” brand of rice, which is one of the most popular brands in the United States even today.

Anti-Japanese Movement and Alien Land Laws

Successes of Japanese farmers such as Shima and Koda unfortunately contributed to the anti-Japanese movement, which had been growing in California since the beginning of the twentieth century. One of the results of this movement was the Gentlemen’s Agreement of 1907–1908 between the United States and Japanese governments, which placed restrictions on Japanese immigrant laborers’ entry to the United States. California Governor Hiram Johnson, a leading nativist and critic of Japanese immigration and labor, signed the Alien Land Law in 1913. This law prohibited aliens who were ineligible for citizenship and companies in which the majority of the stocks were owned by such aliens from owning agricultural lands in California. It also limited lease of these lands by noncitizens to three years. Japanese immigrant farmers were clearly the target of this legislation as they were not eligible to become U.S. citizens. However, this law did not have the significant effect on them that proponents of the anti-Japanese movement had expected. In fact, many Japanese farmers managed to keep operating their farms by taking advantage of the many loopholes in this legislation. As World War I increased demands for food production, most Japanese farmers could easily renew the lease for three years. Some founded companies with American citizens and made them the majority owner so that ownership of farmlands under the new company remained legal. Others transferred land ownership to their American-born

children and served as their legal guardians. “Rice King” Koda, for example, maintained his rice farms in this way. As a result, despite the enactment of the law, agricultural landholdings by Japanese farmers actually increased from 300,000 to 458,000 acres between 1914 and 1920.

However, the California state legislature passed the new Alien Land Law in 1920, which was much stricter than the original law from 1913. It was designed to close the loopholes in the preceding law, namely to prohibit a sale or lease of lands to noncitizens or their companies even if they were minority owners. The new law also banned noncitizens from acting as legal guardians of underage citizens for the purpose of maintaining land ownership. The Japanese Associations of America questioned the constitutionality of the amendment, but the U.S. Supreme Court found it constitutional in 1923. As Japanese immigrant farmers were no longer able to remain owners or tenants, their landholdings dramatically decreased after 1920. In addition to California, 14 other states enacted similar land laws targeting Japanese farmers: Arizona (1917), Washington, Texas, Louisiana (1921), New Mexico (1922), Oregon, Idaho, Montana (1923), Kansas (1925), Missouri (1939), Utah, Arkansas, Nebraska (1943), and Minnesota (1945). The law remained in effect in California until its repeal in 1956, when Sei Fujii, an Issei community leader, challenged it before the California Supreme Court.

Influence of the Wartime Internment

Forced relocation of Japanese Americans from the designated military zone on the West Coast during World War II deprived Japanese farmers in these areas of their lands and property and caused severe damage to the economic structure of their farms. Upon release from internment camps, over 55,000 Japanese Americans returned to California by 1946 to find they had lost their property. “Rice King” Koda, who was sent to a camp in Colorado during the war, found that he had lost two-thirds of his farmlands and other assets including a mill upon returning to his property in California. As his son worked to reconstruct the family business, his company made a great economic recovery in the postwar period. However, many Issei

Japanese farmers were discouraged by the loss of property because of the internment and gave up farming or retired. Those who resettled in regions like the Midwest and East Coast rarely went back to farming as they were resettled in urban areas and found industrial and service jobs in the postwar economy. Overall, the number of Japanese farms declined in the postwar period because more Nisei and Sansei sought higher education and pursued careers with higher socioeconomic status as racial discrimination was becoming less severe. However, the Issei farmers’ great contribution to agricultural development and their history of struggles against racial discrimination that laid the foundation of Japanese American experience should be remembered.

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See also Alien Land Laws; Japanese Americans; Japanese Americans in Hawaii

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Japanese Immigrant Press

Japanese immigrants (Issei) had a remarkable penchant for organizing the ethnic press. Both on the U.S. mainland and in Hawaii, a large number of newspapers and periodicals have been published, and major concentrations of Issei populations such as San Francisco, Los Angeles, Seattle, and Honolulu had at least two major vernacular dailies from the beginning of the twentieth century through December 1941. Despite the wartime incarceration of Japanese Americans, the postwar years saw the revival of the ethnic press whereas the main readership shifted from the immigrant to the American-born generation. Yet, Japanese-language vernaculars have continued to occupy an important place in contemporary Japanese America as the influx of postwar newcomers from Japan still necessitates their presence.

Continental United States

The history of the Japanese ethnic press began as soon as the first group of immigrant intellectuals arrived in San Francisco around 1886. Having escaped the Japanese government's suppression of the People's Rights movement, Issei political exiles used mimeographed newspapers called *Shinonome* ("Dawn") and *Shin Nippon* ("New Japan") as the venue to condemn Tokyo's antidemocratic policy. These political newspapers frequently changed names, but they continued to be published, albeit in very small circulation, in San Francisco from 1886 through 1894. Initially, they carried mostly news items and commentaries on Japanese politics. Yet, as mimeographed weeklies gave way to lithographed dailies around 1892, they began to print more "local" reports relating to Japanese immigrant society and exclusionist agitation. The first immigrant daily was called the *Soko Shimbun* (*San Francisco News*), whose name subsequently changed to the *Soko Shimpo* (*The San Francisco*) in 1893 and *Soko Jiji* (*San Francisco Times*) in 1895. Published from 1893 to 1895, another lithographed daily titled *Kinmon Nippo* (*Golden Gate News*) had four to six pages with a regular subscription of about 70.

Around 1895, Japanese immigrant press transformed from a medium of political advocacy to an important institution of ethnic community. The first typeset daily, *Shin Sekai Shimbun* (*New World Daily*), started its operation in May 1894 with circulation of 80 (increased to 200 by 1897). By 1899, it expanded from a 6-page to an 8-page newspaper with growing subscriptions, for the *Shin Sekai* attracted readership from Buddhists and nationalistic segments of early Japanese America. Opponents of these groups, like Christians, American-educated intellectuals, and entrepreneurs, supported rival newspapers, which subsequently merged into the *Nichibei Shimbun* (*Japanese American News*) in April 1899. Until the mass incarceration of Japanese Americans in the spring of 1942, these two dailies remained the most important vernacular press, whose influence reached through much of California and as far east as the Rocky Mountain states. In 1922, the *Nichibei Shimbun* acquired a bankrupt daily and renamed it as the *Rafu Nichibei* (*Los Angeles*

Japanese American), which continued to publish until 1931.

Southern California saw the publication of the first regional vernacular *Rafu Shimpo* (*Los Angeles Japanese Daily News*) in 1904. Similar to its Northern California counterpart, the local Japanese immigrant community sustained a number of newspapers according to divided political interests and internal factionalism. During the decade following the birth of the *Rafu Shimpo*, a number of vernaculars came and went, and by 1920 there were four major Japanese dailies in the area. The post-World War I recession reconfigured the discursive and business landscape in Southern California, consolidating four-way competition into rivalry between the *Rafu Shimpo* and *Rafu Nichibei*. After the latter was liquidated in 1931, some of its staff writers collaborated with other immigrants who had been critical of a collusion between the *Rafu Shimpo* and local Japanese association leadership to establish the *Kashu Mainichi* (*Japan California Daily News*) in Los Angeles.

Seattle was another home for some of the earliest vernacular newspapers. Starting in 1897, a succession of short-lived mimeographed weeklies came out, but bitter rivalries within the local Japanese community provided a background for the publication of three major dailies known as the *Hokubei Jiji* (*North American Times*), *Asahi Shimbun*, and *Taihoku Nippo* (*Great Northern Daily News*). Although the *Asahi Shimbun* had a short life of 10 years after 1905, the *Hokubei Jiji* and *Taihoku Nippo*, published in 1902 and 1910, respectively, survived as major Japanese dailies of the Pacific Northwest until the early months of 1942.

In the continental United States, there were other regional newspapers. In Pacific Northwest, the *Oshu Nippo* began its operation in Portland, Oregon in 1904, and the *Takoma Shuho* (*Tacoma Japanese Times*) eight years later. In California, around 1907, the *Ofu Nippo* (*Sacramento Daily News*) and *Chuka Jiho* (*Japanese Times of Central California*) were published in Sacramento and Fresno to serve the local populations. The Japanese fishing community of Terminal Island had its own *Minami Engan Jiho* (*Southern Coast Herald*) since 1915. All these regional newspapers survived until Japan's bombing of Pearl Harbor.

The Rocky Mountain region constituted a vibrant site for early Japanese immigrant discursive formation

when thousands of mining and railroad workers lived in Utah, Colorado, Wyoming, and parts of Nebraska. Between 1907 and 1914, three major dailies emerged, but their influence waned as the local laboring population diminished after the immigration exclusion of the mid-1920s. Although the printing of the *Kakushu Jiji* (*Colorado Times*) of Denver decreased from daily to three times a week, the *Utah Nippo* of Salt Lake City absorbed its Ogden rival, *Rakki Jiho*, in 1927. The *Kakushu Jiji* and *Utah Nippo*, however, became important outlets of information during the Pacific War when all major West Coast Japanese American newspapers were shut down.

New York City was an important hub of international merchants, immigrant intellectuals, artists, and political activists, as well as some Issei domestic workers. An elite segment of prewar New York Japanese formed an exclusive society, which had shored up small weeklies since 1897. Published in 1900 and 1911, respectively, the *Nichibei Jiho* (*Japanese American Commercial News*) and *Nyuyoku Shinpo* provided Issei with news reports relating to local Japanese affairs and U.S.-Japan trade.

With the increase of second-generation Japanese Americans (Nisei), the 1920s saw a rise in bilingualism in the Japanese immigrant press. The first vernacular newspaper that included an English-language section was the *Nichibei Shimbun* of San Francisco, which attempted to mold a separate public opinion among American-born citizens. Because existing anti-Japanese legislation used the Issei's legal status as unnaturalizable aliens as the basis of racial discrimination, Abiko Kyutaro, the publisher of the *Nichibei Shimbun*, anticipated that Nisei citizens would overcome institutionalized racism as long as the ethnic community nurtured their leadership and elevate their overall quality. For Abiko, inserting English pages into his daily was as much an educational endeavor for his ethnic posterity as it was a shrewd business decision to tap into a neglected new readership. Other major dailies, like the *Shin Sekai*, *Rafu Shimpo*, *Taihoku Nippo*, and *Kashu Mainichi*, followed suit through the late 1920s and 1930s, employing Nisei editors and writers for the English sections. Reflecting the diverging viewpoints between Issei and Nisei, the Japanese and English pages sometimes revealed different

assertions and varying focuses. To cater to the unique challenge and interests of Nisei youngsters, James Sakamoto of Seattle took it upon himself to start an all-English Nisei weekly titled *the Japanese American Courier* in 1928. Starting from October 1929, the *Pacific Citizen* was also published in English as the weekly organ of the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL).

Other notable developments in the Japanese immigrant press included the publication of trade papers, religious journals, and political organs. In the mid-1910s, the Japanese Agricultural Association of California issued a monthly titled the *Kashu Chuo Nokai Geppo* for the benefit of Issei farmers in the Golden State. In Southern California, the local Japanese farm federation printed a weekly, which later expanded into the *Beikoku Sangyo Nippo* (*Japanese Industrial Daily*). On a religious front, the Buddhist Mission of America issued the monthly *Beikoku Bukkyo* (*American Buddhism*) between 1901 and 1918. Though much smaller in circulation, Issei leftists and radicals of California and Washington put forth newspapers and periodicals under various titles. Between 1926 and 1941, one stream of such a publication transformed itself from the *Kaikyusen* (*Class Struggle*) to the *Zaibei Rodo Shimbun* (*Japanese Worker in America*), and from the *Rodo Shimbun* (*Rodo Shimbun*) to the *Doho* (*Doho*). During the 1930s, these leftist papers were shipped to Japan as well under the auspices of the American Community Party. In Seattle, local Japanese labor activists and leftists published the *Rodo* (*Labor*) semimonthly from 1920.

Hawaii

Despite the longer history of Japanese immigration to the islands, Hawaii lagged behind California in the formation of vernacular press. Combined with the dominance of government-sponsored contract laborers between 1885 and 1892, the dearth of an intellectual class explained the difference between the two population hubs of early Japanese America. In Hawaii, the first mimeographed paper appeared in 1892, and other short-lived weeklies ensued in various names. Many early papers tended to serve the cause of Japanese labor activism, as they offered a forum for expressing

discontent for exploitation by both sugar planters and Japanese emigration companies, as well as mistreatment by immigration officials. Published in 1894, the *Hawai Shimpō*, Hawaii's first Japanese typeset daily, played a major role in ethnic mobilization around these issues, though it flip-flopped on the 1909 Oahu Strike by opposing mass labor action against sugar planters. Often characterized as a "red paper," the *Hawai Nichi Nichi Shinbun* was especially active in the area of labor struggle on the eve of the 1904 plantation strikes.

By 1912, Hawaii's Japanese came to have two major dailies in Honolulu in accordance with political, religious, and temperamental divides within the ethnic community. Initially known as the *Yamato Shimbun* in 1895, the *Nippu Jiji*'s prominence stemmed from its dogged support of the massive Japanese strike of 1909, which resulted in the arrest and detention of its publisher Soga Yasutaro. Subsequently, however, the *Nippu Jiji* tended to take a more "conciliatory" position on the questions of racism and discrimination than its rival, the *Hawai Hochi* that was published by Makino Kinzaburo in 1912. In contrast to *Nippu Jiji*'s penchant for interracial cooperation and its call for assimilation, the *Hawai Hochi* often confronted instances of overt racism head-on. The community-wide test case against Hawaii's foreign language school laws is a case in point. Whereas the *Nippu Jiji* disapproved of such an action out of its desire to work with Hawaii's Haole leaders and Japanese diplomats, the *Hawai Hochi* stood behind Issei parents, teachers, and community leaders, who decided to bring a lawsuit against the territorial government, a suit that ended in a historic victory at the U.S. Supreme Court in 1927. The rivalry between the two papers continued through the prewar years. Just as in California and Washington, the *Nippu Jiji* and the *Hawai Hochi* carried both Japanese and English sections after the 1920s.

Because of the problem of accessibility, Hawaii's Japanese community outside the island of Oahu supported a number of regional newspapers that continued operation until the outbreak of the Pacific War. In Hilo, a town of eastern Hawaii, the *Hawai Shokumin Shimbun* began daily publication in 1909, and from 1914 to 1941 it was known as the *Hawai Mainichi*. The *Kona Hankyo* (*Kona Echo*) served the residents of the western Hawaii since as early as 1897. The islands of

Kauai and Maui had the *Kauai Shimpō* and the *Maui Shimbun* established in 1904 and 1915, respectively.

Wartime and Postwar Years

During the Pacific War, all West Coast newspapers were put out of commission as Japanese Americans were removed from the area to War Relocation Centers. Outside of the military exclusion zone, the *Utah Nippo* of Salt Lake City, the *Colorado Times*, and the newly established *Rocky Shimpō* of Denver rapidly increased circulation because many internees and resettlers subscribed to them. Along with the JACL's *Pacific Citizen*, each relocation center also issued a bilingual newspaper that carried official U.S. government reports and camp affairs. In Hawaii, the *Nippu Jiji* and the *Hawai Hochi* remained in business, though with more Americanized names as the *Hawaii Times* and the *Hawaii Herald*, respectively. Except for the *Rocky Shimpō* and camp newspapers, all of the Rocky Mountain and Hawaiian vernaculars continued their operations after 1945.

The postwar years saw not only the revival of major dailies in the Pacific Coast states but also the emergence of new vernaculars in other parts of the continental United States. In Los Angeles, the *Rafu Shimpō* and the *Kashu Mainichi* resumed publication in 1946 and in 1947, whereas another bilingual daily titled the *Shin Nichibei Shimbun* (*New Japanese American News*) was formed under the partnership of local Issei and Nisei businessmen and community leaders. In San Francisco, former employees and supporters of the *Nichibei Shimbun* organized the *Nichibei Jiji* (*Nichi Bei Times*) in 1946, and a lineal descendant of the prewar *Shin Sekai* appeared in the name of the *Hokubei Mainichi*. Seattle had only one daily called the *Hokubei Hochi* (*North American Post*), which was a successor of the *Hokubei Jiji*. Meanwhile, because many resettlers made the Midwest and the East their new home after release from the internment camps, there emerged the *Chicago Shimpō* and the *Hokubei Shimpō* of New York in 1945.

In contemporary Japanese America, the ethnic press still offers an important site for discursive and identity formation even though generation shift and easy information access have made many newspapers

vulnerable to a shrinkage of readership. Currently, the *Rafu Shimpo*, *Nichi Bei Jiji*, *North American Post*, *Chicago Shimpo*, *Hawaii Herald*, and *Pacific Citizen* are still present, albeit in various formats. There are also a myriad of new regional vernaculars and free papers in many cities with a sizable Japanese population.

Eiichiro Azuma

See also Japanese American Citizens League (JACL); Japanese Americans in Hawaii; *Nichibei Shimbun* (Japanese American News)

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Japanese Immigrant Women

Since 1868, women, along with men, have been migrating from Japan to different parts of the world: first to Hawaii and Guam, then to other parts of the Pacific and the Americas, and finally to just about everywhere imaginable. Overall, Japanese women's migration to Hawaii and the continental United States can be divided into five major waves: 1868, 1885/1891 to 1908; 1908 to 1920/1924; 1947 to 1964; and 1965 to the present. Although motivated in part by personal reasons and desires, their migration has been primarily defined by economic factors and by immigration laws and agreements.

Prior to 1868, the only Japanese to make it to Hawaiian shores were small shiploads of Japanese sailors that had drifted into Hawaiian waters. Very few, if any, women were probably among them. During the Tokugawa era (1600–1868) Japanese *shogun* (military

leaders) upheld a policy of self-imposed isolation, and sailors who strayed from Japan could expect to be jailed upon their return and treated with suspicion.

In 1868, the first boatload of Japanese immigrants was brought to the Hawaiian kingdom through the controversial efforts of American consul general Eugene Van Reed. Among the 150 or so Japanese passengers on board were about five or six women, including a Mrs. Nakamura who was the first female prostitute from Japan. Van Reed had initially arranged for the transport of these *Gannen Mono* (First Year People), with the cooperation of the Japanese government and at the urging of the Honolulu Board of Immigration, which sought to regulate the importation of sugar plantation labor. However, Van Reed had these laborers transported during the chaos of the Meiji Restoration, without securing a treaty of commerce and friendship that he had been trying to negotiate. After they arrived, reports circulated back to Japan about how they were being subjected to slave-like working conditions. Upon settling these grievances, the Meiji government (1868–1912) was opposed to sending additional laborers to the islands.

However, over the next decade, as the Meiji government faced mounting population pressure, limited land and natural resources, and rural economic depression, it reconsidered. To alleviate these growing problems, it decided to allow mass labor emigration to Hawaii in 1885, and to the continental United States in 1891. Before sending these laborers to Hawaii, the Meiji government negotiated the terms of their three-year contracts to provide them with basic rights and protections. Women were allowed to enter Hawaii only as the wife of a sugar laborer; in addition, in contrast to men who were welcomed independent of women, women's monthly wages were to be \$6 in contrast to \$9 for men. From 1885 to 1894, the Meiji government oversaw labor emigration. Then from 1894 to 1900, the government transferred this responsibility to private companies. Starting in 1900, when Hawaii became a territory and subject to U.S. law that outlawed contract labor emigration, emigrant laborers arranged and paid for their own passage to Hawaii.

From 1885 to 1900, about 86,000 Japanese arrived in Hawaii. During this time, there was a nearly constant ratio of four males to each female in Hawaii's

Japanese population. Starting in 1891, labor contractors who provided workers to U.S. railroads, sawmills, canneries, fisheries, and farms, arranged for mass labor emigration from Japan to the Pacific Coast. From 1891 to 1900, 27,440 Japanese were admitted to the United States. In 1900, the sex ratio in the Japanese population of the three Pacific Coast states was 21 males to 1 female. From 1885 to 1908, the majority of Japanese arrivals to Hawaii and the Pacific Coast were young able-bodied men in their twenties and thirties who were *dekasegi* (sojourner) immigrants. They, along with the smaller proportion of Japanese female emigrants, hoped that if they labored abroad for a few years, they could afford to return to Japan and settle permanently.

Because of the shortage of women in Japanese immigrant (Issei) communities from 1885 to 1900, Issei women were in high demand as wives and prostitutes. Despite the dangers, some Issei women engaged in prostitution by choice because it paid much more than other jobs available to them; others were tricked or forced into this notorious trade. Issei men were known to smuggle in women for purposes of prostitution, sell their wives or mistresses to each other, act as their wife's pimp, and steal and rape the wives of other Issei men.

In 1900, the Japanese government imposed emigration restrictions, which decreased the number of male laborers going to the continental United States, but similar restrictions would not apply to Hawaii until 1908. In response to agitation against Japanese laborers on the West Coast, the Japanese government prohibited the emigration of male laborers to the continental United States and Canada in August 1900. Then in June 1902, it relaxed this restriction by allowing immigrant laborers who had returned to Japan from the United States to reenter the United States, along with their wives, children, and parents. Between 1901 and 1907, Japan issued almost 37,000 passports to persons destined for the continental United States, but of these, only about 5,000 were issued to laborers who were presumably former resident laborers returning to the United States. The rest were for persons classified as nonlaborers. In contrast, between 1901 and 1907, 71,000 Japanese immigrants entered Hawaii, and the majority were young able-

bodied men, who were still being recruited by the sugar plantations. When Hawaii became a U.S. territory in 1900 and subject to U.S. law that forbade contract labor importation, the Issei were not obliged to complete their labor contracts. Labor contractors on the West Coast who could no longer import labor directly from Japan began recruiting Japanese laborers in Hawaii. From 1901 to 1907, more than 38,000 Japanese left Hawaii for the West Coast.

Soon other restrictions were developed to stop Japanese laborers from entering the continental United States via Hawaii, Mexico, and Canada, and directly from Japan. In an effort to resolve the San Francisco school board's internationally contentious decision of October 11, 1906, to segregate Japanese pupils in the public schools, President Theodore Roosevelt issued an executive order on March 14, 1907, that stemmed the flow of Japanese laborers via insular possessions, the Canal Zone, or other nations. In addition, President Theodore Roosevelt's ambassador to Japan negotiated with Japan's foreign minister for passage of what became known as the Gentlemen's Agreement of 1908. It stipulated that Japan would stop the emigration of new laborers to the United States and its territories. However, returnees and close kin of Japanese already residing in the United States and its territories would be allowed passports from the Japanese government to emigrate. This loophole, which was a critical concession demanded by the Japanese government, made it possible for many Japanese male laborers who had already emigrated to send for their wives, children, and younger relatives and be allowed to reenter if they had left the United States and its territories.

Starting in the summer of 1908, when the Gentlemen's Agreement became effective, many Japanese male laborers who had accumulated just enough savings to send for their kin (*yobiyose*) chose to do so while they still had the opportunity. Many sent for wives, because there were few single Japanese women of marriageable age in Hawaii or the western United States. Most Japanese wives who entered the United States from 1908 to 1924 were young, so-called "picture brides" (*shashin hanayome*); a minority was summoned by husbands who had left them behind or accompanied laborers who had returned to Japan to

find a wife. Okinawan and Korean women also entered with Japanese passports under the Gentlemen's Agreement of 1908, because Okinawa and Korea became part of Japan in 1879 and 1910, respectively.

The term picture bride was an accepted term but a misnomer, because prior to entry, each picture bride had been married under Japanese law to the man she was joining in Hawaii by having her name entered into his family's registry at the village office. The use of photos for matches between Japan and Hawaii or the continental United States helped the newly wedded husband and wife to identify each other when they met at the immigration station.

As a result of the many young wives who came after passage of the Gentlemen's Agreement of 1908, the male to female sex ratio in the Japanese ancestry population became less disparate, a baby boom ensued, and through their children Japanese immigrants were more compelled to settle permanently in America. By 1920 the Japanese population in Hawaii reached 109,274 (42.7 percent of the territory's population), which exceeded the 104,282 Japanese in the western United States. According to the 1910 U.S. Census, there were 79,675 Japanese people in Hawaii and 72,157 on the continent, with women comprising 24,891 or 31.2 percent of Hawaii's total and 9,087 or 12.6 percent of the continental total. The growing second generation (Nisei), and the perceived economic, social, and political threat that they represented to anti-Japanese forces, which were especially virulent in the Western states, induced Japan to stop allowing picture brides to enter the continental United States beginning March 1, 1920. Only wives who accompanied their spouses could emigrate, but it was too costly for most immigrant bachelors to travel to Japan to find a wife. By contrast, Japan continued allowing picture brides to enter Hawaii, where their presence and ensuing elevation of the birthrate was welcomed by the sugar industry.

But neither the Gentlemen's Agreement nor the barring of picture brides to the continental United States proved sufficient to stay anti-Japanese feeling. In 1924, Congress finally ended Japanese immigration through passage of the U.S. Immigration Act that set annual quotas that favored northern and western

European immigration, severely limited southern and eastern European immigration, and completely halted Asian immigration by denying entry to "aliens ineligible for citizenship."

Most Japanese women who entered during the picture bride era (1908–1924) made a living by undertaking arduous wage labor in the same industries—agriculture, service, and trade—that employed Issei men. Once they started having children, most Issei women switched to doing paid domestic labor or running small side businesses out of their home so they could fit their wage earning around their household and childcare responsibilities. During World War II, only incarceration in internment camps, which was ordered for all West Coast Japanese and less than 1 percent of Hawaii Japanese, interrupted most Issei women's lifetime of employment in unskilled, low-paying jobs.

As a result of World War II, a new wave of Asian immigration developed from the late 1940s through the mid-1960s that was predominantly female. Between 1947 and 1965, thousands of women from Japan entered the United States and Hawaii, which became the fiftieth U.S. state in 1959, as wives of U.S. servicemen. The 1945 War Brides Act was amended in 1947 to include veterans of Asian ancestry, which enabled Asian G.I.s to return to the United States with wives they had married in Asia. However, most Japanese wives of G.I.s were married to non-Asian men, and entered as nonquota immigrants under the 1952 McCarran-Walter Act, which included a clause that allowed Japanese immigrants to be naturalized and allotted Japan an immigration quota of 185 persons a year. Japanese wives returned with soldiers as a result of the U.S. occupation of Japan immediately after World War II, and the stationing of troops for rest and recreation in Japan during the Korean and Vietnam Wars. In the 1950s, an average of 2,000 to 5,000 Japanese women immigrated to the United States; in the 1960s about 2,500 arrived annually; and in the 1970s, the average declined to about 1,500 per year. Under the Refugee Act of 1953, Japanese women were among the 2,268 Japanese who entered the United States from May 1955 to 1956, when the act expired, and worked in the two California orchards of their sponsor.

Passage of the 1965 Immigration Act finally ended the discriminatory national quota system of the 1924 Immigration Act. Among Asian countries, only Japan has not sent a significant number of immigrants to the United States since 1965. Instead of being known for its exportation of laborers and “brides,” Japan is now known for exporting technology, cars, cute character merchandise, and entertainment.

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See also Japanese Immigrant Press; Japanese War Brides

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Japanese Language in Asian American Studies

The ability of scholars to access Japanese-language materials has enhanced the way we understand native Japanese-speaking populations in the United States. Native Japanese-speaking populations include first-generation immigrants in the United States since the late 1800s (Issei), their children who were born in the United States but sent to Japan for a period during childhood for education (Kibei Nisei), and postwar first-generation migrants from Japan (Shin-Issei). Most work using Japanese has focused on Issei, with a smaller amount of scholarship on Kibei Nisei, whereas very little research has been conducted thus far on Shin-Issei. Overall, this research has primarily been conducted by historians in the United States. In addition, academics in history, sociology, and American Studies based in Japan have also contributed to our knowledge of Japanese (American) migrant experiences documented in Japanese.

Most scholars in Asian American studies rely on English language documents and communication for their research. Increasingly, Asian American studies have been influenced by the growing integration of a transnational framework that acknowledges experiences and identities not only in the United States but also

in Asia and other places. When Asian American studies was established in the 1960s, one of the main goals was to document Asian American histories in the United States to supplement the mainstream U.S. histories that largely excluded them or demeaned their presence in the United States. That is, it was important for Asian Americans to “claim America” and show how their histories and identities in the United States made them American. This meant that the focus of studies on Japanese migrants leaned toward their experiences in the United States and their trajectory in becoming Americans under a narrative of Americanization and assimilation.

Two major trends have contributed to an increase in the use and analysis of Japanese language materials in Asian American studies. One is the theoretical diversification of the field. As Asian American studies programs have developed across the United States and the study of Asian Americans has developed academic recognition and institutionalization, more theories and methods are being utilized. With the establishment of teaching materials and research on Asian Americans, a critical mass of academic work has developed, requiring new scholarship to engage and push it in new directions to create a diversity of views on the subject.

The second major trend is the diversification of academics studying Asian Americans. There are increasingly scholars who speak, read, and write Japanese who are interested in researching Japanese Americans from new angles, accessing different documents and asking different kinds of questions about immigrant identities and transnationalism. Most of these scholars are based in the United States but some are also based in Japan. Some identify as Asian American, whereas others do not. Some use ethnic studies methods (identifying with the population being studied, research conducted with social justice as a larger goal), whereas others do not.

The most well-known Japanese language scholar of Asian American studies is probably University of Pennsylvania historian Eiichiro Azuma. His work has especially contributed to furthering the understanding of Issei as transnational migrants. For example, by analyzing documents that Issei constructed themselves not only in English, but in Japanese as well, Azuma’s

work shows how there were differences in the ways in which Issei imagined and positioned themselves in English versus in Japanese. In Japanese, Issei historians (who tended to be educated transnationally, attending college in the United States, Japan, or both) developed what Azuma calls the “Issei pioneer thesis.” This thesis discursively drew from English in the United States and Japanese in Japan to emphasize Japanese participation in frontier expansionism in the United States, specifically in the settling of the West. Asserting the active role of Japanese in this way challenged white American views that racially excluded and subjugated them. At the same time, Issei asserted their role as part of Japanese development and expansion overseas. Azuma recounts how Issei historians conflated domestic and international race relations by seeing their struggles for racial equality in the domestic context of the United States as similar to Japan’s challenges to ascendancy in the global theater dominated by whites.

Although the Issei pioneer thesis was undoubtedly transnational in its early years (from the late 1920s), by 1941, when this work was translated to English, a significant discursive shift occurred: the thesis became nationally based. On the eve of the Pacific War where Japan and the United States would become enemies, Issei historians clearly made the decision to lose their sense of dualism and highlight their Americanness when publishing in English. Azuma points out how these Issei writings are often omitted from Japanese American history because they do not fit the (English-based) narrative since World War II produced by Nisei that emphasized their loyalty to the United States and the lack of connection to Japan. Indeed, if reading only work published in English for Nisei and white Americans, Issei writings would follow this narrative. But by presenting us with analysis based on Japanese language materials, Azuma provides us with a more comprehensive and critical understanding of Issei histories, experiences, and identities.

Meanwhile, some scholars at academic institutions in Japan are doing research in Japanese on Japanese Americans. The theories, perspectives, and political positionings of these scholars overlap with, yet vary from, scholars based in the United States. Two main groups can be identified in terms of their approaches

to studying Japanese Americans. One group is those who were trained in the United States (in ethnic studies), then returned to Japan and whose work is more politicized because of their background in ethnic studies. They are studying and writing about Japanese Americans as Asian Americans—in terms of histories and contemporary experiences of racial discrimination. Many of these scholars are training a new generation of academics in Japan from this perspective, some of whom choose to use their Japanese language skills to access materials on Japanese Americans that have not been analyzed yet. A few studies have looked at Kibei Nisei experiences. Examples of these scholars include Yasuko Takezawa and Masumi Izumi. Another group is those whose training was entirely in Japan and whose approach to studying Japanese Americans is more from a Japanese perspective, seeing Japanese Americans as part of a larger overseas Japanese or diaspora population. Many of these scholars based at Japanese academic institutions regularly present their work in the United States at national conferences, some publishing their work mostly in Japanese and others publishing bilingually both in Japanese and in English.

Although most work on Japanese language materials in Asian American Studies has focused on Issei experiences, Azuma and other scholars have also conducted research on Kibei Nisei experiences. There still is a need to look at more contemporary, post-war experiences of Japanese migrants in the United States.

Jane H. Yamashiro

See also Kibei

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Japanese Transnational Identity

Transnationalism refers to the condition of being connected to multiple nation-states at the same time. These connections must be real, lived ties—not simply imagined or historical linkages. Transnational ties can be studied and observed in terms of political, economic, cultural, and social dimensions.

Japanese transnational identities may overlap with, but are analytically distinguishable from Japanese American ethnic identities. Japanese American ethnic identities are the ways in which ethnic Japanese in the United States identify with their Japanese heritage. These identities are rooted in the histories and experiences of Japanese Americans in the United States. Some of these ethnic identities may take on transnational forms, when Japanese Americans identify with contemporary Japanese society and culture. But ethnic identities are not necessarily transnational, as Japanese Americans may identify with the Japanese cultural forms that migrants in the early twentieth century brought with them and these are not necessarily the same as contemporary forms that one would find in Japanese society today.

Japanese transnational identities linked to Japan and the United States can be conceived of in two major ways: Japanese migrating from Japan and Japanese Americans developing ties or migrating to Japan. Alternatively, Japanese transnational identities can be separated into three generational groups: first-generation Japanese who migrate abroad; second-generation Japanese Americans who are born in the United States but grow up connected to Japan; and third-, fourth-, and later-generation Japanese Americans who develop connections to Japan later in life and usually not through familial connections.

Japanese Migrating from Japan and Japanese Americans Developing Ties or Migrating to Japan

Japanese migrants from Japan to the United States have been able to maintain ties to both countries in ways that facilitate transnationalism. These linkages have taken different shapes in different time periods. In the prewar period (1880s to 1940s), Japanese

migrants adapted and integrated into the neighborhoods in the United States where they resided. Although participating in local U.S. communities, they also maintained ties to Japan through reading Japanese newspapers, sending letters to family and friends in Japan, and joining Japanese organizations to keep informed about happenings in Japan. Many sent money back to Japan, and some traveled to Japan for family and business reasons.

In the postwar period (since World War II) technological advancements have made it much easier and less expensive to maintain connections with people in faraway places. In addition to previous forms of communication such as postal letters and telephone calls by land-line, Japanese migrants in the United States can now stay connected to people in Japan via the Internet. Although previous waves of emigrants had to rely on printed forms of newspapers and other documents sharing news from Japan, recent migrants can now access newspapers online, as well as see Japanese television news programs to view news almost instantly as it is reported. Many Japanese television programs and films are also available online, as well as for rent or purchase at video stores in larger urban areas in the United States.

Many U.S.-born Japanese Americans go to Japan and live there as exchange students, to teach English, or for other study or work, including training in martial and other cultural arts, such as Japanese tea ceremony, kimono-wearing, ikebana (flower arranging), and Japanese calligraphy. These Japanese Americans are what social scientists call “ethnic return migrants”—the descendants of emigrants born and raised outside of the homeland who migrate “back” (though this movement is often their first time going to or living in the homeland).

Japanese Migrants in the United States Maintain Ties to Japan

First-generation Japanese migration abroad and the resulting Japanese transnational identities that emerge can be thought of in at least three ways, which often overlap. Although Issei refers to first-generation Japanese migrants generally, in the United States, this term is usually associated more specifically with prewar

Japanese migration that mostly took place from the late 1800s to the early 1900s.

The postwar migration of Japanese to the United States can be separated into two subgroups, based on whether or not they settle in the United States; these are the second and third types of first-generation Japanese transnational identities. One of these groups of Japanese emigrants is the Shin-Issei: the “new” Issei who have migrated since World War II. This group comes from diverse backgrounds; at one end are “war brides” who come from lower socioeconomic backgrounds and married U.S. soldiers then migrated to the United States with them, and at the other end are more highly educated Japanese who migrated with more financial resources as part of the post-1965 wave of more skilled Asian migrants.

The third group of Japanese emigrants can be called “overseas Japanese.” This group includes Japanese businesspeople (and their families) who are temporarily stationed abroad for work, college students from Japan, and “creative” or “lifestyle migrants” who are pursuing work as artists. Shin-Issei implies ultimate Japanese settlement in the United States, whereas “overseas Japanese” does not necessarily imply settlement in the United States.

The terminology used to describe first-generation Japanese migrants reflects differing national perspectives. Issei means first generation and implies the first generation of Japanese to settle outside of Japan; it is commonly used to describe these migrants in the nations in which they settle. Meanwhile, from a Japanese perspective, any Japanese nationals overseas (regardless of eventual settlement) would be considered “overseas Japanese.”

Japanese Return Migrants in Japan

Japanese of various ages have migrated abroad (as overseas Japanese) then returned to Japan. The language and culture that they learn when outside of Japan continues to influence their identity once they return to Japan. Japanese returnees usually lack the “Japanese common sense” that is expected of mainstream Japanese in Japan, even though they are Japanese citizens who typically were raised by two parents who are Japanese citizens. For children, this

is because they grew up in other countries, and for adults this is because they have lived abroad for so long that their way of thinking and acting has changed.

Japanese who have lived abroad and were primarily socialized as children in non-Japanese contexts before returning to Japan are commonly referred to as “Japanese returnees” or *kikokushijo*. These children are often teased upon their return for eating uncommon lunch foods at school in Japan (e.g., peanut butter and jelly sandwiches), and for dressing and speaking in atypical Japanese ways.

Japanese who have been educated or have worked abroad as adults (i.e., from college age on) would not be considered “Japanese returnees” or *kikokushijo*. There is no particular term in Japanese to describe this group but academics would classify them as “return migrants” who are different from “Japanese returnees” because their experience abroad was of their own choosing, thus making for different dynamics of adaptation and acculturation.

Second-Generation Japanese American Transnationalism

Japanese Americans born in the United States may also develop ties to Japan and identify transnationally. Even if brought up and based in the United States, when exposed to contemporary Japanese culture and society on an ongoing basis, second-generation Japanese Americans may learn to identify with Japan.

For prewar Nisei (second-generation Japanese Americans) brought up in the 1900s, it was less common for those raised completely in the United States to identify transnationally; rather, Nisei transnationalism would refer to Kibei Nisei who were born in the United States and raised partly in Japan before returning to the United States.

In the postwar period, Shin-Nisei or the “new” Nisei generation are transnational in new ways. They are the children of postwar Shin-Issei as discussed earlier. With increasing globalization, this newer wave of second-generation transnationalism is shaped by parents (who have the financial resources) regularly taking the children to Japan to visit relatives and friends, speaking Japanese at home, observing Japanese religious practices, celebrating Japanese cultural

holidays (e.g., celebrating Boy's Day or Girl's Day, Japanese New Year), reading Japanese books and newspapers, belonging to Japanese organizations (e.g., organizations based on Japanese prefectures), watching Japanese television shows and films (e.g., NHK news from Japan broadcast on local networks, renting videos of Japanese TV dramas), and actively participating in Japanese community events.

Later-Generation Transnationalism

Japanese Americans born and raised in the United States, with parents from the United States, are also developing transnational ties and identifications with Japan. Sansei (third-generation) and later generations may not grow up with much of a connection to contemporary Japanese society through their parents, but with increasing transnational flows of people and information, they are exposed to contemporary Japanese people and culture through Japanese/Japanese American community events, anime, martial and other cultural arts, and through working and living in Japan. Japanese Americans in Hawaii, even more than those from the U.S. mainland, may interact with Japanese tourists and students, increasing their knowledge of contemporary Japan. Through their families, later generation Japanese Americans are exposed to bits of Japanese society and culture; these cultural forms, however, are older, from the Meiji period of the late 1800s and early 1900s when the prewar Issei left Japan (not the contemporary period), and lower class, as this first migrant wave was predominantly comprised of peasants and farmers. For this group, developing a Japanese transnational identity is different from (yet sometimes overlaps with) a Japanese American ethnic identity. A Japanese American ethnic identity could be transnational or not, depending on whether or not it entails the creation of new ties to contemporary Japan.

Jane H. Yamashiro

See also Kibei; Shin-Issei/Shin-Nisei Identity; Transnational Political Behavior

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Japanese War Brides

Japanese war brides (soldier brides) are Japanese women who immigrated to the United States from 1947 through the 1960s as spouses of American military personnel. Approximately 40,000 to 50,000 Japanese war brides entered the United States from 1947 to 1959. Although the exact numbers vary depending on the sources cited by scholars, these women comprised a sizable Asian immigrant group to the United States in the postwar period. The 1947 War Brides Act amendment enabled American servicemen to bring their Japanese wives to the United States. This was the first legislation to permit immigration from Japan since 1924, when the Immigration Act prohibited immigration from Asia. The McCarran-Walter Act (the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952) repealed restrictions on naturalization for Japanese and permitted a quota of only 100 Japanese per year. However, Japanese war brides, as spouses of American citizens, were exempt from the quota.

Postwar occupations by the Allied Powers in Europe and Asia led to a large number of marriages between American servicemen and women from countries such as Italy, Germany, China, Korea, the Philippines, and Japan. In war-devastated Japan, many Japanese women of marriageable age had difficulty finding partners, as a large proportion of young Japanese men had lost their lives or were severely injured

in the battlefields. To support their families, many Japanese women had to find jobs rather than spouses and were often the family breadwinners. Many were drawn to opportunities to work in the service industry for the Occupation Forces and later the U.S. military. Such jobs included employment as housemaids, office clerks, typists, and waitpersons in facilities for military personnel. Many couples met and were married through contact at such jobs. Such marriages, however, often aroused strong opposition from family members because marriage was considered a family matter rather than an individual decision in Japanese society at the time.

Stereotypes and Representations

Japanese war brides had long been marginalized within Japanese American communities because of the negative stereotypes that have been rampant in both Japan and the United States. Japanese women who married American servicemen were falsely associated with images of prostitutes called *panpan*, who mainly served the foreign soldiers. The Japanese media often criticized Japanese women who had affairs with American soldiers, characterizing them as shameless women who lost not only their individual pride but also faith in their country. Some Japanese men saw romantic relationships between Japanese women and American soldiers as insults to Japanese masculinity: they could do nothing to stop “their” women from being attracted to their former enemies, who embodied wealth, democracy, and freedom as “the liberators.” From the American point of view, on the other hand, Japanese women needed to be rescued and liberated from male-dominated and impoverished postwar Japanese society.

Many Japanese people have assumed that Japanese war brides lived unhappy lives in the United States that were characterized by loneliness and isolation that often culminated in divorce. It is true that those women faced difficulties adjusting to American culture as participants in not only international, but also often interracial, marriages. Some were shocked to find that their American husbands were from very poor families in rural areas, far from the glittering images of the United States promoted in Japan. Others

encountered blatant prejudice because hatred of Japanese as wartime enemies was still intense in the United States. However, in fact, many Japanese war brides had happy married lives with their American husbands.

Japanese war brides were also objects of attention in the American media. Their entry into the United States and subsequent acculturation was regarded as a type of test as to the assimilability of a foreign, but unthreatening, Japanese figure at the same time that interned Japanese Americans were being resettled. Romance between Japanese women and American soldiers gained popularity in novels and movies: the most notable is James Michener’s novel *Sayonara* (1954) and the movie by the same title (1957), which reemphasized exotic, geisha-like images of Japanese women through a love story between a Japanese actress and an American serviceman in postwar Japan.

A substantial number of Japanese war brides married Japanese American servicemen. Compared to those who married non-Japanese Americans, such war brides suffered less from isolation and loneliness because spouses and their families had a shared sense of culture and couples could be part of Japanese American communities. However, they were not necessarily free from the negative stereotypes that were imported from Japan within the community.

Japanese War Brides Today

As memories of World War II fade, few use the term war brides today; rather, these marriages fall under the term *kokusai kekkon*, or international marriages. However, Japanese war brides’ distinctive role as “grassroots cultural ambassadors” in postwar U.S.-Japan relations has recently begun to receive positive attention from Japanese American communities and academics. Their descendants, who often have interracial heritages, have emerged as leading Japanese American figures. Velina Hasu Houston, whose mother married an African American serviceman, produced *Tea* (1985), a play depicting the lives of Japanese war brides in the Midwest. More recently, Jero has gained popularity as an *enka* (a traditional Japanese music genre) singer in Japan. Born and raised in Pittsburgh, and the grandson of a Japanese war bride

and an African American serviceman, Jero represents inheritance of an ethnically blended traditional culture to the contemporary interracial generation. Additionally, the first national convention of Japanese war brides was held in 1988 and drew more than 300 participants from around the country. Rejecting the past negative stereotypes, many Japanese war brides have started to tell their unique stories with pride.

Yoko Tsukuda

See also Chinese War Brides; Filipina War Brides; Houston, Velina Hasu; War Brides Act (1945)

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Jen, Gish (1955–)

Gish Jen is a contemporary American fiction writer. She was born Lillian Jen in 1955 in Long Island, New York. Gish, her chosen pen name, was inspired by the silent-screen actress Lillian Gish. She is a second-generation Chinese American. Her parents emigrated in the 1940s. Her mother was from Shanghai and her father, a hydraulics engineer, was from Yixing of Jiangsu province. Her childhood was spent in Queens and Yonkers before moving to Scarsdale, New York. She graduated in 1977 from Harvard University with a BA in English. She then attended the Graduate School of Business at Stanford University for one year before dropping out and enrolling in the University of Iowa Writer’s Workshop, where she received her MFA in fiction in 1983. She has subsequently served as a lecturer and visiting writer at Tufts University and the University of Massachusetts.

Though many of her works deal with the experience of being an ethnic minority in the United States, ethnicity in and of itself is rarely the primary focus of her writing. Much of Jen’s writing examines, rather, the complexities of assuming a hyphenated identity and how “American” identities are shaped and changed by society. Her writings move beyond essentialized cultural constructions of ethnic American identities popularized in early Asian American literature. They have included Chinese American, Jewish American, and African American characters who tackle issues of immigration, assimilation, pursuit of the “American dream,” and self-identity.

Jen has written three novels: *Typical American* (1991), *Mona in the Promised Land* (1996), and *The Love Wife* (2004). In *Typical American* Jen describes the experiences of a Chinese immigrant who attempts to resist becoming “Americanized.” Wary of the excessiveness and moral turpitude that the protagonist believes is stereotypical of Americans, he vows to adhere to a list of behavioral standards he has created; unlike the “typical American,” he will eat in moderation, refrain from lascivious activities, and live the Chinese way. Together with his sister and her friend, he frequently mocks others as “typical Americans,” which provides the novel with its title. Ironically, the remainder of the novel traces his own pursuit of the American dream; despite his success, his desire for wealth drives him to fall victim to the allure of becoming a “self-made” man, which ultimately ruins him financially and fractures his family. The tragedy of the novel rests in the ironic transformation of its characters into the typical Americans they so despised at the story’s opening. *Typical American* was short-listed for the National Book Critics’ Circle Award and was also spotlighted in PBS’s *The American Novel*.

Mona in the Promised Land explores how ethnic identities, real and imagined, are created by adolescents. The storyline carries over characters from *Typical American*. Set in an affluent Jewish suburb of New York City, the story examines the clashes and complements of ethnic identities and cultures. Speaking and acting like her Jewish schoolmates, the teenage protagonist describes herself as a voluntary Jew—to her parents’ horror, she has “picked” being Jewish.

Her successive relationships with a Japanese student and then an African American student lay bare the inevitable conflicts between her sense of a created ethnic identity, burgeoning social idealism, and parents’ conservatism.

In her most recent novel, *The Love Wife*, Jen examines the politics and everyday dynamics of multiracial and adoptive families. The Wong family is comprised of Carnegie, the father, Janie/“Blondie” the mother, two adopted Asian daughters and a biological son. The stability of the family is threatened when Lan, a distant, female, unmarried relative, arrives from mainland China. The complex relationships that emerge between the beautiful Lan, adopted Asian daughters, a fascinated Carnegie, and frustrated Blondie lay bare the intersections of ethnic identity, Americanness, and assimilation. A fourth novel, *World and Town*, was published in October 2010. In addition to these novels, Jen’s short stories and articles have also appeared in *The New Yorker*, *The Atlantic Monthly*, *The New Republic*, and *The New York Times*. One of her pieces, “Birthmates,” was selected for *The Best American Short Stories of the Century*.

Jen and her works have garnered critical praise and a number of awards, including the: 1983 Transatlantic Review award (Henfield Foundation); 1987 Katherine Anne Porter Contest prize; 1988 Urban Arts Project prize (Boston MBTA); 1991 National Book Critics’ Circle Award Finalist; 1999 Lannan Literary Award; 2003 Mildred and Harold Strauss Living Award from the American Academy of Arts and Letters.

She is also the recipient of the 1986 Radcliffe College Bunting Institute Fellowship; 1988 National Endowment for the Arts Fellowship; 1992 Guggenheim Foundation Fellowship; 2001 Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study Fellowship; and 2003 Fulbright Fellowship to the People’s Republic of China.

Albert J. Lee

See also Chinese Americans; Tan, Amy

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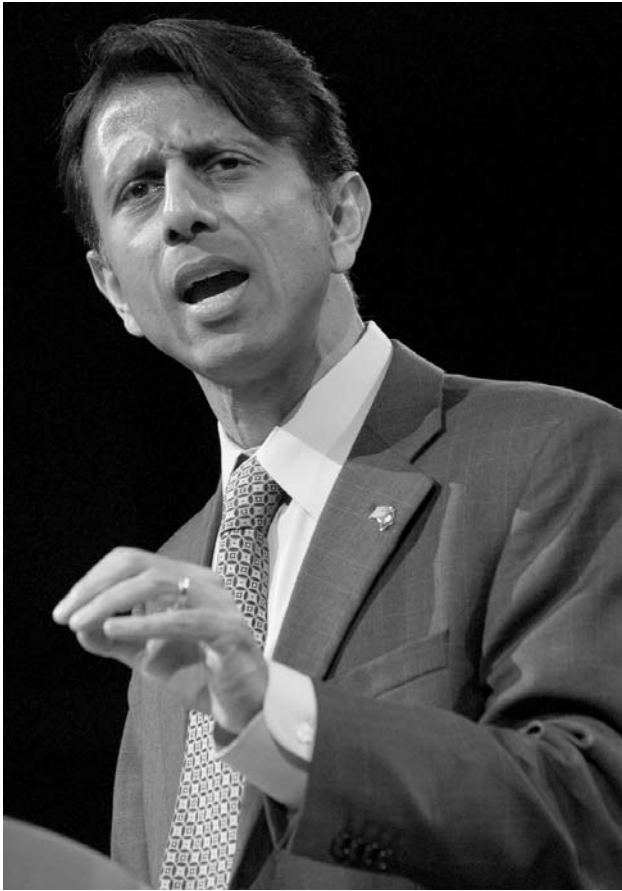
Jindal, Piyush “Bobby” (1971–)

After becoming only the second Indian American to serve in the United States Congress, Piyush “Bobby” Jindal went on to become the nation’s first Indian American governor and the first governor of color to head the state of Louisiana since P.B.S. Pinchback’s tenure during Reconstruction. Elected governor in 2008, Jindal’s rising political star and commitment to conservative principles has led to talk in Republican Party circles of a possible 2016 presidential bid.

Born June 10, 1971, in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, Bobby Jindal was raised by immigrant parents who had seen extreme poverty in their native India. Jindal’s father would marvel at the packed shelves in the groceries stores of Baton Rouge and tell his young son about the ability of Americans to do anything they set their minds too. Thus, Jindal’s upbringing instilled in him a belief in hard work and meritocracy. A conversion from Hinduism to Catholicism during his high school years may have facilitated Jindal’s moral conservatism and he continues to maintain solidarity with other Christian denominations.

Jindal graduated from Baton Rouge High School in 1988 and went on to attend Brown University. Jindal excelled at Brown and graduated with honors in the fields of biology and public policy. Despite having been accepted to medical and law schools at both Harvard and Yale, Jindal decided to attend Oxford University in England as a Rhodes Scholar. Jindal received his masters of letters in political science from Oxford University in 1994.

After graduation, Jindal did not immediately enter the political fray and instead took a job with McKinsey & Company as a consultant for Fortune 500 companies. However, Jindal would not stay in the position for long. In 1996, Jindal was appointed secretary of Louisiana’s Department of Health and Hospitals. Facing huge budget shortfalls, Jindal had the difficult task of slashing Medicaid payments; it was a job he pursued with relish and during his tenure Medicaid went from major deficits and bankruptcy to substantial surpluses. Despite criticisms that Jindal impinged on services in his reform of Medicaid, he was appointed executive director of the National Bipartisan Commission on the Future of Medicare in 1998. Jindal went on



Louisiana governor Bobby Jindal. (Nicholas Kamm/AFP/Getty Images)

to become the youngest president of the University of Louisiana system following the completion of the Commissions work. Jindal served as president of the university system until his 2001 appointment as assistant secretary to the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services.

In 2003, Jindal resigned his position as assistant secretary to make his first attempt at elected office. Although he lost his first bid for governor of the state of Louisiana in 2003, Jindal nevertheless scored some impressive electoral returns and went on to win a 2004 congressional race for Louisiana's First District. Jindal's election to the House of Representatives signaled only the second time in the nation's history that an American of Indian descent would serve in that venerable body. Jindal ran successfully for a second

term but resigned in 2008 having been elected governor of the state of Louisiana. Jindal became the first Indian American to become a state's chief executive, and the first governor of color in Louisiana since Reconstruction.

As governor, Jindal has been catapulted into the limelight as the GOP's possible answer to Barack Obama, especially as the party seeks to appeal to a more diverse electorate. However, there are debates within the Indian American community about Jindal's success. Some feel excited and proud to see a member of their community rise through the political ranks whereas others recoil at his socially conservative views and his decision to go by the name Bobby, rather than Piyush. It is Jindal's staunch social and fiscal conservatism, however, that has garnered him so much appeal in Republican circles. Jindal's appeal made him the logical choice to deliver the Republican Party's first official response to a speech delivered by Barack Obama.

Jindal's rebuttal to Barack Obama was generally considered a resounding failure among Democrats and Republicans alike and many thought his message was a disaster for the Republican Party. Jindal remains committed to his conservative values of fiscal and moral responsibility and continues to serve the state of Louisiana as governor.

Katie O. Swain

See also Haley, Nikki Randhawa; Indian Americans; Political Representation

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Judo in America

Judo is a Japanese martial art that is practiced in the United States and throughout the world. Judo means the “gentle way,” and students are instructed in the complementary philosophies of maximum efficiency and minimum effort and mutual welfare and benefit. Judo is an empty-handed combat sport with a focus on throws, takedowns, grappling, pins, and chokes. Judo techniques involve either disrupting an attacker’s *kuzushi* (balance) and making him or her susceptible to being thrown or, when on the ground, causing an attacker to submit to a pin or choke. Judo is not only a martial art but is a competitive sport and is one of only two martial arts included in the Olympic Games. Currently, there are 6 million practitioners in 30 countries around the world.

The founder of judo is Dr. Jigoro Kano (1860–1938). Kano began his early training in the Japanese martial art of Jujitsu but because that art was quickly declining in popularity in Japan, Kano was forced to seek out other arts and eventually merged what he studied into his own practice of judo. In 1880, Kano opened his first judo school and in 1882 it was named the Kodokan. Kano meant for judo to be a competitive sport though he also believed it to be much more than a sport or even a martial art. Like many other devout practitioners, Kano saw judo as a way of life.

Judo as self-defense and exercise is applicable and available to people of all genders, ages, and sizes. In competition, weight, gender, age, and rank are factors that determine eligible opponents. In class, students often rotate partners and the practice can be adjusted to be complementary with a focus on learning rather than competition. However, regardless of the structure, rank is always observed and lower-ranked students must respect and defer to senior students. Similar to most Asian martial arts, students wear belts around their training uniforms (*gi*) to designate their rank. Belt color rankings for middle-ranked students may differ among schools and for children and adults. However, a white belt is always the first belt and black signifies the beginning of the higher levels. Currently, tenth degree is the highest black belt awarded.

Judo classes are often comprised of many elements that culminate in a type of sparring called *randori* (free

practice). Students often begin training by practicing rolls, falls, and escape techniques that they will need in competition or *randori*. Judo has both standing and ground components. Much of judo is also comprised of partner exercises. Standing practice includes not only actual throws but also body-fitting techniques that emphasize the correct positioning for getting one’s partner off balance and susceptible to being thrown. Ground practice includes techniques that focus on pinning or choking a partner until he or she must tap or risk serious injury.

Judo’s inclusion as a demonstration sport for men in the 1932 Olympic Games was the beginning of its introduction to the world. In 1964, judo became an official Olympic medal event for men. Women’s Olympic judo followed much later. It was a demonstration event in the 1988 games and finally a medal event in 1992. However, before being an official Olympic medal event, judo made its first worldwide appearance in 1956 at the World Judo Championships. Currently, the World Judo Championships are still held in every year when an Olympics is not occurring.

Though practiced worldwide, judo’s highest-ranking students and teachers are primarily from Japan and all but one are men. Only one woman in the history of judo has achieved a tenth degree black belt. On July 28, 2011, at the age of 98, Sensei Keiko Fukuda of San Francisco, California was awarded the tenth degree rank and the title of *Shihan* (Grandmaster). Fukuda Sensei began judo in her teens and continued her training and teaching into her adult years. Instead of a traditional life of marriage and family, Fukuda gave her life to judo and eventually left Japan to pursue teaching opportunities in California. She eventually traded her Japanese citizenship for American citizenship.

Fukuda Sensei’s advancement in judo was challenging both on the mat and within judo governing organizations. Though judo was welcoming of a few high-ranking females, there were rules against women advancing past fifth degree black belt. Though she was a former teacher at Dr. Kano’s school, the Kodokan, and was one of the top women in the world in the art, she was forced to wait almost two decades to be promoted from fifth to sixth degree black belt.

It was not until 1972 when the sexist rules outlining women's promotions in the art were revised.

A moving documentary about Fukuda Sensei's life in judo premiered in March 2012 at the San Francisco International Asian American Film Festival. The film, *Mrs. Judo: Be Strong, Be Gentle, Be Beautiful*, focuses on Fukuda's life as a woman who both sacrificed for her love of judo and challenged sexism and adversity to recognize her full potential. The city of San Francisco where Fukuda Sensei lived for over 40 years recognizes August 19 as Keiko Fukuda Day. Mayor Willie Brown named the day for Fukuda Sensei in 2001 after she was promoted to ninth degree black belt. Fukuda Sensei died February 9, 2013.

Valerie Lo

See also Aikido in America; Taekwondo in America

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Kahanamoku, Duke (1890–1968)

Duke Kahanamoku is one of Hawaii's most famous and memorialized athletes and celebrities. Kahanamoku was legendary in surfing and was a competitive Olympic swimmer who brought home multiple gold and silver medals. In addition to his love of ocean sports, Kahanamoku was an actor and appeared several Hollywood films. In the Hawaiian Islands, he has become a folk legend and his name and image are common household names. Sculptures of the famous surfer and swimmer can be seen near the surf breaks in Waikiki on the island of Oahu. Restaurants, bars, and shops lining Honolulu's beaches bear his name and photographs and memorabilia from his surfing days. The University of Hawaii at Manoa is home to the Duke Kahanamoku Aquatic Complex.

Duke Kahanamoku's given name is Duke Paoa Kahinu Moke Hulikohola Kahanamoku. He was born on August 24, 1890, but reputable sources are split on his place of birth. Many state he was born in the city of Honolulu on the island of Oahu, which seems likely because he was raised there. Yet, several sources list his place of birth as Haleakala, Maui. Duke Kahanamoku was born to a large well-known and well-established Hawaiian family. Kahanamoku's family had ties to members of Hawaiian royalty including Princess Bernice Pauahi Bishop and the Kamehamea family. However, Kahanamoku's first name is not a title nor was it meant to be a reference to any royal connections. Kahanamoku spent his childhood near Waikiki Beach. It was there that Kahanamoku began and refined his long-board surfing and ocean swimming skills.

When Kahanamoku was 20 years old, he began to perfect his swimming ability and speed. Within a year,

he became fast enough to qualify for the U.S. Olympic trials. In March 1912, Duke Kahanamoku left the islands and traveled to Pennsylvania. There, he scored high enough in the Olympic trials to earn a spot on the 1912 U.S. swim team that would compete later that year in Stockholm, Sweden.

Kahanamoku's first Olympic appearance was monumental. His competitive swim time in the 100-meter freestyle at the 1912 Olympic Games broke the world record. He won both a gold medal and a silver medal that year. The outcome of Kahanamoku's first year swimming in front of the United States and international audiences made him a Hawaiian celebrity. After his 1912 successes, Kahanamoku competed and medaled in swimming in two more Olympic games. In 1920, he won two gold medals and in 1924 he won a silver medal. In the 1932 Olympic Games, Kahanamoku made another appearance, this time as part of the U.S. water polo team.

Though Kahanamoku was best known outside of the islands for competitive swimming, he was a surfer at heart. As he gained popularity for his world record and Olympic achievements he was able to help both modernize and popularize his beloved sport of surfing. Kahanamoku brought surfing to beaches on the continental United States as well as to international locations including Australia.

Being of Hawaiian descent, even as an Olympic gold medalist, world-record holder, and the ambassador of surfing, Kahanamoku experienced racism and discrimination when he traveled throughout the United States in the early decades of the twentieth century. Racial segregation was both the norm and the law in the American South and Kahanamoku's Hawaiian ancestry barred him from enjoying the same

accommodations as his Caucasian swimming teammates. Though he had been raised and spent his young adult years in the islands where he was connected to Hawaiian royalty, in parts of the continental United States, he was a second-class citizen. Kahanamoku's teammate, Fred van Dyke, remembers Duke's disappointment and sadness at not being able to celebrate with them because his race and skin color barred him from sharing a table in a restaurant or a room in a hotel. Yet, even then Kahanamoku was regarded as being gracious and respectful to everyone including his competitors.

Toward the end of his Olympic career, Kahanamoku made his home in Southern California. There, he spent time in Hollywood and appeared in small rolls in over a dozen films. He also established himself nationally as a true hero as his surfing and swimming abilities in the rough waters allowed him to rescue several people after a fishing boat capsized.

Duke Kahanamoku returned to the islands in his 40s and continued his goodwill gestures, but he also took on other occupations. For over two decades, Kahanamoku was a sheriff in his hometown of Honolulu. He also ventured into surf wear clothing line bearing his name. Kahanamoku's likeness can be found on memorabilia that is in any way related to surfing and Hawaii. On the 112th anniversary of Kahanamoku's birth, August 24, 2002, the United States Postal Service released a Duke Kahanamoku postage stamp allowing his image to continue to travel all over the world. However, litigation has recently taken place over who owns the rights to Kahanamoku's name and who can sell products using his image. The legal battles are exactly the opposite of how Kahanamoku would have wanted people to conduct themselves when remembering him.

Duke Kahanamoku passed away on January 22, 1968, at the age of 77. Yet, today in Waikiki, Kahanamoku is there in spirit. One famous statue resides at a popular destination on Kalakaua Boulevard with Kahanamoku posed in front of his beloved ocean. As a tribute to one of the islands' most loved and revered citizens, fresh lei are continually put on the statue.

Valerie Lo

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Kao, Charles K. (1933–)

Charles K. Kao (Gao Kun in *pinyin*) is a distinguished physicist who shared the 2009 Nobel Prize in Physics for his breakthrough research involving the transmission of light in fiber optics. This work revolutionized communication and marked a new era of the development of telecommunication. In the award announcement, Gunnar Öquist of the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences said that the decision to give Kao the Nobel Prize recognized the "work that has built the foundation of our modern information society." Kao has been known as the "Father of Fiber Optics" or the "Godfather of Broadband."

Kao is a dual citizen of the United States and Britain. Born in Shanghai in 1933, Kao's ancestral home is in the Jinshan district near Shanghai. His grandfather, Kao Hsieh, was a Confucius scholar. His father, Kao Chun Hsin, a graduate from the Law School of the University of Michigan, was a professor of Suzhou University and later a judge in Shanghai, in the Court for International Law.

Before the age of 10, Kao studied Chinese classics and English at home under a private tutor. Later, he studied English and French at an international school in Shanghai, founded by a number of scholars who received education in France. In 1948, because of the turmoil of the Chinese Civil War, Kao's family moved to Hong Kong, where he completed his secondary education at St. Joseph's College in 1952. He went to college in London, receiving his bachelor of science degree in electrical engineering at Woolwich Polytechnic (now the University of Greenwich) in 1957. To reduce his father's financial burden, he worked at Standard Telephones & Cables (STC), a British subsidiary of International Telephone & Telegraph Co. (ITT). There he met his future wife, Gwen, a fellow engineer in the coil section.

In 1965, Kao graduated from University College London with a PhD in electrical engineering. In the following years (from about 1965 through 1969), he did his most significant work when doing research at Standard Telecommunications Laboratories (STL, now known as Nortel Networks). In 1966, coauthoring with George Hockman, he published the famous groundbreaking paper on the theory and practice of optical fiber for communication applications, “Dielectric-fibre Surface Waveguides for Optical Frequencies.” In the past, the high losses of the available glasses disabled long distance communications of light. Kao used a single mode dielectric (glass) optical fiber waveguide to bring to reality the long-distance transmission of light through glass. The low cost and high performance of the optical fiber made itself the ideal transmission medium. This heralded the beginning of a new era in telecommunications.

Kao joined the Chinese University of Hong Kong (CUHK) in 1970 where he set up and became the chair of the new Department of Electronics. He was later appointed as the first professor of electronics.

In 1974, Kao moved to the United States, where he took a position as the chief scientist at ITT in Roanoke, Virginia. He later became vice-president and director of engineering in charge of the electrooptical products division. In 1982, he worked at the Advanced Technology Center in Connecticut, being appointed the first ITT executive scientist, in charge of all the research and development. He also served as an adjunct professor and fellow of Trumbull College at Yale University. In 1985, he became the director of corporate research at ITT. During that time, the application of the increased capacity for sending information over the system enabled the birth of the Internet.

From 1987 to 1996, Kao was vice chancellor of CUHK. For nine years until his retirement, he was dedicated to “create space for people to grow.” He strived to enhance the research level of the faculty and promote academic exchanges with leading research institutions, and he was instrumental in making the CUHK a world-class university.

Fang He

See also Chinese Americans

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Katipunan ng mga Demokratikong Pilipinos (KDP)

The Union of Democratic Filipinos also known as the Katipunan ng mga Demokratikong Pilipinos (KDP) was a national organization in the United States that was founded on two platforms: (1) fighting for issues of social justice and promoting socialism in the Filipino American community, and (2) supporting the anti-imperialist National Democratic Movement in the Philippines, including the overthrow of the Ferdinand Marcos dictatorship. Established during a mountain retreat in July 1973 in Santa Cruz, California, and following the 1972 declaration of martial law in the Philippines, the KDP drew together leftist activists from throughout the United States and established chapters in major cities with large Filipino populations, including San Francisco, Los Angeles, Seattle, New York, Philadelphia, Honolulu, and San Diego. As part of the New Left movement of that period, KDP activists studied the political works of Marx, Lenin, and Mao Tse-Tung. It took its organizational model from the Philippines movement and considered itself to be a mass-based revolutionary organization. With its national headquarters in Oakland, California, and most of its membership comprised of college students and young adults, the KDP organized many national and local campaigns within the Filipino American community. There was constant activity that included community meetings, demonstrations,

cultural productions, distribution of educational materials, conferences, and political study. It took its political legacy from an earlier generation from the 1920s and 1930s of Filipino American pioneer activists that organized Hawaiian sugar plantations, West Coast farm laborers, and Alaskan cannery workers. The KDP formally disbanded in 1986 as the political movement shifted following the fall of the Marcos dictatorship in the Philippines and the focus among many of the New Left groups in the United States splintered into various factions.

One of the main movement-building vehicles of the KDP was their community newspaper, the *Ang Katipunan* (AK). Activists could be seen wearing Ang Katipinan aprons selling the newspapers for a quarter at most community events and on Sundays in front of church parking lots. The AK brought alternative news reporting distinct from the many freely distributed Filipino American newspapers that mainly reported about Filipino entertainers, beauty contests, and immigration lawyer referrals. Many national campaigns that the KDP championed were headlined in the AK, including the defense of Narciso and Perez, two Filipina nurses falsely accused and convicted of poisoning patients at the Veterans Administration hospital in Ann Arbor, Michigan in July 1977. As the principal organizers of their national defense movement, the KDP with many other Filipino American associations and individuals were not only able to raise funds for their defense, but also pushed for an appeal and eventually won their freedom the following year. Another important KDP community involvement were the series of Filipino People's Far West Conventions (FWC) held annually in different West Coast cities from 1971 to 1985. In subsequent years following the formation of the KDP, activists played central roles in organizing the annual FWC gathering of hundreds of community activists. Unlike some other organizations in the New Left, LGBT and women activists were not only accepted but held prominent leadership positions in KDP.

Drawing on the model of the Chicano movement's Teatro Campesino and the San Francisco Mime Troup, the KDP created Sining Bayan, a cultural arm that engaged audiences with street theater as well as fully staged plays, musical productions, and songs of the movement dealing with concerns and issues from

the Philippines. One of Sining Bayan's achievements was the creation of an album of Philippine movement songs, *Bangon! (Arise!)*, which was produced through Paredon Records in 1976.

On June 1, 1981, two Seattle KDP labor activists, Selmi Domingo and Gene Viernes, were shot and murdered in their Cannery Workers, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Local 37 Union Hall by agents of the Marcos government. Viernes, dispatcher for the cannery workers' union, was killed immediately. Secretary-Treasurer Domingo was hit four times but lived long enough to whisper the killers' names to an ambulance attendant. They were both 29 years old and had just returned from the ILWU International Convention in Hawaii where they had successfully passed a resolution after a bitter floor fight to send a labor delegation to the Philippines to investigate labor conditions under the Marcos dictatorship. In a Justice for Domingo and Viernes campaign organized by the KDP, the Filipino American community and the general public was exposed to the repressive and violent tactics used by the Marcos government during its decade of Philippine dictatorship. Using the monetary awards won from both the Marcos family and the four convicted gunmen, the Domingo/Viernes Justice Fund was created through Seattle's Northwest Labor and Employment Law Office (now known as LELO) in memory of Domingo and Viernes.

A reunion of KDP activists was held during the July 4th weekend 2011 in Seattle to commemorate the 30th anniversary of the deaths of Domingo and Viernes. Organizers held seminars addressing the current political situation in the Philippines with Congressman Walden Bello and Congresswoman Risa Hontiveros-Baraquel, two prominent politicians from the Philippines, focusing on the plight of overseas Filipino workers.

Florante Ibanez

See also Filipino Americans

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Kawamoto, Evelyn Tokue (1933–)

Evelyn Kawamoto is a former Olympian and champion swimmer. She was born in Honolulu, Hawaii, as one of six children. Her mother, Sadako Kawamoto, was a Nisei who was born on the island of Kauai. In 1952, Evelyn competed in the Summer Olympics in Helsinki, Finland. She won two bronzes and became the first Japanese American woman to win an Olympic medal.

Kawamoto began swimming recreationally when she was nine. Later, she was introduced to the legendary coach Soichi Sakamoto, who in the mid-1930s had begun to build a dynasty of extraordinary Hawaii swimmers. Kawamoto attended President William McKinley High School in Honolulu and was a member of Sakamoto's Hawaii Swim Club. As a high schooler she was a swimming sensation, setting numerous Hawaiian and American records in the breaststroke, freestyle, and individual medley events. Between 1949 and 1951 she also won eight national titles at the Amateur Athletics Union (AAU) Championships and was named AAU All-American.

Just after finishing her first year at the University of Hawaii, the 18-year-old Kawamoto qualified for the 1952 U.S. Olympic Swimming Team. At the U.S. tryouts held in Indianapolis, she beat her own American record in the 400-meter freestyle. Her time, 5:14.6, was more than three seconds faster than the gold medal win at the 1948 Olympics. In Helsinki, Kawamoto would go on to claim the bronze medal in that event (incredibly, she clocked the same time of

5:14.6). She won a second bronze in the 4 x 100 meter freestyle relay, and was the only U.S. female swimmer to return from the 1952 games with an individual medal.

Following her retirement from swimming, Kawamoto worked in the field of education. She married Ford Konno, a fellow 1952 Olympian and McKinley High School alumnus. Regarded as one of Hawaii's greatest female swimmers, Kawamoto was inducted into the Hawaii Sports Hall of Fame in 2000. In 2002, she was an inaugural inductee of the newly established Hawaii Swimming Hall of Fame.

Andrea Y. Kwon

See also Japanese Americans; Japanese Americans in Hawaii

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Keller, Nora Okja (1965–)

Nora Okja Keller was born on December 22, 1965, in Seoul, South Korea, the daughter of German computer engineer Robert Cobb and Korean entrepreneur Tae Im Beane, who later immigrated to Hawaii in 1969. As a child she always loved to write stories in notebooks and illustrate them but never really considered writing as a career. Keller attended the University of Hawaii and graduated with degrees in both psychology and English. It is here, as an undergraduate, where she took her first Asian American literature course discovering a whole literary history she had not known existed. She then began yearning and searching for Korean American authors and now reflects on this process as finding a literary genealogy that she could relate to and partake in. She then went on to get her PhD in American literature from the University of

California, Santa Cruz but never completed her degree. Instead, Keller returned to Hawaii where she began writing about a silenced past.

Keller stumbled upon the topic of her novels when in 1993 she attended a human rights symposium at the University of Hawaii, where she heard a Korean woman speak about her life as a “comfort woman” during World War II. Comfort woman, a euphemistic term for the Japanese military’s use of young women as sexual slaves who systemically recruited and abducted Korean women for military sex work. Keller became passionate about the comfort women’s story and wanted to increase awareness about the issue but was hesitant to write about it and even tried to get one of her writer friends to take on the task. However, the story haunted her and plagued her at night until she eventually wrote a short story, “Mother’s Tongue,” which later became a part of *Comfort Woman* and was awarded the Pushcart Prize in 1995. Published in 1998, *Comfort Woman* received critical acclaim and eventually won an American Book Award. Keller’s first novel switches between the narrations of Akiko, a former comfort woman and her daughter Beccah, a dialogue between the two as they come to terms with the legacies of a silenced past. Keller’s second novel, *Fox Girl* (2002), is not necessarily the sequel to *Comfort Woman* but a natural progression historically that links the two together. Keller transports her readers to the post-Korean war era where the continued presence of the American military has given way to the development and maintenance of camp towns where militarized prostitution is set up for U.S. soldiers. In this setting, Keller tells the story of two teenagers, Hyun Jin and Sookie, who are drawn into the camptown life of desolation and prostitution. Keller plans to continue with a third novel focusing on Sookie’s unwanted child Myu Myu. She sees this future book, *Fox Girl*, and *Comfort Woman* as part of a trilogy whose stories are all intimately intertwined. In this way, Keller’s novels simultaneously bring visibility and awareness to silenced histories while tracing the historical linkages and generational transmission of traumas from the comfort women to the camptown prostitutes. In both *Fox Girl* and *Comfort Woman*, Keller is able to take a difficult subject matter and share an untold story

with hauntingly beautiful prose that utilizes dreams, folktales, and spirits.

Because Keller was originally hesitant to write a novel she had to trick herself into the writing process by beginning with a short story. With *Comfort Woman* she began writing all of Akiko’s (the mother’s) chapters and then wrote the daughter’s chapters in response and in dialogue with her mother. In addition to the shifting voices, *Comfort Woman*’s narrative is nonlinear and moves back and forth between the past and present because of Akiko’s memories and the way she narrates in a dreamlike fashion where time is never clearly marked. With *Fox Girl*, Keller was more conscious of her writing’s eventual outcome as a novel and this is the reason why the second novel is more linear in structure.

Today, Keller still resides in Hawaii with her husband, James Keller, and two daughters, Tae Kathleen and Sunhi Willa. Keller’s daughter Tae is already being recognized for her writing, and her work has been published in a variety of magazines.

Wendi Yamashita

See also Comfort Women; Korean Americans; Korean Immigrant Women in America

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Khorana, Har Gobind (1922–2011)

H. Gobind Khorana was a pioneer in biochemistry and molecular biology whose work in cracking the genetic code earned him the Nobel Prize for Physiology



Har Gobind Khorana, Nobel Laureate in Physiology or Medicine, 1968. (AP Photo)

or medicine in 1968. At the time of his death in 2011, he was the Alfred P. Sloan (emeritus) professor of biology and chemistry at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Khorana was born in 1922 into the Hindu family of Ganpat Rai Khorana, an agricultural taxation clerk, or *patwari*, and Krishna (Devi) Khorana. The family lived in Raipur, a small village of about 100 people in South Asia's Punjab region. The youngest of five children, Khorana remembered that his father was dedicated to education and that they might have been the only literate family in the village. He received his first four years of education under the tree that served, in those early years, as the village schoolhouse.

Khorana went on to attend DAV High School in Multan, also in West Punjab. After high school he matriculated at the University of the Punjab. At Punjab University, as the school is colloquially known,

Khorana applied to two departments, English literature and chemistry, demonstrating the breadth of his interests and aptitudes, but eventually chose the latter, earning first a bachelor's degree in 1943 and then a master's degree in 1945.

In 1945 Khorana traveled to England on a government of India scholarship to study insecticides and fungicides—a useful topic for his agriculturally based country—but upon arrival, as he recounted in an autobiographical sketch he wrote for the journal *Science* in 2000, “the Indian High Commissioner’s office in London could only get me admitted into the Chemistry Department at Liverpool University, and I began to study organic chemistry.” Khorana studied under Roger J. S. Beer, who, in addition to supervising his dissertation, also “looked after him diligently,” as Khorana recounted in his Nobel autobiography.

Eager to spend some time in a German-speaking part of Europe and to study the German chemical literature, Khorana traveled to Zurich for a postdoctoral year at the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology (Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule), after earning his PhD in 1948. During that year in Switzerland Khorana worked with Vladimir Prelog. Also during that year, Khorana met Esther Elizabeth Sibler. The two married in 1952. “Esther brought a consistent sense of purpose into my life,” Khorana later wrote, “at a time when, after six years absence from the country of my birth, I felt out of place everywhere and at home nowhere.”

By the time of his return in the fall of 1949, Khorana's home was in many ways a very different place from the one he'd left in 1945. The partition of India in 1947 prompted one of the largest mass exchanges of population in history between the newly created states of Pakistan and India. The partition also divided Khorana's home province of the Punjab. Raipur, which at the time of his birth was part of India, was now part of Pakistan. “I could not find a job,” Khorana remembered in 2000. “In fact, many of my old friends and colleagues were now refugees in Delhi without jobs.”

Unable to find a job, Khorana headed back to England once again, this time to conduct research with organic chemists G. W. Kenner and A. R. Todd at Cambridge University. “Cambridge was a uniquely

exciting place at that time,” Khorana remembered. Todd was engaged in the research that would one day earn him a Nobel Prize. The work that would eventually lead to the Watson-Crick model of DNA was even then being conducted at Cambridge’s Cavendish Laboratory.

After two heady years in Cambridge that fixed his interest in proteins and nucleic acids, Khorana accepted a nonacademic research job in Vancouver, at the British Columbia Research Council, working in the Organic Chemistry Section. Although somewhat lacking in facilities, the offer provided Khorana with the opportunity to direct his own laboratory with, as he put it, “all the freedom in the world.” “Gobind was so excited that he was going to start a lab of his own,” Khorana’s long-time colleague Uttam Rajbhandary remembered. “He looked at the map of Canada, saw where Vancouver was for the first time, and off he went.”

Working in Vancouver, Khorana and his colleagues developed processes for synthesizing nucleotides, the basic structural units of nucleic acids like DNA. His success in this area attracted the attention of biochemists who began visiting his laboratory and exposing Khorana to biochemical thinking. Khorana, in turn, spent time learning biochemistry in the laboratory of Arthur Kornberg. All of this exposure to biochemistry moved his research in new directions: “In subsequent years,” he remembered, “work in my laboratory became increasingly interdisciplinary,” both reflecting and representing the ferment in the interdisciplinary life sciences of biochemistry, molecular biology, and genetics.

In 1960 Khorana was called to the codirectorship of the Institute for Enzyme Research at the University of Wisconsin at Madison. He became a U.S. naturalized citizen in 1966. At the Institute, Khorana began focusing on genetics, in general, and in deciphering the genetic code, in particular. Gregor Mendel’s research, first published in 1866 but not accepted until the early twentieth century, had shown that heritable traits were communicated from parents to offspring via discrete packages that came to be called “genes.” In 1944, Oswald Avery proved that genes were made up of nucleic acids. Nucleic acids direct the synthesis of proteins. Within cells, proteins do all the work, via the chemical reactions that they produce, that are required for the development and functioning of an

organism, including, for example, the synthesis of the pigments that determine eye or hair color. However, which nucleic acids directed the synthesis of which proteins was a mystery. Cracking this code, between what one commentator called “the language of nucleic acids” and “the language of proteins,” became the first order of business.

In 1961, Marshall Nirenberg, in what Khorana later called “an electrifying experiment” developed an *in vitro* system for translating a simple nucleic acid (polyuridylylate) into a simple protein (polyphenylalanine). Khorana, whose work in the synthesis of nucleic acids had progressed to larger and larger molecules, built upon Nirenberg’s research to complete the cracking of the genetic code. Along with Robert W. Holley, whose research team discovered and then elucidated both the primary and secondary structures of transfer RNA (which reads the genetic code and translates it into the protein “alphabet”), Nirenberg and Khorana were awarded the 1968 Nobel Prize in Physiology or Medicine.

Two years later, in 1970, Khorana and his research team recorded another major triumph, when they were able to synthesize an artificial gene for the first time. Unfortunately the gene they synthesized, which codes for the production of alanine transfer RNA in yeast, did not function inside living cells. That accomplishment would take a few more years, until 1976, by which time Khorana had moved with his research team to the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Speaking as an experienced intellectual migrant to the *Boston Globe*, Khorana said, “You may last longer intellectually if you occasionally change your environment.”

Also in the mid-1970s, Khorana made what he later called a “radical switch,” when he began studying, at the molecular level, how vision worked. Specifically, he began investigating the process of light transduction in the photoreceptor cells of mammalian retina, or how photons were converted into chemical energy and then into electricity, the language of the brain. Writing of this undertaking in 2000, Khorana acknowledged that it was “very different from [his] earlier projects,” but that very differentness may have been what drew him to these questions. This was a totally open field, he wrote, with “understanding . . . far in the future.”

In addition to his 1968 Nobel Prize, over the course of his career Khorana accumulated many other

accolades and awards, including the Willard Gibbs Medal of the Chicago section of the American Chemical Society, the Lasker Foundation Award for Basic Medical Research, and the Paul Kayser International Award of Merit in Retina Research. He was a member of the National Academy of Sciences as well as a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. In 2007 Khorana retired from the MIT faculty. In November 2011, at 89 years old, Khorana died of natural causes in Concord, Massachusetts.

Benjamin C. Zulueta

See also Indian Americans; Pakistani Americans; Science and Technology

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Kibei

Kibei are second-generation Japanese Americans born in the United States who lived for some time in Japan, either for education or economic reasons, and then

returned to the United States. "Kibei" translates literally to mean a person who "returned to America." As these generational labels tend to be rooted in a historical time period, Kibei generally refers to those who came of age in the 1930s and 1940s. Set apart from their fellow second-generation Nisei peers because of their time in Japan, Kibei often felt alienated from the Japanese American community as well as from the white American majority. During World War II, differences between Kibei and other Nisei heightened tensions around issues of Americanization, loyalty, and Japanese culture. As members of the second generation who went to live in Japan, but then returned to the United States, Kibei do not fit neatly into a more unidirectional and linear model of American immigration. Their increased familiarity with Japan complicates the Japanese American Citizens League's (JACL's) early postwar ethnic success story of the melting pot and narrative of Japanese acculturation and assimilation to Anglo-white normative U.S. society.

Having lived in Japan, Kibei were more likely to speak Japanese as their primary language, more familiar with Japanese culture, and less likely to be acculturated to American customs than other Nisei. Because of their racial difference, Kibei often struggled to find employment outside of the Japanese American community, but also faced marginalization from their Nisei peers for being "too Japanese" and community leaders stereotyped the entire group of Kibei as ruining the second generation's exemplary record by engaging in criminal activities.

Kibei were internally varied based on their age, length of time spent in Japan, and whether they were educated in Japan during a more politically progressive or during a more militaristic and authoritarian periods. To establish a sense of community, Kibei established their own organizations, such as the literary Kibei Club in Los Angeles, and the Kibei Citizens Council of San Francisco, which had a counterpart in Los Angeles.

As they were more sympathetic to Japanese culture and language, Kibei were also politically distinct from other Nisei. They were less likely to favor the "100% Americanization" promoted by the explicitly patriotic JACL in the lead-up to World War II. Kibei

also tended to be more sympathetic, or at least less openly opposed to, Japanese militarism in the Pacific.

The outbreak of war between the United States and Japan in 1941 highlighted these differences within the second generation. U.S. government officials, who already viewed Japanese Americans as a whole with suspicion of disloyalty to the United States, viewed Kibei with particular suspicion. Commander Kenneth D. Ringle, assistant district intelligence officer for the Eleventh Naval District in Los Angeles in 1940, viewed the Kibei as extremely dangerous, loyal to Japan, and possibly planted in the United States for the purpose of espionage by the Japanese government. Likewise, Colonel Cross of the U.S. Army viewed the Kibei and their Issei parents with suspicion, questioning why they had sent their children to be educated in Japan if not for reasons of cultural and political indoctrination.

During internment in the War Relocation Authority (WRA) camps, Kibei earned a reputation as “troublemakers.” The Kibei were less likely to support the JACL’s strategy of cooperating with government authorities to prove their loyalty, with the notable exception of Karl Yoneda, a Kibei who was active with the Communist Party. According to the Western Defense Command officials, the Kibei were responsible for stirring up trouble and violently threatening others who otherwise would have been more acquiescent.

The WRA also described the protest and unrest at Manzanar on December 6, 1942, as an aberration in the otherwise peaceful context of the camps, and their corrective action after the uprising mostly targeted Kibei. On the previous day, Fred Tayama, JACL leader, was beaten by a group of unidentified men and was recovering in the hospital. Though he was unable to make a positive identification, several Kibei labeled as “malcontents” were arrested. In particular, Harry Ueno seemed to have been targeted for arrest because of his efforts at organizing a Kitchen Workers’ Union and having recently accused WRA officials of stealing sugar and meat from camp rations. In response, Joe Kurihara, a Nisei from Hawaii, spoke before a large crowd of demonstrators, some of whom demanded the release of Ueno. Others stormed the hospital to attack Tayama again. In the chaos that

followed, troops threw teargas grenades and fired into the unarmed crowd. Two internees were killed and at least 10 others were injured. Joe Kurihara, Harry Ueno, and 14 others, all Kibei except for Kurihara, were sent to an isolation camp for “troublemakers.” Whereas camp authorities attribute most of the unrest to a group of Kibei provocateurs, other accounts by historians detail a broader context of strife, mistrust, internal tensions, and dissatisfaction felt by Japanese Americans toward being held in WRA camps.

To rehabilitate the public image of Japanese Americans and facilitate their ultimate resettlement outside of the camps, government officials and JACL leaders drew upon negative stereotypes of the Kibei to blame them as the cause of tension and unrest. In addition to the isolation camps, WRA officials launched an effort to sort the “loyal” from the “disloyal” and issued a loyalty questionnaire in January 1943. Dillon Myer, director of the War Relocation Authority, referred to the Kibei as “bad” and “social outcasts” when justifying the removal of “troublemakers” from the mainstream camp population and their segregation in the Tule Lake camp. In some cases, WRA officials noted that they had misclassified some who had never been to Japan as Kibei solely because they had been involved in the attacks and that Kibei status was conflated with being a “troublemaker.”

Overall, Kibei were more likely to have been classified as “disloyals” and segregated in Tule Lake, especially those from agricultural, Buddhist, and non-college educated background. They were also more likely to have responded negatively to Questions 27 and 28 on the questionnaire, which asked if they would serve in the military and if they would forswear allegiance to the emperor of Japan. Paradoxically, Kibei were overrepresented both in the Tule Lake Segregation Center for those deemed “disloyal” and in the Military Intelligence Service (MIS), for the same Japanese language skills that made them seem potentially subversive were also useful for U.S. military intelligence purposes.

Katie Furuyama

See also Japanese American Citizens League (JACL); Japanese Americans; Shin-Issei/Shin-Nisei Identity

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Kim, Derek Kirk

See Graphic Novelists

Kim, Elaine H.

Elaine H. Kim is a professor of Comparative Ethnic Studies at the University of California, Berkeley. Her areas of expertise include Asian American literature and culture, Asian and Asian American feminism, Asian American media studies and Korean American studies. She has won multiple teaching and community service awards, authored and edited dozens of publications, and produced, directed, and advised numerous documentaries and film projects.

Kim received her BA in English and American literature from the University of Pennsylvania in 1963, her MA in English and comparative literature from Columbia University in 1965, and her PhD in social foundations of education from UC Berkeley in 1976.

In the 1970s, Kim was involved in both media and community organizing; she was producer and host of a Korean bilingual program, "Asians Now," on KTVU-2 in Oakland, California from 1975 to 1981. During this time, she also consulted in the Berkeley, Oakland, and San Francisco school districts and served on the

board at the Korean Community Center of the East Bay (KCCEB), the Asian Media Center, the Asian Manpower Services, KQED-9 in San Francisco, and the Asian Women United of California, among others. She was cofounder and president of the Board at KCCEB. She also founded the Asian Immigrant Women's Advocates in 1984, when she began coordinating the Asian American Studies Department at UC Berkeley. She was appointed assistant dean in the College of Letters & Science in 1988.

In the 1980s, Kim wrote extensively about Asian American literature, in particular, Asian American women writers and the social context of Asian Americans in literature and culture. Her first book, *Asian American Literature: An Introduction to the Writings and Their Social Context*, was written in 1982, and published by Temple University Press. The following year, she wrote *With Silk Wings: Asian American Women at Work*, and then, in 1989, she coedited *Making Waves: Writing By and About Asian American Women* with Lilia V. Villanueva.

In the 1980s and early 1990s, Kim also began to expand her media role, both as a consultant and producer. In 1993, she produced *Sa-I-Gu: From Korean Women's Perspective*, a documentary on Korean American women affected by the 1992 Los Angeles Riots. During this time, she dissected multiracial relations in communities of color and the Western hegemony in higher education. In 1996, her book, *East to America: Korean American Life Stories*, with Eui-Young Yu was a Kiriya Prize Finalist; in 2001, she wrote *Dangerous Women: Gender and Korean Nationalism* with Chungmoo Choi. In this period, she also began to explore Asian American visual art and wrote *Fresh Talk/Daring Gazes: Issues in Asian American Visual Art* in 2003.

Kim is a leading figure in ethnic studies in America, having served multiple academic posts, including chair of the department at UC Berkeley from 1995 to 1997. She has received honorary doctorates from the University of Massachusetts, Boston, and the University of Notre Dame. In 2011, she was head of the Asian American Studies program at UC Berkeley; she won the Association of Asian American Studies Lifetime Achievement Award; and she released her directorial debut *Slaying the Dragon Reloaded: Asian*

Women in Hollywood and Beyond, which she also wrote and produced.

Katherine Yungmee Kim

See also Korean Americans

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Kim, Jay (1939–)

Jay Kim is a Korean American politician from California. He served as representative from California's 41st Congressional District between 1993 and 1999. He was succeeded by fellow Republican Gary Miller in the 1998 election.

Jay Kim was born as Chang-Jun Kim on March 27, 1939, in Seoul, South Korea. In 1956, he graduated from Po Sung High School in Seoul, South Korea and left his war-torn country to immigrate to the United States after graduation. At one point, Kim also served as a civil engineer in the South Korean Army. Kim later attended college in the United States and graduated in 1967 with a BS in civil engineering from the University of Southern California. He received an MS from the University of Southern California in 1969 and also a second MS from the University of Southern California in 1980. Kim later received a PhD from Han Yang University in Seoul, South Korea in 1993. He also had his own civil engineering company.

Kim started his political career in Diamond Bar, California. He served on the Diamond Bar city council between 1990 and 1991. He was also elected as mayor of Diamond Bar and served between 1991 and 1992. Kim then moved on to national politics when he won the U.S. House election in the newly created California 41st Congressional District. His district covered parts of Los Angeles, Orange County, and San Bernadino County. He was sworn into office in January 1993

and became the first person of Korean descent to be elected as a member of the House. He was also the first Korean to be elected as a public official outside of South Korea.

As a conservative Republican, Kim was known as a staunch supporter of conservative issues. He voted against abortion, gun control, and favored tax cuts as well as a small federal government. Kim also received high approval ratings from the Christian Coalition, the American Conservative Union, and the National Rifle Association for his work and voting record in Congress.

Despite being reelected twice, Kim was constantly the focus of federal investigation for suspected illegal campaign contributions during his campaigns. The investigators suspected that Kim had received contributions that came from illegal sources.

In August 1997, after years of investigations, Kim, his wife, and his campaign pleaded guilty to concealing more than \$23,000 in foreign contributions. The sources of those contributions included foreign nationals as well as foreign corporations. Investigators believed that Kim had concealed contributions and received funds from foreign nationals—both of which are illegal under campaign finance laws. Although Kim could have faced fines of up to \$635,000 and up to six months in jail time, he avoided a felony conviction by pleading guilty but was forced to give up his congressional seat. In the end, Kim was sentenced to a year of probation, two months of electronic monitoring (house arrest) in Washington, D.C., and a fine of \$5,000. Kim pleaded to 10 counts of misdemeanor.

The story of Kim's guilty plea shocked many, especially those in the Asian American community. Also, because of the publicity of the case, many activists that worked for Asian American civil rights groups were concerned that the negativity of Kim's misconduct would promote anti-Asian sentiments.

In 1998, Kim sought reelection to his congressional seat. Although Republican leaders strongly urged him not to seek reelection, Kim ran again, even without the help of the Republican National Committee that usually supports Republican candidates for reelections. It was a difficult campaign for Kim because he was under house arrest in Washington, D.C. The court had ordered him to house confinement

except to work on Capitol Hill. He was unable to return to his district and had to rely on phone calls and emails as a means of campaigning. Ultimately, Kim lost in the primary to fellow Republican Gary Miller, who later went on to represent California's 41st Congressional District.

Since his departure from Congress, Kim has not occupied any public office. Although in 2000, he did mount an unsuccessful campaign for the Republican nomination in California's 43rd Congressional District. Even though Kim was embroiled in federal investigations in the later years of his political career, his image as a self-made hardworking immigrant had nonetheless inspired many in the Asian American community to become involved in electoral politics during his time in Congress.

Jeanette Yih Harvie

See also Korean Americans; Political Representation

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Kim, Richard Eun Kook (1932–2009)

Richard Eun Kook Kim was a Korean American novelist, essayist, and professor of literature. His first novel, *The Martyred*, was published in 1964 and was

a National Book Award and Nobel Prize for Literature nominee. His second novel, *The Innocent*, came out in 1968; his third novel, *Lost Names: Scenes from a Korean Boyhood*, for which he is best known, was published in 1970. He was a professor of English at many distinguished universities in the United States and Korea, a journalist, and translator. He died June 23, 2009, at the age of 77 in Shutesbury, Massachusetts.

Kim was born in 1932 in Hamheung, North Korea, and raised in Korea and Manchukuo. During the Korean War, he served in the South Korean military from 1950 to 1954, when he was honorably discharged as a first lieutenant. He immigrated to the United States in 1955 to attend Middlebury College, studying political science and history until 1959. He received his MA in writing in 1960 from Johns Hopkins University, his MFA from the University of Iowa's Writers Workshop and another MA in Far Eastern languages and literature from Harvard University in 1963.

In 1964, he became a naturalized American citizen, the same year his first novel, *The Martyred*, was released. *The Martyred* is the story of 12 Christian ministers who were murdered, and the novel addresses Korean Christianity during the Korean War and the suffering and faith of the Korean people. *The Martyred* was an acclaimed bestseller and went on to become a play, opera, and film.

Kim's second novel, *The Innocent*, centers on a coup d'état in South Korea and questions morality during wartime. His third book, a short story collection, *Lost Names*, is a fictionalization of his childhood in Korea during the Japanese occupation.

He taught English at California State University, Long Beach (1963–1964), the University of Massachusetts, Amherst (1964–1970), Syracuse University (1970–1971), San Diego State University (1975–1977), and Seoul National University as a Fulbright Fellow (1981–1983).

He won a prize from the Modern Korean Literature Translation Awards in 1974. Among his translations were the Korean children's stories *Picture World 100* from Korean to English, and Ernest Hemingway's *The Garden of Eden* from English to Korean. In 1985 he founded and served as president of TransLit Agency, which dealt with international copyright issues for Korean publications, until 2002.

In the early 1980s, Kim began his journalistic career in Korea reporting and narrating *200 Years of Christianity* for KBS-TV in Seoul. He was a columnist for both the *Chosun Ilbo* and *The Korea Herald* in Seoul and continued his documentary work for television and in photo essay books, which explored his familiar themes of war, Christianity, and the Korean diaspora.

His career brought a number of notable awards, including a Ford Foundation Foreign Area Fellowship, the Guggenheim Fellowship, the Fulbright Fellowship, and the National Endowment of the Arts Literary Fellowship.

In March 2011, University of California Press published a 40th anniversary edition of *Lost Names*. The same spring, Penguin Classics published *The Martyred*; Kim was the first Korean American to be included in the series.

Katherine Yungmee Kim

See also Korean Americans

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Kim, Ronyoung (1926–1987)

Ronyoung Kim, also known as Gloria Hahn, is the author of the Pulitzer Prize nominated novel, *Clay Walls* (1987). Kim was raised in Southern California and attended San Francisco State University. She later married Dr. Richard Hahn. After her death in 1987, her husband established a memorial scholarship in her name. The Gloria Hahn Memorial Scholarship

supports American students to study at Ewha Womans University International Summer School in South Korea.

Kim’s *Clay Walls* is the first novel written by a Korean American about the experiences of Korean immigrants during the early twentieth century. Set amid the Japanese colonization of Korea, American imperialism in Korea, and the first wave of immigration from Korea to the United States, *Clay Walls* boldly chronicles the trajectory of Korean and Korean American history, which includes the Japanese occupation of Korea (1910–1945), World War II (1941–1945), and the Korean War (1950–1953). This complex history is channeled through the lives of Haesu and Chun, a Korean immigrant couple who struggle with national, class, racial, and gendered forms of identification.

Clay Walls is semiautobiographical in that the two main characters, Haesu and Chun, parallel Kim’s own parents. Like Haesu and Chun, Kim’s mother was from an aristocratic or *yangban* family and Kim’s father was a peasant. Kim’s mother was also an ardent supporter of Korea’s fight for independence much like the character of Haesu. Both Haesu and Chun are born during the last years of Korea’s Joseon Dynasty, which was marked with change and numerous foreign interventions by China, Russia, and Japan. The unconventional marriage of Haesu and Chun, who are from disparate social classes, is made possible by an American missionary. This change in conventional marriage custom signals the growing influence of foreign powers over Korea and the ensuing changes in Korean culture and politics.

With its forced annexation by Japan in 1910, Korea had to subscribe to strict Japanese governmental policies that worked to eradicate Korea’s national and cultural identity. All Koreans were required to abandon their traditional family names and adopt Japanese names. Because employment and admission into schools were virtually impossible without Japanese names, most Koreans changed their family names. For the 35 years that Koreans were under Japanese rule, they were not allowed to learn their own language or their history. Such attempts to obliterate Korean identity fueled the movement for Korean independence. The Declaration of Korean Independence was

proclaimed in Seoul during an independence demonstration on March 1, 1919. During the peaceful demonstration, the Japanese army massacred more than 7,000 protestors and wounded several thousand more. It is in this historic moment of political and cultural instability that Haesu and Chun marry and immigrate to the United States. Haesu and Chun find themselves among a very small minority in the United States. They represent the majority of Korean immigrants in the early twentieth century who were political exiles and very passionate about aiding Korea's independence.

Clay Walls, the title of Kim's novel, alludes to the traditional custom of building clay walls around homes in Korea. This practice is rooted in the *yangban* class custom that decrees the personal remain hidden from the outside. This type of ideology was also wedded to Confucian culture that influenced Korea's isolation policies. Kim also shows the effects of Confucian social order on Korean women. Like the clay walls of isolation that Korea built around itself during the Joseon Dynasty, a Korean woman was supposed to confine herself to the walls of the house as a submissive wife and sacrificial mother. Even after her husband's death, Haesu strives to be the mother and breadwinner within the boundaries of the domestic sphere by taking up sewing. Throughout the novel, the characters negotiate complying with traditional conventions and reimagining their national, gendered, and class identities in the United States.

Stella Oh

See also Korean Americans; Korean Independence Movement in the United States

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Kim, Young Oak (1919–2005)

Yong Oak Kim was born in Los Angeles, California on January 29, 1919 to Korean immigrant parents Soon Kwon Kim and Nora Koh. He grew up in Bunker Hill section of Los Angeles and graduated from Belmont High School. He died on December 29,

2005 in Los Angeles. In honor of his great service to the nation and to the Korean American community, a middle school in Los Angeles and the Korean American Studies Center at University of California, Riverside is named after him.

The life of Young Oak Kim can be painted in two broad strokes: a legendary war hero of both World War II and the Korean War and a pioneering humanitarian activist. In May 2011, Colonel Kim was chosen as one of the top 16 American War Heroes by msn.com. The list included many historical figures such as George Washington, Robert E. Lee, Douglas MacArthur, and Dwight D. Eisenhower. The news site praised Young Oak Kim for becoming the first Asian American to command a combat battalion in the U.S. military and proving himself repeatedly on the battlefield. War hero only partially describes who he is and what he stood for because he was a champion of human rights and believed that helping others was the best way to prevent strife and ultimately war.

Colonel Kim was a highly decorated U.S. Army combat veteran of World War II and the Korean War. Racial minorities were assigned to segregated units during World War II. The 100th Battalion and 442nd Regimental Combat Team—made up of second generation, Nisei, Japanese Americans—were such segregated units. He was a combat leader of the U.S. 100th Infantry Battalion and 442 Regimental Combat Team in Italy and France during World War II. At the time Japanese Americans were sent to concentration camps and labeled as enemy aliens. Kim, the son of a Korean immigrant who dedicated his life to expelling the Japanese from his homeland, was assigned to a Japanese American unit. A Korean American, he forsook a safe assignment to fight with the all Nisei 100th Battalion and 442nd Regimental Combat Team. When Lieutenant Colonel Farrant Turner, the 100th battalion commander, gave Kim the option to decline leading the Japanese American unit (citing of historical conflict between Japan and Korea), Kim famously embraced the unit and underscored their common fate as Americans.

Largely because of Young Oak Kim's brilliant leadership in field operations and his undying dedication to his charge, this group of Japanese American soldiers quickly came to respect and trust its Korean

American leader. With astonishing heroism and courage, the combat unit led by Kim won battle after battle and emerged from the war as one of the most decorated units in American history and a symbol of Asian American unity.

After multiple battle injuries, Young Oak Kim was honorably discharged in 1946. Five years later Kim decided to rejoin the Army after war had broken out in Korea. He remained on the Korean frontline for 18 months, twice the length required by the U.S. Army combat personnel.

On the Korean frontline, Kim led the 1st Battalion, 31st Infantry Regimental Combat Team, as the first minority officer ever to command a U.S. battalion in combat. Kim served with distinction in the Korean conflict and was again severely wounded. Kim led the battalion both on and off the battlefield. The battalion's financial support of a large orphanage, Kyoung Chun Ae In Sa of Seoul, during and after the war remains a legendary humanitarian tale in Korea. Kim retired as a colonel in 1972. Both political and business communities tried to lure the war hero to champion their causes. However, Kim refused all offers and spent the rest of his life helping others and serving communities in need.

Kim was instrumental in starting Asian American community organizations in newly settled immigrant neighborhoods. This task was undertaken at a time when immigrant community activism was still uncommon. He was actively involved in youth guidance and education, welfare of elders and women, family and healthcare-related agendas, and cultural, ethnic, and artistic awareness programs.

Kim served as the Chairman of the 100th/442nd/MIS World War II Veterans Association, which successfully funded the Go For Broke Monument in downtown Los Angeles. His central role as the founding and former chairman of the Go for Broke Education Foundation and his service as a board member of the Japanese American National Museum are but a few examples of his ambassadorial role in enhancing Korean-Japanese relationship.

Many are not aware of Young Oak Kim's role in building the many nonprofit Korean American organizations in Los Angeles, including Korean Health Education and Information Center (KHEIR), Koreatown

Youth and Community Center (KYCC), Korean American Coalition (KAC), and the Korean American Museum (KAM).

Kim is one of the most decorated soldiers in U.S. military history. He received a Distinguished Service Cross, two Silver Stars, two Legion of Merits, two Bronze Stars, and three Purple Hearts. He also was awarded military honor from Italy (Bronze Honor of Military Valor), France (the Legion d'honneur, Croix de guerre), and Korea (Taeguk Cordon of the Order of Military Merit). He was officially recognized by the California State Legislature (1987), by Los Angeles County (1988), by the California State Assembly (2003), and by the American Red Cross Southern California Region (2004).

Edward Taehan Chang

See also Korean Americans

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Kingston, Maxine Hong (1940–)

Maxine Hong Kingston is a popular and critically acclaimed Chinese American author who has found acceptance within both the mainstream American and Chinese American literary canon. She emerged into the national consciousness with the publication of her first book, *The Woman Warrior: Memoirs of a Girlhood Among Ghosts*. The book gained immediate success with both critics and mainstream readers in the United States. Kingston's popularity created a wider market for other Asian American authors to emerge as publishers and readers alike became more receptive toward Asian American writing. *The Woman Warrior* initiated, or at the very least coincided with, a period of immense development and scholarly interest in Asian American women's writing.

Kingston was born October 27, 1940, in Stockton, California. Her parents were both Chinese immigrants from well-educated backgrounds. In China,



Author Maxine Hong Kingston sits in her meditation room at home in Oakland, California, 2001. (AP Photo/Eric Risberg)

Kingston's father had received formal training as a scholar. Her mother attended To Keung School of Midwifery in Canton and practiced medicine. In the United States, however, as there was not much professional demand for Chinese immigrants with their training, Kingston's parents worked hard to build a laundry business. Kingston grew up in Stockton's intimate Chinese American community and finished her high school education there. It was during high school that Kingston published her first essay, "I Am an American," in *American Girl* magazine (1955). After high school, Kingston attended the University of California, Berkeley on a full scholarship and ultimately graduated with a BA in English in 1962. Shortly thereafter, she married Earll Kingston, an actor and fellow Berkeley graduate. During her undergraduate years and for some time afterward at Berkeley, Kingston participated in the Free Speech movement, engaging in protests against the Vietnam War, and experimented with drugs like most Berkeley students at that time. These experiences later influenced and shaped her

third book, *Tripmaster Monkey*. In 1967, the Kingstons and their only son, Joseph Lawrence Chung Mei, moved to Hawaii to remove themselves from the increasingly prolific drug culture and the violent turn the antiwar movement had taken. This move was initially intended to end in the Far East, but the Kingstons made Hawaii their home for many years thereafter. Although working as an English teacher in Hawaii, Kingston began and completed the manuscript that would become her first published book, *The Woman Warrior*.

The Woman Warrior launched Kingston into instant literary success. The book was published by Knopf in 1976 and was well received both popularly and critically. This success has been long enduring. Some scholars estimate that of all contemporary writers, Kingston's work has been the most anthologized and widely read in America. *Woman Warrior* has been translated into multiple languages and has been the subject of countless academic papers and dissertations. The book won the National Book Critics Circle Award for nonfiction (1976), the National Education Association Award (1977), and the *Mademoiselle* Magazine Award (1977).

Although Knopf published *The Woman Warrior* as nonfiction, and the title itself alludes to an autobiographical framework, the work does not fall within any clearly delineated categories. Kingston's editors had felt that most first books do not do as well in the fiction category. Some parts of the book are indeed autobiographical as Kingston did not conduct any research. Instead, she relied completely on her memories of the oral-stories passed down through the family. Kingston herself initially conceived of the work as a novel because of the fictional techniques she employed.

Critical analysis of Kingston's work has primarily focused on *The Woman Warrior* with some inclusion of *China Men*. These two early works have several strong themes, including feminism. Kingston herself identifies as a feminist, and she attributes this identification to the strong patriarchal culture that surrounded her childhood. The initial critical studies of her work during the first decade of *The Woman Warrior* and *China Men*'s release heavily focus on several controversies surrounding these works.

These early critics, led by Frank Chin, argued that Kingston's work is not representative of the Chinese American community. They also questioned her recreation of Chinese mythology in her books, as Kingston's versions seemed to diverge from the original "authentic" legends. Furthermore, Kingston's work has been seen as negatively portraying the Chinese American male in an emasculating light. And finally, her most vitriolic critics contend that *Tripmaster Monkey* was written as an instrument of revenge against Frank Chin.

The challenges to Kingston's representation of Chinese culture are necessarily linked to understanding Kingston as a writer of diaspora. Kingston is a second-generation Chinese American. When she wrote *The Woman Warrior* and *China Men*, Kingston had yet to visit China. She did not undertake that trip until 1984. Kingston's representation of Chinese culture, then, is necessarily limited within a narrow personal context. Her works are based on her own experiences as a girl growing up in a particular Chinese American community. Kingston herself emphasizes that the close-knit Stockton Chinese American community, her family's rural peasant Chinese background, her mother's oral storytelling, and her father's poetry training all mark her "memoir" as unique. Therefore, Kingston emphasizes that her body of work captures just one facet of the different experiences of Chinese Americans.

More recently, studies of her work have moved away from the Frank Chin controversies and focused on other themes in her work. Much scholarship has explored the ambiguities in the mother/daughter relationship in *The Woman Warrior*. Critical works have also analyzed Kingston's use of mixed literary genres such as the autobiography, biography, memoir, and fiction. More recently, with the publication of *The Fifth Book of Peace*, scholars have begun to look more closely at Kingston's political views on pacifism, and its running theme in many of her works.

Beyond the United States, Chinese scholars have also included Kingston as part of their literary community. They view Kingston as someone who has helped preserve the cultural heritage that was almost decimated by the Chinese Cultural Revolution. This literary community considers her work a part of the Chinese literary canon.

After the immense success of her first book, Kingston has continued on to write and edit other works of note. *China Men* was published in 1980 also to wide acclaim. The book was included in the American Library Association Notable Books List. *China Men* also won the National Book Award for nonfiction, the American Book Award, was nominated for the National Book Critics Circle Award, and was named runner-up for the Pulitzer Prize as well.

In 1987, Kingston published *Hawaii One Summer, 1978*, and *Through the Black Curtain*, both limited-edition books. In 1989, *Tripmaster Monkey: His Fake Book* was released. This novel deviated from Kingston's previous use of the mixed-genre memoir. *Tripmaster Monkey* is considered a postmodern American novel. The novel won the P.E.N. USA West Award for fiction (1989) and the John Dos Passos Prize for Literature (1998). In 2002, Kingston published *To Be the Poet*, a work based upon the 2000 William E. Massey Sr. Lectures in the History of American Civilization that she gave at Harvard University. That following year, she published *The Fifth Book of Peace*. Kingston began *The Fifth Book of Peace* after her house burned down in 1991. At the time of the fire, she lost a manuscript of another book she had been working on. Instead of recreating that work, however, Kingston decided after the loss that her next book needed to be about peace. She also wanted to include the voices of veterans. To that end, she wrote *The Fifth Book of Peace* and worked with veterans and their families through writing and mediation workshops. Kingston helped edit the writings produced from those workshops in *Veterans of War, Veterans of Peace* (2006).

Kingston has received numerous personal distinctions for her contribution to the immigrant and literary community. Several well-known universities have conferred honorary doctorates upon her. Kingston was named Chancellor's Distinguished Professor at the University of California, Berkeley in 1990 where she taught for some years. Furthermore, she has received the Guggenheim and National Endowment for the Arts fellowships, and the National Humanities Medal, which was awarded by President Bill Clinton (1997). Perhaps one of the more unusual, yet significant awards she has received was the designation as

“living Treasure of Hawaii” by a Honolulu Buddhist sect in 1980. This title is inspired by the “Living Treasure of Japan,” and is a ritual that the Hawaiian immigrant community has incorporated into American culture. The sect sought to honor Kingston for the recognition she has brought to the immigrant experience.

Kelly K. Yang

See also Chin, Frank; Chinese Americans

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Kochiyama, Yuri (1921–)

Yuri Kochiyama is a renowned political activist, best known for her relationship with Malcolm X and for her contributions to Afro-Asian solidarities. She is widely respected for her indefatigable dedication to Asian American, black, and Puerto Rican liberation.

She was born Mary Yuri Nakahara to Japanese immigrant parents in 1921 in San Pedro, California. Her youth was a whirlwind of community service activities: the first female student body officer at her high school, a sports writer for the local newspaper, a Sunday school teacher, and a counselor to numerous preteen girls groups. Her ability to escape housework through extracurricular involvement represented a challenge to conventional gendered norms, even as she lacked any feminist consciousness.

Kochiyama’s blissful, all-American childhood was disrupted during World War II. Her father, who sold fish products to American and Japanese ships docked in the harbor, was among the 2,000 Japanese immigrants detained by the FBI immediately following the bombing of Pearl Harbor. Like the other community leaders, he was charged with no crime. Her father died after six weeks in prison. Three months later,

Kochiyama and her family were moved to the Santa Anita assembly center and then to the Jerome, Arkansas concentration camp. Within these all-Japanese environments, her ideology changed from colorblindness to racial awareness. But it would take another two decades before awareness turned into an activist practice.

During the war, Kochiyama met her future husband, Bill Kochiyama, a Japanese American soldier. When they married in 1946, Yuri moved from her father’s middle-class house to a tiny one-room sleeping unit in New York City, where Bill had grown up. Oblivious to economic status, except to shun her parents’ high-tone lifestyle, she found exciting opportunities to learn about the lives of her working-class black and Puerto Rican neighbors. Yuri and Bill’s life was filled with their six children’s activities and hosting large social gatherings every weekend, particularly supporting Asian American soldiers.

Her family’s move to Harlem in 1960, to obtain a larger housing project unit, changed her life beyond her imagination. That Yuri and Bill became involved in local civil rights struggles, including quality inner-city education, was predictable enough. Her Christian background taught her about helping the poor and serving others. She had followed the media coverage of the evolving civil rights movement and invited local civil rights speakers to her weekend gatherings. But becoming radical through Malcolm X was surprising. Young urban militants gravitated toward Malcolm, whereas Kochiyama was a middle-aged mother who had grown up well integrated into white America. She herself was surprised by the persuasiveness of Malcolm’s words and boldness. But living and waitressing in Harlem connected her with the daily experiences of poverty and anti-black racism and to Harlem’s history of black cultural and political resistance. After her introduction to Malcolm X in 1963 and subsequent attendance at his Organization of Afro-American Unity Liberation School, she quickly adopted eclectic black radicalism. When gunshots fatally wounded Malcolm, Kochiyama rushed to the stage to offer help and a *Life* magazine photo memorialized her connection with Malcolm.

By the late 1960s, Kochiyama was working with the most militant black organizations, namely the

Republic of New Africa (RNA), whose desire for a black nation in the U.S. South symbolized the ultimate nationalist goal. With her journalist training, she wrote numerous articles using antiracist and anti-imperialist frameworks and stressing self-determination and Third World solidarity.

When her comrades became victims of FBI and police repression, Kochiyama began what would become her most relentless area of struggle—defending political prisoners. She stayed up until the wee hours of the night writing letters to political prisoners, based in part on her own experiences of confinement during World War II when she eagerly awaited the mail and launched an extensive letter-writing campaign to Japanese American soldiers. By the 1970s, Kochiyama became a hub of political prisoner support.

Kochiyama was among the foremost leaders of the Asian American Movement, as it emerged in the late 1960s. Viewed as a dynamic and knowledgeable speaker, she represented Asian Americans for Action (AAA) at Hiroshima Day events to protest nuclear proliferation and U.S. military and imperialist expansion into Okinawa, Vietnam, the Philippines, and Hawaii. She worked with AAA to support the development of local Asian American Studies programs. When Asian American youth, viewing her as a role model, traveled from California and elsewhere, she invited them into her home, as she had so many others, served food, and told engaging stories of struggle, mostly focused on others.

In the 1980s, Kochiyama worked for Japanese American redress, connecting it to black reparations. Since 1990, she has organized Asian American support for political prisoners, particularly former Black Panthers Mumia Abu-Jamal and the San Francisco 8 and Japanese national Yu Kikumura. Her leadership on behalf of prisoner David Wong led to the overturning of his wrongful conviction and his release from prison.

The *Life* magazine photo of Kochiyama cradling the dying Malcolm X is symbolic of her activism. First, her nurturing posture models an alternative leadership style, one that emphasizes humanizing ways and the importance of social networks, even as she supports armed struggle and radical social transformation. Second, she is a symbol of Afro-Asian and Third

World solidarities, contesting the notion of a racially exclusive black nationalist movement. Third, she visualizes Asian American activism, in contrast to the model minority logic that renders transgressive political resistance nonessential and invisible.

Two biographical books (one in English and one in Japanese), her own memoirs, and a documentary project focus on this prominent Asian American activist. She was nominated for a Nobel Peace Prize, among countless awards. She is constantly sought after as a speaker and resource person. Her move to Oakland, California in 1999 to be closer to her children enables her work with West Coast activists. Remarkably, on a daily basis for close to five decades, Kochiyama has steadfastly struggled for social justice.

Diane Carol Fujino

See also Asian American Movement (AAM); Japanese Americans

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Kogawa, Joy (1935–)

An accomplished novelist and poet, Joy Kogawa is best known for the novel *Obasan*. Scholars agree that Joy Kogawa's novel about the internment of Japanese

Canadians, *Obasan* (1981), is a seminal book for its treatment of the unlawful incarceration of 21,000 Japanese Canadians in labor and detention camps in British Columbia during World War II. *Obasan* tells the story of one family and their wartime experiences from the viewpoint of Naomi Nakane, a third-generation Japanese Canadian school teacher raised by her fraternal uncle and aunt (obasan). The death of the uncle who raised her sparks Naomi's mental journey through her memories as she comes to terms with her childhood experience of the war and her mother and father's absence. Naomi's memories are combined with excerpts from Naomi's activist aunt Emily Kato's diaries, newspaper clippings, and government documents Kogawa again follows the family and the Japanese Canadian struggle for redress in the novel, *Itsuka* (1992).

Although Shizue Takashima's memoir was the first book published about the Canadian internment, Kogawa's *Obasan* has a significant readership in Canada and America and is a favorite among scholars. *Obasan* earned the Books in Canada First Novel Award, the Canadian Authors Association Book of the Year Award, the Before Columbus Foundation Book Award, and the American Library Association's Notable Book Award. It was also included in the *Literary Review of Canada's* 2006 list of top 100 books.

Joy Nozomi Nakagawa was born in Vancouver, British Columbia on June 6, 1935, to Gordon and Lois Nakayama, an Anglican clergyman and kindergarten teacher respectively. During World War II, the Nakayama family was forced to move to Slocan detention camp in the southeastern interior of British Columbia and their property, except for personal items, was confiscated by the Canadian government. A 1986 study estimated that Japanese Canadians lost \$443 million in property and wages. Conditions in the camps were poor—the Red Cross facilitated supplemental food shipments from Japan to the camps during the war and the Canadian government spent one-third the per capita amount spent by the American government on its internees. Following the war, Japanese Canadians were given the option of going to Japan or moving east of British Columbia. Joy Nakagawa and her family moved to Coledale, Alberta. When in Alberta, Joy Nakagawa studied at the

University of Toronto and began teaching elementary school in Coledale. She then enrolled in the Anglican Women's Training College and Conservatory of Music in Toronto transferring the next year to another music school in Vancouver. She married David Kogawa in 1957. After having two children together, Gordon and Diedre, and living in British Columbia, Saskatchewan, and Ottawa, the couple divorced in 1968, the same year Kogawa published her first book of poetry, *Splintered Moon*. She worked for the Office of the Prime Minister in Ottawa while writing poetry. Joy Kogawa was active in the Canadian movement for redress, so much so that she stopped writing *Itsuka* during that time and instead took notes. Excerpts from *Obasan* were read aloud in the House of Commons in 1988 when the redress settlement was announced. The government of Brian Mulroney offered a formal apology, a payment of \$21,000 to the survivors, and the reinstatement of citizenship for those who were deported to Japan.

Kogawa is a prolific author and poet who published numerous books of poetry and prose including: *The Splintered Moon* (1968), *A Choice of Dreams* (1974), *Jericho Road* (1977), *Six Poems* (1978), *Obasan* (1981, republished as *Naomi's Road* 1986), *Woman in the Woods* (1985), *Itsuka* (1992 republished as *Emily Kato* 2005), *The Rain Ascends* (1995), *A Song of Lilith* (2000), *A Garden of Anchors: Selected Poems* (2003), and the illustrated children's book *Naomi's Tree* (2008). She is the recipient of a number of honorary degrees and awards: Member of the Order of Canada (1986), a Ryerson Polytechnical Institute Fellowship, an LL.D. from the University of Lethbridge (1991), a Litt.D. from the University of Guelph (1992), an LL.D. from Simon Fraser University (1993), an Urban Alliance Race Relations Award (1994), a Grace MacInnis Visiting Scholar Award (1995), a Lifetime Achievement award from the Association of American Studies (2001), a Litt.D. from the University of British Columbia (2001), Member of the Order of British Columbia (2006), a George Woodcock Lifetime Achievement award (2008), and the Order of the Rising Star from Japan (2010).

Emily Morishima

See also Japanese Americans

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Konno, Ford Hiroshi (1933–)

Ford Konno is a former two-time Olympic swimmer. He was born in Honolulu, Hawaii, the son of immigrants from Japan. At the age of 19, Konno competed at the 1952 Summer Olympics in Helsinki, Finland, and was among the first Japanese Americans ever to win an Olympic gold medal. Over the course of his career, Konno set United States and world records in seven distances, ranging from 200 meters to 1,500 meters. He was hailed during his peak in the 1950s as one of the greatest swimmers in the world.

Konno trained at the Nuuanu YMCA, which he had joined when he was nine after spotting a bulletin notice for swimming classes. Under the guidance of Yoshita Sagawa, coach of the Nuuanu YMCA's swim club, the young Konno began to transform into a phenom, setting a world record in the 440-yard freestyle as a high schooler. Konno attended President William McKinley High School in Honolulu, where he found himself in the company of swimming stars Evelyn Kawamoto and William Woolsey. All three would win medals in Helsinki.

After graduating from McKinley in 1951, the 5-foot-6½ Konno enrolled at Ohio State University, one of the dominant schools in men's swimming at the time. During his college years he would win 6 NCAA

and 10 Big 10 Championship titles. He would also claim 18 national Amateur Athletics Union (AAU) crowns and earn NCAA and AAU All-American honors. In 1952, the spring term of his freshman year, Konno briefly left Ohio State to prepare for the U.S. Olympic swimming trials. A severe sinus infection, however, curtailed much of that training and Konno only narrowly qualified for the Olympic team. He was still unable to train at full capacity when he left for Helsinki later that summer.

Despite his lingering sinus problems, Konno gave a spectacular performance at the 1952 Games, medaling in each of his three events. In the 1,500-meter freestyle, Konno took gold with a time of 18:30.3, a crushing 42 seconds faster than the existing Olympic record. He also won a gold medal in the 4 x 200 freestyle relay, setting with his teammates (including William Woolsey) another Olympic record. In the 400-meter freestyle, Konno fell just shy of first, clocking in at 0.6 seconds behind Jean Boiteux of France, and winning silver with a personal best time. The 1952 Olympics were significant to Konno in another way. Previously, no Japanese American had won a gold medal in an Olympic event. At Helsinki, there would be three: Ford Konno, Yoshinobu Oyakawa (also a swimmer from Hawaii), and Tommy Kono (weightlifting).

Four years later Konno competed at the 1956 Olympics in Melbourne, Australia, as a co-captain of the U.S. men's swimming team (Yoshinobu Oyakawa was the other captain). Konno won silver in the 4 x 200 meter freestyle relay, adding a fourth medal to his Olympic total. Not long afterward, he retired from swimming and settled in Hawaii, where he worked as a coach and teacher. He married fellow Olympian Evelyn Kawamoto and is an inductee of the International Swimming Hall of Fame, Hawaii Sports Hall of Fame, and Hawaii Swimming Hall of Fame.

Andrea Y. Kwon

See also Japanese Americans; Japanese Americans in Hawaii

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Kono, Tommy (1930–)

Tamio "Tommy" Kono was the dominant U.S. weightlifter of the Cold War Era (1947–1991), and one of the most successful Asian American athletes of all time. He won gold medals in weightlifting in the 1952 and 1956 Olympics, and a silver medal in the 1960 Olympics. Between 1953 and 1959, he won eight consecutive world weightlifting championships, and at one point, he held world records in four different weight classes. During the same years, he also won the physique titles of Mr. Universe three times and Mr. World once.

After retiring from competitive lifting in 1964, Kono coached the Mexican weightlifting team in preparation for the 1968 Mexico City Olympics and the West German weightlifting team in preparation for the 1972 Munich Olympics. From 1972 to 1976, he served as head coach for the U.S. men's Olympic team, and finally, he served as head coach for the U.S. women's Olympic team from 1987 to 1990.

Kono's philosophy can be summarized as follows: (1) Things could be worse, so be grateful for what you have. (2) Take care of your equipment. (3) Success is the result of good technique, carefully done. (4) Approach the bar (and life) as a challenge rather than as something to be beaten.

Joseph R. Svinth

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Kooskia Internment Camp

The Kooskia (pronounced KOOS-key) Internment Camp is an obscure and virtually forgotten World War II detention facility that was located in a remote

area of north central Idaho, 30 miles from the town of Kooskia, and six miles east of the hamlet of Lowell, at Canyon Creek. The U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) administered the Kooskia Internment Camp for the U.S. Department of Justice. Over time, the camp held some 265 men of Japanese ancestry who were termed "enemy aliens," even though most of them were long-time U.S. residents denied naturalization by racist U.S. laws.

Immediately following Japan's bombing of Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, on December 7, 1941, numerous Japanese, German, and Italian aliens were arrested and detained on no specific grounds, without the due process guaranteed to them by the U.S. Constitution. They were sent to INS detention camps at Fort Missoula, Montana; Bismarck, North Dakota; and elsewhere. The INS camps were separate and distinct from the 10 major War Relocation Authority (WRA) camps, including Minidoka, at Hunt, in southern Idaho. The WRA camps are often called "internment camps" also, but that term for them is misleading; they should actually be called incarceration camps.

Although there were a number of INS-run Justice Department internment camps throughout the United States during World War II, the Kooskia Internment Camp was unique because it was the only camp of its kind in the United States. Its internees had volunteered to go there from other camps, and received wages for their work. Besides the Japanese aliens, 24 male and 3 female Caucasian civilian employees; 2 male internee doctors, 1 Italian and 1 German; and 1 male Japanese American interpreter occupied the Kooskia Internment Camp at various times between May 1943, when the camp opened, and May 1945, when it closed. Whereas some of the internees held camp jobs, most of the men were construction workers for a portion of the Lewis-Clark Highway, the present Highway 12, between Lewiston, Idaho, and Missoula, Montana, parallel to the wild and scenic Lochsa River.

The Japanese internees at the Kooskia camp came from Alaska, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Hawaii, Idaho, Illinois, Louisiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Montana, Nevada, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Texas, Utah, and Washington. Well-known

internees at the Kooskia camp included Reverend Hozen Seki, founder of the New York Buddhist Church, and Toraichi Kono, former employee of Charlie Chaplin. The Kooskia Internment Camp also housed Japanese from Mexico, as well as other Japanese Latin Americans whom U.S. government agencies had kidnapped from Panama and Peru in collusion with the governments of those countries. "Digging in the documents" has produced INS, Forest Service, Border Patrol, and University of Idaho photographs and other material. These records, combined with internee and employee oral and written interviews, shed light on the internees' experiences, emphasizing the perspectives of the men detained at the Kooskia Internment Camp.

According to the terms of the Geneva Convention, a 1929 document specifying how prisoners of war should be treated, later extended to cover detainees, internees could not be forced to do this kind of work; therefore, they were all volunteers. Road workers were paid \$55 or \$65 per month, with a \$10 deduction for special clothing, whereas camp workers, in the kitchen, laundry, and so on, received only 80¢ per day. Consequently, there were few volunteers for camp work. By early May 1943, 104 men from the Santa Fe Internment Camp had definitely committed to Kooskia and had solved the camp operation problem. After the men decided to distribute all the income equally, 25 of them agreed to perform the required kitchen, laundry, and other support tasks.

At first, the men appreciated their scenic surroundings and the lack of the usual barbed-wire fence. Soon, however, they realized that conditions were not as had been promised. The Kooskia camp superintendent was a former prison administrator, and the Kooskia internees especially resented his treatment of them as prisoners rather than internees. The disgruntled internees prepared a lengthy petition detailing their complaints. They requested eyeglasses, adequate clothing, wage adjustments, better dental care, and better emergency medical and first aid facilities, and they asked that they be treated as internees, not prisoners.

Because the volunteer internees were crucial to the success of the road-building project, the next few months saw many changes and improvements at the Kooskia camp in response to their petition. In mid-

November 1943, morale was helped considerably when the superintendent resigned and was replaced with a career INS officer, who treated the internees with respect and compassion. Only one other group of internees, at the Lordsburg, New Mexico, Internment Camp, had earlier used their knowledge of the Geneva Convention to such great advantage. Following a successful strike, the Lordsburg camp superintendent was ultimately replaced. Some of the Kooskia internees had previously been at the Lordsburg camp so were doubtless aware of their rights under the Geneva Convention. Their successful petition allowed them to regain some control over their lives.

Because of the Geneva Convention requirements, the men at the Kooskia Internment Camp were better fed and housed than the Japanese Americans who were in the WRA incarceration camps. The Kooskia internees could even get beer. This especially made for some hard feelings with local Caucasian American residents, who, because of shortages, could not get beer themselves.

The Kooskia Internment Camp was a successful experiment in using Japanese alien internees as volunteers for building a portion of the Lewis-Clark Highway between Idaho and Montana. Besides helping a much-needed road progress toward completion, the project enabled the unconstitutionally incarcerated internees to again become productive members of society. Once their early grievances were resolved, they became exemplary workers, earning praise and respect from their Caucasian supervisors and from INS personnel. Although the work was tiring, difficult, and sometimes even dangerous, the men appreciated the opportunity to receive fair wages in exchange for performing useful work, thus allowing them to regain much of the self-respect that many of them must have lost through the humiliation of having been so unjustly interned.

Priscilla Wegars

See also American-Style Concentration Camps

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Korea, U.S. Punitive Action in (1871)

The U.S. Punitive Action of 1871 was the first U.S. military campaign in Korea. The campaign was ordered by the U.S. government to investigate the destruction of the American merchant ship *General Sherman* in 1866 on Taedong River near the present-day North Korean capital city of Pyongyang. The month-long campaign resulted in the loss of 300 Korean and 3 American lives.

In the aftermath of the Kanagawa Convention in 1854 that opened up Japanese ports to Western trade, the U.S. and European powers were eager to develop trade relations with Korea. However, Korea was at the height of its anti-Western sentiments as the Joseon Dynasty was in the midst of an anti-Catholic crackdown that resulted in the execution of French missionaries and Korean converts: in the same year that *General Sherman* was destroyed, French soldiers invaded Ganghwa Island in Korea as punishment.

An armed merchant ship, *General Sherman* was commissioned by the trading company Meadows and Company and sailed out of Tianjian, China. Escorted by Chinese junk boats across the Yellow Sea, the ship entered Taedong River alone on August 16, 1866, and made its way toward Pyongyang. When *General Sherman* failed to stop at the Keupsa Gate, fighting ensued and all of the officers, passengers, and crewmen were killed. Among them was W. B. Preston, an American trader and the owner of the vessel.

In response to the *General Sherman* incident, the U.S. government ordered a naval expedition into Korean waters to investigate the incident and to secure a treaty from the Korean government that would guarantee the safety of American sailors shipwrecked on Korean shores. The expedition consisted of significant force and included five warships (USS *Colorado*, USS *Alaska*, USS *Palos*, USS *Monocacy*, and USS *Benicia*) that were manned by 500 sailors and 100 marines. Reflecting the importance United States placed on this effort, the expedition was led by Rear Admiral John Rodgers and Frederick F. Low: Admiral Rodgers led the Navy's Japan Office in Washington, D.C. and had commanded the Marines in the Seminole Wars in Florida; Low was the U.S. ambassador to China at the time of the expedition and was a former governor of California. As the ships entered the Han River, Korean soldiers—following a standing order that no foreign ship should enter the river that connected the capital city of Seoul with the Yellow Sea—fired on two of the ships. In response, Admiral Rodgers and Ambassador Low sought an official apology within 10 days. With no official response, U.S. forces attacked a series of Korean installations near the present-day port city of Incheon.

From June 10, 1871, U.S. forces attacked, beginning with Choji Garrison on Ganghwa Island and then moved on to Deokjin Garrison, Deokjin Fort, and Gwangseong Garrison. Armed with stationary cannons and matchlock rifles, the Koreans were no match for the U.S. ships and marines armed with howitzers and Remington rifles. The Korean forces were quickly routed and in the only significant battle at Gwangseong, on June 12, 1871, 243 Koreans were killed with only three American deaths. The United States took 20 prisoners to be used as bargaining chips to negotiate a treaty with the Korean government but without any positive response from the Korean side. Faced with this recalcitrance, the last U.S. ship left Korea on July 3 and returned to China, which brought the incident to a close.

Korea's isolation would not last very long. Four years after the U.S. punitive action, in 1875, a Japanese warship *Unyo* would sail into the same waters near Ganghwa Island and would likewise

be fired upon. One year later, the Japanese would come back to Korea, this time with gunboats and a demand for a treaty that would result in the Japan-Korea Treaty of 1876 and a protracted and relentless movement toward full annexation by 1910. Korean historians find it hard not to speculate about what would have happened if the Korean government had negotiated with Admiral Rodgers and Ambassador Low in 1871. Korean historians view the U.S. Punitive Action in 1871 as one of many clear examples of the Joseon Dynasty's inability to grasp the new political complexities of East Asia in the age of imperialism.

Edward J. W. Park

See also U.S.-Korea Treaty of 1882; Korean Americans

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The Korea Times

The Korea Times is the oldest and largest Korean-language newspaper published in the United States. It was founded in 1969 in Studio City, California, in the San Fernando Valley, before moving to Los Angeles's Koreatown at 3418 West First Street in 1971. Currently, *The Korea Times* office is located at 4525 Wilshire Boulevard in Los Angeles.

There are 10 bureaus in the United States: Los Angeles, New York, Washington, D.C., San Francisco, Chicago, Seattle, Atlanta, Texas, Philadelphia, and Hawaii. There are also two bureaus in Canada: Vancouver and Toronto; and two in South America: Argentina and Brazil.

The Korea Times's parent company, *Hankook Ilbo*, was founded in Seoul in 1954 by Key-Young Chang, who was the former president of the Korean vernacular *Chosun Ilbo*, vice governor of the Bank of Korea, and deputy premier-economic planning minister of South Korea. His son Jae Ku Chang ran *The Korea Times* Los Angeles from 1969 to 1981, and is currently the chairman of the *Hankook Ilbo-Korea Times* Media Group in Korea. Another son, Jae Min

Chang, is the chairman, chief executive officer, and publisher of *The Korea Times* Los Angeles and head of the *Korea Times* U.S.A. operations. Both sons are officers of the *Hankook Ilbo* in Korea; Jae Ku Chang is the chairman and Jae Min Chang is the director.

The Hankook Ilbo also publishes *The Korea Times*, an English-language daily in Seoul, Korea. *The Korea Times* in Korea published its first issue on November 1, 1950—five months after the start of the Korean War. Dr. Helen Kim, a journalist and educator, who was the first president of Ewha Womans University, was the first publisher. Key-Young Chang took over on April 23, 1954; it is the longest-running independent daily in South Korea.

In the United States, *The Korea Times* publishes Monday through Saturday, as well as printing weekly and monthly magazines. It owns two radio stations: Radio Seoul in Los Angeles (KFOX AM 1650) and Honolulu (KREA AM 1540), which broadcast in the Korean language. *The Korea Times* also runs KTN-TV, a Korean-language television network for the Los Angeles area.

The Korea Times is an active corporate sponsor to community events, such as The Los Angeles Korean Festival; *The Korea Times* Music Festival at the Hollywood Bowl; the Korean Festival and Parade, New York; and the Korean Festival, Honolulu. In 1992, *The Korea Times* was one of the main organizers for the relief effort following the Los Angeles riots.

In 2000, *The Korea Times* Los Angeles, Inc. and Leonard Green & Partners, L.P. formed AsianMedia Group and acquired International Media Group to create a diversified media company in the United States for the Asian community. AsianMedia Group owns television stations KSCI (LA 18) in Los Angeles and KIKU (Channel 20) in Honolulu. In 2007, *The Korea Times* U.S.A./*Hankook Ilbo* announced an arrangement with *The New York Times* to publish *The International Weekly*, a *NYT*-distributed edition, for the first time in the United States.

In 2010, Jae Min Chang was the lead donor for *The Korea Times-Hankook Ilbo* Chair in Korean American Studies at the University of California, Los Angeles. *The Korea Times* in the United States has an unaudited circulation of 254,000.

Katherine Yungmee Kim

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Koreagate

Koreagate was a 1970s political scandal involving members of the Korean American community. It began in the fall of 1976, when the press reported that agents of the South Korean government had illicitly funneled millions of dollars in cash and gifts to over 100 U.S. congressmen. Occurring shortly after the 1974 Watergate scandal, the allegations of further government impropriety became a major news story, which the press dubbed “Koreagate.”

The origins of Koreagate began in the spring of 1970, when the Nixon administration proposed the withdrawal of 20,000 U.S. troops from South Korea. South Korean leaders were alarmed not only because they viewed the presence of U.S. troops as a bulwark against North Korea and domestic unrest, but they also feared that the Americans would further reduce economic and military aid. The Nixon administration nevertheless began withdrawals to appease public and congressional calls to downsize U.S. military commitments abroad.

Following the first round of troop reductions, South Korean officials decided regular diplomatic channels would not be enough to overturn U.S. policy. Before this time, the South Korean government had not engaged in substantive lobbying efforts in the United States. With the approval of President Park

Chung-hee, a large-scale lobbying campaign was initiated in the fall of 1970. Its aim was to curtail further troop withdrawals and increase U.S. military aid to South Korea.

The Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA) was charged with coordinating a three-pronged campaign to influence U.S. policy. The first component of the campaign was to lobby U.S. congressmen. Tong-sun Park, a South Korean businessman educated in the United States, was the central figure in establishing contact with members of Congress, to whom he funneled cash and other gifts from the South Korean government. The second component of the campaign was to generate pro-South Korean public opinion through various cultural organizations and educational institutions. Among the recipients of funds from the South Korean government were the Unification Church of Sun Myung Moon and several prominent universities including Harvard University and the University of Washington. The third and final component of the campaign was to deploy KCIA agents in opposition to members of the Korean American community who publicly opposed the South Korean government. The latter activity became increasingly prominent in 1972 following the passage of the *Yushin* Constitution in South Korea, which greatly curtailed the rights of Korean citizens and extended Park’s tenure indefinitely. The KCIA-directed campaign initially appeared effective. Congress halted further troop reductions and approved a five-year \$1.5 billion military aid program to South Korea.

Following the passage of the *Yushin* Constitution, the increasingly authoritarian measures taken by the South Korean government came to the attention of human rights advocates within Congress. Led by Congressman Donald Fraser (D-MN), the House Subcommittee on International Movements and Organizations began a series of investigations into the human rights abuses around the world in 1973. One such investigation revealed that the South Korean government had been using the KCIA to harass Korean Americans. To the Fraser subcommittee, Lee Jai-hyon (a former South Korean diplomat) confirmed KCIA agents intimidated and harassed Korean Americans. Spurred by Lee’s testimony, Fraser launched a full-scale investigation into the KCIA’s activities in

the United States. Although the investigation initially focused on the harassment of Korean Americans, it eventually expanded to cover all three components of the KCIA-directed campaign. The results of the investigation were revealed during a series of public hearings that began in the spring of 1976.

By the fall of 1976, the details of KCIA-led activities made headlines across the United States. Using the details provided by the Fraser investigation, news outlets produced a barrage of stories about the KCIA's activities. They paid particular attention to Tongsun Park's role in bribing members of Congress. One news story identified the event as the most serious case of congressional corruption ever uncovered. Over the course of the next two years, media scrutiny persisted and the scandal came to be known as "Koreagate." The Fraser investigation led to a series of follow-up investigations by the House and Senate Ethics Committees as well as the Department of Justice.

Shortly after the Koreagate scandal broke, Tongsun Park fled the country. It was only after the U.S. government agreed to give Park immunity from prosecution that he agreed to return and testify about his involvement. In the spring of 1978, he testified before the House and Senate Ethnic Committees. Although denying he was a South Korean agent, he admitted to giving nearly \$1 million to various congressmen and to conspiring with Congressman Otto Passman (D-LA) to buy influence in Congress. Following Park's testimony, public interest in the affair declined. In 1979, the U.S. government dropped all charges against Park and closed the Koreagate investigation.

In the end, only two congressmen were charged with crimes stemming from Koreagate (Hanna and Passman); three others were given reprimands by the House Ethics Committee. This fell far short of allegations in the press that over 100 congressmen accepted bribes from South Korean agents. The lack of substantial convictions has led some observers to conclude that Koreagate was product of exaggerated press reports and political partisanship.

The publicity generated by Koreagate did have a negative impact on the perception of Koreans and Korean Americans in the United States. In addition to Tongsun Park, several other Korean Americans were

implicated, including businessman Hancho Kim, congressional aide Suzi Park Thomson, and Unification Church employee Park Bo-hui. The negative publicity also reinforced stereotypes that Asian Americans were not completely loyal Americans and generated public doubts about the activities of the South Korean and other Asian lobbies.

Patrick Chung

See also Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA) and the Korean American Community; Park, Tongsun

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Korean American Churches

In 2010, there were nearly 4,000 Korean American churches that played a significant role in shaping the experiences of Korean immigrants, their families, and communities in the United States. From its early years, the Korean American church has been remarkably successful in attracting a significant number of Korean immigrants to its ministry and in establishing itself as the center of the immigrant community, compared to other Asian immigrant churches. The effectiveness of the church's ministry to second- and third-generation Korean Americans, on the other hand, has been less clear. The aging of the post-1965 first-generation immigrants and the continuing decline of immigration from Korea are, however, increasingly linking the institutional

survival of the church to its ability to serve not only Korean immigrants but also their American-born descendants.

History of Korean American Churches

Since the first group of Korean immigrants arrived in the United States in 1903, a striking pattern has been that a high percentage of these immigrants were already Christians. Although the majority of those who lived in early twentieth-century Korea practiced Confucianism, Buddhism, Shamanism, or other indigenous religions, Christianity was beginning to grow rapidly throughout the peninsula of Korea, especially after a wave of Christian spiritual revivals (1903–1910). Furthermore, as Korea began to experience the increasing oppression of Japanese colonial rule, many American missionaries actively recruited and urged Korean Christians to immigrate to the United States and start a new life in a “Christian nation.” Between 1903 and 1920, up to 40 percent of the 8,000 Koreans who immigrated to the United States were confessing Christians.

Partly because of this phenomenon of selective migration, early Korean American churches quickly and successfully established themselves as the center of Korean immigrant communities in Hawaii and in the U.S. mainland. Between 1910 and 1945, these congregations functioned as the political and sociocultural hub of the immigrant community, playing a prominent role in resisting and fighting Japanese occupation of the homeland. Thousands of Korean immigrants, deeply yearning for the liberation of their homeland, actively participated in church-sponsored activities. Being a church attendant and being a patriot were essentially synonymous. By 1918, there were a total of 39 Korean immigrant churches in Hawaii alone.

Although these churches were very much appreciated by lonely and exiled first-generation immigrants, they seem to have failed to win the loyalty of the second-generation young people. Although their parents’ churches offered various programs that aimed to teach American-born youth the Korean language and culture, to encourage them to embrace their parents’ patriotism and their ethnicity with pride, these efforts largely failed. In Hawaii, as the American-born

entered adulthood, they abandoned their parents’ churches, causing many Korean immigrant churches to close their doors as the pioneering immigrants passed away. The future outlook of the Korean American church seemed quite pessimistic until new immigrants from Korea began to arrive in large numbers again after 1965.

Post-1965 Korean American Churches

After the passage of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, the fresh infusion of new immigrant families from Korea brought remarkable growth and vitality to the Korean American church once again. Today, there are nearly 4,000 Korean immigrant churches located not only in large metropolitan areas where Korean immigrants are concentrated but also in remote areas where only a handful of Korean immigrant families are clustered. Given that there are approximately 1.1 million Korean Americans, there is one immigrant church per 300 Korean immigrants.

In addition to the ubiquitous presence of Korean American churches in the United States, recent studies also indicate that a very high percentage of Korean immigrants regularly attend their immigrant congregations. It is estimated that over 80 percent of the sampled Korean immigrants attend their Korean American church weekly. Given that only about 25 percent of the populations in South Korea are Christians, this significant increase in church participation among Korean American immigrants points partly to the effectiveness and vitality of immigrant church ministries.

As religious institutions, one of the major functions Korean American churches perform is to provide spiritual support and guidance to their immigrant members as they seek to find meaning in and a source of strength for their experiences of “dislocation.” In addition to Sunday morning worship services, most Korean American churches also offer weekly or even daily early dawn prayer meetings, mid-week worship services, as well as weekly “district group” Bible study meetings. Both the frequency and intensity of these spiritual gatherings are designed to help congregation members to overcome the various challenges of their

immigrant lives by equipping them with the necessary spiritual and moral resources.

As is the case in Korea, Korean American churches are predominantly Protestant, with less than 15 percent being Catholic. The largest denominational affiliation is with various Presbyterian churches (about 40 percent of Korean American Christians attend Presbyterian churches). Also, recent studies indicate that whether they belong to mainstream or evangelical denominations, most Korean American churches are characterized by conservative theology and practices. Another notable spiritual characteristic of Korean American churches is their commitment to world missions. Most congregations actively support many Korean American missionaries that are sent out to different parts of the world while also annually sending out their own short-term mission teams to provide various humanitarian services as well as to participate in different evangelistic activities.

In addition to their spiritual function, Korean American churches also perform a number of critical “nonreligious” functions to meet the particular needs of its members. First, they provide their lonely immigrant members a deep sense of belonging and psychological comfort. As they gather regularly for both official and informal gatherings, immigrant members and their children are able to deepen their relationships with other Korean Americans and to enjoy shared cultural practices and artifacts. Because they are the only Korean American institutions that meet regularly and frequently, for many Korean immigrant families, their Korean American churches serve as their most important, if not only, Korean American community.

In addition, Korean immigrant churches also function as social service agencies, providing a wide range of services, ranging from providing information about employment and housing opportunities to classes that help members prepare for the U.S. citizenship examination. Particularly, most churches are intentional about meeting the multigenerational needs of immigrant families, recognizing many significant pressure points these families encounter. Many congregations provide services for the elder members of their church, programs that aim to provide a sense of connectedness and of being honored, which is important for these members who can particularly feel isolated

and often neglected in this foreign land. At the same time, these churches also offer programs for the second-generation children, seeking to introduce them to various aspects of their ethnic culture and to help them develop a positive view of their ethnic heritage and identity. For many second-generation adolescents, the Korean American church and its youth ministry play a particularly seminal role in their ethnic identity formation, helping them to grow as bicultural individuals. Given that the Korean American church is the only organization that regularly provides a wide range of services to most Korean American immigrants and their families, they continue to play a central role in shaping the lives of their members and of Korean immigrant communities.

Although these congregations, on the whole, are making many positive contributions to the lives of Korean immigrants and their families, they can also be a source of stress and conflict for their members as they continually struggle with painful schisms and perpetuate practices such as excluding women from key leadership roles. Furthermore, as a growing number of American-born individuals enter young adulthood and advocate new models of ministry, these efforts are often met by the first-generation leaders’ strong opposition, thus creating intergenerational conflicts in many Korean American churches. Discouraged by their church experiences and bleak future prospects, many frustrated second-generation Korean American church leaders and members began deserting their immigrant churches in large numbers in the 1990s, initiating what many concerned Korean American church leaders call “the Silent Exodus” of second-generation young people.

Korean American Churches and Second-Generation Participation

Recent studies indicate that although the “silent exodus” of second-generation young people is continuing, these young people are not permanently disassociating from Korean American churches. Although some are joining pan-Asian American churches or predominantly white megachurches, a significant number of them are intentionally affiliating with a growing number of English-speaking Korean American congregations that are independent from Korean immigrant

churches. These autonomous second-generation Korean congregations are growing in many metropolitan areas in the United States as they attract a growing number of second-generation young people who seek to find a community in which they can continue their spiritual journey in their own way whereas continuing to work on their bicultural ethnic identity. Corporately, these emerging congregations also seek to develop their own distinctive congregational identity and mission, selectively appropriating certain theological and cultural resources from Korean immigrant churches as well as from the broader ecclesial communities. Although holding on to their unique second-generation Korean American congregational identities, these autonomous English-speaking congregations also strive to welcome those who come from other ethnic backgrounds, thus gradually expanding the group boundary and inevitably their group identity.

Surprisingly, there are also indications that a growing number of second-generation adults who have previously attended predominantly white congregations or panracial Asian American churches for many years are returning to Korean American congregations, including to those English-speaking congregations that are a part of a larger Korean immigrant church. One significant reason why second-generation Korean Americans have an evolving relationship with the Korean American church is because as they go through different life stages, their view toward their own ethnic identity and thus toward their own ethnic community of faith continuously changes. As second-generation Korean Americans parent children entering adolescence, a period in which the constructing identities—including ethnic identity—become significant, many are returning to Korean immigrant churches to offer their children a community in which they can explore and develop their own ethnic identities. Furthermore, as they play an increasing role in caring for their aging first-generation parents, these second-generation adults look for churches that can meet the needs of the multiple generations in their families.

For the moment, many second-generation Korean American congregations, whether they are independent of or are connected to Korean immigrant churches, are experiencing steady growth. Based

largely on the past experiences of European immigrant churches, many had assumed that Korean American churches would either gradually disappear as the number of first-generation immigrants declined or they would become “deethnicized.” However, unexpected growth and signs of the reversal of the “Silent Exodus” cause one to pause and think more reflectively about the complex intersection between religion and ethnicity in the United States and the future of Korean American churches.

Peter T. Cha

See also Asian Religions and Religious Practices in America

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Korean American Community Foundation (KACF)

The Korean American Community Foundation (KACF) is a philanthropic nonprofit organization

founded in New York in 2002 to serve the Korean and Asian American communities. Since its inception, KACF has awarded nearly \$2 million in grants to community organizations that serve individuals and families in need. Part of their mission is to raise awareness toward a culture of giving within the Korean American community.

The need for KACF rose in the wake of the 1992 Los Angeles riots to preempt interethnic conflicts and to community build in the neighborhoods in which Korean Americans had settled and established businesses. With the financial success of some in the community, KACF was established to introduce philanthropy outside of church and business associations, which were traditionally charity recipients.

Wonil Cho, then-Korean Consul General in New York City, held a meeting with 30 Korean American professionals from New York at his residence in the fall of 2002 to propose the A Dollar A Day For Our Neighbors program, which he had successfully launched during his ambassadorial stints in New Zealand and Vietnam. This led to the formation of KACF. Board members were selected; part of their service was to secure funding from three to five patrons.

Many of the donors include large corporations, such as Citi, Tiger Asia, Samsung, Lexis-Nexis, Reed Elsevier, Verizon, AmorePacific USA, US Bank, Remy Martin, and Korean Airlines. SungChul “Sonny” Whang, associate general counsel of Olayan America Corporation, is a founding member and four-year president of KACF and is highly regarded as an outstanding leader who contributed to the nonprofit’s success.

The Steering Committee, part of KACF’s organizational structure, is comprised of young, upwardly mobile, high-achieving 20-something professionals. Their work ethic and enthusiasm have also contributed to the efficiency of KACF; their coveted role gives them the ability to interact with the more established board members, who mentor the younger generation.

KACF has five priority areas: economic security, health, safety, senior empowerment, and youth empowerment. Its tenets include: raising and disseminating funds to social service organizations; providing financial aid to grantees; creating an awareness of Korean American social service needs; building a

culture of giving; and building bridges with other ethnic communities.

In 2005, KACF received a Ford Foundation grant for interethnic cross-racial community and relationship building and hosted the Inter-Community Collaborative Forum Series and awarded four Inter-Community Development Fund grants.

As part of the Ford grant, the foundation commissioned a case study of KACF as an example of a “fledgling and ethnic-centric” nonprofit. The article was written in 2008 by Michelle Greenwald, Professor of Marketing at the Stern Graduate School of Business at New York University and the Graduate School of Business at Columbia University. An addendum was added in 2009.

There are two large annual KACF fundraisers: a gala held every year since 2006, and a golf tournament held since 2010. Attendees at the gala have included UN Secretary Ban Ki Moon, Dartmouth College President Jim Yong Kim, and the Mayor of New York City Michael Bloomberg. In 2011, KACF was chosen as a Bronze-Level charity of the 2011 ING New York City Marathon.

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Korean American Ethnic Economy

Koreatown in Los Angeles is an example of an “ethnic enclave,” an example of an “ethnic economy,” and lastly, it is also an example of an “ethnic enclave economy.” These three terms, and their relative distinctions and definitions, encompass the main theoretical debates and concepts as discussed in the literature. Ethnic enclave literature is primarily focused on the enclave as a part of the “ethnic economy,” meaning a distinct secondary economy that coexists with the “primary economy.” The duality posited by this literature has often suggested that secondary economies such as

represented by the ethnic enclave have two main trajectories; one being that the ethnic enclave is a temporary place-based economic structure that allows for immigrant labor and immigrant entrepreneurs a space in which to transition into American society.

It was once theorized that the ethnic economy is not only secondary, it is temporary, allowing for the gradual assimilation of ethnic minorities into the broader primary, or white, economy wherein ethnic ties, kinship ties, and social networks gradually become less important as language and culture become less of a barrier to economic mobility. This has been widely contested by the work of other scholars, who argue that although the ethnic economy may be “secondary” or bounded, the move of immigrants away from the initial enclave does not necessitate a cutoff from the social and economic ties to ethnic spaces or networks.

The most important theories and concepts from Asian American studies that inform scholarly understandings of ethnic enclaves and ethnic enclave economies include those put forth by Alejandro Portes, Min Zhou, Victor Nee and Jimmy Sanders, Timothy Fong, Wei Li, and Ivan Light and Edna Bonacich, among others. But the debate and interaction between scholars has led to contemporary definitions and mutations on how the ethnic economy has come to be seen: something that is beyond pure economics and is more than a physical neighborhood.

Light and Bonacich, as early scholars of the “ethnic economy,” were originally interested in the emergence of a dominant group of co-ethnic or single-ethnic entrepreneurs. They first looked at Korean ethnic entrepreneurship in Los Angeles as a unique example of a recent immigrant group that appeared to arrive with start-up capital, and had a proclivity for self-employment. Their definition of the ethnic economy had no spatial relationship—and was in fact, not bounded by any particular geographic neighborhood but rather motivated by availability of land and low rents. Hence, their early study looked at any entrepreneur of Korean ethnicity (regardless of location) as being included in the “ethnic economy.”

Asian American scholars have challenged limited notions of the enclave as a preassimilated place solely for new immigrants. Peter Kwong, for example, writes

that there is a “new” Chinatown, a post-1965 Chinatown that changed with the modification of immigration laws. The new Chinatown is not just a place for foreign-born immigrants to acclimate to U.S. social and economic frameworks, but that in fact, Chinatown persists: both in the American imagination and reality. He argues that Chinatown kept growing with post-1965 overseas investment and the arrival of a broader spectrum of class groups among these immigrants. The work of Min Zhou has reaffirmed this argument about the paradoxes of the ethnic enclave. Along with Logan and Portes, Zhou concentrates on the ethnic enclave economy as “outside” the dominant framework of segmented labor market theory. For Zhou, the ethnic enclave economy is not an extension of the secondary economy but rather an alternative that has developed on its own principles. These principles include the ability to “protect” the various sectors of the ethnic economy using ethnic capital and labor. Thus, the enclave economy is not an example of “failed assimilation” but a form of “assimilation without acculturation.” Zhou and Logan were also among the first to argue that the enclave economy reflected a labor market that was distinct from the primary economy but not relegated to the secondary economy.

The literature on ethnic enclaves and ethnic economies are traditionally seen as separate literatures, albeit related. As Ivan Light discusses in “Beyond the Ethnic Enclave,” enclave literature derives from labor-segmentation literature whereas ethnic economy literature derives from the concept of the middleman minority and his/her role as an economic buffer. Light’s primary argument is to say that although the enclave is representative of the ethnic economy, it does not encapsulate the ethnic economy in its entirety, as the flow of capital, resources, and people are not bound in quite the same sense that the enclave is. To this, other scholars have added that although the ethnic economy does spread beyond the enclave, it is not reasonable to assume that people are any less tied to the ethnic enclave as a social, symbolic, and political place of being and belonging.

Initially the difference between the enclave economy and the ethnic enclave economy was that the enclave required clustering of firms. In contrast to the model described by Light and Bonacich, Alejandro

Portes developed the concept of the “ethnic enclave economy”—where there must be a coethnic cluster of business firms in a particular location, and where the clientele are coethnic consumers. For Light and Bonachich it was only the self-employment decision of the “ethnic” person that mattered in this definition of the ethnic economy. No coethnic employees were necessary, nor was the ethnicity of the clientele an important part of the definition of an ethnic economy.

Just as the study of ghetto formation now looks beyond the “inner-city” in its analysis and at pockets of extremely poor, highly segregated neighborhoods in suburban areas, the study of ethnic enclaves has also begun to incorporate the reality of “pocket” entrepreneurial networks in the suburbs, and the formation of satellite Chinatowns and Koreatowns. The emergence of ethnic enclaves outside of the central city provide further support for Zhou’s argument for looking at the social underpinnings of the ethnic enclave. Although the enclave is certainly part of the “ethnic economy,” the physical place is as much about social processes and networks as it is about internal economic sustainability. Even though different ethnic communities continue to grow and establish areas of consumption and production outside of the city-proper, the urban ethnic enclave continues to provide a symbolic center for culture, as well as a place that is still most convenient (in terms of transportation, jobs, and housing) for newer immigrants, and an economic center or central business district.

Had this important antiassimilationist intervention not been made, it would have been difficult to understand how suburban ethnic enclaves and their central city counterparts related to one another—or, in fact, coexist at all. Despite Koreatown’s visible presence in New York’s Manhattan, as Kyeyoung Park portrayed in her book, *The Korean American Dream*, the majority of Korean Americans resided (both initially as well as currently) in the borough of Queens. Park and Zhou were able to bring to the forefront something other than the perceived “survival” functions or purely economic function of the ethnic enclave. In her 2004 article, “Revisiting the Ethnic Enclave,” Zhou discussed continued social, cultural, and symbolic importance of the enclave. The presence of satellite Koreatowns in suburban Los Angeles (Garden Grove)

and in Flushing, Queens (New York City) has not diminished the importance of the central city Koreatowns as financial, political, and social centers.

These scholars paved the way for an analysis of ethnic enclaves’ transformation in the latter part of the 1990s and 2000s. Under previous formations in the literature, the ethnic enclave (and its economic functions) was projected to disappear as immigrants assimilated and moved away from inner-city residential areas. Contrary to this belief, the emergence of “ethno-burbs” did not result in the disappearance of Koreatowns or Chinatowns and reaffirmed that the ethnic economy could span multiple physical locations. It is precisely this analysis that also allows the ethnic enclave, despite its “coethnic” or perceived secondary status to develop as a “central business district”—and not merely a ghettoized neighborhood with new immigrant economic functions. The ethnic enclave as a business district is important in current debates especially as more research points to the success of ethnic banking in both Canada and the United States.

The traditional role of the Korean ethnic enclave as the “middleman,” the racial and economic buffer between black and white Los Angeles, has been challenged by the expansion of ethnic enclaves and thus begins to raise new questions in the minds of many—including politicians and economists. Economic sustainability of the enclave (i.e., as nonintegrated with the “primary” economy) is also because of the ongoing arrival of Asian immigrants to the enclave as well as the strong pulse of transnational capital between the United States and sending countries. Zhou has argued that the economic conditions in sending nations strongly shape the type and the quality of transnational activities engaged by immigrant groups. The reality of globalization, and the emergence of global cities, has further created a sense of transnational, or dual nationality, identity among new and old immigrants alike that may also explain the continued growth of ethnic enclave economies.

This growth is perhaps attributable to the distinction that Zhou, for example, makes between “middleman” minorities and “ethnic enclave entrepreneurs”—meaning the ability of certain ethnic entrepreneurs to play dual roles by providing services for and by coethnic groups within the enclave or ethnoburbs. The

economic value of culture, or social capital as a tool for building community, can be seen in some ways as a double-edged sword. Contemporary analyses of enclaves like Los Angeles's Koreatown in particular have redefined Koreatowns beyond residential spaces but as "ethnic enclave economies" for Koreans of multiple class background to live, work, produce, and consume. At the same time, Korean businesses also continue somewhat to operate as "middleman" minorities, as the provision of goods and services has expanded to the highly Latino residential population in the neighborhood, indicating that more multiethnic definitions of Asian enclaves is more appropriate. In the original research regarding ethnic enclaves, only their economic significance was examined as important. This has left room in more recent years to continue to interrogate how spatial ties and social networks are keys to the development of enclave economies. Also, because even the more broadly defined "ethnic economy" usually centers single-ethnic or coethnic forms of economic and social relationships, there is an important next step to be made: the examination of an ethnic enclave economy as multiethnic spaces of production and consumption.

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See also Korean Americans; Koreatown

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Korean American Farmers in the United States

If one defines farmers broadly to include those farming the land as well as ones working at farm jobs, a farm is the quintessence of the Korean U.S. immigrant history. This is because the very first thing that spawned Koreans' emigration to America was an opportunity for them to work as farmhands on Hawaii sugar plantations. Between 1902 and 1905, under contract with the Hawaii Sugar Planters Association, some 7,000 Koreans came to Hawaii to work Hawaii sugar plantations. Making a living as farmhands continued from Hawaii to the mainland as 2,000 of the 7,000 Korean Hawaii immigrants transmigrated to the West Coast, settling mostly in California.

The Koreans' farm life in California began with picking oranges in Riverside County orchards in

Southern California from 1903. About the same time Central California's growing raisin industry drew Koreans to San Joaquin Valley vineyards to pick grapes. They worked a wide swath of Central San Joaquin Valley, Stockton, Fresno, Visalia, Dinuba, Delano, and Reedley. A bit later, from 1913 on, rice farming by Koreans flourished in California's rice country, in Northern California. Until the fatal 1920 flood, Koreans were growing rice in Colusa, Glenn, and Yuba counties.

How about the modern day Korean farmers? In Southern California alone, we have three date farms, three bee growers, one ranch, one bean sprout grower, one radish farmer, one acorn grower, one nonprofit church retreat/farm, four organic lettuce growers, six organic and nonorganic tree fruit farmers. In Central California, we have another nonprofit church retreat/farm growing a variety of tree fruits. We have Yu Farm in Earlimart, California, specializing in growing organic brown rice. Jason Lee, a third generation Lee Jai Soo rice farm family, operates 15,000 acre rice fields in Maxwell, California, north of Sacramento. Several Koreans operate organic farms in New Jersey and Florida.

In Hawaii sugar plantations, the Koreans lived a life that approximated slave master driven indentured life. Nonetheless, most of Hawaii Koreans were Christians, as many Hawaii immigrant recruits were drawn from Korean Christian community. In every single Hawaiian island where the Koreans worked, they built churches. Churches gave them solace and relief from their hard life. Also, a passion to free their homeland from Japanese colonialism (1910–1945) helped them endure their hardship. The Riverside Koreans had a strong patriotic leader, Ahn Chang Ho, with them. Ahn Chang Ho organized his fellow Koreans to negotiate terms of their contract with employers, learn English, go to church and self-govern their community.

Often disrupting Korean farm laborers were natural disasters that inflicted damages to the California citrus industry. For example, in 1914, a severe frost wiped out almost all of Riverside orchards. This had driven many Koreans to leave Riverside and take up nonfarm jobs in cities. Central San Joaquin Valley Koreans evidently led a poor but stable life because,

in Reedley and Dinuba cemeteries, we have 237 Korean graves. This many Koreans lived and died in California Central Valley. Their church built in Reedley in 1938 is still standing. So are house remnants they lived in and labor camp/boarding houses that functioned as Korean singles' dorm as well as their employment agency.

There were also itinerant Korean farm laborers who never stayed put at one place too long and moved on to next places where harvest seasons began. They called themselves "flying geese" traversing as a work gang up and down the West Coast.

One is mistaken, however, if he/she thinks that they must have lived an idyllic country life enjoying the fresh air and having lots of food on table. Fresh air was mostly a sizzling 100-plus degree heat. Wages were meager, 10 or 15 cents an hour. Rice and pickles were their staple diet. A study of Central California Korean farm laborers of 1929s and 1930s cites some tragic statistics. Of approximately 300 Koreans, there were four cases of suicide, three cases of homicide, and one case of death from malnutrition. It speaks volumes about what their lives must have been like.

The Central California Korean farm story is not all bleak, however. There are success stories. Harry Kim and Charles H. Kim ran a successful nursery and pioneered in growing "fuzzless" nectarines in Reedley, California. They ran their business under the trade name, Kim Brothers, Inc. (not related). They made millions from their fruit tree farming, the first sustaining Korean millionaires, and contributed much to the Korean independence movement.

Han Si Dae of Delano, California, is another success story. Penniless, Han walked into the Delano local Bank of America branch and asked the bank manager to loan him some money to farm. The manager asked if he had any collateral—house, car, or land. Han said none of that. He showed him his bare two hands and said, "this is my guarantee." Eventually, his audacity got the bank manager to loan him \$1,000 in 1923. With it, he leased 90 acres of land. Some 20 years later, it turned into 250-acre farmland worth half a million dollars.

We also have Leo Song and Kim Yong Jeung who founded the first Korean-run jobber, K & S Jobbers in 1925. They brokered fruit wholesale in downtown Los

Angeles. Kim Yong Jeung was intimately involved with Reedley's Kim Brothers, Inc. and Leo Song ran Song Orchard and Packing House in Sultana, Dinuba's next door, in Central California. K & S Jobbers exemplified a fine Korean agribusiness partnership, as did Reedley's Kim Brothers, Inc.

Korean rice farming has a success story too. What made rice farming by Koreans possible was a so-called 10 percent deal. A landowner provided a capital-poor farmer with land, seed, and equipment. The farmer or essentially a sharecropper kept 10 percent of the crop and the rest went to the landowner. The sharecropper was able to use his 10 percent share as his surety to borrow money from the bank. With borrowed money, he leased more land and equipment. This way Kim Chong Lim grew rice and barley on 10,000 acres. He made a fortune. This earned him the appellation of "Rice King." The fatal flood of 1920 decimated just about every Korean's rice field including Kim Chong Lim's.

Another story that needs to be told is a humanitarian deed by Yu Farm in Earlimart, California. In 1990, Yu Farm's owners and founders, Howard and Soo Yu, invited five Chinese Koreans from Chinese Jilin Province to their farm to live on their farmland, work, and learn about modern agricultural technology. In 2000, they invited six Koreans from North Korea to do the same and arranged for them to hold a seminar with agronomists at the University of California, Davis. Yu Farm donated potato, cotton, almond, soybean, and barley seeds to North Koreans. So, they may take them home and plant them to augment their hard-pressed food production.

Modern-day Korean farms are virtually all family owned and operated. They are up against corporate farms but they find their niche in specialty products. For example, vegetables and fruits catering to the taste of Asians and fresh organic produce one sells at local farmer's market. Unlike Japanese, for Koreans succeeding forebears' farm is rare. The modern-day Koreans' agricultural ventures may yield a sustaining Korean farm tradition. For now, at least, much of Korean American farm stories is historical.

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See also Korean Americans; Korean Americans in Hawaii

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Korean American LGBT Movements in Los Angeles and New York

Korean American LGBTIQ (Lesbian Gay Bi Transgender Intersex Queer) social movements have always run parallel with the LGBTIQ activism in South Korea. The first efforts of Queer Korean Americans to form an organized voice against discrimination, as well as provide a support for Queer Koreans date to the early 1990s. What is known of the earliest groups in the United States precede the founding of the first Queer organization in South Korea. The first Korean American LGBTIQ group was Korean Lesbian and Gay Organization (KGLO), founded in New York City in December of 1990. In New York City, this group

was followed by other organizations with more specifically social justice-oriented missions, such as IBAN—the predecessor of the current New York City-based Dari Project. “IBAN” meaning “difference” and “Dari” meaning “bridge,” both signify two elements that seem prevalent in Queer Korean organizing today: first, a need to define justice as an interrelated process that encompasses sexual and gender identity as well as racial and class discrimination of Korean Americans; and second, the importance of transnational relationships and movement building between South Korea and the United States.

The Korean community in the United States is considered to be relatively conservative in their attitudes toward same-sex couples. Scholars often attribute this to Neo-Confucian traditions present in South Korean culture as well as the predominantly Christian affiliation of many South Koreans. Postimmigration to the United States, some of these cultural attitudes among first- and sometimes second-generation Korean Americans remain intact. Although Asian Americans overall disapprove of same-sex marriage, according to a voter survey by Field Poll, Korean Americans disapproved the most among all Asian ethnic groups. Korean American Churches have mobilized large numbers of Korean American voters and financial resources against LGBTIQ marriage, especially. As Judy Han has described, “Korean American religious and civic leaders in Southern California organized a large-scale petition drive to place the California Defense of Sexual Responsibility Act on the November 2000 ballot,” and registered approximately 15,000 *new* voters in the Korean American community to vote in its favor. In response Han and others created a coalition called Korean Americans for Civil Rights (KACR) as a “direct and grassroots response to the first explicitly anti-gay organizing efforts in the history of the Korean American community in California, and possibly in the United States” (Han 2000: 4). This perhaps marked a shift where more socially focused Queer Korean American organizations were utilized to form coalitions with other Asian American and Korean American nonprofit and political organizations.

Queer Korean Americans in Los Angeles and New York are currently organizing in the Korean American LGBTIQ communities, both locally and

transnationally, against discrimination in South Korea and the United States. In New York City, the Dari Project was launched in 2006 after an LGBT town hall meeting hosted at the CUNY Graduate Center. In Los Angeles, Koreans United for Equality (KUE) formed in 2008 in response to an overwhelming number of voting Korean Americans who supported California’s Proposition 8, which was an attempt to eliminate the rights of same-sex couples to be legally married. Although initially catalyzed by the fight for marriage equality, KUE now focuses on empowering queer Koreans in and around Los Angeles, as well as educating and outreaching to the larger Korean American community. Both Queer Korean American groups share common goals in reaching out to increase awareness of Korean LGBTIQ individuals and provide resources that are culturally and linguistically accessible to the broader Korean American community. Alliances with community-based organizations have been very successful, and an indication of growing support among Korean American groups. The Koreatown Immigrant Workers Alliance in Los Angeles (KIWA) hosts “coming out days” in their office, participates in annual pride marches and conducted a survey of Korean American youth’s attitude toward LGBTIQ issues.

The leadership of both groups, Un Jung Lim at Dari Project, and several members of KUE, expressed the importance of navigating linguistic barriers. The bulk of information available about Queer identity, history, and presence was simply not available in the Korean language. Through collaborations with Gay Asian Pacific Islander Men of New York (GAPIMNY) and the Korean Resource Center (KRC, Los Angeles), leaders on both sides of the country have worked to develop educational materials and resources in the Korean language. These efforts to produce materials have been multipronged: emphasizing a need not only for materials to be accessible for the friends and family members of Queer Koreans but also for Queer Koreans themselves, who struggle with feelings of isolation in both the LGBTIQ communities and in the Korean American community.

Some mechanisms by which LGBTIQ issues are shared across national borders include activism as well as promotion through arts and culture. Groups in South

Korea have made the effort to translate statements into English, and groups in the United States also translate statements into Korean. One specific issue that Queer Koreans are globally working on is on challenging transphobia as well as homophobia. Harisu, the first transgender woman celebrity to “come out” publicly has remained a controversial figure, despite other South Korean celebrities who have come out as queer. The visibility of Queer and Transgender Koreans make an impact in the Korean American community as well, given the cultural tie to South Korean media and popular culture. In recent years South Korea has seen several historic victories against homophobia and transphobia, including passage of the Seoul Student Rights Ordinance in 2011 (prohibiting sexual orientation and gender identity discrimination) as well as the airing of South Korea’s first lesbian drama “Daughters of Club Bilitis” on public television channel Korean Broadcasting System (KBS). Both of these events also struck major discord with the South Korean public and prompted mass organizing by conservative Korean mothers through local and national church groups. Activism by South Korean and Korean American activists may dovetail, but so does the organizing by South Korean and Korean Americans who oppose LGBTIQ rights.

Multinational cultural connections are used to build the movement for LGBTIQ human rights, and activists in the United States and South Korea spread awareness of issues and events through social media networks. An important acknowledgment should be made here to groups like Chingusai (Between Friends) in South Korea. Just as cultural attitudes carried by Korean immigrants to the United States may reflect Neo-Confucian values, progressive cultural attitudes in South Korea that embrace LGBTIQ activism are also very much a part of the organizing efforts by Korean Americans in Los Angeles and New York. There are also more tangible connections made by Korean-U.S. and U.S.-Korean migrations. The history of Chingusai, a Korean gay men’s organization, and KiriKiri, a Korean gay women’s organization, reflects these transnational connections. Both groups originated from the first LGBTIQ group in South Korea, called Choidonghoi, which was founded in 1993 by three South Korean citizens and two Korean

Americans. Many Korean Americans travel to South Korea and support events internationally, including annual pride marches as well as the Korean Queer Culture Festival. As the Korean American community has grown, so has the visibility of queer Korean Americans—including the following activists, artists, and filmmakers: Andy Marra, Pauline Park, Erica Cho, and Andrew Ahn. In this way, the movement building for Korean American LGBTIQ rights takes on a global and diasporic identity, just as the larger community has done via immigration, social networking, and cultural institutions.

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See also LGBT Activism

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Korean Americans

Early Korean migration to Hawaii and the United States was an outgrowth of Japanese and U.S. imperialism as well as the spread of Christianity in Korea. Until the 1870s, the country had been relatively isolated from the West. From the 1860s on, Western ships increasingly appeared in Korean waters but were kept

at bay; the French were driven off in 1866 and the United States in 1871. In 1876, Korea's long isolation ended when Japan forced it to sign an unequal treaty giving the outside power substantial control over Korea's foreign and domestic economic affairs as well as the right of extraterritoriality. In 1882, the United States secured a treaty with Korea, and Britain, Germany, Russia, Italy, and France followed suit.

Increased contact with Japan and Western powers set in motion a domestic crisis in Korea that eventually prompted emigration to other parts of the world. The entry of foreigners and concessions led to factional struggles in the Korean court and the ruling yangban class. Additionally, out of the instability caused by outsiders' presence emerged a religious movement known as Tonghak (Eastern learning), which blended Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism and called for Koreans to ward off the evils of Western learning and religions. The movement, which crested in the 1880s and 1890s and drew from different groups in Korean society that had experienced displacement, also had political dimensions; its slogan was, "Drive out the Japanese dwarves and the Western barbarians, and praise righteousness." In the early 1890s as rebellion swept the countryside, King Kojong asked China for help to quell the unrest. Feeling threatened by the presence of Chinese troops in Korea, Japan sent its own forces, and a confrontation between the countries escalated into the Sino-Japanese War. China's defeat marked not just the end of the Tonghaks, but also, as David Yoo notes, the end of Korea's long-standing Sino-centric orientation. After its victory in the Russo-Japanese War in 1905, Japan further consolidated its power in Korea by declaring it a protectorate, and five years later it annexed Korea and enacted measures to exploit its colony's people and resources.

Internal crises in Korea from the late nineteenth century on opened opportunities for American Protestant missionaries to spread their influence among converts in need of national and spiritual salvation and eventually shaped patterns of migration to Hawaii and the United States. The U.S.-Korea treaty of 1882 facilitated missionaries' entry, and timing and circumstances proved keys to Protestantism's appeal among Koreans. In addition to some similarities between Christianity and Koreans' religious foundations (e.g.,

notion of a monotheistic supreme being), missionaries also offered educational, medical, and other services that brought newcomers into the fold. Koreans, moreover, made Protestantism their own relatively quickly, translating and circulating Bibles in hangul, constructing native church buildings, and appointing their own leaders, so it was not always thought of as an outsider religion.

A close relationship between the American medical missionary Horace Allen and the Korean court was pivotal for the start of Korean migration to Hawaii. Allen had arrived in Korea in 1884 and won the confidence of King Kojong after saving the life of a relative of the queen. His relationship with the royal couple enabled American Protestants to work in Korea with relative freedom and also led to his own appointment as the secretary of the American legation in Seoul, a post he held from 1890 to 1897; he was then made American minister to Korea from 1897 to 1905. American businessmen with interests in Korea sought Allen's help; in 1902, representatives of the Hawaiian Sugar Planters Association (HSPA) requested a meeting with Allen to discuss the recruitment of Korean laborers. The HSPA believed that Korean laborers could be an especially effective counterforce to Japanese labor militancy on the islands and asked Allen to use his influence to encourage Korean migration to Hawaii. He persuaded King Kojong to allow emigration, reasoning that it would provide relief from the effects of famine and other catastrophes besetting the country as well as enhance Korea's economy and international prestige via monetary remittances and its relationship with the United States.

By this time, the United States had annexed Hawaii and the Organic Act of 1900 applied U.S. laws against contract labor to the islands, which meant that Koreans could not go under contracts with prepaid fares and had to demonstrate they would not become public charges. In 1902, King Kojong established a department of immigration to enforce these and other policies. American businessman David Deshler, a friend of Allen's who had several business enterprises in Japan and Korea, served as the main recruiting agent in Korea through his Korean Development Company. Recruiting mainly out of Seoul, Inchon, Pusan, and Wonson, the company advertised a wage of \$16 per

month plus medical care, housing, fuel, and water for working six days per week on Hawaiian plantations. As further enticement, Deshler set up a bank—for which the HSPA was the sole depositor—that offered to pay emigrants' passport fees, loan fare money, and provide them with “show money” needed to gain entry.

As Koreans were being recruited to go to Hawaii, others were seeking better fortunes elsewhere, as the economic and political dislocations of the late 1800s had triggered a significant exodus. By 1900, thousands of Koreans were living abroad, mainly in the Russian Maritime Provinces, Manchuria, China, and Japan. A small number of students and political exiles, among them Philip Jaisohn, Ahn Chang Ho, and Pak Young-man and Syngman Rhee, had landed in the United States and later became leaders of the Korean independence movement. Regarding labor immigration to Hawaii, American missionaries in Korea aided the efforts of Allen and Deshler, telling parishioners that Hawaii was a Christian land where they could freely practice their religion. Most of the passengers of the first ship of Korean laborers arriving in Hawaii in early 1903 were in fact parishioners from George Heber Jones's Methodist church. Pleased with this group of workers, the HSPA eventually arranged 65 crossings with Korean laborers.

The early wave of Korean immigrants shared similarities with other Asian groups but was distinct in a number of respects. Like other Asians who immigrated around this time, most Korean arrivals were men between the ages of 20 and 30. Although laborers represented the vast majority of Korean immigrants, this early wave also included a smattering of students and merchants. Regarding differences, about 40 percent of the approximately 7,000 Koreans who left for Hawaii between 1902 and 1905 were converted Christians. During years of open migration from 1903 to 1905, 7,226 Koreans left for Hawaii. Of this total were 6,048 men, 637 women, 541 children. Furthermore, although the labor migrants came to work on plantations, most did not come from rural regions or have agricultural backgrounds, instead they tended to be nonagricultural laborers from seaport towns. Additionally a significant number of former soldiers and artisans were also part of the first wave).

The shortness of the early period of Korean migration, from 1903 to 1905, was because of several factors. In 1905, officials in Korea received reports about abuse of its emigrant laborers in Vera Cruz, Mexico, souring the king on the idea of permitting further emigration. As Japan looked to exert greater influence over Korean affairs after its victory in the Russo-Japanese War in 1905, it sought to limit Korean emigration to Hawaii to curb competition for Japanese laborers there. In response to these considerations and other pressures, the Korean government ended emigration, and then after annexation Japan shut down its Department of Immigration. Meanwhile, after Japan's annexation of Korea, U.S. officials tended to lump the two countries in matters of immigration policy. A 1907 executive order from President Theodore Roosevelt excluded Japanese and Korean laborers who tried to enter the United States by way of Canada, Hawaii, or Mexico; the same year, Secretary of State Elihu Root ordered that new Korean immigrants must hold passports from the Japanese Foreign Office.

These actions shut down the main flow of Koreans to Hawaii, although “picture brides” and student-laborer-exiles continued to enter after 1905. From 1910 to 1924 about 900 political exiles, students, and intellectuals and about 1,000 Korean picture brides entered Hawaii or the West Coast. By 1920, the Korean population on the U.S. mainland was 1,677 and 20 years later it stood at just 1,711. Hawaii's Korean population was always greater during this period; in 1920, 4,950 Koreans were counted in the islands and by 1940 that number increased to 6,851, most of the growth from natural increase. Outside California and Hawaii was a smattering of Korean students. Between 1921 and 1940 about 300 trickled in, because of Japan's tightening of requirements on student migration for fear that they would become independence activists. Although isolated from the main centers of the Korean American population, organizations such as the Korean Student Federation formed in 1919 to bring together Korean student organizations from New York to Nebraska to Hawaii to help them to stay connected to their peers across the country.

Most Korean immigrants from the first wave entered Hawaii plantation society as laborers on

sugarcane and pineapple plantations. In 1905, the peak year of their involvement, Koreans represented about 11 percent of the workforce. They outnumbered Chinese, but were far less numerous than Japanese, who in the first decade of the 1900s made up a majority of island plantation workers. Work and living conditions they and other laborers faced were harsh. Plantation laborers toiled six days a week, for up to 12 hours per day with only short breaks. Women worked in the fields and tended to domestic duties. Typically the homes provided by plantation owners were crowded, unsanitary shacks. Although most laborers left the plantations after their contracts ended, they tended to stay in Hawaii, moving to Honolulu or other cities. In 1910, there were 4,533 Koreans living in Hawaii.

Others left Hawaii altogether, drawn to the better educational opportunities and wages on the mainland. By 1910, about 1,500 Koreans lived on the U.S. mainland. The majority was in California and concentrated in places such as Los Angeles, the San Francisco Bay Area, and the Central Valley. As in Hawaii, however, they continued to be predominantly working class and worked such jobs as agricultural laborers, truck farmers, domestics, and laundry workers. With an approximately 3 to 2 male-female gender ratio in 1930, this small population also gradually transitioned to family-based communities.

Reflecting the large percentage of Christians—chiefly Methodists and Presbyterians—among Korean immigrants (two-thirds by one estimate), church was the single most important community institution for Korean Americans. In 1903, the first known Korean church in Hawaii was organized on the Wailua sugar plantation; within two years, a network of churches supported by at least 10 evangelists and dozens of mission stations appeared throughout the islands. In Hawaii and on the mainland, Korean churches were usually established with the help of white Americans and they remained within a larger mission structure, but congregational life was usually the purview of Koreans. In many cases, Korean ministers were sent to Hawaii to help start new churches and oversee congregations of newly arrived laborers. For instance, Methodists in Korea sent Hong Sung-ha and Min Chan-ho to minister to immigrants in Hawaii, and in

1905 their church was formally recognized by the Methodist Episcopal denomination. Churches also served as the social centers of the Korean American community, as their buildings were sites for community events and celebrations in addition to worship. Some coordinated English classes for adults and Korean language schools for children. In 1906, for instance, Koreans in the Hawaiian Mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church raised money to build the Korean Compound School for boys and girls in Honolulu, which offered Korean language instruction and prepared students for secondary school. Between 1907 and 1940 there were 18 Korean language schools throughout the islands, and most were church-affiliated.

For the most part, Korean churches and ministers worked peacefully within their denominational structures, but occasionally tensions arose. In 1913 nationalist immigrant leader Syngman Rhee became principal of the Korean Compound School in Honolulu. Under his leadership the school emphasized teaching students about Korea and the importance of independence from Japan, to the chagrin of white church leaders who wished to keep religion and politics separate. During the course of the controversy, both the superintendent John Wadman and Rhee resigned from their positions. Rhee furthermore left the church and took about 30 followers with him to form an independent church called the Korean Christian Church of Hawaii, as well as a coeducational boarding school in Honolulu in 1918.

Churches and language schools were likewise common and important institutions among mainland Koreans in Los Angeles, Sacramento, San Francisco, Oakland, the San Joaquin Valley, Seattle, Chicago, and New York. Unlike in Hawaii, which had a larger and more stable population, the small size and transiency of the Korean population in California also caused institutional instability. The first Korean church on the West Coast was a Presbyterian church established in Los Angeles in 1906. Mainland churches, like their counterparts in Hawaii, often sponsored language schools, which facilitated cultural continuity from the first to second generations. By the 1930s in Los Angeles, about half of the Korean community's school-age children attended language school.

Another prominent feature of early Korean American history was politics, specifically supporting Korea's independence from Japan. Between 1903 and 1907, Koreans in America organized several anti-Japan and proindependence political groups whereas others conducted independence activities in churches. Despite their small numbers, they were very active in forming organizations. In 1907 representatives from 24 groups met in Honolulu and formed the Korean Consolidated Association with headquarters on Liliha Street and within a year it had 47 affiliates on the islands. Koreans in San Francisco organized the Korean Mutual Assistance Association with offices on Pacific Street near Chinatown. The Korean Restorative Association was founded in 1905 in Pasadena and moved to San Francisco in 1907.

Anti-Japanese sentiment among Korean immigrants was galvanized in a 1908 incident in which Durham Stevens, a pro-Japan American diplomat, was killed by two Koreans in San Francisco. Myeng-woon Jen, a member of the Korean Mutual Assistance Association, confronted Stevens, and Jang In-Whang, a member of the Korean Restorative Association fired the fatal shots. Jang was found guilty of murder and sentenced to 20 years in 1909 but was paroled in 1919. When he died in 1930, Koreans in America hailed him as a great patriot.

The Stevens assassination and ensuing trial galvanized and united sectors of the Korean American population and gave rise to a flurry of organizing. In October 1908, representatives from various mutual aid organizations in Hawaii and the mainland met in San Francisco to plan a new group called the Korean National Association, or KNA. Launched in February 1909, the KNA consolidated smaller organizations under its umbrella with the goal of supporting freedom for Korea and helping overseas Koreans. It was headquartered in San Francisco—until it moved to Los Angeles in 1938—and had four regional headquarters in Honolulu, San Francisco, Manchuria, and Siberia. The Hawaii branch published a paper, the *United Korean Weekly*.

Anti-Japanese sentiment had been a cohesive force among Korean immigrants before, but the effect of annexation was especially powerful, giving rise to new activities. After Japan annexed Korea in

August 1910, the KNA held a protest meeting in Honolulu and passed the resolution of opposition. Also in the wake of annexation, independence leader Pak Young-man established the Korean Youth Military Association on a farm in Hastings, Nebraska, whose goal was to train an army that would help overthrow Japan from Korea. Others followed his lead in setting up military training centers in Kansas City; Superior, Wyoming; and Claremont and Lompoc, California, and the KNA supported these enterprises with funds. Pak left Nebraska for Hawaii in 1912, and there, he supervised the training of a Korean National Brigade at a pineapple plantation on Oahu, which 300 men joined and performed drills before and after work.

After annexation, the next major event that shaped both the independence struggle in Korea as well as Korean American politics was the March First movement of 1919. On March 1, a day of national mourning for King Kojong, the last Yi dynasty ruler, 33 independence leaders signed a Declaration of Independence modeled on the U.S. document, an action that thousands of Koreans across the country lauded by waving flags and shouting “Man Sei!” (“Long Live”). As Japanese forces brutally suppressed the movement, leaders fled and formed a provisional government in Shanghai, called the Korean Provisional Government (KPG). Reflecting the importance of diasporic immigrants as the leading figures of the independence movement, Syngman Rhee was named president and Pak Young-man and Ahn Chang Ho were made cabinet members. In the meantime, the March First movement galvanized the KNA, which organized a Korean Information Office under the direction of Philip Jaisohn and began publishing a magazine called the *Korea Review*, which publicized Korea's plight and sought to unite Koreans in the United States.

Although Christianity and independence were strong bases of solidarity among Koreans in America, this population was beset by almost constant factionalism, largely because of the interpersonal rivalries of Syngman Rhee, Pak Young-man, and Ahn Chang-ho. Rhee, the best known of the three, was a Christian who had converted when in jail in Korea for his political activities, and he came to the United States in 1904 as a student. He immigrated as a student and eventually earned bachelor's, master's, and

doctoral degrees at American universities. Earning his PhD at Princeton in 1901, he was the first Korean to obtain a doctorate at an American university. After returning to Korea for a few years to work for the YMCA, he went to Hawaii on the invitation of Methodist leaders to direct the Korean Compound school, where he would later fall out with the church. In Hawaii, Rhee also had conflicts with Pak Young-man about approaches and logistics (diplomacy versus military training) rather than objectives. By the mid-1910s, the rivalry between the men divided Korean Americans and cast a shadow over the community even after both left Hawaii. Ahn Chang Ho, an immigrant leader based in California, also became a foe of Rhee. Arriving in San Francisco in 1903, he focused much of his activism on organizing Korean students and developing elite leadership through a group he formed in 1913 called the Corps for the Advancement of Individuals (Heung-Sa-Dan). Interpersonal rivalries also undermined the stability of the KNA, especially in the early 1920s, when Rhee attempted to lead his followers out of the organization and supplant it with rival organizations.

Despite their passion and activism, Korean independence leaders in America had a mixed record in winning over U.S. authorities to their concerns. After Japan's annexation of Korea, Koreans in America were often lumped with Japanese, a source of much irritation. One well-known incident in which Koreans asserted their separate identity occurred in 1913 in the town of Hemet, California. The Japanese consulate in Los Angeles had tried to mediate on behalf of a group of Korean fruit pickers who had been assaulted and driven out of town by white locals. The Koreans refused the consulate's representation and KNA officials in San Francisco tried to step in to represent their countrymen. In a telegraph to Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan, President David Lee appealed, "Please regard us not as Japanese in time of peace and war. We Koreans came to America before Japan's annexation of Korea and will never submit to her so long as the sun remains in heaven." Bryan's response, in which he agreed that any matter dealing with Koreans in the United States should be addressed to the KNA, was seen as vindication for

the organization and Koreans in America seeking to assert their separate identities and interests from Japan.

In other matters, however, Korean Americans fell short in persuading American officials. After World War I, the KNA planned to send delegates to the Paris Peace Conference and to New York City to work with the League of Nations advocates. For this occasion, Rhee and Ahn called a truce in their rivalry and wrote to the State Department and requested a passport for Rhee to travel to Paris. To their dismay, the Department denied the request, saying that Koreans were subjects of Japan and only Japan could issue Rhee a passport.

Because of the ending of Korean emigration in 1905 as well as U.S. legislative restriction in 1917 and 1924, immigration came to a virtual halt from 1924 to 1950 and the Korean American population was fairly static in the 1920s and 1930s. The World War II years saw little new migration, but this was nonetheless a momentous time for Koreans throughout the diaspora who hoped the war would finally bring the liberation of their country from Japan. The Sino-Korean People's League, formed by Kilsoo Haan in the mid-1930s as an opposition group to Syngman Rhee's faction, aimed to unite Koreans in China, Hawaii, and the mainland in the fight against Japan, and it even argued in favor of removing Japanese from the West Coast. The war years also brought new opportunities to young Korean Americans, such as students who became government translators and others who joined the U.S. Army.

With Japan's defeat to the Allied powers in 1945, Korea was finally liberated, but celebration soon gave way when the country was divided in 1948 at the 38 parallel. The North became a Communist regime and the South a democracy and junior partner of the United States. The initial division prompted a new wave of internal population dispersal, with some 3.5 million people fleeing to the South between 1945 and 1950. After 1945 the United States maintained a troop presence in the South to protect it from the North, and this presence would be a conduit for American influence in Korea for several decades.

The arrival of American troops and then the Korean War of 1950–1952, as well as legislative

reform in the United States, created conditions for a revival of Korean immigration. The McCarran-Walter Act of 1952 removed the racial barriers to immigration and naturalization established by the 1924 Immigration Act but maintained a racially discriminatory quota. With the window opening slightly and international events generating new push factors, the “second wave” of Korean immigration got underway. Called “interim” immigrants, the immigrants of the 1950s and early 1960s included students, military spouses, war orphans, and professional workers, totaling about 14,000.

Military brides comprised the single largest group to immigrate during the second wave and they continued to enter the United States in large numbers well into the late 1900s. Between 1951 and 1964 about 6,400 came to the United States, and by 1977, there were over 28,000. According to Ji Yeon Yuh by 1989, nearly 100,000 had entered. Many of these women met their husbands while working as waitresses or entertainers in “camptowns” where U.S. soldiers were stationed, and they saw their marriages and migration as a way out of poverty and the abusive conditions of camptown life. Their entry was permitted after a 1952 revision to the War Brides Act of 1945 allowed the migration of Asian “war brides.” A migration borne from a quasi-colonial relationship between the two nations, Korean military brides reversed the skewed gender ratio of earlier eras; among Koreans entering between 1951 and 1964 women outnumbered men 3.5 to 1, and in 1965, about 82 percent of entering Koreans were female.

Because of the circumstances of their marriages, military brides did not move to traditional centers of the Korean American population; instead, settled in their husbands’ hometowns where they were likely the only Korean people. Thus, they often faced intense loneliness and isolation, not just in the surrounding community but also in their own households. Because of the cultural divide separating the wives from their non-Korean husbands, many had difficulty communicating with their own family members and faced strong pressure to Americanize quickly. Even if they lived near other Korean immigrants, military brides were often discriminated against because of their

backgrounds as former entertainers, waitresses, or prostitutes on military bases.

The growth of the Korean American population in the interim period was at the modest rate of about 1,000 to 2,000 per year. The late 1960s, however, brought dramatic change because of extensive U.S. immigration policy reform as well as developments in Korea. In 1968 just over 6,000 Koreans were admitted to the United States; five years later that number reached 23,000. In 1975, Korea was the second-largest sending country of immigrants, behind the Philippines, and in 1976, for the first time, annual Korean immigration exceeded 30,000. The peak years of South Korean migration were 1985 to 1987 when over 35,000 arrived annually. In 1970, the U.S. Census counted 70,598 persons of Korean ancestry in United States and 20 years later that number rocketed to 798,849. Because new immigration only increased in volume over time—in 1990, more than half of Koreans in the United States arrived after 1980—Korean America remains by and large a foreign-born population. Nonetheless, it is a firmly rooted population, as nearly half were naturalized U.S. citizens in 1990.

Developments in Korea from the early 1960s, including the start of Park Chung-Hee’s military dictatorship, dislocations associated with rapid industrialization, and government programs encouraging overseas migration were among some of the key push factors. Among South Koreans, income inequality grew as the labor force shifted from agricultural to industrial over the 1970s and 1980s. Although South Korea enjoyed phenomenal GNP growth in this transition to an export-oriented industrial economy, this came at the expense of the working class, which was subject to long hours, enjoyed little power, and earned low wages. As the industrial laboring class grew and opportunities for socioeconomic mobility diminished, more Koreans considered overseas emigration. Labor contracts with foreign countries also facilitated new outmigration; from 1963 to 1974, for instance, about 17,000 nurses and miners went to West Germany. Additionally, the Korean government organized programs to send doctors and nurses abroad to earn foreign experience, and between 1953 and 1983 many graduates of Yonsei medical school were practicing in the United States.

The United States seemed to offer the opportunity and room for mobility found to be lacking in Korea. In addition to greater economic possibilities, the decades-long relationship between the United States and South Korea influenced a perception among many Koreans that America was a land of modernity and greater social freedom. For many married women, for example, migration to the United States represented escaping the burdens of traditional gender expectations in Korea, such as being subordinate to an overbearing mother-in-law. For others, especially families with children, educational opportunities—a key to social mobility in Korea—were more abundant and accessible in the United States. Because the American education system was prestigious yet less rigorous and traumatic than Korea's, migration offered the flexibility to obtain a U.S. degree and then go back to Korea for a good job.

Meanwhile, in the United States, the 1965 Immigration Act opened the doors to the post-1965 wave of immigration from Korea (“third wave”) and elsewhere. The law abolished the national-origins quota system of the 1924 Immigration Act and set an annual limit of 170,000 immigrants from the Eastern Hemisphere and 120,000 from the Western Hemisphere, with each individual country being granted a quota of 20,000 per year. It also established a preference system that favored relatives of U.S. citizens as well as people with skills or in professions in short supply in the United States, such as physicians, nurses, and engineers. Although unintended, the law resulted in a dramatically increased share of immigration from Asia, which for the first time equaled European immigration.

The post-1965 Korean wave grew more diverse over time, and included students, former soldiers who had served in the Vietnam War, professionals, and family members of citizens and permanent residents. Because professionals and students made up the bulk of the initial stream and owing to the costs of trans-Pacific relocation, the earliest post-1965 Korean immigrants did not represent the spectrum of the South Korean population. Between 1966 and 1979, about 13,000 doctors, nurses, and pharmacists entered the United States. By 1990, Korea was the fifth-largest sending nation of student migrants; between 1953 and 1980, of the approximately 15,000 students who

entered the United States, some 90 percent stayed permanently. As late as the early 1990s, there were nearly 26,000 Korean students in the United States. After these students and professionals gained entry and settled, many utilized the family preference and nonquota categories of the 1965 Immigration Act to sponsor family members. As a result of this family migration—or what scholars have referred to as the immigration of “poor cousins”—since the 1970s, Korean America has both continued to grow and become more reflective of a cross-section of Korean society.

Most of the post-1965 immigrants came from urban middle class backgrounds, and once in the United States they tended to settle in metropolitan areas. These included the old centers of the Korean population, such as Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Honolulu, as well as newer locations like New York, Chicago, Seattle, Houston, Atlanta, Boston, and Miami. Compared to early twentieth-century immigrants, post-1965 Koreans had more education, professional experience, and capital, although as mentioned, the population grew more socioeconomically diverse through the late twentieth century with heightened family-based migration. They also tended to be older and married at the time of emigration. A notable continuity across Korean immigrants in the early and late 1900s has been the preponderance of Christians. By 1989, nearly one-fourth of South Korea's population of 40 million identified as Protestant, and they remain a majority in the Korean American population to this day. In the 1980s, Los Angeles alone had about 500 Korean churches and by 1900 there were about 2,000 Korean churches throughout the United States, with one church for every 300 to 350 Korean immigrants. Methodism and Presbyterianism continued to be two of the most common denominations, reflecting immigrants' affiliations from Korea, and in the United States they tended to form separate Korean-speaking associations within larger denominational bodies. Also, as they had in earlier periods, immigrant churches in the United States often imported pastors from Korea to lead congregations.

The church continues to be the heart of Korean American life, serving both spiritual and social functions. For those who lost status in the migration process, holding church positions can be an importance

source of respect and social status, which has been especially important for men. Churches also provide a social center, education, and help with finding jobs. Moreover, involvement tends to cross generations. Although the second generation is often seen as being less devoted to religious life, according to Elaine Ecklund, this is largely a misperception, as American-born Koreans often attend second-generation, multi-ethnic, or pan-Asian churches.

With regard to socioeconomic status, a common aspect of the Korean immigrant experience in the post-1965 years was downward mobility. Although Koreans' educational attainment in 1990 was significantly higher than that of the general U.S. population, their median family income, at about \$33,000, was lower than the national average. Furthermore, nearly 15 percent lived below the poverty line. Many who had once held managerial or professional jobs encountered difficulty transferring their skills to the United States because of discrimination, language barriers, and other obstacles. Such disappointments contributed to return migration, which peaked in 1987 when about 36,000 went back.

Because it was one of the few avenues open to them and its capital requirements were within grasp, operating small businesses emerged as a common vocation for a large number of Korean immigrants. In 1990 about 17 percent of Koreans in the United States were self-employed, more than any other major ethnic group. Thirty-one percent worked in retail trade and as many as 45 percent drew their income from small businesses, which often catered to coethnics or other minorities such as blacks and Latinos, specializing in everything from wigs to groceries. The reliance of many businesses on black and Latino customers was a consequence of Koreans entering neighborhoods suffering from shortages of services because of white and capital flight in the 1960s and 1970s. This created opportunities for retailers and other service providers in so-called "ethnically sheltered" markets, eventually allowed for the rise of Korean business enclaves in Los Angeles, New York, Chicago, and elsewhere. In 1990 in Chicago, for example, over 25 percent of the customers of Korean-owned businesses were African American and Latino.

Although operating or working in a small business afforded autonomy and a measure of prosperity for

some, the experiences of Korean immigrant business owners largely belie the model minority stereotype of socioeconomic success. Running a liquor store or wig shop, for example, rarely led to a life of great material wealth, and small business owners and employees often reported feeling overworked, demoralized, and subject to dangerous conditions.

Contemporary Koreatowns emerged from distinctly late twentieth-century economic and social forces and as such are markedly different from the Asian enclaves of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In Los Angeles, for instance, deindustrialization and capital flight impoverished old industrial centers whereas wealth and new industries moved to outlying areas such as Orange County. In the city, low-tech and service industries replaced heavy manufacturing and relied heavily on immigrant and nonunionized labor—Latin American immigrants, in fact, made up the majority of Koreatown's residents in 1990. The rise of Asian economies, moreover, has led to an increase of transnational capital investment in Korean American enclaves, as they were seen as speculative opportunities and ways to secure economic footholds in North America. In short, the service gaps in places beset by deindustrialization and capital flight combined with the inflow of Asian investment over the 1970s and 1980s created the conditions for the rise of present-day Koreatowns in Los Angeles, the Bronx, Chicago, and elsewhere.

The rise of Korean-owned businesses and Koreatowns did not necessarily signal solidarity and cohesion among Korean Americans. One of the striking features of Los Angeles's Koreatown in the 1980s was its lack of a center. There was also a widespread perception of a leadership gap in the population. Local newspapers, moreover, provided little coverage of local events and although there were many voluntary associations, they were small and not well coordinated. Major organizations, such as the Korea Federation, were racked by bitter personal feuds and many Korean Americans saw them as too tied to the Korean government. Relatively affluent Korean Americans from the suburbs, furthermore, sometimes shunned Koreatown because they considered it a dangerous and undesirable neighborhood. But despite such views and other problems, Koreatowns remain important, in

terms of what they symbolize and the services they provide, especially for new immigrants.

As mentioned, outside the Korean business districts, merchants could be found in areas where they catered to non-Koreans, such as in South Central Los Angeles where most customers were black. The effects of deindustrialization, neglect, and racial uprisings in the 1960s led white ethnic merchants to leave, creating a gap for services that Koreans eventually filled. As one Korean interviewee said regarding the wake of the Watts riot of 1965, “After Watts, desperate [Korean] immigrants went into those stores” (Abelmann and Lie 1997, 139).

The effects of blight and neglect in South Central Los Angeles might have opened economic opportunities for Korean merchants, but these developments also exploded in the 1992 Los Angeles riots, an event that brought national attention to the continued struggles of urban blacks and the widespread presence of Korean merchants in Los Angeles. These discussions, however, were largely overshadowed by the so-called “black-Korean conflict,” a perception that grew out of earlier altercations between Korean merchants and black customers in Los Angeles, New York, and elsewhere. Called *Sa-i-gu p’oktong* (4-2-9 riot) by many Koreans, the Los Angeles riots are known as the worst urban upheaval since the Los Angeles Watts riots of 1965. In 1992, however, Korean Americans withstood most of the damage; one Korean American was killed, 11 were seriously injured, over 2,000 businesses were damaged, looted, or burned down, and total monetary losses were estimated at \$347 million. The riots highlighted that economic inequality remained a persistent problem even in the wake of the Civil Rights victories of the 1950s and 1960s and showed that racial problems in America could not be understood merely in black and white terms.

For many Korean Americans the riots were a wake-up call for political and community engagement. Also since the 1990s, Korean America has seen a demographic shift as the second generation has grown more visible and vocal and become a distinct contingent of the population. According to the Census of the United States, there were about 1.7 million Korean Americans in 2010.

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See also Korea, U.S. Punitive Action in (1871); *The Korea Times*; Koreagate; Korean American Churches; Korean American Community Foundation (KACF); Korean American Ethnic Economy; Korean American Farmers in the United States; Korean American LGBT Movements in Los Angeles and New York; U.S.-Korea American Treaty of 1882; Korean Americans and Transnationalism; Korean Americans in Hawaii; Korean Americans in the Cold War; Korean and Korean American Golf; Korean Aviation School in America (1920–1921); Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA) and the Korean American Community; Korean Cuisine in the United States; Korean Immigrant Women in America; Korean Independence Movement in the United States; Korean National Association (KNA); Korean-Black Relations; Koreatown; Koreatown Immigrant Workers Alliance (KIWA); McCarran-Walter Act of 1952; Rhee, Syngman; War Brides Act (1945)

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Korean Americans and Transnationalism

The increasing transnational connections between Korea and Korean Americans have reshaped their relations. The growing number of transnational migrants

who frequently cross borders has affected various aspects of Korean Americans' lives such as migrant patterns, demographics, legal status, political involvement, cultural consumption, economic relations, and identity, creating new dynamics within the group.

Changing Characteristics of Korean/Korean American (Im)migration

With the increasing number of transnational migrants, the migration and immigration patterns of Koreans and Korean Americans have been significantly transformed. Although a unidirectional move from Korea to the United States used to be the norm, contemporary transnational Korean migration consists of multiple directions and continuous border-crossing. Nowadays, a growing number of Korean (im)migrants to the United States may have lived (including a short-term stay) outside of Korea prior to their migration to the country. The countries of their earlier migration literally encompass the entire globe. By the same token, the United States may not necessarily be their final destination. These footloose transnational migrants tend to move around depending on their needs and available opportunities (which are usually associated with work, study, or marriage). Their multiple affiliations and border-crossing intensify transnational connections between the Korean American community and the world, especially Korean communities in global cities with large Korean economic presence.

Korean *yuhaksaengs* (students who study abroad) are among the most typical transnational migrants. The number of Korean *yuhaksaengs* has been multiplying over the years and the United States has been their most preferred destination. Between 2006 and 2008, Koreans made up the largest foreign student body enrolled in U.S. colleges. Since 2009, they have been the third-largest group. Besides college and graduate students, the number of young (pre-teen and teenage) *yuhaksaengs* has been increasing. Because of their age, they are often accompanied by their family members (mostly mothers) during their school years when they need a guardian. Additionally, the number of Korean exchange students who study in the United States for a limited time period has been growing. Although many of them may not be Korean

Americans in a strict sense until they change their legal status, they and their family members are, by and large, an integral part of the Korean American community. Besides the *yuhaksaeng* group, other types of transnationals including those who work in the United States through various venues (as employees of U.S. branches of Korean companies, interns, and trainees) have become increasingly visible. Through their mobility, multiple reference points, and affiliations, they are often at the forefront of linking Korea and the United States.

The trans-Pacific migration toward Korea has also increased. Return migration (both temporary and permanent) among first-generation Korean Americans is not uncommon. With recent legal changes in South Korea, which accommodate the needs of Korean American returnees, return migration among the elderly population may increase in the future. Some younger-generation Korean Americans have also joined the path of temporary migration to Korea. South Korea's economic growth together with globalization has generated strong demands for workers who are fluent in English and well-versed in Western-style business practices. Furthermore, there has been a sweeping zeal to learn English in Korea, resulting in a skyrocketing demand for native English teachers. Such job availability, perhaps backed up by their intention to experience life in the "homeland," has attracted young Korean Americans to move to Korea.

Citizenship and Political Participation in a Transnational World

Korean Americans' legal connections with Korea have undergone crucial transformations since the late 1990s. In 1999, the South Korean government passed a law called *jaeoidongpoui böpjökjwie kwanhan tukbyolböp* (Special Laws for Overseas Koreans' Legal Status), which allowed overseas Koreans free entry into and departure from Korea and granted quasi-citizenship rights to selected groups of overseas Koreans including Korean Americans. The law was amended in 2003 because it arbitrarily excluded some overseas Korean groups such as Korean Chinese. Despite the huge controversy surrounding the law, the South Korean government went one step further by passing

a new law concerning “multiple citizenship” in April 2010. Although dual citizenship is not allowed in Korea, the new law acknowledges multiple citizenship of selected groups of foreign nationals with Korean heritage who “recovered” their Korean nationality. Individuals such as Korean adoptees, ethnic Korean elderly over 65 who wish to return to Korea, and ethnic Koreans with extraordinary merits are granted full Korean citizenship rights if they pledge not to exercise their foreign citizenship rights when living in Korea. Korean Americans are one of the main beneficiaries (and perhaps the main target population) of this law. Behind the creation of such laws is the Korean government’s intention to recruit workers who are competent in globalized work settings, to elicit investment from overseas Koreans as well as to integrate diverse groups of overseas Koreans into Korean society. In a way, these changes in legal Korean membership are interrelated with South Korea’s new nation-building efforts in a transnational world and pose a critical question about national and ethnic belonging in such a world.

What further complicates the relations between Korean Americans and Korea is the newly available opportunity to participate in Korean politics through suffrage rights. Beginning in 2012, Korean Americans with Korean nationality (including permanent residents and temporary visa holders) can cast their votes for Korean elections in the United States. Considering the number of Korean nationals in the United States, and their interest in Korean politics, Korean Americans can play an influential role in Korean politics despite the physical distance (some Korean media claimed that they could be a swing vote group). This may strengthen Korean Americans’ political position vis-à-vis Korea, yet it may exacerbate political tension and conflicts within the Korean American community and complicate the community’s relations with the larger U.S. society by reviving the stereotype of Korean Americans as perpetual foreigners.

Not only has Korean Americans’ legal and political involvement in Korea been expanded, but their political position in the United States also seems to have changed. The appointment of a 1.5-generation Korean American, Sung Kim, as U.S. ambassador to South Korea in 2011 may signify a new political

stance of Korean Americans in U.S. society. This is the first time that a Korean American has been appointed to the position in the more than 120-year history between the two countries. The fact that Ambassador Kim is a Korea-born, 1.5-generation transnational who is familiar with Korean culture and language and had lived multiple countries before his family settled in the U.S. could imply the changing perception of individuals with heterogeneous backgrounds.

The widening transnational connections in the political field may be a double-edged sword. They could strengthen Korean Americans’ political power as effective bridge-builders and an influential political voice. At the same time, they could weaken Korean Americans’ political position in the United States by eliciting questions about their loyalty and belonging.

Transnational Cultural Consumption

With the increasing development of technology and global capitalism, consumption of cultural products across borders has become very easy and common. Korean Americans’ consumption of South Korean culture, especially popular culture, has tremendously increased over the years. Since the late 1990s, South Korean popular culture has gained noticeable popularity in Asia and beyond. The phenomenon is referred to as *hallyu* (the Korean Wave). Stimulated by *hallyu*, not only first-generation but also subsequent-generation Korean Americans have become drawn to Korean pop culture, consuming it in everyday life. Hence, the imageries of Korea and Korean pop cultural products have become integral parts of many Korean American families’ lives, reconnecting Korean Americans to their country of origin. Besides being consumers of Korean pop culture, Korean Americans, especially those transnational migrants, have played a significant role in disseminating cultural products and information to both sides of the Pacific through their frequent moves. Korean American youths have also become creators of the Korean Wave as a growing number of young Korean Americans are recruited to be entertainers in Korea.

Through the Internet and various means of communication, not only popular culture but everyday lifestyles including food and fashion are shared by

Korean coethnics across borders. Korean Americans and Koreans share their interests and information together through blogs, Internet communities, phone calls, Skype, and various SNS devices. The Internet communities, in particular, are sometimes used as a vehicle for transnational mobilization or collective movements. When South Koreans had mass demonstrations against the current government over the import of U.S. beef, U.S.-based Korean American Internet communities participated through public endorsement and support. With the development of communication technology, one can indeed make transnational connections wherever and whenever. Hence, the gamut of Korean Americans' transnational connections is wide enough that it could encompass all Korean diasporic communities as long as there is a common communication method.

Transnational Economic Connections

Economically, transnationalism has connected the Korean American community and Korea in a new way. In the past, economic resources usually flowed from the United States to Korea in the form of remittances or capital investments. Although such trends continue, new directions of capital flows have emerged as well. Major Korean companies' establishment of their branch offices or local subsidiaries has been common and they readily hire Korean Americans. Interestingly, even small-scale businesses such as famous restaurants, bakeries, or coffee shops in Korea have opened their branches in metropolitan U.S. cities as their brand power succeeds in Korean American communities. As mentioned earlier, an increasing number of Korean Americans have sought employment opportunities in Korea in such areas as transnational companies, education, or entertainment businesses. The recent passage of Free Trade Agreement (FTA) between the United States and South Korea will have significant ramifications for Korean Americans' economic ties with Korea.

Questions of Identity and Sense of Belonging

Transnational connections complicate the sense of identity and community among Korean Americans.

For transnational migrants who have multiple affiliations and reference points, their identity is likely to be multilayered and in constant flux. Likewise, their sense of community may be multiple and possibly temporary. For example, through increased contacts, shared information, and cultural tastes, Korean Americans can have diverse types of transnational imagination, which in turn can form, at least temporarily, imagined communities and a sense of belonging. However, such imagined communities may not be built on firm, long-lasting grounds. Even legal membership, which is relatively straightforward, may not become a concrete identity marker because transnationals, as illustrated earlier, can have multiple citizenship and may use it more instrumentally than with emotional commitment. Transnational migrants may utilize their citizenship as a way to get around nation-states' governmental power when necessary, as Aihwa Ong has pointed out. Thus, Korean transnationals' sense of identity and community are heterogeneous and subject to ongoing negotiation.

The increasing heterogeneity of Korean American communities also challenges the construction of a coherent and unified sense of community. Besides the diverse groups of transnationals mentioned earlier, new types of transnational Koreans such as North Korean defectors and Korean Chinese (*chosŏnjok*) have joined the Korean American community. Often, North Korean defectors are itinerant migrants who frequently cross borders in search of a safe haven. They and Korean Chinese are usually marginalized in the Korean American community (as well as in Korea) in terms of their economic status and sociocultural integration. The relative lack of common denominators linking them with other Korean Americans exacerbates the situation.

Transnational connections have added new dimensions to Korean American lives by providing new benefits and challenges. The ways in which Korean Americans deal with such benefits and challenges will shape the future directions of the Korean American community.

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See also Korean Americans

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Korean Americans in Hawaii

There have been several waves of Korean immigrants to Hawaii. The first consisted of plantation workers who arrived in Hawaii in 1903. Because of the political situation of the time and the backdoor manner in which various U.S. immigration officers handled Korean laborers, some Korean immigrants registered themselves as Chinese. Approximately 7,900 Koreans, with 90 percent being men, arrived in Hawaii from 1903 to 1905. The presence of Korean laborers created greater racial diversity among workers. Although the majority of Koreans had the sojourner mentality of returning to Korea after the Japanese occupation and/or when they had earned enough savings, most found that the socio-political conditions in Korea had not improved enough for them to want to return home. The Methodist missionaries also contributed to Korean emigration during this first wave. American missionaries offered new hope to famine-stricken and economically poor families of northern Korea a better life in Hawaii.

The second wave (1905–1940) experienced a decline of Korean laborers but an increased number of students and “picture brides” immigrating to the United States. The third wave was framed by the onset of the Korean War, where immigration reports show that between 1952 and 1982 over 40,000 Korean brides came to the United States as spouses of American citizens with an overwhelming percentage of these women married to servicemen stationed in South Korea. The fourth wave was the largest because of the Immigration Act of 1965, which led to a drastic increase of Korean immigrants in the United States. Social and political insecurities in South Korea pushed many Koreans to immigrate to Hawaii and the United States in hopes of better lives.

Post-1965 Korean immigrants are predominantly middle- and upper-middle class professionals; however, the number of Korean immigrants has been declining since 1988. There are several reasons for this reduction. First, there was much publicity in South Korea about Korean immigrants’ adjustment difficulties in the United States. Second, Koreans have experienced better economic, social, and political conditions since the Seoul Olympics in 1988 and, therefore, saw little reason to leave their homeland. By the early 1990s, the improved political economy in Korea and the media’s portrayal of black-Korean conflict during the 1992 Los Angeles riots affected how Koreans and Korean Americans perceived the social and political climate in the United States, yet the riots had a limited impact in Hawaii. Instead, the increased capital of Koreans as well as some Korean Americans leaving Los Angeles increased the number of businesses and people living in Hawaii. In 1997, Asian Financial crisis quickly slowed the growth of Korean investment in Hawaii.

What was known as “Koreamoku,” the Korean district in Honolulu, began to switch to one that appeared more pan-Asian as Korean 1.5- and second-generation children opted to enter professional sectors versus family business. As Korea pulled itself out of the IMF crisis, the call for “change and reform” and “seggyehwa,” or globalization, became more apparent in South Korea. For Hawaii, this meant potential increases in tourism but also a need for businesses that catered to Korean clientele. Seggyehwa also changed policy in Korea, and filmmakers and music producers were given more freedom to export their art into the diaspora. The “Korean Wave,” or *hallyu*, has culturally heightened Korean cultural capital in the diaspora. Korean dramas and Korean pop (Kpop) groups have dominated the airwaves of Korean channels and YouTube around the world. Hawaii was one of the first to jump on the *hallyu* where Costco in Honolulu had large selections of Korean drama box sets for sale. In addition, Kpop music became mainstream as iTunes and YouTube videos of Kpop artists dominated the music landscape. *Hallyu* had both economic and cultural influence on local Koreans as it heightened and made Korean culture hypervisible and desirable

among many local Asians in Hawaii. Korean Americans in Hawaii span several generations and, depending on the wave of immigration, their experiences vary. What is significant to note, however, is that the sociocultural experiences of Koreans in Hawaii is distinct because of the history and culture of Hawaii.

Korean Americans living in the continental United States experience race relations based on the legacy of white supremacy. Immigrants and even second- and third-generation Asian Americans are seen as foreigners, regardless of their occupational status, language abilities, and education. If you are not white, then you're a foreigner. However, Yen Le Espiritu's book, *Asian American Panethnicity*, explores the construction of large-scale affiliations in which diverse ethnic groups of Asian descent submerge their differences and assume a common pan-Asian identity. Although people of Asian descent pushed forward to create an Asian American and Pan-Asian identity, Jon Okamura argues that there are no Asian Americans in Hawaii.

In "Why There are No Asian Americans in Hawaii: The Continuing Significance of Local Identity," Jonathan Okamura discusses the fusion of local identity owing to a series economic, political, and social struggles that took place in Hawaii-Japanese investment, the increasing population of tourists, and the Native Hawaiian sovereignty movement. "These and other factors reveal a sense of local identity that is not solely premised on a common ethnic or racial background, but on the tensions between insiders and outsiders." Wayne Wooden's book, *What Price Paradise and Return to Paradise*, examines the notion of in-group/out-group status as a mean of achieving local status. However, it is important to look at the history as how the term *local* emerged into mainstream discussion.

Hawaii inherited a different oligarchy system as a result of colonization; however, the presence and influence of the indigenous people of Hawaii on colonized Hawaii remained. Although white Americans took the land away from the indigenous people, the racial composition of the islands ensured that the ruling group did not dominate the ethnic workers in number. In fact, some argue that Hawaii is one state where no racial group dominates.

During the plantation era, plantation owners recruited Japanese, Chinese, Korean, and Filipinos

respectively to work on the plantations to keep up with the demand for sugar from Hawaii. (Portuguese and other Western Europeans were also recruited, but in small numbers.) These groups constructed a pidgin language so that they could communicate and in the process created a new community. The plantation life became symbolic of the heart and sweat that many immigrants put toward creating a life in Hawaii. Some argue that one must have roots to the plantation period to be considered local. The term local, however, was not used in popular Hawaii culture until the infamous Massie trial. John Rosa writes of how the term local was used in the press to distinguish between the Massies, a white military couple, and the alleged perpetrators of the attack on Mrs. Massie, a group of Japanese and Hawaiian boys. Subsequently, local was used to refer to any non-white resident, born and raised in Hawaii, and because most of the non-white residents of Hawaii were plantation workers and their children, its class implications were obvious. The concept of local is very similar to the concept of American in the continental United States. Indigenous groups would argue that the true Americans are Native Americans, as some argue that true locals are Native Hawaiians.

Although people may refer to Koreans who have lived in the United States for prolonged periods of time as Americans, people in Hawaii will refer to Koreans who have been raised there and can pass as Hawaii born as local. For those living on the islands, the idea of local distinguished them from outside groups impinging on their society and also created a sense of cohesion among the ethnic groups living on the islands.

Local culture offers an ethnic option for Asian immigrants that is not readily available to them in the continental United States. For 1.5-generation Korean Americans in particular, they can switch between Korean, Korean American, and local identities depending on the situation. Being local provides them with an opportunity to fit in and at times blend in with a group that has a social and political history on the islands.

Koreans in Hawaii continue to make significant contribution to Hawaii local culture. With kimchi, chapche, and kalbi as regular staples of local plate lunch, the culinary influence of Koreans in Hawaii is felt in the mainstream Hawaii local culture. In addition, the annual Korean festivals foster the diasporic

ties Hawaii has with its Korean neighbors across the Pacific, but more glaring is the familial connections that flourish as communication become easier because of inexpensive and sometimes free phone calls (Skype), e-mail, and various social network mediums. In addition, the lower costs to fly to Korea has encouraged not only Korean tourists to visit Hawaii but local Koreans to return and visit Korea—sometimes even working and residing in their “homeland.” The socio-cultural-economic experiences of Koreans in Hawaii have changed drastically since 1903, yet what remains is the community’s ability to navigate both local and Korean culture in an increasingly global world.

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See also Ethnic Communities in Hawaii; Filipinos in Hawaii; Japanese Americans in Hawaii; Korean Americans

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Korean Americans in the Cold War

The Cold War had indelible effects upon Korean Americans. Although the Cold War is often considered a binary conflict between the Soviet Union and the

United States, Asia played a central role in the decades-long saga. Between 1945 and 1948, two superpowers split Korea along the 38th parallel—the Soviet Union controlled the North and the United States the South. The U.S. government viewed the Korean peninsula as geopolitically critical to its global Cold War strategy. Believing that other Asian countries would “fall” to Communism if Korea did, the U.S. government held fast to South Korea as a democratic stronghold in East Asia. Thus, when fighting escalated along the 38th parallel on June 25, 1950, the United States led the UN-sanctioned war. The Korean War (1950–1953) was the first “hot war” of the Cold War era. The war claimed an estimated 3.5 million Korean and over 54,000 U.S. lives only to end right where it began—divided along the 38th parallel. A ceasefire agreement signed on July 27, 1953, brought an end to the fighting. The country was left devastated with hundreds of thousands of refugees in need of food, shelter, and medical care. Given the continuing Cold War stakes in the region, the U.S. government and military stayed on in South Korea to maintain democratic stability.

The Korean War established long-term military, economic, political, cultural, and migratory connections between the United States and South Korea. Most notably, the war spurred a wave of Korean immigration to the United States. Between 1951 and 1964, approximately 6,500 Korean military brides, 6,300 adoptees, and 6,000 students and professionals came to the United States. As the 1924 immigration law barred Koreans and other Asians from coming to the United States, those who made up this second wave of Korean immigration entered under special circumstances. For example, Korean military brides married U.S. servicemen stationed in Korea during and after the war. With more than 28,000 U.S. troops still in South Korea, military marriages have continued unabated. Since 1950, more than 100,000 Korean military brides have immigrated to America. At its peak in the 1970s and 1980s, more than 4,000 women entered the United States annually. Today, Korean women marry U.S. servicemen at a rate of about 2,000 per year.

During the Cold War, Korean adoptees made up another significant Korean American immigrant population. The Korean War left an estimated

100,000 children without homes. With both U.S. and South Korean governments focused on military stability and infrastructural rebuilding, U.S. private citizens—primarily missionaries—entered South Korea to shore up social welfare needs. Korean and mixed-race children, the latter referred to as “GI babies,” took center stage in U.S. recovery efforts. An Oregonian businessman and evangelical Christian, Harry Holt, brought Korean children into view through his numerous “baby-lifts.” Holt personally adopted six mixed-race Korean children in 1955 through a special act of Congress. He later launched a transnational adoption agency that alone placed 3,500 predominantly mixed-race Korean children in U.S. homes by 1965. Though Holt’s operations were criticized by social workers for not meeting minimum adoption standards, his organization continued to place children in American homes. The increasing demand for Korean children in the United States spurred other agencies to begin administering transnational adoptions. To date, over 200,000 Korean adoptees have been sent to the United States and 50,000 to European countries. Although an estimated 70 percent of adoptees from Korea were of mixed-race parentage in the 1950s, by the 1960s and to the present, the majority of adoptions are of Korean children whose parents faced the pressures of rapid industrialization, including poverty and unwed pregnancies. Despite an increase in domestic adoptions, an estimated 2,000 Korean children are still sent abroad for adoptions today.

The Cold War also affected post-1965 immigration from South Korea. Cold War politics in concert with the Civil Rights Movement influenced the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965. In an effort to demonstrate democracy and freedom at home and abroad, the revised immigration act abolished the national origins quota system based on race that was in place since 1924. The revised act allowed Koreans to immigrate to the United States for the first time on a large scale. Under this act, students-turned-professionals who came to the United States during the 1950s could apply for permanent resident visas. As well, a family reunification clause allowed Korean military brides to petition for the entry of siblings, parents, and other close relatives. It is estimated that 40 to 50 percent of all Korean immigration since

1965 can be traced back to a Korean military bride, the first link in a chain migration.

Despite the thousands of Korean immigrants who came to the United States as a direct result of the Cold War, many of them remain in the shadows. To begin, the Korean War itself was a costly conflict that lacked U.S. public support, which in part explains why it has been dubbed “the Forgotten War.” Of course, for the millions of Korean War survivors, a significant number of whom now live in the United States, the war remains a palpable site of haunting and trauma. As for Korean military brides, they remain on the fringes of Korean American communities because of the stigma of militarized prostitution often associated with such marriages. Korean adoptees also exist in the margins of Korean American communities because most were adopted into predominantly white families and scattered across the United States rather than near or within Korean enclaves. Indeed, both Korean military brides and adoptees remain outside of U.S. consciousness—forgotten individuals along with the forgotten war.

More broadly, the Cold War is rarely connected to the formulation of Korean American communities. Yet the Cold War was the primary reason for the Korean War and its subsequent migrations. It is also the reason why the peninsula remains divided along the 38th parallel. In these ways, the legacies of the Cold War remain ever present with Koreans and Korean Americans.

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See also Korean Americans; Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA) and the Korean American Community; Rhee, Syngman

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Korean and Korean American Golf

In the twenty-first century, golf has become a highly visible and commonly played sport in South Korean (hereafter Korean) and Korean American communities. The game exploded in popularity in Korean American communities in 1998 with the breakout rookie year of Se Ri Pak in the U.S.-based Ladies Professional Golf Association (LPGA). Since Pak's debut, players of Korean heritage have had extraordinary success in international golf on both a professional and commercial level. The widespread media exposure of professional golfers has contributed to the growth of the game in South Korea, and there has been an associated rise in the popularity of the game in Korean communities throughout North America. As golf has increased in visibility, growing numbers of Korean American children are training to play competition-level golf. Korean Americans are also investing in the golf industry by purchasing golf courses and driving ranges throughout the United States. Although there are many cultural explanations for Korean American interest in golf, associations of the sport with notions of wealth, status, and competition certainly contribute to its popularity.

The primary catalyst for the growth of golf in Korean American communities has been the media coverage of professional golfers on U.S.-based professional tours, especially the LPGA. The number of players with Korean heritage in the LPGA went from two individuals, Se Ri Pak and Pearl Sinn-Bonanni in 1998 to over 50 in 2011. In 2011, a third of the 80 top moneymakers on the LPGA tour were of Korean heritage. This extraordinary rise in the number of Korean players is attributed to Se Ri Pak who won two of four major tournaments in her rookie year of 1998. She became a Korean national hero and was hailed as a player who brought hope to a country struggling in the midst of the Asian financial crisis. She was

soon followed by other Korean American players on the LPGA Tour as well as increasing numbers of Korean American men on the Professional Golf Association (PGA) Tour.

The dominance of Korean players is largely explained by their training regimes. Korean players are expected to practice every day for hours on end hitting thousands of balls and repeating the same motions under the constant tutelage of a coach. The golf education system in Korea expects players to dedicate themselves exclusively to the game. Much like the Korean education system in general, there is fierce competition to be the best. Furthermore, parents and family are expected to guide and support the golfer by dedicating their lives to their success.

Players of Korean heritage have transformed the international professional game. The entry of players from South Korea coincided with increased attempts by U.S.-based professional golf to internationalize, especially in Asia. Even though Korean players have helped advance that goal, the rapid increase in Korean professionals has been received with a great deal of ambivalence. In the LPGA, the major shift in the player population has been marked by cultural conflicts and attempts to institutionalize cultural expectations for all players. The proposed English-only rule announced in August of 2007 was met with much controversy as the policy was introduced at a mandatory Korean player meeting prior to being made public. It was clear that the rule targeted Korean players by increasing pressure on them to assimilate into (or leave) a league that they helped advance in profitability and popularity.

Golf as a sport has boomed in Korea. Although there were less than 100 courses at the beginning of the 1990s, by 2011, approximately 358 courses covered the national landscape with another 150 in development. There are more than 3 million golfers in Korea in a country with a population of 50 million. The construction of golf courses has been accompanied by significant changes to the Korean landscape and some controversies have arisen around the environmental, economic, and social impacts of golf courses. In general, a round of golf continues to be very expensive, although the costs have dropped with the increasing number of courses. The activity of

screen golf, which takes place in a rented room furnished with a golf simulator, has become a cheaper way to play a virtual version of the game.

The popularity of golf in Korea is a significant reason that the game has become popular in Korean America. Golf receives front-page coverage in Korean-language newspapers and Korean-language golf channels are available via satellite access. The association of golf with elite status is part of the appeal of the game for aspirational Korean Americans. Yet despite its cultural mystique as an elite sport, a round of golf in the United States can be as cheap as the cost of a movie and concessions at the cinema. Even working-class Korean Americans can play golf in the United States, and many do. For some, golf has become associated with the Korean community and has become an important way to engage with other Koreans.

Some public courses located in areas of Los Angeles, Queens in New York, and Bergen County in New Jersey have a majority Korean American clientele and often have Korean-speaking staff. Many Korean Americans are now pursuing formal training in the sport on a number of levels. Elite golf academies as well as golf management schools have increasing numbers of Korean American enrollees. Korean Americans are also becoming interested in investing in the golf industry. Between the years 2002 and 2008, Koreans purchased over half the golf courses for sale in Southern California. In a short period of time, golf has become a part of mainstream Korean American consumer culture.

Although the emergence of Korean and Korean American golfers is certainly a transnational phenomenon, Korean American golfers are also Asian American, and golf is now the professional sport featuring the largest numbers of Asian Americans. Asian American players have achieved the highest levels of media exposure within the sport. Two high-profile Korean American players, Michelle Wie and Anthony Kim, became golf celebrities even prior to winning major tournaments in their professional careers. Their stories reflect the growing impact of the game in Asian American communities.

Michelle Wie was born in Honolulu, Hawaii, on October 11, 1989, and began golf at the age of four.

She has been widely regarded as a golf prodigy. At the age of 10, she became the youngest winner on the U.S. Women's Amateur Public Links and a year later she became the youngest to qualify for an LPGA tour event. Wie gained much notoriety for her ability to drive the golf ball and through highly publicized appearances on the men's tour. To much fanfare, she turned professional just before her sixteenth birthday in 2005. Wie became one of the highest-paid athletes under 25 with her lucrative endorsement contracts with high-profile advertisers including Nike and Sony. After graduating from the Punahou School in Honolulu in June 2007, Wie enrolled at Stanford University where she graduated in June 2012. When Wie was in college, she became a member of the LPGA in 2009.

Wie's entire career has been closely monitored by her parents, B. J. and Bo Wie, who travel with her and accompany her to all tournaments. They have been a source of controversy as domineering parents who have controlled her every move and have even been blamed for her lack of success as a professional. Although she has failed to earn a significant amount in winnings, she continues to make large sums from a variety of sponsorships. Aided by her height and her looks, Wie is becoming better known as a sports personality than as an accomplished athlete.

Anthony Kim was born in Los Angeles on June 19, 1985. Kim rose quickly to fame once he turned professional but was unable to maintain his initial level of success after three years on the PGA tour. His first few years were met with a number of high profile successes. He qualified for the PGA tour in 2007 and made four top 10 finishes during his rookie season. Kim won two tournaments in 2008 and after winning another tournament in 2010, he became only the fifth player to win three times on the PGA Tour before the age of 25.

In 2009, Kim signed an endorsement deal with Nike Golf. He was highly regarded as a golf phenomenon who had the potential to follow in the footsteps of Tiger Woods. Although Anthony Kim's initial fame emerged from his successes on the course, his personal life also became a subject of media scrutiny. He had a highly publicized break from his controlling father and developed a reputation for a hard-partying lifestyle. Kim's standing in professional golf fell after a series of injuries beginning in 2010.

The media attention and sponsorships garnered by both Wie and Kim demonstrate that, in golf, Asian Americans can become celebrity athletes based on their potential rather than on proven performance. They also show that Asian Americans are a highly sought-after market in the golf industry as they are thought to offer potential for marketing in both the United States and Asia. Although both Wie and Kim have yet to live up to their marketed potential, they have become figures who are now associated with a sporting parable of the rise and fall of the young athlete with the early talent fostered by controlling parents, the fast money that comes with fame, and the early burnout that comes with an industry that demands perfect performance both on and off the course.

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See also Golf, Asian and Asian American

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Korean Aviation School in America (1920–1921)

With the annexation of Korea by Japan in 1910, Korea was gone from the map. Koreans' resistance notwithstanding, Japanese ambition to dominate Asia brought about the end of the 5,000-year-old Kingdom. No

sooner had Koreans lost their country than they launched a movement to take it back. Korean immigrants in America also took on this movement. They formed the Korean National Association to rouse Korean Americans to help achieve their homeland's independence. They raised money to support the Korean Provisional Government in Shanghai, China. They held anti-Japanese meetings and demonstrations.

The U.S. Korean independence movement had three dominant leaders, with each representing their respective approach to securing the Korean independence. Syngman Rhee (1875–1965), South Korea's founding president, believed that the wedges created between Korea's powerful neighbors of China, Japan, and Russia over the rivalry to control Korea could be used to take back the country. Hence, Rhee argued that the leaders should be watchful for an opportunity to see what diplomacy and international politics might yield.

Ahn Chang Ho (1878–1938) believed that it was largely the fault of the Koreans for losing their country. Their leaders lacked public spiritedness and sought their own selfish ends. Lacking accountability was one thing, but they were also corrupt. The Korean masses had to fend for themselves to survive. Korea as a nation lacked national spirit, a moral and ethical fiber. Under this circumstance, Ahn argued that it should have been expected that Koreans would fall prey to Japanese ambition. To Ahn Chang Ho, therefore, for Koreans to achieve their independence, they must first cultivate their moral and ethical virtues.

Park Yong Man (1881–1928) represented a military approach to Korean independence. Park believed that Koreans should be armed and secure their independence by fighting the Japanese on battlefields. True to his word, Park established the Korean Youth Military Corps in Kearney, Nebraska in 1909, drilling them in military arts and science. Park organized another Korean military corps in Hawaii with the support of Hawaii Korean community. He never succeeded, however, in getting his trainees to engage in combat with the Japanese.

In philosophy, the Korean Aviation School was an outgrowth of the military approach to the Korean independence. How the aviation school came about, however, had little to do with Park Yong Man. The idea

of building a Korean aviation school came from General Ro Baek Lin, who was serving as the defense minister of the Korean Provisional Government in Shanghai, China. Ro knew the Japanese military well because in his youth he was sent by the government of the Korean Kingdom to study Japan's military.

Ro understood that the Japanese military excelled in land and sea warfare but was weak in air combat capability. Ro decided that for the Korean Provisional Government to beat the Japanese, it had to be with air warfare. With this vision in mind, Ro traveled to Hawaii and North America in 1919 with the idea of building an air force for the exile government.

When seeking support for his idea from the Korean American community, Ro met with the successful Korean rice farmer millionaire, Kim Chong Lim. Convinced of the merit of Ro's idea, Kim Chong Lim agreed to finance the construction of a Korean Aviation School and build it in Willows, California. Kim spent \$20,000 to rent a former school building at Quint. There he housed his administrative staff and instructors and purchased 40 acres to build runways. He purchased three airplanes, each costing \$3,000. He budgeted \$3,000 each month to cover staff salaries and operating costs.

With Kim Chong Lim as the president and General Ro Baek Lin as superintendent, the Korean Aviation School opened its doors on February 20, 1920 in Willows, California, 70 miles north of Sacramento. It started with 15 Korean youths, who were taught English, flying lessons, military science, and drill. It produced the first graduating class of four on July 7, 1920. By this time the school enrollment had doubled.

The idea that Koreans, a people without a nation, were operating a flight school to train flyers to fight the Japanese empire was so newsworthy that the American Screen News Company of San Francisco videotaped the school operation on September 20, 1920. *The Willows Daily Journal* followed up on the Korean Aviation School's progress with frequent reports on it from April 1920 to July 1921.

Of the graduates, two served in the Korean Provisional Government's army air corps and one taught at an air college in China. The school was operating at full steam until Kim Chong Lim lost his fortune. A

heavy rain in December 1920 in Northern California destroyed Kim's rice fields. With his fortune gone, he could no longer support the school, and it closed its doors in April 1921.

Marn J. Cha

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Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA) and the Korean American Community

The Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA) was the primary intelligence agency of the South Korean government during the Park Chung-hee era (1961–1979). It received notoriety in the United States during the 1970s Koreagate scandal for the illegal intimidation and harassment of Korean Americans. The KCIA's activities are an example of foreign governments' attempts to exert influence over their emigrant communities in the United States.

The KCIA was founded in the summer of 1961, shortly after Park took control of South Korea. It was originally charged with coordinating the government's national security and counterespionage activities in South Korea. In addition, it was also used to suppress anti-Park activities among Koreans, both domestically and abroad. Through the 1960s, Korean emigrants reported instances of KCIA harassment in Japan, Europe, and the United States. In one case, KCIA

agents were accused of kidnapping Korean students suspected of espionage from Germany and forcibly returning them to Korea, where they were tortured.

In the United States, KCIA activities intensified following the U.S. government's decision to withdraw troops from South Korea in the spring of 1970. Following the decision, the South Korean government charged the KCIA with coordinating an influence campaign to ensure continued U.S. support. The campaign was composed of three separate initiatives: the lobbying of congressmen, the creation of pro-South Korean sentiment through various cultural organizations, and the suppression of anti-Park activities among Korean Americans. Although overseeing all of these activities, the KCIA was most directly involved with the latter activity.

To silence dissent among Korean Americans, the KCIA used a mixture of enticement and coercion. Financial support was the primary means of ensuring support from the Korean American community. In conjunction with various Korean embassies, it funded pro-Park ethnic newspapers and community organizations throughout the country. At the same time, dissident Korean Americans were the victims of harassment and intimidation. Kim Woon-ha, the editor of the *New Korea* (an anti-Park ethnic newspaper in Los Angeles), alleged that KCIA agents harassed and threatened him for printing articles critical of Park. Numerous other Korean Americans reported that KCIA agents threatened retribution against family and friends in Korea for speaking out against the South Korean government.

In summer of 1974, KCIA harassment of Korean Americans came to the attention of human rights advocates within Congress. During a hearing about the South Korean government's human rights abuses, Lee Jai-hyon, a former South Korean official, confirmed that the KCIA had been involved in illegal surveillance and intimidation operations. As a result of Lee's testimony, a full-scale investigation led by Congressman Donald Fraser (D-MN) was launched to scrutinize the KCIA's activities. During these hearings, the full extent of the KCIA-directed campaign emerged, including details about illegal lobbying activities. By the fall of 1976, allegations of illegal lobbying caught the attention of the press and resulted in a major political scandal, which the press dubbed "Koreagate."

Following Koreagate, the South Korean government sharply curtailed the activities of the KCIA in the United States. The majority of KCIA personnel were recalled from the United States in 1977 and Korean Americans' complaints against the KCIA largely subsided thereafter.

In 1981, Park's successor Chun Doo-hwan restructured the KCIA and renamed it the Agency for National Security Planning (ANSP). Although notorious for its human rights abuses in South Korea, the ANSP has not been accused of the same level of activity in the United States as its predecessor.

Patrick Chung

See also Koreagate; Park, Tongsun

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Korean Cuisine in the United States

As long as Koreans have resided in North America, Korean cuisine has been a central part of family, church, and community gatherings. Korean food remains an important mode of ethnic and national identification for Korean individuals and communities. Cultural notions regarding individual well-being and family health for many Korean Americans are connected to eating Korean food on a regular, if not daily, basis. Although studies have shown that Korean Americans consume less Korean food the longer they reside in North America, the constant flow of food, media, and people between South Korea and North America means that Korean cuisine will continue to remain a vibrant site of cultural interaction across the Pacific.



Korean American diners in a traditional Korean restaurant in Palisades Park, New Jersey. (AP Photo/Mike Derer)

With the growth of the Korean population in the United States after 1965, Korean groceries and restaurants began to emerge in largely urban Korean communities. Korean groceries enabled home cooks to create dishes that were closer to the food served and eaten on the Korean peninsula. Korean cuisine in restaurants has been generally associated with barbecued beef, or *kalbi* (marinated rib meat), although many serve a variety of soups, stews, noodles, meats, and fish. Although most Korean restaurants are run by immigrant entrepreneurs who have been largely responsible for promoting the cuisine, by the end of the century, a number of South Korean franchise chains began to emerge. Since 2008, a division of the Korean government Ministry of Food, Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries announced the “Global Promotion of Korean Cuisine Campaign,” which sponsored food festivals, cooking competitions, and informational campaigns to popularize “Hansik” or Korean cuisine around the world. Furthermore, several high-profile Korean American celebrity chefs and television

personalities emerged in mainstream food media bringing further interest to Korean cuisine.

Many Korean Americans associate Korean food with family and community gatherings. A Korean family meal generally consists of a bowl of rice, a *kug* (soup) or *jjigye* (stew), a number of sides called *panch’an* and *kimch’i* (pickled vegetables). There are also foods that mark celebrations, including *chabch’ae* (cold noodles), *chŏn* (pancakes), and *ttŏk* (rice cakes). In a restaurant setting, a meal is generally centered around one main dish, usually a meat or fish dish, a large brothy *kug* or *jjigye*, *pibimbap* (a mixed rice and vegetable dish), or noodles. Most dishes are accompanied with rice and *panch’an* and virtually all meals are served with *kimch’i*. Korean processed and snack foods also constitute a significant part of the Korean diet with the spicy Shin Ramen being the best selling ramen in the world.

Koreans who immigrated earlier in the twentieth century rarely had access to distinctively Korean foods, including Korean produce, and often settled

for Japanese or Chinese equivalents. Many Korean Americans kept home gardens to grow their own foods and some also foraged foods like acorns, chestnuts, and ferns. After 1965 and the growth of Korean American communities, Korean grocery stores specializing in Korean foods began to emerge in the urban areas of Los Angeles and New York City. As farmers began to produce Korean versions of produce and grocers started to sell distinctively Korean food items, a closer approximation of food from the Korean peninsula began to emerge. As the Korean American population increased and the market for Korean groceries grew, Korean American grocers began to stock more foods manufactured and produced in South Korea, including perishables like produce and *kimch'i*. Large-scale Korean markets, such as H Mart, promote one-stop shopping by carrying many of the items one could find in a South Korean supermarket as well as many American staples. Korean food in North America has also been fused with foods from other cultures representing the diverse migration histories of Koreans who come to North America from Mexico, the former Soviet Union, Japan, and Brazil.

Although Korean food has been a central part of community gatherings and ethnic identification, food has also worked to distinguish Korean Americans as different and foreign. The pungent smell of *kimch'i*, for example, has been a point of debate within the community as a matter of assimilability: Does the insistence on eating *kimch'i* represent an unwillingness to adapt to American cultural norms? Issues of eating dog meat have also been a sensitive topic as dog has been a part of the diet on the Korean peninsula, albeit as a minor and rare food. Although there are no recorded cases of Koreans eating dog meat in the United States, the issue of dog eating continues to be raised as a source of ridicule about Koreans that functions to distinguish them as foreign and unassimilable.

Korean restaurant cuisine in North America has been largely defined by popular establishments in Los Angeles and New York City. Restaurants in the Koreatowns of Los Angeles and Manhattan often parlay various food trends that arrive directly from Seoul. Although catering primarily to a Korean clientele, the Koreatown area in Los Angeles is well-known as the primary destination for eating Korean food in Southern

California. Los Angeles was the site of Woo Lae Oak, the first high-end restaurant featuring Korean cuisine marketed to mainstream American consumers, which opened in 1976. Korean food is now a significant part of the ethnic cuisine traditions in Los Angeles with *pibimbap* and *sundubu jjigye* (soft tofu stew) having various moments as iconic Korean foods.

In New York, Korean cuisine has become associated with the Koreatown located around Thirty-Second Street or “Korea Way” in Manhattan. A number of popular restaurants, Kum Gang San, HanGawi, and Cho Dang Gol, prepare a wide variety of Korean foods. Korean food experienced mainstream attention around the turn of the century with a series of articles by Ruth Reichl, the former *New York Times* food critic, whose reviews functioned as primers for those unfamiliar with Korean food. In 2011, the first high-end Korean restaurant incorporating the techniques of molecular gastronomy called Jung Sik opened in Manhattan.

In the 2000s, a number of Korean American celebrity chefs emerged on the mainstream food media circuit. Although none of them were chefs of traditional Korean cuisine, they often incorporated Korean elements into their foods and thereby brought more mainstream exposure and interest to Korean cuisine. The most famous Korean American celebrity chef, David Chang, runs the Momofuku chain of restaurants and is counted as a member of the culinary elite. Sang Yoon developed his reputation by focusing on gourmet hamburgers and craft beers at his Los Angeles gastro pub, Father’s Office. Roy Choi ignited a nationwide gourmet food truck trend in 2007 with his Kogi BBQ Taco trucks that fuse Korean and Mexican cuisine and use social messaging to appeal to mobile and tech-friendly consumers.

With funding from the Korean government Ministry of Food, Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries, a campaign was launched in 2008 to increase the visibility, popularity, and availability of Korean food around the world. For example, at the 2011 Luckyrice food festival in New York, the Korean government ministry sponsored a booth by Hooni Kim, the chef-owner of Danji, the first Korean restaurant to receive a Michelin star.

All of the aforementioned chefs have been featured in food-oriented media, including magazines,

newspapers, blogs, and television. Korean Americans have also made appearances on popular television cooking competitions. Food television personality Kelly Choi was the host of the first *Top Chef Masters*, and in the ninth season of the cooking competition *Top Chef*, contestants Beverly Kim (fourth place) and Edward Lee (fifth place) incorporated elements of Korean cuisine into their foods. In 2011, some public television stations in the United States offered a syndicated series called *The Kimchi Chronicles* hosted by Marja Vongerichten, wife of famed chef Jean-Georges Vongerichten. As a half-black, half-Korean adoptee, Marja Vongerichten narrates a return journey to Korea as a way to get in touch with her Korean past and to introduce its foods to a non-Korean audience. This television program was largely underwritten by the Korean government.

Although there have been studies showing that Korean Americans are consuming less Korean food over time, movement and migration between South Korea and the United States ensures that Korean food is part of a dialogue between both sites. The popularity of certain foods with different cohorts of Korean Americans is sometimes understood as indicating their age and immigration history. Nevertheless, Korean food in the United States has always been a fusion of cultural influences reflecting the ever-changing nature of the Korean American community and its food cultures.

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See also Chinese Cuisine in the United States; Filipino Cuisine in the United States; Hawaiian Cuisine; Indian Cuisine in the United States; Thai Cuisine in the United States; Vietnamese Cuisine in the United States

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Korean Immigrant Women in America

Korean immigrant women in the United States may be traced back to the 1882 U.S.-Korea Treaty that would soon after lead some Koreans to migrate to the United States in small numbers—students, merchants, and laborers. The first ship of Koreans arrived in Hawaii in 1903 with 102 passengers on board. Between 1905 and 1910 only 45 of the migrants were female. General trends suggest there was a gender difference of 10 males for every 1 female migrating during the early 1900s. In 1910, Japan annexed Korea, leading approximately 7,000 Koreans to flee to Hawaii. During the Japanese occupation of Korea, there was an increase in Korean women migrating to the United States and its territories as "picture brides." Picture brides are a practice of arranged marriage (*joong-mae kyulhon*) in which a go-between (*Joong-mae jaeng-i*) investigates and negotiates arrangements between two families. It is documented that 1,100 picture brides arrived (1910–1924) as young Korean women looking for a "Golden World" that would offer new opportunities. Scholars have found that Korean migrants who arrived in the Pacific Northwest in the early 1900s were all picture brides. Those arriving in Hawaii had similar experiences to Japanese and Okinawan brides in being surprised by the conditions they would endure there. Korean picture brides often experienced challenging marriages because cultural differences. Often, Korean women in an arranged marriage were from the south

and their husbands were from north or central Korea and found it difficult to adjust to their marriage. Korean women were not only shocked by the culture within their home, but they also experienced racism by the dominant society and, in particular, by Japanese migrants in the United States and its territories. In spite of these challenges, Korean women were active in Christian churches, joined women's groups, created opportunities for their offspring, and found they were able to work to support the Korean Independence Movement within the diaspora by sending remittances home to Korea. Picture brides are perceived by Asian Americans as pioneer migrants, not only as the first to migrate, but also making possible the arrival of the U.S.-born second generation.

A major gender shift in Korean migration occurred after the Korean War that would for the first time lead to more females migrating than males—for every male that migrated, three-and-a-half females migrated. Japan's defeat in World War II in 1945 signified liberation for Korea, however, the Allied powers established the 38th parallel that divided Korea into North and South. War broke out when North Korea entered South Korea, a conflict that has been referred to as the Forgotten War or the Unknown War—the Korean War (1950–1953). In 1953 the United States and North Korea signed an armistice agreement that led to a ceasefire—this permanent state of war persists into today. In 1955 the U.S. military presence in Korea became a permanent feature. The trend of women migrating during this time period has been defined by two extremes—a pejorative as a camptown prostitute or as someone rescued as an orphan, the Korean adoptee.

The hypersexual Asian woman that is meant to be pleasing for the Westerner may be traced to the U.S. military presence in the Asia-Pacific. This Korean woman is referred to as *yanggongju*, or “Western Princess,” a woman who had sexual relations with Americans. The Western Princesses carry with them a stigma, especially those who migrated prior to 1965. In 1950 the first military bride entered the United States. The experience of the Korean wives of U.S. military personnel in the United States included the perpetuation of stereotypes about how they met their husbands working in a hostess bar or as a prostitute

in a camptown. Being a prostitute carries a stigma in Korean culture—she is marginalized within and outside the Korean community and treated as trash and the lowest of the low. These stereotypes, although embedded in partial truth for some Korean military brides who were part of the estimated 36,924 prostitutes in Korea (1950s–1970s) who entertained the approximate 62,000 U.S. soldiers, is not a reality for all. More than 100,000 Korean women married American military personnel. The experience for many Korean immigrant women who arrived in the United States as military brides, regardless of how they met their husbands, found life in America to be incredibly challenging. They were isolated because of their inability to speak English, faced racism because of American assumptions of language access and intelligence, and their family lives were strained leading to divorce in some cases. In general, military brides were strangers in a different place where the reality of the America they had hoped for was not the America they experienced. But although their experiences, like the picture brides that came before them, would mean facing a challenging environment, the positive aspects that Korean military wives also have is that they are seen as ambassadors for the Korean community—sharing Korean culture to Americans and a tie to the United States for family and friends in Korea.

Another image of Korea that manifested during and after the Korean War is the global view that it's a nation of baby export. War images of orphaned children led to an estimated 220,000 infant and children being adopted mainly in the United States, but also in Europe. A study of Korean adoptees in 2000 found that of the Koreans adopted from 1956 to 1985, 75 percent were adopted at the age of three years old or younger, and that the majority of the adoptees were female. By 2000, the average age of the adoptees was 30 years old. Many were not raised by Korean Americans, but they found ways to connect with their Korean heritage, in which a majority participated in a Korean adoptee organization and/or its events when growing up. And although many adoptees maintained such activities, as adults they began to study or read books about their culture, traveled to Korea, and maintained friendships with other Korean Americans. Like most immigrants, they experienced racism but were

unable to talk about it with parents whose racial difference as white parents in most cases made the discussions difficult or impossible. The negative experiences of discrimination made some adoptees attempt to deny their Korean history or attempt to fit in by hiding any differences. Such disconnection from the past was normal for adoptees in their adoptive family where birth families are not a part of the lives of the Korean adoptees. This is delineated in a PBS feature documentary of Dean Borshay Liem's film, *First Person Plural*. Korean adoptees are defined by two contrasting images of being "family" (*uri minjok*) and "foreigners" (*oegukin*) at the same time. Adoptees have formed organizations that unite themselves and take on leadership roles in such initiatives including, but not limited to, Asian Adult Adoptees of Washington, Adopted Korean Connection in Minnesota, Also Known As in New York, and Korean Adoptees of Hawaii. The initiatives are not only U.S. based but also transnational, as delineated in the Global Overseas Adoptees' Link (GOA'L) that was formed by adoptees in the United States and Europe. Although Korea developed a stereotype of being a major baby exporter, it shifted its image in 2007 when Koreans adopted more children than those sent abroad. Adoptee Solidarity Korea and Korean Unwed Mothers and Families Associations, among many others, have worked to reform current Korean laws to increase the standards within which adoptions occur.

In 1965, the United States passed the Immigration and Nationality Act, also known as the Hart-Celler Act, which abolished the National Origins Act of 1924 that denied Asians legal entry into the United States and unintentionally led to the increase in Asian migration into the United States. After 1965 the number of Korean women immigrants outnumbered Korean men. Koreans continue to grow in numbers and between 1990 and 2000 the Korean community doubled in number from 800,000 to 1.6 million. The 1965 Immigration Act enabled family reunification. Most of the Korean immigrants typically came as adults and brought their elderly parents and children with them. These radical shifts also led to class diversity and an increase in Korean professionals. Owing to elements in the 1965 Immigration Act, there was preference given to professionals, workers in

occupations with labor shortages, scientists, and artists of exceptional ability. This has facilitated the stereotype of Koreans as "model minorities." Although many have become successful, Korean American families have had to adjust drastically to their new lives in the United States. Korean families are increasingly seeing more women in the workforce. In spite of their increasing role in the workforce, Korean wives have a double role of working and also performing the overall household tasks. Immigrant women are vulnerable to being overlooked for domestic violence because of model minority stereotypes. In Los Angeles County it was reported that immigrant Korean families have the highest rate of spousal abuse among various Asian immigrant groups.

Korean immigrant women are not only mothers and daughters that have enabled transnational families to exist in the United States, but are also redefining American culture as artists, writers, journalists, and actresses.

Cecilia Hae-Jin Lee, who immigrated with her family in the 1970s, has made impacts on American arts and food—her work may be found as public art in cities in Washington State and California. Dohee Lee is trained in Korean traditional dance and drumming music, has made waves in the Asian American art scene as a dancer, musician and vocalist. But, most known to Generation X and Y, is the biracial Korean-Polish lead singer for the Yeah Yeah Yeahs, Karen Lee Orzolek, also known as Karen O. In 2010, she composed all the songs for the soundtrack of the film *Where the Wild Things Are*, in which the song she cowrote "All is Love" was nominated for the Grammy Award for Best Song Written for a Motion Picture, Television, or Other Visual Media in 2010.

Korean women have impacted the literary scene in the United States with fiction and memoirs. Mary Paik Lee and her memoir *Quiet Odyssey* that begins in 1905 when her family fled Korea as political refugees when she was five years old, and Elizabeth Kim's memoir *Ten Thousand Sorrows: The Extraordinary Journey of a Korean War Orphan* are exemplary Korean American immigrant memoirs. Theresa Hak Kyung Cha is a notable fiction writer who migrated to the United States in the 1960s with her family. Born during the Korean War, her work spoke to the

dislocation that war creates and investigates identity in the context of history, ethnicity and gender. She is best known for her 1982 publication, *Dictee*. A week after its publication she died at the young age of 31 years old. Her work not only speaks to the Korean immigrant experience, but her death is reflective of the violence that Asian Americans experience that goes unnoticed; she was brutally raped and murdered by serial rapist Joey Sanza.

As hosts on *Top Chef Masters* (Kelly Choi), actresses in television series such as *Lost* (Yunjin Kim), or an Emmy award-winning television journalist for ABC News (Juju Chang), or sports (Corinna Knoll), Korean American women are changing the face of Asian American women on screen. Although there is much work to be done in shaping the presence of Korean immigrant women as leaders in American politics, in which Michelle Eunjoo Park Steel, vice chair of the California Board of Equalization, currently is a pioneer as the highest-ranking Korean American officeholder in the United States. Whether it is politics, arts, or the sciences, Korean immigrant women are acknowledged leaders for both the Asian American community at large and the Korean American community in particular.

Annie Fukushima

See also Comfort Women

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Korean Independence Movement in the United States

The Korean independence movement in the United States was a part of an international political struggle organized by Koreans to overthrow Japanese colonial rule on the Korean peninsula from 1910 to 1945. Within the Korean diaspora, the Korean independence movement was an existential struggle to maintain Korean identity, culture, and language in the face of Japan’s imperial policy and to raise financial and

political resources to win back the nation's independence. Koreans in the United States carried a special burden as residents of one of the most politically powerful and economically wealthy countries. Korean Americans intensely lobbied the U.S. government to support Korea's independence and raised enormous sums of money to support various efforts for the cause. As the United States and Japan braced for the impending war in the Pacific, Korean Americans organized military training programs in hopes of joining the fight to liberate their homeland. Key Korean American community leaders, including Ahn Chang Ho and Syngman Rhee, played key roles in establishing and leading the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea in Shanghai. The movement ended on August 15, 1945, when Japan unconditionally surrendered to the United States and Korea gained its liberation from Japan.

After winning two wars (the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–1895 and the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905), Japan forced Korea to sign two successive treaties (the Japan-Korea Protectorate Treaty of 1905 and the Japan-Korea Annexation Treaty of 1910) to place Korea under the full control of the Japanese government. Under annexation, a governor-general appointed by Tokyo had absolute power in Korea and all Koreans became the “Emperor’s people”—a term that designated Koreans as colonial subjects but deprived them of full Japanese citizenship. With annexation, Japan organized massive campaigns to remake Korea to meet the economic and military needs of the Japanese empire. In addition, the Japanese government and businesses organized large numbers of Japanese settlers to live, work, and invest in Korea. Added to these policies were cultural and educational policies such as name-change ordinances and the imposition of Japanese language in educational institutions that fuelled bitter resentment. Met with widespread and organized resistance, the Japanese government imposed increasingly harsher policies that resulted in mass protest movements and armed struggle.

For Korean immigrants in the United States, the effort to maintain Korea's independence began immediately after the first Korean plantation workers arrived in Hawaii. On August 7, 1903, Korean

plantation workers established Sinmin-hoe (New People's Association), and on September 22, 1903, Ch'in-mok-hoe (Friendship Association) was established by Ahn Chang Ho in San Francisco. Both organizations emphasized uniting all Korean Americans to defend Korea against the imperial encroachment of Japan. The Japan-Korea Protectorate Treaty of 1905 further galvanized Korean Americans to make Korean independence one of the central priorities of their community life. Korean National Association (KNA) was established on February 1, 1909 in California to serve as a quasi-governing body for all Korean Americans and to provide leadership to the independence movement.

During the crucial time between the end of Sino-Japanese War in 1895 to the Annexation Treaty of 1910, Koreans and many sympathetic American missionaries in Korea and Korean Americans in the United States had little success in influencing the U.S. government to check Japan's ambitions and to intervene on Korea's behalf. Unbeknownst to these activists, there was an agreement reached by an exchange of messages between U.S. Secretary of War William H. Taft and Japan's Prime Minister Taro Katsura that the United States would support Japanese imperial ambition in Korea if Japan did the same for American ambition in the Philippines.

After the Treaty of Annexation was signed on August 22, 1910 that literally erased Korea from the world map, anger and frustration led more Korean Americans to support and participate in military efforts that were already present in the independence movement. Led by Park Yong-man who held a degree in military science from the University of Nebraska, military camps sprang up in Nebraska, California, Kansas, Wyoming, and Hawaii; Korean cadets came from far away as Mexico. Park Yong-man himself headed the Korean Youth Military Academy in Hastings, Nebraska, and then moved to the Korean National Brigade Center on Ahumanu Plantation on Oahu that trained more than 200 cadets. Weary of factionalism in the Korean American community that pitted Park Yong-man's military with Syngman Rhee's diplomatic factions, Park Yong-man eventually left Hawaii for China to be close to the Korean Provisional Government. The military training program declined

with Park's departure, but military training would persist in larger Korean American communities in Los Angeles and Central Valley in California and in Hawaii. In Willows, California, Kim Jong-lim, one of the wealthiest Korean Americans who made his fortune farming rice, funded the Korean Aviation School and trained pilots.

KNA continued to press diplomatic efforts in the United States by appointing So Chae-pil (Philip Jaisohn) to serve as the head of the Korean Information Office in Philadelphia and dispatched Ahn Chang Ho to the Korean Provisional Government in Shanghai as an official representative. On April 14, 1919, the first Korean Liberty Congress was convened in Philadelphia under the leadership of Philip Jaisohn and Syngman Rhee; the congress issued a 10-point resolution that affirmed Korean independence, rule of law, democratic ideals, human freedom, and civil rights. Independence Hall in Philadelphia provided an ideal setting for a culminating march where Syngman Rhee read the Proclamation of Independence of Korea.

The lofty ideals of the Korean Liberty Congress could not hide the increasing factionalism and personality conflicts within the Korean American independence movement. The mercurial Syngman Rhee would often be at the center of controversy at KNA and then at the Korean Provisional Government in Shanghai, where he was impeached for misuse of authority. The movement was also riven with ideological and tactical differences that ranged from Nationalists to Communists and diplomatic to military factions. In the end, it would be the United States and the Soviet Union that would end Japan's colonial domination over Korea. However, the Korean American dream of an independent Korea would be replaced with the reality of a divided Korea and the nightmare of the Korean War (1950–1953). Nevertheless, Korean independence movement gave hope and mission of a liberated Korea to thousands of Korean Americans who braved and endured harsh life in the United States.

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See also Jaisohn, Philip; Korea, U.S. Punitive Action in (1871); U.S.-Korea American Treaty of 1882; Rhee, Syngman

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Korean National Association (KNA)

The Korean National Association (*Kungminhoe*) (KNA) was a leading governing body for Koreans in America and for the Korean independence movement during the Japanese colonial period in Korea from 1905 to 1945. The KNA was founded in California on February 1, 1909, and came about as the merger of two other Korean American organizations, the United Korean Society (*Hanin Hapsong Hyophoe*) based in Hawaii and the Mutual Assistance Association (*Kongip Hyophoe*) in San Francisco.

The KNA was initially created to help collect money for the legal defense of Jang In-hwan and Jeon Myeong-un, two Korean students who assassinated Durham White Stevens, an American missionary who worked for the Japanese government and was an advocate for Japanese colonial rule in Korea. Stevens was shot by Jang on March 23, 1908, at the Ferry Building in San Francisco and died two days later from his wounds.

In 1910, the KNA built a branch in Vladivostok. There, Dosan Ahn Chang Ho, a Korean patriot, leader of the independence movement and representative of the Mutual Assistance Society, officially met with KNA envoys. In 1912, several KNA branches converged as the Central Congress of the Korean National Association.

In June 1913, a group of young Korean laborers, who were mistaken for Japanese, were attacked in Hemet, California. Dosan persuaded the Secretary of State William Jennings Bryant that the KNA, as opposed to the Japanese consulate, would represent Koreans in America as the first national Korean

organization in the United States. The KNA went on to establish branches in Hawaii, San Francisco, Siberia, Russia, Manchuria, Cuba, Mexico, and China.

Around this time, there were several disputes within the Hawaii KNA between supporters of then-Hawaii KNA President Kim Chong-hak and Syngman Rhee, who would later become the first president of South Korea from 1948 to 1960. After Rhee gained control of the Hawaii KNA around 1915, Kim started the Kalihi Alliance (*Kalihi Yonhaphoe*) and the Korean National Independence League (*Tae Chosun Tongnipdan*). The disputes between these factions spread to affect the churchgoing community and created a division between the Koreans in Hawaii at the time.

In 1915, Dosan became the first President of the Central Congress of the KNA; Park Yong-man, a Korean patriot and independence movement leader who formed the Korean Military Corps, was its first vice president. After the March 1, 1919 uprising, there were several pleas made to the Hawaii KNA to resolve its internal strife, and the KNIL and KNA unified for a short time. However, in May 1919, Park left to promote the independence movement from China, and by September 1919, the two organizations once again split.

On January 8, 1920, the Hawaii KNA broke their agreement with the Central KNA of North America and chose to send their funds directly to Rhee, who had moved to Washington, D.C. The KNIL supporters moved to form the Joint Convention of Koreans (*Han'in Kongdonghoe*) on January 22, 1920, to oppose the secession of the Hawaii KNA from the Central KNA. For several months, there was bitter infighting and costly litigation until April 1920, when the KNA of North America intervened with a compromise. Although both sides withdrew their lawsuits, in essence, the KNA leadership, with its support for Rhee, remained in power. These disputes continued with a series of lawsuits into the 1930s, which weakened the power of the Hawaii KNA and affected the Korean Provisional Government as a whole.

In 1936, the headquarters of the KNA was moved from San Francisco to Los Angeles. In 1938, a new building at 1368 West Jefferson Boulevard was built and served as a community center for Koreans in Los Angeles, in an area referred to as "Old Koreatown." At this point, the role of the KNA was to promote the

welfare of Koreans in America; to educate Koreans to be faithful citizens of America; to introduce Korean culture to this country; and to promote close friendships with other ethnic people. The KNA Building was also headquarters for other Korean organizations in America, including the United Korean Committee in America, the Korean Chamber of Commerce in America, the Korea Relief Society and the *New Korea* (*Sinhan Minbo*) newspaper.

During the 1940s, the Japanese internment in America led the KNA to provide certificates of national origin to distinguish Korean Americans. In the 1970s, the neighboring Korean United Presbyterian Church purchased the KNA building, which was named a historical site by the City of Los Angeles in 1991. In 2002, the site was officially named the Korean National Association Memorial Hall by the KNA Heritage Preservation Committee and was dedicated on December 9, 2003.

The current president of the KNA Memorial Hall is philanthropist and Korean community activist Dr. Myung Ki "Mike" Hong. However, there is some controversy surrounding his involvement in the KNA, as his father, Chan Hong, ran a movie theater in Korea that supposedly screened pro-Japanese films during the colonial period. The hall now includes a permanent exhibit of KNA photos and documents to inform the community about its role in Korean American history.

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See also Korean Americans; Korean Americans in Hawaii; Rhee, Syngman

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Korean-Black Relations

Korean-black relations primarily stem from Korean immigrants' business entries into retail trade with

mostly black customers in the U.S. metropolitan areas. Thus, these Korean immigrants' business entries must be analyzed within at least two contexts: Korean immigration and the multiracial character of the American economic system.

Korean immigrants' business entries into African American retail areas began with the 1965 revisions of the U.S. immigration law. With it, the number of immigrants from South Korea started to increase in the United States. For example, the annual number of Korean immigrants reached the level of 10,000 in 1970; 20,000 in 1972; then 30,000 in 1976 and that number was maintained until 1990. The peak of Korean immigration was reached the second half of the 1980s with more than 34,000 new annual immigrants. In the 1990s and 2000s, however, the new Korean immigration decreased drastically.

Since the 1970s, as significant numbers of Korean immigrants opened their businesses in the inner-city black communities of major U.S. cities, the tension between Korean merchants and local black residents started to develop. From the second half of 1980s to the first half of the 1990s, their relationship continued to explode. From the second half of the 1990s, however, the racial tension started to decline as the number of Korean merchants in the inner-city black communities rapidly decreased. However, since 2010, there has hardly been any racial tension between Korean merchants and local black residents in the major cities.

The post-1965 Korean immigrants generally immigrated with pre-immigration urban middle-class backgrounds. As middle-class immigrants who immigrated with their own families, their utmost concern was the quality of life of their families in the United States. Thus, their business entry into African American retail areas was one vehicle to achieve a somewhat stable family life, their middle-class dream.

The middle-class dream has three components: supporting a family comfortably in the United States; settling a family in a clean, safe, and peaceful community; and sending children to a good quality elementary and high school and eventually to a good college and professional school. Korean immigrants realized that making sufficient income was the necessary basis of their pursuit of the middle-class dream in the United States.

Such a dream forced a large number of Korean immigrants to enter the field of the self-employed small business owners in the 1970s and 1980s. When their businesses stabilized, Korean immigrant merchants on average earned more than most Korean immigrant wage or salary earners. This explains why so many Korean immigrants were engaged in self-employed small businesses in the 1970s and the 1980s. In 1990 U.S. Census, proportionally more Korean immigrants were engaged in self-employed small businesses than any other racial or immigrant groups in the United States.

Added to this entrepreneurial motivation of Korean immigrants was an extraordinary cross-current of events: simultaneous opening in business opportunity and supplier advantage. In the latter half of the 1960s, there had been numerous urban riots in the major cities. In those riots, large numbers of businesses of Jewish and Italian merchants were burnt down. An exodus of Jewish and Italian merchants took place and business vacuum was created. Taking advantage of such vacuum, newly arrived Korean immigrants actively rebuilt these consumer markets in inner-city minority communities with the highly demanded consumer goods manufactured in their native country, South Korea.

In the second half of the 1960s, the South Korean government was actively building the export-oriented economy with simple consumer goods. Luckily for Korean immigrants, such consumer goods as wigs and other beauty items from Korea were highly demanded in those areas. This demand further encouraged a large number of Korean immigrants to open their own retail businesses in the inner-city black communities. As the Korean economy gradually produced more diversified consumer goods during the 1970s and 1980s, Korean immigrant merchants in the inner-city African American communities also expanded merchandise to apparel, shoes, electronic goods, personal accessories, and others. They were also able to secure merchandise produced by outside Korea, including merchandise produced in the United States. Their diversification in merchandise and in supply sources opened further business opportunities to a large number of Korean immigrants. In major cities such as Los Angeles, New York City, Chicago,

Washington, D.C., and so on, Korean small businesses in inner-city minority areas became a somewhat familiar occurrence.

Korean immigrant small businesses in the inner-city minority areas became *middleman minority merchants* in the 1970s and 1980s. Korean merchants were in the middle between the producers and wholesalers, and consumers. Korean immigrant merchants sold the merchandise they obtained from Korean and American suppliers to consumers at retail prices. Eventually, black and other consumer groups in those areas felt that they were unfairly exploited by both retailers and their suppliers. Being visibly in the middle, Korean immigrant merchants had to bear the brunt of consumers' grievances, though.

Specific complaints against Korean merchants were too high prices and low quality goods at Korean stores, not hiring enough black workers, Koreans' attitude of offending black pride, and draining community (black) money to outside sources such as depositing funds at outside banks not at local black banks.

Consumers' complaining was prevalent but only one aspect of the Korean-black conflict. Another aspect of their conflict reflected life experience and interests of local black residents. As an exploited minority in the United States, local black residents were highly resentful of white Americans. However, at least part of their resentment now shifted to Korean merchants. In other words, Korean merchants emerged as an easy target. With such feeling of resentment, black consumers tried to steal goods from Korean stores. As Korean store owners tightly watched over black customers, they became further resentful—Korean store owners treated all black customers as potential thieves. Unfortunately, some black community leaders took advantage of such tense situations by mobilizing local black residents against Korean store owners for their short-term local political interests.

When the Korean-black conflict came to be shaped by these accused economic activities of Korean store owners and the exploited life history and interests of many black local residents, the Korean-black conflict took two specific forms during the three decades of the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s: (1) daily interpersonal disputes at the store level and (2) collective activities of local black residents against Korean merchants.

Daily interpersonal disputes at store level occurred with black customers' feelings of being watched suspiciously and Korean store owners' perceived need to monitor customers closely. In this kind of tense atmosphere, disputes such as verbal or physical confrontations and occasionally some violent actions such as murder or injury of store owners, employees, or customers often developed. The confrontation at store-fronts occurred frequently, yet, such store-level disputes did not receive much attention from the American public or media attention, even cases of murder or injury usually got a fleeting attention.

Sometimes, collective activities of black residents took place. One such activity was boycott movements against Korean store owners. Proceeding from boycotts often were demands of some remedial actions by black residents to store owners such as lowering merchandise prices, providing better quality goods, and hiring more black workers. When demands were not met, local black leaders sometimes organized boycott movements. In the past, we observed such boycott activities in the major cities such as New York City, Los Angeles, Chicago, and other cities. The most serious and conspicuous black boycott activity took place in Brooklyn New York in 1987 and lasted for more than a year. Ed Koch, the mayor of New York City, and mass media were heavily involved in this incident.

Another type of collective activity was the violence that led to the burning of Korean stores and even the injury or murder of Korean storeowners or employees. The most conspicuous case of burning Korean stores took place in 1992 in the South Central area of Los Angeles. In this violent racial riot, more than 2,000 Korean stores were burned down. This event shocked Korean immigrants and the American public as well. This South Central LA violence is considered as the most conspicuous and violent form of Korean-black conflict in the United States so far.

The Los Angeles racial riot clearly demonstrated that Korean-black conflict in the major cities could not be treated just as a case of a biracial conflict between Korean immigrants and African Americans. In general, Korean-black conflict in any major city should be framed in the events of multiracial conflict. As one racial minority, Korean immigrants were

encouraged to enter the inner-city black communities in the major cities. Then, Korean merchants had to deal with local residents who had been exploited throughout American history. Although black local residents were resentful of whites, the local residents could not hit back at whites because of the residential or other structural segregation. Then, black local residents found Korean merchants an easy target for their structurally accumulated resentment. In addition, Korean immigrant merchants were economically active in inner-city black communities, but they were politically extremely weak in the communities.

A case in point is the 1992 Los Angeles racial riot. Local black residents were mobilized by the verdict of the Rodney King case and were highly resentful of the not guilty verdict of white policemen. But the white population was well protected by the Los Angeles police force and/or geographically too far away to make an impact. Thus, black residents turned against unprotected Korean merchants in the area of Los Angeles South Central. The intensity of attack of local black residents against Korean stores exposed their accumulated resentment—resentment against both whites and Korean merchants.

After the Los Angeles racial riot, Korean-black conflict started to deescalate and remains minimal to the present. Several factors may explain why Korean-black conflict hardly exists today in the major cities. The primary reason is that the number of Korean stores in the inner-city black communities has been drastically reduced. There are several reasons that this reduction reinforces the contention that Korean-black relations need to be considered in a multiethnic framework.

The first reason of the reduction in Korean stores in inner-city communities is the deterioration in retail market conditions in those areas. As a result, many Korean immigrant merchants were not able to continue their businesses. One example of such a case is South Central Los Angeles where most of the destroyed Korean stores were just abandoned—partly because of store owners' emotional and financial hardships, but also partly because of governmental regulation. Korean liquor stores were good examples of this burden. Simply put, many Korean liquor stores were not allowed to open again.

Second, from the 1990s, other immigrant groups such as Asian Indian, Pakistani, and Arab merchants have opened retail stores in the inner-city black communities of the major cities. Korean store owners cannot compete with these immigrant merchants. Third, in recent years even large-scale white retail chains have returned back to inner-city black communities. Korean merchants also cannot compete with such large-scale retail store chains. Fourth, a drastic decrease in the number of new immigrants from South Korea contributes significantly to a drastic decline in the number of potential Korean immigrants who desire to open their businesses in inner-city black communities.

In conclusion, Korean-black relations in the United States must not be examined in a biracial framework of Korean and lack. It must be investigated with a multiracial context of American society, and with a global context of immigration. There are many possible venues for two racial groups to interact with each other in a multiracial society. Of these possible venues, Korean-black relations are almost solely economic in nature. Koreans as storeowners in inner-city black communities relate with black residents in the areas as customers. With a limited number of Korean stores in inner-city black communities, Korean-black relations in the foreseeable future are likely to remain quiet.

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See also Korean Americans

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Koreatown

Background

Koreatown is a term that describes an ethnic concentration of Korean residents and businesses. The term is used interchangeably with Little Seoul, Korean district, Korean enclave, and Korean community. Such concentrations create a critical mass for an ethnic population to form businesses and social institutions and publicly recognizable spatial clusters. Historically, ethnic spatial concentrations emerged as a result of the discriminatory practices of restrictive covenants in housing until their elimination in 1948, and Koreatown has been an indispensable element of immigrant experiences throughout the history of Korean immigration. Korean immigration to the United States traces back to 1882, when diplomatic relations were established between the two countries (United States-Korea Treaty of 1882). Around the turn of the twentieth century, the first wave of Korean immigrants consisted of laborers recruited for work on Hawaiian sugar plantations, picture brides of said laborers, and students in the New York area. Some of these early immigrants relocated to Los Angeles and created the Korean community. A few small Korean American communities existed in Hawaii, California, and New York but went largely unnoticed because of the paucity of residents. The majority of them Christians, they centered their lives on ethnic churches, lacking the critical mass for a visible spatial cluster of ethnic business establishments.

The establishment of modern Koreatowns in major metropolitan areas postdates the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 (also known as the Hart-Celler Act), which allowed large numbers of Asian immigrants who had previously been barred by the displaced quota system. Post-1965 Korean Americans acquired reputations as active ethnic enclave builders seeking "institutional completeness." Korean Americans' high self-employment rate (21 percent of employed civilian workers age 16–64 in 2010) operates as an important factor in the evolution of Koreatown. Most self-employed Korean Americans are concentrated in a few labor-intensive retail and service industries including wholesale and retail of Korean and Asian imported manufacturing goods, produce stores, grocery stores, dry cleaning, nail salons, and garment subcontracting. Although Korean Americans participate in entrepreneurial activities that serve general consumer markets, the prevailing tendency of Koreatown economy is to cater toward primarily coethnic clientele through ethnic groceries, banks, restaurants, bars, bookstores, and professional services such as travel agencies, doctor's offices, acupuncture/oriental medicine, attorney services, or accounting services. Because of increasing globalization of labor and capital, the ethnic enclave has been revalorized as a place providing tourists and the creative class with diversity of entertainment, culture, and taste.

Table 1 shows the number of Koreans as a single race in 10 consolidated metropolitan statistical areas (CMSA) with the largest Korean populations. According to Census data of 2000 and 2010, these areas have remained relatively steady. Southern California, which includes Los Angeles, Riverside, and Orange Counties, is the largest Korean American settlement, with approximately 320,000 Koreans as of 2010. The second-largest Korean settlement in the United States is the New York-New Jersey-Long Island CMSA, with more than 200,000 Koreans. The Chicago metropolitan area is the third-largest Korean concentration with the Seattle, the Atlanta, and the San Francisco metropolitan areas are close behind.

One important aspect of contemporary Koreatowns is their high suburban representation. Koreatowns have emerged and flourished in Annandale,

Table 1. Ten metropolitan areas with largest Korean population*

CMSA**	1990	CMSA	2000	CMSA	2010
Los Angeles	194,437	Los Angeles	257,975	Los Angeles	304,198
New York	118,096	New York	170,509	New York	208,190
San Francisco	42,277	Washington	74,454	Washington	80,150
Washington***	52,817	San Francisco	57,386	Chicago	54,135
Chicago	36,952	Chicago	46,256	Seattle	52,113
Philadelphia	24,568	Seattle	41,169	Atlanta	43,870
Seattle	23,901	Philadelphia	29,279	San Francisco****	42,158
Honolulu	22,646	Atlanta	22,317	Philadelphia	35,720
Dallas	11,041	Honolulu	21,681	Dallas	28,907
Atlanta	10,120	Dallas	18,123	San Jose	28,028
All CMSAs	755,219	All CMSAs	1,035,064	All CMSAs	1,415,520

*Korean alone with a single race category.

**The Consolidated metropolitan areas defined by the Census Bureau.

***The Korean populations of the Baltimore and Washington areas were combined for 1990 as the Census Bureau incorporated the Baltimore area into the Washington–Northern Virginia CMSA in 2000.

****The Census Bureau separated the San Jose area from the San Francisco–Oakland–San Jose, CA CMSA.

Source: Census Summary File 1, 1990–2010.

Virginia, in the D.C. suburb, Duluth in the Atlanta suburb, and in various suburban cities of Orange County, California (Garden Grove and Irvine). Traditionally, it was held that immigrants initially settle in segregated urban ethnic enclaves and subsequently disperse into suburban areas through the process of economic, social, and cultural integration. According to this notion, immigrant spatial dispersion is inevitably linked to assimilation. The growth of suburban immigrant communities over the last couple of decades, however, has challenged this notion. Suburban residency is no longer the final stage of assimilation. Rather, many new immigrants settle directly in the domain of traditionally white middle- and upper-class neighborhoods.

The high rate of immigrant suburbanization reflects broader socioeconomic and geographical changes: increasing economic mobility of the new wave of immigrants, decentralization of industries and businesses, advanced communication and transportation systems, and an overall change in public attitude toward immigrant assimilation. In addition to these external circumstances, the development of ethnic suburban infrastructures has eased the suburban entry of new immigrants. The 2000 Census data show that almost half (48 percent) of immigrants who

arrived in metropolitan areas in the 1990s chose to live outside the central city. Korean Americans are one of the most highly suburbanized immigrant groups, with approximately 59 percent of the population residing in the suburbs.

Koreatown, like other ethnic enclaves, can be viewed either as a barrier to assimilation or as a channel for socioeconomic advancement. It simultaneously allows for prolonged retention of ethnic identity and solidarity and offers economic opportunities for newly arrived Koreans who lack socioeconomic resources and English proficiency. Major Koreatowns in the United States, the two largest located in Los Angeles and New York, respectively, illustrate the significant contribution of these enclaves to economic and population growth, fostered through the establishment of numerous small businesses with a reliable Korean consumer base supplemented by a wider non-coethnic consumers. The various Koreatowns, although reflecting different metropolitan contexts and distinct historical legacies, are indicative of the shared desire of Korean residents to extend their sphere of influence in the United States, whether it be through Korean representation in political office or expansion into socioeconomically desirable suburbs. The marked propensity of Korean immigrants to build institutionally complete

enclaves in metropolitan American has created ethnic tensions and hindrances to integration; however, they arose out of a genuine necessity for newly arrived Koreans to achieve a semblance of stability. Shifting trends in the process of immigration and assimilation also suggest that the shape and makeup of Koreatown may continue to evolve in the near future.

Koreatown in Los Angeles

Koreatown in Los Angeles was the largest and only officially recognized Korean enclave in the United States in 1978, complete with Korean signs on freeway exits. Three miles west of downtown L.A., Koreatown is entirely within the City of Los Angeles. The first Koreans arrived in Los Angeles in 1904 as farm and railroad workers. By 1930, several hundred Korean students, merchants, and political exiles had made Los Angeles their home. By 1970, Koreatown was firmly established as a first-stop neighborhood for Korean newcomers and small commercial enterprises with Korean clientele. In the 1980s and 1990s, an influx of affluent immigrants and corporation branches from South Korea began an economic boom in Koreatown, securing its place as the center of activity for Koreans in the region.

Today, Koreatown is the commercial and cultural hub of the greater Korean community in Southern California. Its territory expands into the Wilshire district, where a host of high-rise office buildings have cropped up. Upwardly mobile Koreans are spreading out in small residential clusters throughout Los Angeles, Orange County, and San Fernando Valley, including Glendale, Northridge, Torrance, Cerritos, Garden Grove, Fullerton, Buena Park, and Irvine, owing to their safer neighborhoods and better school systems. Since 2000, Fullerton and Buena Park in Orange County have been the largest suburban Koreatowns preferred by the affluent and well-educated. In Fullerton, in particular, Koreans constitute near half of the population, and Korean businesses and companies have taken root in its Amerige Heights Town Center and the nearby industrial district.

According to the 2010 Census, Koreatown is home to almost 240,000 residents. Koreans are the second-largest ethnic group (17 percent) after Latinos

(55 percent), whereas non-Hispanic whites constitute 11 percent. Ethnic composition has remained relatively stable over the last decade, although the number of Filipinos, Asian Indians, and Bangladeshis, and other Asian minorities has grown. Koreatown is characterized by a high percentage of rentals (approximately 89 percent) and low percentage of married couples (34 percent), indicating residential instability. The median household income in Koreatown is low relative to the city as a whole (\$33,448 compared to \$49,138, as of 2010), although it has increased since 2000, mainly because of the influx of young Korean professionals.

Because of the residential instability and demographically marginal position of Koreatown within greater Los Angeles, Koreans are placed at a disadvantage with regard to electoral politics in the city. Despite efforts by Korean American political activists to bring Koreatown under one city council district, Koreatown is divided among four separate city council districts. Despite the lack of the official political representation, Korean business elites maintain political solidarity through donations to candidates and organizing political activities in Koreatown. In addition to business interests, Korean American community-based organizations, professional associations, and political advocacy groups have become more active in Los Angeles politics.

The evolution of Koreatown has faced setbacks, however, notably in the form of intergroup friction. During the Los Angeles riots of 1992, Korean stores became a target for ethnic hostility, which ended in the destruction of some 2,300 Korean stores and upward of \$350 million worth of assets. Koreatown merchants and leaders reacted by joining forces with 1.5- and second-generation Koreans, to enhance political strength and improve relations with African American and Latino communities.

Following the 1992 riots, Koreatown entered a new phase of redevelopment, erecting upscale shopping malls, multipurpose sports facilities, and luxury condominiums, particularly in the Wilshire district, which had experienced a severe decline in the late 1980s. South Korean investment in the California real-estate market also rose, triggered by the 1997 Asian financial crisis. According to data collected by the L.A.



New York's Koreatown. (Daria Wilczynska/Dreamstime.com)

Community Redevelopment Agency in 2011, 2,252 properties in the Koreatown-Wilshire District are Korean-owned, indicating Korean purchasing power in real estate and commercial development. Of these, Jamison Properties, an institutional real estate investment and management firm run by a 1.5-generation Korean American, owns and manages more than 100 commercial buildings in Mid-Wilshire, contributing to the resurgence of the property market in the district.

Effects of redevelopment can be seen in Koreatown's recent gentrification and concurrent increase in rent and living costs. Moreover, globalization and intercultural penetration have reshaped the character of Koreatown, which now attracts new non-Korean patrons with cultural and culinary diversity and the most dynamic nightlife entertainment in Los Angeles. Koreatown is portrayed in the media as a 24-hour entertainment district with high-end spas, shops, and night clubs.

Koreatown in New York

The first wave of Koreans in the New York area was mostly comprised of political refugees seeking asylum

from the Japanese colonization of the Korean peninsula during the first half of the twentieth century. Many of these refugees had intellectual background and decided to attend universities in New York and other East Coast cities. Of these, a large portion returned to Korea upon completion of their graduate education when Japanese annexation ended in 1945. The second wave of immigration to New York (1946–1968) comprised of much needed medical professionals who benefitted from special visas for doctors and nurses. Most stayed permanently, and some became naturalized, allowing them to sponsor family members from Korea. The mass migration of Korean immigrants into New York and New Jersey—the third wave—began once Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 went into effect in 1968 to shape what is now the New York Koreatown. Throughout the post-World War II period, New York has been a magnet for many Korean international students from universities along the East Coast seeking to secure professional and managerial jobs or to start small businesses.

The largest Koreatown in the New York metropolitan area, home to more than 30 percent of the New York metropolitan Korean population, can be found in Flushing and Bayside, in the borough of Queens. It has become a cosmopolitan settlement site for a large number of Asian populations, chiefly Chinese and Asian Indians but also Koreans. Korean settlement of the region dates back to the 1964–1965 New York World's Fair held in Flushing Meadow-Corona Park. Of the 364 Korean participants, 200 remained permanently, setting up residence in the area and commuting to Manhattan where they started small businesses. In the main business district of Flushing, Korean-language signs are displayed on more than 450 Korean restaurants, bakeries, nail salons, clothing shops, travel agencies, doctor's offices, accountant's offices, insurance agencies, and after-school centers, cater to their Korean customer base, which extends as far as the Long Island suburbs.

Of the Korean Americans in the New York metropolitan area, nearly 10 percent reside in Manhattan. Because of its advantageous location on 32nd Street between Broadway and Fifth Avenue, the "Korean Way," attracts a fair share of non-Korean and second-generation Korean American patrons to its 100-plus

Korean restaurants, bakeries, bookstores, groceries, noraebangs (karaoke), and bars. The Manhattan Koreatown is also a commercial center for Korean import and wholesale companies, outfitted with Korean-language signs, as well as numerous Korean law firms, accounting firms, travel agencies, and sundry professional services.

Recently, a rapidly growing suburban Koreatown has emerged across the Hudson River in southeast Bergen County, New Jersey. The number of Korean residents in Palisades Park, Fort Lee, and four other adjacent townships quintupled between 1980 and 1990 and now accounts for roughly 27 percent of the entire metropolitan Korean population. Palisades Park, in particular, is the heart of the suburban enclave in Bergen County. Up through the 1980s, Palisades Park was still a predominantly white township with a mix of blue-collar workers and professionals of Italian and German descent. Now, more than 50 percent of Palisades Park residents are Korean—the highest proportion of the Korean population in any municipality in the United States. Proximity to Manhattan also makes the Palisades Park and Fort Lee area an attractive suburban area not only for local merchants but also for those owning businesses and holding jobs in New York City. Furthermore, since the mid-1980s, many branches of Korean multinational corporations, Samsung Company (Ridgefield Park) and LG Company (Englewood Cliffs) among others, have moved into the Palisades and Fort Lee area. Many corporate managers have temporarily relocated to the area along with their families, attracted by generous rent-subsidies from their corporate headquarters, accounting for the high rents that might otherwise discourage them from residing in such affluent communities. In the main commercial strip of Fort Lee and Palisades Park, there are more than 250 Korean stores with Korean-language signs. These stores serve both Koreans in the neighboring townships and those dispersed throughout northern and central New Jersey.

The growth of the suburban Korean community has altered the surrounding suburban landscape and lent it a new cultural character. On the one hand, Korean immigrants have played a key role in revitalizing many neighborhoods that had fallen prey to financial trouble. However, the rapid increase in the

number of Korean residents and businesses has also more clearly defined the ethnic fault line between Koreans and the members of the host community. Discussion concerning regulation of small businesses and their operation and the new construction of large Korean churches in residential areas has created tension between the Korean population and the city officials and council members. Longtime local residents have begun to display anti-Korean sentiments, leading to a rally in 1999, where about 1,000 Koreans gathered to protest the enactment of local ordinances and discriminatory incidents (e.g., anti-Korean graffiti) against Korean merchants and students. This kind of ethnic tension poses a challenge to the integration of the rapidly growing immigrant groups with host communities. Nevertheless, the demographical dominance of Koreans in Palisades Park, now numbering 19,622 residents, has helped Koreans gain political strength, ultimately electing two Koreans as members of the council.

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See also Korean American Ethnic Economy; Korean Americans

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Koreatown Immigrant Workers Alliance (KIWA)

The Koreatown Immigrant Workers Alliance (formerly known as the Korean Immigrant Workers Advocates) is a nonprofit organization created in March 1992, in Los Angeles to address the exploitation of Korean and Latino workers in the Koreatown community. In later years, KIWA united low-income workers, students, and community advocates to work toward a broader social justice mission with their established worker center, leadership development, and grassroots organizing.

KIWA’s first successful mission was to include displaced workers as recipients of a community relief fund after the 1992 Los Angeles riots. In 1996, KIWA launched a four-year crusade against the Koreatown restaurant industry with their Koreatown Restaurant Workers Justice Campaign, which involved picketing and vocal demonstrations, accusing Koreatown businesses of violating labor laws. At the time, a federal probe determined that 97 percent of Koreatown restaurants underpaid and overworked their employees, and flaunted federal safety laws. In 1997, KIWA gained additional publicity for their participation—along with Thai Community Development Center and the Asian Pacific American Legal Center—in the landmark El Monte campaign, which won over \$2 million for 55 workers and exposed sweatshop practices in the Los Angeles area.

From 2001 to 2009, KIWA began advocacy for Koreatown supermarket workers, and in 2007 received a lawsuit settlement from Assi Market after a five-year boycott addressing wage and discrimination issues. During this time, KIWA published a 2005 report “Koreatown on the Edge” that cast a light on the 70 percent of Koreatown citizens who were living in poverty, despite the affluent exterior and construction boom at the time. In 2007, KIWA published another report with Data Center called “Towards a Community Agenda: A Survey of Workers and Residents in Koreatown, Los Angeles,” which underscored a perpetuation of low wages, poor housing conditions, insufficient health care and racial injustice in Koreatown.

In 2010, KIWA launched an affordable housing campaign. In 2011, the organization obtained a commitment from a developer for 96 units of affordable housing and another promise from the Los Angeles City Council for \$10.5 million toward a future “Koreatown Central Park” in an area that is among the densest and least-green neighborhoods in the nation.

KIWA’s role in empowering workers has been a divisive subject in the Korean community in Los Angeles—regarded as a generational, cultural and political divide—as KIWA has sometimes targeted first-generation Korean business owners for their unlawful practices. KIWA has been regarded by the older generation as a 1.5- or second-generation radical leftist organization for their tactics.

The organization began with a mostly Korean American staff, but as the mission emphasized advocating for Latino workers in Koreatown, the nonprofit grew to include a multiethnic staff with other Asian Pacific American and Latino employees. In 2006, reflecting this change, KIWA’s name was altered to its more all-encompassing Koreatown Immigrant Workers Alliance.

KIWA has had three Korean American executive directors, cofounders Roy Hong and Danny Park, and Alexandra Suh, since its 1992 inception. In that time, KIWA and its Worker Empowerment Clinic has won back nearly \$15 million in wages.

KIWA is a member organization of MIWON (Multi-ethnic Immigrant Workers Alliance) and ENLACE, an alliance of low-wage worker centers,

unions, and community organizations in the United States and Mexico.

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See also Korean Americans; Korean National Association (KNA)

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Korematsu, Hirabayashi, and Yasui Coram Nobis Cases

In 1983, Fred Korematsu, Gordon Hirabayashi, and Minoru Yasui filed suit to reopen their infamous World War II Supreme Court cases. In those wartime cases, the Supreme Court had upheld the constitutionality of the military orders that ultimately led to the wartime incarceration of Japanese Americans. In *Hirabayashi v. United States* and the companion case of *Yasui v. United States*, the court upheld orders subjecting Japanese Americans to curfew; in *Korematsu v. United States*, the court upheld orders forcibly removing Japanese Americans from the West Coast. In all three cases, the court held that the orders were justified by military necessity.

In 1981, Professor Peter Irons and archival researcher Aiko Herzig-Yoshinaga discovered proof that the government had suppressed, altered, and destroyed material evidence when it was arguing those cases before the wartime Supreme Court. Based on this proof, legal teams in California, Oregon, and Washington filed Petitions for Writs of Error *Coram Nobis* on behalf of the three men, seeking to vacate their convictions. A petition for a writ of error *coram nobis* ("before us") is filed after a sentence has been served to seek relief from a conviction to achieve justice.

The petitions set forth irrefutable evidence that the government, to gain court approval of its wartime actions against Japanese Americans, had withheld and manipulated evidence.

First, the documents showed that the government knowingly suppressed intelligence reports that contradicted the government's claim of military necessity. At the time it was preparing its case before the Supreme Court, the government had within its possession reports from the FBI, the Office of Naval Intelligence (ONI), and the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), all undermining the necessity of the mass removal and incarceration. For example, in 1942, even before Roosevelt had signed Executive Order 9066, Lt. Commander Kenneth D. Ringle of the ONI concluded that the vast majority of Japanese Americans were loyal to the United States and that no necessity existed for any action that would treat them on a group basis. Justice Department lawyer Edward Ennis became aware of Ringle's report when preparing the *Hirabayashi* case in 1943 and wrote Solicitor General Charles Fahy: "I think we should consider very carefully whether we not have a duty to advise the court of the existence of the Ringle memorandum. . . . It occurs to me that any other course of action might approximate the suppression of evidence" (Yamamoto 2001: 306–309). Ringle's report, however, was never given to the court.

In addition, the government in the *Korematsu* case relied heavily on the Final Report of General John L. DeWitt, which set forth the basis for the removal of Japanese Americans from the West Coast, including his claim that Japanese Americans had been engaged in illegal shore-to-ship signaling. However, reports from the FCC and FBI directly refuted DeWitt's claims, and the court was similarly not advised of them.

Second, rebuffed by Fahy, Ennis and fellow Justice Department attorney John L. Burling sought to advise the court that DeWitt's claims of illegal signaling were false. Burling inserted a footnote in the government's brief in the *Korematsu* case to disclaim reliance on DeWitt's allegations. When Burling's footnote was discovered, the printing of the government's brief was stopped; the footnote was revised; and the court never knew of the falsity of DeWitt's claims.

Finally, further documents showed that DeWitt's *Final Report* had been altered to support the government's argument before the Supreme Court. In the *Korematsu* case, the government argued that the exclusion orders were justified because there was insufficient time to separate loyal Japanese Americans from those who might have been disloyal (although no Japanese American was ever charged with espionage or sabotage during the war). In fact, DeWitt's original report had said that shortness of time was not a factor in his decision to order the mass exclusion: "Because of the ties of race, . . . [Japanese Americans] presented a tightly-knit racial group . . . It was impossible to establish the identity of the loyal and disloyal with any degree of safety. It was not that there was insufficient time in which to make such a determination; it was simply a matter of facing the realities that a positive determination could not be made, that an exact separation of the 'sheep from the goats' was unfeasible" (Yamamoto 2001: 294–298). When the War Department discovered that DeWitt's report contradicted the government's argument in court, the report was revised. Copies of the original report were recalled and burned, and the court was given the revised version.

The government's deception was successful. In the *Korematsu* case, the court, relying on the altered DeWitt Final Report, upheld the exclusion orders as based on imminent military necessity: "Here, as in the *Hirabayashi* case, we cannot reject as unfounded the judgment of the military authorities and of Congress that there were disloyal members of that population whose number and strength could not be precisely and quickly ascertained" (*Korematsu v. United States* 1944).

Korematsu, Yasui, and Hirabayashi filed petitions to vacate their convictions based on governmental fraud in early 1983. The government made a motion to vacate the convictions, and, because it agreed that the convictions should be vacated, it asked that that petitions be dismissed and that the courts not consider the allegations of misconduct. Judge Marilyn Hall Patel, in Fred Korematsu's case, declined the government's invitation. In November 1983, before a courtroom filled with Japanese American former internees and their children, she found that the allegations of

misconduct had been proven and vacated Korematsu's conviction.

Minoru Yasui's case took a different course. Judge Robert Belloni granted the government's motion, vacating Yasui's conviction, but dismissed his petition, refusing to consider the claims of misconduct. Yasui appealed, asking that the court address his claims of misconduct, but he passed away while his appeal was pending.

Gordon Hirabayashi's case was the last to be heard. After a full evidentiary hearing, in which wartime Department of Justice attorney Edward Ennis testified on behalf of Hirabayashi, Judge Donald Voorhees held that there was sufficient proof to grant *coram nobis* relief. He vacated Hirabayashi's conviction for violating the exclusion orders, but did not vacate his curfew conviction. On appeal, the Ninth Circuit, in an opinion by Judge Mary Schroeder, held that sufficient evidence existed to vacate both convictions.

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See also *Hirabayashi v. United States* (1943); *Korematsu v. United States* (1945); *Yasui v. United States* (1943)

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Korematsu v. United States (1945)

In *Korematsu v. United States* (323 U.S. 214), the United States Supreme Court, in one of its most infamous decisions in its history, upheld the constitutionality of the forced removal of Japanese Americans during World War II.

In 1942, Fred Toyosaburo Korematsu was a 22-year-old welder living in Oakland, California. He was the son of immigrants from Japan and an American citizen by birth. He grew up in an era during which anti-Asian racism was prevalent, and, after the bombing of Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, he saw anti-Japanese hostility grow to a fevered pitch as the general public, the popular press, and government officials called for the removal of Japanese Americans from the West Coast.

On February 19, 1942, in response to these calls, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt issued Executive Order (EO) 9066, the source of authority that ultimately led to the incarceration of over 110,000 persons of Japanese ancestry living on the West Coast. In March 1942, Congress passed Public Law 503, which made violation of any military order issued pursuant to EO 9066 a federal crime.

With the authority vested in him by EO 9066, General John L. DeWitt, Commander of the Western Defense Command, began to issue a series of orders to control, and ultimately expel and incarcerate, the West Coast Japanese American population. On March 24, 1942, DeWitt imposed a curfew on all persons of Japanese ancestry. Three days later, he issued an order, prohibiting persons of Japanese ancestry from leaving the designated military area to ensure an orderly and controlled evacuation.

With the stage set for mass removal, DeWitt began issuing a series of “Civilian Exclusion Orders,” which required all persons of Japanese ancestry to report for transport to so-called temporary “assembly centers” for detention until more permanent camps could be built. Korematsu chose to defy the exclusion order. He had a white girlfriend he could not leave, and he believed that he should be able to live free, like any other citizen. He changed his name on his draft card and had minor plastic surgery so that he could continue to work and in hopes that changing his identity would help keep him and his fiancé from harm when they later left the prohibited zone to marry. On May 30, 1942, he was recognized and arrested for violating the exclusion order.

While jailed, Korematsu was visited by Ernest Besig, Executive Director of the San Francisco office of the ACLU and agreed to bring a test case to

challenge the constitutionality of the exclusion orders. Korematsu was transferred to the temporary detention center at Tanforan racetrack to join his family and await his trial, and, at trial on September 8, 1942, Judge Adolphus St. Sure convicted Korematsu of violating the exclusion order. When his case was being appealed, Korematsu spent a year and a half in the more permanent Topaz Internment Camp in central Utah before obtaining permission to leave for Salt Lake City and then Detroit, Michigan, to work.

On December 18, 1944, over two-and-a-half years after the first Japanese Americans had been removed from their West Coast homes, the Supreme Court finally issued its decision in *Toyosaburo Korematsu v. United States*, ruling that the forced removal of Japanese Americans was constitutional. Six justices upheld the exclusion orders and affirmed Korematsu’s conviction; three justices dissented. Justice Hugo L. Black delivered the majority opinion of the court. The opinion began promisingly. The court explained that Korematsu’s loyalty to the United States was not contested. And, in ringing tones, the court cautioned that “[A]ll legal restrictions which curtail the civil rights of a single racial group are immediately suspect [and] subject them to the most rigid scrutiny” (*Korematsu v. United States* 1944). Despite this caution, the court failed to subject the removal orders to hardly any scrutiny at all and essentially deferred to the military judgment that the mass removal was necessary.

The court explained that the same reasons that had supported its unanimous opinion upholding the curfew orders a year and a half earlier in *Hirabayashi and Yasui v. United States*, justified the exclusion orders challenged by Korematsu. The court explained, as it had in the *Hirabayashi* case, “we cannot reject as unfounded the judgment of the military authorities and of Congress that there were disloyal members of that population, whose number and strength could not be precisely and quickly ascertained” (*Korematsu v. United States* 1944).

The court’s reliance on its decision in *Hirabayashi* was troubling, for several reasons. First, the order requiring Japanese Americans to leave their West Coast homes was, as the court acknowledged, “a far greater deprivation” than confinement to the home during curfew hours. However, the court explained

the exclusion orders, like the curfew orders, had “a definite and close relationship to the prevention of espionage and sabotage” (*Korematsu v. United States* 1944).

Second, the court’s decision in *Hirabayashi* rested on tenuous ground. In *Hirabayashi*, the court purported to review the facts and circumstances to determine whether there was any basis for the military judgment that the curfew was necessary. However, what the court deemed facts and circumstances could hardly be termed “facts” at all. Without proof that any Japanese Americans had, in fact, committed or threatened to commit any act of espionage or sabotage, the court instead agreed with the government’s argument that the proximity of Japanese Americans to strategic installations and their “racial characteristics” justified the military’s actions against them. The court’s “racial characteristics” discussion contained little more than race-based stereotypes. It observed, for example, that many children of Japanese parentage attended Japanese language schools outside the regular hours of public schools and, without citation to any evidence, stated that “[s]ome of these schools [were] generally believed to be sources of Japanese nationalistic propaganda, cultivating allegiance to Japan.” The court explained, “Viewing these data in all their aspects, Congress and the Executive could reasonably have concluded that these conditions have encouraged the continued attachment of members of this group to Japan” (*Hirabayashi v. United States* 1943).

After explaining its reliance on its reasoning in *Hirabayashi*, the court further upheld the validity of the exclusion orders by citing the results of a loyalty oath, given to Japanese Americans *after* they were incarcerated: “That there were members of the group who retained loyalty to Japan has been confirmed by [the fact that] [a]pproximately five thousand American citizens of Japanese ancestry refused to swear unqualified allegiance to the United States and to renounce allegiance to the Japanese emperor” (*Korematsu v. United States* 1944). It strains reason to justify the exclusion orders with the results of a questionnaire given Japanese Americans a year after the orders were issued and after they had been betrayed by their government.

Most notably, the court avoided entirely the critical question of the validity of the incarceration. In deciding *Korematsu*’s case, the court addressed solely the constitutionality of the orders removing Japanese Americans from the West Coast; it did not address the constitutionality of confining them in desolate camps in the interior of the country. The court avoided addressing the validity of the incarceration by artificially separating into parts what really was a single program of incarceration. At the time of the exclusion orders, Japanese Americans were both prohibited from leaving, and prohibited from remaining, on the West Coast; the only way they could leave the area lawfully was to report for confinement. The court, however, treated each phase of the program of incarceration—the freeze orders, the removal orders, and incarceration—as separate, concluding that, in *Korematsu*’s case, the court was only required to address the constitutionality of the removal orders.

In conclusion, the court explained that the exclusion orders were not the result of unlawful racial discrimination: “*Korematsu* was not excluded from the Military Area because of hostility to him or his race” (*Korematsu v. United States* 1944). Despite the court’s conclusion that the exclusion orders were not based on race, examination of the events leading up to the Japanese American incarceration, the government’s arguments, and the court’s opinion itself leave little doubt that the orders were, in fact, racially motivated.

Three justices dissented. Justice Owen Roberts criticized the majority for failing to see the exclusion orders for what they were—an inextricable part of an overall program of indefinite incarceration based solely on race and devoid of any lawful justification. Justice Frank Murphy, in dissent, similarly viewed the government’s orders as abhorrent: “This exclusion of ‘all persons of Japanese ancestry, both alien and non-alien,’ from the Pacific Coast area on a plea of military necessity . . . ought not to be approved. Such exclusion goes over ‘the very brink of constitutional power’ and falls into the ugly abyss of racism” (*Korematsu v. United States* 1944). There was, Murphy asserted, no reason that Japanese Americans could not be individually screened, as was done for persons of German and Italian ancestry.

In his dissent, Justice Robert H. Jackson similarly condemned the exclusion orders as racially based. He further warned that the court's validation of the exclusion orders provided a precedent for similar deprivations of rights in the future: "[O]nce a judicial opinion rationalizes such an order to show that it conforms to the Constitution, or rather rationalizes the Constitution to show that the Constitution sanctions such an order, the court for all time has validated the principle of racial discrimination in criminal procedure and of transplanting American citizens. The principle then lies about like a loaded weapon ready for the hand of any authority that can bring forward a plausible claim of an urgent need" (*Korematsu v. United States* 1944).

Criticism of the court's decision in *Korematsu's* case began soon after its release, and has continued ever since. Four days after the decision was announced, *The Washington Post* printed its editorial opinion. Even if exclusion of suspicious persons was necessary, *The Post* (1944: 8) explained, "the indiscriminate manner of its application, we think, was not. For no attempt was made to distinguish the loyal and the disloyal, although eight months elapsed after Pearl Harbor before the final exclusion order was issued. . . . It is on this ground that we are inclined to take our stand with Mr. Justice Murphy's characterization of the majority opinion as a 'legalization of racism.'" Legal commentators have been unanimous in condemning the Supreme Court's decisions in *Hirabayashi* and *Korematsu*, and the critiques have continued to the present, especially as the nation struggles with whether civil rights must be sacrificed in the name of national security in the aftermath of 9/11.

In 1982, documents were discovered by Professor Peter Irons and archival researcher Aiko Herzig-Yoshinaga that proved the government had suppressed, altered, and destroyed material evidence when it was arguing *Korematsu's* case before the Supreme Court and provided *Korematsu* an opportunity to reopen and challenge the court's infamous decision in his case. On November 10, 1983, *Korematsu* appeared before Judge Marilyn Hall Patel of the Federal District Court for the Northern District of California in a courtroom packed with former internees. Judge Patel granted *Korematsu's* petition and vacated his conviction, concluding that the evidence showed that "the

government knowingly withheld information from the courts when they were considering the critical question of military necessity in this case" (*Korematsu v. United States* 1984).

In 1998, *Korematsu* was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the nation's highest civilian honor, for his role in challenging the internment. In his remarks, President Clinton commented, "In the long history of our country's constant search for justice, some names of ordinary citizens stand for millions of souls—Plessy, Brown, Parks. To that distinguished list today we add the name of Fred *Korematsu*" (Clinton 1999). *Korematsu* passed away on March 30, 2005, at the age of 86.

Lorraine K. Bannai

See also *Hirabayashi v. United States* (1943); *Korematsu, Hirabayashi, and Yasui Coram Nobis* Cases; *Yasui v. United States* (1943)

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Kuo, Hong-Chih (1981–)

Hong-Chih Kuo is the first Taiwanese baseball player to hit a home run in Major League Baseball, although he is a pitcher. His baseball career was plagued by injuries, and he spent more time recovering from surgeries than pitching. Kuo was born in Tainan, Taiwan. When he was 18 years old, the Dodgers signed him to a contract in 1999 for a bonus of \$1.25 million. In his first minor league game, he struck out seven batters in three innings. Unfortunately, after this promising start, he had to undergo his first Tommy John surgery, a reconstruction of the ulnar collateral ligament in the elbow. In 2003, he underwent his second Tommy John surgery. Kuo's injuries partly resulted from a stringent practice regimen of student baseball in Taiwan. To win major games, the coach usually asks the best player to pitch quite a lot of innings in a few days. Kuo is one of the many victims of this practice.

The Dodgers were patient enough to wait for Kuo's recovery. Finally, he made his Major League debut in 2005, the fourth Taiwanese player to do so after Chin-Feng Chen, Chin-hui Tsao, and Chien-Ming Wang. After he hit a home run in a game of June 2007, he endured another elbow surgery in July. In 2008, considering his record of injuries, the Dodgers changed his role from starting pitcher to relief pitcher. He began to make significant contributions to the Dodgers, although he suffered from minor arm injuries again in 2008 and 2009. In 2010, he became the first Taiwanese player selected to play for the

National League All-Star team. He was one of the most reliable relief pitchers for the Dodgers in 2010, earning 21 holds and 12 saves with an ERA of 1.20 in 56 games.

Yuchun Kuo

See also Chinese American Baseball; Taiwanese Americans

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Kwan, Michelle (1980–)

Michelle Kwan is an American female figure skater who won eight consecutive U.S. Championships from 1998 to 2005. She was born on July 7, 1980, in Torrance, California. Her parents, Danny Kwan and Estella Kwan, are immigrants from Hong Kong. They raised three children: Ron, Karen, and Michelle. Karen was a figure skater as well and won third place at the 1996 Nebelhorn Trophy. Both Karen and Michelle went to the rink and began to skate because their brother, Ron, played ice hockey. Michelle first had the idea of competing in the Olympics when she watched Brian Boitano win the gold medal in men's figure skating at the 1988 Winter Olympics.

When Kwan was eight, her father hired a coach, Derek James, for her and her sister. They took skating lessons five days a week. After their 5:30 morning training sessions, they went to school and then returned to the rink after school. Skating was an arduous task not only for the girls but also for their parents. When Kwan's parents could no longer afford the skating lessons, they sold their house in Rancho Palos Verdes and moved in with Kwan's grandparents in Torrance. Kwan even had to practice without a coach for nine months during that time.

Fortunately, Kwan's friends offered her financial assistance and all kinds of support to deal with these difficulties. One of these supportive friends George was Steinbrenner, the owner of the New York Yankees. Another important source of help came from

Virginia Fratianne, whose daughter, Linda Fratianne, is a great figure skater as well. Virginia Fratianne introduced Michelle and Karen to her daughter's coach, Frank Carroll, and Carroll agreed to be their coach. With help from Virginia Fratianne and Frank Carroll, Michelle and Karen began to practice at the private rink of the Ice Castle International Training Center in Lake Arrowhead, California. Carroll was Michelle's coach until 2001 when they decided to terminate their relationship.

Kwan achieved great success in skating. She placed first at the U.S. Championships nine times (in 1996 and consecutively from 1998 to 2005). She won the gold medal in women's figure skating at the 1996, 1998, 2000, 2001, and 2003 World Championships. Nonetheless, her competitions in the Olympics were not as smooth as those in the U.S. and World Championships. She finished second at the 1998 Winter Olympics and third at the 2002 Winter Olympics.

Because of her outstanding achievements in skating, Kwan received numerous awards, including the James E. Sullivan Award in 2001. In addition, the U.S. Olympic Committee (USOC) has named her "Athlete of the Month" 14 times since 1996. She was also elected as the USOC "SportsWoman of the Year" in 2003. In the same year, the United States Figure Skating Association renamed "the Readers' Choice Figure Skater of the Year," an award that she won seven times, as the "Michelle Kwan Trophy." In 2009, Kwan obtained her BA in international studies from the University of Denver.

Yuchun Kuo

See also Yamaguchi, Kristi

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Labor Movement

As of 2011, the American Census Bureau reports that 12.5 percent of Asian workers belong to labor unions. Nearly half are women, and 50.5 percent have four-year college degrees or more. On average, two-thirds are immigrants. Unlike its xenophobic and nationalistic past, the contemporary labor movement has organized Asian workers into unions in hotel, restaurant, garment, health care, meatpacking, and communication industries. It's important to note that despite the fact that some unions like Union of Needletrades, Industrial, and Textile Employees (UNITE), and Service Employees International Union (SEIU) and the Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees Union (HERE) which have a much longer history of organizing immigrants, the majority of the U.S. labor movement maintained an anti-immigration stance until very recently. The American Federation of Labor–Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO) did not reverse its position on immigration until February 2000, when they passed a historic resolution that called for reforms that protected the rights and freedoms of immigrants in the workplace, and that employers be held accountable when they exploit immigrants. In addition, the resolution called for an amnesty program and a repeal of employer sanctions. This move strengthened the union's ability to organize immigrant workers.

This move was particularly important for the labor movement because of both demographic and economic shifts in the United States. The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 reshaped the demographics of the United States by spurring massive immigration from Asia. In the four decades since the

passage of that act, the Asian immigrant population grew exponentially mostly through chain migration of family sponsorship and immigrant economic niche. Some industries drew large numbers of Asian immigrant workers, especially nursing and biotechnology. However, it was the large-scale shift in the economy that created the greatest amount of opportunity for Asian migrants, particularly in the service sector.

Although unions grew in absolute numbers through the 1970s, union researchers have shown that they were unable to keep up with the rapidly expanding workforce. At its peak in 1946, a little over 1 in 3 (37 percent) workers was a member of a labor union, by 1995 that number was down to 3 in 20 (15 percent). The initial decline can be attributed, in part, to passage of the Taft-Hartley amendments to the Wagner Act, which placed strict limits on union organizing and mutual aid tactics whereas simultaneously giving employers more latitude in opposing unionization efforts. However, organized labor's decision to service current membership rather than developing more aggressive worker organizing efforts and the strength of the economy during the 1950s and 1960s delayed the ultimate political impact of these amendments.

In the 1970s and 1980s, however, the political and economic climate changed for organized labor. The antiunion, pro-business policies became deeply entrenched—fueled in large part by the decline in the economy. Jobs, even union jobs that were considered safe, were now sent overseas and workers found themselves deskilled and unable to compete in increasingly technologically driven society.

The rise of global business and production practices led to a restructuring of the U.S. economy. Most

notably for Asian immigrants was the growth of the service sector. Numerous industries, including health care, restaurants, and janitorial service, became entry points for Asian workers in the U.S. economy. Unions working in these areas—particularly SEIU and UNITE-HERE, were extremely successful in bolstering their once falling membership numbers by actively recruiting immigrant workers into their ranks. Unions needed help in organizing Asian workers because their infrastructure was not designed to adequately address the needs of this worker population. In 1992, the Asian Pacific American Labor Alliance (APALA), AFL-CIO was formalized and worked to train new organizers and to assist labor unions in Asian worker outreach. Kent Wong, Director of the UCLA labor center notes that through training, research, education, and successful recruitment of dynamic Asian organizers, APALA was instrumental in recruiting 20,000 Asian American labor union members between 2002 and 2007.

There are numerous examples of how APALA helped develop a union's infrastructure so that it successfully addressed the needs of Asian workers. One of the most notable examples occurred with the change of federal regulations for airport screeners after 9/11. Prior to the 9/11 terrorist attacks, airport screeners could be legal permanent residents; however, the new federal regulations made it mandatory that all screeners be U.S. citizens. The new regulations made no accommodations for those who had applied for citizenship but whose applications were delayed because of the INS backlog, neither did it account for years of experience and service. In places like San Francisco, where 90 percent of the airport screeners were Filipino, APALA was successful in mobilizing the Filipino community to support the Filipino workers' unionization campaign. Although the mobilization was ultimately unsuccessful, what APALA showed in this case was the ability to mobilize Asian communities and workers.

APALA was instrumental in partnering with health care unions, helping them with their largely successful organizing campaigns that improved union density in the health industry from 6 percent to 65 percent. Asian organizers were critical on campaigns to organize nurses that included large numbers of Filipinos, and in long-term care, which had workers

from all Asian ethnicities. Asian Americans represented a significant proportion of the growth of the SEIU 434b (now SEIU ULTCW) the long-term care workers unions that saw a 74,000 member increase in Los Angeles during 1999. Since that time, they have reorganized into a statewide union that represents 180,000 members in Monterey, Santa Cruz, San Benito, Solano, Napa, Mendocino, Los Angeles, San Bernardino, Ventura, and Alameda Counties. The workers represent a diverse cross section of California health care workers.

APALA and its organizers pointed out that to incorporate Asian workers into their ranks, unions needed to change their fundamental practices. For example, unions needed to have organizers that were multilingual and culturally competent. It was important for organizers to appreciate how culture played a significant role in the lives of workers and, more important, to understand the transnational connections between workers. Just because a worker was based in the United States did not mean they did not maintain connections to home and homeland. APALA worked with unions to develop strategies, similar to those used earlier by the United Farm Workers that developed greater cohesion across immigrant groups. This included having union materials in multiple languages, organizers from Asian communities, and multilingual worker summits that provided multiple forms of translation (i.e., Spanish to English, English to Chinese, Chinese to Spanish, etc.). Simultaneously with helping organizers develop the skills necessary for working in Asian communities and improving unions' strategic capacities, APALA also worked to mobilize voters and increase Asian American participation in the political process. In Los Angeles, APALA was instrumental in helping politicians such as Congresswoman Judy Chu, Assembly Member Michael Eng, and Assembly Member Warren Furutani get elected. On the national stage, APALA has convened Asian Pacific American worker hearings across the country and compiled a report that highlights exploitation and abuses that Asian American workers face.

The most significant part of APALA's work was showing the national labor movement that despite the stereotype that Asians were docile and "unorganizable"—Asian workers, like their predecessors, would

join unions and stand up to workplace injustices. The work of APALA highlighted the ways that the national labor movement had excluded Asian workers from its ranks due in large part to misinformation, racialized stereotypes, and ignorance. Their work has led to changes in union practices as well as the development of a legislative agenda that promotes rights of Asian and Pacific Islander workers.

Although the contemporary labor movement has proved more open to Asians and Asian immigrants, it would be false to presume that all unions have accepted change or developed practices that are conducive to working with Asian workers. Furthermore, although some unions may acknowledge the importance of organizing Asian workers, they have failed to develop culturally competent strategies. One campaign that clearly demonstrates a lack of cultural competence is the Communication Workers of America's campaign at the *Chinese Daily News*.

The *Chinese Daily News* is the largest Chinese language paper in the United States. It is owned by a Taiwanese media company, the United Daily News, and has its U.S. branches in New York, San Francisco, and Monterey Park. The majority of workers for this company are Taiwanese immigrants who speak little or no English. Despite working long hours, workers make an average salary of \$24,000 per year and were denied workers compensation, overtime, and fair working conditions. The workers conducted a "wall to wall" campaign—in which all workers at the Monterey Park office sought union membership with CWA. What organizers did not count on was the aggressive union-busting campaign put forth by the company.

The *CDN* argued that because it was an international corporation it was not subject to U.S.-based labor laws that allowed collective bargaining. In addition, the consultant hired by the *CDN* used numerous cultural mores as weapons against workers. For example, workers were singled out and shamed for speaking out against the benefactors who sponsored them to come to the United States. Workers noted that the consultant said that the workers were not only shaming themselves but also their families back home. In addition, workers were threatened with loss of jobs and the possibility that their work visas would be pulled.

This union-busting campaign was compounded by the fact that the CWA opted to run a contract-based campaign that focused on organizing the site and failed to engage with the culture or historic experiences of the workers themselves. As a result, worker intimidation tactics were successful, key organizers lost their jobs, and the company was successfully able to fend off the NLRB for five years. Six years after their unionization campaign began workers won a class action lawsuit and a new election. Although CWA ultimately declared this campaign a win, it's questionable whether or not workers really prevailed in this case. The company still continues with its antiunion campaign and the organization never fully assessed how it could better serve Asian workers within their organization.

According to recent reports by the Center for Economic and Policy Research, union members have a large wage and benefit advantage compared to their nonunion counterparts. Collective bargaining for Asian American and Pacific Islander workers has led to an average wage differential of \$2.50 per hour and has the greatest advantage for workers in low-paying industries. The most significant benefits gained by union members are retirement coverage and health insurance. These benefits provide tangible evidence as to why collective bargaining is important for Asian American communities.

Over the past 10 years, Asian Americans have made significant inroads into the labor movement. The advocacy and organizing of groups like APALA have worked to significantly reshape understanding of Asian American workers. By employing practices initially developed during the formative years of multiracial organizing and creating new infrastructure within labor unions, the number of Asian American and Pacific Islander union members has doubled in a matter of 10 years. That said, the contemporary labor movement still faces significant challenges.

The national labor movement has yet to resolve how it will increase its connection to international worker campaigns. Although the AFL-CIO leadership has had international solidarity as part of its platform since 1995, little to no work has been done to increase the AFL-CIO's presence globally. Over the past four years, there has been increased scrutiny of labor

practices in countries such as China. Although the AFL-CIO and the press have been quick to criticize China on its labor practices, little to no work has been done to develop transnational connections between workers. In fact, APALA sent delegations to China to learn more about worker organizing campaigns despite strong opposition from the national AFL-CIO. Furthermore, labor movement scholars have fallen into the nationalistic discourse that depicts Chinese workers as powerless cheap labor. Lost within the discourse are discussions of agency and resistance on the part of Chinese workers.

In an era of global capital, it's important to investigate the connections between workers in different countries. Recent research by scholars like Jennifer Chun highlights the importance of empirically examining the different trajectories of labor movements in different countries. Her work comparing South Korea and the United States provides important insight into the need for new strategies and frameworks that call on workers, their communities, and the general public to stand up for workers rights. By creating moral outrage over the mistreatment of workers, organizers tried to harness public sentiment and push companies (in this case universities) to do right by their workers. Although most studies examining work in the global context tend to focus on macrolevel changes, unions benefit from global connections between workers in similar industries facing similar local dynamics that impact organizing.

Labor researchers and organizers have also promoted the importance of developing transnational campaigns that work simultaneously. By putting pressure on multinational corporations at multiple sites, it brings heightened attention to the exploitation of workers. A number of campaigns have used this strategy—for example, UNITE and the AFL-CIO did considerable work in the borderlands to address exploitation in the maquiladora industry. The work led to the unionization of some shops and successful organizing campaigns. However, as Edna Bonacich and others have noted, any cross-national organizing must be cognizant of the history of protectionism and paternalism. Organizing without regard to historic context can further exacerbate inequalities.

For Asian workers, the contemporary labor movement holds promise of increased visibility and possibility. Growth of union membership in Asian communities demonstrates that preconceived notions held by unions and the public are incorrect. Unions represent one avenue through which Asian American workers can leverage considerable political power by influencing political campaigns, working on legislation like the Affordable Care Act or the Living Wage, and continue to increase union density in the industries in which they're present.

Belinda Lum

See also China Daily News, The (CDN); Chu, Judy; Workingmen's Parties

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Lahiri, Jhumpa (1967–)

Jhumpa Lahiri is a South Asian American author. She was born on July 11, 1967, in London to Bengali parents, moved to the United States when she was three, and grew up in Kingston, Rhode Island. Lahiri graduated from South Kingston High School, and earned her BA in English literature from Barnard College in 1989. She then went on to earn an MFA from Boston University, an MA in English literature, an MA in comparative studies in literature and the arts, and a PhD in Renaissance studies from Boston University in 1997.



Author Jhumpa Lahiri poses outside her Park Slope home in New York's Brooklyn borough, October 17, 2003. (AP Photo/Gino Domenico)

Her debut collection of short stories, *The Interpreter of Maladies* (1999) won the PEN/Hemingway Award, the *New Yorker* Debut of the Year, and the Pulitzer Prize in 2000. Her second work, the novel *The Namesake* (2003), was a *Los Angeles Times* Book Prize finalist, a *New York Times* Notable Book, and chosen as one of the best books of the year by *Entertainment Weekly* and *USA Today*, as well as many other publications. Her latest short story collection, *Unaccustomed Earth* (2008), debuted as #1 on the *New York Times* Best Seller list, won the Frank O'Connor International Story Award, and won the national Asian American Literary Award in 2009. *The Namesake* was adapted into a full-length feature film in 2007; directed by Mira Nair, it was Kal Penn as Gogol, and Bollywood actors Tabu and Irrfan Khan

as Ashima and Ashoke. Lahiri has been interviewed by a multitude of national magazines and newspapers, and her work is taught in high schools and universities across the United States. She has taught creative writing at the Rhode Island School of Design and Boston University, won a two-year fellowship at Provincetown's Fine Arts Works Center, and was the recipient of a Guggenheim Fellowship. In 2001, Lahiri married Alberto Vourvoulis-Bush, a journalist who was then the deputy editor of *Time* magazine Latin America, and they currently reside in Brooklyn, New York with their two children. She publishes regularly in *The New Yorker*, is a vice president of the PEN American Center, and is a member of the Committee on the Arts and the Humanities appointed by President Barack Obama as of 2010.

Her father Amar Lahiri has worked as a librarian at the University of Rhode Island for a number of years, and her mother taught Bengali at a local university. When she was growing up, her family made many trips around the world, but they often traveled to Calcutta. Lahiri spoke in Bengali to her parents when at home, and this linguistic aptitude made her trips there much easier, especially because they stayed with extended family. Although she is fluent in Bengali, English is the language in which Lahiri first started to write. She started writing at age seven, and wrote for her high school newspaper. After finishing her BA, she spent time crafting her talents and wrote enough to apply to the MFA program at Boston University. When in graduate school, her fiction got published in many national journals and magazines.

Lahiri's narratives are centered on the lives of Bengali Americans, speaking from the perspective of a second-generation South Asian American. Her first collection of short stories, *The Interpreter of Maladies*, is a set of nine tales woven together by certain common themes and motifs, including exile, displacement, melancholia, loneliness, difficult familial and romantic relationships, and problems within communication. Lahiri's writing is characterized by flowing, unadorned language, and her protagonists range from American-born South Asians, to Indian immigrants, to white Americans involved in some capacity with South Asians. The settings for her work are usually in North America, on the Eastern seaboard, or in South

Asia. Her characters do not exude a “foreignness”; they are not embodiments of Oriental exotic commodification. They are frequently transnational figures, characterized by their knowledge of multiple languages, many kinds of history, education, and class privilege.

Her first novel, *The Namesake*, is centered on a middle-class family, the Gangulis. They are Bengali immigrants, husband and wife Ashoke and Ashima, and their son, Gogol, and daughter Sonia, living and working on the Eastern Seaboard of the United States. The text evokes moments of melancholia, as when Ashoke has experienced a trauma causing him to nearly lose his life, and Ashima, as a stranger to America, is away from her family’s mansion in Calcutta, away from everything she knows. The first third of the novel focuses on Ashoke and Ashima and their acculturation. Ashoke is exemplary of the post-1965 group of South Asian immigrants into the United States. He has earned a PhD in electrical engineering and teaches at MIT, a well-educated man from humble beginnings. The crux in this part of the text is the choice that this generation makes—that is, whether to go home to India, or stay. Ashima makes the decision to stay, thereby carving a space for them, and staking a claim. Their decision is characterized by a sense of loss, replaced gradually by a sense of comfort. The latter half of the novel is centered on their son Gogol, who grows up confused and caught between two cultures. His character is one in post-immigrant subjectivity; that is, a sense that immigration is a distant memory, yet an experience that continues to shape the decisions made in subtle and surprising ways, as revealed in going about the complicated business of everyday living. Gogol is a conundrum; on the one hand he has a sense of confusion, on the other hand there are senses of joy and possibility. Immigration is not his sole concern, nor is it for the narrative. She faces the pain of immigration early in life, but with the benefit of a partner. Ashoke feels nostalgia for India, but is very much in the public sphere in an academic institution and has a professional life. Upon Ashoke’s untimely death, Ashima is faced with grieving and loss but forms a community and focuses on raising her children, Gogol and Sonia.

Lahiri gives readers a sense of the way Indian Americans are read in the United States in the twenty-first century. The Gangulis are particular in that they are privileged, and serve as a corrective to certain injustices that have occurred in the past within the South Asian American community. Lahiri fills Gogol with a certain Americanness, but cultural baggage shapes his American life. One might classify this novel as an ethnic bildungsroman, as there are pivotal moments that allow Gogol to come of age, come to terms with his name, and his hybrid identity.

Unaccustomed Earth, a collection of eight short stories by Lahiri, is chiefly concerned with the lives of Bengali folks from South Asia to North America in the 1960s and 1970s. These first-generation immigrants engage in struggles to set down their roots in soil that they find inhospitable, but which nourishes their children. These second-generation South Asian American progeny then negotiate between the foreign soil that is “home” to their families, and the fecund earth that they inhabit.

For most of the parents, immigration was adventurous and privileged, as they were equipped with education and the ability to have such things as paraffin heaters, hot running water, and seeing snow for the first time, but who also need their children to enlighten them in certain ways. This set of stories is closed in a specific way. The focus is a hegemonic South Asian American, Bengali-speaking community, where the fathers are disposed to earning PhDs and seeking academic and professional jobs. Mothers are homemakers and caretakers. These partners make their homes in the suburbs of America, familiarizing themselves with the material clutter of American lives. Their progeny are high-achieving second-generation kids who easily gain access to top-notch educations at M.I.T., Cornell, and Columbia, earning advanced degrees themselves, and lead privileged lives as citizens of the world, with monetary freedom and mobility. *Unaccustomed Earth* admits mild transgressions, with the air of innocence. For example, some of the first generation fathers, as in *Unaccustomed Earth* and in the trilogy *Hema and Kaushik* remarry after becoming widowers. The focus of the text is on the children, who despite the bewilderment and cultural confusions of their parents, engage

readily with American behavior. This is especially true of narrations around social behavior, and experimenting with sexuality, unbeknownst to their Victorian-minded parents. At the heart of these stories is family and marriage. Lahiri is particularly talented when writing about the minutiae of every day existence.

The tales are peppered with the trepidations around parenting, with careful attention paid to details around cooking, on baby clothes and behavior, the precarious business of relationships, of the care of children, and of maintaining domestic spaces. Her style is smooth and restrained, with a slow and methodical momentum to her narratives, punctuated with the traits of characters, or the insertion of cultural details, resulting in precise stories.

Lahiri's fiction is a welcome addition to the existing Asian American literary canon, as hers is told from a second-generation South Asian American perspective. She writes with graceful nuance on what she knows, on the community she is familiar with, and is part of a generation of authors who comprise the changing landscape of American literature.

Rosie N. Kar

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Lai, Him Mark (1925–2009)

Internationally renowned as the Dean of Chinese American history, Him Mark Lai's extensive research collection provides a mother lode of source material on the experiences of Chinese in America, including their districts of origin in Guangdong Province, their

detention at the Angel Island Immigration Station, the development of community organizations and newspapers, and the Left. His groundbreaking writings—10 books and over 100 articles—are models of scholarship; his commitment to his bicultural heritage, democratic principles, passion for history, and generous spirit are an enduring inspiration to future generations.

Born on November 1, 1925, in San Francisco's Chinatown, Lai was the eldest of five children, all of whom were given the middle name Mark, the true name of their father, Maak Bing, who had entered the United States with the paper name "Lai." As a child, Lai escaped the confines of his family's 8' x 10' home by reading Chinese novels of errant knights and a diverse range of English books borrowed from the Chinatown Branch Library. By middle school, he was adding to his immigrant parents' limited income as garment workers with a part-time job in a sewing factory. Nevertheless, he excelled at both the Nam Kue Chinese School and San Francisco public schools. In his final year of high school, Lai won the first citywide Hearst U.S. History Contest. Yet when he expressed his desire to go to college, his father urged him to go after the good wages in the city's shipyards, pointing out that racism had prevented other Chinese Americans with college degrees from pursuing their professions. Lai, supported by his mother, refused. But pragmatism dictated he pursue a degree in mechanical engineering although continuing to work part time, and he graduated from San Francisco Junior College as valedictorian and received a B.S. degree in engineering from the University of California at Berkeley in 1947.

Working as a mechanical engineer for the state, then at Bechtel Corporation, Lai did not abandon his passion for Chinese history, culture, and politics. He frequented the Oasis Bookstore, a gathering place for young progressive writers, lingering to participate in discussions after making his purchases. By 1949, Lai was volunteering for *Chung Sai Yat Po*, the first daily paper to support the People's Republic of China (PRC), and he became a member of the Chinese American Democratic Youth League, more familiarly known as Mun Ching, leading study groups, introducing the songs, music, folk dances, and vernacular

dramas of the New China to the Chinatown community. Membership in Mun Ching cost Lai years of FBI surveillance, but gifted him with immense personal satisfaction and added fluency to his spoken and written Chinese. When tutoring at the club, Lai also met new immigrant Laura Jung, whom he married in 1953.

In 1960, he enrolled in “The Oriental in North America,” a relatively new course taught by sociologist Stanford Lyman at the University of California Extension in San Francisco. Exposure to the histories of the Chinese, Japanese, and Filipinos in America whet Lai’s appetite for more. He read the few titles then available on Chinese Americans and joined the Chinese Historical Society of America (CHSA) soon after its founding in 1963. These events, together with contemporaneous changes in the status of minorities spurred by the Civil Rights Movement, led Lai toward developing a Chinese American identity.

In 1967, he accepted a proposal by Maurice Chuck, editor of the bilingual weekly *East/West*, to write a series of articles on Chinese American history. These articles—revised and annotated—became the cornerstone for the classic *A History of the Chinese in California: A Syllabus*, coedited with Thomas W. Chin and Philip P. Choy, as well as the basis for the first Chinese American history course in the United States, which Lai team taught with Choy at San Francisco State College in the fall of 1969 and that resulted in another classic, *Outlines: A History of the Chinese in America*. He subsequently taught at the University of California, Berkeley.

Lai’s seminal works in Chinese American history include: “A Historical Survey of Organizations of the Left Among the Chinese in America,” published in the fall of 1972 issue of the *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars*; *Island: Poetry and History of Chinese Immigrants on Angel Island 1910–1940* (1980), co-authored/translated with Genny Lim and Judy Yung; “Chinese on the Continental U.S.” in the *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups* (1980); *From Overseas Chinese to Chinese American: a History of the Development of Chinese during the Twentieth Century* (in Chinese, 1992); *Becoming Chinese American: A History of Communities and Institutions*

(2004); and, posthumously, *Chinese American Transnational Politics* (2010).

Lai’s research in the Pearl River Delta began as a member of the 1979 joint study of two emigrant villages in Taishan District by UCLA’s Asian American Studies Center and Guangzhou’s Zhongshan University. On subsequent trips, he expanded his study to ever more villages and districts. In 1989, he helped organize the first symposium on Chinese American family history and genealogy at the Chinese Culture Foundation (CCC) in San Francisco. Two years later, he and Albert Cheng founded the “In Search of Roots” program for youth, enabling hundreds of “rooters” since to locate their ancestral villages and learn about their family histories.

In pursuit of source material, Lai climbed into dumpsters; combed through thousands of newspapers, unpublished manuscripts, and documents; traveled to archives and Chinese/American communities on both sides of the Pacific; and conducted scores of oral history interviews. To share his discoveries, he not only wrote and taught but provided text and translations for exhibits; compiled bibliographies of Chinese newspapers and Chinese language materials; served as consultant for individuals, historical projects, institutions, and documentaries in China and the United States; gave talks at conferences in America, Australia, Canada, mainland China, Taiwan, the Philippines, and Hong Kong. To encourage and bring to light new research by others, Lai worked for decades on the editorial committees of *Amerasia Journal* and *Chinese America: History & Perspectives*, CHSA’s annual journal that he cofounded. Authors, artists, and political activists for the past 30-plus years have noted their indebtedness to Lai. Footnotes often reference data he unearthed—and which is now available to all, either through his writings or his vast collection of books and source material, which he donated to libraries at UC Berkeley, San Francisco State University, and CHSA.

Throughout, Lai was uniquely partnered by his wife, Laura, whose astute management of their finances allowed him to accumulate his vast library and made possible his early retirement. By chauffeuring and accompanying him on trips to China, she enabled him to focus on his research and writing. She also

supported his cultural and political commitment to community. For 13 years Lai produced *Hon Sing*, a weekly radio program of news commentary, community announcements, and Chinese music. He served multiple terms on the boards of many organizations—such as CCC and CHSA—often assuming the responsibilities of president.

Lai's community work and prodigious scholarship garnered many awards, including the Association for Asian American Studies Award for Lifetime Scholarship; Outstanding Service Awards from Chinese for Affirmative Action, CHSA, and CCC. His enduring legacy lies in the foundation he laid for all future work in Chinese American history, and he will forever retain the position of Dean.

Ruthanne Lum McCunn

See also Angel Island Immigration Station

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Lam, Tony (1937–)

Tony Lam (Lâm Quang) is a retired local politician in Orange County, California. In 1992, he was elected to a two-year term on the Westminster City Council, the first Vietnamese American to win a contested public election in the United States. After surviving a recall, he narrowly won reelection in 1994 and 1998. Lam retired from the council in 2002, following controversy surrounding Vietnamese American demonstrations at the HiTek Video shop in 1999.

Among the first wave of migrants to be evacuated from Saigon after April 1975, Lam arrived with extensive U.S. government contacts through positions with

USAID and as a Saigonese business owner who had grown wealthy from Defense Department contracts. Although his first job in the United States was as an insurance agent, his claim to fame among the overseas Vietnamese population was at Camp Pendleton, where he served as one of the elected liaisons permitted to negotiate on behalf of refugees. In 1984, Lam opened Vien Dong Restaurant on Brookhurst Avenue in a central Little Saigon location, which he ran with his wife and family. He broadened his civic profile by heading the Vietnamese Chamber of Commerce and helping to organize the first area festivals for Tet, the Vietnamese Lunar New Year. In early newspaper reports, this earned him the reputation of being a community leader. Lam first ran for the nonpartisan Westminster council by adopting a Republican affiliation despite the perception that the party perceived Asian Americans as inexperienced and unreliable.

Lam's 10 years on the council were tumultuous, often because of issues within the Vietnamese American community. In one reelection bid, he was victimized by racist campaign literature that referred to him disparagingly as Tony "Little Saigon" Lam; at the same time, his alliance with Vietnamese-Chinese developers to transform Little Saigon into "Asiantown" drew severe criticism from Vietnamese Americans. As the Vietnamese and U.S. governments took steps toward normalizing diplomatic relations, Little Saigon became a hotbed for protest and dissent. Lam, a pragmatist, was often in the crossfire between business interests favorable to improved relations and human rights activists who vehemently opposed them. After thousands of Vietnamese Americans gathered in response to a shopkeeper's display of a portrait of Ho Chi Minh, Lam came under attack for not providing support to the cause. Some activists then turned their attention to Lam's restaurant, Vien Dong—a drawn-out affair that weakened the councilmember's health and hastened his political retirement.

Lam remains politically active, serving as an aide to Orange County Supervisor, Janet Nguyen—the first Vietnamese American to hold that office and one of the few women or persons of color to ever serve in that capacity. In 2010, Lam lost an elective bid for the Midway City Sanitary District.

Christian Collet

See also Political Representation; Vietnamese Americans

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Lang, Ping (1960–)

A well-known Chinese volleyball superstar and international volleyball coach, Ping (Jenny) Lang was born December 10, 1960, in Beijing, China. She began to play volleyball in 1973 when she attended a teenage sports camp in the Beijing Worker's Gymnasium and a year later joined the volleyball team of her high school. After a year playing for the Beijing Youth Volleyball Team, Lang was recruited by the Beijing Municipal Women's Volleyball Team in 1976. Between 1978 and 1985 she was an outside hitter with the newly formed China National Women's Volleyball Team, which won the first international title for China at the Third World Cup Volleyball Tournament in 1981, followed by three major world championship titles a year later. When the Chinese athletes attended the Los Angeles summer Olympic Games in 1984, Lang, as a key player and the captain of the Chinese Women's Volleyball Team, led her teammates in bringing home the gold medal, the first gold for Chinese team sports at the Olympics. In 1985, Lang's team won a Triple Crown at the World Cup Volleyball Championship. For her powerful hammer-like spiking, Lang was nicknamed "Iron Hammer" by Chinese fans. She was voted as one of the Chinese Top 10 Athletes of the Year from 1981 to 1986.

After retiring in 1986 from the Chinese national team, Lang attended college at Beijing Normal University. She came to the United States in 1987 and majored in English at the University of New Mexico. From 1987 to 1989, when studying for a master's

degree in sports management, she worked as an assistant coach of the University of New Mexico's women's volleyball team and, on occasion, was called back to China as an assistant coach for the Chinese national team. After graduation, she was hired to be the head coach of the Women's Volleyball Team of Italy's Modena Club. She also coached Japan's Yaohan Multinational All-Stars Team, World Superstars Team, and U.S. Volleyball Association's All-American Training Center. In 1990 Lang coached the new Chinese National Women's Volleyball Team to a silver medal victory at the 11th World Volleyball Championship.

In 1995, Lang was once again invited back by the Chinese Volleyball Association to reorganize and coach the Chinese National Women's Volleyball Team. Within a short period of time, the team became a top competitor again in Asian and international championships, bringing China a bronze medal at the 1995 World Cup, a silver medal at the 1996 Atlanta Olympics, and the 1998 World Volleyball Championship, as well as a gold medal at the 1998 Asian Games. She was awarded the coach of the year in 1996 by Federation International Volleyball (FIVB). Lang resigned as coach in March 1999 for health reasons but later returned to again coach Italy's Modena Club Team. In February 2005, Lang was signed to be the head coach of the U.S Women's Volleyball Team for the 2008 Beijing Olympics. Although some of Lang's Chinese fans were ambivalent about Lang's new position, especially when the American team beat the Chinese Women's Volleyball Team and won a silver medal in Beijing, most of her fans were proud of Lang's achievements. At the Beijing Olympics Chinese throughout the world cheered for both the Chinese and U.S. teams. After the Games Lang did not extend her contract with the American team and accepted a less-challenging position to coach in Turkey. In August 2009, she took the head coach position for the Evergrande Women Volleyball Club Team in Guangzhou, China.

Lang founded the Lang Ping Foundation to raise funds promoting goodwill and supporting injured athletes in China and overseas in 2007. Despite living in the United States for more than 20 years, Lang still holds Chinese citizenship. Lang was married to Fan

Bai in 1987 and gave birth to a daughter in the United States in 1992. The couple was divorced in 1995.

Biyu Li

See also Chinese Americans

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Lang Lang (1982–)

Lang Lang is a concert pianist of Chinese origin. His remarkable virtuosity and stage personality have created a sensation rarely seen in the classical music world in recent years.

Lang was born on June 14, 1982, in Shenyang, China. His father Lang Guoren was trained in the erhu, a traditional Chinese string instrument, and worked as a policeman. He began piano lessons at age three and gave his first recital when he was five. When Lang was nine, he and his father moved to Beijing so that he could enroll in the Central Conservatory of Music. The sacrifices his parents made for his musical pursuits and the strict practice regimen his father imposed on him during childhood are topics that Lang often speaks about today. In 1995, at age 13, he performed Chopin's 24 études at the Beijing Concert Hall and also won first place at the International Tchaikovsky Competition for Young Musicians in Japan. The following year, he was a featured soloist at the China National Symphony's inaugural concert. He moved to the United States at age 15 to study with Gary Graffman at the Curtis Institute of Music in Philadelphia.

Lang's stardom began at age 17, when he stepped in for André Watts's last-minute cancellation at the

Chicago Symphony Orchestra's "Gala of the Century" and performed Tchaikovsky's Piano Concerto No. 1 to huge acclaim. Following this sensational début, he went on to perform with major orchestras around the world. He became the first Chinese pianist to be engaged by the Berlin Philharmonic, the Vienna Philharmonic, and the top American orchestras. He made his Carnegie Hall recital début in November 2003. Along with Yundi Li, a pianist who in 2000 became the youngest pianist to win the International Frédéric Chopin Piano Competition in Warsaw at age 18, Lang has been a symbol of the surge of Chinese pianists who are attaining prominence on the world stage.

His phenomenal success and popularity has led to visibility usually reserved for a rock star. In 2008, he performed in the opening ceremony for the Beijing Olympics, where he was seen as a symbol of the youth and future of China. In the same year, the Recording Academy named him their Cultural Ambassador to China. He was featured at the 2008 Grammy Awards, pairing up with jazz pianist Herbie Hancock with whom he conducted a world tour in summer 2009. He was also chosen as an official worldwide ambassador to the 2010 Shanghai Expo and performed at its opening ceremony. He has performed for numerous international dignitaries and caused a controversy when he played the theme song to the Korean war movie *Battle on Shangganling Mountain* called "My Motherland" at the White House dinner in honor of the Chinese President Hu Jintao in January 2011, as the lyric lines "we deal with wolves with guns" has been described as a direct reference to the United States and Lang's choice was interpreted by some as an attempt to humiliate the United States.

Despite the popular adulation, the assessment of Lang by classical music critics has been highly mixed. Although many praise his dazzling technique, youthful exuberance, and passionate expression, many critics have characterized his playing with such adjectives as vulgar, incoherent, self-indulgent, mannered, and even dull and boring. He is known for his dramatic physical movements and facial expressions during his performance, which many critics find excessive and distracting. Some also consider his use of Chinese themes in his performance—as in his attire, choice of repertoire such as compositions by Tan Dun, encore performance

with his father on the erhu—to be crowd-pleasing deployment of his ethnicity at the expense of artistic integrity. The audience and the critics either love or hate Lang Lang; few are indifferent or neutral.

Whether one loves or hates Lang, one cannot deny the impact he is making in the world of classical music. Lang's popularity has even created what *The Today Show* called the “Lang Lang effect,” inspiring over 40 million Chinese children to learn the piano. His recording of the first and fourth Beethoven piano concertos with the Orchestre de Paris and Christoph Eschenbach debuted at No. 1 on the Classical Billboard Chart. In 2010, he signed with Sony for a reported \$3 million. In 2008, he partnered with Google and YouTube in the project YouTube Symphony Orchestra. He has stated his mission to share classical music around the world, with an emphasis on training children and young musicians. In 2008, he launched the Lang Lang International Music Foundation in New York with the support of the Grammys and UNICEF. The foundation was created to enrich the lives of children through a deeper understanding and enjoyment of classical music and to inspire and support the next generation of musicians. In May 2009, Lang and his three chosen scholars from the foundation, aged between 8 and 10, performed together on *The Oprah Winfrey Show* in connection with her search for the world's “smartest and most talented kids.”

In 2008, Lang published his autobiography, *Journey of a Thousand Miles*, published by Random House and translated in eight languages. Delacorte Press also released a version of the book for young readers, entitled *Playing with Flying Keys*.

Mari Yoshihara

See also Chinese Americans

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Lao American Ethnic Economy

Colonized by the French in 1893 and shortly occupied by the Japanese during World War II, Laos did not gain full independence as a nation until 1954. Under French rule, Laos had very limited contact with the United States until the Indochina War. With increasing North Vietnamese and U.S. military presence in the country, Laos was dragged out of its neutral stance into the second Indochina War. Known as the Secret War, the United States dropped more than 2 million tons of ordnance on Laos from 1964 to 1973 in attempts to disrupt Communist forces on the Ho Chi Minh Trail. Once Communist forces gained control of the country in 1975, diplomatic relations with the United States deteriorated, although they were never completely severed. Efforts to rebuild the relations began in 1982, but full diplomatic relations were not restored until 1992, with normal trade relations resumed in 2004.

When Communist powers seized control in Southeast Asia, the United States was compelled to let refugees from these countries enter in massive numbers. This was a new phenomenon in U.S. immigration, as nearly 2 million refugees from Southeast Asia have entered the country under refugee status. The immigration of Southeast Asian refugees came in three waves. The first wave of refugees arrived between 1975 and 1979, the second wave arrived between 1979 and 1982, and the largest group of refugees arrived during the third wave from 1982 to the present. The majority of these refugees were Hmong and Lowland Lao; they were also the least educated and poorest among all of the refugee waves. Under the Refugee Act of 1980, Southeast Asians were dispersed throughout the United States upon their arrival; this effort was made to limit the financial burden faced by local governments. Once normal relations resumed with the United States, sponsorships for family members from Laos became possible, also increasing the number of Laotians in America drastically. Stemming from these normalized relations, refugee migration from Laos spiked in 2004 and 2005. Over time, many Vietnamese, Cambodian, Hmong, and Lao Americans started to resettle in locations near family members or in states with larger concentrations of coethnics. States such as

California, Texas, Minnesota, and Washington have seen ethnic enclaves developing in regions with substantial populations of Southeast Asians.

Laos comprises a very large number of ethnic groups, but the main one, the lowland Lao, constitute almost 60 percent of the population. The Hmong, a relatively small group known as the highland Lao, comprise about 10 percent of the Lao population. Despite the population differences in Laos, there were 232,130 Laotians and 260,073 Hmong in America in 2010. The Hmong came in large numbers partly because of their collaboration with the CIA against Communist forces during the Secret War. As a result, they faced greater persecution from the Communist Pathet Lao at the close of the war. Because of their vast cultural and language differences, these two groups are often disaggregated in research. The term “Laotian” is generally used to refer to all ethnic groups originating from Laos, but the Hmong are not often included. Because Hmong immigrants originated from a distinctive culture and therefore deserve a separate study, this piece on the Lao American ethnic economy will focus on the lowland groups from Laos.

Similar to their immigrant predecessors from Asia, Southeast Asians began establishing their own ethnic economies. On the forefront of these developing economies are Vietnamese Americans, who have since established prominent ethnic enclaves, consisting of a highly diversified ethnic economy. Their services have extended from restaurants and nail salons to include an expanding network of professional services. Numerous “Little Saigons” have been established throughout the country, the most prominent being located in Orange County, California. Fellow Southeast Asian counterparts, Cambodians, Laotians, and Hmong have yet to fully expand their ethnic economies into full-fledged enclaves. One explanation to account for this difference is that the population of Vietnamese Americans is much larger. According to the 2010 Census, there are 1,737,433 Vietnamese Americans living in the United States; this is more than double the population of the other Southeast Asian ethnic groups combined. Laotians are the smallest Southeast Asian ethnic group. As well as having a smaller population, the vast majority of Lao refugees were also less educated and poorer than Vietnamese refugees. As part

of the third wave of refugees, the majority of Lao who came to America were farmers with little or no schooling. In contrast, there was a relatively large group of Vietnamese who came with financial resources. This population was able to invest in and help finance Vietnamese American businesses. Consequently, the Vietnamese have had a larger consumer base and more resources to establish and expand their ethnic economies at faster rates than other Southeast Asian ethnic groups.

Unlike the more recognizable Chinese and Vietnamese ethnic economies, Lao American businesses are primarily invisible. The existing Lao enclaves are less prominent and smaller in scale. Characteristic of newly developing ethnic economies, these businesses are concentrated in particular sectors of the economy. The Lao American ethnic economy can be described as what Aldrich and Waldinger term a “local ethnic market.” This type of business economy predominantly serves coethnics in the same geographical region and has yet to reach mainstream consumers. Also characteristic of the Lao American ethnic economy is what Light and Gold term the “secondary labor market.” In this type of market, small entrepreneurs employ family members and immigrants to cut business costs. These “employees” can be paid very minimally (if they were paid at all) for their labor. This is the case in both the formal and informal businesses owned by Lao Americans.

The Lao ethnic economy can be categorized into two distinct sectors: the formal business economy and the informal business economy. The formal sector includes licensed or registered businesses that were established by Lao Americans, primarily comprised of restaurants and small-scale grocery stores. These small-scale grocery stores principally serve a coethnic customer base. These stores, located in communities with a sizable population of Lao Americans, carry produce and dry goods normally consumed by the ethnic population. Although these stores may also receive customers from other Southeast Asian American ethnic groups and the general public, these businesses would struggle to stay afloat without the patronage of their coethnic customers. Unlike these ethnic specific stores, Lao-owned restaurants are doing better in reaching out to the general public. Although there are

some restaurants that advertise as singularly “Laotian,” many Lao restaurants are established under the guise of Thai restaurants and Thai/Lao restaurants to entice mainstream customers. Because most Americans are unfamiliar with Laotian food, Lao entrepreneurs have aimed to acquire more business by advertising themselves as Thai restaurants; the latter have successfully achieved popularity with the mainstream population. These restaurateurs would then incorporate Lao dishes onto the menu.

Although there are many similarities between Lao and northern Thai cuisine, certain foods will distinguish a true Thai restaurant from a Lao-owned restaurant. One of the main determinants of a Lao-owned restaurant would be the inclusion of “sticky rice” on the menu. Sticky rice is a staple in Lao cuisine and is partnered with nearly all Lao food. Although “laarb” (minced meat salad) and papaya salad are also considered to be part of northern Thai cuisine, the addition of “pa dak” (a fermented fish sauce) distinguishes these as a uniquely Lao cuisine. Known to have a distinct flavor and acquired taste by Laotians, this sauce is often not included in restaurants aiming to reach a more mainstream clientele. In catering to the public, many traditional home-style dishes are also hard to find in these restaurants. For example, although raw meat/fish dishes are commonly served in Laos and at Laotian American homes, they are usually not offered in Thai or Thai/Lao restaurants. Through these hybrid Thai/Lao restaurants, mainstream consumers are slowly being introduced to Lao cuisine. However, many of the traditional Lao dishes are withheld from the menu or “watered-down” to cater to the perceived tastes of the general public. Absent from formal Lao restaurants, these authentic ethnic dishes have nevertheless survived in various informal food services run by Lao Americans.

Not operating in an established structure, many Lao Americans run their businesses out of their own homes, at the local temple, or at major Lao festivals. These informal businesses are designed to strictly serve a co-ethnic clientele and do not require any language demands outside of speaking Laotian; they are often unlicensed. On the smallest scale are door-to-door sales of fresh produce, meat and seafood, or prepared food items. This is fairly common in areas with a concentrated population of Lao Americans. The ease

of access allows women to walk from household to household selling their goods. Some of these goods are also sold to local grocery stores catering to Laotian or Asian American customers. Generally, these transactions are made through informal agreements governed by the demands of the shop; profits margins are usually low. Most visible among these informal businesses are the booths and vendors at local temples (or “wat”) and Laotian festivals. Inside of smaller temples, a small number of women could be found selling home-prepared foods at a low price. Characteristic of the various informal businesses, the clientele’s demand plays a significant role in determining the price of the food items. There is also space for bartering, which is not common in formal businesses. Unlike the smaller temples, large temples often have booths and tents selling homemade Lao foods.

The largest venues for reaching customers are Lao New Year’s festivals. The most celebrated holiday occurring in April, New Year’s festivals can draw hundreds of Lao Americans to the same space. Larger festivals are well known for having lines of booths selling delicious homestyle Lao foods. Many of these booth owners are well known for their specialty in certain dishes, and some have created a reputation among the community. Because profit from festival sales may not always be bountiful, running these booths is also an avenue for developing a client base. Booth owners renowned for their specialty sometimes also offer catering services that allow customers to place their orders in advance. Through the years, some of these informal business owners have also begun catering to the younger generations. Some booths will carry a fusion of Asian/American cuisine, catering to the taste of young Americanized customers. There are also snow cones for children, as well as toys and other goods. Often, these businesses generate very little profit, but many owners continue to run them year after year to carry on their tradition. Because Lao New Year festivals are only held once a year, vending in this manner is merely seasonal and cannot be a main source of income.

There are certain characteristics that define the formal and informal Lao ethnic economies. First, the majority of clients are either coethnic Lao or other Southeast Asian ethnic groups. Although many of the restaurants may cater their menu to the general public

to expand their business, the concept of “Laotian food” has yet to successfully permeate into mainstream cuisine. Also characteristic of newly developing ethnic economies, the concentration of the Lao American ethnic economy is in the food business. Ranging from door-to-door sales to fully established restaurants, these businesses are concentrated in geographical areas with a relatively large Lao population. Because these businesses revolve around food, they are primarily spearheaded by the first generation of Lao American women. Women’s roles in traditional Laotian culture involve care of the household and preparation of meals; typically, it was women who sold food and goods in the public markets of Laos. Bringing these traditions to America, women of all ages take charge in generating income through these ethnic economic activities. Grandmothers often contribute to the family income by tending vegetable gardens and selling the harvests and other food items door-to-door. Middle-aged women would lead the start-up of food booths or formal restaurants. Often, members of the entire family would be involved; husbands, their children, grandparents, as well their relatives, would all contribute in any manner needed. From the food preparation, festival setups, working at restaurants or stores, to the delivery of goods, nuclear and extended family members help support each other’s businesses. Because these are primarily family affairs, payment for labor is usually informal. If payment is made, it is done so under the table without formal bookkeeping. Even within formal economies where family members and coethnic immigrants are hired as employees, pay is often negotiated under the table instead of following federal and state regulations. Although these are some of the general characteristics of the developing Lao American ethnic economy, there are possibilities of growth being led by new generations of Lao Americans.

Supported by a small immigrant population base with very little capital investment, the growth of the Lao American ethnic economy can be characterized by its flexibility and low profit margin. As a result of its slow development, both the formal and informal sectors are still predominantly invisible to mainstream society. Because of its small population size and low capital, it is unlikely that the Lao American ethnic economy will soon be able to reach the same scale

and prominence that have been enjoyed by Chinese and Vietnamese American communities. However, some members of a newer generation of Lao Americans have developed an interest in expanding their ethnic economy. The 1.5- and second-generation Laotian Americans have started modifying and expanding ethnic business and food practices to create public awareness of Lao American goods and services. Using their knowledge of American culture and advanced technological tools, some Lao Americans are marketing their goods to mainstream consumers. Although there is an expanding interest among Americans to discover and experience different types of ethnic foods, it remains unclear to what extent Laotian food would enter the mainstream American diet and whether Laotian cuisine would become as popular as Chinese, Vietnamese, or Thai cuisine. It is also a question of whether the Lao American ethnic economy could move beyond the food business, as did other successful Asian ethnic economies. With an increasing number of educated Lao Americans and professionals, the Lao American ethnic economy has the potential to expand its network of professional services for the community. However, these changes will require three main components: capital, concentrations of the ethnic population, and the commitment of second-generation Lao Americans. With these components, the Lao American ethnic economy may indeed gain prominence in American society.

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See also Lao Americans

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Lao Americans

Laos and the Lao

The Southeast Asian nation of Laos, formally known today as The Lao People’s Democratic Republic, has

borders with Thailand, in the southwest; Cambodia, in the south; Burma, in the west; China, in the north; and Vietnam, in the east. It is landlocked, and has no access to the sea. The country consists of approximately 91,400 square miles (236,800 sq. km.). The terrain of Laos is rugged and mountainous. The country has a tropical monsoon climate, with a rainy season that lasts from May to November and a dry season that lasts from December to April.

The Lao divide the inhabitants of their country into three broad groups. The *Lao Sung* or *Lao Soong* (literally the “high Lao” or “mountain-top Lao”) are those living in the most mountainous and heavily forested parts of the country. Most of the Lao Sung are Hmong, members of an ethnic group who arrived in Laos from China at the end of the nineteenth or the beginning of the twentieth century. The *Lao Theung* (the “hillside Lao” or “Lao of the slopes”) live primarily in the upland areas of the country. Many of the Lao Theung are speakers of languages related to Cambodian and are probably descendants of groups who have lived in the region since antiquity. The *Lao Loum* or *Lao Lum* (the “lowland Lao”) are the ethnic Lao. They speak a language closely related to Thai and the northeastern dialects of the Thai language are virtually the same as neighboring dialects of the Lao language. The term “Lao Americans” usually refers to people of ethnic Lao birth or ancestry living in the United States.

The ethnic Lao are so closely related to the Thai people that the Thai and the Lao may be regarded as two branches of a single cultural and linguistic group. The northeastern dialect of Thai is virtually identical to the dialect of Lao spoken in Vientiane. These close ties of language and culture have implications for Lao Americans, who often work in Thai restaurants. The Lao, as well as the Thai and Cambodians, adhere to the Southern branch of the Buddhist religion, which is known as Theravada Buddhism.

Lao is a tonal language, in which the meanings of words depend on the tone in which they are spoken, as well as on the combination of vowels and consonants. Although the pronunciation of Lao is difficult for speakers of English and other European languages, the basics of Lao grammar are fairly straightforward, since most sentences take a subject-verb-object form. There is no conjugation of verbs or declension of

nouns. Past, present, and future are indicated by adding words of time to sentences.

Laos and the Vietnam War

In the late nineteenth century, Laos became part of the French colony of Indochina, which also included Cambodia and Vietnam. After World War II, efforts to win independence from France increased throughout Indochina. Some people in Laos supported the French, feeling that their country was not ready for immediate independence. The *Lao Issara* (“Free Lao” or “Independent Lao”) opposed French control of their country. Therefore, they became allies of the main anti-French movement in neighboring Vietnam, the *Viet Minh*, led by Ho Chi Minh. In this way, two factions were created in Laos: those, including the king and the royal government, who supported France (and later became allies of the United States), and those who supported the Communist-led Vietnamese.

French military defeat in Vietnam led to the 1954 Geneva Conference, which divided Vietnam into northern and southern regimes to prevent Ho Chi Minh’s northern-based government from taking control of the entire country. France also granted Laos independence at this conference. When the North Vietnamese began the armed struggle to reunify the country under the rule of Hanoi, in 1959, Laos was drawn into the war. The Lao allies the North Vietnam (known as the *Pathet Lao*, or “Lao Nation”) favored a Vietnamese-style socialist government in Laos.

The United States entered the fighting in Southeast Asia to preserve non-Communist regimes. In Laos, this meant that the United States provided advice and military assistance to the royal Lao government to fight an on-again, off-again war with the *Pathet Lao*. In 1962, the United States organized Hmong tribesmen, paid by the C.I.A., to fight a “secret war” against the *Pathet Lao* and against Vietnamese troops in Laos. Because the “Ho Chi Minh Trail,” North Vietnam’s main supply route to its troops in the South, ran the length of eastern Laos, in 1964 the United States began a massive campaign of aerial bombing to cut the supply line. By 1970, American planes had dropped bombs on two-thirds of Laos. This drove over 20 percent of the population away from their homes, villages, and fields.

After American troops were withdrawn from Indochina, in 1973, the Lao government was forced to negotiate with its enemies and to bring the pro-North Vietnamese leftists into a coalition government. Following the fall of South Vietnam in April 1975, the leftists in Laos gradually consolidated their political power. By the end of the year, the royal government crumbled, the king abdicated, and the Lao People's Democratic Republic was proclaimed. Administrators, former soldiers in the royal army, shopkeepers, and technically trained personnel were the first to flee the country. As the new government attempted to implement Soviet-style economic policies, villagers and farmers also began to take refuge across the border in Thailand.

Lao Refugee Settlement in the United States

With the fall of South Vietnam to North Vietnamese forces, the fall of Cambodia to the Communist Khmer Rouge, and the assumption of power by Communist forces in Laos in the spring of 1975, the U.S. Congress passed the Indochina Migration and Refugee Assistance Act to admit Southeast Asians who had been closely associated with American military activities. Although 126,000 Vietnamese and 4,600 Cambodians arrived with this first wave of refugees, only 800 refugees from Laos were admitted.

At the end of 1975, the U.S. Congress agreed to accept more people from Laos who were languishing in refugee camps in Thailand. During the following year, the United States brought in 10,200 refugees from Laos who had been living in Thai border camps. Most of those admitted at that time were members of families headed by people who had been employed by the United States Agency for International Development, the U.S. Information Service, or by the U.S. Embassy in the Laotian capital of Vientiane.

In the late 1970s, these numbers went down again, to 400 in 1977, and then rose to 8,000 in 1978. At the end of the 1970s, war between Vietnam and Cambodia created new, highly publicized waves of refugees to Southeast Asia, bringing increased public attention to the region and creating a favorable environment for the admission of new Southeast Asian refugees. The resettlement of refugees from Laos grew to 30,200 in 1979 and to 55,500 in 1980.

Refugee admissions from Laos never again reached the high point of 1980. Nevertheless, refugees continued to arrive from that country each year until the middle of the 1990s. Still, movement from Laos to the United States did not end. During the last decade of the twentieth century, people from Laos began to enter the United States classified as "immigrants" rather than as "refugees." The shift from refugee to immigrant largely reflects two developments. First, it indicates the normalization of relations between the United States and the governments of Laos and Vietnam. Second, the shift recognizes the growth of the Lao American population. U.S. immigration policy heavily stresses family reunification. As U.S. citizens and residents of a given national or ethnic group increase in numbers, more people in that group will be allowed into the country as family members.

Growth and Distribution of the Lao American Population

The ethnic Lao population of the United States has increased dramatically over the past few decades. In 1970, there were only a tiny number of Lao in this country. Most of them were military or government officials in this country temporarily or students. By 1980, after the first wave of refugees had reached America, the number of Lao Americans had grown to an estimated 45,683. Ten years later, in 1990, an estimated 147,375 Lao Americans lived in this country. Their numbers continued to grow, to 167,792 in 2000 and to 202,366 in 2009, according to data from the U.S. Census Bureau.

By the twenty-first century, this growing Lao American population included many who were born in the United States. In 2009, an estimated 80,000 Lao Americans (or 40 percent of all members of the group) were U.S. natives. The end of the refugee movement and the slow trickle of immigrants meant that almost all children were American-born. Although this has been a new group, composed mostly of refugees throughout the late twentieth century, it is increasingly becoming a native-born American ethnic group.

Lao Americans have settled around the United States and there are small Lao communities in many locations around the country. California, however, is home to the largest number. Just over one-third of the



Lao American wedding procession in Boise, Idaho. The groom, wearing traditional dress, is escorted to the bride's house for the wedding ceremony by friends and relatives. (David R. Frazier/The Image Works)

Lao in the United States, or an estimated 71,200 people, lived in California in 2009. Minnesota held the next largest number, with 14,600 Lao residents, or about 7 percent of the total Lao American population, followed by Washington State, with 12,000; and Texas, with 11,000. Although the Lao have settled in various parts of California, they tend to be most heavily concentrated in the northern part of the state, notably in locations around the San Francisco Bay, Stockton, and Sacramento. This is a contrast with most other Asian groups in California, who tend to be most concentrated around Los Angeles and other southern parts of the state.

Family

Families tend to be close in Laos, where all family members traditionally have worked together to grow

rice and other crops and to produce the things needed by family members. Respect for age is important, and children are expected to remain close to their parents and show respect to them throughout their lifetime. To traditionally minded Lao Americans, different age groups in America often seem to have little to do with one another. Young people associate mainly with their peers in school and after school, adults spend their days in jobs away from their families, and older people rarely live with their children and grandchildren. Many Lao Americans worry about the decline in respect for aging parents and the erosion of family intimacy that sometimes results from the American way of life.

However, Lao Americans often retain a traditional emphasis on the family. Extended families have, in many cases, become even more important to Laotians in the United States to provide networks of support. According to estimates from American Community

Survey data of the U.S. Census Bureau, 7 out of 10 Lao American children lived in married couple families in 2008. In contrast only about one-third of all American children lived in married couple family households at that time.

Immigration scholars have traditionally looked upon marriage outside of a group as an indicator of a high degree of assimilation. When intermarriage between members of ethnic or racial groups becomes common, this usually means that there is little social distance between those groups. Census data show that at the end of the first decade of the twenty-first century, nearly 80 percent of married Lao men and three-quarters of married Lao women had Lao spouses. About 1 in 18 married Lao American men and about 1 in 10 women had spouses who were white. However, these figures include older people and relatively new immigrants. Young, American-born Lao women married outside of their own ethnic group in very large numbers. According to census data, in the years 2006 through 2009, only a minority (40 percent) of native-born married Lao women under the age of 35 had Lao husbands. Over one-fourth of these young women (28 percent) had married white husbands. One in five young, American-born Lao women had married other Asians. Their Asian husbands were mainly from other Southeast Asian groups, mainly Vietnamese, Cambodians, and Filipinos. Young, American-born Lao men, however, continued to marry mostly inside their own group, since about 82 percent of native-born Lao husbands under 35 had Lao wives.

The high rate of marriage outside the group by women means that a type of assimilation is taking place among Lao Americans. Recent decades have seen a growing population of children with Lao ancestry through their mothers and white ancestry or other Asian ancestry through their fathers. However, the tendency of young Lao men to take spouses of their own group indicates that Lao Americans are not simply melting into the larger American population. Logically, the gender differences in marriage also mean that the pool of available partners for young men has become somewhat limited. Lao American men aged less than 35 were only half as likely as women in this age group to be married.

The experience of women working outside the home can be disorienting for many Lao American households. Women generally have much more explicit power in their families than they had in Laos. The shift in power to women is frequently also paired with a shift in power to children. In Lao culture, children should show a high degree of deference to their parents. In the United States, though, American-born children must often act as translators for foreign-born parents, giving children a marked degree of influence in families.

Work and Income

More than 80 percent of Lao American men and more than 70 percent of Lao American women aged 18 through 64 who were not in school were in the American labor force at the end of the first decade of the twenty-first century. They were most likely to work in semi-skilled or skilled blue collar trades or in restaurants. From 2006 through 2009, one-third of the Lao Americans in the labor force worked as operators, fabricators, or laborers. U.S. Census estimates show that the most common occupations among Lao Americans in 2009 were assemblers of electrical equipment; cooks; wood lathe, routing, and planing machine operators; unspecified machine operators; cashiers; and janitors. Their most common industries were eating and drinking places; electrical equipment, machinery and supplies, motor vehicles and motor vehicle equipment; miscellaneous entertainment and recreation services; unspecified machinery; and hospitals.

The occupational concentration in blue collar jobs appears to be diminishing somewhat as younger, American-born people enter the labor force. Young Lao Americans were most likely to work in technical, sales, and administrative support jobs or service jobs in the early twenty-first century. An estimated 37 percent of those aged 30 and under worked in jobs in the former category and 21 percent worked in jobs in the latter.

Lao Americans in general tend to live in modest circumstances, but have adjusted well to the American economy in the few decades since the arrival of the

first refugees. The median income of Lao families in 2009 was \$53,000, compared to \$61,082 for all families in the United States. Despite the smaller median incomes, though, Lao Americans were only slightly more likely to live in poverty than non-Hispanic whites and much less likely to be poor than either African Americans or Hispanics. An estimated 15.4 percent of the Lao in the United States were below the poverty level in 2009, compared to 10.0 percent of non-Latino whites, 25.8 percent of African Americans, and 23.5 percent of Hispanics.

Education

According to researcher Phoumy Sayavong, Senior Researcher of the Oakland Unified School District and an authority on Lao education in the United States, by 2007 young Lao Americans still lagged behind most other Asian groups in their performance on standardized test scores. Nevertheless, Lao American young people generally scored better on standardized tests than many other American minority groups, including African Americans and Hispanics. Young Lao Americans attended college at rates similar to those of other young people in the United States. In the years 2006 to 2009, an estimated 36 percent of Lao American men and 42 percent of women aged 18 through 24 were enrolled in college or graduate school. Among all Americans in this age group, 37 percent of men and 45 percent of women were in college or graduate school.

The college enrollment figures of young people suggest that Lao American young people have been making rapid educational progress, in spite of the fact that they often come from families with relatively limited educational backgrounds. Nevertheless, Lao Americans still had a long way to go to catch up in educational attainment. By 2009, only 64 percent of Lao Americans aged 25 or over were high school graduates, compared to 85 percent of all Americans and only 12 percent were college graduates, compared to 28 percent of all Americans. In the age group 25 through 34, though, 83 percent of Lao Americans were high school graduates, compared to 87 percent of the total U.S. population in this age group and 18 percent were college graduates, compared to 31 percent of all

Americans in the age group. Young Lao Americans, then, still had somewhat higher rates of not completing high school than others, but the largest educational gap lay in college completion.

Religion

Although some Lao Americans are Christians, most continue to adhere to the Theravada Buddhism of their ancestral homeland. Many Lao in the United States participate in religious activities at Thai temples, which have existed in this country since at least the late 1970s and often receive support from the government of Thailand. As Lao communities formed around the United States from the early 1980s onward, though, Lao Americans began to establish their own temples because of the absence of existing Thai temples in many locations and because of their own specific group needs.

In 1980, the first Lao Buddhist monk in the New York metropolitan area, Satu Khamphoui Sinnolai, found housing with four Thai monks in the Bronx. At that time, he was reportedly one of only five Lao Buddhist monks in the United States, with two others in Washington, D.C., one in Oregon, and another in Illinois. This Lao Buddhist monk, initially aided by the Thai American religious establishment, became the core of a new Bronx Lao temple. In Iberia Parish, Louisiana, Lao residents who had been drawn to the area by the availability of jobs in oil-related construction during the early 1980s began plans to create a temple with a surrounding residential neighborhood in 1986; they completed the temple in 1987. Other temples serving Lao communities were established during the 1980s in places as widespread as Tucson, Arizona; Denver, Colorado; St. Petersburg, Florida; Atlanta, Georgia; Salt Lake City, Utah; Rockford, Illinois; Des Moines, Iowa; Amarillo, Texas; Wichita, Kansas; Manassas, Virginia; St. Louis, Missouri; Lowell, Massachusetts; Rochester, New York; Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; Portland, Oregon; Murfreesboro, Tennessee; and Providence, Rhode Island. In 1989, the U.S. Office of Refugee Services published a document titled "Profiles of Some Good Places for Lao People to Live in the United States." This publication identified the presence or accessibility of a Lao temple as

one of the chief characteristics of a good place for Lao people to live.

The temples, or *wat* in Lao, are centers of all religious activity. Theravada Buddhist practices are based on the idea that each individual achieves his or her spiritual standing through making merit, or *bun* in Lao, and through wrongdoing, or *bab* in Lao. The monks of the temples provide some of the primary opportunities for making merit, because adherents provide food to the monks. In Laos, all men are ideally expected to become monks at some point in their lives, usually before marriage, and this is also a way in which men can make merit. Some men do serve as monks permanently, providing something of a professional religious hierarchy. In the United States, the demands of schooling and work make temporary monasticism difficult. For this reason, long-term monks are even more important to Lao American Buddhism than they are to the religion in Laos.

Major Festivals and Rituals

For Lao Americans, one of the most significant ceremonial occasions is the lunar New Year festival, or *Boun Pi Mai* or *Pi Mai Lao* (literally, “New Year Festival” or “Lao New Year”), traditionally celebrated on the full moon of the fifth month. In the United States, Lao communities frequently reschedule New Year celebrations to fall on a date such as Easter to adjust to the holiday and work patterns of American society. Members of Lao American communities often celebrate the lunar New Year at or near temples with dancing, parades, and by splashing water on one another. The Lao circle dance (*lam wong*), which is also a part of Thai culture, is common at New Year celebrations and almost all other cultural activities. Traditional folk singers, known as *maw lam*, invariably perform to the accompaniment of the pipes known as the *khaen* (pronounced as Americans say “can”). Lao Americans, proud of their culture, welcome outsiders at these festivals.

The New Year festival has become a central activity in Lao American communities and is a much larger event than most other Lao festivals. The *Boun Pha Vet* is a religious holiday, around January, that celebrates

an earlier life of the Buddha. When young Lao American men temporarily become monks, this is a popular time for ordination. The *Boun Bang Fai* (rocket or fireworks festival) takes place around May and was traditionally intended to call for rain by shooting rockets into the air.

The most common of all Lao rituals is the *baci* (pronounced “bah-see”) or *sookhwan* (“invitation of the khwan”), which is performed at almost all important occasions. The *khwan* consists of 32 spirits that make up the spiritual essence of a human being according to Lao tradition and that may become separated from the body. In the *baci*, or *sookhwan*, a respected individual, usually an older man who has been a monk calls upon the *khwan* in a loud, somewhat sing-song voice. He calls on the spirits of all present to cease wandering, if these spirits have drifted away from their proper places, and to return to the bodies of those present at the ceremony. He asks the *khwan* to bring well-being and happiness with them and to share in the feast that will follow.

After the calling of the *khwan* is finished, the celebrants will take pieces of cotton thread from silver platters covered with food, and they will tie these threads around each others’ wrists to bind the *khwan*. While tying the thread, they will wish one another health and prosperity. Often an egg is placed in the palm of someone whose wrist is being bound, as a fertility symbol. At least some of the threads must be left on for three days, and when they are removed they must be broken or untied, not cut.

The *khwan* also plays an important part in the traditional Laotian wedding. When a couple adheres to the traditions strictly, the groom will go to the bride’s house the day before the wedding feast, where there are monks and bowls of water. The wrists of the bride and groom are tied together with a long cotton thread, which is looped around the bowls of water and then tied to the wrists of the monks. The next morning, friends and relatives of the couple will sprinkle them with the water, and then hold the *baci* ceremony. Afterward, the couple is seated together in front of all the guests and wedding presents and the monks chant prayers to bless the marriage.

Cuisine

Lao cuisine is highly seasoned and tends to use a good deal of hot pepper. There are a number of good Lao restaurants in the United States, particularly in California and Hawaii, and Thai restaurants usually offer several Lao dishes. “Sticky rice” is the basic ingredient of Lao food. The best-known dishes are *lahp*, which includes various forms of chopped meat spiced with peppers, and a spicy papaya salad. Traditional Lao foods play an important part in festivals and get-togethers and lunar New Year celebrations invariably include many Lao dishes.

Carl L. Bankston, III

See also Lao American Ethnic Economy

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Lau v. Nichols (1974)

Lau v. Nichols (414 U.S. 563) is a landmark United States Supreme Court civil rights case. Decided in 1974, it established the right of limited English proficiency students to receive bilingual instruction. Nearly 2,000 Chinese American students brought a class suit against the San Francisco Unified School District

(SFUSD), which had provided a bare minimum of assistance to its non-English-speaking students. Overturning the decisions of several lower courts, the Supreme Court ruled that, by denying special accommodations to its limited English proficiency students, the San Francisco Unified School District had violated their civil rights.

Prior to the court’s decision, Chinese American students in San Francisco public schools were expected to learn in a monolingual English environment regardless of their language abilities. Thousands of families protested this arrangement, as it effectively prevented their children’s access to a meaningful public education. In response to their demands for bilingual education, the SFUSD instituted a one-hour daily English as a Second Language (ESL) class for some of their students.

This, however, was not an adequate solution for the majority of the SFUSD’s Chinese American students. On March 25, 1970, the mother of Kinney Kinmon Lau, an elementary school student, filed a class action lawsuit in San Francisco Federal District Court on behalf of nearly 2,000 students. The defendant, Alan Nichols, was president of the San Francisco Board of Education.

The suit was unsuccessful in district court. The court agreed with the school district’s contention that bilingual assistance for limited English proficiency students did not constitute a legal right, as any accommodations for those students would be in excess of the standard educational setting provided to all students in the SFUSD. Therefore, the court ruled, additional services to bilingual students should continue to be provided permitting personnel and resources, but were not themselves legal obligations.

The decision was appealed to no avail in the United States Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit. In a two-to-one decision, the appellate court reaffirmed the district court’s judgment, accepting that the district had fulfilled its legal duty by providing the same materials, teachers, and facilities to its Chinese American students as it did for all of its students. Moreover, it castigated the students and families who had brought the suit, stating that their inability to make use of the education provided them was because of their own failure to learn the English language.

Irving Hill, a judge on the Ninth Circuit panel, dissented from his colleagues and wrote a stern opinion against the decision of the appellate court. Arguing that communication was an integral facet of a meaningful education, Hill held that the school district had failed to justify why it had withheld a minimum level of English language instruction from a significant number of students. As Hill clarified, the services sought by the plaintiffs were intended to facilitate the learning of only basic English skills and would be discontinued for students once they had gained those skills. Because that instruction had not been provided, Hill argued that the Chinese American students were a readily identifiable ethnic minority that had not been afforded equal access to education, a violation of their rights under the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

Though the Ninth Circuit court had ruled in favor of the SFUSD, the plaintiffs' case was far from over. *Lau v. Nichols* had, as was normal for cases in the Ninth Circuit court, been argued before a panel of only three judges. However, because of the important issues at stake in the case, several additional judges of the Ninth Circuit lobbied to rehear the case *en banc*, before all the judges of the court. Judges Shirley Hufstедler and Walter Ely added their dissenting opinions to Hill's earlier rebuke of his colleagues' decision, and the case was finally brought before the U.S. Supreme Court in 1973.

The court was confronted with a difficult decision. On the one hand, the justices had unanimously affirmed that the district had neglected to grant its limited English proficiency students a satisfactory level of education. On the other, by ruling for the plaintiffs, the court would effect a significant change in the educational policies of every school district in the United States, opening the court to charges that it had overstepped its bounds.

Justice William Douglas delivered the court's opinion, writing that the court had not accepted the argument that the students' constitutional rights, under the Equal Protection Clause, had been violated, but would rely only on the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to reverse the appellate court's decision. Because the school district received large amounts of federal funding, it could not, according to the Civil Rights Act,

discriminate based on race, color, or national origin. In accordance with a guideline issued by the Department of Health and Human Services (formerly Health, Education, and Welfare, or HEW), the court found that the district had an obligation to rectify any linguistic deficiencies arising from national origin. Therefore, the earlier decisions were reversed and remanded by the court.

In response to the court's decision, the San Francisco Unified School District signed a consent decree promising to provide bilingual education to its Chinese, Filipino, and Latino heritage students. The case has been seen as a landmark victory for many other immigrant groups, as it affirmed the necessity of additional language instruction for limited English proficiency speakers regardless of national origin. It catalyzed the growth of bilingual education services in the United States, expanding the impact of the Bilingual Education Act in 1968, which directed federal funds to local school districts for the purpose of bilingual instruction.

Lau v. Nichols has also had a significant impact as legal precedent. It was cited in another landmark case, *Castañeda v. Pickard* 648 F.2d 989 (1981), between a Mexican American family and the Raymondville Independent School District in Texas. Although *Lau v. Nichols* had required school districts to take affirmative steps toward rectifying language deficiencies in limited English proficiency students, *Castañeda v. Pickard* established a set of criteria to assess the effectiveness of those steps.

Winston Chou

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Law-Yone, Wendy (1947–)

Wendy Law-Yone is an Asian American author of novels and short stories. She was born in 1947, in Mandalay, Burma, and lived in Rangoon until she was 20. She has worked as a freelance writer and editor since 1968, and is a book reviewer and columnist for the *Washington Post*. She graduated from Eckerd College in St. Petersburg, Florida, in 1975. She is currently married to John Randall, and has four children.

Law-Yone is the author of *The Coffin Tree* (1983), *Irrawaddy Tango* (1993), and *The Road to Wanting* (2010). Her work has been acclaimed, and in 1995 *Irrawaddy Tango* was nominated for the *Irish Times* Literary Prize. She has written a number of articles on the political climate of Burma, and is working on a nonfictional memoir of her father's life and labor.

Law-Yone is the daughter of the famous Burmese journalist, politician, and newspaper editor Edward Michael Law-Yone, who founded the *Nation*, which was Rangoon's daily English language publication. He was the recipient of numerous accolades for his journalistic work, including the Asian equivalent of a Pulitzer Prize. Law-Yone is of Burmese, Chinese, and English origin. Her childhood was one of turbulence, coinciding with Burma's independence from the yoke of British colonial rule in 1948, as well as a military coup occurring in 1962, which dismantled a parliamentary democracy and established a police state. Her father was imprisoned from 1963 to 1968 without charges or any trials. Because of political upheaval, she was not allowed to attend school, but after being arrested and questioned for two weeks in 1967, was allowed to leave Burma. In 1968, she married Sterling Seagrave, had two children with him and lived in Thailand. She immigrated to the United States in 1973, divorced Seagrave, and graduated college in 1975. In 1980, she married American lawyer Charles O'Connor, and they had two children. She started to freelance for the *Washington Post* and won a National Endowment for the Arts Fellowship in 1987. In 1989, she visited various camps on the Thai and Burmese border, where Burmese students were in hiding after an attempted coup against the military government in 1988. Law-Yone's report on the camp and its

inhabitants was published in the December 1989 issue of *The Atlantic*. Law-Yone's political experiences are reflected in her novels, and her nonfiction includes pieces on her father's work in Burma, which have been published in *Time* magazine, and the *Guardian*.

The Coffin Tree is Law-Yone's first novel, written in first person narrative. It is the story of an unnamed protagonist and her brother, Shan, and their negative experiences upon immigration to the United States. Rather than iterating discourse of "model minority" politics, Law-Yone writes of the fears, violence, and disillusionment experienced by many immigrants of color and refugees when they arrive for the first time in America. Readers empathize with the heroine and her brother particularly as they experience firsthand the indifference and cruelty of an American society ill-equipped to deal with difference. It is the racist and classist treatment that send Shan spiraling into paranoia and death, and the narrator into a suicide attempt and a mental hospital. The sense of extreme isolation, alienation, disorientation, and hostility from nonpeople of color resonates through the lilting prose, and the unsettling can result in serious psychic traumas and disorders. The unnamed heroine and her brother are victims of the Burmese coup; growing up in a privileged estate but without access to education, they are given passage to the United States. Upon arrival, they are without education, money, or skills, and are barely able to survive by working odd jobs and living off canned food. The protagonist is privy to her older brother's gradual disintegration; he experiences bouts of depression and illness, and finally dies. The latter half of the novel takes place in a hospital ward; she eventually succumbs to psychological trauma but is able to seek professional help. The tone of the narrative is not pathologizing or pejorative, but rather sympathetic and compassionate, told in powerful language and with attention to detail of the quotidian.

Irrawaddy Tango encapsulates a vision of Burma's future, a dystopia renamed "Daya," which in Sanskrit/Buddhist/Hindu contexts means "pity" or "wound," but can also mean "compassion." This particular text's narrative is experimental in nature, where a postmodern pastiche results in the colorful protagonist, Irrawaddy, and therefore a means to analyze

contemporary Burmese politics. The protagonist evolved throughout the text, so in some ways, *Irrawaddy Tango* functions as a bildungsroman. Irrawaddy herself morphs from a young woman awakening to her sexuality, to a socialite, to a guerrilla fighter and prisoner, all the while coming into her agency in Burma and the United States. The tale alludes to various events in twentieth-century American politics, including the Hearst kidnapping, and Native American ancient narratives of female power. She is a transnational figure, immigrating to America, where the promise of the American Dream eludes her. She returns to Daya with the promise of potency, and the latter half of the novel is erotic in nature, with Irrawaddy resuscitating a former partner through sex, then bludgeoning him to death, bringing an end to a dictatorship.

The Road to Wanting is a first person narrative tracing the troubled life of Na Ga, a young Burmese woman. The narrative is one of slavery, abandonment, prostitution, and poverty. Set in China, Thailand, and Burma, Na Ga is a keen narrator, sharply observant of her experiences. Na Ga is constantly mobilized, shifting terrains from one traumatic experience to another. However, the novel ends on a hopeful note, and she is ultimately a survivor.

We may situate Law-Yone in a canon of writers narrating on postcoloniality. Law-Yone's inclusion in a wide array of courses about the Asian American experience are a testament to her relevance, talent, and political commitment to articulating a Southeast Asian perspective with its finger on the pulse of globalization and transnationalism.

Rosie N. Kar

See also South Asian American Transnational Politics; South Asian Ethnic Identity; Transnational Political Behavior

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Lee, Ang (1954–)

As the most prominent Asian American film director in Hollywood, Ang Lee has demonstrated, over the course of his illustrious 20-year career, a unique ability to express his personal vision in different national and generic contexts. From the Jane Austen adaptation *Sense and Sensibility* (1995) to the Mandarin-language martial-arts epic *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon* (*Wohu canglong* 2000) to the revisionist Western *Brokeback Mountain* (2005), Lee has emerged as a gentle stylist whose directorial personality largely resides in narrative realism and naturalist acting. And yet, the filmmaker has also been touted as an international auteur whose oeuvre is tied together by recurrent themes of displacement, alienation, marginalization, and the search for cultural identity.

Born in 1954 in Pingdong, in the southernmost part of Taiwan, Ang Lee moved across the island several times as his father, a high-school principal, transferred from one city to another because of new appointments. As a young boy, Lee was a disappointment to his scholarly father, as his academic performance was too poor to pass a national college entrance exam. After repeated failures in the exam, Lee chose to enter the Taiwan Academy of Arts, a three-year vocational school, where he majored in Theater and Film. There, the budding filmmaker honed his talent in both acting and directing and successfully completed his graduation project, a black-and-white short entitled *Laziness on a Saturday Afternoon* (*Xingqi liu xiawu de lansan* 1976), which foretells his predilection for silence. After fulfilling his mandatory military service in Taiwan, Lee headed to the United States to continue his education in theater and film. First, he went to the University of Illinois where he met his wife, Jane Lin, a fellow Taiwanese student, before graduating with a BFA in Theater in 1980. He then moved on to pursue a master's degree in Film Production from the prestigious New York University Tisch School of the Arts. After collaborating with his soon-to-be famous classmate Spike Lee in *Joe's Bed-Study Barbershop: We Cut Heads* (1984), Ang Lee made an award-winning thesis film, *Fine Line* (1985),

which explores cultural and ethnic schisms between New York's Chinatown and Little Italy.

For a run of six years following his graduation from New York University (NYU), Lee remained unemployed and was a full-time househusband taking care of two sons whereas his wife was earning a living as a microbiology researcher. However, his indefatigable quest for a career in filmmaking was eventually answered when his screenplay, *Pushing Hands*, won the top award in a screenwriting contest sponsored by Taiwan's state-subsidized Central Motion Picture Corporation (CMPC). Along with a \$16,000 cash award came additional financing from the CMPC, which helped produce Lee's debut film. As a template for his future output, *Pushing Hands* is an East-meets-West drama whose narrative pivots around cross-cultural misunderstandings and conflicts between a rational Caucasian daughter-in-law and her traditional Taiwanese father-in-law, a retired tai-chi master who left his home country to live with his son in the United States. Following the commercial and critical success of his debut film in Taiwan, Lee was able to secure funding to start his second project, *The Wedding Banquet* (*Xi yan* 1993), another transnational film centering on a Taiwanese American gay man living in New York, who enters a contract marriage with an illegal immigrant woman from mainland China to please his traditional Chinese parents. Produced on a modest \$750,000 budget, *The Wedding Banquet* was an art-house sleeper that garnered \$32 million worldwide. After earning the Golden Bear at the Berlin Film Festival and an Academy Award nomination for Best Foreign Language Film, the director followed up *The Wedding Banquet* by returning to Taiwan to shoot the final film of his so-called "Father Knows Best" trilogy, which features Sihung Lung as an aging-yet-wise Chinese father who gracefully accepts a strained relationship based on alienation with his Westernized, modern children. In the third film of that trilogy, *Eat Man Drink Woman*, Lee recontextualizes his theme of generation gaps and family divisions in the world of Chinese cooking by foregrounding a semiretired master chef (who collides with his independently minded three daughters) as the protagonist.

With the international success of *Eat Man Drink Woman* (which topped U.S. box-office records of all

previous Chinese language films), Ang Lee firmly established his name in the global filmmaking scene and was called on to direct more mainstream projects, including the British heritage drama *Sense and Sensibility*, the suburban family drama *The Ice Storm* (1997), and the unconventional Civil War epic *Ride with the Devil* (1999)—the latter a fascinating meditation on race relations and cross-cultural bonding in the U.S. South. Although, with these motion pictures, Lee fully demonstrated his ability to transcend his ethnic/national background and tackle traditionally Anglo-American subject matter with subtlety and insight, the biggest breakthrough of Lee's career ultimately came with a return to his cultural roots. With *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon*, Lee not only realized his boyhood dream of making a Chinese martial arts (*wuxia*) film, but also revived the global popularity of the once-faltering genre. Financially backed by Columbia Studios and shot on location in various parts of China (from the Gobi Desert to the Taklamakan Plateau north of Tibet), *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon* garnered mainstream success and generated notice for its high production values and aesthetic sophistication, something largely unseen in previously released, low-budget Taiwanese and Hong Kong martial-arts films of the classical period.

After reaching the pinnacle of his career with the phenomenal hit *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon*, Ang Lee plunged to the depths of critical disregard when his gargantuan-budgeted (\$150 million) failed-blockbuster *Hulk* (2003) turned out to be a commercial disaster, one that nearly forced him into an early retirement from filmmaking. Thankfully, though, in 2005 Lee made an impressive comeback with the understated indie drama *Brokeback Mountain*, an adaptation of Annie Proulx's short story of the same title that bears the marks of his signature style, balancing a predilection for long takes and extended silence with a thematic emphasis on thwarted love (that between two Wyoming sheepherders whose affection for—and physical attraction to—one another is stymied by social propriety). The following year (2006) saw Ang Lee become the first minority filmmaker to receive the Best Director Award at the Academy Awards, an honor that has ensured continued work in an industry that, historically, has kept minority auteurs in general

and Asian Americans specifically on the margins. He won the Academy Award for Best Director the second time in 2012, for *Life of Pi*.

Hye Seung Chung

See also Hollywood, Asian Americans in

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Lee, Bruce (1940–1973)

Bruce Lee's popular cultural status has been dominated by a martial arts discourse that continues to define his legacy. The evolution of his martial arts, biography, and filmography are well documented in books, magazines, and online articles. His martial arts inspired others and he single-handedly popularized martial arts in viewers' collective cultural imagination. His untimely death at the young age of 32 has added to his lore as a cultural icon as fans of Bruce Lee can only imagine what he would have done to elevate his role as a martial artist and movie star.

The rise of his stature in the late 1960s intersected social changes rippling through the social and political fabric of America. The dismantling of the racial status quo provided an opportune time for an ethnic minority to break through Hollywood's glass ceiling. The politics of racial identity empowered people of color to voice their rights and concerns. More important, racial politics had made such an impact on the cultural-social

consciousness of America that a fictional Chinese hero was accepted by the American public. Although gatekeepers of film, such as Warner Bros., were not willing to take the risk of promoting a Chinese martial artist on television, Hong Kong film producers proved that non-Chinese viewers would embrace Bruce Lee's martial arts regardless of his race. Lee's ability to communicate his emotions through his actions transcended linguistic differences as his films were applauded by a global audience. It is remarkable that Bruce Lee, a Chinese American actor, could become such an internationally recognized martial arts hero.

The global fascination with Bruce Lee's martial arts centered on the spectacle of authenticity. He was a bona fide martial artist who did not need extensive editing to enhance a fight sequence. In all of his climactic fight sequences, it was clear that Bruce Lee the actor could dismantle an opponent in a violent yet oddly graceful manner. Lee was a martial arts expert who did not need a stunt double. His demonstration at the Long Beach International Karate Competition in 1964 and 1967 convinced other martial artists that Bruce Lee's Jeet Kune Do (commonly translated as "the way of the intercepting fist") was a legitimate and powerful form of martial arts. The artistry of his technique provided audiences with a sense of awe and excitement. Although the television series *Kung Fu* was quite popular, the slow motion and extensive editing of David Carradine's kung fu was clearly inauthentic.

The irony of Lee's success is the fact that his rise to fame as a martial artist created such a powerful stereotype that uninformed audiences were vulnerable to the belief that martial arts was a natural part of being Chinese. Lee's on-screen charisma proved that one's racial background was irrelevant in reaching a worldwide audience and his recognition provided more opportunities for Asian actors to be cast in films. However, the stereotype of the Chinese martial arts role also limited the kind of roles available to Asian actors. Jackie Chan and Jet Li have taken over the mantle of the Bruce Lee archetype but the range of roles for Asian American actors is still limited because of the subsequent success of Jackie Chan and Jet Li's martial arts films. Lee successfully replaced the previous stereotypes of Fu Manchu, the evil Chinese dictator, and

Charlie Chan, the emasculated cerebral detective. Yet he inadvertently constructed the Chinese kung fu master stereotype. Such is the vicious cycle of dismantling one stereotype when replacing it with a new one. Nonetheless, Lee's authentic masculine image excited many viewers as it displaced Hollywood caricatures of Chinese men in films.

Lee's remasculinization of the Chinese American male is arguably one of his most underappreciated accomplishments. His sculpted muscular body was intimidating and powerful. His films revealed an upper torso that changed the way Chinese American men were viewed physically. He created a hypermasculine image that countered Hollywood's sexually perverted and emasculated images of Asian men. Although Lee's body was sculpted with strength, he did not have the typical Western body-builder frame. The gratification of a smaller man battling a physically bigger opponent played an integral part in the mythologization of his heroic stature in popular discourse. His physical stature and his roles as an underdog provided audiences with a hero they could identify with and relate to.

His characters also embodied a reimagining of Chinese nationalism. Lee's physical domination over an opponent provided many Chinese viewers with symbolic tools that repositioned a Chinese national identity that was not weak, sick, or emasculated. Bruce Lee's personal ideology on the Cultural Revolution and Communism is not clear. However, his roles in his films reveal a clear ethnic pride that projected a simplistic yet symbolically pro-Chinese stance. His films were made available in China in the 1980s and his unofficial acceptance as a Chinese cultural icon can be seen in China Central Television's US\$7.3 million investment in a Bruce Lee biography entitled *The Legend of Bruce Lee* (2008).

Bruce Lee's status as a popular icon has been a source of pride among Chinese from around the world. His racial background as an American-born Chinese has captured the imagination of Chinese Americans who claim him as one of their own. However, Bruce Lee was also raised as a local Chinese boy from Hong Kong. His persona was that of a Chinese immigrant and his roles were consistently cast as an outsider. His bicultural identity has enabled him to cross racial

and cultural boundaries. His mother was of German and Chinese ancestry so he has been categorized as a German American actor. The complexity of his racial and cultural identity undermines rigid racial categories. At the same time, his multiracial and bicultural identity has served to bridge ethnic conflicts. Perhaps it is appropriate that the first Bruce Lee statue was not erected in Hong Kong; it was erected in Mostar, Bosnia, in 2005, because "Bruce Lee was a symbol of the fight against ethnic divisions."

Jachinson Chan

See also Hollywood, Asian Americans in

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Lee, C. Y. (1938–)

C. Y. (Zuyuan) Lee is a Taiwan-based Chinese architect. He is best known for his work on the design of Taipei 101, the world's tallest building at the time of completion in 2004, and the current tallest building in Taiwan. Stylistically, C. Y. Lee is known for his bold and controversial designs in which he incorporates Chinese cultural elements into architecture as an expression of contemporary Chinese identity.

Lee was born in Guangdong, China, on December 30, 1938. He received a bachelor's degree in architecture from National Cheng Kung University in Tainan, Taiwan and a master's degree from Princeton University. Other than a brief stint in Taipei as an architectural consultant for a construction company, Lee worked as an architect in the United States for over a decade in Pennsylvania, Boston, and Los Angeles. He served on I. M. Pei's team for the Chinese Pavilion at Expo '70 in Osaka, Japan.

Lee moved back to Taipei, Taiwan in 1978 and founded his own firm, C. Y. Lee & Partners, because he wanted his work to contribute to his country and people. In 1980, partner C. P. Wang joined the firm. Together, they are currently the principal architects at the firm.

Having been educated in the West and having returned home to practice architecture, Lee's architectural philosophy mirrors his personal trajectory. Lee seeks to incorporate Chinese and Eastern culture and tradition, with Western elements, and bringing Chinese architecture into the modern world with contemporary engineering and materials. In the 1980s, Lee converted to Buddhism, and cites what he has learned through studies in Buddhism with Monk Wei Jue and in Chinese philosophy with Master Mou Zong Shen as having a deep impact on how he integrates Chinese culture into his work.

Lee's early projects sought to incorporate Chinese cultural elements into modern buildings. With the Da-An Public Housing project, Lee had a major breakthrough. This project, completed in 1987, marked the first time that a client, in this case the government, accepted a design of Lee's in what would become his trademark Chinese postmodern style. Whereas the design for other public housing complexes were often more sleekly modern or minimalistic, Lee aimed for the structure to fit with the culture of the Chinese people. For instance, the Hong Kuo Building (1989), in which C. Y. Lee & Partners house their main office, incorporates an A-shaped front that is a reference to the Chinese character "sheng," meaning "life." The Chang-Gu World Trade Center, the tallest building in Taiwan at the time it was built in 1992, has an octagonal base to provide stability against winds and earthquakes, a symbolic reference to the number eight as a homophone in Chinese for prosperity or wealth. With the T&C Tower in Kaohsiung, also known as the Tun-tex Sky Tower or the 85 Skytower (1997), Lee used another play on words. The tower, the tallest building in Taiwan until the completion of the Taipei 101 in 2004, references the shape of the Chinese character for "gao," meaning "tall," also the first character in the city name Kaohsiung.

Completed in 2001, the Fang Yuan Mansion in Shenyang, China stands out as one of C. Y. Lee's more literal visual representations of Chinese wealth and prosperity. Shaped like an old-fashioned square-holed Chinese copper coin, the Fang Yuan Mansion is a 23-story high-rise office building. The building melds the concrete and steel of Western modernism with the

Chinese coin shape of the structure as a symbol of Eastern wealth.

Lee is best known for his work on the design of the Taipei 101, a mixed-use tower with a six-floor luxury shopping mall, office space, restaurants, a post office, and nightclubs. Lee convinced investors with the Taipei Financial Center Corporation that the building should be the tallest in the world to show the country's skill and technology and serve as a source of national pride. Intended to draw attention to Taiwan's capital and lure foreign corporations to the island, the Taipei 101 also features an advanced telecommunications infrastructure and the world's fastest elevators.

At the time of its completion, it broke several world records for height. Until the Burj Khalifa opened in Dubai in 2010, the Taipei 101 was the world's tallest inhabited building as measured to its architectural height at the tip of its spire with 1,667 feet. It was also the world's tallest building as measured to the height of its roof at 1,470 feet, and the building with the highest occupied floor, with 101 floors measuring to 1,437 feet. The Shanghai World Financial Center surpassed both of these records in 2007. Despite this, the green Taipei 101 continues to dominate the Taipei skyline.

The design of the Taipei 101 required complex engineering to withstand Taiwan's earthquakes and typhoons. The tower rests on 380 concrete piles buried 262 feet into the ground, and uses a multiple method of trusses, vertical column support, and a frame system connecting the columns. For additional structural support, the tower also contains the world's largest passive-tuned mass wind damper, in the form of a 660-ton golden sphere, which hangs from level 92 to level 87.

C. Y. Lee intended the aesthetic design of the tower to also make a strong expression of Eastern identity, with distinctly Chinese elements. Made to look like a growing bamboo stalk, the Taipei 101 is a pagoda-style tower with eight canted sections of eight stories each. The building also includes traditional symbols of wealth and success, such as Chinese copper coins, scepters, and clouds.

Lee's designs, intended to make a strong statement, are extremely controversial. In 2012, CNN ranked the Fang Yuan Mansion as one of the top

10 ugliest buildings in the world. Other critics have argued that his buildings are too grand, are difficult for ordinary people to relate to, and are too individualistic. Despite criticism, between 1994 and 2004, C. Y. Lee & Partners expanded to open branches in Shanghai and Beijing, and continues to work on projects on sites across the globe.

Katie Furuyama

See also Chinese Americans

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Lee, Chang-rae (1965–)

Chang-rae Lee entered the literary scene with critical acclaim for his debut novel, *Native Speaker* (1995), for which he received a number of awards including the Hemingway Foundation/PEN Award for first fiction, an American Book Award from the Before Columbus Foundation, a Barnes and Noble Discover Great New Writers Award, the QPB's New Voices Award, American Library Association Notable Book of the Year Award, and the Oregon Books Award.

Lee is the first Korean American to have a novel published by a mainstream American publisher (G.P. Putnam's Sons' imprint Riverhead), and some critics consider Lee as the first major Korean American novelist. Lee's subsequent novels, *A Gesture of Life* (1999) and *Aloft* (2004), continued to garner critical praise.

Chang-rae Lee was born in Korea on July 29, 1965. Lee immigrated to the United States with his family when he was three years old and grew up in Westchester, New York. Lee's experience of the different sides of New York—the boisterous metropolitan New York, the ethnic inner-city inhabited by diverse immigrant populations, and the prosperous, quieter suburban neighborhoods—helped him shape his multi-layered fictional world and delve into the deep and often silent struggles of his characters. Lee attended Phillips Exeter Academy in New Hampshire and received a BA in English from Yale University in 1987. Upon graduation, Lee worked as an equities analyst at an investment bank on Wall Street for one year before pursuing his passion for writing. Lee traveled to the University of Oregon, where he earned an MFA in creative writing in 1993. In the writing program, he wrote the first chapter for a class of what would later become the highly praised *Native Speaker*, a book he completed for his master's thesis. Lee began to teach at the Creative Writing Program at the University of Oregon in June 1993; the same year he married Michelle Branca, with whom he later had two daughters.

In 1995, at the age of 29, Lee published his first novel, *Native Speaker*, which immediately received rave reviews. *Native Speaker* is a story about Henry Park, a Korean American corporate spy, who is an acute observer of language and its power. Henry has to use these skills to infiltrate the organization of a fellow Korean American city council member who is running for office as a New York mayor. In the process, Henry also tries to come to terms with his family issues: the death of his young interracial son, the estrangement of his Caucasian wife, and the world of his first-generation immigrant father. Showing how Henry's professional role and personal issues become intertwined, Lee sheds light on the tensions of the emerging multicultural/multiracial generation and

the political culture of diverse immigrant groups in New York who strive to assimilate into mainstream America. *Native Speaker* has been praised for Lee's lyrical prose and the psychologically perceptive portrayal of his characters. For its themes of identity and assimilation, *Native Speaker* has also been compared to Ralph Ellison's classic *Invisible Man*.

Lee's second novel, *A Gesture of Life*, was published in 1999. The novel addresses the issue of Korean "comfort women," and Lee continues to explore the themes of identity, assimilation, and immigration. The central character is a retired physician, Franklin "Doc" Hata, who was born in Korea, raised in Japan and now lives in New York City as a medical supply store owner. Prodded by his adopted daughter, Doc Hata begins to unravel his painful past: his time as a Japanese soldier in World War II, his encounters with comfort women in army camps, his love for one of the Korean comfort women, and the guilt that has made him a silent outsider in his present life. *A Gesture of Life* was also well received, winning no fewer awards than its predecessor: the Anisfield-Wolf Prize, Myers Outstanding Award, NAIBA Book Award, Asian American Literary Award for Fiction, ALA Best Book of the Year Finalist, *New Yorker* Book Award in Fiction, *New York Times* Notable Book of the Year, and *Publishers Weekly* Best Book of the Year.

Lee's third novel, *Aloft*, published in 2004, is his first attempt to write from the point of view of a non-Asian protagonist. *Aloft* follows the life of Jerry Battle, a 60-year-old Italian American from Long Island. Battle is surrounded by troubles in his personal life, past and present, from which he remains aloof and flies away aloft on his small plane. As with Lee's other novels, *Aloft* received positive reviews from the critics for his poeticism and sensitive depiction of his characters' inner struggles. The novel was optioned for film by Warner Brothers when it was still a manuscript, and the movie adaptation went into process in 2004 with Lee's help.

Lee's success in his publications has been paralleled in his teaching career. Lee was an assistant professor of creative writing at the University of Oregon, the director of the MFA Program at Hunter College of City University in New York, and has been a

professor of creative writing and humanities council member at Princeton University since 2002.

Chang-rae Lee's novels are translated into Spanish, German, and French. Lee continues to write and publish short pieces in the *New York Times*, *The New Yorker*, *Granta*, and the *Paris Review*. Lee's novels are translated into Spanish, German, and French. In 2005, *The New Yorker* and *Granta* named him as one of the 20 best American writers under the age of 40.

Joomi C. Kim

See also Korean Americans

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Lee, Dai-ming (1904–1961)

Dai-ming Lee was a Chinese American editor, publisher, and political activist. He was chief editor of *New China Daily Press* in Honolulu since 1938 and *Chinese World* in San Francisco since 1945. He was also a leader of the Chinese Democratic Constitutionalist Party.

Dai-ming Lee was born in Kauai, Hawaii, in 1904 to immigrant parents from Zhongshan, Guangdong. At the age of six, he was brought back to Guangdong to receive a traditional Chinese education. He returned to Honolulu in 1918 and tried his hand at journalism by independently publishing a Chinese periodical called *Chenxi* (*Morning Light*). A year later he went back to China and made the acquaintance of members of the Chinese Constitutionalist Party (formerly the *Baohuanghui*, or the Protecting Emperor Society).

He also helped to establish the party's newspaper in Hong Kong.

Through association with Constitutionalist members such as Xu Qin (1873–1945) and Wu Xianzi (1881–1959), Lee Dai-ming became an avowed disciple of Kang Youwei (1858–1927), a Chinese intellectual and political reformer known for his radical reinterpretations of Confucianism. In the following years, Lee was an active member of the Constitutionalist Party, helping to assess its activities in North America in preparation for a thorough reorganization. However, the plan was cut short by Kang's death in 1927 (Wu 1952, 113). In 1928, Lee arrived in San Francisco to assist Wu Xianzi in publishing and writing commentaries for the *Chinese World*. He also led the establishment of the Confucius' Society of America and the Confucian School in San Francisco.

Between 1932 and 1937, Lee toured around North China and published *Bei you yinxiang (Impressions from a Trip to the North)* in Shanghai. In 1938, he became chief editor of the *New China Daily Press* in Honolulu while simultaneously teaching at the Mun Lun School. During the World War II, he successfully led a protest against the Honolulu authority's ban on Chinese and Japanese newspapers following the wake of the Pearl Harbor attack.

In 1945, Lee moved to San Francisco and assumed editorship of the *Chinese World*. He helped to revitalize the paper and pull it out of financial difficulties. Believing that Chinese-language newspapers should have a larger impact on non-Chinese readers, Lee added an English section to the paper in December 1949. In November 1957, he also launched an Atlantic Coast edition in New York. However, the New York edition was suspended in January 1959 because of personnel and financial difficulties.

During his tenure, Lee Dai-ming's succinct and sharp political commentaries were a prominent feature of the *Chinese World*. Many of these commentaries also appeared in the *New China Daily Press* and were translated for the English section of the *Chinese World*. He wrote widely on China politics, Chinese American community affairs, and international news. In particular, he was a firm supporter of constitutional democracy in China. He

zealously defended Confucianism and traditional Chinese cultural values, regarding them as a solution to China's political turmoil as well as the social problems haunting the Chinese American community. He also attracted wide attention as a vocal critic of both the Chinese Communist Party and the Guomindang.

Besides being a controversial Chinese American editor and political commentator, Lee Dai-ming was also active in China politics. As deputy chairman of the Chinese Democratic Constitutionalist Party, he brought it to a short-lived amalgamation with the National Socialist Party led by Carsun Chang (1886–1969) in the mid-1940s. In 1946, Lee was appointed minister without portfolio by the Nationalist Government, a position he did not take. In the 1950s, to create an overseas-based "third force" to counter the Chinese Communists and the Guomindang, Lee also entered into a close alliance with the Chinese Free Masons in San Francisco and Canada and led the establishment of a political coalition called Free China Political Organizations. However, all of these activities were short-lived and produced few material results. Lee Dai-ming died on March 18, 1961. He was married to Lily Kwok in 1946 and had two sons.

Xilin Guo

See also Chinese Americans

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Lee, Don (1959–)

Don Lee is an Asian American novelist and professor of English in the Master of Fine Arts Creative Writing Program at Temple University. A third-generation

Korean American, he was born in 1959 and spent his younger years in Seoul and Tokyo as the son of a State Department officer. After attending the American School in Japan, Tokyo, he matriculated at the University of California, Los Angeles where he received his BA in English literature. He then attended Emerson College, where he received his MFA in creative writing.

He remained at Emerson following his graduation and taught creative writing workshops as an adjunct instructor. After four years of teaching, he joined the editorial staff of the literary journal *Ploughshares*, eventually becoming primary editor and holding that position for 17 years. He was an occasional writer-in-residence at Emerson and a visiting writer at other colleges and universities. In 2007, he joined the faculty of Macalester College as an associate professor of writing; he began at Western Michigan University's graduate creative writing program as an associate professor a year later. In fall of 2009, he moved to Philadelphia to join Temple University's graduate creative writing program as a professor.

Lee's collection of short stories, *Yellow*, was published in 2001. The collection examines the individual stories of Asian Americans living in the fictional city of Rosarita Bay in Northern California; told from different vantage points and an eclectic assortment of characters, Lee explores issues of ethnicity, self-identity, and relationships. *Yellow* won the Sue Kaufman Prize for First Fiction from the American Academy of Arts and Letters, and the Members Choice Award from the Asian American Writers' Workshop.

His first novel, *Country of Origin*, was also positively received. Set in 1980s Tokyo, it explores topics of national identity, mixed-race heritage, and social convention through the eyes of its multiracial protagonists. It has won the American Book Award, an Edgar Award for Best First Novel, and the Mixed Media Image Watch Award.

His most recent novel, *Wrack and Ruin*, was published in April 2008. Lee returns to *Yellow*'s Rosarita Bay and presents an equally eccentric cast of characters, expanding upon themes of family and identity previously explored in *Yellow*.

In addition to these works, Lee has also published pieces in a variety of journals and popular magazines,

including: *The Southern Review*, *The Kenyon Review*, *GQ*, *The North American Review*, *The Gettysburg Review*, *Manoa*, *American Short Fiction*, *Glimmer Train*, *Charlie Chan Is Dead 2*, and *Screaming Monkeys*.

Lee is the recipient of fellowships from the Massachusetts Cultural Council and the St. Botolph Club Foundation and has also received residencies from the Yaddo and Lannan Foundation. In November 2007, he was given the Fred R. Brown Literary Award for emerging novelists from the University of Pittsburgh. His writings have been awarded an O. Henry Award and a Pushcart Prize. In addition to this academic work, Lee has served as an independent consultant for *Bamboo Ridge*, *The Georgia Review*, *New England Review*, *Agni*, and *CLMP*.

Albert J. Lee

See also Korean Americans

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Lee, Hazel (Ah Ying) (1912–1944)

Hazel (Ah Ying) Lee (Li Yueying) is the first and one of the two Chinese American women who served in the Women Airforce Service Pilots (WASP) in World War II.

The daughter of immigrant parents from China, Lee was born in Portland, Oregon, in 1912, and grew up in Portland's Chinatown. She was athletic and enjoyed to swim and play handball. At a time when few business establishments would hire Chinese, Lee worked as an elevator operator at Liebes Department Store in downtown Portland after graduating from high school.

After Japan's occupation of Manchuria in northern China in 1931, the Chinese American community was mobilized to support military resistance of China. With money solicited from community members, several Chinese American aviation schools and clubs were established throughout the United States to train pilots



Chinese American Hazel Ying Lee was a member of the Women Airforce Service Pilots (WASPs). (National Archives)

for the Chinese air force. In 1932, when Portland's Chinese Aeronautical School began instruction, Lee and Virginia (Guiyan) Wong were the only two women in its first class of 32 students. The two received their licenses in October 1932, and a year later, they sailed to China to serve in the Chinese air force. Although most of their male classmates became members of the Chinese military, Lee and Wong were turned down. The Chinese military was not ready to accept female aviators even though it needed trained pilots badly during the war. Disappointed, Lee went to teach in the village of her father's clan, but found adjustment difficult. She then returned to the United States.

In the summer of 1942, Lee learned that Jacqueline Cochran was organizing the Women's Flying Training Detachment (WFTD) in Houston to train pilots for the Air Transport Command. A year later

in August 1943, as the Women's Auxiliary Ferrying Squadron (WAFS) and the WFTD were officially merged under the name of the Women Airforce Service Pilots (WASP), Lee entered its first class. Few American women had the privilege of taking flying lessons at the time. Most of Lee's fellow classmates came from wealthy families that could afford the luxury of private aviation lessons for their daughters or wives, and some of these women had attended distinguished colleges. Lee was different from the rest of the group: she was the only Chinese and she came from a very humble family background.

Training at Avenger Field in Sweetwater, a small town in west Texas surrounded by ranches, cotton fields, and a few oil wells, Lee had a slow start and sometimes got lost during flying sessions. But she eventually caught up with the rest of the class, graduated as scheduled, and went to active duty ferrying aircrafts for the military.

In October 1944, the war was about to end and WASP was ordered to disband. Lee planned to try the Chinese air force one more time. But she never had the chance. One morning in late November 1944, right before WASP was officially disbanded, Lee was caught by a storm in Bismarck, North Dakota, while on active duty. She flew north toward the Rocky Mountains, arriving at the East Base in Great Falls, Montana, in the afternoon. As she proceeded to land, her aircraft, a single engine Kingcobra, exploded after being straddled by another airplane above. Lee died a few days later in the base hospital. She was one of the 214 Chinese American military personnel killed on active duty during World War II.

Lee was married to Yin Cheung Louie, a classmate from the Chinese Aeronautical School in Portland. Louie was in service with the Nationalist air force in China at the time of Lee's tragic death.

Xiaojian Zhao

See also Chinese Americans

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Lee, Kyung Won (K. W.) (1928–)

Kyung Won (K. W.) Lee is a Korean American journalist. He is best known for his civil rights reporting in the American South during the 1950s and 1960s, and for his investigative series and activism around the case of Chol Soo Lee, a Korean immigrant who was wrongfully convicted of murder in San Francisco in 1973. He was the first Asian immigrant to work for mainstream American publications in the continental United States. He was founder of the first English-language Korean American newspaper, *Koreatown Weekly*, and the Korean American Journalists Association, and recipient of 29 professional awards, including the first Asian American Journalists Association Lifetime Achievement Award in 1987, for his writing and community involvement.

Lee was born in 1928 in Kaesong, Korea (now a part of North Korea). He studied English literature at Korea University in Seoul from 1946 to 1949, before emigrating to the United States in 1950. He was the news editor of the student newspaper *The Daily Athenaeum* at West Virginia University, Morgantown, where he received his BS in journalism in 1953. Lee got his MS in journalism from the University of Illinois in 1955. As an undergraduate and graduate student, he was the editor of *The Korean Messenger*, a Korean-language periodical.

From the mid-1950s to 1970, Lee was a reporter for *The Kingsport Times-News* in Tennessee and *The Charleston Gazette* in West Virginia. At those dailies, he reported on the Civil Rights Movement, vote buying practices in the South, and black lung disease in coal miners of Appalachia.

In 1970, Lee began work as an investigative reporter for *The Sacramento Union*. It was there that he began his five-year coverage (with over 120 articles) of Chol Soo Lee, a Korean immigrant erroneously convicted of first-degree murder in San Francisco's

Chinatown in 1973. In October 1977, Chol Soo Lee killed a fellow prisoner in an altercation, and Lee contacted him a month later. In January 1978, K. W. Lee began a reporting series questioning the first verdict, which led to the formation of the Chol Soo Lee Defense Committee. In 1982, Chol Soo Lee was acquitted in his first murder case, and a year later accepted a plea bargain for the second murder and was released from San Quentin Prison's Death Row.

Lee's reporting on Chol Soo Lee won him multiple awards, including the Best Series of Articles by the California Newspaper Publishers Association and the Gavel Award from the American Bar Association.

In 1979, Lee founded *Koreatown Weekly*, an English-language daily in Los Angeles, to give a political and community voice to Korean Americans; the paper lasted for three years. In 1990, he became the editor of the *Korea Times English Edition*. He became a tireless crusader for justice and racial harmony following the April 29, 1992, Los Angeles riots. That year, he won the John Anson Ford Award from the Los Angeles County Human Relations Commission for his work on the riots, and he also underwent liver transplant surgery for Hepatitis B.

He has since worked as a columnist, consultant, and journalistic educator at several publications, including *The Korea Times*, *KoreAm Journal*, and *Colorlines*. Recent notable awards include the Free Spirit Award from the Freedom Forum, and his induction into the Journalism History Gallery at the News-eum in Arlington, Virginia. In 1997, Lee donated his articles, publications, photographs, and other archival materials to the University of California, Davis. The K. W. Lee Center for Leadership was formed in 2003 in Los Angeles to provide leadership training to Korean American youth.

Lee is widowed with three children and six grandchildren, and he currently resides in Sacramento. He is working on two books: *Lonesome Journey: The Korean American Century* and *Witnessing a Defining Moment for Korean American Diaspora: Children of Sa-I-Gu Remember*.

Katherine Yungmee Kim

See also Korean Americans; Koreatown

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Lee, Min Jin (1969–)

Min Jin Lee was born in Korea in 1969. She immigrated to the United States in March 1976 and grew up in Queens, New York. After graduating from Yale with a BA in history, Lee attended law school at Georgetown University. She worked as a lawyer for several years before devoting her time to writing full time in 1995. Lee has received several awards including the NYFA Fellowship for Fiction, the Peden Prize from the Missouri Review for Best Story, and the Narrative Prize for New and Emerging Writers. Lee’s novel, *Free Food for Millionaires* (2007), was a national bestseller, a New York Times Editor’s Choice, and No.1 Book Sense Pick. *Free Food for Millionaires* was also published in Italy, the U.K., and South Korea.

Lee began writing *Free Food for Millionaires* shortly after September 11, 2001. After 9/11, the *New York Times* published a series of obituaries with photographs of those who had perished in the attacks. The protagonist of Lee’s novel is named after a Korean American woman, Casey, whom Lee read about in the obituaries. Lee named the protagonist of her novel, Casey Han. In giving her character the last name, Han, Lee signals pathos and sorrow. *Han* can be translated from Korean as a cultural identity based on longing, trauma, and is deeply wedded to Korea’s history of colonization. Han also encompasses unnamable sorrow and the desire to rectify past wrongs. In naming the protagonist Casey Han, Lee points to the tensions of growing up in America with liberties and freedoms yet subconsciously carrying past suffering and longing. The trauma of the 9/11 attacks as well as the

trauma of displacement involved in the immigrant experience is both embodied in the character of Casey Han.

The title of her novel, *Free Food for Millionaires*, alludes to the relationship between wealth and different types of desires. In the novel, Casey negotiates American capitalism and entrepreneurialism and the desire for power, wealth, and belonging. Casey also experiences lingering regrets, insecurities, and anxieties on her journey to success. The majority of Lee’s characters are Ivy League graduates who are privileged with wealth and elite education. Either they are born into wealthy families like Ella or they attain wealth through hard work like Ted and Casey. *Free Food for Millionaires* addresses questions of how one attains wealth if one is not born rich. The novel explores the complex nuances of the American dream and the model minority myth that Asian Americans work hard, don’t complain, and succeed in society. Lee also discusses common stereotypes society has of women and minorities who attain success. Often, the success of a woman is questioned, whether she made it on her own merits or whether she “slept her way to the top.” Similar negative accusations are levied against people of color. Their success and merit are questioned as to whether they made their millions by their own merit and hard work or received it “free” through programs like affirmative action. Such charges are not levied against white male Americans but at women and people of color. Throughout the novel, Lee explores the vexed relationship between race, gender, education, success, entitlement, and merit.

Lee makes the reader question not only success, stereotypes, and the merit system but also examine ones worth in society. Several of the characters in *Free Food for Millionaires* have attributes that society deems will made one happy like beauty, education, intelligence, and money, but they are still deeply lonely and longing for something more. To fill the loneliness, longing, or *han* inside, the characters of Lee’s novel purchase goods to make themselves feel better. To mask their insecurities, they purchase and don clothes forming what Lee calls a “curated identity.” Casey’s obsession with hats is a good example of this. Lee’s novel deals with one’s worth and the credits and debits of one’s identity in a capitalistic

market. Lee lives in Tokyo with her husband and son. She is working on her second novel, *Pachinko*. The story is set in Tokyo and the central characters are ethnic Koreans, Japanese, and expatriate Americans.

Stella Oh

See also Korean Americans

Reference

Min Jin Lee Website. <http://minjinlee.com/>. Accessed December 10, 2012.

Lee, Robert G.

Robert G. Lee is a historian who specializes in Asian American history. He is the chair and associate professor of American Studies at Brown University. His areas of research include the history of Asians in the United States, racial formation, and relations between Asia and America. He has written and edited numerous publications, and is the author of *Dear Miye, Letters Home from Japan 1939–1946* (1995) and *Orientalism: Asian Americans in Popular Culture* (1999). His other publications include *Displacements and Diasporas: Asians in the Americas* (2005) and *Race, Nation, and Empire in American History* (2007).

Lee received his PhD in history from Brown University in 1980. He is the recipient of several awards notably including the Special Book Award from the Association for American Studies (1996) for *Dear Miye*; three Best Book Awards from the Northeast Popular Culture/American Culture Association, the American Political Science Association, and the American Studies Association, as well as the John Hope Franklin Prize for best book in American Studies for *Orientalism* (1999).

Best known for his 1999 publication, *Orientalism: Asian Americans in Popular Culture*, Lee has become one of the most important Asian American historians in the United States. In an interview, Lee says, “Asians in America, immigrant and native-born, have been made into a race of aliens, Orientals . . . The Oriental is a mode of representation which constructs the alien as a racial category” (Kang 2000: 3). As the term

“Oriental” is a historical and cultural construction, Lee investigates its origin and production in *Orientalism*, identifying six different representational facets of “the Oriental,” which include: the pollutant of white culture; the subservient coolie; the effeminate deviant; the Yellow Peril; the model minority; and the gook. Following the historical trajectory of each term’s rise and fall, Lee contends that these representations, which structure Asian American identity, experience, and their relationships to ethnicity, citizenship, and nationality, are central to the exclusionary strategies of American Orientalism, which maintain Asian Americans as perpetually alien.

What *Orientalism* ultimately demonstrates is that race, ethnicity, and nationality are cultural constructions grounded in perceived biological difference and inscribed upon Asian American bodies. It does so by offering a broad study of how Asian American history was specifically shaped by anti-Asian representations.

In *Race, Nation, and Empire*, Lee demonstrates that Yellow Peril, which is central to discourses of terror that position the East as dangerous and its subjects inassimilable, has been recoded in today’s “Age of Terror,” such that “brown is the new yellow” and Arab Americans and immigrants are experiencing its terrible effects through Islamophobia and similar exclusions historically experienced by Asian Americans.

Currently, Lee is working on a forthcoming book with the working title, *Inventing Chinese America 1870–1950*. The project is a study of how Chinese immigrants and their subsequent American-born generations constructed discourses of and made claims to citizenship in resistance to systemic anti-Chinese racism and strategies of legal and social exclusion. Lee intends to examine how Chinese immigrants fought to make claims to citizenship and establish themselves as civic actors, despite prohibitions against naturalization, land ownership, and immigration.

Krystal Shyun Yang

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Lee, Rose Hum (1904–1964)

Rose Hum Lee, a prominent scholar, author, and public speaker, was the first woman, and first Chinese American, to chair a sociology department at an American university (Roosevelt University in Chicago). Utilizing ethnography and extended life histories, her research contributed to the field of urban sociology and to knowledge of Chinese American and Asian American communities in the twentieth century, particularly the rise and fall of Chinatowns in the northern region of Western United States.

Lee was born in Butte, Montana, on August 20, 1904, to Chinese immigrant parents. Her father, Hum Wah Long, immigrated to the United States in 1870 and worked in mining, ranching, and laundries as he made his way from California to Montana, where about 10 percent of the state's population was Chinese. He operated a general merchandise store in Butte's China Alley neighborhood and, as a successful merchant, was able to bypass the restrictions of the Chinese Exclusion Act and returned to China to marry and bring back a wife, Lin Fong.

The second oldest of seven children, Rose Hum Lee graduated from high school with honors in 1921. Working as a secretary and attending a local college in Butte, she met and married Ku Young Lee, a Chinese engineering student from the University of Pennsylvania. After he completed his studies, they returned to China and lived there for almost a decade. After working in a variety of clerical jobs, in 1937, after Japan invaded China, Rose Hum Lee aided the Chinese resistance by working as a radio operator and translator. Her work in hospitals and orphanages led

to the adoption of a daughter, Elaine. In 1939, she and her husband divorced and, deciding to keep her married name, Lee and her daughter returned to the United States.

Supporting herself through odd jobs and by giving lectures on Chinese history, culture, and art, and on the history and experiences of Chinese in the United States, Lee became a popular speaker. During her speeches, she dressed in American-style clothing but after finishing she would change into traditional Chinese-style clothing to meet with the audience and to sell Chinese souvenirs. She successfully put herself through college at Carnegie Institute of Technology in Pittsburgh, and in 1942 she graduated with a BS in social work. She then moved to Chicago and began graduate study at the University of Chicago's School of Social Work and Administration, but ultimately switched to studying sociology. She first earned a master's degree in 1943 and then her doctorate in sociology in 1947. Under the guidance of famed sociologists Robert E. Park and Louis Wirth, Lee completed her dissertation on "The Growth and Decline of Rocky Mountain Chinatowns."

In 1945, Lee attained a faculty position in the sociology department at Roosevelt University, a new college in Chicago that promoted ethnic diversity among faculty and students. She eventually earned the position of chair in 1956, becoming the first Chinese American woman to head a sociology department in the United States. She continued her research by publishing several scholarly articles, including the one considered her most influential, "The Decline of Chinatowns in the United States" in 1949, eventually culminating in her most significant book, *The Chinese in the United States of America*, published in 1960.

The book was a comprehensive historical and contemporary analysis of Chinese American life—immigration, family, occupational, religious, public health, and community—and how Chinese Americans fit into the American mainstream, as seen by the Chinese themselves and by non-Chinese society. Trained in the prevailing "Chicago School" tradition of urban sociology, Lee's research focused on the dynamics of urban life, particularly in ethnically concentrated neighborhoods such as Chinatown. Lee frequently used her own family experiences as examples; although she kept this confidential, her research emphasized how Chinese

Americans, especially women, advanced the most by leaving their ethnic traditions behind and completely assimilating into mainstream American society. Lee argued, “Many [Chinese immigrants] have become so integrated in the societies where they themselves or their ancestors settled that they are indistinguishable from the local population: that is the ultimate ideal to which all Overseas Chinese should aspire” (Lee 1960: vii).

In later years, many scholars in the burgeoning field of Asian American studies took issue with Lee’s emphasis on assimilation into mainstream American society and her failure to recognize the value and importance of preserving ethnic identities and communities and changing the United States into a more inclusive, diverse society. Despite such criticisms, Rose Hum Lee is credited and remembered for being a pioneer in the study of Chinese Americans and for blazing a path of academic success and respect for Asian Americans, particularly women. In 1951, Rose Hum Lee married Glenn Ginn, a Chinese American lawyer from Phoenix, Arizona, and in 1961, they moved to Phoenix. She died from a stroke on March 25, 1964.

Miliann Kang

See also Chinese Americans

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Lee, Sammy (1920–)

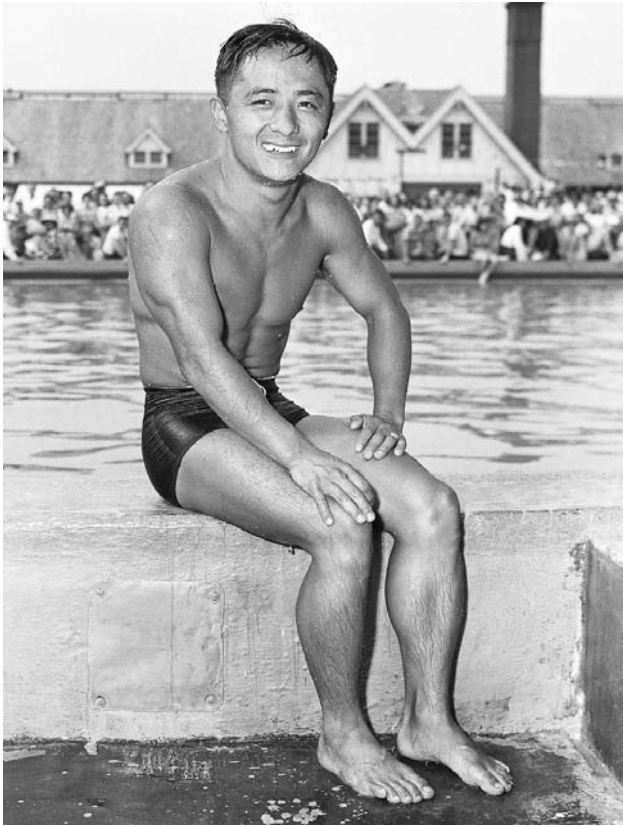
Sammy Lee is one of the most storied divers and coaches in Olympic diving. He won back-to-back gold medals in Olympic platform diving in 1948 and 1952

and went on to coach several Olympic champion divers. He was the first Asian American to win an Olympic gold medal. Despite pervasive racial discrimination, he was able to reach the pinnacle of success in his sport. He also overcame racial barriers to become a medical doctor, first serving in the Army and then going on to practice as an otolaryngologist.

Samuel Lee was born in Fresno, California, on August 1, 1920, to Korean immigrant parents. Lee’s father Sakhee Rhee immigrated to the United States early in the twentieth century who was later joined by his mother Yukhee Rhee. He was raised in the Los Angeles neighborhood of Highland Park where his parents ran a grocery. Lee grew up at a time when public facilities, including swimming pools, were segregated. Because he was Asian, he was able to use the Brookside Pool in Pasadena only on Wednesdays, the one day of the week reserved for “non-whites.” This was also just prior to the weekly draining and cleaning of the pool. On the days he couldn’t attend the pool, Lee famously practiced his dives into a sand pit built into his backyard. He was coached by famed diving coach Jim Ryan who was determined to groom him into an Olympic champion.

His early ambitions to become an Olympic champion and a medical doctor were met with skepticism during a period of Jim Crow segregation in America. The racial injustice and discrimination he experienced is said to have given him the motivation to prove his detractors wrong. Lee demonstrated the drive to go beyond social barriers early on in his life and to become the first non-white student body president at both Luther Burbank Junior High and Benjamin Franklin High School, where he graduated as the valedictorian and was chosen as the school’s top athlete.

Lee attended Occidental College and as a student in 1942 won the Men’s Senior National AAU springboard and 10-meter tower diving championships to become the first minority to win a national diving championship. Lee had to forgo his Olympic dreams as the 1940 and 1944 Olympics were cancelled because of World War II. He retired from diving in 1943 to attend medical school at the University of Southern California. Yet he found himself back in the pool in 1946 to compete in the National AAU meet and once again win the tower diving championship.



Diver Sammy Lee poses during the Olympic trials in Detroit, Michigan, July 11, 1948. (AP Photo/Preston Stroup)

Because of World War II, he was trained in an accelerated medical program and completed his degree in three years. After his graduation from medical school in 1947, Lee became a major in the U.S. Army Medical Corps. He took a leave of absence from military duties to compete at the 1948 Olympic Games in London where he won a gold medal in the platform competition and a bronze in the springboard competition. He then served in the Korean War for the U.S. Army as a medic. Once again, he came out of retirement to compete in the diving competition at the 1952 Olympics in Helsinki, Finland. There he won another gold medal in platform diving to become the first man to win back-to-back gold medals in diving and the oldest diver to win a gold medal at the age of 32. In 1953, Lee finally retired for good as a competitive diver. In that same year, he was awarded the James E. Sullivan Memorial Award for outstanding U.S. Amateur Athlete. He was the first minority to win this

honor and remains the only Asian American to have earned the title.

When he won his first gold medal, Lee said that he thought of Son Ki-jong, the Korean marathoner who won the 1936 gold medal in the Berlin Olympics. Son Ki-jong ran under the Japanese flag and became a symbol of anticolonial resistance. He also referenced Jesse Owens who competed in the same Olympics to win several gold medals despite fierce racism. Both 1936 gold medalists had significant personal meaning to him as the son of a Korean immigrant who dreamed of Korean national independence and as a minority who also had to overcome significant racial barriers.

Like Jesse Owens and his contemporary Jackie Robinson, Lee continued to face challenges even after great athletic success because of institutionalized racism. Upon returning from a period abroad as the Sports Ambassador to Southeast Asia, he and his new wife, Roz, were unable to purchase a home in Orange County because of housing covenants that prevented the sale of homes in certain neighborhoods to non-whites. He left his position in the U.S. Army and went into private practice as an otolaryngologist (or an ear, nose, and throat doctor).

The service of Lee to his country through the military and sport took place within the context of the Cold War and the struggle against Communism in Asia. Although Dr. Lee retired from the U.S. military, he continued to engage in public service as the personal presidential representative to the Olympics for Presidents Eisenhower, Nixon, and Reagan. He was also a member of the President's Council on Physical Fitness and Sports from 1950 to 1990. He continued to be involved in the Olympics in a coaching capacity as the Olympic diving coach for the U.S. Olympic team in the 1960 Rome Olympics and then coached the United States, Japanese, and Korean teams during the 1964 Tokyo Olympics. He also coached U.S. champion divers, including Bob Webster, Pat McCormick, and Greg Louganis.

Lee has won numerous accolades for his accomplishments in his sport and for his Olympic performances. In 1966, he was named outstanding American of Korean Parentage by the American-Korean Society of Southern California. In 1968,

Lee was elected to the International Swimming Hall of Fame. He was inducted into the U.S. Olympic Hall of Fame in 1990. USA Diving named an award after him called the WHOSAM, which is awarded to a diving coach and athlete who demonstrate excellence and dedication to the sport while maintaining high mental and physical standards. In 2010, the City of Los Angeles created Sammy Lee Square in Los Angeles's Koreatown in his honor. The city also named August 8 as "Sammy Lee Day."

Dr. Lee has contributed to the sport of diving in other ways. He wrote a book called *Diving* published in 1979. His name has become associated with a highly absorbent towel called "The Sammy Sport Towel," which is used by virtually all divers during practice and competition.

Rachel M. Joo

See also Korean Americans; Koreatown

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Lee, Tsung Dao (1926–)

Tsung Dao Lee is one of the leading physicists in the world and an influential leader in the Chinese American scientific community. Sharing the Nobel Prize in Physics for 1957, Lee has played a key role in facilitating U.S.-China scientific and educational exchanges

and in promoting basic scientific research and education in China.

Tsung Dao Lee (Li Zhengdao in *pinyin*) was born in Shanghai, China, on November 25, 1926, near the end of the chaotic warlord period in modern Chinese history. His father, Li Junkang, had studied agricultural chemistry in college and later managed a fertilizer factory. His mother, Zhang Mingzhang, had graduated from a middle school, a rarity at the time. Learning mathematics, English, Chinese, and martial arts from tutors at home, Lee lived a sheltered life in Shanghai until 1941, when the Japanese invasion led his father to send him and his two brothers inland, first to Zhejiang, then to Jiangxi provinces, to continue their schooling. In 1943, Lee entered Zhejiang University, then in exile in Guizhou Province, to study physics, but left a year later for the Southwest Associated University in Kunming, which was a wartime combination of Beijing, Qinghua, and Nankai Universities. Lee excelled in this competitive environment and was selected for study in the United States at the end of the war as part of the Nationalist government program to prepare for the eventual making of atomic bombs.

In September 1946, Lee enrolled at the University of Chicago where he studied under the Nobel-prize winning physicist Enrico Fermi, who impressed on him the importance for theoretical physicists to keep in touch with experiments. "Even now, sometimes when I encounter difficulties," Lee later wrote, "I try to imagine how Fermi might react under similar circumstances" (Novick 1986, 156). At Chicago, Lee developed a close friendship with Chen Ning Yang, a fellow student from Southwest with whom he would make some of his most important scientific contributions. Upon completing his PhD thesis on white dwarf stars under Fermi in late 1949, Lee worked with the Indian American astrophysicist Subrahmanyan Chandrasekhar at the university's Yerkes Observatory in southeast Wisconsin, for eight months. In 1950, Lee married Jeanette Chin, a fellow Shanghaiese, and moved west to the University of California, Berkeley, as a lecturer in physics for a year.

In 1951, Lee accepted an appointment at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, where he collaborated with Yang, who preceded him there by two years, on two important papers in statistical mechanics,

which led to a memorable meeting with Albert Einstein at the institute. Lee moved to Columbia University in 1953 and was promoted to full professorship in 1956. After a short hiatus, Lee and Yang resumed their collaboration in the mid-1950s, first on quantum field theory, then famously on the question of the violation of parity.

By 1955, many physicists were stymied by the so-called theta-tau puzzle, two so-called “strange” particles of different spin parity and decaying patterns but sharing the same lifetime and mass. An unsuccessful attempt to solve the problem led Lee to consider the possibility that parity was not conserved when theta and tau decayed into other particles and that theta and tau were the same particle with different parity states. Encouraged by some preliminary tests carried by his Columbia colleague Jack Steinberger in April 1956, Lee began to formulate a strategy to examine whether parity was conserved in different nuclear processes. In early May, Yang joined Lee and together, through three weeks of intensive research and calculation, they found, to their surprise, that the parity conservation was never experimentally tested for weak interactions, although it appeared to be well established for the other three fundamental forces in nature: the strong, electromagnetic, and gravitational interactions.

In June 1956, Lee and Yang published their doubt about parity conservation in weak interactions in a paper titled “Question of Parity Conservation in Weak Interactions.” Chien Shiung Wu, Lee’s colleague at Columbia, soon carried out an experiment with scientists at the National Bureau of Standards in Washington, D.C., to prove Lee and Yang to be right. The discovery astonished the world of physics and led to many further breakthroughs. In 1957, Lee and Yang shared the Nobel Prize in Physics.

Lee and Yang continued their fruitful collaboration, coauthoring altogether 32 papers from 1956 to 1962 on a number of topics in nuclear, particle, and statistical physics. The association was facilitated in 1960–1962 when Lee spent two years at the Princeton institute. In 1962, however, their partnership collapsed because of personal friction arising from, in part, a dispute over credit for their scientific discoveries. Lee returned to Columbia in 1963 and has remained active in research from particle physics to a theory of high-

temperature superconductivity to dark energy. He also served as an inspiration to other physicists, both theoretical and experimental, playing a major role in the development, for example, of the Relativistic Heavy-Ion Collider at the Brookhaven National Laboratory, which began operation in 2000 and has produced several major discoveries.

Since the early 1970s, Lee has spent much of his time and energy on promoting U.S.-China scientific and educational exchanges. In the summer of 1972, shortly after President Richard Nixon’s historic trip to Beijing, Lee and his wife visited China for the first time since he left in 1946 and they were received by Premier Zhou Enlai. In May 1974, Lee met with the Chinese leader Mao Zedong, and the two engaged in philosophical discussions related to physics. Lee used his meetings with Zhou and Mao to push for reforms in Chinese science and education, which had suffered greatly during Mao’s Cultural Revolution. Since then, Lee has continued to enjoy access to the Chinese leadership and provide advice on Chinese science and education policy. One of his most influential undertakings was the so-called CUSPEA (China-U.S. Physics Examination and Application) program, which brought nearly 1,000 talented Chinese undergraduate students to come to study in the U.S. in the 1980s. He also helped China establish the postdoc system, establish a National Natural Science Foundation to promote science funding based on peer reviews, and build the successful Beijing Electron-Positron Collider with American scientific assistance. It is interesting to note that although both Lee and Yang have been influential in Chinese science and education policy, Lee generally emphasized the need for China to pursue basic research as a fountainhead for technology whereas Yang saw applied research as a more direct route to economic progress in China.

Zuoyue Wang

See also Chinese Americans; Wu, Chien-Shiung

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Lee, Wen Ho (1939–)

Wen Ho Lee is a Taiwanese American nuclear scientist who was falsely accused of espionage by the United States government in 1999. Lee was born on December 21, 1939, in Nantou, Taiwan, during the Japanese occupation. He earned a degree in mechanical engineering at Cheng Kung University in 1960, and came to the United States in 1964, where he earned a doctorate at Texas A&M University in 1969. He married his wife, Sylvia, the same year and they eventually had two children, Chung and Alberta.

In 1974, Lee became an American citizen, which allowed him to apply for jobs at U.S. national laboratories. In 1978, he was hired by Los Alamos National Laboratory, where he worked in the X Division, which was in charge of nuclear weapons research. On March 6, 1999, *The New York Times* published an article by Jeff Gerth and James Risen regarding a weapons breach at Los Alamos National Laboratory, with the main suspect described as a Chinese American scientist who had knowledge of the W-88 warhead. The FBI interrogated Lee about two trips that he had made to China and accused him of failing two polygraph tests that seemed to indicate he was involved in espionage, causing Department of Energy Secretary Bill Richardson to fire Lee from his job at Los Alamos.

In April 1999, another *Times* article surfaced, with the claim that, according to government and lab officials, Lee had downloaded classified data about the United States' nuclear weapons from secure government networks to his home computers and onto portable tapes. On December 10, 1999, the Justice Department arrested Lee and charged him with 59 counts of mishandling classified information, with the intent to aid a foreign country, under the Atomic Energy and Federal Espionage acts. When in prison, Lee sat in solitary confinement, without access to reading materials, television, or radio for 278 days. He had

only an hour's worth of daily exercise, during which he was kept in chains and shackles, conditions that were so severe that they prompted organizations such as Amnesty International, the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and various Asian American organizations to protest Lee's treatment as being cruel and inhumane.

Although the media and the government portrayed Lee as the next Aldrich Ames or Julius and Ethel Rosenberg—a figure so dangerous that government prosecutors advised Chief Judge James Parker of the United States District Court for the District of New Mexico against granting Lee bail—it soon became apparent that Wen Ho Lee bore more similarity to Alfred Dreyfus, the French Jewish officer falsely accused of passing on French military secrets to Germany during the late nineteenth century. Numerous nuclear and defense experts rejected the *Times*'s claim that the W-88 design plans were vital to China's nuclear development, noting that any weapons gains could have as easily been because of internal research. Further investigation revealed that, because the design plans for the W-88 were not even housed at Los Alamos, the theft could not have originated from the X Division, so Lee could not have been the one who had stolen the plans. Likewise, the information that Lee had downloaded was already widely available within the U.S. nuclear weapons community, as well as on the Internet and could be saved on computer desktops as well as sent through the U.S. mail.

The government prosecutors had also misled the court in several key areas. Under intense questioning from Lee's defense team, lead FBI investigator Robert Messemer retracted crucial testimony and admitted that his previous statements, which claimed that Lee had lied to investigators and colleagues, were false. A CBS story revealed that the FBI had also falsely reported the results of Lee's polygraph tests, claiming that he had failed the first test administered, when in fact he had passed it, and then refusing to disclose the results of the second test. Lee's defense team also unearthed evidence of racial profiling and the dominant role that it played in the government's investigation. In a sworn statement, Robert Vrooman, the former head of counterintelligence at Los Alamos, confirmed that Notra Trulock, the former head of

counterintelligence at the Department of Energy who had spearheaded the Lee investigation, focused exclusively on Lee because of his Asian ancestry, despite the number of non-Asian employees who had access to the same data.

As it became apparent that the government was conducting a witch hunt based on racial discrimination and deceptive tactics, Judge Parker ordered government prosecutors to turn over thousands of documents related to racial profiling and potentially incriminating FBI behavior and ruled that the investigation could no longer justify Lee's incarceration. With their case in tatters, the government offered to drop 58 of 59 charges, and let Lee go for the nine months that he served in solitary confinement, in exchange for Lee's pleading guilty to a single felony count of downloading classified information.

In the end, Wen Ho Lee, the so-called "spy of the century," never faced formal charges of espionage, and what was considered one of the worst spy cases in recent history ended with a single plea bargain. Despite similar misconduct by other government employees, including former CIA Director John Deutch, who had downloaded some of the nation's top secrets onto his home computer and then used the computer to access the Internet on an insecure line, Lee became the exclusive focus of a flawed and inept investigation because of his ethnicity and national origin. The investigation led to a backlash against Asian Americans and an eventual "brain drain" of scientists of Asian heritage, as large numbers of Asian Americans boycotted employment in nuclear weapons laboratories, both in protest over Lee's treatment, as well as over discriminatory policies regarding pay and promotion in their own labs.

Following his release from prison, Wen Ho Lee returned to his home in Los Alamos. In 2001, Lee wrote his memoir, *My Country Versus Me*, with writer and activist Helen Zia to give his side of the story.

Eugenia Beh

See also Taiwanese Americans; Zia, Helen

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Lee, Yan Phou (1861–1938)

As the first Asian American to publish a book in English in the United States, Yan Phou Lee occupies a unique place in Asian American literature and history. His ethnographical work, *When I Was a Boy in China* (1887), not only introduced Chinese culture and society to American readership for the first time, it also challenged the prevalent stereotypes of the Chinese at the peak of the anti-Chinese movement in late-nineteenth-century North America.

Lee was born in southern China in 1861 and grew up in a historical period when China was gradually losing its sovereignty and becoming a semicolonial state. In 1872, Lee signed up for the Chinese Educational Mission established by Yung Wing, an early Chinese American with a college degree from Yale, and he came to the United States for further studies the following year. Lee entered Yale College in 1880, but his studies were disrupted by the Chinese government's recall of the Mission the following year. In 1885, with the help of U.S. missionaries in China, Lee came back to the United States and assumed his studies at Yale. In 1887, Lee graduated from Yale College, published his book, *When I Was a Boy in China*, and married a Euro-American woman named Elizabeth Maude Jerome.

Published by Lothrop Publishing Company in Boston in 1887, Lee's *When I Was a Boy in China*, the first in a book series on foreign countries and cultures, played a major role in educating the American readership about Chinese culture and society. Beginning with his own infancy in China, Lee explains the Chinese calendar year and the Chinese process of naming. He then introduces Chinese social practices and cultural customs, which are categorized as house and household, cooking, sports, gender, religion, and

storytelling, and questions misconceptions about Chinese “cruelty.” In the chapter, “Girls of My Acquaintance,” Lee acknowledges the gender oppression of women in China but challenges the stereotype of Chinese parents killing their baby girls. In discussing his experience in relation to the Chinese Educational Mission, Lee questions Western imperialist practices in China and considers Yung Wing’s project as a remedy for “the wrongs” committed by the so-called “Christian” and “enlightened nations.” In the last chapter, “First Experiences in America,” Lee also describes his own experience in a train robbery and critiques the violence in the industrialized America. Though it is categorized as an autobiography, Lee’s work focuses mostly on his memory of everyday practice of Chinese culture and society and his impression of the technologically oriented United States.

Lee also wrote polemic essays explaining his faith and defending Chinese presence in the United States. His first essay, “Why I Am Not a Heathen,” was published in *North American Review* in September 1887, and served as a response to his fellow Chinese American Wong Chin Foo’s essay, “Why Am I a Heathen?” carried in the April issue of the same journal. Lee answers Wong’s concern by differentiating between religion and ethics and narrating his own spiritual journey from a “heathen” to a Christian. He questions the hypocrisy of the British government in claiming to be a Christian nation but practicing gunboat policy in China. Lee concludes by reiterating his faith in “true Christianity” and embracing the values of cosmopolitanism.

As anti-Chinese sentiment and legal exclusion of the Chinese escalated in the United States, Lee changed his modest tone in the previous essay and wrote a powerful argument in the essay, “The Chinese Must Stay,” carried in the *North American Review* in April 1889. Resorting to the high ideals of the founding fathers of the Republic, Lee questions “this generation of Americans in their treatment of other races” and condemns the laws passed against the Chinese and the anti-Chinese platform adopted by both political parties on the West Coast. With statistics, examples, and logical reasoning, Lee challenges all 11 charges against the Chinese and dismisses them one by one as contradictory, speculative, and malicious.

After Lee worked at odd jobs for decades and served as the editor of the *American Banker* from 1918 to 1927, Lee lost his job with humiliation and finally decided to leave for China. Although China had been under siege of the Japanese Imperial Army during the 1930s, Lee could not find decent work and suffered from poverty. His last correspondence with the United States was in 1938, when he was allegedly killed by the Japanese bombing of Canton.

Yuan Shu

See also Chinese Americans

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Lee, Yuan Tseh (1936–)

Yuan Tseh Lee is a prominent Taiwan-born scientist who spent much of his scientific career in the United States, including conducting the research that won him a share of the 1986 Nobel Prize in Chemistry. He returned to the island in 1994 where he has played an active role in its science and education policy and in its politics.

Yuan Tseh Lee (Li Yuanzhe in *pinyin*) was born on November 19, 1936, in Hsinchu (Xinzhu) in Taiwan. His father Lee Tze-fan (Li Zefan) was an artist and educator, and his mother Ts’ai Pei (Cai Pei) directed a kindergarten. At the time Taiwan was under Japanese occupation, so Lee grew up speaking Japanese and went to a Japanese school until the end of World War II in 1945 when the island returned to Chinese rule. After some initial difficulties, Lee adjusted to going to a Chinese school and learned to speak Chinese. Soon he became an avid reader of

books and magazines (both Chinese and Japanese), which greatly expanded his horizon and turned him into a young idealist and even a socialist. Lee excelled in both academics and sports (baseball and table tennis), but it was a biography of Marie Curie that led him to decide to pursue a career in science.

Lee entered the elite Taiwan University in 1955 to study chemical engineering, but changed to chemistry a year later because he was attracted in part by the devotion of some of its faculty. Upon the recommendations of an upper classman, C. T. Chang (Zhang Zhaoding), he spent much time and energy on physics as a foundation for the understanding of most chemical phenomena, which eventually led him to specialize in physical chemistry. Following his graduation in 1959, he enrolled in the graduate program in chemistry at Tsinghua University in Hsinchu where he obtained his MS with a thesis on the studies of natural radioisotopes present in a mineral called Hukutolite. Afterward he stayed at Tsinghua as a research assistant conducting research on the determination of the structure of a substance called tricyclopentadienyl samarium using x-rays. Throughout this period, Lee learned to make instruments and set up sophisticated experiments under primitive conditions that would serve him well later in his career.

In 1962, Lee entered the University of California, Berkeley, to pursue a PhD in chemistry. There he was interested in the research on chemical reactions by Dudley Hershbach, one of his chemistry professors, but Hershbach soon moved to Harvard. Lee ended up working with Bruce Mahan, whose style of providing little guidance but maximum freedom benefited Lee in the long run as it forced and encouraged him to find solutions to scientific problems on his own. After successfully completing an experiment on reactions between excited and ground-state alkali atoms, Lee received his PhD in 1965 and stayed in Mahan's lab as a postdoc. This gave Lee the opportunity to carry out studies on ion-molecule reactions by shooting crossed beams of molecules (ions) at each other and using detectors to examine their reactions, a field that was pioneered by Hershbach.

In February 1967, this interest in molecular beam reactions led Lee to take up a second postdoc with Hershbach at Harvard. At the time, one of the major

limitations of Hershbach's crossed molecular beam apparatus was that it could work only with alkali molecules. Within a year, however, Lee, with the support of a team of graduate students and technicians, successfully designed and constructed a machine capable of carrying out such experiments with nonalkali molecules, which opened the era of universal crossed molecular beam experimentation that was fundamental to understanding exactly what happened during chemical reactions. Hershbach marveled at Lee's talent and skills, calling him "the Mozart of physical chemistry." He also commented that Lee could make such a complicated machine and make it work because he had "five thousand years of cultural heritage" behind him.

In 1968, Lee was hired as an assistant professor at the University of Chicago where he continued and expanded his earlier successes with new generations of crossed molecular beams apparatus that revolutionized the field. In quick succession he was promoted to associate professor in 1971 and full professor in 1973. But in 1974 he returned to Berkeley as both a professor of chemistry and a principal investigator at the Lawrence Berkeley National Laboratory that the university ran under contract with the federal government. He also naturalized as a U.S. citizen that same year.

At Berkeley, Lee continued to lead research in his field with the construction of several molecular beams apparatus specially designed to examine reaction dynamics, photochemical processes, and molecular spectroscopy. His lab attracted students and scientists from all over the world and in turn produced many future leaders in the field. Honors also poured in during this period: he was elected a member of the U.S. National Academy of Sciences in 1979, a member of Academia Sinica, the highest scholarly acclaim in Taiwan, several honorary professorships from universities in mainland China, the Ernest O. Lawrence Award from the U.S. Department of Energy in 1981, the National Medal of Science in early 1986, and later that same year, the Nobel Prize in Chemistry, which he shared with Hershbach and Canadian chemist John C. Polanyi "for their contributions concerning the dynamics of chemical elementary processes." As he gained prominence, Lee became increasingly active in public policy both on and off campus, including serving as cochair of the chancellor's

Asian-American Affairs Committee at Berkeley and as a member of the Secretary of Energy Advisory Board.

Finally, in 1994, attracted by the prospect of democratic reforms in Taiwan and propelled by an attachment to his birthplace, Lee decided to take early retirement from Berkeley and return to Taiwan to become the president of Academia Sinica (he gave up his U.S. citizenship to do so). In his new position he devoted himself to strengthening the academy's research efforts by both increasing its budgets and recruiting other scientists who had, like him, gone abroad, especially to the United States, from Taiwan. Believing that scientists and intellectuals should exercise their social responsibilities, Lee also became centrally involved in educational reforms, cross-strait (Taiwan-mainland China) relations, and other social and public affairs in Taiwan.

Most significantly and controversially, Lee lent his considerable prestige in support of the eventually successful candidacy of Chen Shuibian, leader of the opposition Democratic Progressive Party, in Taiwan's 2000 presidential election. He justified his move as a step in encouraging democratic reform in Taiwan, but his critics felt that by doing so he compromised the traditionally nonpolitical status of Academia Sinica (he later expressed his disappointment in Chen, who was indicted for corruption after leaving office in 2008). Lee offered to resign his presidency of the academy but his resignation was not accepted, and he continued in that position until 2006, when he became a research fellow in the academy's Institute of Atomic and Molecular Sciences that he and C. T. Chang had helped found in the early 1990s. In 2008, he was elected president of the International Council for Science and began his term in 2011.

Zuoyue Wang

See also Taiwanese Americans

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Leong, Russell (1950–)

Russell Leong is the editor of *Amerasia Journal*, a leading interdisciplinary journal in the field of Asian American studies, as well as an adjunct professor in the Departments of English and Asian American Studies at the University of California, Los Angeles. He is also a poet and author whose works have won the PEN Josephine Miles Award in Literature and the American Book Award.

Leong was born in San Francisco's Chinatown district in 1950. He was an early participant in San Francisco's Kearny Street Workshop, a nonprofit, politically active artists' collective dedicated to producing Asian American art. In 1972, he received his bachelor's degree from San Francisco State University. Leong went on to spend the next two years studying in the Department of Chinese Languages and Literature at the National Taiwan University. In 1990, Leong completed a master's degree in fine arts from UCLA's School of Theater, Film, and Television.

Leong's work has been critically praised for its discussion of Chinese American identity, migration, and diaspora. It has also addressed topics including gay and bisexual identity, AIDS, and religion and spirituality. In 1993, Leong published *The Country of Dreams and Dust*, a collection of poems, to widespread acclaim. It would eventually win the PEN Josephine Miles Literary Award as an example of excellence in multicultural literature.

In 2001, *Phoenix Eyes and Other Stories*, a book of short stories penned by Leong, was honored as one of 15 American Book Award winners. The book contained 14 stories written over 30 years, several of which had been anthologized in collections including *Aiiieeee! An Anthology of Asian American Writers*, edited by Frank Chin, and *Charlie Chan is Dead: An Anthology of Contemporary Asian American Fiction*,

edited by Jessica Hagedorn. His works have been published in a number of literary journals, newspapers, and magazines, including the *New England Review*, *Tricycle: the Buddhist Review*, and *Zyzyva*, as well as translated into Mandarin Chinese and published in Shanghai, Nanjing, Hong Kong, and Taiwan.

As an editor, Leong's other notable works include *Asian American Sexualities*, a volume of works exploring gay, lesbian, and bisexual Asian American identities, and *Moving the Image: Independent Asian Pacific American Media Arts*, a book that documented independent Asian American film, video, and radio produced from 1960 to 1990.

Leong currently serves as editor and project coordinator for UCLA's United States/China Media Brief, a publication dedicated to shaping public knowledge of the two nations' relationship. Its functions include the dissemination of accurate and timely information to the public and to journalists seeking to cover U.S./China issues.

Winston Chou

See also LGBT Activism; Sexuality

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LGBT Activism

Asian American political activism maintains a contentious relationship with race and sexuality. From the 1960s to the present, Asian Americans who identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgender face racism in sexuality-based organizations and homophobia and transphobia in other organizations. This dilemma necessitates the creation of Asian American LGBT

organizations and other means through which activists can fight in a continued struggle for liberation, recognition of their intersectional identity, HIV/AIDS support, and gay rights.

Establishing an Intersectional Identity

Following the 1969 Stonewall Riots in New York City, several groups joined together in response and called themselves the Gay Liberation Front (GLF). On May 29, 1970, Japanese activist Kiyoshi Kuromiya and fellow activists founded the GLF chapter in Philadelphia. He had previously participated in the first gay demonstrations in 1965, which took place every July 4th at Independence Hall, against gay discrimination in the federal government and the military. Reflecting the emergence of the Black Panther Party and ideological shifts toward radical resistance and Third World liberation, however, the GLF as a whole sought the sexual liberation of all people. The group sought to eliminate embedded patriarchy, sexually defined roles, and notions of privileging the nuclear, biological family within social institutions. In addition, the GLF expressed solidarity with the ongoing black power, feminist, and antiwar movements at the time. In September that same year, Kuromiya joined the GLF delegation at the Black Panthers' first Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention and spoke at the convention, which endorsed the gay liberation struggle.

From the GLF branched the Gay Activist Alliance (GAA), which solely focused on political reform addressing gay and lesbian concerns. Kuromiya attended GAA meetings but its members would kick him out if he spoke against racism. Many other GLFs did not have as much of a diverse membership as Philadelphia's. Daniel Tsang, a Chinese American student, who was part of the Ann Arbor Gay Liberation Front, felt a sense of isolation because his group was largely white.

The 1970s also saw the rise of the Asian American Movement, in which many members, like those of the Black Power Movement, exhibited sexism and homophobia. For example, I Wor Kuen members in Los Angeles viewed homosexuality as degenerate and bourgeois. Melinda Para, a lesbian, helped found the

Union of Democratic Filipinos, but the group silenced her and her relationship with another female member in fear that her sexuality could be used to discredit the organization. This was a common occurrence and many were forced to choose between racial and sexual politics.

Many gay and lesbian Asian Americans found visibility through publications. Kitty Tsui faced hostility within the movement and in response published many writings on sex and sexuality as they intersected with class and race. In February 1975, Tsang published the first ever gay Asian male manifesto, titled “Gay Awareness,” in *Bridge*, the only nationally circulating Asian American magazine. In it, he criticized the movement for silencing gay Asian Americans by perpetuating misogyny and heterosexism in attempt to gain white respectability. Tsang, along with Don Kao, went on to organize the first gathering of gay and lesbian Asians at the first National Third World Lesbian and Gay Conference at Howard University in Washington, D.C., which took place in October 1979, and was organized by the National Coalition of Black Gays. The conference also culminated in the first gay march on Washington, where gay and lesbian Asians marched behind a banner reading, “We’re Asians, Gay & Proud.”

Multiple LGBT Asian American organizations have emerged across the country such as Asian Pacific Lesbians and Gays (Los Angeles 1980), Gay Asian Pacific Alliance (San Francisco 1988), Asian Pacific Sisters (San Francisco 1989), and Gay Asian Pacific Islander Men of New York (GAPINMY) (1990) to build, foster, and mobilize communities. For example, GAPINMY was highly involved in the protests against *Miss Saigon* in the 1990s and *Details* magazine in 2004 for their misrepresentations of Asian Americans in popular culture. Despite progress, the struggle to bring the existence of an LGBT Asian American identity to the consciousness of the American mind remains a continuous struggle to this present day.

Combating HIV/AIDS

The concerns of Asian American LGBT activists began to incorporate issues of identity and community into sexual health during the emergence of the HIV/AIDS pandemic during the latter half of the 1980s.

Initially thought to be a “gay white man’s disease,” multiple factors including racism, homophobia, sexism, classism, and immigration status made HIV/AIDS a difficult issue for Asian American communities to discuss and mobilize around. Critical of the silence from Asian American communities about sexuality as well as from public health discourses that erased racial and cultural differences in how HIV/AIDS was being prevented and treated, Asian American LGBT organizations in urban centers with high Asian American populations coalesced to address HIV/AIDS. In San Francisco, California, the Asian AIDS Project developed in 1987 as a branch of Asian American Recovery Services. As the demand and scope of services became more comprehensive, in 1996 the Asian AIDS Project would merge with the Living Well Project to establish the Asian and Pacific Islander Wellness Center. In New York City, six Japanese American women inspired by a people of color HIV conference would start the Asian and Pacific Islander Coalition on HIV/AIDS (APICHA). In 1991, the Asian Pacific AIDS Intervention Team (APAIT) emerged from expanded efforts of Asian Pacific Lesbians and Gays (APL/G) and the AIDS Intervention Team (AIT) in Los Angeles, California.

These organizations have been crucial in providing culturally competent education, prevention, and treatment services that are available in multiple Asian and Pacific Islander languages and attend to the culturally specific contexts of their clients. Initially focusing on HIV/AIDS, many of these agencies have since expanded the scope of their services to include mental health services, community-based research projects, and political, legal, and cultural advocacy for LGBT Asian American populations. Although HIV/AIDS continues to be a galvanizing issue both locally and nationally, issues such as marriage equality, LGBT people in the military, and immigration reform demonstrate the array of concerns of LGBT Asian Americans and also reveal the diversity of viewpoints on these topics.

Debating Contemporary Issues

For LGBT Asian Americans, same-sex marriage is an important issue because of the social, political, and legal rights granted through the federal recognition of

these unions, such as hospital visitations, parenting rights, and immigration. The legality and recognition of same-sex marriage was sporadically fought for during the 1970s, but did not pick up steam until 1993 in the state of Hawaii. Three couples, which included Asian Americans, sued on the basis of discrimination. The case made it to the Hawaii Supreme Court, which sided with the couples, but the decision was later overturned by a state amendment to make marriage between a man and a woman. In 1996, Congress enacted the Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA), defining marriage as between one man and one woman and left it to individual states to decide if they would follow. In February 2004, San Francisco Mayor Gavin Newsom and a team that included Asian American activists—Mabel Teng, Donna Kotake, and Minna Tao—collaborated to issue marriage licenses to same-sex couples. The Supreme Court of California annulled the licenses that August, but the revitalized interest in legalizing same-sex marriage led to the development of Asian and Pacific Islanders for LGBT Equality (API Equality) in San Francisco (2004) and Los Angeles (2005). In addition to marriage equality, API Equality has also been involved with other issues such as immigration reform, school safety, and gays in the military.

LGBT Asian Americans are also at the forefront of broader issue campaigns. The “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” (DADT) policy was designed to prevent openly gay, lesbian, bisexual, people from serving in the military but also sanctioned sexuality-based forms of discrimination. Openly identifying as gay, lesbian, or bisexual would result in discharge. In 2009, Lieutenant Dan Choi, a Korean American in the United States Army, came out as gay and was immediately discharged. In response, he spoke across the country on the repeal of DADT and participated in many protests. DADT was officially repealed in 2011.

Mainstream contemporary issues, such as gay marriage and DADT, however, often falsely represent diverse groups. Although participation in marriage and the military are supported by many LGBT Asian Americans, there are those who are ambivalent or critical toward movements for inclusion in what are viewed as mainstream white and/or LGBT priorities. Those who are antiwar prefer not to be included in the issues related to the military, which they view as

a racist and heteronormative institution. Marriage is often foregrounded for the rights and privileges granted, such as citizenship, but some question whether that should be a path for immigration reform.

Additionally, transgender Asian Americans are often neglected. Transgender Asian Americans faced further silencing and exclusion: A number of transgender groups were racist, while Asian American groups and gay and lesbian groups were transphobic. In 1997, Pauline Park, a Korean transgender woman, cofounded Iban/Queer Koreans of New York to address needs such as having government documents reflect their current gender, obtaining access to affordable health care, and combating employment discrimination. These are common transgender needs that lesbian and gay organizations struggle to meet.

Resistance to racism and homophobia initiated and continues to inform LGBT Asian American activist practices. It is important to recognize the complexity and diversity of the LGBT Asian American community. As problems affecting this population arise in different contexts across different times, there have been and will continue to be a variety of approaches to enacting social justice.

Raymond San Diego and Celestine Detvongsa

See also Korean American LGBT Movements in Los Angeles and New York; Sexuality

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Li, Choh Hao (1913–1987)

Choh Hao Li was a world-renowned biochemist who specialized in the endocrinology of the pituitary gland. In particular, Li is known for the isolation and purification of the hormones of the anterior pituitary, and, just as important, for the analysis of their molecular structure. Li managed this research program at the University of California, first as an untenured research associate in the Institute of Experimental Biology and, later, as the director of his own laboratory, the Hormone Research Laboratory.

Born in 1913, Choh Hao Li grew up in Guangdong, China, a member of a large and well-to-do family. At 16 years old, Li graduated from Pui Ying High School and enrolled at the University of

Nanking, where he studied chemistry. After graduating in 1933, Li stayed on at the university for a couple of years to teach and to conduct research with F. H. Lee, a chemist who had earned his PhD in the United States under the supervision of Ward V. Evans at Northwestern University. Helping to complete the project that Lee had begun in the United States with Evans earned Choh Hao Li his first scientific publication, as third author, in the *Journal of the American Chemical Society*.

Urged by his family to continue his training in America, Li applied to graduate schools in the United States and was admitted to the University of Michigan but rejected by UC Berkeley, where his brother Choh-Ming was studying for a PhD in business administration. On his way to Ann Arbor, Li stopped in Berkeley to see Choh-Ming, who suggested that he meet with Gilbert N. Lewis, the dean of the College of Chemistry, to appeal Berkeley's rejection. Following Choh-Ming's advice, Li requested an interview with Lewis and showed him the JACS article. Because Lewis knew and respected Evans, he immediately admitted Li into the college, but on probation for a semester.

Lewis's caution was unnecessary. Under the supervision of Thomas D. Stewart, Li studied chemical kinetics and supported himself through part-time work as a Chinese language teacher, first at Berkeley's Chinese Community Church, and then at the Chung Mei Home for Chinese Boys in nearby El Cerrito. He completed his PhD in 1938 and that year married Shen Hwai (Annie) Lu, a friend from his college days whom he had convinced to apply to graduate school in the United States. (Annie finished a master's degree in agricultural economics at Berkeley around the time their first child turned two years old.)

After completing his PhD, Li took a position as a researcher in Herbert Evans's Institute of Experimental Biology (IEB) and soon began making a name for himself studying the protein chemistry of the pituitary gland. Over the course of the 1940s, he rose from a research associate to associate professor of experimental biology in the IEB. During this period Li was able, with the help of family and colleagues, to change his immigration status from temporary visitor (student)

to permanent resident. Then, in 1949, Li took advantage of a prestigious Guggenheim Memorial Foundation fellowship to conduct research in the laboratory of Arne Tiselius in Uppsala, Sweden. Fearing the loss of a rising star to the many institutions courting him, upon his return the administration of the UC Berkeley promoted him to full professor with tenure in Berkeley's newly established Department of Biochemistry and placed him in charge of the research unit that would evolve into the internationally renowned Hormone Research Laboratory (HRL). His professional future in America assured, Li became a naturalized U.S. citizen in 1955.

During the next 30-plus years at the University of California Li managed a broad-ranging research program at the HRL (and later, the Molecular Endocrinology Laboratory at UC San Francisco) that succeeded in isolating, purifying, and determining the molecular structure of most of the anterior pituitary hormones, as well as pioneering in the investigation of their biological properties and clinical applications. Throughout his career, widespread hope in the therapeutic powers of purified hormonal extracts ensured that each new discovery earned Li fulsome praise. Much of this early public acclaim came from his work with adrenocorticotrophic hormone (ACTH). Beginning in the late 1940s, ACTH began showing great promise as an anti-inflammatory drug in treating a broad range of ailments, including allergies and arthritis. At a 1947 press conference, Li announced that he had succeeded in tracing the physiological activity of adrenocorticotrophic hormone to a small portion of the ACTH molecule. In early clinical trials with patients suffering from crippling arthritis, the peptide displayed all of the restorative powers of ACTH—the patients were able to walk again—and none of the side effects. Smaller and less complex than the original molecule, Li's fragment brought the possibility of laboratory synthesis that much closer. Synthesis would leapfrog production beyond the painstaking and expensive process of harvesting the hormonal therapy from slaughtered animals. In 1957, after a six-month sabbatical studying synthesis techniques in the laboratory of Robert Schwyzer in Basle, Switzerland, Li returned and set up a synthesis group in the HRL, which succeeded in synthesizing ACTH in 1960.

Li is perhaps best known for his research on growth hormone (GH) and beta-endorphin, however. GH is used to treat dwarfism, a condition caused by underproduction of the hormone during childhood. Li's early work in GH involved isolating it from bovine pituitaries, but because human physiology responds only to growth hormone derived from either humans or primates, Li concentrated on isolating it from monkey pituitaries, which he succeeded in doing in 1956 to great acclaim. His subsequent success in synthesizing it with Donald Yamashiro (a second-generation Japanese American) in 1971 prompted the veteran journalist Joseph Alsop to proclaim a "New American Success Story" that centered on what Alsop viewed as the unparalleled success of Asian Americans in assimilating to American society, despite being racial minorities.

During research into camel pituitaries in the mid-1970s, Li and David Chung discovered a new hormone, which they named beta-endorphin (β -EP), and which was soon shown to have morphine-like properties, though many times more powerful. Li and his team went on to isolate this hormone and determine its amino acid sequencing, work that paved the way for an entirely new field of research in the treatment of pain.

By the time of his death from cancer in 1987, Li had mentored hundreds of visiting scholars, postdoctoral fellows, and graduate students from around the globe.

Benjamin C. Zulueta

See also Chinese Americans

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Li, Yi (1948–)

Yi Li was born in Wenzhou, China, in 1948, but grew up in Hong Kong, and came to the United States to study English in 1973 after working as a nurse in Britain's Chinese communities. In addition to her career as a writer, she has worked as a social worker in urban Chinatowns in California. Furnished with firsthand knowledge gained from personal experience, Yi Li has explored the lives of America's Chinatown residents in her writing with affectionate and unsentimental familiarity. In fact, a particular strength of her writing is that it proves the contextual forces shaping the problems in Chinese America today are not merely racial in nature. By examining how the struggle for survival exacerbate sharp divisions, ignite conflicts, and widen the schism among Chinese immigrants, Yi Li has demonstrated that the process of racialization is never based on race alone. It is determined by a number of factors, economic conditions among them. "Du Tai" ("Abortion" 1978), a widely read story by Yi Li, is such an outstanding example.

Set in San Francisco's Chinatown, the plot of "Abortion" is simple. Mrs. Luo, a sweatshop worker and mother of four, is pregnant. Aware that her family is too poor to support another child, she plans to have an abortion. Unfortunately, her meager salary is barely enough to cover her family's food and rent, never mind the \$160 needed for the abortion. Meanwhile, her husband, a Chinatown restaurant worker and gambling addict, keeps their bank book and refuses to give her money. In the end, it is support from her female coworkers that enables her to pay for the procedure.

Written in a sober tone, the narration of the story is direct and clear. By using abortion as a controlling motif to unfold the stories of her characters, Yi Li describes the tragedy of working-class Chinese women in American life, and reveals that the Chinese community has become increasingly polarized since the 1960s.

In addition, Yi Li shows in her writing purgatorial suffering notwithstanding, many Chinatown residents still see America as a paradise. The feeling of being elevated in America while living in poverty is not

contradictory. Much of it has to do with preimmigration experience and expectations. Because most Chinatown residents lived in poverty and faced back-breaking physical labor in their old countries, their expectations for what constitutes a happy life are moderate. They tend to greet any improvement in living standards and working conditions, however small, as significant progress. It is such a mentality that makes Chinese immigrant laborers endure more than people should, turns them into hardworking employees, and stifles their aspirations for political rights. Their memories, coupled with their relatively better treatment in America, lead them to approach the issues of racial equality and social justice with modest expectations.

That mentality—a "green-card mindset"—is illustrated poignantly in "Tian Tang" ("The Paradise" 1980), a popular story by Yi Li about Chinese refugees from Vietnam. The satirical nature of the work is marked by the author's use of the word *paradise* to refer to the image of America in the eyes of the ethnic Chinese from Southeast Asia. Her lively and artful prose vividly reflects the refugees' mentality and feeling of great relief upon settling in America. Their miserable lives in old homes and refugee camps prompt them to embrace America as a "paradise." "Where can you find such a good government?" exclaims the lead character in the story when handed a small settlement fee on arrival in the United States and finding that his family is eligible for welfare benefits.

By exploring how poverty has affected the experience of working-class immigrants, Yi Li has implied that the yawning chasm between rich and poor plays a significant role in dividing Chinese communities. It challenges prospects of Chinese unity and the establishment of a single, unified Chinese American agenda. In this sense, Yi Li has served as an effective and rare literary voice of the "downtown Chinese," who are immigrant laborers struggling for survival in isolated urban ghettos, although her coverage of the hardships in Chinatown life provides a counterpoint to the success stories of Chinese American professionals and exposes the multileveled complexity of class issues in Chinese American life.

Xiao-huang Yin

See also Chinese Americans

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Lim, Genny (1946–)

Born in San Francisco in 1946 and educated at San Francisco State University and Columbia, Genny Lim in an interview stated “My priority has never been to fit in a particular box.” Playwright, poet, musician, teacher, and much more would be one way to describe the literary and cultural achievements of Genny Lim. In 1970, a park ranger named Alexander Weiss discovered what seemed like Chinese calligraphy on the walls of the abandoned barracks on Angel Island in San Francisco Bay. He brought the discovery to the attention of Professor George Araki of San Francisco State College and photographer Mark Takahashi. Soon the Bay area Asian Americans got interested and, through their efforts, managed to get the state to restore and preserve the immigration station as a cultural and historical landmark and consequently save it from being demolished. It was this collective effort that inspired Genny Lim to collaborate with Him Mark Lai and Judy Yung to write, *Island: Poetry and History of Chinese Immigrants on Angel Island, 1910–1940*. The aspiring playwright, then followed up by writing the play *Paper Angels* (1982) a poignant insight into the lives of the Chinese who were quartered there. *Paper Angels* has been produced around the country and serves as an important signpost to highlight and qualify Asian American history through the use of theater. The fact the Lim’s own parents had passed through Angel Island made the subject matter even more relevant and poignant to weave into a play. It was important to Lim to articulate and give meaning

to what really went on in the barracks of Angel Island.

It was also produced as a film by PBS in 1985 with Joan Chen, James Hong, Rosalind Chao, David Huang, and Ping Wu. In September 2010 a New York-based company called *Direct Arts* staged a new multimedia production of the play in San Francisco’s famous Chinatown district.

Genny Lim’s other play of note is *Bitter Cane* (1989), a dramatic representation of Chinese laborers in late nineteenth-century Hawaii. The play is a stark reminder of life on the sugarcane plantations, of racism, and the gradual cultural genocide and exploitation of the indigenous people of Hawaii. Lim is of the opinion that issues of gender and race are still very prevalent in today’s world. Change in society has been slow in coming, even more so for women. The obstacles in theater limit opportunities for aspiring playwrights. However it is up to the individual to learn from history’s mistakes and move forward positively.

XX (1987) was a multimedia work by Lim produced at the Lab in San Francisco. The play centered on the lives of Chinese women with Lim herself acting and directing the production. Lim has always been a champion of the oppressed, particularly of women and their role in society; he feels gender and race are two of the pivotal issues in our society today. *La China Poblana, 1991* was another multimedia production focusing on the cultural aspects of Asians in the Americas in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The strength of Genny Lim’s contribution to the arts lies in the fact that she has been a challenging, collaborative contributor in using the written and spoken word and also combining poetry and music to highlight the interdisciplinary milieu of theater.

Lim’s work also encompasses performance pieces (*Daughter of Han, I Remember Clifford, Faceless*), plays (*Pigeons, The Pumpkin Girl*), and a children’s play *The Magic Brush*. She has also published a collection of poetry, *Winter Place*. This earlier collection was specifically rooted in time and place. However, there has been a definite shift in her poetic focus with more of an accent on the philosophical rather than the personal. In an interview with Jaime Wright, Lim was of the opinion, “Culture changes all the time because circumstances and people change. It would be

pointless to pigeonhole me or my work because my work is so different than what it was before.”

She has won the James Wong Howe Award for *Paper Angels* and the 1981 American Book Award for her collaborative work with Jon Jang and James Newton titled *Songline: The Spiritual Tributary of Paul Robeson Jr. and Mei Lanfang*. This work looked at the commonality between African and Chinese spirituality through the works of Robeson, a cultural icon in the world of African American artists and Lanfang the greatest Chinese opera actor of all time.

Genny Lim has donated her papers (1982–1997) to the Department of Special Collections, University of California, Santa Barbara.

Ambi Harsha

See also Angel Island Immigration Station; Chen, Joan

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Lim, Shirley Geok-lin (1944–)

Shirley Geok-lin Lim is a poet, novelist, memoirist, literary critic, and scholar. Aside from a prolific writing career, Lim is a professor in the Department of English at the University of California, Santa Barbara.

Lim was born in 1944 in Malacca, Malaysia. She received her BA in English literature from the University of Malaya with first class honors in 1969. Upon graduation, she received a Fulbright scholarship to study at Brandeis University, where she received her PhD in English and American literature in 1973. Before accepting a tenure-track position at UC Santa Barbara, Lim taught at Westchester College and Hostos Community College in New York. Lim has also taught internationally at the National University of Singapore, Nanyang Technological University, and most recently as chair professor at the University of Hong Kong.

Lim’s mother was a member of the *peranakan*, a distinctive Malayan-born people of Chinese descent assimilated into Malay and Western cultures. Lim grew up speaking her mother’s Malay dialect, a dialect that alienated both mother and daughter in Lim’s paternal grandfather’s house, where Hokkien is the dominant language of communication. As a young adult, Lim fell in love with English literature even as she recognizes that the English language serves as a crucial instrument for Britain’s imperialist project in Southeast Asia. An ambivalent relationship with the various languages that she inhabits thus forms a central theme in her memoir *Among the White Moon Face: An Asian-American Memoir of Homelands* and informs her critical work.

Lim’s numerous awards and fellowships include the Commonwealth Poetry Prize for best first book, an American Book Award, and an American Book/Before Columbus Award. She has been a two-time Mellon Foundation fellow, a Visiting Fellow at the National University of Singapore, and a writer-in-residency at the East West Center in Honolulu and at the National University of Singapore.

Lim has published several collections of poetry: *Listening to the Singer: New and Selected Malaysian Poems* (2007), *What the Fortune Teller Didn’t Say* (1997), *Monsoon History: Selected Poems* (1994), *Modern Secrets: New and Selected Poems* (1989), *No Man’s Grove and Other Poems* (1985), *Crossing the Peninsula and Other Poems* (1980). She has published two novels, *Sister Swing* (2006) and *Joss and Gold* (2001), two books of short stories, *Two Dreams: Short Stories* (1997) and *Another Country and Other Stories* (1982), and a chapbook, *A Gathering of Poems from Pok Fu Lam*. Lim’s memoir *Among the White Moon Faces: An Asian-American Memoir of Homelands* was published in 1996.

Lim has also written two critical texts: *Writing Southeast/Asia in English: Against the Grain* (1994) and *Nationalism and Literature: Literature in English from the Philippines and Singapore* (1993). She is the coeditor of numerous anthologies and journal volumes, including a special issue on ethics and ethnicity for *Concentric* journal (2007), the anthology *Transnational Asian American Literature: Sites and Transits* (2006), and the anthology *Tilting the Continent: An*

Anthology of Southeast Asian American Writing (2000). Lim currently lives in Santa Barbara, California.

Nan Ma

See also Malaysian Americans

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Lin, Jeremy (1988–)

Jeremy Shu-How Lin is an American professional basketball player with the National Basketball Association (NBA). After leading Palo Alto High School team to a state championship, the Chinese American Lin broke Ivy League records playing for Harvard University by posting 1,450 points, 450 rebounds, 400 assists and 200 steals during his college career. The undrafted Lin stunned audiences in the NBA 2010 summer league and received a contract with the Golden State Warriors for the 2010–2011 season. Waived by the Warriors and the Houston Rockets in December 2011, he joined the New York Knicks in the 2011–2012 season. In February 2012, Lin came off the bench to lead the Knicks to a winning streak as a point guard, scoring over 20 points in over eight games. This stunning performance led to a transnational media frenzy called “Linsanity.” Lin is one of four Asian Americans to have played in the NBA and the first Taiwanese American to play in the professional basketball league.

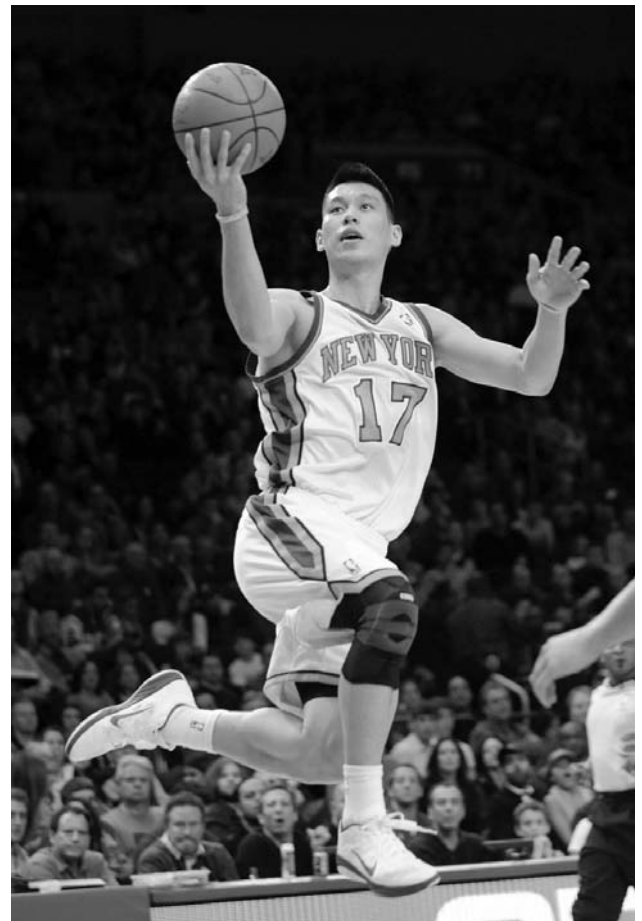
Background

The six-foot-three-inch Jeremy Lin is the second child of Lin Gie-Ming and Shirley Lin. Both parents emigrated from Taiwan to the United States in the mid-1970s to attend college in Virginia and Indiana. Gie-Ming and Shirley eventually became engineers and

raised their three sons in the upper-middle class, suburban community of Palo Alto located near Stanford University. Competing against older brother Joshua and younger brother Joseph at an early age, basketball was a family affair with Lin learning to play from his father.

High School

The Palo Alto high school basketball coach, Peter Diepenbrock, remarked that Lin was a leader with strong decision-making skills. With a fearless attacking game, Lin was brought up to the varsity team during the play-offs his freshman season in high school. His senior year, Lin led his Palo Alto High School basketball team to 32–1 record and a California Division II state



New York Knicks' Jeremy Lin drives to the basket during the second quarter of an NBA basketball game against the New Jersey Nets at Madison Square Garden in New York on February 4, 2012. (AP Photo/Bill Kostroun)

title in 2005–2006. In the state championship game, Lin and his team defeated the heavy favorite private-school, Mater Dei 51–47, at Arco Arena in Sacramento. As captain of the championship team, Lin was named first-team All State and Northern California Division II Player of the Year. Named the San Francisco Chronicle’s Metro Player of the Year, he averaged 15.1 points, 7.1 assists, 6.2 rebounds and 5.0 steals during his senior year.

College

Lin was not recruited by any Pac-10 or Division I college teams such as UCLA. Majoring in economics and minoring in sociology at Harvard University, he earned national acclaim for his exploits on the basketball team, leading the school to its first 21-win season. Nominated for the John Wooden and Bob Cousy awards, Lin splashed the cover pages of the national magazine, *Sports Illustrated*.

Harvard University has had only three other graduates go on to the NBA, with the last one being in the 1950s. During his senior year, Lin gained national attention after scoring 30 points against the highly ranked University of Connecticut Huskies. Lin often heard racist comments at away games, such as a spectator yelling “wonton soup” while Lin was at the free throw line.

Professional Basketball

After graduating from college, Lin went undrafted in the 2010 NBA draft but received an invitation from the Dallas Mavericks to play on its summer league team. In the NBA summer league for young NBA players, draftees, and undrafted players, Lin created a buzz by scoring nine fourth-quarter points against the number one draft pick and shifting the crowd to cheering for him. In July 2010, he received several contract offers and chose to play for the Golden State Warriors. However, with point guards Stephen Curry and Monte Ellis in front of him, Lin did not get much playing time. The Warriors sent Lin to the NBA Development League twice before releasing him in December 2011. Lin was picked up the New York Knicks; and in February 2012, the aggressive and fast Lin exploded on

the NBA stage. In early February, the undrafted, twice-cut Lin came off the bench to score 25 points and led the New York Knicks to a comeback win over the Nets. Because of a plethora of injuries to the starters and Lin’s promising performance, Lin started eight games, scoring over 20 points a game, including an astounding 38 points against Kobe Bryant and the Los Angeles Lakers. As a drive-and-kick point guard, Lin stunned the NBA with his scoring. With Lin out because of a knee injury, the Knicks were shut out in the first-round of the playoffs by the Miami Heat.

Linsanity

During his meteoric rise in the spring of 2012, Lin and his tremendous basketball performance captured the imagination of the United States and of basketball fans around the world. Thousands of newspaper and magazine articles, Facebook posts, and blogs fomented the phenomenon of “Linsanity.” When Lin was out for the remainder of the regular and playoff season because of knee surgery, Linsanity returned to earth. Ranging from appearing on national magazine covers like *Sports Illustrated* to Harvard Law School alumni and college basketball fan President Obama claiming “I knew about Jeremy Lin before you did,” the rocket speed and broad scope of Linsanity as a social construction was not necessarily surprising given the many dimensions of sport as a transnational, corporate/entertainment complex that shapes public life.

Sport involves media representations and consumption such as Linsanity appearing on a broad spectrum of media outlets ranging from *Entertainment Weekly* and ESPN to the *Washington Post* and the *Wall Street Journal*. Sport is an object of material consumption such as Lin iPhone cases or the Jeremy Lin bobblehead. And sport is an embodied and collective act of playing whether it is on the elite stage of professional sports or in a century-old youth basketball league in the Japanese American communities.

Role Model

Although Yao Ming from China broke barriers in the 2002 season, the news of Lin’s contract lit up Asian American Facebook pages and blogs as he was the

fourth American-born Asian (Wat Misaka in 1947, Robert Townsend in the late 1970s, and Rex Walters in the 1990s) to enter the big stage of the NBA. The vast Asian American community supported Lin by drawing from the long-standing history of Asian American basketball communities. Confronting wide-scale racial and social inequalities at the beginning of the twentieth century, Chinese American, Filipina/o Americans, and Japanese Americans created their own parallel basketball leagues in response to rampant segregation. With the history of marginalization, Asian Americans valued the visibility brought by Lin and the legibility of racism toward Asians during Linsanity. In addition, many Chinese Christians were drawn by Lin's stardom. Lin, who has also been vocal about his Christian faith as a professional athlete, has been called the "Taiwanese Tebow" as a link to the National Football League's quarterback and public Christian Tim Tebow. A member of the Redeemer Bible Fellowship in his youth and a leader of the Asian American Christian Fellowship at Harvard, Lin has publicly discussed becoming a pastor and has a substantial faith-based fan following. Asian American Christianity and Christians are an emerging and significant community on college campuses and in Asian immigrant communities in the United States.

Model Minority Myth

Lin's splash in collegiate and NBA play has been punctuated by social constructions of the model minority myth. The mainstream news frequently couched the undrafted Lin as a "Cinderella Story" highlighting his "devout Christianity" whereas the Warriors franchise marketed him through "Asian Heritage Nights" at the Oakland Coliseum. Linsanity often centered on erasing Lin's race and racism in society. Touted as the ultimate "American" story, Lin was hailed by the mainstream media as the underdog who used grit, discipline, and integrity to make it onto the big stage. In addition to Lin, the framing of his family also encoded the model minority myth narrative. A *New York Times* article on the Lin family framed Lin's mother as a "Tiger Mom" who channeled her focus on Lin's basketball.

Diversity Celebration

The Linsanity discourse also used sport to celebrate differences in a parade of diversity. Overlooking structural discrimination, the media coverage emphasized his cultural background with a jubilant, celebratory tone. The mainstream media praised Lin for breaking stereotypes such as *Time* magazine naming him one of the 100 most influential people in the world. Equating Chineseness with exotica and orientalism, Ben & Jerry's unveiled a frozen yogurt flavor, "Taste the Linsanity," that included swirls of lychee honey and crumbled fortune cookies. After a win against the Sacramento Kings, the MSG Network showed a graphic of Lin's face coming out of a fortune cookie, accompanied by the text: "The Knicks' Good Fortune." Using Lin's name in a variety of puns were common in the media ("Linning Streak"; "Lin Your Face") and by fans from a variety of racial groups ("SuperLinsendo"; "I want you Linside me"). Eliding institutional discrimination and perpetuating the myths of meritocracy and the melting pot, the mainstream discourse struggled to create a healthy public language about Lin and Asian Americanness and to examine the political functions of sport.

Racism

Many media outlets marked Lin's Asianness in ways that made racism and stereotypes toward Asian Americans transparent. A writer for ESPN.com used the headline "Chink in their armor" to describe the Knicks' first loss since Lin took over as point guard. ESPN offered an apology and fired the headline writer. Fox.com journalist Jason Whitlock invoked emasculation of Asian American men and tweeted "Some lucky lady in NYC is gonna feel a couple of inches of pain tonight." The *New York Post* used a controversial headline "Aasian!" In various ways, the racial discourse emphasized the alien, different, and foreign nature of Asian American masculinity. The plethora of problematic media representations led the Asian American Journalist Association to create a media guide regarding Jeremy Lin. The guide included a succinct list of "danger zones" such as "ME LOVE YOU LIN TIME: Avoid. This is a lazy pun on the athlete's

name and alludes to the broken English of a Hollywood caricature from the 1980s.”

Racial Triangulation

Lin’s Asian Americanness complicated the dominant white-marginal paradigms about race. African American boxer Floyd Mayweather raised questions about the racial politics of Linsanity in a tweet: “Jeremy Lin is a good player but all the hype is because he’s Asian. Black players do what he does every night and don’t get the same praise.” Mayweather critiqued the media and fan frenzy over Lin as driven by an aversion to blackness and to the supposed proximity of Asianness to whiteness in a racial hierarchy. Mayweather not only praised Lin but also highlighted the ranking of different racial groups: whiteness at the top, blackness at the bottom, and Asianness somewhere in between. Pitting the marginalized groups against each other, Mayweather’s tweet highlights the complexities of racial hierarchies and the need to examine the dynamics among marginalized groups and whites instead of creating an oppression sweepstakes and overlooking the function of sports to pit racial groups against each other.

Asian American Cultural Production

Asian American community members participated in Linsanity by identifying and problematizing stereotypes present in Linsanity. Some blogs by Asian Americans, such as Chaewon Koo, Justin Huang, and Deanna Fei, used Lin to critique the emasculation of Asian American men and tout Lin’s importance as a liberating symbol of Asian American masculine sexuality. Many Asian Americans used sport not only to highlight normative racial and gendered codes but also to offset and upend them. Artist Bao Phi’s “Hey Girl/Guy/Gender Non Conforming” meme poked holes at normalizing ideologies about Asian Americans in popular culture. These meme’s connected other problematic visible incidents of racialization of Asianness with Linsanity. Other bloggers questioned how Lin was treated as an Asian American, the racial tracking in the NBA, and how an unknown player could come off the bench and play well. They posited whether it

was because of his Asianness that he was overlooked by many NBA coaches and teams. The Los Angeles Lakers’ Kobe Bryant gave Lin credit for his astonishing emergence. “Players don’t usually come out of nowhere. If you go back and take a look, his skill level was probably there but no one ever noticed” (Mannix 2012).

Kathleen S. Yep

See also Athletes and Christianity; Taiwanese Americans; Yao Ming

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Lin, Maya (1959–)

Maya Lin, one of the most prominent architectural designers in the twenty-first century, has been world renowned since the 1980s for her early work of the Vietnam Veteran Memorial in Washington D.C. She was born in Athens, Ohio, in 1959, 10 years after her parents left China for the United States. Both her parents were professors at Ohio University, where her mother taught literature and her father, as a ceramic artist, once was the dean of the College of Fine Art.

Lin went to Yale University for her undergraduate education and got her master’s and doctoral degrees consecutively also in Yale. During her senior year at Yale, she submitted as her class project a piece of work for the Vietnam Veteran Memorial Designing Competition and beat out 1,420 other contestants. However, her work was an unconventional and nontraditional design style for a war memorial and proved quite controversial, especially after her ethnic identity was revealed. Lin’s Vietnam Veteran Memorial is a V-shaped sculpture with 58,195 fallen soldiers’ name etched on a black stone. Despite ferocious criticism,



Maya Lin, 1981. (AP Photo/Scott Applewhite)

the design became the most visited memorial in the nation's capital and a pilgrimage site for relatives and friends of the American military casualties in Vietnam.

In her 30s, Lin started to realize her cultural heritage as a Chinese American. She had strong desires to understand her cultural background and designed a new home for the Museum of Chinese in America in New York. In recent years, one of the biggest projects she contributed to is a series of seven outdoor installations at points of historic interest along 300 miles of the Columbia and Snake Rivers in the state of Washington, collaborating with other artists, architects, landscape designers, and the native tribes of the Pacific Northwest. Other major works she designed include the "Women's Table" at Yale; the Langston Hughes Library for the Children's Defense Fund in Clinton, Tennessee; Civil Rights memorial in Montgomery, Alabama; the Sculpture Center in Long Island City; and the Manhattanville Sanctuary and

Environmental Learning Lab. Lin is currently working on her last memorial, entitled *What is Missing?*, which focuses on bringing awareness to the current crisis surrounding biodiversity and habitat loss.

Lin is a member of the American Academy of Arts and Letters, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and in 2005 was inducted into the National Women's Hall of Fame. She has been profiled in *Time* magazine, the *New York Times Magazine* and *The New Yorker*. The movie *Maya Lin, a Strong Clear Vision*, an Academy Award-winning documentary film in 1995, recorded her work and life in detail. In 2000, she published her first book, *Boundaries*, about her work and creative process, and she described it as a "visual and verbal sketchbook, where image can be seen as text, and text is sometimes used as image."

Tian Wu

See also Chinese Americans; Pei, I. M.

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Lin, Tung-Yen (T. Y.) (1911–2003)

Tung-Yen Lin was a prominent Chinese American educator and pioneering engineer. He was born in Fuzhou, China, on November 14, 1911, to Chinese Supreme Court Judge Ting Chang Lin and Feng-Yi Kuo Lin. His family moved to Beijing shortly after his birth, where he was homeschooled until age 12. He entered Jiao Tong University's Tang Shan Engineering College at the age of 14 and graduated with a bachelor's degree in civil engineering in 1931. He subsequently started civil engineering graduate studies at the University of California, Berkeley, and received a master's degree in 1933.

Lin returned to China to work for the Chinese Ministry of Railways, where he was quickly promoted to chief bridge engineer in the Chongqing-Chengdu

railway section. Over the course of his career, he would be responsible for the survey, design, and construction of over 1,000 bridges in China. Lin married Margaret Kuo in 1941. They would eventually have two children and five grandchildren. Lin continued his work even as the Japanese invaded China.

In 1946, Lin accepted an assistant professor of civil engineering at the University of California, Berkeley. He remained in Berkeley for the rest of his career, eventually serving as chair of the Division of Structural Engineering and Structural Mechanics from 1960 to 1963. Students remember his unique teaching style of emphasizing design instead of analysis.

Lin's most notable civil engineering contribution was his work on prestressed concrete in the 1950s. Prestressed concrete is an economical and efficient method of embedding steel cables into concrete such that the combined material is stronger and more resistant to tension. Eugene Freyssinet, a French engineer, was responsible for the scientific discovery of the method, however, Lin was able to present the new technology in a practical way.

Lin also applied his expertise to the professional world, creating his own engineering firm T. Y. Lin Associates in Los Angeles. The firm pioneered using prestressed concrete in both high-rise and bridge construction. The firm is now known as T. Y. Lin International and has offices across the United States and the Asia Pacific.

However, Lin also realized engineering's potential in diplomacy. In the 1950s, he began designs of an "International Peace Bridge" that would cross the Bering Strait and thus bridge the Soviet Union and United States. Though never built, the design concept remained a symbol for Cold War thaw. Later in the 1970s, Lin went back to his native China to give a month-long lecture series on engineering in numerous cities. This trip marked the first technical exchange between the United States and the People's Republic of China. These accomplishments, among others, ultimately led to President Ronald Reagan awarding Lin the National Medal of Science in 1986.

When asked about his ongoing enthusiasm for his International Peace Bridge design, Lin responded, "You spend money on bombs, and in 10 years they're out of date. You have to throw them away or destroy

them. But you build bridges, they last forever." Lin passed away on November 15, 2003, a day after he turned 92.

Alan Zhao

See also Chinese Americans

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Lin, Yutang (1895–1976)

Born in Zhangzhou, China, in 1895, Lin Yutang is the most widely read Chinese writer in America and the English-speaking world. Born in a Chinese Christian family, Lin attended St. John's University in Shanghai and went to America and Germany for graduate education. He taught English in Beijing Women's Normal University on his return to China in 1922; served as the dean of the Humanities at Xiamen University in 1926; and emerged as a preeminent writer, literary critic, and translator in Shanghai in the early 1930s. He immigrated to America in 1936, became mainly a writer in English, and was recognized as an exponent of China and Chinese civilization in the West.

Lin Yutang's fame as a writer in the English-speaking world was first established with the publication of the best-selling *My Country and My People* (1935). His portrayal of the Chinese as loyal, reserved, modest, obedient to elders, and respectful of authority, and his interpretation of Taoism as a philosophy of patience and belief in maintaining a low profile had an enormous impact on American readers. The book

underwent 11 reprintings within two years and became a record-breaking success for a Chinese writer in America.

Lin Yutang subsequently published more than 30 books and numerous articles in English and was continuously lauded by Western critics as a “cultural eye-opener” on China. Chinese and Asian American scholars view Lin’s writing in English differently, however. They argue that Lin misrepresents Chinese culture in precisely the way that Chinese and Asian Americans find offensive, and they criticize Lin’s English writing of representing no more than an effort to exploit “Oriental exoticism” to boost his fame in the West.

Interestingly, although Lin Yutang’s English writing seems to collaborate rather than challenge the stereotyping of the Chinese in the West, his work written in Chinese assumes a surprisingly opposite role. In contrast to the polite and self-mocking tone, light-hearted jokes, and apolitical attitude that characterizes his English writing, his writing in Chinese (published during the same period) was often highly political, angry, impassioned, and even rebellious. For example, in a Chinese essay that appeared shortly before *My Country and My People*, Lin expressed concern with sharp and sensitive feeling for the well-being of the Chinese people: “I am not dreaming: I only wish there would be a good university run by the Chinese so that our children could have a place to study without having to attend schools taught by foreign devils.” In another essay, “Guoshi waiyi” (“China in Crisis”), written after the publication of *My Country and My People*, Lin argued emotionally that the only way to save China was to stand up to foreign pressures and the Chinese government must stop the practice of “spineless diplomacy.” In these essays, his bitter criticism of government policies and passionate defense of the rights of the Chinese people differed dramatically from his humble tone and the doctrine of “endurance and passivity” that he preached in *My Country and My People*.

Lin Yutang’s occasional writing in Chinese, after his settlement in America, also contained criticism and thorny remarks not seen in English. In an essay for the Chinese press in 1943, Lin commented sarcastically on U.S. presidential elections as a competition for politicians to “tell lies.” The biting remarks presented a

sharp contrast to the amiable words and praise of American society in Lin’s English writing.

The progressive views in Lin Yutang’s Chinese writing were no accident. He was a friend of left-wing Chinese writers such as Lu Xun and Yu Dafu. When the League of Defense for Chinese Democracy, a left-wing organization, was founded in Shanghai in 1932, Lin was an elected member of its standing committee and participated in the organization’s activities until he moved to America.

There are various explanations for why Lin Yutang became so “whitewashed” in his English writing, and Lin himself admitted he was “a person full of contradictions.” Two factors are particularly worth mentioning. First, Lin was thrilled by the fame and fortune his role as “an interpreter of China to the West” bestowed. Until the 1960s, he was the only Asian American to be included in *The Picture Book of Famous Immigrants*, where his name was listed together with that of Eleutherie Irene Dupont and Andrew Carnegie. Second, money meant a great deal to Lin, who had grown up in an impoverished family. His daughter recalled Lin enjoyed enormous financial rewards for his publications in English. He made \$36,000 in 1938, \$42,000 in 1939, and \$46,800 in 1940—extraordinary sums in those days.

Editors and agents also influenced Lin Yutang’s writing in English. Particularly influential were Pearl S. Buck, the foremost missionary writer on China, and her husband, Richard J. Walsh, whose publishing house, the John Day Company, brought out most of Lin’s work in English. Lin himself acknowledged Buck and Walsh played an extensive role in his choice of subject matter and themes for his work published in English.

The discrepancy between writing in Chinese and English by Lin Yutang and others seems to indicate that Chinese immigrant writers sometimes assume different identities when working in English. Intending to present the world in the best possible light, they may make conscious choices to provide what they believe mainstream audiences want.

Lin Yutang spent most of his later years in Taiwan and Hong Kong, where he died in 1976. He taught at the Chinese University in Hong Kong for a time and presided over the compilation of *Chinese-English*

Dictionary of Modern Usage (1973). As an important and influential literary figure in the Chinese world, Lin was nominated for the Nobel Prize in Literature several times in the early 1970s.

Xiao-huang Yin

See also Chinese Americans

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Lincecum, Tim (1984–)

One of the most dominating starting pitchers in Major League Baseball (MLB), Tim Lincecum possesses Filipino ancestry on his mother's side. Born and raised in Washington, Lincecum was drafted in 2006 out of the University of Washington by the San Francisco Giants of the National League. The young right-hander was pitching in the MLB the next year. In 2008 and 2009, Lincecum won the prestigious Cy Young Award as the best pitcher in the National League. In 2010, his personal statistics were down a bit, but he sparkled when it counted for the World Champion Giants. Particularly brilliant was Lincecum's pitching performance in the deciding game of the World Series. On Saturday, July 13, 2013, pitching for the San Francisco Giants Lincecum threw his first no-hitter. His milestone win came against the San Diego Padres as he recorded a season-high 13 strikeouts and threw a career-high 148 pitches in a 9–0 victory.

Joel S. Franks

See also Filipino American Baseball

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Little India and South Asian Communities

As immigrants find their way in a new country, they often gravitate toward one another because of the shared experience of being pushed out of their home countries and the desire to re-create the familiarity of what they left behind. An ethnic community can take various shapes. The most obvious one is a physical district with a concentration of ethnic restaurants, grocery stores, accountants, cultural stores, travel agencies, and the like, all with signs in an ethnic language. Indian Americans have constructed relatively few such districts compared to other immigrant groups. Although "Little Indias" as they can be called are not as numerous as Chinatowns across the country, Indian Americans have found other ways to affirm community ties and still demonstrate their commitment to the United States.

Starting in the early 1900s, Indian immigrants in California, mostly men, settled in Yuba City, Stockton, and Imperial Valley, often arriving from the Pacific Northwest. Mostly engaged in farming, they opened up only a few shops. Still, families formed close ties to one another. A Sikh temple was built in 1915 in Stockton, California. It served as a community site for Indians, including non-Sikhs, in the surrounding area. For instance, noteworthy visiting Indians would come to the temple. The communities continue today, with descendants preserving their grandparents' past. (For instance, the Pioneers Park and Pioneers Museum

and Cultural Center of Imperial Valley, California, have an exhibition on Indian American early immigrants.) Smaller Indian communities also settled in New York City, New Orleans, and a few other locales on the East Coast in the early 1900s.

Rather than gradually grow over time with more immigration, these communities were threatened by racist immigration laws that cut off new arrivals. Immigration from India effectively halted following the Immigration Act of 1917, which created the Asiatic Barred Zone that included China, South Asia, and parts of the Middle East. With U.S. laws prohibiting bringing over relatives, the lack of clear job mobility, and the sojourner mentality of the immigrants even before arrival, about 3,000 Indians returned to India in the 1920s and 1930s, which accounted for approximately half the population in the United States at that time. Only in 1946 did immigration resume with the passage of the Luce-Celler Act and even then the quota was capped at only 100 persons per year. Immigrants who arrived in the 1940s and 1950s settled in various parts of the country. In most instances, wives joined husbands already settled, which helped immigrants feel more grounded in the United States but did not immediately lead to establishing geographically identifiable communities among Indians. Some noteworthy immigration took place at this time despite the limited numbers. For example, a handful of Gujaratis arrived in San Francisco at this time and found opportunities in the hotel industry. Even though they lived within a few blocks of one another, this was not an ethnic enclave. With the work hours required of immigrants, whether as business owners, physicians, laborers, or otherwise, there was little time to form strong relations with fellow coethnics. Community organizations were hard to form and maintain. As another example, a physician and his wife in Washington D.C. in the late 1950s socialized with the few other Indian physicians they met at that time. Friendships were strong, but these did not constitute a sizable community.

A lack of community infrastructure was common until the 1970s, when enough Indians immigrated after passage of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965. Still, despite the influx of immigrants, Indians were not quick to form large enclaves. Indians were a bit unlike other Asian immigrants at that time in that

they had reasonably strong English skills. They either had jobs or found them quickly, and these jobs took them all over the country. Physicians, for instance, found residencies in underresourced urban and rural hospitals, a trend that continues today. Engineers found positions in large and small firms dotted around the country. Small business owners would seek the best deal on a new business, with little regard to the distance from fellow coethnics. In other words, economic necessity trumped social-emotional preferences. As many such immigrants have suggested, if one is willing to leave one's homeland and travel across the world in pursuit of economic stability, it makes no sense to not move within the United States to secure financial stability.

Rather than a locale and its ethnic infrastructure drawing immigrants toward it, Indian immigrants would go to a locality for work, connect to the few Indians there, and then develop a smaller ethnic infrastructure. This infrastructure starts in the home and revolves around the family (which means that those who do not fit the heteronormative model are often not fully included and must start their own communities). Families unite around religious or other ethnic bonds (e.g., language, food), which for Indians means that multiple smaller communities form even as Indian as a whole come together at certain times and occasions (e.g., national holidays). Common activities include group worship at one's home each weekend.

Places of worship grow over time and are a good barometer of the size and resources of an ethnic community. As a community grows in numbers and resources, its places of worship correspondingly become more institutionalized. Even Christian immigrants generally seek out ethnic congregations, often because of language needs but also as a way of affirming cultural ties. The first step in forming religious communities is families worshipping together taking turns hosting the gathering in their private homes. For major holidays they will utilize a public space, such as a high school or church. As more families move into the locale, they may accrue enough money to purchase a small, nondescript house and use it as a place of worship. Such spaces exist on residential area with no street sign indicating their function. Gradually, as a community collects enough donations, it may purchase

an already existing commercial space. In this way ethnic communities bring life to buildings otherwise vacant or underutilized. For instance, the BAPS Swaminarayan community in Atlanta converted a closed roller-skating rink into a temple. Ultimately communities seek to build temples in a traditional architectural style. After many years in the roller rink, the Atlanta community raised enough money not only from members in the region but also elsewhere to build one of the largest Swaminarayan temple outside of India and possibly the largest Hindu temple in the United States, with religious materials and statues imported from India. Indian communities are changing rural and suburban landscapes as they construct elaborate spaces. And temples serve more than simply religious functions. They serve as cultural centers, sometimes explicitly noted in their names, where dance or music performances are held and classes are taught.

Along with religious places, communities build up professional, social, and other cultural organizations. They also gradually start to address their own needs in more formal ways. Community service organizations arise that assist seniors, survivors of intimate partner violence, and to meet other community needs. Eventually, ethnic communities start to sponsor their own political candidates and connect to a broader range of politicians to promote awareness of their needs and interests.

Like other groups whose members have become more economically independent of one another, Indian Americans accomplish this community often without a core urban center. Ethnic commercial districts may develop but remain relatively small. Instead, stores and organizations open in varied neighborhoods, following where immigrants settle. Communities that are not geographically concentrated face challenges in sustaining their infrastructure. The affluence of the community members and influx of recent immigrants helps sustain them, but as individuals find support for their interests in mainstream spaces closer to home (e.g., as popular grocery stores stock ethnic items) or in the virtual world, ethnic sites become harder to sustain.

Although most Indian Americans do not reside in a densely populated ethnic neighborhood, “Little Indias” of sorts pepper a few major cities. For

example, Chicago has Devon Street and New York City has Jackson Heights in Queens and “Curry Hill” in Manhattan. Near Los Angeles is Artesia, which has its own Indian district. Edison and Jersey City in New Jersey have strong commercial and residential districts. In each of these places, Indian-owned stores providing ethnic services stretch on for blocks.

Such districts have quite often started as commercial sites first with inexpensive rents rather than residential sites. As one Indian-centered store opens and attracts customers from surrounding areas, other entrepreneurs open nearby to capitalize on the market. Soon, the area becomes known as a good location for ethnic stores. At times residential settlement drives commercial development. For instance, Indians had been known to live in Jackson Heights, and stores have located there in response. As residents earned more income and moved to other parts of the city or surrounding areas, newer immigrants have entered.

The locales become hubs for the community. In addition to stores, cultural centers have started, such as the Indo American Heritage Museum on Devon Street in Chicago. India Day Parades take place in these enclaves, such as through Oak Tree Road in Edison, New Jersey. On weekends these districts attract coethnics from surrounding areas, who utilize them for commercial purposes.

Movie theaters showing Bollywood movies open in these districts (and elsewhere), which serve as community gathering spaces for families and friends. Originally just in a few select cities, such movie theaters are now in cities across the country. For major hit films entire families will attend and the weekend shows will sell out. Alongside popcorn at the concession stands are samosas. Such theaters now show a mixture of Bollywood and Hollywood films, guaranteeing an audience even when the Bollywood offerings do not fare well. Festivals, whether held in “Little Indias” or in rented-out gymnasiums or in an urban downtown, reflect the public face of Indian communities and offer a chance for people to celebrate together.

Community is created by more than physical spaces. As well documented, newspapers create a sense of community and commitment among readers. Indian Americans are served by a number of ethnic

newspapers and television stations. The newspapers, some over 40 years old, often started as monthlies and focused on news from India, along with a bit of coverage of their particular location. As the media outlets grew along with the Indian American population, they began to publish more frequently and include stories from around the nation. In turn readers accumulate common points of reference and affirm a greater solidarity. These papers and television programs cover news that the mainstream press does not, including world affairs. For instance, the ethnic media covered the assassination of Indira Gandhi in 1985 in more depth than found on standard news outlets. Increasingly, social media and the virtual world serve as community sites, with countless web sites, Facebook pages, and discussion groups.

Although community is ultimately a subjective notion, the infrastructure to create that sentiment is important for immigrants to feel grounded in their new country. As ethnic groups grow over time with new immigrants and new generations, they can create a stronger community. Ironically, then, the longer ethnic groups are in the United States, the more ethnic presence they can build. This is not to suggest that coethnics always get along or encounter no barriers to forming strong bonds. For instance, business competition between business owners can limit bonds. Still, to varying degrees, ethnic communities will arise as people congregate. Ethnic communities dissipate as immigration dries up and later generations lack cultural or instrumental reasons to come together—contemporary Indian Americans show no signs of that. Immigrants continue to arrive at a high rate and the U.S.-raised generations continue to feel drawn toward their ethnicity.

Pawan Dhingra

See also Chinatown, New York; Indian Americans; Koreatown; Little Saigon and Vietnamese American Communities; Luce-Celler Act of 1946

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Little Saigon and Vietnamese American Communities

Vietnamese American communities and their commercial and cultural enclaves have developed all over the United States since the early 1980s. Vietnamese Americans are now the fourth-largest Asian American group in the country (after immigrants from China, India, and the Philippines in order of size). According to the 2007 Survey of Business Owners report, the percentage of Vietnamese Americans who own businesses has

increased by 56 percent since 2002, compared to the 40 percent increase of other Asian groups.

The oldest and largest of these enclaves is Little Saigon in suburban Orange County, California. Situated in a historically white community lined with orange groves in Southern California, Little Saigon has helped bolster the region's economy with tourism and business. According to 2010 Census figures, the Vietnamese American population in Southern California is 271,000, by far the largest concentration outside of Vietnam. Little Saigon sprawls out from the city of Westminster to adjacent cities of Fountain Valley, Garden Grove, and Santa Ana.

Orange County's Little Saigon is situated about 60 miles north of Camp Pendleton, the Marine Corps base, the first of four emergency processing centers set up to receive the "first wave" of evacuees from South Vietnam in April 1975. About 50,000 Vietnamese were processed through the makeshift "tent cities" of Camp Pendleton in 1975. From the initial entry at Camp Pendleton, many Vietnamese resettled in the Orange County to work in the nearby defense and high-tech industries and in small entrepreneurial enterprises. Timothy Linh Bui's 2001 film, *Green Dragon*, focuses on the experiences of Vietnamese Americans and American marines in Camp Pendleton during this transitional period. Southern California's warm climate and then-affordable housing and real estate provided additional incentives for secondary migrations into the region. Thus, charitable organizations, namely Saint Anselm's, led the effort in meeting the needs of the Southeast Asian communities newly arrived in the region.

Today, Little Saigon offers what sociologists have termed "institutional completeness" for Vietnamese Americans, meaning the enclave can meet all the economic, social, linguistic, and cultural needs of the community within its geographical boundaries.

Historical Development

The development of a Vietnamese American business district in Orange County has been credited to ethnic Chinese immigrants from Vietnam, Danh Quach and Frank Jao, who built the Asian Garden Mall in the heart of Little Saigon. Quach and Jao's ethnic Chinese

background has been cause for controversy within the Vietnamese American community because of centuries-old antagonism between the Vietnamese and the Chinese. They were the pioneers who first established businesses in the area in 1978. Jao's early ventures in real estate development have contributed to putting this enclave on the map as a formally recognized Little Saigon replete with its own signposts from the freeways and a monument dedicated to South Vietnamese and American allies at the Sid Goldstein Freedom Park nearby.

On the surface, Little Saigon appears to be a thriving ethnic enclave unified by language and culture with the myriad ethnic Vietnamese- and Chinese-owned businesses patronized by a large clientele from surrounding cities. From an outsider's vantage point, this recent immigrant group seems to be cohesive and economically successful, living out the American Dream and taking their place among the "model minority." Looking closely, it becomes apparent that the model minority stereotype does not account for the enormous diversity of experience among the Vietnamese American community represented by Little Saigon.

Historically, factors that have united this community despite their heterogeneity in class and education include the common bond of anti-Communist sentiments. An important aspect of Little Saigon, and a reason for its conservatism and pervasive anti-Communist politics, is that it is home to many officers of the former South Vietnamese regime as well as those more recent immigrants sponsored via the Orderly Departure Program (1979–1994), former political prisoners who served a minimum of three years in Communist reeducation camps.

Because the memories of war atrocities committed by the Viet Cong (on both the battlefield and in reeducation camps) remain alive in the consciousness of this community, they inevitably influence the community's politics and its attitude toward mainstream America and Vietnam. A majority of the Vietnamese American community has favored the Republican Party, evidenced by the tradition of support for GOP candidates. A notable event in the 2000 presidential campaign indicating this loyalty to the GOP was when presidential candidate John McCain used the term

“gook” unapologetically in referencing his Viet Cong captors and was still endorsed by Vietnamese American community leaders. Despite the racism that is apparent by the use of such a slur, a large faction of the community overlooked McCain’s speech and gave him a “hero’s welcome” to Orange County’s Little Saigon on March 1, 2000.

Little Saigon has been featured in numerous films, documentaries, books, and even a cookbook. One noteworthy representation of Little Saigon and Vietnamese American Communities is the Smithsonian’s traveling exhibition (2007–2010) “Exit Saigon, Enter Little Saigon,” which featured stories of Vietnamese Americans since 1975 through photo and text panels as well as accompanying educational materials.

Cultural and Social Hub

Every lunar New Year, or *Tet*, Vietnamese Americans come to Orange County’s Little Saigon from all over the country, and even as far as Australia and France, to celebrate the most important holiday for the community. The Tet Festival has been organized by Vietnamese Americans since the very beginning of the community’s formation, albeit very modestly among church groups in the late 1970s. In 1982, the Union of Vietnamese Student Associations (UVSA) consolidated the Tet Festival into a large event that now attracts over 100,000 people every year.

Besides Tet, Little Saigon serves the important function of being the cultural and social hub for Vietnamese Americans and, arguably, all overseas Vietnamese. One way this community stays such a focal point is through its extensive media networks, which includes the largest Vietnamese language daily newspaper in the country, *Nguoi Viet Daily News*. In 1978, Yen Ngoc Do started *Nguoi Viet* from his Garden Grove home. Today, the ethnic press is thriving in Orange County and elsewhere in the United States.

Radio and television are also important sites through which Vietnamese across the United States receive their news and information to maintain an “imagined community” with those spread out all over the country. Popular television channels include Saigon Broadcasting Television Network (SBTN), SaigonTV, and VietFace TV. Radio stations include

Vietnam California Radio (VNCR), Little Saigon Radio, Radio Free Vietnam, and many more. In concert with the news and information industry, Vietnamese Americans are connected via popular entertainment through the music variety show Thuy Nga *Paris by Night* and its competitor Asia Entertainment. These music variety shows, featuring singers of popular Vietnamese music and dancing, are performed live and taped to circulate widely in the United States and abroad. Although they broadcast internationally, they are headquartered in Orange County’s Little Saigon.

Little Saigon meets the needs of Vietnamese Americans through not only providing outlets of entertainment and circuits of news and information, but by the consolidation of food, goods, and services. Restaurants are the most popular attractions for those living in Little Saigon and those who make excursions to the enclave. Grocery stores carrying items not found in mainstream groceries, such as fish sauce, also draw those from surrounding areas to do their shopping in Little Saigon. A variety of service establishments such as beauty salons and foot massage salons have cropped up all over the Orange County area, providing these services for a fraction of mainstream prices.

More recently, language schools and tutoring centers have emerged to meet the demands of a community transitioning into a third generation. Many community organizations geared toward social services that were active in the initial stages of community development have now given way to social and cultural organizations aimed at preserving Vietnamese heritage and disseminating Vietnamese culture. For example, the Vietnamese American Arts and Letters Association (VAALA) was founded in 1991 by journalists, artists, and supporters to promote art by and for the community. They organize the biennial Vietnamese International Film Festival, bringing together films and documentary features and shorts about Vietnam and the diaspora since 2003.

Vietnamese American Communities

Vietnamese American communities have formed all over the United States as a cushion against the assimilative forces of mainstream society and as a means for

Vietnamese Americans to be among others sharing similar historical and cultural background and language. The second-largest concentration of Vietnamese Americans outside of Southern California can be found in Northern California, specifically San Jose and its surrounding cities, anchored by Grand Century Mall—the successor to Lion Plaza. Like others, Vietnamese Americans were drawn to the area by the ascension of Silicon Valley from the 1970s, providing ample job opportunities in the high-tech sector and assembly lines.

In 2007, Vietnamese Americans in San Jose lobbied to name the area comprising of over 200 Vietnamese businesses “Little Saigon,” but efforts for formal recognition failed because of internal political divisions within the community. Madison Nguyen, a Vietnamese American councilwoman, was the first to spearhead the effort at naming the business district. However, during the naming controversy, she was dubbed a “Communist” by her opponents and effectively stalled the process. At the writing of this entry, there is an effort by 1.5- and second-generation Vietnamese Americans to name an area of San Diego “Little Saigon” as well. This area in the eastern San Diego neighborhood of City Heights is diverse along lines of race and ethnicity. Most living in the area are newer immigrants.

The third largest concentration of Vietnamese Americans can be found in Houston, Texas, represented by the four-mile stretch of Bellaire Boulevard. In the 2000s, Houston’s Vietnamese American population increase has been attributed to outmigration from California because of high home prices and cost of living. Hurricane Katrina in the Gulf Coast of 2005 also displaced many Vietnamese Americans from Louisiana to seek new livelihoods in Texas.

In New Orleans, Vietnamese Americans are concentrated in an area called Versailles, where they are primarily united through their membership in the Catholic community. Vietnamese were drawn to the area because of active sponsorship by Catholic parishes for refugee resettlement, availability of jobs in the service sector, and the fishing and shrimping industry. When Hurricane Katrina toppled communities in New Orleans East, Vietnamese Americans became

much more politicized and actively reconstructed their communities through church- and youth-led efforts. In the wake of Katrina, Vietnamese American community organizations have emerged stronger, such as Vietnamese American Young Leaders Association of New Orleans (VAYLA-NO). The community has been cast by the media as triply-displaced, yet fiercely resilient. In a documentary titled *A Village Called Versailles*, S. Leo Chiang shows the strategies Vietnamese Americans in New Orleans deployed in fighting for their homes and their community.

On the East Coast, Vietnamese Americans have come together in areas such as Boston’s Fields Corner and Falls Church, Virginia’s Eden Center. Boston’s urban density framed the construction of a Vietnamese American neighborhood that serves as a “panethnic” and immigrant-focused social services center. Sociologist Karin Aguilar-San Juan’s 2009 book, *Little Saigons: Staying Vietnamese in America*, explores the parallels and differences between Orange County’s Little Saigon and Boston’s Fields Corner as a comparative case study in place-making and community building. Aguilar-San Juan argues that Vietnamese American place-making must be contextualized as part of a broader framework of ethnic enclaves and processes through which groups seek critical mass and political representation.

In a smaller suburban community in Springfield, Massachusetts, Vietnamese Americans were honored during Asian Pacific American Heritage Month (April 2010) when the city council raised the South Vietnam, or “Freedom and Heritage” flag at City Hall. Finally, when Vietnamese Americans do not lay geographical claim to a particular neighborhood or section of a city, they often integrate into other established, or pan-Asian, business districts. This is certainly the case for Honolulu’s Chinatown, which houses many Vietnamese-owned businesses and caters toward this population as well. Los Angeles Chinatown has seen a transition toward a predominant Chinese-Vietnamese population since the 1980s and the physical evidence can be found in multilingual business signs and languages spoken among residents and patrons there.

Thuy Vo Dang

See also Chinatown, New York; Koreatown; Little India and South Asian Communities; Luce-Celler Act of 1946; Têt; Vietnamese Americans

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Liu, Henry (1932–1984)

Henry Liu, more well-known by his pen name Chiang Nan, was a writer and journalist. Liu was best known for writing *A Biography of Chiang Ching-kuo*, which was about the former president of the Republic of China (ROC) in Taiwan and the son of Chiang Kai-shek. Lin was assassinated on October 15, 1984, in Daly City, California by gang members. Because the murder was highly suspected as a political assassination solicited by the ROC intelligence services, the U.S. government was under great pressure to bring Liu's mastermind to trial. The U.S.-ROC relation dropped to its bottom during the period. *The New York Times* described the incident as sullyng Taiwan's international image. The CBS show *60 Minutes* ran a special episode on the issue as well. The Jiang Nan Incident was subject of the book *Fires of the Dragon* by David E. Kaplan. In 2009, it was adapted in the film *Formosa Betrayed*.

Liu was born on December 7, 1932, in Jingjiang, Jiangsu province of China. His father died when Liu was nine. He was drafted into the Nationalist (Kuomintang) army when he was 16 and evacuated to Taiwan in 1949. During the 1950s, he attended the Political Warfare Cadres Academy, also known as Fu Hsing Kang College (Renaissance Hill), which was run by Chiang Ching-kuo. He was a reporter for the *Taiwan Daily News* from 1963 to 1967. In 1967, Liu moved to Washington, D.C. as a special correspondent for the newspaper with his newly married wife, Helen Liu. In addition to writing for the newspaper, Liu also worked on his PhD in political science at American University. Liu stopped writing for the *Taiwan Daily News* in 1973. He became a naturalized U.S. citizen the same year.

In the early 1970s, Liu began collecting materials and writing articles about the Chiang family. In 1983, Liu's book, *A Biography of Chiang Chingkuo*, was serialized in the *California Tribune*. On October 15, 1984, when preparing to write a biography of Wu Kuocheng, former secretary of Chiang Kai-shek, Liu was assassinated in the garage of his home in Daly City, California by Chen Chili, Wu Tun, and Tung Kueisan, members of the Bamboo Union triad, who had been solicited and trained by the ROC military intelligence for the killing. After discovering an incriminating recording by Chen Chili, the FBI determined that Wang Hsiling, Hu Yimin, and Chen Humen, the leadership of the ROC's military intelligence, had ordered the assassination.

In September 1985, Tung Kueisan was arrested in Brazil and extradited to the United States. He testified that Chiang Hsiaowu, son of President Chiang Chingkuo, was the mastermind of the Jiang Nan Incident. The U.S. House of Representatives soon passed a resolution demanding the extradition of the suspects. The ROC government refused to comply with this demand and ended the trials of Chen Chili, Wu Tun, Wang Hsiling, Hu Yimin and Chen Humen.

Some people believed that the Jiang Nan Incident was the crucial moment for Taiwan's democratic movement. Under great public pressure in Taiwan and from overseas, President Chiang Chingkuo stated for the first time during a *Time* magazine interview on August 16, 1985 that the future president of the ROC

would not be a member of the Chiang family but be elected in accordance with the constitution. In 1990, the ROC government reached an out-of-court settlement with Liu's wife, agreeing to pay US\$1.5 million in "Humanitarian Relief."

Chi-ting Peng

See also Chinese Americans; Taiwanese Americans

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Lo, Lormong (1959–2011)

Lormong Lo was a Hmong American city councilman from Nebraska. He was first appointed to the Omaha City Council in 1994 and was reelected to serve until 2001. During his time on the city council, Lo also became the first Hmong American city council president. He was a member of the Republican Party.

Lormong Lo was born in Laos. Like many other Hmongs that lived in Laos, Lo and his family worked for the CIA during the Secret War against Communist forces in the Vietnam War. After 1975, Lo and an older brother fled their home country (and the Communist regime) for Thailand, but left behind their parents and other siblings. During his time in a refugee camp in Thailand, Lo became aware of the plight of other refugees and tried to help them by obtaining food and supplies from churches, temples, and international organizations. Lo moved to Omaha, Nebraska in 1976 through the assistance of faith-based organizations.

Although Lo knew little English when he first arrived in the United States, he worked hard and eventually graduated from Ralston High School in 1979. Even though Lo had to work multiple jobs as a college

student, he received his bachelor's degree in political science from Creighton University in 1983. He became a naturalized citizen in 1988.

Before being appointed to the Omaha City Council in 1994, Lo gained community and public service experience as an intern in the mayor's business development office in the summer of 1990. Furthermore, he worked as the executive director of the Woodbury County Community Action Agency in Sioux City, Iowa. Lo also founded the Lao-Hmong Association of Nebraska Refugee Center, an organization that serves to assist Hmong refugees. Additionally, when Lo worked for the Omaha City Department of Planning, he held the position of community development coordinator and worked closely with community groups to rehabilitate the state of inner-city housing.

In early 1994, Lo left his job at the Omaha Planning Department when he was chosen by the Omaha City Council to fill the seat vacated by a council member who had resigned. After three years on the council, Lo was elected to a second term in 1997 and also became the president of the Omaha City Council. Lo also had the opportunity to be the first Hmong American acting mayor when he took over briefly for Mayor Hal Daub.

Although Lo always strove to help the local community, his time on the city council was not without controversy. As acting mayor, Lo used his authority to settle a prolonged contract dispute between the city and the local firefighters' union. It was a decision that many of Lo's Republican constituents were not happy about. And during Lo's second term in the city council, he proposed a ban on the use of fetal tissue from elective abortion for medical research. Some speculated that this "bold" policy proposal was a way for Lo to appeal to his antiabortion, conservative voters.

Lo's public service experience extended beyond his involvement in the Omaha City Council. He was also the vice chairman of the National League of Cities economic development committee. Lo was unsuccessful in his second reelection bid and left the city council when his term ended in 2001.

Jeanette Yih Harvie

See also Hmong of Minnesota and California; Political Representation

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Locke, Gary (1950–)

Gary Locke, an Asian American politician and Democrat, is the 36th secretary of commerce, serving under the Obama Administration. Locke was also the 21st governor of the state of Washington, serving for two terms between 1997 and 2005. He was the first Chinese American to serve as governor.

Gary Locke was born Gary Faye Locke on January 21, 1950, in Seattle, Washington, to third-generation immigrants on his paternal side. Coming from humble beginnings, Locke spent his childhood in a public housing project for veterans of World War II. After graduating with honors from high school, Locke attended Yale University with a combination of financial aid, scholarships, and part-time jobs. Locke graduated in 1972 with a BA in political science. In 1975, Locke also earned a law degree from Boston University.

After law school, Locke returned to the state of Washington and put his legal expertise to good use serving as a prosecutor in King County. Locke's political career took off when he was elected to the Washington State House of Representatives in 1982. During his tenure as state representative (1983–1994), Locke spent five years serving as the chairman of the State House Appropriations Committee.

After a brief three-year tenure as the 5th King County Executive, Locke would go on to win the Washington gubernatorial race in 1996. Thus, Locke would become the first Chinese American to serve as a governor in the United States. Locke served two terms as governor of the State of Washington (from 1997 to 2005). Somewhat as a surprise, Locke opted not to run for reelection after his second term and was succeeded by fellow Democrat Christine Gregoire.

Some have speculated that threats to Locke and his family were contributing factors in his decision not to run again.

In 2009, President Barack Obama invited Locke to join his administration as the secretary of commerce, which he accepted. Gary Locke became the 36th secretary of commerce and was sworn in on March 26, 2009. Locke is the first Chinese American to hold this position in the presidential cabinet. He also became the third Asian American to be appointed to the Obama administration (the other two being Energy Secretary Steven Chu and Veteran Affairs Secretary Eric Shinseki).

Locke was deemed by many as a good choice for the job of commerce secretary because of his confirmed belief that the United States needs a positive relation with China. Also, as the two-term governor of the most trade-dependent state in the country (one-third of the jobs in Washington depend on foreign trade), Locke has worked hard to ensure an amiable relationship between the state and many of its trade partners. In particular, Locke introduced Washington-based companies to China and, as a result, greatly increased Washington State exports to China. Also, Locke made multiple trade trips to China and has a good relationship with members in the Chinese leadership, including Chinese President Hu Jintao. During his two terms as governor, Locke and his administration helped to create over 280,000 jobs in the state of Washington.

Locke, a Democrat, has also been a long-time ally of the Clintons. Aside from campaigning for the Clinton-Gore ticket during their reelection, Locke supported Hillary Clinton's bid for the 2008 Democratic presidential nomination and signed on as the Clinton Washington State cochair. At this time, Locke was in the interim between leaving the gubernatorial office and his appointment as secretary of commerce.

Locke has held many esteemed political positions and has certainly broken the glass ceiling in terms of Asian Americans in American politics. As a third-generation Chinese American, Locke is not only proud of his heritage but has also been much-admired for his involvement and support for civil rights. Locke was recognized by the Leadership Conference of Civil Rights (LCCR) as well as The American Immigration

Law Foundation (AILF) as a person of exemplary commitment to the immigrant community.

Locke was appointed U.S. Ambassador to China in 2011.

Jeanette Yih Harvie

See also Chu, Steven; Political Representation

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Los Angeles Riots (1992)

The Los Angeles riots of 1992, the worst civil disturbance in America, exposed the deepening racial and class divisions in the United States. The divisions between the haves and have-nots, minority and majority, immigrants and natives, and even among the heterogeneous "minority" populations exacerbated distrust, fear, and hopelessness. On the one hand, because racial and ethnic groups perceive that they

are vying against each other to grab a piece of a shrinking pie, racial and ethnic conflicts in Los Angeles have proliferated in the aftermath of the riots. On the other hand, the riots increased racial and ethnic awareness and opened up dialogue between people who, prior to the riots, had little or no interaction with one another. Additionally, Asian American, African American, white, and Latino riot victims shared the same frustration and anger with the government for not providing adequate compensation for their losses.

For Korean Americans, the Los Angeles riots of 1992 fundamentally altered their discourse in America. The riots had such a profound economic, psychological, and ideological impact that it is often referred to as a "turning point," "wake-up call," and "defining moment" for the 100-year history of Korean immigration to the United States. When the smoke cleared, Korean Americans were among those suffering the heaviest losses: 2,280 Korean American-owned stores had been looted, burned, or damaged, amounting to about \$400 million in losses.

During the 1980s, conflict between Korean immigrant merchants and African American customers intensified throughout major cities in the United States including Los Angeles and New York. Several factors contributed to the exacerbation of the conflict between the two groups: economic, sociocultural, and a clash of ideologies. The "middleman minority" theory suggests that Korean immigrant merchants occupy the middle space between the dominant white society and oppressed African Americans. In other words, the middleman minority theory predicted that Korean merchants could not avoid friction with the African American community because of the built-in conflictual relationship with their African American customers. Korean merchants also faced hostility from African American merchants who charged that they were driving them out of business by undercutting prices. It is easy to see how the problem was exacerbated because the sellers were "immigrants" and the buyers poor.

Indeed, the root cause of the interethnic conflict appears to be economic survival. African American complaints against Korean merchants often focus on the following economic issues: (1) They (Korean merchants) do not hire African American workers. (2) They overcharge African American customers for



Korean shopping mall burns during the Los Angeles Riots, April 30, 1992. (AP Photo/Nick Ut)

inferior products. (3) They do not contribute their profits back to the African American community. In other words, African Americans perceived Korean merchants as a threat to their own economic survival. Some African Americans perceived Korean merchants as part of a long line of “outsiders” who exploited the African American community.

Cultural misunderstanding between the two groups played an important role in fueling and sometimes escalating the confrontations. African American customers complained that Korean merchants treated them with disrespect and that the merchants couldn’t communicate with them.

However, the reasons listed above were not the root cause of the Los Angeles riots of 1992, despite how the mainstream media portrayed it during and after the riots. Unaware of the history of oppression and exploitation of minority groups by white America, Korean immigrants believed that America is a “land of opportunities.” Confrontations were derived from the different historical, economic, and ideological experiences of these two groups.

Los Angeles Riots

The Los Angeles riots of 1992 involved not only whites and blacks but also Koreans, Latinos, and other groups. It is now widely known as America’s first multiethnic riot. Others have characterized it as “bread riots” suggesting a lower-class uprising. The looting and burning may have been an articulation of genuine grievances and protests against social and economic conditions that oppressed and discriminated against poor minorities. Several factors have contributed to the frustration and the worsening of conditions for residents of South Central Los Angeles: deindustrialization, the rise of neo-conservatism, dissatisfaction with law enforcement and the justice system, and the arrival of new Latino immigrants and Asian merchants.

Deindustrialization and relocation of American firms had a negative impact on the African American community. Many American corporations have shut down their manufacturing plants in the United States, relocating abroad (Asia and Mexico), where cheaper labor allows for lower production costs. This caused

African American workers to suffer displacement and unemployment. Deindustrialization, or the structural realignment of the American economy during the 1970s and 1980s, was the U.S. corporate response to the economic crisis created by increasing global competition. “Runaway shops” and overseas investment was an aggressive tactic by capitalists to regain competitiveness and increase profits. Many companies simply decided to pick up and move to other areas where wages were lower, unions weaker, and the business climate better.

Over the past few decades, the “politics of race” have successfully pointed the finger at the victims of racism and then repeatedly scapegoated immigrants or minorities for societal problems. It is important to note that anti-Asian sentiment and violence has increased in an atmosphere of neoconservative public policies, which scapegoat and blame victims. Furthermore, some argue that the neoconservative policies of the Republican administrations pitted minority groups against each other in the form of Korean–African American and Latino–African American tensions and increased the rise of antiminority violence during the 1980s.

The demands for justice were heard loud and clear during the “riots.” The problem of police brutality has been a major issue for African Americans living in the inner city. The Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) has had a reputation of brutalizing African American suspects. African American communities have long complained that it was common for African American suspects to be harassed and insulted by LAPD officers. Young African American men are often stopped just because they fit a “description” or are in the “wrong” neighborhood. The distrust and enmity between police and African American and Latino youths contributed to the explosion of the city in 1992. Therefore, the Christopher Commission, the Kolts Commission, the Webster Commission, and the Tucker Committee recommended systematic changes in the LAPD to establish a positive relationship with Los Angeles’s diverse communities.

Great Awakening: LA Riots Lessons

Korean Americans were virtually ignored in the United States prior to the 1992 Los Angeles riots. After the

riots Korean Americans gained visibility and recognition as a minority group—distinct from Chinese and Japanese Americans—because they were featured so prominently in media coverage. As Los Angeles burned, the Korean American was born—or reborn—on April 29, 1992.

In the aftermath of the Los Angeles riots, a study found that more than 50 percent of Korean businessmen were facing a “very difficult” financial situation. Psychological damage suffered by victims of the riots still lingers and is very much part of their daily lives. A survey conducted by the Korean American Inter-Agency Council (KAIAC) found that 15 percent of college-age youth had dropped out of school because of the riots. Many Korean Americans lost faith in the American Dream and began to wonder about their place and purpose of life in America. The riots also profoundly impacted Korean American family relations and stability. In retrospect, however, Korean Americans have gained much from the painful, tragic and traumatic experience of the riots; in particular, they have learned many valuable lessons regarding what it means to be a minority group in America.

In trying to rebuild after the riots, the storeowners discovered just how isolated and excluded from the political mainstream Korean Americans were. No one from City Hall or Sacramento paid any attention to the needs of Korean American victims. Many Korean Americans felt that they had been scapegoated as the cause of America’s racial problems by the media and politicians. In the aftermath of the riots, Korean Americans emerged as one of the most vulnerable, exploitable, and underrepresented minority groups in America. Political empowerment became a specific, concrete, and immediate goal for Korean Americans, and they began to take appropriate measures.

For second-generation Korean Americans, the riots gave rise to a renewed sense of pride and ethnic awareness. The riots profoundly altered perspectives of many second-generation Korean Americans who began to appreciate and closely identify with the suffering and pain of first-generation Korean immigrants. For the first time, the second generation could understand how difficult it was for their parents to adjust to life in America. They saw what happened to their parents’ stores and realized no one was there to help

or protect them. Reclaiming “Koreanness” for the second generation brought a new sense of Korean American ethnic identity and activism. A second-generation Korean American student wrote, “I used to just consider myself an American, usually neglecting to express my ethnic background. I was embarrassed and ashamed, because many Koreans had established a negative image among the media and the African Americans.” Second-generation Korean Americans realized that they had to rise to the occasion and provide the bridge between the voiceless and underrepresented Korean immigrants and the mainstream political arena.

On May 1, 1992, a few hundred young Korean Americans organized a “peace rally” in the heart of Koreatown. Calling for peace and harmony in the city and an end to violence and destruction, this rally would be one of the largest Asian American gatherings in the 150-year history of Asian Americans in the United States. On May 2, 1992, approximately 30,000—mostly Korean Americans—attended the peace rally to protest the lack of police protection during the riots and to call for racial harmony in the city. This rally marked a truly historic moment of unity among young, old, men, women, immigrant, 1.5-generation, and second-generation Korean Americans.

Multiethnic Coalition Building

The riots taught Korean Americans that they must adjust their thinking and behavior to live in a multiethnic society. The Korean American community must learn to work with other communities and participate in the making of a multiethnic Los Angeles. First-generation Korean Americans realized that because they were reared in a homogeneous society they were ill-prepared for life in a multiethnic metropolis. During the riots, Korean-language media, especially radio stations, functioned as the “life-line” for the Korean immigrant community providing critical information to desperate listeners. After the riots, Korean Americans showed great interest in learning about Latino and African American history and culture. Korean-language newspapers, television, and radio stations continued to inform, educate, and enlighten the community about African Americans and Latino experiences.

The Korean American community began to play an active role in promoting mutual understanding between different groups in Los Angeles: Such efforts include the Black-Korean Christian Alliance, Scholarships to African American students, trips to South Korea sponsored by the Korean government, and other activities. However, these efforts lacked institutional memory that can prolong relationships into concrete actions or projects.

Conclusion

The Los Angeles riots of 1992 revealed the complexity of interracial relations. However, Los Angeles is still without a specific plan to address the fundamental urban needs underscored by the economic and demographic restructuring during the past two decades. The lack of visions, plans, resources, and leadership pose major challenges for the city as it tries to rebuild its economic base and human relations between its many diverse communities. There have been many discussions and meetings to develop strategies and plans of action for the future of the Korean American community. Although the riots raised the social and political consciousness of Korean immigrants, implementing changes and actions to empower the community in a multiethnic and multiracial environment has not been easy.

The Los Angeles riots of 1992 not only increased ethnic solidarity among Korean Americans, but also raised multiethnic consciousness. Korean Americans learned many valuable lessons from the riots. And yet, the lessons Korean Americans learned from the riots have not produced concrete plans of action. The Korean American community must formalize the urgency of establishing local and national networks and institutions to economically and politically empower themselves.

Edward Taehan Chang

See also Korean Americans; Korean-Black Relations; Koreatown

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Louganis, Greg (1960–)

Gregory Efthimios Louganis is widely recognized as the greatest diver in the history of the sport. He won five Olympic medals during his career, including four gold medals at the 1984 and 1988 Olympic Games on both the 3-meter springboard and 10-meter platform, and he holds 47 National Championship titles. Louganis is the only male and the second diver (Patricia McCormick did it in 1952 and 1956) in Olympic history to gain double gold medals in two consecutive Olympics. He is also an accomplished LGBT rights activist, author, agility trainer, actor, dancer, model, public speaker, diving mentor, and philanthropist.

Louganis was born on January 29, 1960, of Samoan/Swedish descent in El Cajon, California. His parents, both 15 years old at the time, gave him up for adoption when he was eight months old, and he was raised in California by his adoptive parents, Peter and Frances Louganis, a Greek American couple. As a child, Louganis was bullied by schoolmates for his ethnicity, his dyslexia and his choices of “sissy-like” extracurricular activities—acrobatics, dance, and gymnastics. This experience deeply impacted his early life until, according to Louganis, he stopped playing the role of victim and began living a life of freedom. He wrote in an article in 2012 that “I mostly attribute my strength in that moment to my tormentors.” He began diving lessons at age eight after the family bought a swimming pool. Only two years after his first lesson, the 11-year-old Louganis was awarded a perfect 10 at the 1971 Junior Olympics national competition. He attended Santana High School in Santee, California, and Valhalla High School in El Cajon, California. He graduated from the University of California, Irvine in 1983, having majored in theater and minored in dance.

At the age of 16 Louganis took part in the 1976 Summer Olympics in Montreal and won an Olympic

silver medal for his performance in the 10-meter platform. At the 1984 Los Angeles Olympics, Louganis won gold medals in both the 3-meter springboard and 10-meter platform. In the 1988 Seoul Olympics, Louganis injured his head on the springboard during the preliminary rounds when performing a reverse 2½ pike, but he hit all 11 dives and won the gold medal. Competing against Xiong Ni, a Chinese diver half his age in the platform, he came from behind and won gold after a difficult last dive. He was chosen as ABC’s *Wide World of Sports*’ “Athlete of the Year” in 1988.

Louganis is more than just a diver; he is a prominent LGBT rights activist. He had been struggling with his sexuality since he was a teenager. He once attributed his interest in sports to this struggle, “When you’re a kid growing up, and you think you’re gay, you know that you’re different; you’re often teased and it can really destroy your self-esteem. But sports can be great for building self-esteem.” By the time he hit his head on the springboard at the 1988 Olympics, Louganis was already diagnosed HIV positive, but he did not disclose this to the public until seven years later. He announced to the world that he was gay in 1994, when taking part in the 1994 Gay Games as a diving announcer as well as putting on a diving exhibition for capacity crowds. In 1995, Louganis cowrote his autobiography, *Breaking the Surface*, that depicted his problems with childhood bullies, his homosexuality, and his gold medal performances in the Olympics Games. This book rose to the top of *The New York Times* Bestseller list.

Since his retirement from competitive diving in 1988, Louganis still maintains a rigorous exercise regimen and pursues his other loves—training dogs and acting. He is a motivational speaker and an agility trainer for his show dogs in Malibu, California. Louganis’s second book, *For the Life of Your Dog: A Complete Guide to Having a Dog From Adoption and Birth Through Sickness and Health*, was published in 1999. Louganis has trained three dogs for the American Kennel Club (AKC) Dog Agility Nationals. One of his dogs, a Harlequin Great Dane, is in the movie *Beethoven II*. He also rediscovered an old interest: as a stage actor. In 1994, he appeared in *Gay Games IV* as well as in *D2: The Mighty Ducks*, in which he played himself. In 1995, he appeared in an

Off-Broadway one-man show, *The Only Thing Worse You Could Have Told Me*; he also appeared as Darius in *Jeffrey*. Since he retired, he has appeared in eight films, including narrating a dramatization of his first book, *Breaking the Surface*.

Louganis travels extensively in his various roles: mentor to the U.S. Olympic diving team, vice president of the U.S. Olympian Association, judge for the Red Bull Cliff Diving Tour, speaker to youth groups about drug and alcohol rehabilitation, actor, model, author, and dancer. Most important, he has raised awareness and support for philanthropic organizations dealing with animals, LGBT rights, dyslexia, and HIV/AIDS.

Chi-ting Peng

See also LGBT Activism; Sexuality

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Lowe, Pardee (1905–c. 1992)

George Cooper Pardee Lowe is best known for his autobiography, *Father and Glorious Descendant* (1943), the first published, book-length literary work by an American-born Asian. Named after George C. Pardee, the-then Republican Governor of California, Lowe was born at a time when second-generation Chinese were still a novelty. His father, Fat Yuen Lowe, was a dry-goods merchant and the head of a large clan association in the Bay area's Chinese community. Because the clan owned more than a hundred stores scattered in cities from San Diego to Seattle, the Lowe family's influence spread throughout the Pacific Coast.

Unlike most of his contemporaries, Lowe grew up in a predominantly white neighborhood in the East Belleville section of Oakland and attended a suburban public school rather than a segregated classroom in Chinatown. He received a BA degree from Stanford University and an MBA degree from the Graduate School of Business Administration of Harvard University. During World War II, Lowe enlisted in the U.S. Army, rose to the rank of lieutenant colonel, and was decorated with a Bronze Star for his service in the Pacific theater.

Portions of *Father and Glorious Descendant* first appeared in *The Atlantic Monthly* and *The Yale Review* in 1937. Focusing on the experience of those who grew up during the early twentieth century, Lowe's personal narrative was well received when it was published as a book in 1943. Critics found the work rewarding and celebrated it as a solid and significant study of the Chinese American community. It was even hailed as "a Chinese-American *Life with Father*."

The positive response in part reflected the dramatically changed attitude of the American public toward China and the Chinese. As a result of the United States involvement in World War II, China had become an important ally and Chinese Americans were deemed a "loyal minority" and enjoyed unprecedented popularity. Such a change in the social trend regarding the attitude toward the Chinese is indicated clearly in a critic's comment on Lowe's book: "[The] author's love for America and his respect for his Oriental roots . . . show an excellent blending of the two cultures. The book will contribute greatly toward better understanding of one of our loyal minority groups."

Presenting a penetrating account of his life as a second-generation Chinese, Lowe's autobiography represents an important aspect of the common experience of American-born Asians in a period when their fate began to attract the attention of the American public. It is a testimony that reveals Lowe's ardent desire to seek admission into mainstream society. The thoroughness of Lowe's assimilation is perhaps best evidenced by his marriage to a Caucasian girl from a New England family during his attendance at Harvard. To avoid interference from his father and relatives, Lowe held the wedding in a Protestant evangelical church in Brandenburg, Germany, in 1931; he did not

inform his parents or any Chinese friends of the event until two years later.

The troubled relationship between Lowe and his father constitutes another major theme running through the autobiography. The title of Lowe's autobiography means "Father and Son," but it is far from being a smooth record of a father-son relationship. Although in retrospect Lowe acknowledges with gratitude that his father's strength, talent, and ability have given him substance and inspired his continuous pursuit of success in American society, he frankly admits that his father's "stubborn Chinese mind" is a source of constant conflict between the patriarch and his son.

The breaking point of the relationship comes when Lowe's father insists that he attend a local Chinese-language school. The father is fully aware that no matter how Americanized the son might be, there is little chance at the time that he would acquire anything other than a menial position outside the Chinese community. Therefore, knowledge of the Chinese language would both preserve a cultural link with Lowe's ancestral land and also provide him with an important means of gaining a China-related profession in the United States in the future.

Lowe's father is met with stubborn resistance from his son on this issue, however. Socially and culturally accustomed to the American way of life, Lowe considers Chinese education a major obstacle that would hamper his effort to become a "real American" and "neutralize" his "excessive Americanism." The gap between the father and son is further exemplified by Lowe's critical attitude toward Chinese family life. He argues that although creativity and personal feelings among family members are encouraged and welcomed in the mainstream society, they are restrained by parental authoritarianism and filial piety in traditional Chinese culture.

Despite the tension between Lowe and his father, they eventually reconciled. The father finally realized that if he had no longer dreamed of returning to his old home in China, how could he demand the absolute loyalty of his son in accordance with traditional Chinese culture? In Lowe's case, it was likely that practical considerations prevailed. Because he failed to find a job after graduating from Stanford and Harvard,

Lowe had to rely on his father's support to make ends meet.

The competing emotions and the message of the father-son relationship are skillfully superimposed in the autobiography's dramatic ending, which supplies the book's title: "Among our people, children are begotten and nurtured for one purpose—to provide for and glorify their parents." Although Lowe's father was more Americanized than the average Chinese immigrant, it was his son, a native-born descendant, who accomplished the transformation from being Chinese to being Chinese American and "glorified" the first generation in the United States.

As the first book-length autobiography by an American-born Asian, *Father and Glorious Descendant* is a significant work. Despite his negative comments on certain aspects of traditional Chinese culture, Lowe relates to the public at a time when the larger society was unaware of the feelings and thoughts of native-born Asians and their determination to seek a place in American life. Together with other works by second-generation Asians, *Father and Glorious Descendant* has added to the understanding of the Asian American experience and gave rise to a new perspective on Asian American literature.

Xiao-huang Yin

See also Chinese Americans

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Lu, Ed (1963–)

Ed Lu is a Chinese American physicist, consultant, speaker, and former National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) astronaut. Prior to joining NASA, Lu worked as a research physicist. He spent 12 years as an astronaut at NASA, flew on three space missions, and logged over 206 days in space, and 6 hours and 14 minutes in space walk time.

Edward Tsang “Ed” Lu was born in Springfield, Massachusetts, to Charlie and Snowlily Lu on July 1, 1963, and grew up in Webster, New York. He earned a BS degree in electrical engineering at Cornell University in 1980, and a PhD in applied physics from Stanford University in 1989. Lu worked as a research physicist in the areas of solar physics and astrophysics as a visiting scientist from 1989 to 1992 at the High Altitude Observatory in Boulder, Colorado. He also held a postdoctoral fellowship at the Institute for Astronomy in Honolulu, Hawaii from 1992 to 1995, where he studied the physics of solar flares.

In 1995, Ed Lu began training and evaluation as a NASA astronaut candidate at the Johnson Space Center. In addition to working in the computer support branch of the astronaut office, Lu also served as lead astronaut for Space Station training and Shuttle training.

Lu participated in three space missions. In 1997, Lu made his first trip into space as mission specialist on flight Space Transportation System (STS)-84, in which the Atlantis made NASA’s sixth shuttle mission to the dock with the Russian Space Station *Mir*. In 2000, Lu was the payload commander and lead space walker for STS-106, a mission during which the crew prepared the International Space Station (ISS) for the arrival of its first permanent crew. Lu and Russian cosmonaut Yuri Malenchenko together performed a space walk to connect cables to the *Zvezda* Service Module and the International Space Station. Lu made his third trip to space as flight engineer and NASA ISS Science Officer for ISS Expedition-7 in 2003. This mission took place in the aftermath of the Space Shuttle Columbia disaster on February 1, 2003, and the resulting suspension of the space shuttle program. Lu became the first American to launch and land a Russian *Soyuz* spacecraft, and the first American to launch a *Soyuz* spacecraft as Flight Engineer in April 2003. Lu and Malenchenko were the first two-person crew to live aboard the International Space Station for six months as a skeleton crew.

In 2007, Lu retired from NASA to work in the private sector. He was the lead of the Advanced Projects Group at Google, which developed imaging for Google Street View and Google Maps/Earth, book scanning, and energy projects. Lu was the public face for

PowerMeter, a project of Google’s philanthropic branch, which aimed to help consumers track and reduce their energy usage. He has also served as an advisor and consultant to the White House, NASA, and other government and private sector entities on matters related to science, technology, innovation, space, energy, and strategic planning.

Lu currently works as the Chief of Innovative Applications at Liquid Robotics, an ocean data services company, and is the chairman of B612 Foundation, an organization with the goals of asteroid impact prediction and prevention. He is working on a book about his stay on the International Space Station.

Katie Furuyama

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Luce-Celler Act of 1946

Proposed by Republican Representative Clare Boothe Luce of Connecticut and Democratic Representative Emanuel Celler of New York, this legislation lifted the ban on Filipino and Asian Indian immigration to the United States and allowed individuals from these countries already living in the United States to become naturalized citizens. However, each country was permitted only a token number of 100 immigrants per year under the national origins quota system put in place in 1924. Both of these groups had previously been banned from immigrating to the United States as part of the Asiatic Barred Zone passed in 1917 with the hopes of eliminating immigration from Asia. At the time, the American government sought both to remove Asian competition for American jobs and to create a more racially homogeneous society devoid of

a significant presence of Asians, who were deemed unable to assimilate into American life. Furthermore, Indians already living in the United States were denied the possibility of becoming naturalized citizens under the *United States v. Bhagat Singh Thind* decision in 1923. Despite being citizens of a territory of the United States, Filipinos were also denied American citizenship.

Momentum to revise previous American policy with respect to these groups came largely from their efforts during World War II. Although the Philippines was a territory of the United States, America had passed the Tydings-McDuffie Act in 1934, which approved Filipino independence after 10 more years of American control of the Philippines as a commonwealth. All Filipinos who had come to the United States prior to 1935 would have the opportunity to naturalize under the Luce-Celler Act. Concurrently, India was also on track to achieving independence by the end of World War II and this development also helped push the passage of the Luce-Celler Act. The U.S. government had begun to reconsider previous immigration policy toward several Asian nations on account of their service to the Allied cause. In light of their struggle against the Japanese, China gained immigration and naturalization rights in 1943 and the performance of Filipinos and Indians in the war paved the way for their acquisition of similar rights. Soon after Americans revised their immigration and naturalization policy toward China, members of Congress and the American press began suggesting that similar concessions be made for India and the Philippines.

Despite the reassessment of China, when Luce and Celler proposed their bill in 1943 granting immigration and naturalization rights to Indians and the Filipinos, many in Congress were leery of making further changes to immigration policy, largely for economic and racial reasons. When considering the case of these two nations, opponents argued that although China was an independent nation, the Philippines and India were not yet free and thus could not be considered on the same basis. Responding to this argument, members of the Roosevelt Administration cited the contributions both peoples had made to the war effort and the fact that they were both on the road to independence. To deny them greater immigration privileges would be offensive in light of their service. Additionally,

Franklin Roosevelt attempted to allay the fears of congressmen who believed that immigrants from these countries would be economically threatening to the United States, by reassuring them that the small quotas that would be offered would not be harmful competition for American job seekers.

FDR and members of his administration hoped to keep India and the Philippines in the American orbit in the wake of World War II and therefore did not want to appear reluctant to recognize the sacrifices of their other Asian allies. The significance of this issue helped gather support for the Luce-Celler Bill, which benefited from FDR's endorsement of these policy changes in the spring of 1945. Some Southern Democrats and isolationist Republicans in Congress led by Robert Ramspeck of Georgia succeeded, for a time in blocking a vote on the Luce-Celler bill in committee. However, with Roosevelt and later Harry Truman's support, Ramspeck was not able to block consideration of the bill for long. Besides recognizing the value of amicable relations with the Philippines and India, both presidents saw the two nations as a test of the self-determination clause of the Atlantic Charter.

Still, opposition members of Congress cited the United States' relationship with Britain as a reason not to revise immigration policy toward India. By the time Harry Truman took office in April 1945, he indicated his support for the Luce-Celler bill and set about bringing dissenting members of Congress into line as well. Truman obtained approval of the bill from the British, who had initially opposed the measure. Following this, the president met with Congressman Ramspeck personally and convinced him to support the bill. With the opposition mollified, Congress passed the Luce-Celler Act and President Truman signed it into law on July 2, 1946.

On the surface, the small quota of 100 immigrants per year for India and the Philippines seemed limiting. However, the bill also contained nonquota allowances concerning wives, immediate family members, and dependents of naturalized citizens from both countries already living in the United States. Consequently, Filipino and Indian immigration far exceeded their quota numbers. These immigrants were able to circumvent their small quotas and enlarge the immigrant populations of both groups. With respect to Filipinos, the

United States had also passed the Military War Brides Act of 1945 and the Fiancées Act of 1946, which allowed the Filipina wives and fiancées of American servicemen to enter the United States outside the quota as well.

The Luce-Celler Act took a critical step in encouraging the removal of systemic discrimination in United States immigration policy. It also helped both groups to incorporate themselves into American society by granting not only immigration and naturalization privileges but the ability to construct families in the United States, ensuring successive generations of citizens. Renunciation of past racist immigration and naturalization policy did have its limits as the United States

maintained the discriminatory national origins quota system, which would be reaffirmed in the McCarran-Walter Act of 1952.

Brandon P. Seto

See also Immigration Act of 1917 and the “Barred Zone”; Immigration Act of 1924; McCarran-Walter Act of 1952; *United States v. Thind* (1923); War Brides Act (1945)

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M

Ma, Yo-Yo (1955–)

Yo-Yo Ma is one of the most talented and sought-after cellists of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. Having given his first public recital at age five, Ma was compared with such masters as Rostropovich and Casals by the time he was 19. He has appeared with eminent conductors and orchestras in all the music capitals of the world. He has also obtained a distinguished international reputation as an ambassador for classical music.

Ma was born in Paris in 1955. Both of his parents are Chinese. His mother, Marina Lu, was a singer and his father, Hiao-Tsiun Ma was a professor of music. Growing up in a family of musicians allowed him to be exposed to music at a very young age.

At age four, Ma learned to play the cello with his father after the family moved to New York. The child prodigy began performing in front of audiences at age five. He took lessons from Janos Scholz, and in 1962, he started to study with Leonard Rose at the Juilliard School of Music. In the same year, at age seven, Ma performed for President John F. Kennedy. At age eight, he appeared with his sister, Yeou-Cheng Ma, a pianist, in a concert conducted by Leonard Bernstein, one of the most talented and successful musicians in American history. He soloed with Harvard Radcliffe Orchestra at age 15 and gained national and international recognition. A graduate of Juilliard School of Music, he briefly enrolled at Columbia University before attending Harvard University, where he received his bachelor's degree. He received honorary doctorate degrees from Harvard (1991) and Princeton University (2005).

In the summer of 1972, when Ma played at the Marlboro Music Festival, he met and fell in love with Mount Holyoke College sophomore and festival administrator Jill Hornor, who later became a German language professor. The two were married in 1977. Ma and his wife have two children, Nicholas and Emily, and reside in Belmont, Massachusetts.

Known for his smooth and rich tone as well as his extraordinary virtuosity, Ma is a classical musician. The style of his music, however, has been referred to as “omnivorous” by critics. He has an eclectic repertoire, including recordings of Baroque pieces using period instruments, American bluegrass music, traditional Chinese melodies, soundtracks to Hollywood movies, the tangos of Argentinian composer Astor Piazzolla, collaboration with the American jazz artist Bobby McFerrin, and the music of modern minimalist Philip Glass.

Ma is known for including a cello recording of Niccolò Paganini's 24th Caprice for solo violin, Zoltan Kodaly's cello sonata, and other demanding works. Ma has also worked with world-renowned Italian composer Ennio Morricone and has recorded Morricone's compositions of the Dollars Trilogy including *The Good, the Bad and the Ugly*. He has over 75 albums, and won many awards, including an Avery Fisher Prize in 1978, 15 Grammy Awards and the International Center in New York's Award of Excellence. In 2009, Ma was appointed by President Obama to serve on the President's Committee on the Arts and Humanities. In 2011, he received the Presidential Medal of Freedom.

As a musician, Ma constantly searches for new ways to communicate with his audiences and has

become known for exploring new ideas and cultures. His Silk Road Ensemble is designed to bring together musicians from diverse countries and cultures.

Ma has performed for national and international events around the world. In 2009, he performed John Williams's "Air and Simple Gifts" at the inauguration ceremony for Barack Obama, together with Itzhak Perlman (violin), Gabriela Montero (piano), and Anthony McGill (clarinet). In the same year he performed at the funeral mass for Senator Edward M. Kennedy. He also appeared alongside Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper at the National Arts Center gala in Ottawa. He also performed at the memorial for Steve Jobs (2010), and with dancer Charles "Lil Buck" Riley. He performed in the United States and in China at the U.S.-China forum on the arts and culture. He has made frequent appearances on television and at press events.

Xintong Yang

See also Chinese Americans

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Maharishi Mahesh Yogi (c. 1917–2008)

Maharishi Mahesh Yogi developed and popularized the methods of Transcendental Meditation in the United States and Europe and was the leader of the Transcendental Meditation movement up until just before his death in 2008. His teachings are often presented as being rooted in scientific theory and the success of his organization has been buoyed by a number of high-profile practitioners throughout its history, the most significant being the Beatles in the late 1960s.

Born Mahesh Prasad Varma in 1917 (or, variously, in 1911 or 1918) in the city of Jabalpur, India, Maharishi earned a degree in physics at Allahabad University in 1942. When attending university he met his spiritual teacher Brahmananda Saraswati (1868–1953), whom he served as personal clerk and close confidant until the latter's death in 1953. From 1955 to 1957 Maharishi toured India teaching and continued

to develop the Transcendental Meditation techniques he claimed to have learned from Brahmananda.

In 1959, Maharishi began his first of numerous world tours, spending significant time in the United States, Europe, and India. He published his seminal work, *The Science of Being and Art of Living*, in 1963 and his teachings on meditation first found widespread success on college campuses. Notably, in 1968, the Beatles attended a Transcendental Meditation training session in India with Maharishi, an event that gave Maharishi extensive media exposure in the United States through numerous newspaper articles, magazine stories, and television programs.

The techniques presented by Maharishi reflected both traditional Indian teachings in the Vedas (particularly the use of verbal incantation) and his educational background in science. Transcendental Meditation was taught as a scientific approach to the cultivation of higher levels of consciousness and the means to greater health and stress reduction. It was claimed that these individual changes could subsequently bring about a positive change in society, a process called the "Maharishi Effect." In 1977 a New Jersey court case (*Malnak v. Yogi*) ruled that Transcendental Meditation was "religious in nature," and ended the movement's efforts to establish it in secondary schools, jails, and workplaces that received government funding. Although the Transcendental Meditation movement would continue, this ruling effectively stemmed its further expansion.

In 1990, Maharishi relocated his headquarters to the Netherlands and died in his residence there in 2008. The Transcendental Meditation movement remains an influential organization with teaching centers established around the world.

Peter M. Romaskiewicz

See also Hindus in the United States

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Malaysian Americans

Malaysian Americans are immigrants and their descendants originated from Malaysia, a Southeast Asian nation on the Malay Peninsula. Malaysia is ethnically and culturally diverse. Only 62 percent of the country's population is ethnic Malays and other aboriginal people. The country's two largest ethnic minority groups are Chinese (26%) and Indian (7%).

The early history of Malaysia was influenced by India and then China. Since the beginning of the fifteenth century, Malacca, a coast city on the Malay Peninsula emerged as an international trading center. Between 1511 and 1641, Malacca was controlled by the Portuguese. For the next two centuries, Malay was ruled by the Dutch. The British took control of Malacca in 1795 under the Anglo-Dutch Treaty and combined Malacca, Penang, and Singapore to form the Straits Settlements Presidency in 1867. During World War II, the region was controlled by the Japanese. Following a long and complicated movement for independence, the Federation of Malaysia was formed in 1957.

The long history of contact with foreigners enabled some Malaysians to travel to different parts of the world, and some of them may have come to Hawaii or the U.S. mainland as early as the late nineteenth century. What we do know is that the U.S. government did mention "Malays" in its discriminatory policies against Asian immigrants in the early twentieth century. Exactly when they started to come and how many of them were here before 1960, however, is unknown.

Among those from Malaysia in the 1960s and 1970s were students attending colleges and universities throughout the United States. Many of them eventually settled here and some sponsored their families and relatives. By 2000, there were 18,566 Malaysians recorded in the Census. The population increased to 26,179 in 2010. The rate of growth for

Malaysian America has not been as rapid as for other Asian ethnic groups. It must be noted that many immigrants from Malaysia are ethnic Chinese or Indians, and these immigrants and their descendants are more likely to identify themselves as Chinese Americans or Indian Americans.

According to the 2010 Census, 73 percent of Malaysian Americans were foreign-born, of which 27 percent had gained U.S. citizenship. About 65 percent of Malaysian Americans age five or older spoke a language other than English at home, and 23 percent of the population age five or older had limited English proficiency. A total of 19 percent of the population lived in linguistically isolated households. About 93 percent of Malaysian Americans had at least a high school diploma, whereas the rate for those with at least a bachelor's degree was 57 percent. In comparison, only 86 percent of the Asian American population held high school degrees and 49 percent of them had completed college. Per capita income for Malaysian Americans in 2010 was \$33,264, higher than that of the Asian American population (\$28,343). The poverty rate for Malaysian Americans was 10 percent, lower than the rate for Asian Americans (11%). Only 4 percent of Malaysian Americans were unemployed in 2010, compared to 6 percent for Asian American population. Fifty-three percent of Malaysian Americans were homeowners but 5 percent of the population lived in overcrowded housing.

Xiaojian Zhao

See also Indonesian Americans

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Manlapit, Pablo (1891–1969)

Pablo Manlapit was a transnational Filipino labor leader in Hawaii and the Philippines. Born to a working-class family in Lipa, Batangas, Philippines,

Manlapit's family relocated to Manila when he was 10. Although he found small jobs working in the U.S. colonial bureaucracy, the young Manlapit set his eyes on Hawaii, then a territorial possession of the United States dominated by an oligarchy comprised of Protestant missionaries and the powerful Hawaii Sugar Planters' Association (HSPA). Following a series of strikes by immigrant Japanese laborers on Hawaii's plantations, the powerful HSPA began to actively target Filipino labor. Manlapit, like thousands of other Filipinos, heard their call and made the journey across the Pacific Ocean.

Although Manlapit experienced some upward mobility during his early years in Hawaii, he also witnessed the great inequality that was common to the plantation economy. Arriving in 1910 as a contract worker at Kuka'iau plantation, he worked 10 to 12 hours per day, six days a week, and received \$20 per week. Manlapit rose to plantation foreman or *luna* and later timekeeper, notable accomplishments given the ethnic stratification of the plantation order. By 1913 Manlapit led a strike of Filipino workers when plantation owners lowered wages without consulting the workers. Because of his activities, Manlapit was fired and from then on remained under the surveillance of the HSPA. After leaving the plantation, he did odd jobs, published the community newspaper, *Ang Sandata*, and served as a stevedore, which introduced him to the potential of a multiethnic labor force.

As the 1920s dawned, a new era of labor agitation arose in Hawaii. By 1919 Manlapit joined a handful of other Filipinos who were trying to better the situations of laborers throughout the territory. Reflective of his stevedore days, Manlapit emphasized the need to improve working conditions for all working people and expressed interest in building a coalition with Japanese labor. Manlapit forged a long-lasting relationship with Kinzaburo Makino, a leader of the early Japanese strikes, and set about cultivating a relationship between his Filipino Labor Union and the Japanese Labor Federation. Building cross-ethnic solidarity proved difficult given the lingering distrust between the groups, which had been fostered by the HSPA. Meanwhile, the ruling elite accused Manlapit of fomenting class warfare and arrested him for

holding a meeting on a public road leading up to the 1920 Filipino-Japanese strike.

By 1920 Filipino and Japanese workers designed a list of demands to the HSPA that included shorter working hours, higher wages, and the use of a minimum wage to replace a bonus system that was tied to the precarious sugar market. At first, Manlapit and other leaders were hesitant to call a strike and workers went ahead without sanction. Nevertheless, he served as a spokesperson for the strike. Tensions between Filipino and Japanese workers continued and each group submitted identical petitions outlining their demands. HSPA agents smeared strike leaders and, without evidence, claimed that Manlapit attempted to extort an HSPA lawyer in exchange for calling off the strike. Moreover, unfounded rumors spread that Japanese strike leaders were puppets of the imperial Japanese government. Unfortunately, this divide and conquer campaign affected Manlapit who instructed the Filipino workers to end the strike.

By July 1920, the strike came to an end but with a punitive outcome for its participants. The HSPA denied the demands and displaced the striking workers with strikebreakers or replenished the rank-and-file with new immigrants from the Philippines. Meanwhile, the Japanese Federation of Labor deteriorated and 15 strike leaders were jailed. Although Manlapit was not incarcerated he nevertheless continued to pursue economic justice for working people through the Higher Wages Movement and, reversing his repudiation of the Japanese labor leaders, sought to build a multiethnic united labor union.

In the spring of 1924 the Higher Wages Movement facilitated another strike. The HSPA again attempted to malign Manlapit through ad hominem attacks and the local police detained him under charges of conspiracy. His arrest had the unanticipated consequence of drawing additional workers to the strike. Convicted of conspiracy charges, Manlapit was imprisoned for two years and forced to leave the islands despite popular support from workers and leaders such as his old comrade Makino.

Banished from Hawaii, Manlapit made his way to California in 1927, which had its own burgeoning Filipino workers movement. The FBI and Los Angeles Police Department closely monitored Manlapit, fearing he would build a labor union in California that

would attract not only Filipinos but also Mexicans and Japanese. Although this multiracial union did not come to fruition Manlapit remained a sought-out speaker in the migrant Filipino communities.

In 1932 Manlapit was allowed to return to Hawaii and set about organizing the Hawaii Federation of Labor. However, his leadership was circumvented by charges that he violated an arcane law about charging a fee over \$10 to assist war veterans. Convicted of this crime Manlapit requested probation and deportation to the Philippines over serving time in Hawaii. The full extent of his reasons for choosing this path remains unknown to this day.

Through filial connections, Manlapit quickly became ensconced in Philippine politics. During World War II, the Japanese-sponsored puppet government appointed him to the Advisory Board on Labor and executive officer of the Labor Recruitment Agency. After the war he won his struggle for a pardon from the territorial government of Hawaii yet was prevented from resettling. During the administration of President Manuel Roxas, the strongly anti-Communist Manlapit served in various administrative positions yet aroused the ire of the ruling class when he exposed cases of government corruption.

Manlapit soon joined the new Labor Party when the administration ceased agrarian reform. Although he lost an election to Congress in 1953, he remained visible in organizing through the Philippine Labor Unity Movement and assisted strikes and negotiations with the National Development Company and the National Shipyards and Steel Corporation. Dedicated to the rights of workers, he lived in genteel poverty after he sold his home and used his personal finances to support strikers and their families and sadly succumbed to cancer in 1969.

Jean-Paul R. DeGuzman

See also Filipino Agricultural Workers; Filipino Americans; Filipino Piecemeal Sugar Strike (1924–1925); Filipinos in Hawaii

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Manzanar Children's Village (1942–1945)

The Manzanar Children's Village is part of the Japanese American internment story, but told from the viewpoint of individuals who were a part of a camp inside a camp. The Children's Village cared for children who were interned without their families, and they spent the duration of the war under the care of trained staff. This is a different experience than what is most frequently told as the internment history, which is told as a family narrative. Much of the remaining historical record of the Children's Village exists as oral history interviews, gathered from the California State University Fullerton's Oral History Program archives.

Japanese American Internment Camps

The Japanese American internment during World War II is arguably one of the worst infringements on civil liberties in the history of the United States since the enslavement of African Americans. President Franklin D. Roosevelt issued Executive Order 9066 on February 19, 1942, giving the military the power to imprison roughly 120,000 Japanese Americans during World War II, two-thirds of whom were American citizens, and none who were guilty of any crimes besides being of Japanese descent. Most Japanese Americans lived along the West Coast where they had established farms, businesses, and other community organizations. Japanese Americans residing in the military zone were considered threats and relocated to one of 10 concentration camps scattered across the United States for the duration of the war. Of the 10 Japanese internment camps during World War II, only one of them had an orphanage for Japanese American children.



Henry Matsumoto and children at the children's garden, Manzanar concentration camp, California, 1943. (Photo by Ansel Adams/Library of Congress)

Orphanages in the Japanese American Community

At the time World War II broke out, there were three orphanages in existence that cared for children of Japanese descent as well as mixed race Japanese children. These orphanages served the needs of the Japanese American communities in Los Angeles (the Shonien and Maryknoll Catholic Home) and in San Francisco (the Salvation Army Children's Home). Both the Shonien and the Salvation Army were built by Issei who had converted to Christianity and had a passion for improving social services in the Japanese American community. As the Japanese American community became more established in the United States, their needs for social services increased.

Masasuke Kobayashi was born in Japan in 1883 and migrated to San Francisco in 1902. He was

involved with the YMCA and was baptized as a Presbyterian in Ogden, Utah. Kobayashi returned to Japan in 1918 and joined the Japanese Salvation Army, where he became a major. He obtained donations for a home for "helpless Japanese girls" in Japan, and also worked to build the Salvation Army Children's Home in San Francisco; he received donations from many sources, namely the Issei in the community and even the Japanese emperor.

The founder of the Shonien, Rokuichi Kusumoto, was born in Beppu, Japan in 1873. Prior to coming to the United States in 1908, he worked in Osaka as the director of education at the Episcopal Benevolent Children's Home. In 1912, he came to Los Angeles and was involved in social welfare activities; he worked with the community to organize the Japanese Humane Society to protect young women. Shortly

thereafter he founded the Shonien, the first Japanese children's home and day-care center in Los Angeles.

The Shonien, the Salvation Army Children's Home, and the Maryknoll Catholic Home served the needs of the Japanese American community prior to internment. The circumstances by which the children came to the orphanages before the internment, and to Manzanar after internment, vary widely. It is thought by some of the former residents and staff that the Manzanar Children's Village was not an orphanage but a village full of children, because not all of the children who lived there during the internment were orphans. By the 1940s, there was a rise in the number of children's homes because of economic reasons, parental illness, and death. For some of the children, they lost one or both of their parents to diseases like tuberculosis, polio, or mental illness, some died because of childbirth or suicide. For others, their single mothers or single fathers simply did not have the economic means to support their children, or they had gone to Japan and could not return to the United States because of the war. For others their parents worked full-time, and rather than be placed for adoption, these children were put in the temporary guardianship of the children's home staff and would later be cared for by the surviving parent when economic situations improved. At the time, many Japanese Americans in the United States did not have large extended families or grandparents to rely on to care for their minor-aged children. The children's homes were the best alternative for these struggling families.

After Executive Order 9066, the Japanese Americans residing on the West Coast made preparations for relocation. With great dignity, the Japanese American community arrived on time at the relocation meeting points dressed in their best clothing with the exact number of suitcases and required items, and boarded the trains or buses to their destination. Included in the logistics for relocation were the three orphanages. The War Relocation Authority (WRA) appointed Henry and Lillian Matsumoto as the superintendent and assistant superintendent of the Children's Village. They had both received graduate education in business and social welfare, respectively, and had worked at the Shonien with Rokuichi Kusumoto. Before their relocation to Manzanar, the State of California Department

of Welfare had recommended to the WRA that the Matsumotos be in charge of the children when they arrived at camp.

The Staff at the Children's Village

The Matsumotos were aware that they would have to relocate the orphanage to the internment camps and were able to go to Manzanar before moving to make suggestions about the Children's Village facilities. The layout was slightly different than the other housing areas because of the recommendations, such as having indoor toilets, prior to construction. One difference between the Children's Village and the other barracks housing area at Manzanar was that there was a grassy lawn and a gazebo in front of the Children's Village.

This made their arrival at Manzanar on June 23, 1942, much later than many of the other families. The Matsumotos and other staff members of the Children's Village were in a unique position because they chose to work at the village and live there rather than be private citizens living in their own barracks. In addition to the Matsumotos, many of the staff at the Children's Village were Nisei, second-generation Japanese Americans, because one generation had passed after the Issei founded the orphanages. Most of the staff were already working for the Shonien and just directly transferred with the children to Manzanar. Rather than enter the camps with their families, all of the staff continued their jobs from the Shonien and relocated as staff members of the Children's Village. In addition, three staff members from the Salvation Army Home worked at the Children's Village. The staff of the Children's Village worked under the Matsumotos, whose supervisors were Margaret D'Ille, the Director of Community Affairs, and Ralph Merritt, the director of the Manzanar Relocation Center. It is most certain that the staff members had a great impact on the daily care and supervision of the children.

Many Children's Village former residents recalled Sohei Hohri as one of the most memorable staff members. Hohri had lived in the Shonien during the 1930s as a child when both of his parents had contracted tuberculosis and were placed in a sanitarium. After they recovered he and his siblings were reunited with

his parents. When he was in high school he relocated with his family to Manzanar and did odd jobs. At Manzanar, he was hired by the Matsumotos to work at the Children's Village. Many of the former residents recall his special talent as a storyteller at the Children's Village. The stories he told were from *Les Misérables* about the characters Jean Valjean and Cosette, as well as Homer and stories from the *Odyssey*. Hohri recalled that there was very little entertainment at Manzanar, with the exception of the radio after five o'clock in the evening; so when he told the stories, the children listened intently with their eyes and mouths open.

The sudden change to a structured institutional life behind barbed wire was one of the most difficult adjustments for the Japanese American internees. However, in the case of most of the children who came to Manzanar from the orphanages, they were already exposed to and familiar with institutionalized life, where they had a schedule, and rules for living were enforced without question. According to Lillian Matsumoto, the children from the Shonien were much younger, whereas the children from the Salvation Army Home were slightly older, and many of them were teenagers when they came to Manzanar. Twenty-four were from the Shonien, and 19 were from Salvation Army Orphanage.

The Internment from Their Eyes

The children ranged from infants and toddlers to 18 years old, and certainly their experiences of Manzanar varied greatly. Prior to departure, the children did not have to prepare for the move or pack their own clothes or belongings because many of them were unable to do so as children. Children's Village residents were unaware of the politics behind the internment at the time, because most of them were too young to understand. Many had few belongings and did not have property to lose. As did other internees, the residents of the Children's Village had to sleep in the barracks on straw bedding that was placed on top of cots. There was no privacy: no doors on the toilets or showers, and there many beds lined up in a large room. The barracks were divided by age: the infants, younger boys, older boys, younger girls, older girls, and the staff. Like many Japanese Americans, this

was the first time that they were around a concentration of primarily Japanese Americans. The children were in an environment where they could play with many other children. The former residents of the Children's Village recalled playing with children from private families, but those children rarely went to the Children's Village to play.

They attended school at Manzanar outside of the Village with students from private families; after school, they had to return straight home to the Children's Village. They already had exposure to living in an institution with a regimented schedule, so when they were interned, the pace of life was a routine similar to the one they had before: they had to get up at a certain time, do chores in the morning, eat breakfast, go to school, and return home. They all had chores to complete, and the older children mainly helped with the laundry. Their schedules were structured by time and enforced with rules.

There were several rules about eating that stood out for many of the residents. One of the rules of the Children's Village, which was different from many of the other internees, was that all residents of the Children's Village had to have their meals together in the Village dining room. Other Japanese Americans in the camps did not have this rule, and during mealtimes at the mess halls, many families ate separately where the children would eat together with their friends away from their parents and families. Many interned families discuss the overall breakdown of the nuclear family within the Japanese American community because they did not eat together.

Another rule for the Children's Village was that they had to eat all of their food. They had to eat everything that was on their plate before they could leave the table, even if they were full. In the oral histories of Children Village residents, they frequently mentioned that the quality of the food at the Children's Village was better than the other blocks at Manzanar. This difference had to do with the fact that they had a different cook than the other blocks, namely the chef from Clifton's Cafeteria in Los Angeles.

The Manzanar Children's Village was home to a little over 100 children both Japanese American and multiracial Japanese American during the course of the World War II internment. Although the Village

itself was ephemeral, the influences of the staff left a solid foundation for the residents so they could get on with their lives after their release from the internment camps.

Lily Anne Yumi Welty

See also American-Style Concentration Camps; Manzanar Riot (1942)

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Manzanar Riot (1942)

The Manzanar "Riot" or "Resistance" occurred on December 5–6, 1942, when Japanese American prisoners incarcerated at the Manzanar War Relocation camp openly resisted the policies of the War Relocation Authority (WRA). This violence was a culmination of an intergenerational struggle predating incarceration. After Pearl Harbor, in an attempt to curry favor with authorities and secure power, Nisei (second generation) members of the Los Angeles branch of the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) began reporting to federal agents on alleged activities in the camp. During incarceration, some felt deeply betrayed by the JACL calling them *inu* (literally translated as dog). On the night of December 5, 1942, six masked assailants attacked Fred Tayama, a JACL leader, in his barracks sending him to the hospital.

The next morning, the WRA arrested Hawaiian Kibei (Nisei educated in Japan), Harry Ueno, who was perceived as a dissident because of early challenges to WRA policies. He organized kitchen workers into the Mess Hall Union to protect their rights and accused Assistant Project Director Ned Campbell of stealing rationed sugar and meat from Japanese inmates to sell on the black market. Despite the lack of physical evidence or proof of involvement, Ueno was removed from Manzanar and jailed in nearby Independence, California.

Ueno was respected for his stance of fighting for prisoners' rights. His arrest and removal sparked a demonstration of an estimated 2,000 to 4,000 prisoners demanding Project Director Ralph Merritt release him or at give him a fair trial at the Manzanar Center—Merritt agreed to the trial. Militant Japanese prisoners then staged a second rally later that day when Ueno returned to the camp reading a death list of *inus* and making several additional demands. From this rally, two groups with separate goals formed, one to release Ueno from the Manzanar jail and the second to kill Tayama at the hospital. Drs. Morris Little and James Goto saved Tayama's life by hiding him. Ueno refused to leave his cell until Merritt released him.

As the situation deteriorated, Merritt and Captain Martyn Hall ordered the army to launch tear gas on the unarmed Japanese prisoners. As they dispersed, one MP opened fire on the crowd and killed two Nisei bystanders and injured a dozen; all but one were shot in the back or the side, indicating the victims were moving away from the shooter. Captain Hall decreed martial law throughout the center. All forms of communication were censored and the army imposed a curfew. Troops remained in the camp until after Christmas. Consequently, Fred Tayama and 64 others, predominantly members of the JACL, were transferred to Death Valley National Monument before attaining indefinite leaves. Numerous Issei and Kibei, including Harry Ueno, were arrested by the military police and sent to a Civilian Conservation Corps camp near Moab, Utah. WRA officials attempted to downplay this "incident" by blaming a handful of dissidents. The national press misinformed the American public that the riots were Japanese Americans celebrating the anniversary the Pearl Harbor attack.

The Mazanar riot and the Poston strike were the first demonstrations of Japanese American resistance to WRA. These demonstrations eventually led to the controversial “loyalty questionnaire” and later the Tule Lake Segregation Center for those “disloyal” and “unpatriotic” prisoners, including Harry Ueno.

Terumi Rafferty-Osaki

See also Japanese American Citizens League (JACL); Japanese Americans; Manzanar Children’s Village (1942–1945)

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Marshall, Charles K

See Cao Zishi

Matsui, Doris O. (1944–)

Doris Matsui is a Japanese American politician that has represented California’s 5th Congressional District since 2005. Before her tenure in Congress, Matsui had been involved in local Sacramento politics and she also served in various posts in the Clinton administration.

Doris Matsui was born Doris Okada at an internment camp in Poston, Arizona, on September 25, 1944. As a person of Japanese descent, the internment experience was commonly shared by many Japanese Americans during World War II. Matsui later grew up on a farm in Dinuba, California, and attended the University of California, Berkeley. When she was at Berkeley, Matsui met her future husband, the late Congressman Robert T. Matsui. They married in 1965.

Matsui’s attorney husband was elected to the Sacramento City Council in 1971 and to Congress in 1978 (representing California’s 5th District); meanwhile Matsui herself also became active in public life. She was known as an early supporter of Bill Clinton’s bid for the Arkansas gubernatorial seat. Furthermore, when Clinton was elected to the White House, Doris Matsui was a member of the Clinton transition team. She later served as deputy assistant to the president in the White House Office of Public Liaison under Alexis Herman during President Clinton’s first term. Her tenure in the White House extended between 1993 and 1998.

Although for many years after her time in the White House, Matsui did not hold public office, she was nonetheless active in community organizations in Sacramento and Washington, D.C. Some of the projects and positions she was involved in included as president and chairwoman of the board for the KVIE public television station in Sacramento. She was also actively involved in the Sacramento Children’s Home, the Woodrow Wilson Center Board of Trustees, Arena Stage, and many other organizations.

A major change came for Matsui in 2005 when her husband passed away after serving in Congress for over 26 years. Matsui announced her decision to run for her husband's vacant seat on January 9, 2005, and the special election was held on March 8, 2005. In the short three months of her campaign, Matsui gained the support of the Democratic Party as well as many local leaders in the Sacramento area. The result was that Matsui beat out 11 other candidates and was elected to replace her husband with 72 percent of the overall vote and 88 percent of the Democratic vote. At the same time, Matsui became the first Asian American woman from the U.S. mainland to be elected to Congress. She was clearly the favorite in the special election. She has since then been reelected, in 2006, 2008, 2010, and 2012.

One of the major points of Matsui's initial campaign was that she would carry on the work and important agendas of her late husband. One of the most important issues that Matsui has focused on since taking office is flood protection in her district. She was able to garner the support of others in Congress and obtain \$700 million in authorized funds for flood control projects in the Sacramento area. Flood control was also an issue that her late husband cared deeply about and worked extensively for.

Matsui also focused her efforts on renovating the transportation infrastructure to address the rising cost of gas as well as the toll of carbon emissions on the environment. Her efforts have included the planning of an intermodal transportation center in downtown Sacramento. Her plan took into account the rising cost of transportation as well as the growing population in the Sacramento area. In May 2009, Matsui also sponsored and spoke on behalf of the Smart Planning for Smart Growth Act. This is a piece of legislation that would require states and metropolitan planning organizations to plan according to emission reduction guidelines by reducing per-capita vehicle miles traveled. This bill echoes Matsui's other work on the Committee of Energy and Commerce. She also serves on the subcommittee on Commerce, Trade, and Consumer Protection; the Subcommittee on Communications, Technology, and the Internet; and the Subcommittee on Energy and Environment.

Aside from transportation and environmental issues, Matsui has been committed to promoting community service. She has helped garner and preserve funding for AmeriCorps programs, which organize and promote community service around the country. Matsui is also the cochair of the National Service Caucus.

Matsui is a member of the House Committee on Rules. Her caucus membership includes the Congressional Asian Pacific American Caucus. She was appointed to the Smithsonian Institution's Board of Regents in 2007 by House Speaker Nancy Pelosi.

Matsui has a good relationship with the Democratic leadership cultivated during her husband's tenure as a representative. She is a very active member of the Democratic Party and served as Parliamentarian at the 2008 Democratic National Convention (DNC) in Denver, Colorado.

Jeanette Yih Harvie

See also Japanese Americans; Matsui, Robert T.; Political Representation

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Matsui, Robert T. (1941–2005)

Robert Matsui was an American politician of Japanese descent. He was a member of the House of Representative and served for 13 terms and represented California's 3rd and 5th Congressional Districts. During his lifetime, Matsui served for 26 years in the United States Congress.

Robert Takeo Matsui was born on September 17, 1941, to Japanese American parents in Sacramento, California. He was third-generation Japanese American. However, like many Japanese Americans during World War II, Matsui, who was merely six months old at the time, and his family were sent to an internment camp at the Tule Lake Camp, which was located near the California and Oregon border. Matsui and his family would move briefly to Caldwell, Idaho, for work and eventually return to their native Sacramento when he was four years old. After graduating from high school in 1959, Matsui went on to continue his education at the University of California, Berkeley, where he majored in political science.

During his time at Berkeley, Matsui met his future wife, Doris Okata, whom he married in 1965. After graduation from college in 1963, Matsui went on to the University of California, Hastings College of Law in San Francisco. Matsui and his wife moved back to his native Sacramento and started his own law practice.

Matsui's political career started when he was elected to the Sacramento City Council in 1971. He was reelected in 1975 and became the vice-mayor in 1977. After working in local politics, Matsui decided to move on to national politics when Congressman John E. Moss announced his retirement. Matsui ran for Congress in 1978 and was elected to office, representing California's 3rd Congressional District.

One of Matsui's main efforts as a political leader concerned the reparations of the treatment of Japanese Americans during World War II. Along with other congressional members such as Senator Daniel Inouye (D-Hawaii), Senator Masayuki "Spark" Matsunaga (D-Hawaii), and Representative Norman Mineta (D-San Jose, CA), Matsui advised the national Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) on an appropriate course for the emerging movement concerning the past incarceration of Japanese Americans. In 1985, Matsui also gave a speech on the floor of the U.S. House of Representatives on the aforementioned issue and called for reparations on the part of the U.S. government. Finally, after a decade of effort from many, including Robert Matsui, the Japanese American Redress Act (known as the Civil Liberty

Act of 1988) passed through Congress and provided monetary compensation and government apology for those Japanese Americans interned during World War II. This law was signed into law on August 10, 1988, by President Ronald Reagan.

Also in his effort to educate and seek reparation for incarcerated Japanese Americans, Matsui was crucial in having Manzanar (an internment camp during World War II) set up as a national historic site. Moreover, Matsui helped to procure land on the National Mall in Washington, D.C. for the National Japanese American Memorial to Patriotism during World War II.

During Matsui's tenure in Congress, he served on the Judiciary Committee and was also a high-ranking member of the House Ways and Means Committee by the time of his death. Although Matsui spent a wealth of time and effort advocating for Japanese Americans, he was also known for his work on important issues of the day, including policies related to international trade, taxes, health care and welfare reform, as well as social security.

Also, as a member of the Democratic Party, Matsui chaired the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee during the 2004 election cycle and served in various positions on the Democratic National Committee (DNC).

Robert Matsui served in the United States House of Representatives until his passing on January 1, 2005, because of complications from a prior health condition. In a special election later that year, his wife, Doris Matsui, was elected to fill his vacant seat in California's 5th District. Doris Matsui is a member of the Democratic Party and had served as a deputy director of public liaison in the Clinton Administration up until 1998. A lifelong public servant and leader from the Sacramento area, the city of Sacramento dedicated a waterfront park in Robert Matsui's name in October 2008.

Jeanette Yih Harvie

See also Inouye, Daniel K.; Japanese American Citizens League (JACL); Japanese Americans; Matsui, Doris O.; Matsunaga, Masayuki "Spark"; Mineta, Norman; Political Representation

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Matsunaga, Masayuki “Spark” (1916–1990)

Spark Matsunaga was a Japanese American politician from the state of Hawaii. He served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 1971 to 1977 and the U.S. Senate from 1977 to 1990. Matsunaga originally got the nickname “Sparky” because he was slow. The name comes from the character “Sparkplug,” an old nag in a popular comic strip during Matsunaga’s youth. After World War II, Matsunaga had his name changed legally to Spark Masayuki Matsunaga.

Masayuki “Spark” Matsunaga was born on October 8, 1917, to poor Japanese immigrant parents in Kauai, Hawaii. Coming from humble beginnings, Matsunaga’s father worked on a sugar plantation and was killed in a work-related accident. Matsunaga had to work his way through school but eventually graduated with honors from the University of Hawaii in 1941. He not only majored in education but participated in the Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) program.

After the attack on Pearl Harbor and the start of World War II for the United States, Matsunaga volunteered for active duty with the U.S. Army. During the war, Matsunaga was a member of the famed 100th Infantry Battalion of the 442nd. He was wounded twice in a minefield in Italy, which earned him the Bronze Star, the Purple Heart, the Legion of Merit, and the Army Commendation Medal. Highly decorated, he was honorably discharged in 1945 with the rank of a captain. After leaving the army, Matsunaga worked as a veterans’ counselor. He would also go on to earn a law degree from Harvard University Law School in 1951.

After law school, Matsunaga returned to Hawaii to work as an assistant public prosecutor in the city of

Honolulu between 1952 and 1954. His political career took shape in Hawaii’s Territorial House, where he served from 1954 to 1959. During his time in the Territorial House, Matsunaga demonstrated his commitment to helping those in need in his community and served as the majority leader between 1957 and 1959.

Although Matsunaga was unsuccessful in his bid as lieutenant governor, he was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1962 and would serve through 1976 with seven consecutive terms. Matsunaga was sympathetic to the injustice suffered by many Japanese Americans during World War II. He cosponsored a bill to repeal Title II of the Emergency Detention Act/Internal Security Act, which had allowed the imprisonment of anyone seen as a security risk during time of war. This repeal was signed into law by President Richard Nixon. When Matsunaga was a member of the House, he served on the influential Rules Committee and the Agriculture Committee. He was also the Deputy Majority Whip.

Matsunaga opted not to run for reelection in 1976 for his House seat but instead was elected into the Senate. He ran against fellow Hawaiian Patsy Mink for the seat Hiram Fong left vacant when he announced his retirement. During his time in the Senate, Matsunaga played important roles in the passing of civil rights legislation, the support for space programs, and the quest of reparations for Japanese Americans that were wrongly imprisoned during World War II. He sponsored the Civil Liberties Act of 1988, which provided for the reparation of Japanese Americans. This legislation was signed into law by President Ronald Reagan. Aside from Matsunaga’s work on minority issues, he was also concerned with environmental issues and advocated for additional research and awareness of our environment. In fact, his last major act as a Senator was the support of the Clean Air Act.

Matsunaga would serve three terms as a U.S. Senator. He was chair of the International Trade and Aging Subcommittees and also had membership on the Veterans’ Affairs as well as Labor and Human Resource subcommittees. He continued his work as a leader in the Democratic Party, serving as the Senate Democratic chief deputy whip until 1988.

In January 1990, Matsunaga told the public that he had prostate cancer and was seeking treatment. He passed away on April 15, 1990, in Toronto, Canada at the age of 73 as a result of his illness. He was succeeded by Daniel Akaka in the U.S. Senate.

One of Matsunaga's many accomplishments during his lifetime was the instrumental role he played in the establishment of the Institute for Peace at the University of Hawaii, which was renamed the Matsunaga Institute for Peace.

Jeanette Yih Harvie

See also Inouye, Daniel K.; Japanese American Citizens League (JACL); Japanese Americans; Matsui, Robert T.; Mineta, Norman; Mink, Patsy Takemoto; Political Representation

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McCarran-Walter Act of 1952

Also known as the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, this multifaceted legislation most notably reaffirmed the usage of the national origins quota system created in the Immigration Act of 1924. The McCarran-Walter Act served as a battleground over not just immigration policy, but also the best way to serve the United States' interest in the Cold War. Authored by Senator Pat McCarran of Nevada and Representative Francis Walter of Pennsylvania, the bill sought to preserve immigration quotas geared toward

ensuring that large numbers of Asians, as well as Southern and Eastern Europeans did not enter the country.

Although the McCarran-Walter Act revised the previous system slightly, it retained its essential philosophy, which many deemed as discriminatory. Under the 1924 Act, nations of the world were allotted an immigration quota based an extrapolation of one-sixth of one percent of each nationality's proportion of the American population in 1920. Countries of the Western Hemisphere were exempt from the quota. Whereas Asian countries had been almost completely barred from immigration to the United States, with the very recent exception of China, India, and the Philippines, McCarran-Walter allowed for a nominal immigration quota of 100 visas per year for each country of Asia. These numbers were especially insignificant compared with the numbers allotted to immigrants from Northern and Western Europe, which amounted to 85 percent of the total allowable immigrant quota. Most of this quota went unused, yet the proportions remained to keep percentages from so-called undesirable regions of the world low, reducing immigration from those countries to a trickle.

Although the bill removed the previous language touting Nordic superiority, which existed in the 1924 Act, McCarran-Walter aimed to severely limit immigration from Asia, and Southern and Western Europe. Many regarded these provisions as racist and incompatible with American ideals of pluralism and Cold War policy regarding America's role as the exemplar of freedom in the world. This notion was compounded by the fact that McCarran-Walter also contained a provision targeted specifically at people of Asian ancestry regarding stipulations for their attribution to a quota of a specific country. Immigrants from what the act called the "Asia-Pacific Triangle" encompassing the area from Japan, south to Indonesia, and west to Afghanistan would be counted on the basis of their race and not their nationality as the other quota nations would be considered.

Immigrants from Asia counted against the quota of their country of ethnic origin regardless of where they were born. This also applied to immigrants who had only one parent from an Asian nation. For instance, if an immigrant had 50 percent or more Japanese

ancestry and was born outside of Japan, they would still be considered as part of Japan's quota. Thus racial considerations trumped nationality only in the case of peoples of Asian ethnic origin. Despite relaxing previous exclusionary policy toward the peoples of Asia, this legislation did not envision anything but a token number of Asian immigrants coming to the United States.

In addition to these controversial racial provisions, McCarran-Walter took aim at the ideological enemies of the United States by providing for the exclusion or removal of possible Communist infiltrators. The American government retained the power to expel or deport any aliens who were members of, or associated with anarchist, Communist groups, or any movement advocating for the overthrow of the U.S. government. Additionally, because the bill continued low immigration quotas and stringent visa restrictions for those immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe, its authors believed that they were protecting the United States. Their rationale was that these areas constituted hotbeds of Communism and to allow an increased number of immigrants from these regions would invite Communist infiltrators or sympathizers to threaten the United States from within. This logic ran counter to the beliefs of Harry Truman and other like-minded supporters of American internationalism and humanitarianism.

Such a divergence of opinion lay at the heart of the debate over the McCarran-Walter Act, which led to both Harry Truman's veto of the bill and the subsequent override by Congress in support of the bill. Those who sided with Pat McCarran and Francis Walter fell within what was called the restrictionist element in the American government. Personally, McCarran was highly concerned about Communist infiltrators in the United States and the threat they posed to its national security. He and other restrictionists felt that although America had won World War II, they could still lose the peace if the country let Communism pass through its borders and spread among the populace. To them, immigration policy was equated with American sovereignty and defending the country against Communism. Senator McCarran even went so far as to say that Communists had penetrated international organizations and were taking

advantage of the United States' weak immigration policy to promote seditious activities in the country. The internationalist sentiment promoted by liberals and many conservatives alike in the wake of World War II could leave America vulnerable to fifth-column elements. These fears of Communist expansion seemed to be confirmed and highlighted by the outbreak of the Korean War.

Because of their equation of immigration with national security, restrictionists subsequently felt little sympathy for the oppressed peoples of Europe, including refugees. They denied the need for a broad-spanning humanitarian emphasis in immigration policy, contrary to those who held that such a policy reflected both American ideals and the proper way to promote a positive American image during the Cold War. According to restrictionists, opening the door to an increased number of immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe would endanger the country and thus the people of these regions continued to be considered undesirable elements as they had been in the past.

Those who stood in opposition to the McCarran-Walter Act represented the liberal internationalist advocates of the time. Among the more notable proponents of this position were Harry Truman and Democratic Representative Emanuel Celler of New York. These people believed that immigration policy was linked to the United States foreign policy and bills like McCarran-Walter could hamper the United States in the prosecution of the Cold War. The inclusion of restrictive measures toward Asians and Eastern Europeans would damage the perception of the United States in the world and make it appear that America considered such peoples inferior. Not only would this damage American credibility as the defender of freedom and equality in the world, but it would desert potential allies in the fight against the Soviet Union and its satellite nations. Furthermore, overpopulation and a growing refugee problem could sap Western Europe's strength and make the region more susceptible to Communism. In short, passage of this bill could not only damage the United States' moral credibility but offset its foreign policy goals in the Cold War. Liberal elements had set forth their own bill for immigration revision, called the Humphrey-Lehman

Bill, which would enlarge quotas, relax immigration qualifications, and redistribute unused quota slots to other countries. Ultimately Congress voted this bill down because it was regarded as insufficient to protect the nation from Communist influence.

In spite of the enmity over these issues, McCarran-Walter did contain some elements regarded as positive by both sides of the debate. The bill created a preference system that allowed individuals with families already in the United States or those with desirable skills to receive precedence for immigration. Alien husbands of American citizens received nonquota status approval for immigration to the United States. Previously, only wives of American citizens could come to the United States without offsetting a country's quota numbers. With respect to naturalization, the category of "aliens ineligible for citizenship" was eliminated, thus allowing all aliens to eventually become U.S. citizens.

Although the bill made some strides in immigration policy revision, Harry Truman vetoed McCarran-Walter after he concluded that it contradicted American ideals and values, particularly in relation to its discriminatory attitude toward the peoples of Asia and Eastern Europe and the retention of the quota system. Truman also found the bill wanting in its view on refugees and humanitarian concerns. Maintaining the quota system did not account for world conditions where immigration from Europe could help the United States in international affairs by recognizing the worth of Southern and Eastern Europeans. Nowhere was this truer, he believed, than in the case of immigrants from nations like Italy, Greece, and Turkey, countries that had joined the United States in NATO to stave off the spread of Communism. Truman found it impossible for the United States to consider itself the benevolent leader of the free world when turning away immigrants escaping Communism in Eastern Europe. Finally, Truman objected to the broad mandate McCarran-Walter provided for the deportation of suspected Communists and anarchists.

Nevertheless, a two-thirds majority of Congress agreed with the spirit of the bill and overrode Truman's veto. Many among them, including the more liberal members, believed it best for the United States to insulate itself from possible infiltration of

undesirables regardless of the foreign policy concerns. After the bill's passage, Truman appointed the Presidential Commission on Immigration and Naturalization whose final report, *Whom Shall We Welcome*, served as a template for the eventual removal of the national origins quota under the Hart-Celler Act of 1965.

Brandon P. Seto

See also Immigration Act of 1924; Luce-Celler Act of 1946

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McCunn, Ruthanne Lum (1946–)

San Francisco writer Ruthanne Lum McCunn has devoted most of her life to researching and writing about Chinese Americans to counter prevailing stereotypes and correct the historical record. The author of nine books and numerous articles, she is best known for her biographical novels about Chinese American pioneers like Polly Bemis, a slave girl who became a legend in Idaho lore, and Lue Gim Gong, a horticultural innovator in Florida. Her work, which has won many awards, has been translated into 11 languages and adapted for the stage and film.

A Eurasian of Chinese and Scottish descent, Ruthanne was born in San Francisco on February 21, 1946, to Rita Lum Randall from Hong Kong and Robert Drake Drysdale from Idaho. She was the youngest of three daughters. Her father was seldom at home because he was in the merchant marine. Her mother decided to return to Hong Kong when Ruthanne was still an infant. Ruthanne grew up in the Chinese cultural environment of her mother's extended family. Her first language was Cantonese Chinese and she began her formal education in a Chinese school. However, her father decided to enroll her in an English

school when she turned six. Ruthanne recalls being taunted by her classmates for being a “Ching Chong Chinaman,” and the neighborhood kids refused to play with her because she was a “foreign devil.”

At 16, Ruthanne returned to San Francisco for a college education, during which time she worked as a janitor, short-order cook, and waitress to support herself. At 19, Ruthanne met and married Donald McCunn, who was in the navy. She graduated from the University of Texas with a BA degree in English in 1968 and went on to earn a teaching credential from San Francisco State College a year later. The couple then moved to Santa Barbara, where Ruthanne worked as a librarian and elementary school teacher for five years. In 1974, the McCunns decided to make their home in San Francisco. Ruthanne landed a job as an English and bilingual education teacher in the secondary public schools. Then at the age of 30, with the encouragement of her husband, she left teaching to pursue her passion for writing.

Ruthanne wrote her first book, *The Illustrated History of the Chinese in America* (1979), out of necessity after she realized there were no materials about Chinese Americans for classroom use. When she could not find a publisher for the book, she and her husband decided to start their own publishing company, Design Enterprises of San Francisco. Ten years later, the McCunns stopped self-publishing after successfully marketing three more books on Chinese Americans. Her first novel, *Thousand Pieces of Gold* (1981), tells the story of Lulu Nathoy, who overcame poverty and slavery to build a new life for herself in the American West. Based on meticulous research, the novel stays true to history and breaks the stereotype of Chinese women as passive and exotic “China dolls.” The book was twice selected by the Book of the Month’s Quality Paperback Book Club; it was also made into a movie by American Playhouse Films, starring Rosalind Chao and Chris Cooper, in 1991.

Noticing that there were no Chinese American heroes in books for young children, she next turned her attention to filling that gap. Written in English and Chinese with striking illustrations in bold colors, *Pie-Biter* (1983) tells the tall tale of Hoi, a Chinese packer in Idaho whose love for American pies became legendary. The picture book received a Before

Columbus Foundation’s American Book Award in 1984. It was followed by *Sole Survivor* (1985), a biographical novel about ship steward Lim Poon and his survival at sea on a raft for 133 days after his ship was torpedoed in World War II. Based on many hours of oral history interviews with Lim Poon, the novel effectively dispels the myth that Chinese do not value life. It was selected Book of the Month by the Dolphin Book Club. By then, Ruthanne had uncovered many remarkable stories of Chinese Americans who defied the odds in one way or another. She decided to write about 17 of them in *Chinese American Portraits: Personal Histories, 1828–1988*, including such notables as diplomat and educator Yung Wing, railroad baron Chin Gee-hee, and physicians Li Khai Fai and Kong Tai Heong. Published by Chronicle Books, it was selected Outstanding Academic Book by *Choice* in 1990.

For her next book, *Wooden Fish Songs* (1995), Ruthanne employed a unique multicultural and multivocal approach. Plant wizard Lue Gim Gong’s story is told by the three women who knew him best: his mother Sum Jui in China; New England spinster Fanny Burlingame who became his mentor; and Sheba, daughter of a black slave who worked alongside Lue in Florida. The book, which won the Jeanne Farr McDonnell Award for Best Fiction in 1997, was adapted for a stage reading and presented across the country. It was followed by *The Moon Pearl* (2000), a historical novel about three young women who defied cultural norms to forge a powerful sisterhood in nineteenth-century China. Based on actual events that took place in the 1830s and interviews with silk workers in the Pearl River Delta, the book was chosen “The Best of the Best” by the American Library Association in 2002. Her latest book, *God of Luck* (2007), explores the themes of slavery, survival, and family separation from the perspectives of Ah Lung, who was kidnapped by coolie traders and sent to the deadly guano mines in Peru, and his wife Bo See, who never loses hope that they will be reunited. The novel won the Chinese American Librarians Association’s Best Adult Fiction award in 2008 and was a *San Francisco Chronicle* Best Seller.

Ruthanne is the first to research and write about Chinese who served in the Civil War. Her article on

this topic was first published in the 1996 issue of *Chinese America: History and Perspectives*, the annual journal of the Chinese Historical Society of America, which she cofounded. Based on this early research, she has just completed *Chinese Yankee*, the true story of Thomas Sylvanus, who fought in the Union Army and survived nine months of imprisonment in Andersonville.

Ruthanne Lum McCunn has been steadfast in fulfilling her mission as a writer—to explain Chinese American life and culture and give voice to people who have been misunderstood, marginalized, and silenced throughout American history. Her authentic portrayals of Chinese Americans as survivors and activists help to humanize history and advance a better understanding of Chinese Americans and their many contributions to America.

Judy Yung

See also Bemis, Polly (Lalu Nathoy): Perspective 1; Bemis, Polly (Lalu Nathoy): Perspective 2; Chinese in the U.S. Civil War

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Mehta, Zubin (1936–)

Zubin Mehta is a conductor of symphonic and operatic music and one of the most influential figures in the field of Western classical music.

Mehta was born into a Parsi family in Bombay (Mumbai, India). His father Mehli Mehta was a violinist and founding conductor of the Bombay Symphony

Orchestra and guided him in his early study of the piano and violin. Mehta initially intended to study medicine but abandoned the idea to study music. He entered the Vienna Academy at age 18 to study conducting with Hans Swarowsky and also played the double bass. In 1958 he made his conducting debut in Vienna and also won the Liverpool International Conducting Competition.

Mehta was appointed as the music director of the Montréal Symphony Orchestra from 1961 to 1967 and also the music director of the Los Angeles Philharmonic Orchestra from 1962 to 1978, becoming the youngest conductor to hold a position with a leading orchestra in the United States as well as the first in North America to share a joint appointment with two major orchestras. Under Mehta's directorship, the Los Angeles Philharmonic was transformed from a relatively undistinguished orchestra into a highly reputable ensemble. In 1969 he became the music advisor to the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra and was appointed to be the music director for the orchestra in 1977. In 1981, the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra awarded him the title of music director for life. In 1978, he became the music director of the New York Philharmonic, where he remained until 1991, becoming the longest holder of the position. Since 1985, he has been chief conductor of the Teatro del Maggio Musicale Fiorentino in Florence, Italy.

Mehta has been highly active in conducting opera. He made his *début* as an opera conductor with *Tosca* in Montréal in 1963. He made his Metropolitan Opera *début* with *Aida* in 1965; since then he has conducted at numerous opera houses, including the Vienna State Opera, the Royal Opera House, Covent Garden, La Scala, as well as at the Salzburg Festival. Between 1998 and 2006 he was Music Director of the Bavarian State Opera in Munich.

Mehta is known for his flamboyant and vigorous conducting and theatrical effect. In addition to many performances and recordings of large-scale symphonic music of Bruckner, Strauss, Mahler, and Schmidt as well as operas by Verdi and Puccini, he has led many performances that appeal to the popular taste. In 1990 he conducted the first "Three Tenors" concert with Carreras, Domingo, and Pavarotti in Rome, and joined the tenors again in 1994 at Dodger Stadium in Los Angeles.

Televised worldwide and recorded, these performances made an impact on the popularization of operatic music and turned the three tenors into celebrities.

Mehta also conducted the historic 1992 production of *Tosca* in which each act took place in the actual setting and the time specified in the score. Act I was telecast live from Rome's Basilica of Sant'Andrea della Valle at noon on July 11; Act II was telecast later that evening from the Palazzo Farnese at 9:40 p.m.; Act III was telecast live on Sunday, July 12 at 7 a.m. from the Castel Sant'Angelo, also known as Hadrian's Tomb.

Another of Mehta's innovative, large-scale productions was Puccini's *Turandot*. In collaboration with Chinese film director Zhang Yimou, whose works were routinely banned by the Chinese government at the time, Mehta first produced the opera in Florence then brought it to Beijing. To make the performance "authentic," the opera was staged in its "actual" surroundings in the Forbidden City, and the nine performances used over 300 extras and 300 soldiers (who had no background in music or acting), props, and costumes representing the Ming Dynasty. The making of this colorful, dazzling production was chronicled in a documentary, *The Turandot Project*, directed by Allan Miller. Although Mehta repeatedly makes assertions of "authenticity" in his narration, the film, perhaps inadvertently, highlights the paradox of pursuing cultural authenticity in the production of Puccini's Orientalist opera by staging it in the Forbidden City.

Mehta has conducted performances for audiences around the world, especially those suffering from war and natural disasters. In 1994, he performed the Mozart Requiem, along with the members of the Sarajevo Symphony Orchestra and Chorus at the ruins of Sarajevo's National Library, in a fund-raising concert for the victims of armed conflict and remembrance of those killed in the Yugoslav wars. In 1999, he conducted Mahler Symphony No. 2 ("Resurrection") at the vicinity of the Buchenwald concentration camp in Weimar with members of the Bavarian State Orchestra and the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra sitting alongside each other. For the first anniversary of the Indian Ocean Tsunami in December 2005, he performed with the Bavarian State Orchestra at the Madras Music Academy.

He is also extensively involved in discovering and nurturing musical talents all over the world. With his brother Zarin Mehta, who is currently the president and executive director of the New York Philharmonic Orchestra, he has established the Mehli Mehta Music Foundation in Bombay in 1995. The foundation seeks to promote Western classical music by presenting high-quality performances and providing music education for children. In addition, since the founding of the Buchmann-Mehta School of Music in Tel Aviv in 2005, Mehta has also been significantly involved in its activities. Through a partnership between Tel-Aviv University and the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra, the school develops Israel's young musical talents and prepares them for professional careers.

Mehta has received numerous awards and honors, including honorary citizen of Florence and Tel Aviv; honorary member of the Vienna State Opera, Bavarian State Opera, and Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde Wien; honorary conductor of the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra, Munich Philharmonic Orchestra, Los Angeles Philharmonic, Teatro del Maggio Musicale Fiorentino, and Bavarian State Orchestra; and the Praemium Imperiale honored by the Japanese imperial family.

Mari Yoshihara

See also Indian Americans

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Meng, Grace (1975–)

Grace Meng is a lawyer and a former member of the New York State Assembly, representing the 22nd assembly district in Flushing, Queens, New York.

She is the youngest Asian American ever elected to the New York State Legislature and was named one of City Hall's "40 under 40" for being a young influential member of New York City politics in 2008. In June 2012, Meng won the Democratic primary for Congress, becoming the Democratic nominee to represent a House district. And in November, 2012 she won the election and become the first New York State congresswoman, the second Asian American ever elected to the U.S. Congress. (The first Asian American member was Judy May Chu.)

Grace Meng was born on October 1, 1975, in Flushing, Queens, New York. She is one of three children of Jimmy Meng, who was the first Asian American in the New York State Assembly. Born in Shandong province in China, Jimmy Meng lived mostly in Taiwan before he came to the United States as a graduate student of English in 1975. He owns the Queens Lumber Company and the Chung Hwa Book Company in downtown Flushing. Grace Meng graduated from Stuyvesant High School, received her BA degree from the University of Michigan and a Juris Doctor from the Benjamin N. Cardozo School of Law at Yeshiva University. As a lawyer, she previously worked as a partner at Yoon & Kim LLP in New York City.

On September 9, 2008, Meng won the general election with 86 percent of the vote for the member of the New York State Assembly in the 22nd Assembly District that was held at one time by her father. The 22nd Assembly District, which lies east of the Van Wyck Expressway, from the Long Island Expressway to several blocks north of Northern Boulevard, was redrawn after the 2000 Census so that it comprised the Asian American community more completely; it is estimated that Asian voters account for 40 percent of the total population in this area. Jimmy Meng won the election in 2004 and became the first Asian American assembly member in the district. Because of a health problem, he served only one term, from 2005 to 2006, and the position was preceded by Ellen Young, another Taiwanese immigrant. Grace Meng beat Young in 2008 and ran uncontested in 2010. In June 2012, Meng won in the Democratic primary for Congress, becoming the Democratic nominee

to represent a House district and eventually won the election in November 2012.

Meng won the election despite the scandal and pending trial of her father, Jimmy Meng, a former New York State Assemblyman. On July 24, 2012, shortly after she won the Democratic primary and months before the election, Jimmy Meng was arrested and charged with federal wire fraud. The elder Meng took bribes of \$80,000 from a business partner and claimed he would use it to bribe prosecutors in the Manhattan District Attorney's Office to reduce the prison sentence of the partner's state tax crime charges. He was sentenced to one month in jail and a \$30,000 fine in March 2013, after his daughter secured her seat in Congress. Grace Meng currently resides in Flushing with her husband, Wayne Kye, a Korean American who works at the New York University College of Dentistry, two sons—Tyler and Brandon—and a dog—Bounce.

Chi-ting Peng

See also Chinese Americans; Political Representation

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Minami, Dale (1946–)

Dale Minami is a Japanese American attorney and tireless civil rights advocate. He is a founder and partner of the San Francisco law firm, Minami Tamaki LLP,

which is well known as an Asian American law firm serving the interests of the community's minority populations. Dale Minami was also one of the founders of the Asian Law Caucus and of the Asian American Bar Association. Minami is celebrated for his civil rights work in the 1983 overturning of the criminal conviction of Fred Korematsu and the decision in *Korematsu v. United States* (1944). In 1942, Korematsu was imprisoned for refusing to follow the unjust regulations of Executive Order 9066. The Order specifically targeted people of Japanese ancestry. In addition to continuing the fight against policies that are unfairly aimed at racial minorities in the United States, currently Minami also focuses his legal practice in the areas of personal injury and entertainment law.

Minami was born on October 13, 1946, in Los Angeles, California. He attended the University of Southern California for his undergraduate education and then earned his JD at Boalt Hall School of Law at the University of California, Berkeley. Shortly after graduating from UC Berkeley, Minami helped start the Asian Law Caucus in 1972. The organization, based in San Francisco, works for disenfranchised racial minorities and immigrants in cases where civil and human rights are being denied or infringed upon. Two years later, in 1974, Minami cofounded Minami Tamaki LLP. The law firm still thrives today in San Francisco's Union Square.

Minami's activism and tireless commitment to social justice were born from his parents' unjust incarceration during World War II, and his frustration with the denial of equal rights for racial minorities in the United States. His work within the Asian American community and beyond have earned him a significant number of prestigious awards. Recently, he was granted the Citation award, the highest honor given by UC Berkeley's law school. In 2003, he was given the Thurgood Marshall Award by the American Bar Association. Earlier, in 1996, Minami was appointed by President Clinton to be chair of the Civil Liberties Public Education Fund.

In addition to his social activism and personal injury work, Minami has a successful entertainment law practice. He represents Asian American athletes, filmmakers, playwrights, and newscasters. Notable Asian American clients include Olympic gold medal

figure skater Kristi Yamaguchi, Academy Award-winning filmmaker Steven Okazaki, and playwright and film director, Philip Kan Gotanda.

Minami's interest in Asian Americans in the entertainment industry extends beyond the legal field as he was the executive producer for Philip Kan Gotanda's 1999 film, *Life Tastes Good*. Minami is also remembered by many of his peers for being featured in the July 2, 2001, issue of *People Magazine's America's 50 Top Bachelors*. Minami's inclusion in the magazine was groundbreaking for Asian American men as they are often absent from mainstream pop culture publications, especially those focusing on physical attractiveness.

Valerie Lo

See also Gotanda, Philip Kan; *Korematsu v. United States* (1945); *Korematsu, Hirabayashi*, and *Yasui Coram Nobis* Cases; Yamaguchi, Kristi

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Mineta, Norman (1931–)

Norman Mineta is an American politician of Japanese ancestry. He served as Secretary of Transportation for six years (2001–2006) during the Bush Administration and six months as the Secretary of Commerce for the Clinton administration (2000–2001). Mineta also served for 20 years in the United States House of Representatives (1975–1995).

Norman Yoshio Mineta was born on November 12, 1931, in San Jose, California, to Japanese immigrant parents. The Mineta family operated a prosperous insurance business and was well regarded in the local community. However, like many individuals of Japanese descent, Mineta and his family were forced to shut down the family business and were sent away



Norman Mineta, secretary of commerce during Bill Clinton's administration and secretary of transportation under George W. Bush. (Department of Transportation)

from their native California to an internment camp during World War II. Mineta spent two years of his youth as a detainee at Heart Mountain, Wyoming. The Minetas would eventually return to San Jose to restart their lives.

In 1953, Mineta graduated from the University of California, Berkeley with a degree in business administration. Upon college graduation, Mineta joined the United States Army and served as a military intelligence officer in Japan and Korea between 1953 and 1956. After serving in the military, he returned home to work for his father, who had reopened their insurance agency.

Well regarded in the San Jose community, Mineta was appointed to fill a vacancy on the San Jose City Council Human Relations Commission in 1967. In 1969, he went on to win the San Jose City Council election and in 1971 became the mayor of San Jose. Mineta was the first Asian American to serve as the mayor of a major American city.

After working in San Jose local politics, Mineta was elected as representative to the United States Congress in 1974 and began his 20-year tenure in the House. As one of the few Asian Americans in Congress, Mineta cofounded and served as chair of the Congressional Asian Pacific American Caucus. Moreover, Mineta dedicated a great deal of effort to redress the harsh treatment of Japanese Americans during World War II. The Commission of Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians was established in 1978, and Mineta was persistent in pushing the commission investigation. Ultimately, Mineta sponsored the Civil Liberties Act of 1988 with Wyoming's Republican Senator Alan K. Sampson, who Mineta had first met as a detainee in Wyoming. The two politicians became friends and have remained friends since. The Civil Liberties Act, which granted reparation to Japanese Americans interned during World War II, was signed into law by President Ronald Reagan in 1988.

In terms of committee work in Congress, Mineta was a prominent member (chair between 1992 and 1995) of the Public Works and Transportation Committee and chaired the Aviation Subcommittee between 1981 and 1988. Mineta played important roles in most transportation legislations in the 1980s and 1990s. In particular, he worked to increase funding for the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA), sponsored the Intermodal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act of 1991 (ISTEA). Mineta's work on ISTEA was important because it changed the process of transportation planning and policies and gave local government control of highways and other mass transit decisions.

After serving 10 terms as House Representative, Mineta resigned his seat in 1995 and the Democrats lost his seat to Republican Tom Campbell in the subsequent special election. Between 1995 and 2000, Mineta worked mainly in the private sector. In fact, Mineta had left Congress to join Lockheed Martin as a vice president. Also, drawing upon his expertise in transportation, Mineta also served as the chairman of the National Civil Aviation Review Commission.

In July 2000, with only six months left in his term, President Clinton asked Mineta to serve as the secretary of commerce. Upon Senate confirmation, Mineta

became the first Asian American to serve on a president's cabinet.

As the Clinton administration transitioned to the Bush administration, Mineta was asked to stay and serve as the secretary of transportation. This was a job that Mineta was extremely well suited for, considering the wealth of experience that he had accumulated as a congressman. Norman Mineta was sworn in on January 25, 2001, and became the fourteenth secretary of transportation. During the eight years of the Bush administration, Mineta would be the only Democratic cabinet member.

As secretary of transportation, Mineta was in charge of more than 100,000 employees, managed a budget of well over \$60 billion, and was responsible for the country's major roadways, waterways, public transit, harbors, and airports. On September 11, 2001, in the wake of the terrorist attack, Mineta issued an order for all flights to land immediately and grounded all air transportation. Furthermore, his order to divert all incoming international flights to Canada was made possible with the help of the Canadian government.

Although Mineta received praise for his swift decisions during the September 11 emergency, the pressing need to provide higher levels of airport and inflight security fell on his shoulders. Mineta played a crucial role in the establishment of the Transportation Security Administration (TSA).

In 2006, Mineta put in his resignation as secretary of transportation. After serving for over five years, he was also the longest serving secretary in the history of the Transportation Department. Later that year, Mineta was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the nation's highest civilian honor by President George W. Bush.

Although in his 70s when he retired from public service, Mineta took a position as vice chairman of the Washington-based public relations firm of Hill and Knowlton. To honor his hard work and dedication, especially to the transportation infrastructure in this country, the Norman Y. Mineta San Jose International Airport in San Jose was named after him. Highway 85 in California was also named after Mineta.

Jeanette Yih Harvie

See also Inouye, Daniel K.; Japanese American Citizens League (JACL); Japanese Americans; Matsui, Robert T.; Mink, Patsy Takemoto; Political Representation

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Mink, Patsy Takemoto (1927–2002)

Patsy Mink was a third-generation Japanese American woman lawyer, rights advocate, and public official from Hawaii whose life was punctuated by a series of firsts. She was the first female student body president in her high school, the first Japanese American woman licensed to practice law in Hawaii, the first Asian American woman elected to Hawaii's Territorial House, the first woman of color elected to the U.S. Congress, and the first Asian American to enter a presidential primary race. Her most celebrated accomplishment, however, was her leadership role shepherding the passage of the Title IX Amendment of the Higher Education Act of 1972 and the tireless efforts to ensure equal rights for girls and women in educational opportunities.

Born on December 6, 1927, in Maui to second-generation, college-educated Neisei parents, Patsy

Matsu Takemoto grew up in an English-speaking household that did not treat her differently from her brother. She attended Maui High School, was elected student body president despite the anti-Japanese sentiment after Pearl Harbor, and graduated as class valedictorian. During her first two years of college at the University of Hawaii, she was elected president of the Pre-Medical Students Club. When attending the University of Nebraska, she engaged the first of many campaigns to challenge institutional racism in student housing and forced the school to rescind its segregation policy. After being rejected by more than a dozen medical schools because of her gender, she attended the University of Chicago law school under its “foreign student quota.” There she met John Mink, got married, and gave birth to daughter Gwendolyn Rachel (Wendy).

The combination of being female, married with a daughter, and Asian American was too much of a liability for her to be hired by a law firm in the early 1950s. After battling a sexist statute to gain eligibility for the bar exam, she became the first woman of Asian descent to enter Hawaii’s bar. The inability to join a law firm in Hawaii prompted her to open one in 1953. She used spare time to reorganize the territory’s first chapter of the Democratic Party and was elected chair of the Young Democrats club.

Disappointed with the work of several legislators, Mink ran for a seat in the territorial House in 1956 and became the first Asian woman to enter the territorial chamber. In the following year, she ran and won a seat in the territorial Senate despite a lack of party support. In 1964, after a second attempt, Mink became the first woman of color elected to Congress, representing Hawaii’s at-large (1965–1973) and 2nd (1973–1977) district. In 1977, after losing her bid to the U.S. Senate, she accepted an appointment made by President Carter as the assistant secretary of state for Ocean and International, Environmental, and Scientific Affairs. Before returning to Congress in 1990 through a special election, she served on the Honolulu city council (1983–1987) and lost her election bids to the governor’s office in 1986 and the Honolulu mayoralty in 1988. She served continuously in the House until her death at age 74 on September 28, 2002, of viral pneumonia brought on by a case of chicken pox.

Because her entry into politics preceded the civil rights and women’s movements, Mink confronted many stereotypes and faced discrimination based on her race, ethnicity, and gender. Her successful campaigns for the territorial Senate and the House were underfunded and disfavored by the Democratic Party, largely in part because she was an outspoken woman of color with an independent mind. Once in office, she introduced and supported legislation to improve early childhood education, women’s pay and access to education, environmental protection, open government, and equal opportunity. She authored the landmark “equal pay for equal work” law in Hawaii while chairing the territorial Senate Education Committee. As a member of the House Education and Labor Committee, she was instrumental in the enactment of Title IX. Written to prohibit discrimination on the basis of gender by educational institutions receiving federal monies, it would have its biggest impact on women’s participation in collegiate sports.

Mink challenged government secrecy in *Mink v. Environmental Protection Agency* (1973) to compel the disclosure of a nuclear explosion plan in Alaska that may have had serious health and other consequences for the nation. The case’s success opened the door for requests and lawsuits to release federal government documents previously withheld from the American people. It was also cited by the U.S. Supreme Court as precedent for the release of the Watergate tapes to the news media that led to Richard Nixon’s resignation as president in 1974. In protest against the Nixon administration’s Vietnam War policy and cutbacks in social programs, Mink made a bold move to enter the Oregon presidential primary in 1972 at the request of a group of progressives most of them were founders of the Oregon branch of the National Women’s Political Caucus. A month before the primary, she generated strong criticism by travelling to Paris to meet with an envoy for the North Vietnamese government.

In the last decade of her political career, Mink was a vigorous advocate on behalf of poor families, especially those headed by women. She was a highly vocal critic of the Republican-led draconian social welfare reform in 1996. She was among the earliest critics of the War in Iraq and the potential loss of civil liberties by the U.S. government’s response to the terrorist

attack on September 11, 2001. In honor of her lifelong campaign to advance women's rights, Title IX Amendment of the Higher Education Act was renamed the Patsy Mink Act a few days before her funeral.

Pei-te Lien and Jeanette Yih Harvie

See also Inouye, Daniel K.; Japanese American Citizens League (JACL); Japanese Americans; Matsui, Robert T.; Mineta, Norman; Political Representation

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Misaka, Wataru (1923–)

Wataru "Wat" Misaka, a standout college basketball player, broke the color line in professional basketball when he was signed by the New York Knickerbockers in 1947.

Born on December 21, 1923, Misaka grew up in Ogden, Utah, the son of a barber, and attended Weber Junior College. He enrolled at the University of Utah around the time of Pearl Harbor and joined the varsity basketball squad, the Utes. Because he was living in Utah, and outside the West Coast, Misaka was not removed to a government camp following the issuing of Executive Order 9066, though his community welcomed numerous "voluntary evacuees" from the West Coast.

Misaka did not distinguish himself by his play with the Utes until 1944. In March of that year, Misaka and his teammates visited Madison Square Garden to play in the National Invitation Tournament (NIT).

The Utes were defeated by the University of Kentucky Wildcats in the first round. However, the sting of the defeat was relieved when another team was forced to bow out of the NCAA tournament following a group car accident, and the Utes were invited to compete for the championship despite their NIT defeat. They traveled to Kansas City, where they swept their games to win the Western NCAA title, and then returned to New York for the national final against a heavily favored Dartmouth team. With help from Misaka, Utah won a narrow 42–40 victory in overtime.

After a stint in the U.S. Army, Misaka returned to Utah in the postwar years. In the 1946–1947 season, he led the Utes to the NIT once again. This time, however, Utah won their opening game, defeating the Duquesne Dukes 45–44. Misaka clinched the victory with a foul shot in the game's closing moments. In the NIT final, Utah once again matched up against the University of Kentucky and prevailed 49–45 over the Wildcats, avenging the 1944 loss. Misaka, playing small forward, starred on defense, limiting Kentucky's star scorer Ralph Beard to a single point during the first half. With the NIT championship, the Utes became the first-ever team to post a champion in both major college tournaments.

In 1947, Misaka was drafted by the New York Knickerbockers of the Basketball Association of America (two years later, the BAA would merge with a rival league, the National Basketball League, to form the National Basketball Association). Misaka's hiring, which came just months after Jackie Robinson broke major league baseball's color line, drew media attention. Not only was Misaka the first player of Asian ancestry in the infant league, but he was also the first non-white—incredible as it may seem today, there were no blacks in the NBA until Chuck Cooper of the Boston Celtics and the Knicks' own Sweetwater Clifton started in 1950. Misaka opened the season with the team on November 13. However, he played just three games, scoring only seven points, before he was released on waivers on November 25. No explanation was given for the sudden release, which was ordered by new coach Joe Lapchick. Racial issues may have played a role, although Misaka later insisted that he was treated like the other players and did not feel any particular prejudice. At 5'7", he was among the

shortest players in the league, even before the era of 7-footers. Clearly, he was at a disadvantage against taller players in the pros, although he had faced players of equal stature in college. According to Misaka, the Knicks were top-heavy with guards, and he was too short to move to small forward. He was thus expendable.

After leaving the Knicks, Misaka returned West. During a stop in Chicago, he was approached by Abe Saperstein, owner of the Harlem Globetrotters, a celebrated all-black basketball and comedy team, who had seen him play at an exhibition in Hawaii some years earlier. Saperstein offered him a spot as a guard on the Globetrotters. Misaka turned down the offer, however, and returned to the university to complete an engineering degree.

He remains a pillar of the Nisei community in Utah. In 1999, Misaka was inducted into the Utah Sports Hall of Fame. In 2008, a documentary film on Misaka's life, *Transforming: The Wat Misaka Story*, was produced by Bruce Alan Johnson and Christine Toy Johnson. In December 2009, he was honored by the Knicks with a midcourt ceremony. His pioneering basketball career achieved further recognition after he was praised by President Barack Obama in a speech at the White House, and also when another Asian American, Jeremy Lin, began playing for the Knicks in 2011–2012.

Greg Robinson

See also Japanese Americans

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Moon Festival

Called "Mid-Autumn Festival" in Chinese, the Moon Festival is one of the most celebrated traditional Chinese festivals. It is held on the fifteenth day of the eighth month of the Chinese lunar calendar, usually

around late September or early October, when the moon is full and bright.

The origin of the Moon Festival can be traced back to moon worships in ancient China. The moon worship is usually held on an autumn night under a full moon. It is believed that a full moon symbolizes a good harvest and success in life. The festival became official in the Tang Dynasty (AD 618–907) and is still celebrated everywhere in China. Outside of China, other southeast Asian countries such as Vietnam, Malaysia, Singapore, and the Philippines also celebrate the Moon Festival, although some refer it as the Lantern Festival instead.

In the Chinese diaspora, the Moon Festival is celebrated with traditional activities and customs. It is the time for family members to get together (the day is also called "Reunion Day") or make family contacts. In the United States, members of the Asian American communities often organize get-togethers. It is common for participants to sing and dance, eat moon cakes, make paper lanterns, write poems, and exchange good wishes during the festival.

The Moon Festival is associated with a popular Chinese legend, "Chang Er Flying to the Moon." Accordingly, once upon a time, there were 10 suns in the form of three-legged birds in the universe, burning human and animal inhabitants as well as crops. To save the Earth, a heroic young archer named Houyi shot down nine of the suns, saving only one to warm the earth. Houyi had a beautiful wife named Chang Er. She mistakenly took a pill of immortality that was presented to Houyi from the immortal Queen Mother of Western Heaven on the fifteenth night of the eighth lunar month, and consequently her body got lighter and lighter, and floated up to the moon where she was to live forever. Heartbroken, Houyi built himself a palace in the sun. Since then Houyi gets to meet Chang Er only once every year, on the fifteenth day of the eighth month, when the moon is fullest and brightest. The story was first recorded in writing in the Han Dynasty (206 BC–220 AD).

Mooncake is served during the Moon Festival. Originated in Central Asia, the mooncakes might have been introduced into China in the Tang Dynasty. The name mooncake and the custom of eating mooncakes for the Moon Festival might have started in the Ming Dynasty (AD 1368–1644). It is said that at the end of



Moon Festival in Boston's Chinatown. (AP Photo/Christopher Pfuhl)

the Yuan Dynasty (AD 1280–1368), a rebellion leader, Zhu Yuanzhang, placed a piece of paper into every mooncake with a message calling an uprising of ethnic Han people to overthrow the Mongolian reign of the Yuan Dynasty on the fifteenth day of the eighth month. The message was spread out as planned. After Zhu established the Ming Dynasty and became its first emperor, eating mooncakes on the fifteenth day of the eighth month became part of the routine of the Moon Festival celebration. The mooncakes are usually baked with bean paste and other sweet fillings, although there are many other variations.

Biyu Li

See also Chinese Americans; Chinese Lion Dance in the United States; Chinese New Year Parade

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Mori, Toshio (1910–1980)

Toshio Mori is a Japanese American writer best known for his short fiction depicting Japanese American experiences in the 1930s and 1940s. He was born in Oakland, California, to immigrant parents from Otake, Japan. His father had immigrated to the United States in the late 1800s and worked on Hawaii sugar plantations before moving to San Francisco. In 1915, the Mori family—including Toshio's mother and older brothers, who had joined his father by this point—settled in San Leandro, California, and started a nursery farm. Mori worked in the nursery but from high school onward aspired to be a writer. Beginning in his early 20s, he dedicated his nights to writing after working 10 to 12 hour days in the nursery. Mori's work was first accepted in *Coast* magazine, when he was 28 years old. Through this publication, he attracted the notice of author William Saroyan, who encouraged Mori to keep writing. Saroyan later proclaimed him "the first real Japanese American

writer” in his introduction to Mori’s debut collection of short stories, *Yokohama, California*.

Mori’s writing draws on the people and places he knew in California as well as the sociopolitical anxieties of his milieu. In the short story “1, 2, 3, 4, Who Are We For?,” for example, a chat between two men, a Chinese American and a Japanese American, begins with banter about sports and love interests, but is punctuated by an exchange concerning war, patriotism, and race. Much of his work, such as “Sweet Potato” and “Japanese Hamlet,” either gestures toward or directly describes the context of rising tensions between the United States and Japan and accompanying anti-Japanese sentiment. Once the United States entered World War II and initiated the incarceration of Japanese Americans in camps, Mori and his family were held at Tanforan racetrack in San Bruno, California, before being assigned to Topaz, the Central Utah Relocation Project.

In the years leading up to his family’s incarceration in 1942, Mori had published work in magazines such as *The Clipper*, *Iconograph*, *Writer’s Forum*, and *Common Ground*, as well as contributions to the Nisei literary monthly, *Current Life*. The Caxton Printers, Ltd. in Idaho announced plans to publish Mori’s collection, *Yokohama, California*, in 1942, but subsequently delayed publication until 1949. When incarcerated, Mori continued to write, producing “The Man with the Bulging Pockets” at Tanforan, and the novel-length *The Brothers Murata* at Topaz, among other work. At Topaz, he also worked as camp historian and edited an issue of *Trek* magazine entitled *All Aboard*. At the end of the war in 1945, Mori returned to San Leandro and married Hisayo Yoshiwara two years later. Chapters of his novel, *Women from Hiroshima*, were published in *Pacific Citizen* in the 1950s, and the full work appeared in limited edition in 1978. Mori’s second collection of short stories, *The Chauvinist*, was published a year later, with an introduction by Hisaye Yamamoto.

Diana A. Price

See also Japanese Americans

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Moua, Mee (1969–)

Mee Moua is a Hmong American politician from the state of Minnesota. Moua is a member of the Democratic-Farmer-Labor-Party. She was a Minnesota state senator from February 2002 to January 2011. A tireless politician, Moua surprised her fellow senators as well as her constituents when she announced in May 2010 that she was retiring and thus not seeking reelection. Moua is the first Hmong American to serve in any state legislature in the United States and the first Asian American woman to serve in the Minnesota legislature.

Mee Moua was born on June 30, 1969, in Xieng Khouang, Laos. She is of Hmong ethnic origins—an Asian ethnic group historically from the mountainous regions of China, Vietnam, Laos, and Thailand. Moua’s family left a war-torn Laos when she was a child and spent three years in a refugee camp in Thailand before finally immigrating to the United States in 1978. In the United States, she attended Appleton High School in Wisconsin and became the first member of her family to master English and go to college. Moua went to Brown University on a scholarship and received her Bachelor of Arts in 1992. She also has a Master of public policy from the Lyndon Baines Johnson School of Public Affairs (University of Texas). In 1997, Moua graduated from the University of Minnesota Law School with a Juris Doctor.

After law school, Moua worked as a young attorney in Twin Cities, Minnesota, and gained some political experience through her uncle Neal Thao’s school board campaign. It was during this campaign that Moua became very involved in the Hmong community and worked tirelessly as a lobbyist for Hmong-business owners. In 2002, Moua decided to run in the special election for the vacant seat of Senator Randy Kelly, who had resigned after his election as St. Paul’s mayor. Moua was successful in her election campaign and became the first Hmong American to be elected to a state-level public office in the United States.

Moua started her first term on February 4, 2002, representing Ramsey County, Minnesota, which includes portions of the city of St. Paul. Since her initial election, Moua has won four consecutive reelections before her retirement announcement in 2010. In the Minnesota Senate, Moua's legislative interests were in the areas of education, housing, economic development, and safety. Moua was a hardworking legislator. Specifically, Moua served on various finance subcommittees and was also the chair of the judiciary committee (2007–2010).

Although sometimes perceived as a rising political star, Moua shocked the St. Paul community in May of 2010 by announcing that she was retiring from the state legislature and would not seek reelection. Although it later came to light that Moua and her family had been facing financial difficulties (including a foreclosure on their home), she did not elaborate on the reasons of her retirement other than the fact that she wanted to focus more time and energy on her family life. She was succeeded in her senate seat by John Harrington, a retired police chief of the city of St. Paul.

Jeanette Yih Harvie

See also Hmong American Women; Hmong of Minnesota and California; Political Representation; Thao, Cy

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Mukherjee, Bharati (1940–)

Bharati Mukherjee is a South Asian American author and professor. She was born on July 27, 1940, in Calcutta to Sudhir Lal and Bina Mukherjee. She spent

much of her childhood in a multigenerational Bengali Brahmin extended family. Her father earned a PhD from the University of London and had a successful business and scientific career in the pharmaceutical industry. Because of that, he moved his family to England in 1948, then Switzerland, and back to India. Bharati Mukherjee attended the Loreto Convent School in Calcutta, and then earned a BA with honors in English from Calcutta University in 1959 as well as an MA in English and ancient Indian culture from Baroda University in 1961. She earned an MFA in creative writing from the University of Iowa, and a PhD in English and comparative literature in 1969.

Mukherjee's formative years had a profound influence on her writing. Although Bina Mukherjee did not receive a formal education, she made sure that all of her children did, sending them to Anglicized Bengali schools and supervising their reading and writing. When in Calcutta, Bharati Mukherjee and her family



Indian American author Bharati Mukherjee. (AP Photo/Marty Lederhandler)

resided in a palatial home within her father's factory compound. Though they were surrounded by material comforts, there was also a phalanx of family around at all times. Not much privacy was afforded, so she turned to reading and writing as a form of escape. The Mukherjees wanted their daughters to seek careers outside their homes and to get the best educations possible but also to return to India for marriage. As a result, Bharati and her sisters received secondary and postgraduate education in the United States, and all three are academics. When she was at the University of Iowa in 1962, Mukherjee's master's thesis was a collection of short fiction, and she was admitted into the doctoral program. In Iowa, she met Clark Baise, a fellow graduate student and Canadian citizen. They married in 1963, halting any probability that Mukherjee would return home to Calcutta, thus marking her, as she has stated, an "accidental immigrant," as she became a naturalized Canadian citizen in 1972. She and Blaise moved to Canada and began their respective teaching careers in Montreal, where she ascended the institutional echelon rapidly, earning a tenured position in 1978 at McGill University. After 14 years in Canada, she found life as a woman of color immigrant to be excruciating, so she and her husband moved to the United States and became naturalized American citizens.

She was writer-in-residence at Emory University, and has taught creative writing at Columbia University, New York University Skidmore College, City University of New York, Queens College, and is currently professor of English at the University of California at Berkeley.

Thus far, Mukherjee's oeuvre comprises novels, short story collections, and a memoir. Her novels include *The Tiger's Daughter* (1971), *Wife* (1975), *Jasmine* (1989), *The Holder of the World* (1993), *Leave it to Me* (1997), *Desirable Daughters* (2002), and *The Tree Bride* (2004). Her short story collections include *Darkness* (1985) and *The Middleman and Other Stories* (1988). She has a forthcoming collection titled *Father*. She coauthored the memoir *Days and Nights in Calcutta* (1977) with her husband, and they also collaborated on *The Sorrow and the Terror: The Haunting Legacy of the Air India Tragedy* (1987). She has also written pieces entitled *Political Culture*

and *Leadership in India* (1991) and *Regionalism in Indian Perspective* (1992) published in the national media. She was the recipient of the National Book Critics Award in 1988 for *The Middleman and Other Stories*.

Mukherjee's works have received widespread acclaim, but she also has come under criticism for what some see as essentializing binaries between the East and West, and reproducing exotic stereotypes of South Asians. Many of her stories deal with an explicit rejection of what she sees as a patriarchal, traditional society of India, and a trepidatious but welcoming foray into the supposedly more empowering, individualistic society of North America. It must be noted that this movement is not endured peacefully, but is comprised of struggle, violence, loss, and psychic traumas. Bharati Mukherjee's characters are presented as survivors, postcolonial subjects who are "born" to be American. She has said that she "feels American" in a deeply fundamental way, whether others view her that way or not. She recognizes brutalities in her work, but the notion of them being survivors makes them American. In her work, some might see a deep nationalism. For example, *The Tiger's Daughter* (1971) draws from her own memories and personal experiences with her family and functions as an exploration and critique of Bengali Brahmin hegemonic practices that she deems archaic. Tara, the protagonist, is a young Bengali woman of privilege who spends seven years in the United States ensconced in academia, only to return home to parental expectations around betrothal. The issue of arranged marriages to suitable, well-educated Indian boys is crystallized in the text and the affluent Indian community that Mukherjee critiques seems to exude an austere unwillingness to change.

One of her best-known works is the novel *Jasmine*, which explores the possibilities of transformation, despite trauma. Situated just after the passing of the 1965 Immigration Act, the story avoids any rhetoric of "the model minority," the protagonist changes and reinvents herself in a quest for an "authentic" self. She is Jyoti, Jasmine, Jassy, Jase, and Jane, first a young widow, moving quickly from one location to another. Each movement and transformation is accompanied by an epistemological violence, and a shifting of space. Jasmine goes from rural Northwest India, to

a city in Punjab, to the swamps of Florida, to Queens, then Manhattan, and finally rural Iowa. With each movement comes a killing of an old self. She is first a widow wanting to commit sati upon the murder of her husband, is raped by a white man in Florida, murders him as Kalimata, the Hindu goddess and protectress of women. She burns her old clothes, emerging from her trauma at a new location, and wanting to move forward.

Despite being taught in canons, including Asian American and South Asian authors, Mukherjee does not adhere to one particular kind of creative descriptor. Her work is published in English, and is read and taught primarily in the United States. Though she has come under fire from postcolonial scholars for depicting South Asian expats in an essentializing manner, her fiction is popular. Her work provides a particular experience to her readers built around expatriation, exile, and immigration, and her narrative skills are undeniable. She gives voice to a wide range of experiences well outside the normative and has been the inspiration for many following her.

Rosie N. Kar

See also Indian Americans; South Asian Ethnic Identity

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Multiracial Asian Americans

In recent American popular culture, many famous and well-known professional athletes and celebrities have been multiracial Asian Americans—Tiger Woods,

Kimora Lee Simmons, Hines Ward, Keanu Reeves, Johnny Damon, Norah Jones, Ann Curry, Kristin Kruek, and Olivia Munn to name just a few. Throughout the years, Asian Americans of mixed racial ancestry have been referred to as multiracial, mixed-race, biracial, "Hapa," and Amerasian, among others. Although these individual multiracial Asian Americans have become prominent in recent years, the presence of Asian Americans of mixed racial ancestry has a long history. However, the political, demographic, and cultural implications of their increasing numbers have only recently emerged for both Asian Americans and non-Asians alike. Furthermore, as American society becomes increasingly diverse, globalized, and transnational, multiracial Asian Americans are poised to occupy a unique position in our country's evolving racial/ethnic landscape.

The Evolution of Mixed-Race Asian Americans

The origin of mixed-race or multiracial Asian Americans can be traced back to the early period of Asian immigration to the United States in the mid-1700s, with large scale migrations common by the mid-1800s, mainly because of the Gold Rush in California and other Western states. Because the vast majority of these early Asian immigrants were men (mostly from the Philippines or China), if they wanted to be in the company of women, these early Asian immigrants had little choice but to socialize with non-Asian women. Eventually, the children from these interracial unions became the first multiracial Asian Americans. In Hawaii, as white settlers from Europe and the United States began to settle there in large numbers in the 1800s, intermarriage between Native Hawaiians and whites also became prominent.

Their multiracial children were called "Hapas," originally meaning half Hawaiian and half white, but these days, Hapa is a common popular culture term that refers to multiracial Asian Americans in general. Together with Pacific Islanders, Native Hawaiians are considered a separate racial group from Asian Americans. Because their ethnic background includes a complex mix of several ancestries, their cultural history is very distinct from that of Asian Americans. As such, this entry will focus only on multiracial Asian

Americans, as other scholars have examined and illustrated the rich and distinctive experiences and characteristics of Native Hawaiians in much more detail.

Eventually, as the numbers of immigrants from Asia began to swell in the mid- and late-1800s, the native white population increasingly began to view their presence in the United States with hostility. Objections were raised concerning perceived economic competition with native U.S. workers that Asian immigrants supposedly posed, along with doubts over whether Asians were cultural and racially compatible with mainstream American society.

This nativist and xenophobic backlash, popularly characterized as the “anti-Chinese movement,” eventually led to several pieces of legislation at the local, state, and federal levels, culminating with the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. These laws initially restricted the rights and activities of, Chinese immigrants and were later broadened to include virtually all subsequent immigrants from Asia. Included in these restrictive laws were antimiscegenation provisions that prevented Asians from marrying whites.

These antimiscegenation laws were first passed in the 1600s to prevent freed black slaves from marrying whites. Later versions added persons of Asian origin or ancestry to the list of groups forbidden to marry whites. Although early examples of such antimiscegenation laws singled out those of “Mongoloid” origin specifically, they were later amended to include Filipinos (who claimed that they were of “Malay” origin) and Asian Indians (who characterized themselves as “Aryan” in origin).

One noteworthy exception was the War Brides Act of 1945 that allowed American servicemen to marry and bring back wives from Japan, China, the Philippines, and Korea to the United States. Several thousands of Asian women immigrated to the United States as war brides and their offspring became the first notable cohorts of multiracial Asian Americans. Antimiscegenation laws were finally declared unconstitutional in the 1967 U.S. Supreme Court *Loving v. Virginia* case.

Interracial marriages involving Asian Americans and their multiracial offspring started to increase significantly following the passage of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965. This Act replaced the

restrictive National Origins quota system that had been in place for the past four decades and which effectively limited the number of Asian immigrants to a token few each year. In its place, the 1965 Immigration Act was structured around provisions that favored the immigration of family members, relatives, and professional workers. Eventually, these provisions substantially increased the numbers of Asian immigrants coming to the United States, which in turn significantly increased the marriage pool, or the numbers of potential marriage partners, for Asians and non-Asians alike.

The end of the Vietnam War also played an important role in increasing the numbers and visibility of multiracial Asian Americans, in this case “Amerasians”—the children of Vietnamese mothers and American G.I.s who served in Vietnam. After the fall of Saigon and the reunification of Vietnam in 1975, several thousand Amerasians were left behind as all remaining American personnel were evacuated. After enduring systematic discrimination and hostility back in Vietnam as direct legacies of the United States involvement in the war, the Vietnamese Amerasian Homecoming Act of 1988 allowed approximately 25,000 Amerasians and their immediate relatives to immigrate to the United States.

Patterns of Interracial Marriage among Asian Americans

As American society becomes increasingly diverse, globalized, and multicultural, this phenomenon of Asian American intermarriage has received much public and academic attention in recent years. Because most multiracial Asian Americans are the offspring of interracial marriages (also known as intermarriage) involving Asian Americans, it makes sense for us to examine this phenomenon in more detail. In particular, many sociologists and psychologists have analyzed why Asian Americans choose to intermarry with whites, the primary spouse of choice in exogamous marriages.

One theory emphasizes that from the point of view of the Asian American who’s marrying a white person (overwhelmingly the most common form of Asian American intermarriage), such a union would be the ultimate form of assimilation and signifies full

acceptance by white society. Therefore, an Asian American may marry a white person because s/he (consciously or unconsciously) wants to be fully accepted in white society. However, to many people, this theory sounds rather condescending because it presumes that the only reason why an Asian American would marry a white would be to fulfill a need for acceptance.

The related theory of hypergamy suggests that Asian Americans marry whites to increase their social status, because whites generally occupy the highest sociocultural position in the United States' racial hierarchy. In other words, even if a working-class Asian American marries another working-class white, her social status will still improve, compared to if she married someone else in her ethnic group or even another Asian. A further potential motivation from the Asian American spouse's point of view is the conscious or unconscious desire to escape or abandon his/her Asian identity (or at least the stereotypes and stigmas that are associated with being Asians), in favor of identifying with the majority group.

Another issue within this dynamic, particularly as it relates to the motivation of whites to marry an Asian American, is how Asian women are frequently fetishized. Historically, it was very common for Asian women to be portrayed as docile, subservient, exotic, mysterious, and/or seductive. These images can be traced back to Chinese prostitutes who were "imported" to the United States back in the 1800s and through the prevalence of war brides after World War II. Furthermore, these images continue to be reinforced and perpetuated in the media as television shows and movies consistently pair Asian women with white males as romantic leads.

Many critics of Asian American intermarriages argue that this stereotype or fetish of Asian women can be a significant reason why many males (particularly white males) are attracted to Asian women. In this sense, Asian women are not seen as equal partners but, rather, as sexual objects to be controlled and used by the male, or are merely manifestations of a fantasy that's been perpetuated and reinforced in popular culture.

Critics further point out that rarely do you see the opposite happening—Asian males being the subjects

of infatuation or sexual desire by white women. Such critics would point out that Asian males have been and continue to be purposely portrayed as nonsexual martial arts experts, nerds and geeks, or evil villains and that this portrayal serves to eliminate Asian males as potential rivals to white males for the affection of Asian women. These critics also note that it is the saddest irony when Asian women either allow themselves to be objectified and fetishized or when they buy into and accept these demeaning portrayals of Asian men and eliminate them as potential partners.

However, these distorted perceptions and motivations do not necessarily apply to most interracial relationships. In fact, what these criticisms do not mention is why Asian Americans sometimes marry within their ethnic group. That is, many young Asian women (particular immigrants) are pressured into marrying within their own ethnic group by family members and cultural traditions.

Criticisms against interracial marriages also do not address the traditional patriarchy and sexism that still exists within many Asian cultures, which regard Asian women as merely possessions. Additional factors within traditional Asian families that may mitigate outmarrying include expectations of obedience and deference to parental authority, focusing on the child's academic performance and professional preparation rather than social activities, and/or expectations that the child will care for his/her parents in old age.

Furthermore, when the primary motivation for such cross-racial unions (involving whatever racial/ethnic combinations) include love, individual compatibility, and perhaps the desire to broaden the exposure and acceptance of Asian/Asian American culture to the rest of mainstream society, interracial dating and marriage can in fact be a very powerful force for greater acceptance and equality across racial/ethnic groups in American society.

Interracial marriages involving Asian Americans became prominent after World War II as a result of American soldiers bringing home war brides from Asia. These days, interracial marriages among Asian Americans are very common. In fact, several studies show that Asian Americans have some of the highest rates of outmarriages (marrying interracially) among all racial/ethnic minority groups. Keeping in mind that

Table 1. Race/Ethnicity of Spouses among U.S.-Raised Asian Americans, by Gender and Ethnic Group (2000)

	Asian Indian	Chinese	Filipino	Japanese	Korean	Vietnamese
Husbands						
Endogamous	17,990 (69.2%)	57,630 (64.5%)	32,334 (49.6%)	71,207 (62.7%)	15,487 (63.2%)	15,244 (72.7%)
Pan-Asian	964 (3.7%)	11,325 (12.7%)	8,222 (12.6%)	15,754 (13.9%)	2,253 (9.2%)	2,443 (11.7%)
White	5,333 (20.5%)	17,252 (19.3%)	18,338 (28.1%)	22,322 (19.7%)	5,856 (23.9%)	2,368 (11.3%)
Black	429 (1.7%)	207 (0.2%)	361 (0.6%)	293 (0.3%)	21 (0.1%)	140 (0.7%)
Hispanic	1,116 (4.3%)	2,366 (2.6%)	4,992 (7.7%)	3,173 (2.8%)	846 (3.4%)	611 (2.9%)
Wives						
Endogamous	23,194 (69.9%)	52,457 (55.0%)	29,323 (37.0%)	65,899 (56.2%)	13,799 (40.0%)	17,985 (66.8%)
Pan-Asian	1,369 (4.1%)	10,270 (10.8%)	7,318 (9.2%)	13,073 (11.2%)	2,576 (7.5%)	1,905 (7.1%)
White	6,989 (21.1%)	28,550 (29.9%)	32,146 (40.5%)	32,919 (28.1%)	16,557 (48.0%)	6,108 (22.7%)
Black	827 (2.5%)	684 (0.7%)	3,174 (4.0%)	1,062 (0.9%)	493 (1.4%)	199 (0.7%)
Hispanic	582 (1.8%)	2,805 (2.9%)	6,018 (7.6%)	3,037 (2.6%)	873 (2.5%)	647 (2.4%)

Universe: Both husband and wife are U.S.-raised (1.5-generation or higher).

Percentage within each Asian group are in parentheses.

All Asian ethnic groups are monoracial and non-Hispanic.

Pan-Asian can include part-Asian, Native Hawaiian, or Pacific Islander spouses.

Endogamous, Other Asian American, White, and Blacks are non-Hispanics; Hispanics can be of any race.

exact data vary by statistical methodology and data source, Table 1 shows outmarriage rates for the six largest Asian American ethnic groups in 2000, where both spouses are U.S.-raised (either born in the United States or immigrated to the United States before age 13). The data show the percentages of Asian American husbands and wives who have an endogamous (same ethnicity) spouse, a pan-Asian spouse (Asian of a different ethnicity), or a non-Hispanic white, non-Hispanic black, or Hispanic spouse.

The results from Table 1 indicate two distinct patterns. First, there is a significant gender difference—Asian American women are consistently much more likely to outmarry than Asian American men. Second, there are notable ethnic differences—among Asian American husbands, Filipinos are the most likely to outmarry whereas Vietnamese husbands are the least to do so. Among Asian American women, Korean and Filipinos are the most likely to outmarry. In fact, U.S.-raised Korean American and Filipino American women are more likely to marry outside of their ethnic group than to marry within their own group. Among Asian American men and women who marry outside of their own ethnic group, except for Vietnamese American men, the vast majority of them marry a

white spouse. When it comes to having a black spouse, the group most likely to do so by gender are Asian Indian men and Filipino men. Furthermore, both Filipino American men and women are the most likely to have a Hispanic spouse, which is not surprising given the Philippines' history of Spanish colonialization. Finally, recent sociological research shows that since 1990, there has actually been a decline in intermarriages between Asian Americans and whites and, conversely, large increases in marriage between U.S.- and foreign-born Asian Americans, both mono-ethnic and pan-Asian.

To delve into the intersection of Asian American interracial marriage and social class in more detail, research has analyzed how various socioeconomic measures are associated with whether an Asian American husband or wife has a spouse who is endogamous (of the same ethnicity), pan-Asian (Asian but of a different ethnicity), or white. The results of such studies generally show that Asian American husbands and wives with higher levels of social class attainment (in terms of having at least a college degree, a high-skill occupation, and personal income) are much more likely to marry outside of their own ethnic group, either to an Asian American of a different ethnicity or

Table 2. Demographic Summary of Monoethnic, Multiethnic, and Multiracial Asian Americans, 2000

	Total Number		
Total U.S. Population			281,421,906
Asian: Monoethnic, Multiethnic, and Multiracial			11,898,882
	Monoethnic	Multiethnic	Multiracial
All Asians	10,242,998	223,593	1,655,830
Asian Indian	1,678,765	40,013	180,821
Chinese	2,314,537	130,826	289,478
Filipino	1,850,314	57,811	456,690
Japanese	796,700	55,537	296,695
Korean	1,076,672	22,550	129,005
Vietnamese	1,122,528	47,144	54,064
Asian + White			868,395
Asian + Black			106,762
Asian + Some Other Race			249,108
Asian + Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander			138,802
Asian + All Other Combinations			292,743

Chinese excludes Taiwanese.

Multiethnic: In combination with another Asian ethnicity.

Source: *Census 2000 Brief: The Asian Population*, <http://www.census.gov/prod/2002pubs/c2kbr01-16.pdf>.

more commonly, to someone who is white. In other words, U.S.-raised Asian Americans with higher social class characteristics are generally more likely to have a spouse who is white or Asian of a different ethnicity, whereas their counterparts with lower social class characteristics are more likely to marry endogamously, within their own ethnic group.

Demographics and Socioeconomic Characteristics of Multiracial Asian Americans

Efforts to get an accurate national count of multiracial Asian Americans have been stymied in previous censuses because respondents could not choose more than one racial/ethnic identity. However, for the 2000 Census, the Census Bureau reversed its policy and allowed respondents to identify with more than one “race,” finally allowing researchers to get a reliable count of the number of multiracial Asian Americans in the United States.

As shown in Table 2, according to the 2000 Census, 10,242,998 of the 281,421,906 people living

in the United States identified themselves as entirely of Asian race (3.6%). Additionally, there were 1,655,830 people who identified themselves as being part Asian and part one or more of other races. Also as shown in Table 2, the largest group by far of multiracial Asians is half-Asian and half-white. That is, of the approximately 1.8 million Americans who identify as half-Asian and half one or more other races, 52 percent are half-Asian and half-white. If we include all multiracial Asian Americans as their own “ethnic” group, they would be the fourth-largest group, comprising 8 percent of the entire Asian American population. Multiracial Asian Americans would also be the fastest-growing group as well. In fact, demographers predict that by the year 2020, almost 20 percent of all Asian Americans will be multiracial and that figure will climb to 36 percent by the year 2050. In other words, as intermarriages involving Asians increase, multiracial Asians are becoming a more prominent group within the Asian American community and within mainstream American society in general.

Table 3. Demographic and Social Class Characteristics of Multiracial Asian Americans, 2007

	Sample Size (Average Age)	% Homeowner	% College Degree	% Advanced Degree	% High Skill Occupation	Median Personal Income
Multiracial Asian Americans						
Asian-White	3,234 (20.5)	72.9	43.1	5.7	36.9	\$42,500
Asian-Black	421 (22.7)	60.8	32.1	3.5	28.8	\$40,476
Asian-Hispanic	823 (28.5)	67.3	24.1	2.3	24.4	\$34,688
Asian-Multiple (Two or More Races)	224 (19.2)	62.1	33.9	3.8	30.5	\$40,476
Monoethnic						
Asian Indians	15,602 (32.0)	68.1	70.8	12.9	61.8	\$60,208
Chinese	20,403 (37.3)	72.5	55.0	11.2	49.9	\$46,548
Filipinos	16,587 (38.2)	75.6	49.8	4.6	35.9	\$40,476
Japanese	6,889 (47.9)	73.7	45.9	4.9	42.3	\$50,595
Koreans	8,221 (35.7)	63.4	53.8	8.2	37.8	\$40,476
Vietnamese	8,805 (34.8)	75.3	29.5	4.0	29.8	\$35,417
Whites	1,530,563 (41.6)	82.0	30.5	3.5	30.0	\$40,476
Blacks	182,816 (35.9)	57.3	17.7	1.6	18.5	\$31,369
Hispanics	202,390 (29.6)	60.9	14.2	1.7	14.4	\$27,321
Native American Indians	14,096 (34.7)	67.8	13.4	3.4	18.9	\$30,357

Universe: 25 years or older, except for Advanced Degree (30 years or older); currently employed for High Skill Occupation and Median Personal Income. Average age encompasses all ages.

All Monoracial and Multiracial groups are Non-Hispanic, except for Asian-Latino and Latinos.

Source: Census 2007. Public Use Microdata Sample (PUMS). American Community Survey.

Among specific Asian ethnicities, the Census data in Table 2 shows that 30.7 percent of those who identify as at least part Japanese are multiracial, the highest proportion among the six largest Asian American ethnic groups. Next are Filipinos (21.8 percent of whom are multiracial), Chinese (15.4 percent), Korean (12.3 percent), Asian Indian (11.6 percent), and Vietnamese (8.3 percent). It also shows that multiethnic Asian Americans are a notable part of the total Asian American population. For example, if we consider monoethnic and multiethnic Asian Americans together as one “Mono-Asian” group, multiethnics comprise 6.5 percent of the Japanese American group, with Vietnamese American multiethnics second at around 4 percent (a noteworthy proportion given that Vietnamese have only been in the United States in large numbers for less than 35 years).

In terms of their socioeconomic characteristics, Table 3 presents 2007 Census data showing selected

measures of socioeconomic attainment among the major multiracial Asian American racial combinations and again with comparisons to the six largest monoethnic Asian American ethnic groups. The social class measures are presented as the percentage of respondents who are homeowners, have a college degree or higher, have an advanced degree (a law, medical, or doctorate degree), have high-skill occupations (executive, senior management, technical, or professional), and median personal income (also known as per capita income).

The results show that among multiracial Asian Americans, those of Asian-white identity tend to have the highest social class attainment levels. For example, their rates of homeownership are 8 percent higher than those of Asian-Hispanic identity, 27 percent higher than Asian-blacks in terms of college degree attainment, 50 percent and 21 percent higher than those of Asian-Multiple identity (Asian with two or more races)

when it comes to having an advanced degree and a high-skill occupation, respectively, and 5 percent higher than other multiracial Asian Americans in terms of personal income. Those of Asian-white identity also compare favorably to monoethnic Asian Americans as their social class attainment levels would generally put them in the middle of rankings that include the six largest monoethnic Asian American ethnic groups. Those of Asian-white identity have higher social class attainment levels than monoracial whites in terms of percentage with at least a college degree and an advanced degree, percentage with a high-skill occupation, and median personal income. This last finding on personal income is notable because whites have the highest personal income levels of the major racial groups, including Asian Americans. As such, we might expect incomes for Asian-whites to fall between those for Asian Americans and whites but, in fact, they are above both groups.

The other multiracial Asian American groups (Asian-black, Asian-Hispanic, and Asian-Multiple) also tend to show higher-than-average levels of social class attainment compared to monoracial whites, blacks, Latinos, and Native American Indians, although not quite as high as most monoethnic Asian American ethnic groups. We should keep in mind that as shown in Table 3, multiracial Asian Americans tend to be significantly younger than their monoethnic counterparts. In fact, the oldest multiracial Asian American group in terms of average age (Asian-Hispanic) is still younger than the oldest monoracial group (Latinos) and 3.5 years younger than the youngest monoethnic Asian American group (Asian Indians). With this in mind, the aggregate social class attainment levels of multiracial Asian Americans—particularly those of Asian-white identity—are actually quite notable. Keeping in mind that the results from Table 3 includes only respondents who are at least 25 years old, the social class attainment levels of multiracial Asian Americans in general (and particularly those of Asian-white identity, whose average age in general is 20.5 years) are likely to gradually increase as they get older, more educated, and progress through their professional careers.

Furthermore, the population numbers of multiracial Asian Americans will almost certainly continue

increasing at high rates. Even by the early 1990s, interracial marriages between all the races had led to an “interracial baby boom” with journalists noting that “between 1968 and 1989, children born to parents of different races increased from 1 percent of total births to 3.4 percent.” Regarding the Asian American population specifically, demographers predict that by the year 2020, almost 20 percent of all Asian Americans will be multiracial and that figure will climb to 36 percent by the year 2050. In other words, as intermarriages involving Asians increase, multiracial Asians are becoming a more prominent group within the Asian American community and within mainstream American society in general.

All Mixed Up?

Traditionally, multiracial Asian Americans, like many other multiracial individuals, have been looked upon with curiosity and/or suspicion by both sides of their ancestry and the rest of society. In the past, the racist “one drop rule” dictated that anyone who even had any trace of non-white ancestry (i.e., a single drop of non-white blood) was “colored” and therefore non-white. To a certain extent today, many Americans still see multiracial Asian Americans as “half-breeds” and don’t consider them to be truly white, black, or even truly American.

On the other hand, many in the conventional Asian American community also do not consider multiracial Asian Americans to be truly “Asian” and, rather, see them as “whitewashed.” Politically, many worry that the Asian American community will lose government funding if people who previously identified themselves as solely Asian now identify themselves as multiracial. In other words, many multiracial Asian Americans still face distrust and even hostility from both their Asian and non-Asian sides.

Sociologists argue that one of the defining characteristics of the U.S. racial/ethnic landscape is the tendency for Americans, white and non-white alike, to prefer a sense of clarity when it comes to racial/ethnic identity. In situations where the racial/ethnic background of a person cannot be immediately identified, many Americans become uncomfortable with this cultural ambiguity. This may help to explain the

traditional emphasis on prohibiting the “mixing” of different races, a motivation that continues to drive many neo-Nazi or white supremacist ideologies.

As a result of these cultural dynamics, many (although certainly not all) multiracial Asian Americans encounter difficulties in establishing their own ethnic identity as they try to fit into both the Asian American community and mainstream American society. As many multiracial Asian American writers have described, as they grow up, they are frequently caught between both sides of their racial/ethnic background. Frequently this involves feeling alienated, marginalized, and that they do not legitimately belong in either community, Asian or non-Asian.

Moving Forward and Forging a New Identity

However, as American society becomes increasingly culturally diverse, globalized, and transnational in the twenty-first century, new avenues are opening up and being created for multiracial Asian Americans to assert their own unique identity. As one example, Shih and Sanchez recently found that multiracial Americans from various racial combinations are frequently happiest and best-adjusted when they identify with both/all of their racial identities. Their research found that multiracial children who identified with multiple racial identities reported much less emotional stress than those who identified with a single racial identity, regardless of whether the racial identities included “low-status” groups like African Americans or “high-status” ones such as whites. The authors argue that identifying with just one racial identity frequently leads multiracial children to encounter various difficulties in their attempts to “pass” as a member of that single racial group, whereas they develop a sense of ownership and pride when they create their own social framework for fitting in that is based on synthesizing their unique and multiple characteristics.

In other words, multiracial Americans are finding benefit and happiness when they actively shape their own identity rather than waiting around and letting others dictate to them what their identity should be. As it turns out, monoethnic Asian Americans (and Latino Americans) have been doing something like this for many generations, as they reconcile and

negotiate their own identities as both Asian and American. In this sense, we might say that multiracial Americans are now going through the same process that Asian Americans have been going through for years.

Pointing this out does not diminish or minimize the demographic and cultural emergence of multiracial Americans. Rather, it acknowledges that monoethnic Asian Americans and multiracial Americans share a common process of actively shaping their identities through combining elements from diverse cultures can help these communities connect with one another. This is especially important as the racial dynamics in American society continue to evolve and, from time to time, lead to confusion and even conflict. In such times of cultural adjustment, it’s always helpful to have similarities that can bridge any such differences.

Finally, as the American economy evolves domestically and globally, issues associated with social class and economic stability are also likely to become a prominent concern for many Americans, individually and institutionally. Within this context of demographic, economic, and cultural change and understanding that the twenty-first century is likely to be very different from the previous century, Americans from all backgrounds may have little choice but to gradually adapt to the age of diversity and global interconnectedness. One of the ways in which they can adapt is to accept the idea that the definition of an American, or who qualifies to be an American, should be expanded. In the past, the traditional image that most Americans and others around the world associated with an “American” was white, middle class, and Protestant. But as the face of American society continues to evolve and diversify, this traditional image is slowly fading away. In its place is an amalgamated and pluralistic image of the many faces of who Americans are in this new century.

Furthermore, this expanded image of who is an American includes not just a sense of emotional attachment and patriotic loyalty to the American nationality, but also involves contributing to greater economic stability and prosperity for the American society. With this in mind, multiracial Asian Americans are poised to make significant contributions to rebuilding the American economy and helping it become more

competitive in the twenty-first century, particularly considering that their socioeconomic attainment levels and accomplishments are quite remarkable given their young average age. As multiracial Asian Americans grow older and become more established in their professional careers, combined with their rapid population growth, they are poised to make notable contributions to the American economy in many ways.

Just as important, however, will be their cultural contributions—by serving as valuable facilitators in connecting different racial groups and nationalities. Keeping in mind the recent study showing the positive benefits when multiracial Americans create their own identities that incorporate diverse elements from all their racial backgrounds, multiracial Asian Americans can play an important role in bridging the cultural gaps between Asians and Americans, or between Asian Americans and whites, blacks, Latinos, and Native American Indians. In other words, multiracial Asian Americans are likely to play a prominent role in shaping the evolving American identity of the twenty-first century. In that respect, their “uniqueness”—or more specifically their diverse collection of cultural and racial ties—is likely to emerge as an asset, rather than a liability, as they help lead American society forward into a new demographic, political, economic, and cultural era.

C. N. Le

See also *Multiracial/Multiethnic Experience in Hawaii*

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Multiracial/Multiethnic Experience in Hawaii

Depending on how one defines the term, Hawaii has been a multiracial place since at least the arrival of Captain James Cook in 1778—or even before, if one takes into account early Tahitian voyagers circa 1100 CE and the possibility of Spanish visitors in the 1500s. With the opening of Hawaii to the rest of the world, ports like Honolulu on the island of O‘ahu and Lahaina on Maui became multiracial communities by the early nineteenth century.

Interracial relations became more common throughout the nineteenth century as missionaries, merchants, and sailors settled more permanently and intermarried with Native Hawaiian ali‘i (chief and chiefesses) as well as maka‘āinana (commoners). Among the most well-known intermarriages were those of Kamehameha the Great’s advisors—sailors Isaac Davis and John Young—who married Native Hawaiian ali‘i women. One of Young’s granddaughters married Kamehameha IV and became Queen Emma—a popular political rival of King Kalākaua in the 1870s. At the end of the nineteenth century, the international community took note of Princess Victoria Kai‘ulani—a possible heir to the throne, who was the daughter of Miriam Likelike (a sister of King Kalākaua) and Archibald Cleghorn of Scottish ancestry. Many commented on her beauty—including family friend, Robert Louis Stevenson, who described her in the poem, “To Princess Kaiulani” as “Light of heart and bright of face: The daughter of a double race.”

During the mid- to late-nineteenth century, the growth of sugar plantations and the simultaneous

decline of the Native Hawaiian population led to the importation of immigrant laborers mainly from East Asia but also from selected locales in Europe and other parts of the Pacific. Chinese laborers arrived in large numbers in the 1850s followed by the Portuguese in 1878 and then the Japanese in 1885. Smaller groups of laborers were also recruited from Spain, Norway, Russia, the Ukraine, the Gilbert and Caroline Islands, and other places. As the number of Native Hawaiians dwindled because of exposure to new diseases, declining fertility, and high infant mortality, Hawaiians out-married more frequently. The most common pairings during this period were Native Hawaiian women with white or Portuguese men and Hawaiian women with Chinese men. In some parts of the islands, there were fewer Hawaiian men available for marriage due to their shorter life spans and their outmigration for work at sea or in the American West. Movement off the plantations and into other rural or urban settings often continued the trend of outmarriage for some groups—especially as individuals came into contact with one another through work, school, and recreational activities.

Annexation to the United States in 1898, supported by sugar planters of American ancestry, allowed for continued growth of the plantation system in Hawaii. New laborers from the Philippines and Puerto Rico—places annexed to the United States as well after the Spanish American War—were now more readily able to immigrate to the Territory of Hawaii. Korean laborers also arrived in the first decade of the twentieth century, thus bringing another racial/ethnic group to intermarry in the islands.

By the 1920s and 1930s, scholars like Romanzo Adams and Andrew Lind at the University of Hawaii were beginning to carry out studies of multiracial/multiethnic Hawaii, describing it as an interesting “laboratory of race relations” where racial harmony prevailed for the most part. Both Adams and Lind had trained under well-known scholar Robert E. Park as part of the so-called Chicago School of Sociology that took a particular interest in studying matters of race, ethnicity, immigration, and social organization.

Hawaii was of great interest because its location as a meeting ground for East and West. Its relative isolation until the late eighteenth century also allowed for

patterns of demographic change to be studied more precisely with the arrival of successive immigrant groups. Also, unlike other states and territories in the United States, Hawaii never developed an antimiscegenation law, alien land law, or other legal restrictions that would have hampered interracial marriages and family formation.

World War II brought hundreds of thousands of military personnel, defense workers, and their families to Hawaii in the 1940s, which created new opportunities for interracial romance and marriage in the islands. One new arrival was James Michener who wrote of interracial romances between servicemen and Asian or Pacific Islander women in his books like *Hawaii* (1959) and *Tales of the South Pacific* (1947). The offspring of such marriages, whom Michener called “Golden Men,” were allegedly comfortable both in the modern ways of America and the ancient ways of Asia.

In the post-World War II, Cold War era, leaders like President John F. Kennedy boasted that in terms of civil rights and race relations: “Hawaii is what the United States is striving to be.” In the early 1960s, the federally funded East-West Center brought students from around the world to the University of Hawaii campus—among them was Stanley Ann Dunham, a white woman from Kansas, who met and married a student from Kenya, Barack Obama, Sr. Their son, current U.S. President Barack Obama, was born in Honolulu on August 4, 1961, and is probably the islands’ best known person of multiracial ancestry.

At times, changes in Census classification have made it difficult to trace demographic shifts in Hawaii’s multiracial/multiethnic character. Kingdom of Hawaii Censuses and U.S. Censuses for Hawaii from 1853 to 1960 have counted “Hawaiians” as well as “Part-Hawaiians,” but in most other cases the mixing of other racial/ethnic groups has been difficult to trace precisely.

Nevertheless, recent U.S. Censuses have allowed for individuals to self-select more than one “race.” Nearly one-quarter of all Hawaii residents who responded to Census 2010 indicated that they were more than one race, thus making it the state with the largest multiracial population by far. For island residents younger than 18 years old, 41.3 percent

identified two or more races. By comparison, only 2.9 percent of the U.S. population as a whole identified as being of more than one race.

As of 2010, nearly one out of three marriages in Hawaii is interracial—four times the U.S. national average. The most common combination for 2010 was “Asian and Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander.” It should be noted as well, however, that the intermarriages are often interethnic rather than solely interracial per se. Indeed, more than half of all the marriages in the islands are interethnic according to the State of Hawaii Health Department data (which include the ethnic backgrounds that couples designate on their marriage licenses). Interethnic relations—often among Asian ethnic groups within the racial grouping of “Asian”—were common during the plantation era, and the general pattern of interethnic mixing seems to be continuing.

John P. Rosa

See also Ethnic Communities in Hawaii; Filipinos in Hawaii; Japanese Americans in Hawaii; Multiracial Asian Americans

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Mura, David (1952–)

A third-generation Japanese American (Sansei), David Mura is a performance artist and writer who engages in multiple genres. His published works include several collections of poetry, one novel, two memoirs, and numerous plays and essays. Much of Mura’s writing explores the intricate and complex interconnections between race, history, memory, Asian American masculinity, and sexuality, extending and complicating issues that have been addressed by earlier generations of Asian American male authors such as Carlos Bulosan, Frank Chin and Shawn Wong.

Born David Uyemura in June 1952, Mura spent most of his childhood and young adult life with his family in the suburbs of Chicago in a primarily Jewish community. His father, Tom Mura, who worked as a reporter for the International News Service (INS), changed the family name from Uyemura to Mura when David was seven years old to get “better bylines” at his job as Tom found that most people had difficulty pronouncing his Japanese last name (*Body* 55). David Mura’s parents have both lived in internment camps during World War II, and they have been reluctant to discuss their experiences in the camps with their children. As a writer, Mura explores the roots and implications of his parents’ silence toward the camps and tries to excavate and reimagine that part of his family history that has been buried. Mura’s writings demonstrate how the history of the internment continues to impact contemporary Japanese American life.

The discovery of a *Playboy* magazine in his parents’ closet when he was in junior high marks the beginning of David Mura’s exploration of the connections between race and sexuality. Mura’s critique of the ways in which Asian American men have been emasculated by the dominant culture and his desire to articulate the connection between the history of the internment camp and the formation of his sexuality and desire as a Sansei constitute some of the central themes of his writing.

Mura received his BA from Grinnell College and an MFA in creative writing from Vermont College. Much of his college years and the beginning of his

graduate career were marked by his addiction to pornography, binge drinking, and bouts of depression, as he struggled with his self-image as a Japanese American man. Mura recounts these experiences in his 1996 memoir *Where the Body Meets Memory: An Odyssey of Race, Sexuality and Identity*.

In 1984, Mura received a U.S./Japan Creative Artist Exchange Fellowship while working as an arts administrator for the Writers-in-the Schools program in Minnesota. His one-year fellowship in Japan resulted in the publication of his first memoir: *Turning Japanese: Memoirs of a Sansei*, which won the Josephine Miles Book Award from the Oakland PEN and was listed among the *New York Times* Notable Books of Year in 1991.

Mura has written three collections of poetry. The first, *After We Lost Our Way*, won the 1989 National Poetry Series Contest. His second collection, *The Colors of Desire*, published in 1995, won the Carl Sandburg Literary Award from the Friends of the Chicago Public Library. His third book of poetry, *Angels for the Burning*, was published in 2004. Mura has also published the chapbook, *A Male Grief: Notes on Pornography & Addiction*, and a collection of critical essays entitled *Song for Uncle Tom, Tonto & Mr. Moto: Poetry & Identity* was published by the University of Michigan Press in its Poets on Poetry series in 2002. With the publication of his first novel *Famous Suicides of the Japanese Empire* in September 2008, Mura's work continues to illumine the relationship between discourses of race, masculinity, and desire.

As a performance artist and playwright, Mura has worked with African American writer Alex Pate. Together they have created and performed a multimedia performance piece, *Secret Colors*, which depicts their lives as men of color and explores Asian American-African American relations. A film adaptation of this piece, *Slowly, This*, was broadcast in the PBS series ALIVE TV in July/August 1995. Mura has also been featured on the PBS series, *The Language of Life*. His other performance pieces and plays include, *Relocations: Images from a Sansei*, *Silence & Desire*, and *After Hours*.

Mura has received a Lila Wallace-Reader's Digest Writers' Award, a U.S./Japan Creative Artist Fellowship, two NEA Literature Fellowships, two Bush

Foundation Fellowships, four Loft-McKnight Awards, several Minnesota State Arts Board grants, and a Discovery/The Nation Award.

Aside from his writing career, Mura is also a teacher and has an active presence in various literary and artistic communities. He has taught at the University of Minnesota, St. Olaf College, the University of Oregon, the Loft Literary Center, and the Voices of the Nation Association writers' conference. He cofounded the Asian American Renaissance, an Asian American arts organization and served as its artistic director. Currently, he teaches at Hamline University, VONA (Voices of the Nation Association), and the Stonecoast MFA program. Mura frequently gives readings and presentations at educational institutions, businesses, writers conferences and other organizations throughout the United States. David Mura currently resides in St. Paul, Minnesota, with his wife and their three children.

Nan Ma

See also Bulosan, Carlos; Chin, Frank; Wong, Shawn

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Murayama, Milton (1923–)

Milton Murayama is an American Nisei author and playwright, and a pioneer in local Hawaiian literature. He is the author of *All I Asking for Is My Body* (1975), *Five Years on a Rock* (1994), *Plantation Boy* (1998), and *Dying in a Strange Land* (2008). He has also written and produced two plays, *Yoshitsune* (1977) and an adaptation of *All I Asking for Is My Body* (1989). Murayama is known as one of the first writers to transcribe pidgin and Japanese in English-language literature. His work has been given a considerable

amount of critical attention within Asian American studies and Hawaiian local literature.

Murayama was born in 1923 in Lihana, Hawaii, to a Japanese family that emigrated from Kyushu, Japan. When he was a child, his family moved to a sugar plantation camp in Pu'ukoli'i, a small town comprised of several hundred workers and their families, which no longer exists today. His experiences in that environment provide much of the content for his novels. Following his graduation from Lahailuna High School in 1941, Murayama enrolled in the University of Hawaii. Though he initially enlisted and served in the Territorial Guard, in the aftermath of Pearl Harbor, like other Japanese Americans, he was discharged. Yet, this act did not prevent Murayama from volunteering to serve in the U.S. Army's Military Intelligence Service (MIS) in 1944. As a native speaker of Japanese, he acted as a translator in the China-Burma-India Theater, where he completed a tour in Taiwan to aid in the surrender and repatriation of Japanese troops.

Upon his return to the United States in 1946, Murayama completed his BA in English and philosophy from the University of Hawaii in 1947. Under the G.I. Bill, he completed his MA in Chinese and Japanese at Columbia University in 1950. Following his graduation, he moved to Washington, D.C. and worked at the Armed Forces Medical Library from 1952 to 1956. To facilitate his writing, which he felt he needed to invest more time in, he moved to San Francisco, where he worked first at the public library and then at the U.S. Customs Office as an import specialist. Murayama is retired and currently lives in San Francisco with his wife, Dawn.

At Columbia, he began to write creatively, simultaneously completing his master's thesis and "I'll Crack Your Head *Katsun*," a short story that would later become the first chapter of *All I Asking for Is My Body*. The story was first published in the *Arizona Quarterly* in 1959, and then in *The Spell of Hawaii*, an anthology of Hawaiian literature, in 1968. Despite the positive reception of the short story, Murayama had difficulty securing a publisher for the full-length novel, *All I Asking for Is My Body*. Publishers were wary to issue the book, which made risky narrative moves such as wide use of pidgin and transcribed

Japanese, and dealt heavily with local Hawaiian issues that publishers did not find marketable. After nearly three decades of failing to find a publisher, Murayama and his wife incorporated Supa Press and published the novel in 1975. *All I Asking for Is My Body* proved the fears of established publishing houses wrong, when it became a huge success. It won the American Book Award from the Before Columbus Foundation in 1980 and the Hawaii Award for Literature in 1991. In 1989, Murayama adapted the novel into a play performed by the Kuma Kahua theater company. The novel has since become a classic in the Asian American canon, as representative of pre-war Japanese American plantation life in Hawaii. It is currently reprinted by University of Hawaii Press.

Murayama's four novels, *All I Asking for Is My Body*, *Five Years on a Rock*, *Plantation Boy*, and *Dying in a Strange Land* all feature the Oyama clan, who struggle with the plantation society in which they live and must negotiate the incommensurability of Japanese and American culture. To write his novels, Murayama developed a system of transcribing pidgin, which he believed was critical in understanding the local Hawaiian experience.

All I Asking for Is My Body follows the struggles of Kiyoshi Oyama as he grows up in the pre-war Hawaiian plantation society. The novel underscores economic and ethnic conflict within the socially hierarchized plantation community comprised of Portuguese, Spanish, Japanese, and Filipino families. The predominant source of tension in the novel arises in the choices Kiyoshi must make between social mobility and ethnic loyalty—a trope central in many diasporic narratives that is reproduced and further developed in all of Murayama's subsequent novels.

Five Years on a Rock, published in 1994, approaches Kiyoshi's conflict through the mother's eyes. Though the Oyama boys feel that they are at constant odds with their parents, whom they view as a source of oppression and old-fashioned traditions that conflict with American ideals, Sawa Oyama's narrative demonstrates that the Japanese "disease" of *gaman* (patience, perseverance) can become a means of survival. The positive aspects of *gaman* are further illustrated in 1998, with *Plantation Boy*, which tells Toshio's bildungsroman tale mediated by *gaman*: by

working hard and persevering with Japanese ideals, Toshio is able to realize his dream of finally leaving the plantation.

Rounding out the Oyama family saga is *Dying in a Strange Land*. Published in 2008, Murayama's capstone novel traces the Oyamas' diasporic journey from Japan to Hawaii to the mainland as they continue to strive with ethnic transformation and self-formation.

Murayama's work captures the complexity of Hawaii's complicated past, rendering history in the present within a remarkable archive that documents the Japanese American fight for upward mobility and self-making. From the grueling work and poverty of Hawaii's plantation society to the systemic racism that pervades the modern mainland, Murayama's work simultaneously documents Japanese American experience and provides an incisive cultural critique.

Krystal Shyun Yang

See also Ethnic Communities in Hawaii; Japanese Americans; Japanese Americans in Hawaii; Multiracial/Multiethnic Experience in Hawaii

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N

Nagano, Kent (1951–)

Kent Nagano is a conductor of symphonic and operatic music with extensive engagements in North America and Europe.

Nagano was born in Berkeley, California, in 1951 to Japanese American parents and grew up in Morro Bay in the Central Coast of California. He began piano lessons with his mother, who was a microbiologist and a pianist; he also learned the clarinet and the koto. During the 1950s and 1960s, he received musical training through California's public school system, in which a Georgian-born musician infused students with music in the style of European conservatories.

Nagano studied sociology and music at the University of California, Santa Cruz (BA 1974). During this time he had intended to pursue a law degree and a career in international relations, and he was involved in the civil rights, antiwar, and other social movements. Nagano chose to pursue music after having studied composition with Grosvenor Cooper and Roger Nixon. He then studied conducting and piano at San Francisco State University (MM, 1976) and at the University of Toronto.

From the beginning of his musical training and career, Nagano has been deeply grounded in opera. His first employment as a conductor was with the Opera Company of Boston, where he apprenticed under Sarah Caldwell from 1977 to 1979 and learned the operatic repertoire and *métier* in the German tradition. During his Boston years, he worked as an assistant conductor to Seiji Ozawa at the Boston Symphony Orchestra and played a key role in the world premier of Olivier Messiaen's opera, *Saint*

Francois d'Assise. This was the beginning of Nagano's long association with Messiaen, who became his mentor and collaborator. Nagano has championed Messiaen's music, claiming that its beauty and challenging complexity address universal nature and religious thought that stand over and against time.

In 1978, Nagano became the music director of the Berkeley Symphony Orchestra. With his strong connection to the San Francisco Bay Area community and his strong artistic vision, especially his association with the music of Messiaen, Nagano turned the Berkeley Symphony Orchestra into a progressive force in the West Coast music scene over the next three decades.

Much of the next phase of Nagano's career was based in Europe. He was the music director of the Lyons Opéra from 1988 to 1998; associate principal guest conductor of the London Symphony Orchestra from 1990 to 1998; and music director of the Hallé Orchestra in Manchester from 1992 to 2000. Nagano is renowned for his mastery of late nineteenth- and twentieth-century music. During his tenure in Lyons he performed and recorded rare repertoire, including Poulenc's *Dialogues des Carmélites*, Martinů's *Les trois souhaits*, Prokofiev's *The Love for Three Oranges*, Debussy's *Rodrigue et Chimène*, Busoni's *Doktor Faust*, Carlisle Floyd's *Susannah*, and the first recording of Strauss's *Salomé* with the original French text by Oscar Wilde. In 2000 he conducted the premiere of John Adams's nativity oratorio *El Niño* at the Théâtre du Châtelet in Paris. During Nagano's appointment at the Hallé Orchestra, some criticized him for his emphasis on contemporary works that led to expensive programming, and he was blamed for the orchestra's near-bankruptcy. In 2000 he became

the chief conductor of the Deutsches Sinfonieorchester in Berlin and served in this position until 2006.

Nagano was appointed principal conductor of the Los Angeles Opera in 2000. His first performance of *Lohengrin* was set against the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001. He was named the Los Angeles Opera's first music director in 2003. He stepped down from the position in 2006 to take up two new posts as music director of the Bayerische Staatsoper in Munich and the Montréal Symphony Orchestra.

Nagano's extensive recordings represent a range of works in both established and contemporary repertoire, including works by John Adams, Bartók, Beethoven, Bernstein, Britten, Bruchner, Mahler, Milhaud, Prokofiev, Ravel, Schoenberg, Stravinsky, and Zemlinsky.

As a strongly identified Californian and Japanese American, Nagano has been involved in artistic projects that deal with the ethnic and the regional communities. In 2005, he led a performance of *Manzanar: An American Story* at Royce Hall at UCLA. This musical work told the story of Japanese American internment during World War II and addressed issues of human rights and civil rights. The project involved three composers, including Japanese-born Naomi Sekiya and playwright/director Philip Kan Gotanda; U.S. Senator Daniel Inouye and actors John Cho and Martin Sheen, and figure skater Kristi Yamaguchi served as narrators; and local musical organizations such as the American Youth Symphony, the Santa Monica College Chamber Choir, and the Manzanar Youth Choir were part of the production. Nagano believed that this was an important project in keeping alive the historical memory of the Japanese American internment and addressing contemporary issues of civil liberties. The work critically depicted the difficulties faced by the immigrant and the Nisei generations while illustrating the complexity, diversity, and hybridity of the Japanese American experience through narrative and musical devices.

Although Nagano is thus strongly identified with his Japanese American background and involved in issues of social justice, as a classical musician he firmly believes that factors such as ethnic or national identity are secondary to his artistic goals, stressing the importance of assimilating oneself into the culture

and language of the music. "This art form (of classical music) has too much tradition to respect. One needs to embrace the responsibility to assimilate, evolve, and improve. Only by doing so, one can evolve to a different level," he said in an interview (Yoshihara 2007: 198). At the same time, Nagano has considered it important as a music director to be aware of trends in popular culture and has collaborated with musicians in other genres, such as rock musician Frank Zappa and avant-pop artist Björk.

Nagano is married to Japanese pianist Mari Kodama, and they have one daughter.

Mari Yoshihara

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Nagasu, Mirai Aileen (1993–)

Mirai Nagasu is a singles figure skater who was born in Montebello, California, and grew up in the nearby city of Arcadia. She is the only child of Kiyoto and Ikuko Nagasu, immigrants from Japan. Mirai began skating at the age of five. When bad weather one day prevented her from playing sports outdoors, her parents brought her to an ice rink instead, and soon afterward she started lessons. In 2007, Nagasu burst into prominence in junior-level competition, winning gold medals at both the U.S. Junior Figure Skating Championships and the Junior Grand Prix Final. She also earned a silver medal that year at the Junior World Championships in Oberstdorf, Germany.

These successes were followed by an even more stunning debut at the senior level. In 2008, the 14-year-old Nagasu clinched the U.S. Figure Skating Championships in the senior division, becoming the second-youngest woman—and the youngest Asian American woman—to win the crown. Her victory also made her the first woman since Joan Tozzer in the 1930s to claim consecutive junior and senior national titles. Two years later, in 2010, Nagasu competed at

the Winter Olympics in Vancouver, Canada. She achieved a personal best total score and placed fourth overall, the highest finish for the U.S. female singles skaters at the Games.

Since then Nagasu has medaled in several other national and international competitions, including the U.S. Championships, the Four Continents Championships, and the Cup of China. An admirer of skating legends Kristi Yamaguchi and Michelle Kwan, Nagasu represents a younger generation of Asian American athletes who are making their own mark in the world of figure skating.

Andrea Y. Kwon

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Nakanishi, Don T.

Don T. Nakanishi is a former Director of the Asian American Studies Center at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA), as well as a professor emeritus in the university's Department of Asian American Studies and Graduate School of Education. He has served as a former national president of the Association of Asian American Studies, as well as the publisher of the *Amerasia Journal* and the *AAPINexus*, two leading publications of the discipline.

Nakanishi is a political scientist by training, having received both his bachelor's degree from Yale University in 1971 and doctorate from Harvard University in 1978 in that discipline. Upon receiving his doctorate, Nakanishi began his academic career as an assistant professor of education and Asian American studies at UCLA. In the late 1980s, he became embroiled in a conflict over tenure. His supporters believed that Nakanishi had accomplished the expected research required for tenure in the system of University of California, and that he was being

unfairly denied tenure because of his race and the sensitive nature of some of his research. Those who denied his tenure argued that Nakanishi had not accumulated a sufficient number of publications in major academic journals, particularly in the field of education. In 1989, following several appeals and a prolonged campaign by Nakanishi's supporters, Nakanishi was granted tenure at UCLA.

In 1990, he was appointed director of the university's Asian American Studies Center, the nation's largest and most prestigious institution of its kind. During Nakanishi's tenure as director, the AASC's endowment was increased to more than \$6 million. This large endowment enabled the Center to add six endowed academic chairs.

Nakanishi was born and raised in East Los Angeles, an ethnically diverse region. He attended Theodore Roosevelt High School, winning an election for student body president after appealing to voters in English, Spanish, and Japanese. As an undergraduate at Yale, Nakanishi encountered racial abuse when, on the anniversary of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, he was pelted in his dorm room with water balloons by white students. Nakanishi would later cite this event as triggering his interest for Japanese American history, and Asian American studies in general. He helped found a chapter of *Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlá (MEChA)*, a Chicano student organization, at Yale, as well as the university's first Asian American student group. Upon graduating cum laude in 1971, Nakanishi began his graduate study at Harvard University, completing his doctorate in 1978.

As an academic, Nakanishi is a prolific author. He published over 100 articles, chapters, reports and books on issues such as the participation of Asian Americans and other ethnic groups in American political processes, the access and representation those groups have to and in American educational settings, and the effects of international politics they encounter in everyday life. He is known in particular for finding lower rates of voter registration and participation among Asian Americans, contrary to what their higher group levels of education and income would ostensibly indicate.

Nakanishi has served on the boards of directors for numerous influential organizations, including the

Poverty and Race Action Council, Simon Wiesenthal Museum of Tolerance, and Japanese American National Museum. He has remained involved in both of his alma maters, serving on the board of the Association of Yale Alumni and the Harvard University Graduate Alumni Council. In 1988, more than 40 years after the signing of Executive Order 9066 and the internment of Japanese Americans—including Nakanishi's parents and older brother—during World War II, the United States Congress established the Civil Liberties Public Education Fund as part of the Civil Liberties Act. Nakanishi would later be appointed by President Bill Clinton to the CLPEF, responsible for educating the public and providing materials for research on the circumstances and history of Japanese American internment.

Nakanishi has won several prestigious accolades for his accomplishments. In 2007, he received the National Community Leadership Award from the Asian Pacific Institute for Congressional Studies. His work with the Institute includes the joint formation, with AASC, of a Leadership Academy for Elected Officials, an annual program dedicated to providing leadership training to Asian American and Pacific Islander politicians. In 2008, Nakanishi received the Yale Medal from Yale University in recognition of his advocacy of Asian American issues and service to the university. In 2009, he was the inaugural recipient of the Engaged Scholar Award of the Association of Asian American Studies.

Nakanishi retired as director of the AASC in 2009. He was succeeded by David K. Yoo, a professor in the Department of Asian American Studies at UCLA and a former chair of the Departments of Asian American Studies and History at the Claremont Colleges in Claremont, California.

Nakanishi is married to Marsha Hirano-Nakanishi, the assistant vice chancellor for Academic Research and Resources at the California State University Office of the Chancellor. The two have a son, Thomas Nakanishi. In 2006, the family established the Nakanishi Prize at Yale, an annual award given to two graduating seniors with an excellent record of leadership in enhancing racial and ethnic relations at the university.

Winston Chou

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Nambu, Yoichiro (1921–)

Yoichiro Nambu is a leading Japanese American theoretical physicist who made fundamental contributions to our understanding of the interactions between elementary particles as nature's building blocks. He shared the Nobel Prize in physics for 2008.

Yoichiro Nambu was born on January 18, 1921, in Tokyo to father Kichiro Nambu, a young man who ran away from his business-oriented family to study English literature at Waseda University in Tokyo, and mother Kimiko. Following the 1923 earthquake, the Nambus moved from the devastated Tokyo to the father's hometown of Fukui where he became a school teacher.

Reading science books that his father gave him and taking science courses in school led Yoichiro, with Thomas Edison as his inventor hero, to become interested in biology, mathematics, and physics. When still in grade school, Nambu built a radio set using electronic parts left by a deceased uncle. In 1937, he finished high school in Fukui, entered a higher school in Tokyo for three years, and then enrolled in the Imperial University of Tokyo in 1940. Inspired by Hideki Yukawa, an internationally respected Japanese physicist, Nambu chose to study physics and graduated in 1942 with an MS degree. He stayed on at the university as a research associate but was soon drafted into the Japanese army as a soldier for one year and then worked in a radar laboratory, especially in submarine detection, for two years until the end of the war.

In 1945, he married Chieko Hida and they would have a son, Jun-ichi.

In 1946, Nambu returned to his associate position at the University of Tokyo, but moved to Osaka City University in 1949 as an associate professor of physics. When there, he completed and submitted a thesis on quantum electrodynamics to his alma mater and received a doctor of science degree in 1952. Throughout this period, he was often on the verge of starvation because of severe food shortages but thrived scientifically, working on a variety of topics in physics, ranging from solid state physics to quantum field theory, by himself and with others in a community of talented physicists led by Yukawa and Sin-Itiro Tomonaga.

In 1952, Nambu spent two years visiting the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, New Jersey, at the invitation of its director, the well-known American physicist J. Robert Oppenheimer, probably upon the recommendation of Tomonaga or Yukawa. Although Nambu (and later his wife and son who joined him) enjoyed the living conditions in the United States, he did not make as much scientific progress in nuclear physics as he had hoped at Princeton. He also felt somewhat intimidated by Freeman Dyson, C. N. Yang, and T. D. Lee, some of the most brilliant physicists at the institute at the time. Nevertheless, dreading the poor living conditions in Japan, Nambu searched for a way to stay in the United States after his Princeton term ended. He received an offer from the University of Chicago and went there in 1954 as a research associate to work with one of its faculty members, Marvin Goldberger, on dispersion theory that had to do with the interactions of light and particles. In Chicago Nambu encountered some racial prejudice off campus, but he enjoyed the collegial atmosphere at the university much more than at Princeton. He thrived scientifically and was made an associate professor in 1956, which led to his permanent settlement in the United States and later naturalization as an American citizen in 1970.

It was in Chicago in the late 1950s that Nambu conducted a study on “spontaneous symmetry breaking” (SSB) that eventually won him the Nobel Prize. His success demonstrates the importance of scientific communication and interdisciplinary cross-fertilization. It started when he heard a talk at Chicago by J. Robert Schrieffer describing his recent research

with John Bardeen and Leon N. Cooper at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign on superconductivity (it became known as the BCS theory following the initials of the three physicists). The talk presented a puzzle to Nambu because the superconducting fluid did not conserve the number of particles, which in physics was called a breaking of symmetry. Nambu used his expertise in particle physics to propose an explanation: a particle is like a dog choosing between two identical bowls of food in that it oscillates in the process, which according to quantum physics creates a new particle called boson. Nambu and other physicists soon elaborated on the idea of “oscillation creating a new particle” and found that it applied not only to the BCS theory but also to many particles in particle physics as well. In fact it became a key of the modern theory of elementary particles.

Described by colleagues as a powerful, visual, and foresighted thinker, Nambu would go on to make other fundamental discoveries in particle physics, including the founding of the string theory. At the University of Chicago, he was promoted to full professor in 1958 but recognition for his theories took a while to materialize. He was made Distinguished Service Professor at Chicago in 1971 and two years later was elected a member of the U.S. National Academy of Sciences, and in 1982 he received the National Medal of Sciences from President Ronald Reagan in the White House. He promoted U.S.-Japan scientific collaboration and was bestowed the Order of Culture by the government of Japan in 1978. The Nobel Prize eluded him until he was 87 years old—“I’d been told that I was on the list for many, many years”—and then when it finally came he said “I was very surprised when I got the news” (Manier). The two corecipients of the Nobel—Makoto Kobayashi and Toshihide Masukawa of Japan—both acknowledged Nambu’s influence as an inspiration for them.

Zuoyue Wang

See also Japanese Americans

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Nathoy, Lalu

See Bemis, Polly (Lalu Nathoy); Perspective 1; Bemis, Polly (Lalu Nathoy); Perspective 2

National Civil Rights Movement Against Anti-Asian Violence

See Chin, Vincent

National Maritime Union (NMU) and Chinese Seamen

After the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act, Chinese were forced out of the American labor market. White workers refused to work alongside them, and they demanded that employers not hire them. As a result, the Chinese were excluded from the American labor movement as well and from all the benefits participation would have entailed, especially during the heady days of industrial labor organizing of the 1930s. One of the few exceptions was the Chinese seamen.

During the Great Depression, when thousands of American seamen were unemployed, the U.S. shipping companies preferred to hire foreign crews, including Chinese, because of the conditions they could impose on them. The Chinese were forced to sign contracts that allowed the company to withhold 50 percent of their wages until their discharge. They also had to post a \$50 bond to guarantee compliance and promise not to join any unions.

Chinese seamen had a history of militancy. In 1922, under the leadership of the Nationalist Party,

50,000 Chinese seamen in Hong Kong organized the Lien Yi Society and demanded higher wages from British shipping companies. Their strike tied up 166 ships belonging to 16 steamship companies. In the celebrated 1925–1926 Canton-Hong Kong general strike, 20,000 Chinese seamen responded to the call to protest Britain's slaughter of Chinese workers in Shanghai. They completely paralyzed the Hong Kong harbor for nearly a year. But soon thereafter a split developed within the Lien Yi Society leadership between those supporting the Nationalists and the Communists, and the activism of the seamen waned.

In the 1930s American rank-and-file seamen, fed up with their ineffective "company union," the Seamen's International Union (SIU), formed a new labor organization, the National Maritime Union (NMU). They pledged to run it democratically, without discrimination based on race, color, political affiliation, religion, or national origin in their membership. During the national strike of 1936–1937, the NMU recruited some 20,000 black seamen and reached out to the Chinese, who occupied the lowest menial positions and were paid one-third less for their work. Chinese activists revived the Lien Yi Society and mobilized 3,000 Chinese to get off their ships and join the picket lines. In return, the NMU supported the Chinese demand for equal pay and the right to shore leave. Even though the Chinese never gained the full right of shore leave, many continued to work with the NMU. They convinced the union to support the Chinese war of resistance against Japan by ordering its membership to refuse to load scrap iron heading for Japan.

In December 1941, when the United States formally entered World War II, President Roosevelt initiated a Lend-Lease program to ship weapons and supplies to our allies, England and the Soviet Union. As convoys of these "liberty ships" crossed the Atlantic, they came under intensive attacks by German U-boats. By the end of 1942, the first year of U.S. participation in the war, almost 4 percent of all the U.S. merchant seamen were dead or missing—four times the combined losses of the army, navy, marine corps, and the coast guard during the same period. These high casualties led to the aggressive recruitment of 15,000 Chinese seamen from China to serve on U.S. and British merchant ships. Hundreds of them lost their

lives during the U-boat attacks, and some drifted in the open ocean for weeks. Poon Lim was the only survivor of a U-boat torpedo attack that sunk his ship and the entire crew. He was able to build a makeshift raft and survived on the ocean for 133 days before being rescued by a Brazilian fishing fleet.

The major problems facing Chinese seamen, in addition to being restricted to menial jobs and receiving lower pay, was the issue of shore leave. Some sailors remained on the Atlantic Ocean for months without setting foot on dry land. Their objections only subjected them to violence. One Chinese seaman, who had been so abused that he requested to be relieved of duty and put ashore, was shot to death by a British captain for "insubordination during wartime." The appeals to the Nationalist government in China were rejected, because it too believed that shore leave would encourage the seamen to "jump ship."

The Chinese community in New York sought help from the Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born, an organization founded to defend the rights of the foreign-born residents of the United States, in lodging protests on behalf of the seamen. At the same time, Chinese seamen persuaded the NMU officials to side with them. Once the Chinese gained the right to shore leave, they began to join the union and established a Chinese section.

The NMU continually took up issues concerning its Chinese members. In 1943, it officially supported the repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Act. In 1944, it asked Congress to pass legislation giving the right of naturalization to all foreign seamen who had worked on U.S. vessels for more than three years during the war. Although this proposal was never approved, in August 1945 the Department of Transportation did allow noncitizen Chinese seamen to continue to work on U.S. ships if they had been hired before July 30, 1945. Thousands benefited from this ruling, and the union's efforts resulted in increased hiring of Chinese seamen on U.S. vessels in the postwar period. By 1946, the NMU Chinese section had a membership of 3,000, with a branch headquarters in the Red Hook section of Brooklyn.

The NMU condemned the continued presence of the U.S. troops in China and their interference in the internal conflicts of the country. It also called repeatedly for the cessation of the civil war in China and

urged the establishment of a coalition government. It was obvious that these positions closely reflected the sentiments of the union's Chinese members. The Chinese section, in turn, supported the union in its activities on behalf of all seamen.

In 1946, the NMU called a strike for higher wages. The Chinese section immediately formed a strike committee headed by an executive council that included representatives for the districts in China where most of the seamen came from to ensure that as many of their countrymen as possible joined the walkout. Nearly 6,000 foreign seamen had lost their lives in the war, but once the war was over the Immigration Office began to harass the ones who remained in service. The strike committee sent a representative to meet with Chinatown leaders and explain the importance of the strike. It also requested all striking seamen not to seek interim employment in Chinese restaurants, so that the Immigration Office would not have an excuse for arresting them. At the same time, it urged the other Chinese in the community not to undermine the seamen's interests by working as scabs for the shipping companies.

Active participation in the NMU was a step forward not only for the seamen but for all Chinese workers in the United States, laying the foundation for their integration in other areas of the U.S. labor movement.

Peter Kwong

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Native Hawaiian Religion

Native Hawaiian religion is the ancient form of religion that governed a highly stratified precontact Hawaiian society. It regulated interpersonal interactions, gender roles, and personal hygiene, in addition to religious mores. It maintained the *lōkāhi* (balance, unity, harmony) of the society. Native Hawaiian religion is significant because it influenced every aspect of ancient indigenous Hawaiian life, from religious beliefs, to lifestyle, to warfare, to hula.

There were several akua (gods). Wākea was the sky father. Papa was the earth mother. They mated and gave birth to Hawaii (Big Island), Maui, O‘ahu, Kaua‘i, Ni‘ihau, and Kanaloa (Kaho‘olawe). Wākea and Hina mated and gave birth to Moloka‘i. Wākea mated with Ho‘ohokukalani (stars in the heavens) and gave birth to a stillborn, Hāloa Naka. They buried Hāloa Naka and from his body, the kalo (taro) plant was born. Wākea and Ho‘ohokukalani’s second child, Hāloa was the first Hawaiian; the kaona (meaning) being that Hawaiians and the kalo plant are siblings. There are four other akua that are considered important. Kāne was the akua of creation. Lono was the akua of agriculture, storms, rain, fertility, and productivity, including occupations around production. Kanaloa was the akua of death, navigation, the ocean and its currents. Kū was the akua of war and politics. There were varieties of animal akua. There were varieties of natural occurrence akua, the most well-known, Pele, the akua of fire, lava, and volcanoes. Each family had individual ‘aumakua (family gods) that protected them, and in return the family would make offerings to the ‘aumakua.

Worship of the akua took place at various heiau (temples) named after them. It was important for ali‘i (chiefs) and kahuna (priests) to conduct worship, offerings, and sacrifices to these akua. There were a variety of heiau, from simple mounds of dirt to wooden structures to more elaborate structures. Of the more elaborate structures, the first one was the more important. The heiau luakini (ruling chief’s temple) is where sacrifices of pigs and humans occurred. If an ali‘i conquered a rival ali‘i, it was important for the conqueror to rededicate the luakini to assert his power over his rival’s lands. The luakini was a rock wall enclosed area that contained the hale mana (mana house) shaped like a hālau (long house), an ‘anu‘u (white tapa-covered tower) with idols, a lele (sacrificial altar), a hale imu (oven house), hale waiea where ‘aha (services or prayers conducted under taboo and without interruption) were conducted by the ali‘i and kahuna. Two images were at the entrance, one just outside the enclosure and one just inside the wall entrance. The other more elaborate heiau structure was one where nonsacrificial offerings occurred. Within its rock walls a male image

was next to the kuahu (offering altar) where cooked bananas were laid. This image was usually one of olo-lupe, the akua that guides those that have died. The images and altar lay between the opu (heiau tower) and the anu‘u. A female image and another kuahu for bananas stood just outside the entrance to the heiau.

Various kapu (rules) regulated daily life for all indigenous Hawaiians. Each island was a self-contained society structured as a pyramid with the akua on top; followed by the ali‘i mō‘ī (king) or ali‘i nui (high chief) on the next level; kahuna nui (high priests, religious advisors to the monarchy); kahuna (priests); kaukau ali‘i (lesser chief) who would assign konohiki (land steward); and the bottom level would be maka‘āinana (commoner). The maka‘āinana would be allocated a piece of property, mo‘o (narrow strip of land), several of which would comprise an ‘ili (subdivision of ahupua‘a) that was overseen by the konohiki. Several ‘ili would be a part of an ali‘i’s ahupua‘a (land division that extended from the land to the sea). All of the various ahupua‘a comprise the moku (district or island) run by the ali‘i mō‘ī or ali‘i nui. The relationship between the maka‘āinana and the ali‘i mō‘ī, ali‘i nui, and ali‘i was based on a combination of political and religious responsibilities. An ali‘i, regardless of rank, gained and maintained power through the number of maka‘āinana that worked the ‘āina (land). If the ‘āina (land) produced an abundance of food, it was believed that the akua approved of an ali‘i and could gain maka‘āinana. If the ‘āina did not produce, it was believed that the akua was punishing an ali‘i for some transgression of the lōkāhi (i.e., being stingy with their offerings to the akua) and maka‘āinana could leave to work the ‘āina for another ali‘i. Religious beliefs and the continual need to maintain lōkāhi could make an ali‘i politically and socially strong or weak.

Of the kapu that could be declared, three were the highest. These kapu could be inherited through birth from one or both parents. Kapu moe (prostrate) is considered the harshest kapu. When faced by an ali‘i with kapu moe, the person without kapu must prostrate and remove any clothes that cover their head and shoulders. If clothed, the person must prostrate fully. An ali‘i with kapu moe would travel at night to avoid disturbances caused by their presence. The punishment for

violating kapu moe is death. Kapu nohi is the sitting kapu. A person without kapu must sit in the presence of an ali'i with kapu nohi. However, the kapu moe overpowers the kapu nui. The most powerful kapu, the kapu wohi (exempt from prostrate kapu) is considered a good kapu. An ali'i with kapu wohi can mingle with men, women, and children. When faced by an ali'i with kapu wohi, a person does not have to prostrate or sit, regardless of their kapu status. The only part of an ali'i with kapu wohi that is considered forbidden is their back. Only the person in charge of their personal belongings is allowed to move back and forth behind the ali'i. All Hawaiian monarchs inherited the kapu wohi by virtue of their genealogy. In addition to the kapu moe, kapu nohi, and kapu wohi that can be inherited, mana (a sacred spiritual power) can also be inherited, gained, decreased, or lost by indigenous Hawaiians. Mana is also present in places, objects, plants and animals, and can move in-between all of these.

Aside from the kapu that could be inherited, there were other kapu that governed daily life. There were occupational kapu that relegated occupations based on gender. Men, higher in rank than women, could inherit or be apprenticed into a specialized occupation. Women would work the tapa clothes, basket weaving or hula. Other kapu could be declared to make specific fish or plants forbidden to protect that food supply or fulfill a revelation from an akua. Men and women were forbidden to eat together or share an imu by the kapu 'ai (food plant or poi). This kapu also made certain foods forbidden to women, that is, pork.

There were several duties that the kahuna fulfilled. One was of healer, kahuna lā'au lapa'au. Another duty of the kahuna was to conduct prayers, festivals, and offerings to the akua. One important festival was the Makahiki, celebrated at the end of the agricultural season. At the end of the calendar year, a four-month festival, the Makahiki, would occur. This festival was run by the kahuna of Lono, the Kualii'i. The ali'i would be the symbol of Lono, and as Lono, would receive offerings of food and pigs. This festival would move from ahupua'a (heiau for pig offerings) to ahupua'a freeing people from all kapu. This festival is also a time for the maka'āinana to make offerings to the ali'i, to allow

the 'āina to renew itself for another season, and for the ali'i to maintain their rule over the 'āina. The ali'i and warriors would board canoes and then try to land at an appointed place. The maka'āinana would try to prevent the ali'i from landing. If the ali'i made it to shore, it is a sign that the akua have blessed the ali'i's rule. If the ali'i did not make it to shore, it is was a sign that the akua do not favor the ali'i and made the ali'i open to attacks from rival ali'i.

Another duty of the kahuna was around the oli (chant), which were memorized and recited. This was highly important in an oral culture like the indigenous Hawaiian culture was during these times. If chosen, these kahuna were to maintain, adapt, and pass on important oli, most of which were genealogical in nature. Families had genealogical chants that belonged to them and were only known to family members and their kahuna. It was through one's genealogy that an ali'i could prove that they belonged in a particular class or could rightfully achieve or maintain power. This is why these genealogical oli were protected. One such oli, *the Kumulipo*, is a creation and genealogical chant starts in the time of darkness, then day is created. Coral are the first creatures followed by other marine animals. Plants and animals were the next to appear, followed by the akua. Kane (man) and Wahine (woman) were created by Kāne and Lono. Lastly, the greatest ali'i and their descendants were named from past to the present. King David Kalākaua, the second to the last Hawaiian monarch, had it altered for the last time to add his name to *the Kumulipo* making his reign legitimate. Another aspect of the oli was its kaona (hidden or multiple meanings), some of which were sacred and known only to a select few. Oli was the personification of the importance of religion and politics in indigenous Hawaiian society. It was through oli that political power was maintained and it was religion that reinforced it with its divine references.

In May 1819, Kamehameha I died and as per religious tradition, his bones were secreted away. A period of mourning ensued, with the kapu 'ai and other kapu surrounding foods halted. This period is also known as one of "free-eating" where men and women can eat together and woman can eat food normally forbidden to them. Liholiho is crowned Kamehameha II



Ahu'ena Heiau, restored under the direction of the Bishop Museum, was a temple where King Kamehameha I conducted government meetings, Kailua-Kona, Hawaii. (Ted Streshinsky/Corbis)

and is supposed to reinstate the kapu. However, at his coronation, Queen Ka'ahumanu, Kamehameha I's wife, announced that she would share rule with Liholiho as kuhina nui (prime minister) and began to argue for continued "free-eating." The kapu 'ai and the kapu system are effectively overthrown when Liholiho eats with Ka'ahumanu and his mother, Keōpūolani. There was a brief uprising to restore the kapu system, but it was defeated. With the abolishment of the kapu system, many of the heiau were destroyed or vandalized and the duties of the kāhuna ceased, for instance, keeping the calendar of the planting seasons and the oli. Privately, some families, the kua'āina (rural people) continued to worship the akua and 'aumakua, care for their family graves, hula and oli.

Christian missionaries, namely Protestant Congregationalists (ancestors of the United Church of Christ), arrived in 1820. They began to establish churches on the various islands. The ali'i were very important in the establishing of Protestant churches, with Ka'ahumanu being one of the first ali'i to convert to

Christianity (and later to Mormonism). As the missionaries translated the Hawaiian language into a written language, and translated the Old and New Testament into Hawaiian, more ali'i converted. The maka'āinana were also converting and learning to palapala (read and write); close to 90 percent of the indigenous Hawaiian population could palapala. Catholic priests arrived later in 1927, followed by other Protestant denominations. Mormons arrived in 1950.

The ancient Native Hawaiian religion is still practiced today by kua'āina. Many other indigenous Hawaiians maintain some form of Native Hawaiian spirituality: maintaining lōkāhi by caring for the 'āina, returning to a more sustainable lifestyle, fishing, and planting kalo. Even indigenous Hawaiian Christians, although considered controversial by some, have incorporated Hawaiian spirituality and culture into their practice; saying the Lord's Prayer in Hawaiian, Hawaiian-language hīmeni (hymns), and performing hula (dance) during worship service.

Niccole Leilanionapae'aina Coggins

See also Ethnic Communities in Hawaii; Filipinos in Hawaii; Japanese Americans in Hawaii; Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders

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Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders

Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders are the indigenous peoples of the island nations of Polynesia (many islands); Micronesia (small islands); Melanesia (black islands); and Australia. The U.S. Census combines all of these peoples into one racial category, “Native Hawaiians and other Pacific Islanders.” The three largest national groups that make up this racial category trace their ancestry through descent or emigration to the islands of Hawaii, Samoa, and Guam. Except for Tonga, all of these nations were colonized by European and Asian nation-states or the United States. Immigration of Native Hawaiians to the continental United States and of Pacific Islanders to Hawaii and the continental United States has been shaped by the political and economic relationship of their island nations with the United States.

History

The China trade served as the nexus that integrally linked Asians, Native Hawaiians, and Pacific Islanders in their historical encounters and experiences with the United States. The stages in the development of trade with China marked significant stages in the colonization of Hawaii and the Pacific by the United States.

During the fur and sandalwood trade with China, merchant ships from New England journeyed around South America and stopped in Hawaii to replenish their supplies. They recruited Hawaiians as sailors and placed orders for sandalwood. Then they sailed to the Pacific Northwest, to what is now Alaska, Canada, Washington, and Oregon and traded with the Indians for the furs of animals. Sailing to China, these U.S. merchant ships stopped in Hawaii to pick up the sandalwood they had ordered. The furs and sandalwood were traded for tea, silks, porcelain, chinaware, tapestries, sugar, spices, and other goods in China.

Throughout the nineteenth century, American commerce with Hawaii expanded and Americans invested in the sugar industry, importing contract laborers from Asia to work on Hawaiian sugar plantations.

By the 1890s, the United States faced a severe economic recession and embarked on a plan to “open the door” to China as a “most favored nation” to be a market for U.S. industrial products. This strategy involved the development of a powerful navy that would keep the sea lanes to China open for U.S. mercantile ships; the construction of an isthmian canal; and the acquisition of island colonies for naval bases, which would serve as coaling stations for a superior navy. Puerto Rico and Cuba in the Caribbean, Guam and the Philippines in the Pacific, colonies of a weak and declining Spanish empire were ideally suited to the strategy. Panama was chosen for the construction of the isthmian canal. Hawaii, with its proximity to the West Coast, its large protected deep draft harbor at Pu‘uloa (Pearl Harbor), and an economy dependent on the United States, would serve as a strategic staging ground for U.S. naval forces in the Pacific and Asia. American control of Samoa would deny use of its harbor by competing European powers.

In 1898, the explosion and sinking of the U.S.S. *Maine* in Havana harbor with more than 250 men onboard triggered the declaration of war by the United States against Spain. This resulted in completing the insular expansion phase of the “open door” policy. On July 7, 1898, in the middle of the Spanish-American War, and 2 months after Admiral Dewey defeated the Spanish in Manila Harbor, President William McKinley signed the Newlands Joint

Resolution of Annexation of Hawaii. On December 10, 1898 the United States and Spain signed the Treaty of Paris under which the Spanish government ceded its interest in Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and Guam to the United States and Cuba became independent. In 1899, international rivalries over the Pacific were settled by a Tripartite Convention under which Germany and the United States divided the Samoan Islands under their separate rule. The United States established the U.S. Naval Station of Tutuila at Pago Pago Bay. In 1900, the U.S. Navy secured a Deed of Cession of Tutuila and in 1904 secured a deed of Cession of Manu'a. Under the Platt Amendment of 1901, Cuba became a U.S. protectorate and the United States established a naval base at Guantanamo. The United States entered the twentieth century as a world power determined to Americanize the multiethnic peoples of the Pacific and the Caribbean islands that they had just conquered.

From 1898 to 1902 America waged a war against the people of the Philippines, using Hawaii as a staging ground for the transport of troops and supplies. A million Filipinos were killed in what the Americans called the suppression of the Filipino Insurrection. Hawaii proved to be an important staging ground and refueling base for the transport of American troops and supplies to the war in the Philippines. The colonization of Guam, Samoa, and Hawaii was not as brutal as that of the Philippines, although it was equally successful in suppressing the sovereignty of the Chamorros, Samoans, and Hawaiians. Americanization of the island peoples who came under the American flag in 1898 was primarily implemented through an educational system that required English as the medium of instruction; agricultural capitalism that displaced subsistence farmers from rural countrysides and tracked them into urban wage labor; and the confiscation of national lands for American military bases.

The United States was drawn into World War II when Japan attacked the U.S. naval fleet stationed at Pearl Harbor in Hawaii. Throughout World War II major battles were fought by the United States against Japan in the islands of Micronesia, which had been controlled and occupied by Japan since World War I. At the end of World War II, the Micronesian islands

became a United Nations Trusteeship, the UN Trust Territory of the Pacific, ruled by the United States.

An overview of the political status of the Pacific Island nations controlled by the United States during the twentieth century and the current economy and demographics of these nations are provided below. Beginning in the 1950s a diaspora out of these islands began, with high school graduates joining the U.S. military, attending colleges and universities in Hawaii and the U.S. continent, and generally seeking the opportunity for better and higher-paying jobs, most recently in the field of sports.

Overview of the Pacific Island Nations Under U.S. Control

This section provides data from the 2010 Census on the number and status of Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders.

American Samoa. On July 17, 1911, the U.S. Navy Station Tutuila, made up of the islands of Tutuila, Aunu'u, and Manu'a, was officially renamed American Samoa. Swains Island, which was on a list of guano islands appertaining to the United States under the Guano Islands Act, was annexed in 1925 and placed under the jurisdiction of American Samoa. In the twenty-first century, American Samoa remains an unincorporated and unorganized territory of the United States administered by the Office of Insular Affairs, U.S. Department of Interior. Although the president of the United States is the formal head of state, the head of the American Samoan government is the elected governor. The bicameral Fono or elected legislative assembly consists of the senate, elected from local chiefs, the house of representatives, elected by popular vote, and with one appointed delegate from Swains Island. American Samoa elects one nonvoting representative to the U.S. House of Representatives who can introduce and speak on legislation. The economy of American Samoa is shaped by the traditional social system in which 90 percent of the land is communally owned. Its remote location, limited transportation, and susceptibility to devastating hurricanes inhibit its modern economic development. Tuna

fishing and the canning of tuna are major industries that provide 80 percent of the jobs on these islands. Family remittances from overseas, especially from Hawaii and the continental United States, also contribute a significant amount to the economy. Because of limited economic opportunities, a high number of American Samoans enlist in the U.S. military, resulting in American Samoans being overrepresented in the military and among those who have died in military service relative to their population. In 2007, a *Chicago Tribune* reporter noted, “American Samoa is one of the few places in the nation where military recruiters not only meet their enlistment quotas but soundly exceed them.” Similarly, American Samoans are overrepresented in the National Football League (NFL). In 2010, *60 Minutes* reported that boys born to Samoan parents are estimated to be 56 times more likely to play in the NFL than any other Americans. In 2012, there were more than 30 Samoans in the NFL and another 200-plus playing Division I college football. The population of American Samoa in 2012 was 159,358. According to the 2000 Census, 90.6 percent of the population was native Pacific Islander; 2.8 percent Asian; 1.1 percent white; 4.2 percent mixed; and 0.3 percent other.

The two main western Samoan islands (Savaii and Upolu) and small islets were ruled by Germany from 1899 through World War II and named Western Samoa. The New Zealand government ruled Western Samoa from the end of World War I through 1962, when the islands became the first Polynesian nation to reestablish independence. Since 1997, the country changed its name to Samoa. The chief of state is the Tuiatua and the heads of the government are the prime minister and the deputy prime minister. The Fono has 49 seats, of which 47 are elected by voters affiliated with traditional village-based electoral districts. Only matai or chiefs may run for these seats. Two seats are elected by non-Samoan or part-Samoan voters who do not have a village affiliation. The economy of Samoa is based on development aid; family remittances from overseas; agriculture, and fishing. Samoa exports coconut cream, coconut oil, and copra. Two-thirds of the population are employed in agriculture. Tourism is a growing factor that contributes 25 percent of the nation’s revenue. According to the country’s

2000 Census, Samoans comprised 92.6 percent of the population; Euronsians (European and Polynesian ancestry) made up 7 percent and Europeans made up 0.4 percent of the population.

Guam. Guam is the largest and southernmost island in the Marianas archipelago. It is an organized, unincorporated territory of the United States. The United States administers Guam through the Office of Insular Affairs of the U.S. Department of Interior. Although the chief of state for Guam is the president of the United States, the head of the government of Guam is an elected governor. There is also an elected unicameral legislature. Guam elects one nonvoting delegate to the U.S. House of Representatives who has the right to introduce and speak on legislation. The economy of Guam is dependent on the U.S. military. In 2004, U.S. grants, wage payments, and procurements totaled \$1.3 billion. The tourist industry, primarily dependent on Japanese investment and tourists, is the second-largest source of income for Guam.

In the 2010 U.S. Census, the population of Guam was 159,358. Although the indigenous people of Guam are Chamorro, the government of Guam has defined Chamorro as those persons who became U.S. citizens by virtue and under the authority of the 1950 Organic Act of Guam and their descendants. According to the 2000 Census, the following ethnic groups made up the population of Guam: native Chamorro comprised 37 percent; Filipino made up 26.3 percent; other Pacific Islander made up 11.3 percent; white made up 6.9 percent; other Asian made up 6.3 percent; other ethnic origin 2.3 percent and mixed 9.8 percent.

In 1976, the Guam Legislature organized a referendum to allow its citizens to vote on the political status of the territory. “Status Quo with Improvements” won 51 percent of the vote. “Statehood” received 21 percent and independence received 5 percent of the vote. In 1987, the Guam Legislature set up a new Commission on Self-Determination. The commission held four referenda. In the first referendum, the voters chose statehood and commonwealth as their preferred political status. In the second referendum, the voters chose commonwealth as the realistic and preferred status. The commission then drafted a commonwealth measure to submit to the U.S. Congress. The measure

was approved in two referenda. However, a disagreement between the United States and Guam about the terms of Guam becoming a commonwealth arose over the provisions that would limit immigration, set up a native Chamorro self-determination process, and allow for mutual consent in changing the document. The document was introduced in Congress four times and hearings were held in 1989 and 1997. The bills were never reported out of committee and the negotiations between the commission and federal officials never yielded a final agreement. The future political status of Guam remains unresolved and the political status of Guam is essentially the same as it was at the time that Spain ceded its claim over Guam to the United States in 1898 under the Treaty of Paris. However, the desire and the inherent right of self-determination will continue to be sought by the Chamorro people.

Hawaii. In 1900, the U.S. Congress passed the Organic Act under which Hawaii was governed as an incorporated territory through 1959. In 1959, following a plebiscite in which voters overwhelmingly voted yes to the question, “Shall Hawaii be immediately admitted into the union as a state?” Congress passed the Admission Act to make Hawaii a state. The head of state is the president of the United States. The governor is elected, as are the members of the Hawaii state Senate and Hawaii House of Representatives. Hawaii has two senators and two representatives in the U.S. Congress. Tourism provides the major source of revenue, jobs, and income, followed by the U.S. military. Diversified agriculture is the third major source of revenue, including flowers, coffee, papaya, other fruits, vegetables, macadamia nuts, aquaculture, and ranching. Hawaii’s gross state product in 2001 was 39th in the nation at \$43.7 billion, to which financial services contributed \$10.1 billion; general services (including tourism), \$10 billion; government, \$9.4 billion; trade, \$6.5 billion; transportation and public utilities, \$4.1 billion, and manufacturing, \$1.2 billion. According to the 2009 Hawaii Health Survey, Kānaka ‘Ōiwi, or Native Hawaiians, comprised 25.3 percent of the population; Caucasians comprised 20.8 percent; Japanese comprised 24 percent; Filipinos made up 13.9 percent, and others made up 16 percent. Among all of the Kānaka ‘Ōiwi or Native Hawaiians in the 2010 U.S.

Census, 289,970 or 55 percent live in Hawaii and 237,107 or 45 percent live in the continental United States.

A quest for Kānaka ‘Ōiwi sovereignty began when the U.S. government invaded Hawaii on January 16, 1893, to support the illegal takeover of the Hawaiian monarchy by American missionary descendants, businessmen, and planters. It is reinforced by the historical and contemporary injustices reflected in the low incomes, high unemployment rates, high incarceration rates, reliance on public assistance, and poor health conditions of Kānaka ‘Ōiwi. It is provoked by legal suits seeking to dismantle the private and public land trusts established for Kānaka ‘Ōiwi in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It is nurtured by a renaissance of Hawaiian language, music, hula, navigation, and spiritual practices.

Initiatives for the recognition of the inherent right of sovereignty and self-governance for Kānaka ‘Ōiwi have included a state-funded sovereignty plebiscite wherein 73 percent of those who cast a ballot voted yes to the question, “Shall the Hawaiian people elect delegates to propose a Native Hawaiian government?” It has also included the introduction of the Native Hawaiian Government Reorganization Act (a.k.a. Akaka Bill) in the U.S. Congress every year since 2000. It has passed by a majority vote in the House of Representatives, but has failed to pass in the U.S. Senate.

There are also initiatives for the recognition of Hawaii as an independent nation-state. Some advocates rightfully point out that Hawaii was not annexed through a treaty of annexation, but merely by a joint congressional resolution of annexation. Such a process is not legal under international law. They proclaim that Hawaii is still a sovereign nation-state, that it is illegally occupied by the U.S. government. Others point out that the statehood plebiscite was not a thorough exercise in self-determination because it provided only one choice to the voters: statehood. The choice for independence, commonwealth status, status quo, or free association should have been included on the ballot for it to be a free exercise of self-determination. Moreover the strong presence of the U.S. military was a factor of intimidation. These advocates seek reinscription with the UN Committee on

Decolonization with a new plebiscite conducted under the auspices of the United Nations. The journey toward sovereignty and self-determination will continue until it is achieved.

Micronesia. The Trust Territory of the Pacific (TTP) was established by the United Nations in 1947. It was controlled by the U.S. Navy from a headquarters in Guam until 1951, when its administration was turned over to the U.S. Department of Interior. At that point, the administration was based in Saipan in the Northern Marianas. Negotiations on the future status of the nations that were part of the TTP began in the 1970s. The result was the creation of four political entities with their own unique political status. The Northern Marianas is commonwealth. The Micronesian nations of the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM), the Marshall Islands and the Republic of Belau (Palau) have Compacts of Free Association with the United States. The United Nations estimates for the populations of these nations are: FSM 111,000; Marshall Islands 54,000; Northern Marianas 53,883; and Republic of Belau (Palau) 20,000.

Federated States of Micronesia. In 1979 the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM) adopted a constitution. The FSM includes the states of Pohnpei (Ponape), Chuuk (Truk) Islands, Yap Islands, and Kosrae (Kosaie). In 1986, a Compact of Free Association with the United States went into force whereby the FSM is internally independent in free association with the United States, which is responsible for its military defense and international relations. The unicameral Congress has 4 senators elected at-large from each state and 10 senators elected from single-member districts. The chief of state and head of government is the president who is elected by the unicameral Congress from among the four at-large senators who represent one of the states. The economy is primarily subsistence farming and fishing. Under the original terms of the Compact of Free Association, the United States provided \$1.3 billion in grant aid during the period 1986–2001. The 2004 Amended Compact of Free Association with the United States guarantees the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM) millions of dollars in annual aid through 2023 and establishes a

Trust Fund into which the United States and the FSM make annual contributions to provide annual payouts to the FSM in perpetuity after 2023. The country's medium-term economic outlook appears fragile not only because of the reduction in United States assistance but also to the current slow growth of the private sector. The population of FSM is 48.4 percent Chuukese; 24.2 percent Pohnpeian; 6.2 percent Kosraean; 5.2 percent Yapese; 4.5 percent Yap outer island; 1.8 percent Asian; 1.5 percent Polynesian; 6.4 percent other and 1.45 unknown according to the 2000 Census placed the total population at 133,144. Large-scale unemployment contributes to the diaspora of persons from the FSM, especially the Chuukese, to Hawaii and the United States. According to the 2012 Census, the greatest increase in NHPI in the United States was among the Chuukese, from 700 in 2000 to 4,000 in 2010.

Republic of the Marshall Islands. The United States conducted 67 atmospheric nuclear tests on atolls in the Marshall islands from June 30, 1946 through August 18, 1958. The 1952 test named “Ivy Mike” destroyed the island of Elugelab in the Enewetak Atoll. The most powerful test was “Castle Bravo,” in which a 15-megaton thermonuclear hydrogen bomb device was detonated on March 1, 1954, at Bikini Atoll. The test was equivalent to 1,000 Hiroshima bombs. Within a second of detonation it formed a 4.5-mile-sized fireball. The fallout cloud contaminated more than 7,000 square miles of the surrounding Pacific Ocean, including the islands of Rongerik, Rongelap, and Utirik. As a secret test, no warning was given and the children on these islands thought the radioactive material was snow and they played in it and rubbed it on their skin. An examination of U.S. government records revealed that the Marshallese had been treated like human guinea pigs to document the affect of radiation exposure on humans. The Marshallese suffer cancer, leukemia, thyroid disease, miscarriages, and birth defects because of their systematic and deliberate exposure to nuclear radiation.

In 1986, the Compact of Free Association with the United States entered into force, granting the Republic of the Marshall Islands (RMI) its sovereignty. The Compact provides for aid and U.S. defense of the

islands in exchange for continued U.S. military use of the missile testing range at Kwajalein Atoll. The independence procedure was formally completed under international law in 1990, when the UN officially ended the Trusteeship status.

Under the Compact of Free Association, the governments of the United States and the Marshall Islands agreed to the establishment of a Claims Tribunal that would have jurisdiction “to render final determinations of all claims past, present and future, of the Government, citizens and nationals of the Marshall Islands which are based on, arise out of, or are in any way related to the Nuclear Testing Program, and disputes arising from distributions made under Article II and III of this agreement.”

The government is a mixed parliamentary-presidential system. Voters elect senators to the lower house of the bicameral legislature called the Nitijela. The members of the Nitijela elect the president of the Republic of the Marshall Islands. The upper house of Parliament is called the Council of Iroij. It is an advisory body comprised of 12 tribal chiefs. U.S. government assistance is the primary source of revenue and income. The Marshall Islands received more than \$1 billion in aid from the United States from 1986 to 2002. Agriculture consists primarily of subsistence agriculture on small farms. Commercial crops are coconuts and breadfruit. Small-scale industry includes handicrafts, tuna processing, and copra. There is a small tourist industry. Under the terms of the 2004 Amended Compact of Free Association, the United States will provide millions of dollars per year to the Marshall Islands (RMI) through 2023, at which time a Trust Fund made up of United States and RMI contributions will begin perpetual annual payouts. The population of 60,000 is comprised of 92.1 percent Marshallese; 5.9 percent mixed Marshallese; and 2 percent other according to 2006 Census data.

Northern Marianas. In 1975, the voters in the Northern Marianas approved a covenant to establish a commonwealth in political union with the United States. The new government and constitution went into effect in 1978. The U.S. government provides federal funds to the Commonwealth administered by the U.S. Department of Interior, Office of Insular Affairs. At

the local level, the commonwealth is governed by an elected governor and a legislature. The economy is largely dependent on U.S. financial assistance. Before trade relations were normalized with China, Chinese garment factories that operated in the Northern Marianas employed as many as 17,500 Chinese and Filipino immigrants at their peak thereby taking full advantage of the commonwealth’s exemptions from duty and trade quotas and minimum wage standards. Once the minimum wage laws extended to the Northern Marianas and trade relations with China improved, the garment factories closed, leaving a vacuum in the economy. Tourism, mainly from Japan, is a major part of the economy. The agricultural sector is made up of small cattle ranches and small farms producing coconuts, breadfruit, tomatoes, and melons. In the 2000 Census, Asians (primarily Filipinos) made up 56.3 percent of the 71,000 total population; Pacific Islanders made up 36.3 percent; Caucasians made up 1.8 percent; others comprised 0.8 percent and mixed made up 4.8 percent of the population.

Republic of Belau (Palau). This westernmost cluster of the Caroline Islands opted for independence in 1978 rather than join the Federated States of Micronesia. A Compact of Free Association was approved in 1986, but not ratified until 1993. It entered into force in 1994 when the islands gained independence.

The chief of state and head of government is the president who is elected by the voters. There is a bicameral National Congress or Oliil Era Kelulau (OEK), which consists of 9 senators and 16 representatives. The economy consists of tourism and subsistence agriculture and fishing. The government is the major employer of the work force, relying on U.S. financial assistance. The Compact of Free Association with the United States, entered into after the end of the UN trusteeship on October 1, 1994, provided Palau with up to \$700 million in U.S. aid for the following 15 years, through 2009, in return for furnishing military facilities. The population of Belau, according to the 2000 U.S. Census is 21,000 with 69.9 percent Belauan; 15.35 percent Filipino; 4.9 percent Chinese; 2.4 percent other Asian; 1.9 percent White; 1.45 percent Carolinian; 1.1 percent other Micronesian; and 3.2 percent other or unspecified.

U.S. Census Categories and Representation

In 1977, the federal Office of Management and Budget issued Directive 15, which required government agencies to maintain statistics on specified racial groups rather than by ethnic group. The office derived the category of “Asian or Pacific Islander,” which was defined as “A person having origins in any of the original peoples of the Far East, Southeast Asia, the Indian subcontinent, or the Pacific Islands. This area includes, for example China, India, Japan, Korea, the Philippine Islands, and Samoa.” Therefore, the 1980 Census included several individual ancestry groups from Asia and the Pacific within the racial classification of “Asian or Pacific Islander.”

In 1987, the Office of Management and Budget revised Directive 15 by separating the “Asian or Pacific Islander” category into two categories, “Asian” and “Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander.” However, this separation was not implemented in the 1990 Census, which still used the category “Asian or Pacific Islander.” The 2000 Census was the first time that the category “Asian” was used and the new category of “Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander” was introduced. These categories were also used in the 2010 Census.

In 1978, a joint congressional resolution established Asian/Pacific American Heritage Week to be celebrated in the first week of May. In 1992, this was expanded to a month-long observance of the culture and historic contributions of Asians, Native Hawaiians, and Pacific Islanders during the month of May.

In the 2010 Census, over 1.2 million people, or 0.4 percent of the people in the United States identified themselves as Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander (NHPI), either alone or in combination with one or more races. This represented a 40 percent increase from 2000. More than half (56 percent) reported that they were NHPI in combination with one or more other races. Those who reported being NHPI alone totaled 540,000.

The largest ethnic group included in the NHPI category in 2010 is Native Hawaiian with a total population of 527,077. Samoan is the second largest NHPI ethnic group, with a total population of 184,440. The third largest group is Guamanian or Chamorro with a total population of 147,798.

The largest population of NHPI in the United States is concentrated in Hawaii (356,000) and followed by California (286,000). States with the next largest populations of NHPI were Washington (70,000); Texas (48,000); Florida (40,000); New York (36,000); Nevada (33,000); Oregon (26,000); and Arizona (25,000). Combined, these 10 states have 78 percent of the NHPI in the United States.

The Chuukese population from the Federated States of Micronesia is the fastest-growing group of NHPI in Hawaii and the continental United States. In 2000, there were 700 Chuukese in the United States and by 2010 there are 4,000 Chuukese in the United States.

Educational Attainment

In 2010, 87 percent of Native Hawaiians/Pacific Islanders, alone or in combination, have high school diplomas or higher, as compared to 88 percent for whites. Fifteen percent of Native Hawaiians/Pacific Islanders have a bachelor’s degree or higher in comparison to 30 percent of whites. 3.5 percent of Native Hawaiians/Pacific Islanders have obtained graduate degrees in comparison to 11 percent of whites. Forty-two percent of Native Hawaiians/Pacific Islanders speak a language other than English at home.

Economics

According to the 2010 Census Bureau, the average Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander family median income was \$58,083 in comparison to \$67,892 for non-Hispanic white families. In 2010, the U.S. Census bureau reported that 16 percent of Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander families live at the poverty level, in comparison to 9.9 percent of non-Hispanic whites.

Health

Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders generally have poorer health than the American population as a whole. They are more at risk for developing and dying from cancer, heart disease, diabetes, and other diseases. Factors contributing to poor health include cultural barriers, limited access to health care, low incomes, and poor nutrition.

Davianna Pomaikai McGregor

See also Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders (AAPIs) in Higher Education; Ethnic Communities in Hawaii; Guam, U.S. Presence in; Native Hawaiian Religion

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Ng, Poon Chew (1866–1931)

Ng Poon Chew was an influential Chinese American newspaperman in San Francisco. He was the founder of *Chung Sai Yat Pao* (*East-West Daily Paper*, 1900–1951), the first Chinese language daily newspaper published outside China.

Born in Guangdong, China, Ng migrated to California at age 13. Working as a domestic laborer on a ranch in San Jose, he obtained his Western education from a local Sunday School teacher. He was converted to Christianity in 1883, and in 1884, he began to study full time with Reverend Augustus Loomis of the San Francisco Presbyterian Church. In 1888, he traveled to rural Chinatowns in the Bay Area, introducing the Bible to Chinese fisherman along the coast and gaining firsthand knowledge about their lives. In 1889, he was selected to attend the San Francisco Theological Seminary.

In 1892, after his marriage to Chun Fah, Ng became America's first Chinese Presbyterian Minister on the Pacific Coast, working at the church on Sacramento and Stockton Streets. A year later, he was

transferred to lead the church in Los Angeles. The church was burned down in 1898. And in 1899, after working at a Japanese language newspaper briefly, he started his first weekly newspaper, *Hua Mei Sun Bo* (*Chinese American Morning Paper*), in Los Angeles.

In 1899, Ng, Chun Fah, and their four young children resettled to San Francisco, where he founded the *Chung Sai Yat Pao*. The first copy of the daily was published on February 16, 1900. This newspaper had no affiliation with political parties in China. It focused on issues concerning everyday life of Chinese in the United States and worked to cultivate discussions on community economic and social development. The paper also encouraged its readers to learn American culture, ideology, values, and customs. For the first half of the twentieth century, the newspapers enjoyed a large circulation among Chinese in the western part of the United States and Mexico.

Ng was also a well-known speaker and author. He gave public speeches in many places throughout the United States against Chinese exclusion, and he published books and pamphlets.

Xiaojian Zhao

See also Chinese Americans

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Ngor, Haing S. (1940–1996)

Haing Somnang Ngor was a Cambodian American surgeon, gynecologist, and obstetrician who became a social worker and actor after he resettled as a refugee in the United States in 1980. He was born on March 22, 1940, in Samrong Yong located south of Phnom Penh, the capital of Cambodia. His father was of Chinese ancestry and his mother was Khmer. (Khmer are the dominant ethnic group in Cambodia.) He became internationally known after winning an Academy Award for Best Supporting Actor portraying photographer Dith Pran in the 1984 film, *The Killing Fields*.

On April 17, 1975, the most radical faction among Cambodia's Communists, the Khmer Rouge, captured Phnom Penh and established a new regime called the Democratic Kampuchea. Within days, the victors forced about 1.5 million people to leave the capital and march long distances to their ancestral villages. Residents of other urban areas were also forced to march to the countryside where the displaced people became beasts of burden, plowing fields with yokes on their necks and breaking apart rocks without any tools as they were commanded to build dams and levees. They were allowed to eat only a single bowl of thin rice porridge a day. People caught scrounging for anything edible—including cockroaches and rats—were shot to death. The Khmer Rouge, led by Pol Pot, aimed to erase all traces of modern civilization. They closed schools and banks, desecrated Buddhist temples and defrocked monks, destroyed machinery and vehicles, and tortured and killed all suspected enemies, including some of their own political cadres and military commanders. During their reign of terror that lasted three years and eight months, a conservative estimate of 1.7 million Cambodians (out of a total population of a little over 7 million) perished from executions, overwork, starvation, disease, and exposure to the elements.

Dr. Haing Ngor was in Phnom Penh when the Khmer Rouge captured it. He was in private practice and simultaneously served as a medical officer in the Cambodian Army. He and his family were coerced to walk miles and miles to rural northwestern Cambodia while several million other Cambodians were likewise crisscrossing the country. Dr. Ngor's wife, My Huoy, who was a teacher, died in childbirth during this period of immense suffering. Because the Khmer Rouge targeted educated people, Ngor had thrown away his eyeglasses (the Khmer Rouge presumed that only educated people became near-sighted and had to wear glasses) and kept his professional training secret. Tragically, though he could have saved his wife who needed a Caesarian section had he had any surgical tools with him, he had to stand by helplessly as she and their baby died. The Khmer Rouge also killed his parents and siblings. He later recounted these horrific events in his autobiography, *Haing Ngor:*

A Cambodian Odyssey, cowritten with Roger Warner and published in 1988.

When Cambodia's neighbor, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, overthrew the Khmer Rouge regime in January 1979, millions of emaciated people returned to their former homes to look for family members and friends who might still be alive. Tens of thousands refugees also escaped by crossing the Thai-Cambodian border. Haing Ngor fled and spent about a year and a half in a refugee camp in Thailand where he offered his services as a doctor. In 1980, the United States accepted him and his orphaned niece as refugees. They were resettled by an agency on contract with the government in Los Angeles. Unable to practice medicine, he found work as a security guard and as a job counselor to refugees in Los Angeles.

As British film director Roland Joffe began preparations for making *The Killing Fields*, using a script based on the writings of Sydney Schanberg, a *New York Times* journalist who had reported on events in Cambodia, the film's casting director, Pat Golden, met Ngor at a Cambodian wedding party in Los Angeles and encouraged him to audition for a role in the film. At first, Ngor was hesitant but later agreed to go for a tryout because he felt that Cambodia's tragic story needed to be told to a wide audience. Only when production began in Thailand did Ngor find out that he had been chosen to portray Dith Pran, who had served as Schanberg's interpreter, photographer, and general assistant. Ngor was riveting on screen and critics lauded his performance for its emotional intensity and veracity. In addition to winning the Academy Award for Best Supporting Actor, he also won the Golden Globe for Best Supporting Actor, and two awards from the British Academy of Film and Television Arts—Best Actor and Best Newcomer to Film. In subsequent years, he appeared in more than a dozen films and television programs.

In 1990, he established the Dr. Haing S. Ngor Foundation, an outgrowth of his earlier Project Cambodia, which raised funds to support Cambodian orphans and to help rebuild some of Cambodia's destroyed infrastructure. He and Dith Pran actively spoke out to publicize the Cambodian "genocide" or "holocaust." (Those two words are in quotes because

some scholars and Jewish American community leaders dispute their applicability to Cambodia.) When Haing Ngor was shot to death by three members of the Oriental Lazy Boyz gang outside his apartment on the edge of Los Angeles Chinatown on February 25, 1996, rumors spread within Cambodian American communities that it must have been a hit job ordered by the Khmer Rouge, many of whose leaders and members remain alive and some of whom are serving in Cambodia's current government. U.S. law enforcement officers, however, have never found any evidence to substantiate that allegation. Ngor's foundation was incorporated in 1997 as a nonprofit charitable organization dedicated to promoting human rights and preserving Cambodian art and culture.

Sucheng Chan

See also Cambodian Americans

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Nguyen, Dat (1975–)

Dat Tan Nguyen is the first person of Vietnamese descent to play professional football. After a stellar career at Texas A&M University, he joined the National Football League (NFL) as a member of the Dallas Cowboys.

Nguyen was born on September 25, 1975, in Fort Chaffee, Arkansas. Fort Chaffee served as a processing center for Southeast Asian refugees from 1975 to 1976. Nguyen's parents came to the United States shortly after the North Vietnamese army overtook

Saigon in April 1975. Nguyen spent most of his childhood in Rockport, Texas. He attended Rockport-Fulton High School where he played linebacker and punter. During his high school career, he was named a Texas Top 100 linebacker and received second-team All-State honors as a punter. Several top Division I schools including Notre Dame, UCLA, and Michigan recruited Nguyen to play football.

Wanting to stay close to his family, Nguyen enrolled at Texas A&M University where he played from 1995 to 1998. At 5-foot-11, 240 pounds, he was considered too small to effectively play the middle linebacker position. Despite his smaller build, he became integral to the team's success. He served as the leader of the famed "Wrecking Crew," a nickname given to the Aggies defensive team. Nguyen started every game (51) and became the only player in school history to lead the team in tackling for four consecutive seasons. In his senior season, Nguyen was named a consensus All-American, the Big 12 Conference Defensive Player of the Year, and received the Chuck Bednarik College Defensive Player of the Year Award and the Lombardi Award, presented to the nation's top lineman. He finished his college career with 517 tackles making him the Aggies' all-time tackles leader and was named to the Texas A&M athletic hall of fame in 2004. He graduated with a degree in agricultural development in 1998.

In 1999, the Dallas Cowboys selected Nguyen with the 85th overall pick in the NFL draft. He made an immediate impact, leading the team in special teams tackles as a rookie. He earned a starting position as middle linebacker during his second season. Nguyen led the Cowboys in tackling in 2003 and was named to the Associated Press All-Pro second team. Over his seven-year career, he played a total of 90 games and amassed 665 total tackles, six sacks, seven interceptions, and four forced fumbles. He retired from football in 2006.

Nguyen rejoined the Cowboys organization in 2007 as an assistant linebackers coach and defensive quality control coach. In February 2010 he returned to Texas A&M as the inside linebackers coach. Outside of football, he has worked with various community programs including the Dallas Cowboys Let Us Play! Sports Camp for Girls, the Salvation Army, and

the Vietnamese Culture Science Association. He received the Golden Torch Award at the 2004 Vietnamese American National Gala for his professional achievements and service to local communities. In July 2005, Nguyen published his autobiography *Dat: Tackling Life and the NFL* that explores how he overcame the challenges of professional athletics and racism.

Frank Cha

See also Vietnamese Americans

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Nguyen, Dustin (1962–)

Dustin Tri Nguyen (born Nguyen Xuan Tri) is a Vietnamese American actor, writer, and martial artist who holds a black belt in Taekwondo. He first gained fame for his role as Detective Harry Truman Ioki in the late 1980s television series, *21 Jump Street*. Since then, he has garnered recognition for his roles in various films.

Nguyen was born in southern Vietnam, where he lived until the age of 11. Nguyen's father, Xuan Phat, was a writer, producer, and actor who wrote for a Vietnamese radio station. My Le, his mother, was an actress and dancer. Nguyen escaped with his family in April 1975, when North Vietnamese troops invaded Saigon. In the United States, the Nguyens first arrived at a refugee camp in Arkansas and later relocated to St. Louis, Missouri. After high school, Nguyen attended Orange Coast College in Southern California. There, he enrolled in an acting class at the suggestion of a friend.

In the mid-1980s, Nguyen landed his first role in a two-hour episode of *Magnum, P.I.*, in which he

portrayed a Cambodian freedom fighter. His first major role was on the police show *21 Jump Street*, in which he starred opposite Johnny Depp. He remained in this role for four seasons, during which time the producers of the show devoted one episode to Nguyen's real-life refugee experience. In the following years, Nguyen worked in the series *SeaQuest DSV* as Chief Helmsman William Shan and in *V.I.P.* as Johnny Loh, with Pamela Anderson. In this series, Nguyen choreographed his own fight scenes. In 2000, Nguyen became the first model of Asian descent for Levi's Jeans' European "Hero" Campaign.

Along with a successful career on the small screen, Nguyen has been featured in various films. He played Cate Blanchett's former boyfriend in *Little Fish*, a film about a former heroin addict trying to reestablish herself. This performance earned Nguyen the 2007 Asian Excellence Award for Best Supporting Actor in a feature film. Nguyen took on his first villain role in *The Rebel*, a 2006 movie about Vietnam under French colonial rule. Filmed in Vietnam, this opportunity signaled Nguyen's first return trip to the country in 32 years. The film opened for the 2007 Vietnamese International Film Festival in Orange County, California. Another notable role in *The Legend Is Alive* earned Nguyen the Vietnamese Golden Lotus Award for Best Actor, the Golden Kite Award from Vietnam, and China's Golden Rooster for Favorite International Actor. In 2010, Nguyen wrote, produced, and starred in *De Mai Tinh (Fool for Love)*.

Nguyen has been married to former model Angela Rockwood since 2001. Following an accident that left Rockwood a quadriplegic, Nguyen and Rockwood have been involved with the Christopher Reeve Paralysis Foundation and the Paralysis Resource Center's Minority Communities Outreach Campaign. She currently resides in Los Angeles, while he lives in Vietnam as an actor and director.

Phi Hong Su

See also Hollywood, Asian Americans in; Taekwondo in America; Vietnamese Americans

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Nguyen, Jacqueline H. (1965–)

On May 7, 2012, Judge Jacqueline H. Nguyen received confirmation to the U.S. Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals by a U.S. Senate vote of 91–3. She is President Barack Obama's third nomination to the U.S. Ninth Circuit, a federal appellate court one level below the U.S. Supreme Court and the largest of the nation's 13 Circuits of Appeal. The jurisdiction of the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals includes the states of California, Arizona, Nevada, Oregon, Washington Idaho, Montana, Alaska, and Hawaii. Judge Nguyen will fill a new appellate seat in San Francisco, California.

President Obama nominated Judge Nguyen to her most recently confirmed seat on September 22, 2011. After a hearing on November 2, 2011, the Senate Judiciary Committee reviewed her nomination and voted 91–3 on May 7, 2012, in favor of her confirmation. At 48, Judge Nguyen has earned the distinction of being the first Vietnamese American and the first Asian Pacific American woman ever to occupy a seat on the federal appeals circuit. Judge Nguyen joins Judge Denny Chin as the only two active Asian Pacific American judges on the appellate circuit. (Judge Chin was nominated by President Obama to the federal bench in 2009 and is seated in New York.)

In 2002, Nguyen became the first Vietnamese American female judge to sit on the California Bench. At the time of her nomination to the Los Angeles County Superior Court by Governor Gray Davis, Judge Nguyen was 37 years old. President Obama nominated Judge Nguyen to the U.S. District Level Court in 2009 at the recommendation of Senator Dianne Feinstein, a recommendation that came with the support of a bipartisan advisory committee. Upon a unanimous U.S. Senate confirmation (97–0), Nguyen became Judge of the U.S. District Court for the Central District of California. The 2009 confirmation earned

her the distinction of being the first Vietnamese American federal judge. Previous to her time on the bench, Judge Nguyen served as a federal prosecutor for the U.S. Attorney's Office and as a litigator for a private practice. As of her new appointment, Nguyen is now currently the only Asian Pacific American judge serving on the Ninth Circuit of Appeals.

Born in Dalat, Vietnam, as Hong-Ngoc Thi Nguyen, Nguyen was 10 years old when she and her family were forced to leave the country in 1975 with the fall of Saigon to Communist forces. Because of her father's position in the South Vietnamese Army and his close work with U.S. forces, the family was among the first wave of refugees to leave Vietnam. Like many refugee families arriving in the United States, the Nguyen family spent some months in a military tent at a refugee processing center established at Camp Pendleton Military Base near Oceanside, California. Once settled in Los Angeles proper, both parents worked odd jobs as nightshift cleaners, a gas station attendant, and a pie factory worker, eventually earning enough money to invest in a family business. Nguyen would work at the family's Donut Shop throughout high school and college.

Between helping out at her family's business and taking classes, Nguyen completed high school and earned a full scholarship to Occidental College. She earned her BA from Occidental in 1987 and her JD at UCLA in 1991.

A graduate of UCLA's School of Law and newly admitted to the California bar, Nguyen embarked upon a legal career as a litigator at Musick, Peeler & Garrett LLP. In 1995, she joined the criminal division of the U.S. Attorney's Office, serving as a federal prosecutor. From 1999 to 2000, Nguyen worked with the Organized Crime Strike Force division of the U.S. Attorney's Office until being promoted to Deputy Chief of the General Crimes section, a position that she held until 2002.

Judge Nguyen has contributed to the Asian Pacific American legal community by establishing the Asian Pacific American Bar Association and serving as its president. Additionally, she has participated in a number of other bar associations, including the Korean American Bar Association, the Japanese American Bar Association, the Southern California Chinese

Lawyers Association, and the Vietnamese American Bar Association of Orange County. Judge Nguyen has also served on the board of the Women Lawyers Association of Los Angeles.

Members of the American Bar Association Standing Committee of the Federal Judiciary unanimously supported Judge Nguyen's 2011 nomination to the U.S. Ninth Circuit of Appeals.

Linh Hua

See also Vietnamese Americans

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Nguyen, Madison (Phuong) (1975–)

Madison (Phuong) Nguyen is currently the vice mayor of San Jose, California. She became the first Vietnamese American elected to public office in Northern California when she won a seat on the Franklin-McKinley School District Board in San Jose, California in 2002. She eventually served as the Board's president before running for San Jose's City Council in 2005. Her election to the council gave her the remarkable distinction of being the first Vietnamese American to serve on the council of a major American city (San Jose is the tenth largest city in the United States). In January 2011, the mayor and City Council of San Jose appointed Nguyen the city's first Vietnamese American vice mayor.

In 1979, at the age of four, Nguyen fled Vietnam by boat with her parents and eight siblings, settling temporarily in a Philippine refugee camp before gaining sponsorship to the United States. Nguyen changed her first name to Madison when she became a U.S. citizen at the age of 18. At the University of California, Santa Cruz, Nguyen pursued an undergraduate degree in history, then continued on to receive a master's in social science at the University of Chicago before returning to Northern California. When reenrolled at

the University of California, Santa Cruz, this time for a PhD in sociology, Nguyen sought to provide San Jose with a representative voice that reflected the city's distinction as home to one of the largest Vietnamese communities in the diaspora. She subsequently won a seat on the Franklin-McKinley School Board.

Among her political work, vice mayor Nguyen has raised concerns regarding the participation of Vietnamese Americans on juries and public councils, particularly in cases directly relevant to the community. In 2003, the question of equal representation became crucial when police shot and killed Bich Cau Thi Tran, a young mother of two, after mistakenly identifying the traditional Vietnamese vegetable peeler held by Tran as a cleaver. The incident received little attention, prompting Nguyen to organize a community rally that would place the Vietnamese community on the political map. Approximately 250 people attended the rally, bringing attention to the callous shooting that resulted in Tran's death. Although in 2003 Nguyen did not express interest in pursuing a career in public office, the visibility that she gained from the event catapulted her into public service.

In 2008, Nguyen's popularity among Vietnamese American constituents in San Jose was sharply tested over the controversial naming of a Vietnamese business section. Nguyen supported naming the area the "Saigon Business District," whereas locals who opposed her rallied for the more widely used designation of "Little Saigon." Although the latter term carries a collective political critique of Vietnam's government within the diaspora since 1975, Nguyen's preference was not politically charged but simply to reduce the confusion with the much larger "Little Saigon" in Westminster, California. The agenda item has since been postponed by the city council.

Vice Mayor Nguyen currently serves as vice chair of the Public Safety, Finance and Strategic Support Committee, vice chair of the Rules and Open Government Committee, vice chair of the San Jose/Santa Clara Water Treatment Plant Advisory Committee, member of the Mayor's Gang Prevention Task Force, Silicon Valley Rapid Transit Policy Advisory Board (BART), Housing and Community Development Advisory Committee as well as other key commissions and committees.

Linh Hua

See also Political Representation; Vietnamese Americans

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Nhat Hanh, Thich (1926–)

Thich Nhat Hanh is a Vietnamese Buddhist monk, celebrated peace activist, and prolific author. Nominated by Martin Luther King, Jr. for the Nobel Peace Prize in 1967 for his efforts opposing the Vietnam War, Thich Nhat Hanh later led the Buddhist Peace Delegation to the 1969 Paris Peace talks and organized humanitarian aid for those affected by the war. He is also credited with coining the term "Engaged Buddhism" in the 1960s and promoting its principles of nonviolent activism and social service throughout the United States and Europe.

Born Nguyen Xuan Bao in central Vietnam in 1926, Thich Nhat Hanh was fully ordained as a Buddhist monk in 1949. In 1960 he accepted a fellowship to study at Princeton University and was later appointed as a lecturer at Columbia University. Because of the ongoing conflict in Vietnam Thich Nhat Hanh returned in 1963 and founded the School of Youth Social Service in Saigon, a war-relief organization that established schools and medical centers, and resettled families who lost their homes. After visiting the United States in 1966 to speak about the effects of the war in Vietnam, Thich Nhat Hanh was exiled by the Vietnamese government and subsequently granted asylum in France.

Throughout the 1970s, Thich Nhat Hanh continued teaching a small group of followers in France and maintained his humanitarian efforts, such as organizing rescue missions for the "boat people" escaping South East Asia. In 1982 he founded a monastery and meditation center in southern France called Plum Village, and from 1985 to 1989 returned to the United States for a series of lecture tours that established Thich Nhat Hanh as a prominent Buddhist figure in America and a leader of the Engaged Buddhist movement. Two branches of Plum Village have opened in America, one in California in 2000, and another in New York in 2007. In 2005, Thich Nhat Hanh was finally allowed to return to Vietnam to give public lectures and publish a limited number of his books.

Thich Nhat Hanh's Buddhist teachings tend to combine a variety of traditional and modern approaches, but often stress the oneness or "inter-being" of all phenomena as well as nonviolent activism. He currently resides at Plum Village, but frequently travels to give lectures and hold meditation retreats. Furthermore, Thich Nhat Hanh's numerous publications have granted him a widespread exposure and popular appeal.

Peter M. Romaskiewicz

See also Buddhism in Asian America; Vietnamese Americans

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Ni, Fu-Te (1982–)

Fu-Te Ni is the first professional baseball player who successfully moved from Taiwan's Chinese Baseball Professional League (CPBL) to Major League Baseball (MLB). As a left-handed pitcher, Ni started his professional career with the Chinatrust Whales

of CPBL in 2007. After the Chinatrust Whales dissolved at the end of 2008, Ni decided to challenge the MLB. He signed a minor league contract with the Detroit Tigers in January 2009 and made his MLB debut in June as a relief pitcher. He was a constant member of the Taiwanese team for several games, including the 2007 Asian Championship, the 2008 Olympics, and the 2009 World Baseball Classic.

Yuchun Kuo

See also Chinese American Baseball; Taiwanese Americans

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Nichibei Shimbun (Japanese American News)

Published in San Francisco, the *Nichibei Shimbun*, or *Japanese American News*, had its official beginning on April 4, 1899. Its origins, however, can be traced to two earlier vernacular papers called the *Hokubei Shimpo* (1898) and the *Soko Nihon Shinbun* (Japan Herald 1897). Organized by a group of immigrant students (“school boys”) and writers, the *Soko Nihon Shinbun* came into the hands of Abiko Kyutaro, a Christian entrepreneur who had come to the United States as an indigent student, by 1898. The *Hokubei Shimpo* was a product of ongoing disputes between Christian converts and other factions of the early Japanese immigrant community in San Francisco. Whereas non-Christians seized editorial control of the preexisting *Shin Sekai Shimbun* (*New World Daily* 1894) to turn it into something of their political organ, some Christian Issei cut their ties from the newspaper to form the *Hokubei Shimpo*. Thus, for a short period around 1898, the San Francisco Japanese community had three major vernacular newspapers; however, under the support of nationalist-minded immigrants and working-class newcomers, the *Shin Sekai* increased its readership rapidly. Sharing a similar political support base, the *Soko Nihon Shinbun* and

Hokubei Shimpo were thus soon compelled to merge into a new paper called the *Nichibei Shimbun*. Abiko served as its publisher and editor whereas such immigrant intellectuals as Yamato Ichihashi (later a Stanford University professor) and Yoneda Minoru (later a renowned diplomatic historian in Japan) participated in the operation of the *Nichibei Shimbun* in its inceptive years. By a few years later, Abiko became the sole proprietor of the *Nichibei Shimbun*, as others moved back to Japan or onto other ventures in the United States.

Throughout the prewar years, the *Nichibei Shimbun* remained one of the most important Japanese vernaculars in San Francisco. The old politico-ideological conflict between the *Nichibei Shimbun* and *Shin Sekai* resurfaced time and again, which often reflected deep-seated religious divides in early Japanese America. The *Nichibei Shimbun* represented aspects of Japanese immigrant political thinking and practice that sought harmony with white America, valorized social assimilation and permanent settlement over immigrant sojourning, and aspired to adapt to America’s Christian traditions. Yet, for that very reason, the newspaper sometimes found itself under severe attacks by more nationalistic segments of early Japanese America that had close ties to the *Shin Sekai* and Buddhist churches, as well as some leftist elements. In 1911–1912, for example, the *Nichibei Shimbun* was accused of being traitorous to the Japanese Emperor, for it refused to criticize an Issei Christian minister in Bakersfield who had exhibited his serious “disrespect” for the throne. Some eight years later, the *Nichibei Shimbun* came under fire by the *Shin Sekai* again, when the former supported the Japanese government’s decision to suspend the issuance of passports to “picture brides” bound for the United States. Given the *Nichibei Shimbun*’s proassimilation stance, it made perfect sense that the newspaper embraced Tokyo’s policy, because white exclusionists had singled out the picture-marriage practice as an example of Issei’s “un-American” character. But the *Shin Sekai* was upset by its support for Tokyo’s decision to make it impossible for ordinary Issei to get married without having to go to Japan. In this way, the rivalry between the two San Francisco vernaculars illuminated a major political fault line within early Japanese America.

As historian Yuji Ichioka argued, it is important to note that Abiko's advocacy for permanent settlement contributed to the emergence of stable settlement Japanese communities during the 1910s. And Abiko's desire to reform Japanese immigrant society through the *Nichibei Shimbun* compelled him to extend its reach to Southern California. In 1922, he purchased a bankrupt local vernacular and renamed it the *Rafu Nichibei* (*Los Angeles Japanese American*).

Abiko's quest of interracial harmony unfolded in tandem with his belief in the intermediary role of second-generation Japanese Americans (Nisei) in U.S.-Japan relations. The concept of Nisei as a bridge of understanding thus became a main underpinning of *Nichibei Shimbun's* editorial policy, especially after the completion of racial exclusion of Issei by the mid-1920s. His dream of inclusion into white America was untenable as far as the immigrant generation was concerned because of the denial of naturalization rights and the 1924 Immigration Act. Yet, Nisei U.S. citizens were free from existing legal discrimination against "aliens ineligible for citizenship." Although Abiko optimistically predicted that Nisei would be able to blend into white America on account of their outstanding racial character, he also believed that the youngsters were saddled with the mission to improve bilateral relations between the country of their birth and their ancestral country by dispelling white American misunderstanding about the Japanese—both Issei and people of Japan. Abiko used the *Nichibei Shimbun* to disseminate this idea, stressing the importance of teaching Nisei about Japan with an eye to enabling them to serve as a bridge of mutual understanding between the United States and Japan. In 1925 and 1926, the newspaper sponsored "kengakudan," or "study tours" of selected Nisei men and women to Japan. Abiko Yonako, Kyutaro's wife, accompanied these study tours, which received red carpet welcome by upper echelons of Japanese society. In the ensuing years, many other community organizations dispatched similar Nisei study-tour groups to Japan on the basis of the bridge ideal espoused by Abiko. The *Nichibei Shimbun's* pioneering role in the edification of Nisei also entailed its new policy of inserting English-language Nisei sections—the practice that began in 1925 and was subsequently imitated by all

major Japanese press in the continental United States and Hawaii.

During the early 1930s, the *Nichibei Shimbun* was engulfed in serious financial problems and labor strife. In 1931, a dispute over editorial policy and unpaid wages led to an all-out strike by the *Nichibei Shimbun* staff, which resulted in the liquidation of the *Rafu Nichibei*, the dismissal of many workers and reporters, and the establishment of the *Hokubei Asahi* by the dismissed *Nichibei* employees. That newspaper and the *Shin Sekai* merged in 1935. The bitter rivalry between the *Nichibei Shimbun* and *Shin Sekai* continued until the outbreak of the Pacific War. In the same decade, the *Nichibei Shimbun* underwent other significant changes as well. The death of Abiko Kyutaro in 1936 resulted in the transfer of the business operation to his wife Yonako. Three years later, the *Nichibei Shimbun* suffered a devastating fire, reducing its building to ashes. Although a new building and equipment were acquired by 1940, Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor caused the newspaper to permanently cease its operation in April 1942. After the wartime internment of Japanese Americans, former employees of the *Nichibei Shimbun* formed the *Nichibei Jiji* (*Nichi Bei Times*) under the control of Yasuo William Abiko, Nisei son of Kyutaro and Yonako. The newspaper is still in operation out of San Francisco as an English weekly and online-based news outlet.

Eiichiro Azuma

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1982 ILGWU Strike in New York's Chinatown

Jewish, Italian, and Irish immigrants founded the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) in New York City in 1900. The union

sought to unite the various workers in the rapidly growing garment industry. By the late 1940s, the union had increasing black and Latino membership. During the 1950s, Local 25 began to organize Chinese immigrant workers and enlisted the help of an English-speaking worker from Hong Kong named Wing Fong Chin, who expanded the union into the sweatshops of New York's Chinatown.

By the early 1980s, Local 23–25 was the largest of the ILGWU affiliates because it represented all the shops in New York's Chinatown. Wages were calculated by piece rate, where each sewing operation was assigned a price and the more you sewed, the more you earned. Workers and the union got the employers to increase the piece rate by stopping work until a fair price was negotiated. However, work stoppages were difficult to organize in the tightly controlled factories.

Local 23–25 organized all the factories in Chinatown from the top down through union contracts that required all union manufacturers to do business with union contractors. If either the contractor or manufacturer attempted to use a nonunion firm, the union was allowed to strike the violating party, and all other union firms would be required to observe the picket line. Every three years, the union first bargained a new contract with the manufacturers, then it negotiated the same set terms with the contractors. Finally the contractors negotiated with the manufacturers to strike an agreement. This triangular bargaining system passed through wage increases and benefits from the manufacturers to the contractors, and then from the contractors to the workers. Because the union had organized nearly three quarters of the New York market's manufacturers, the triangular bargaining arrangement locked manufacturers, contractors, and workers into a highly unionized job market.

By the 1980s, manufacturing was increasingly outsourced to offshore factories. This development threatened the triangular bargaining arrangement, and in 1982, manufacturers refused to sign a new union contract and demanded that the workers give back three holidays and other medical and retirement benefits. On June 24, 1982, a rally was held in Chinatown to urge manufacturers to sign a new contract with the union. When the rally began, nearly 20,000 Chinatown garment workers showed up at the park, all wearing

union caps and carrying picket signs and banners. For the next few days, the union broke the bargaining impasse by ignoring the Chinatown contractors' association and got individual Chinese contractors to pledge that they would sign the union contract. Several dozen contractors held out and the union planned another rally at Columbus Park for June 29. At the end of that rally, it was decided that any contractor who had not signed a pledge would be struck. Once again, nearly 20,000 workers showed up at the rally, and within hours the few shops that were put on strike caved in and signed the pledge. The ILGWU won the 1982 strike for Chinatown's garment factory workers and demonstrated the capacity of Asian immigrant workers to organize.

Winnie Tam Hung

See also Chinatown, New York

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Noguchi, Isamu (1904–1988)

Isamu Noguchi is remembered today as one of the first Japanese American artists to attain fame in the American art world. As a sculptor, he created artifacts, designed stage sets for dance, and directed public art and landscaping projects in and outside the United States. Through his sculpture and, in his words, "sculpturing spaces," he brought new values and

meanings to the physical environment. Throughout his career, Noguchi's racially mixed background created various personal opportunities and obstacles. He strategically emphasized different elements of his ethnic identity depending on the nature of the projects he pursued.

Noguchi was the son of Yonejiro Noguchi, a Japanese poet well-known in the United States and Japan, and Leonie Gilmour, a white American (half Irish and sixteenth Native American) who helped Yonejiro write his poetry in English. Their marriage did not last long as Yonejiro married another woman in Japan soon after Leonie gave birth to Isamu.

For most of his early life in Japan and the United States, Noguchi went by the name Isamu Gilmour until he decided to pursue his career in the art world in 1924. He became conscious of his surname's value: its association with his renowned father that conferred "oriental authenticity." In 1927, Noguchi applied for a Guggenheim Fellowship to study abroad. In his application, he stressed his Japanese background to distinguish himself from other applicants. He ultimately received this fellowship and traveled to Paris where he studied under Constantin Brancusi, a highly influential figure in the European art world.

Although Noguchi took advantage of his Japanese ethnicity and traveled to Japan in search of his roots, he was careful to differentiate himself from his father who exhibited nationalistic sentiment through his poems as Japanese imperialism gained momentum in the 1920s and 1930s. Noguchi became vocal about his stance against totalitarian states and for the empowerment of the subjugated classes. His first visible artistic expression of social protest was the production of *Death* (1934), a sculpture that powerfully represented the agony of a lynched figure.

The gloomy atmosphere of the Great Depression coupled with Noguchi's own unstable economic condition caused him to become more receptive to socialism. Through friendships he cultivated in Paris, he earned the opportunity to take part in a mural project in Mexico City. His mural, filled with Socialist and Communist symbolism, expressed his unequivocal protest against capitalist greed and Fascism. Noguchi's life in the 1930s was marked by highly transnational and interracial movements and activities—a stark

contrast with the following decade. Especially in the first half of the 1940s, his life came to be particularly oriented around Japanese American issues.

Following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941, Japanese Americans came to be labeled as enemy aliens, and Noguchi realized that he was inevitably part of this segregated group, although he had had scarce contact with the Japanese American community on the West Coast. Soon after this attack, he organized the group Nisei Writers and Artists for Democracy with several other influential Nisei, hoping to prove Japanese American loyalty to the United States. Even though Noguchi was able to circumvent the internment (he was a resident of New York at that time), he voluntarily entered the Poston internment camp in May 1942 to direct the arts and crafts program for the internees, believing that he could be useful in showing American society that Japanese Americans can sustain a democratic and loyal community. Life inside the barbed wires, however, was much more difficult than he expected. He found it particularly hard to have intellectually and politically enriching conversations with much younger Nisei internees who appeared to be only interested in farming. He was soon disillusioned from the noble goal of building an exemplary democratic community—which he felt was doomed because of the fundamental racist motive of the internment—and left the camp after six months. His social status as a famous artist granted him more freedom in comparison to other Japanese Americans interned at the camps, but his mobility, coupled with his mixed ethnicity, negatively affected his credibility and enticed suspicion from internees and FBI agents alike that he might be a spy.

After World War II, Noguchi firmly established his status as a leading American artist when he was selected as one of the 14 American artists to be featured at a Museum of Modern Art exhibit in 1946. After rising to fame, he returned to Japan, gave lectures on the Japanese traditional art forms that influenced him, and played an important role in the development of Japanese modernism—an art movement that rejected blind submission to the Western standards of art.

The enthusiastic welcome did not mean that the Japanese public fully embraced his complex identity,

however. In 1951, Kenzo Tange, the leading architect at the University of Tokyo, invited Noguchi to design the central cenotaph along with the Peace Bridges for the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park that commemorated the war dead. Noguchi readily accepted the invitation, and the Peace Bridges were built according to Noguchi's plan. However, to his disappointment, the Hiroshima Peace Memorial City Construction Committee rejected his design proposal for the central cenotaph. Although the Committee did not officially explain a clear reason for the rejection, it was apparent that a nationalistic sentiment of the Japanese public was reflected in disqualifying the American artist (whose country dropped the atomic bombs) and excluding him from the most sensitive center of national memory.

Outside of Japan, Noguchi's Japanese ethnicity allowed him to represent Japanese art and culture and play the role of an ambassadorial artist. In the late 1950s, he received commission to design the Japanese-themed gardens at the headquarters of UNESCO in Paris, a project for which he utilized stones imported from Japan. The Japanese government, convinced that these gardens would raise interest and respect for Japanese culture, helped fund this project.

Toward the end of his career, Noguchi became more interested in using stones he collected in Japan for his art projects. From 1969 onward, he often stayed at his studio in Mure, Japan, where he could devote himself to working with the stones. Noguchi worked energetically until the last year of his life, sculpturing spaces in big cities and remote corners and receiving many awards and honors. After he passed away, his studios in Mure and Long Island, New York, were turned into museums where his artworks and archives were stored.

Living through the turbulent twentieth century, Noguchi exhibited his politics through his art and activities. His identity was by no means static or authentic; he tactically expressed parts of his identity depending on the circumstances. The "Japanese" label was always attached to him, and he at times consciously took advantage of it; however, he knew that Japanese culture was foreign to him. Although he respected Japanese culture and art, he also had an outsider/orientalist view toward Japan that it retained "primitiveness" and an "unchanged past" that the fully developed American society had lost. In his later years, Noguchi constantly sought connectivity with earth and inspirations in Japan.

More than 20 years after his death, the sculptor's legacy continues. In 2010, the film *Leonie* featuring Noguchi's mother was released in Japan. This reflects the Japanese public's renewed interest and pride in the transnational identity and life of the great artist who sought his roots in Japan.

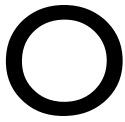
Sanae Nakatani

See also Japanese Americans

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Odo, Franklin (1939–)

Franklin Odo is a Sansei (third-generation) Japanese American historian who is a prominent scholar, activist, author, and academic pioneer. Odo is known mainly for his contributions to Asian American studies through his involvement as an academic and as the director of the Asian Pacific American Program at the Smithsonian Institute.

Odo was born and raised on the island of Oahu where he attended Kaimuki High School located in Honolulu. After graduation, Odo received a BA in Asian studies from Princeton University in 1963. Following his undergraduate career, Odo obtained an MA in East Asia regional studies from Harvard University and a PhD in Japanese history from Princeton University in 1975. Although Odo's academic background was in Asian studies, he became involved in Asian American studies and ethnic studies.

After receiving his doctorate, Odo taught Asian American studies at various academic institutions around the nation for over 30 years. His first stop was at Occidental College in Los Angeles, where he advocated for an Asian American studies curriculum. His other academic appointments included University of California, Los Angeles; California State University, Long Beach; University of Pennsylvania; Hunter College; Princeton University; Columbia University; and the University of Hawaii at Manoa. When at the University of Hawaii at Manoa, Odo chaired and directed the Ethnic Studies Department.

Odo was a pivotal figure in the formation of the Smithsonian Asian Pacific American (APA) Program in 1997. Professor Odo served as the director of the program and under his leadership, the program

provided vision, education, and outreach for the Asian American community. Even though his expertise lies in Japanese American history, Odo utilized his position as director to expand the knowledge of Asian Americans to include Koreans, Chinese, Vietnamese, Indian, Filipinos, and other Asian American groups in the United States. Odo was instrumental in addressing many issues pertaining to the Asian Americans through different exhibits. In 2002, he supported the traveling exhibit "*Through My Father's Eyes: The Filipino American Photographs of Ricardo Ocreto Alvarado (1914–76)*". In 2003, he co-organized the traveling exhibit *Dreams and Reality* that showcased 100 years of Korean immigration to the United States by Korean contemporary artists. To commemorate the 30th anniversary of the Fall of Saigon, he curated the traveling exhibit *Exit Saigon, Enter Little Saigon: Vietnamese America since 1975*. These exhibits all added more knowledge and awareness to the experiences and voices of Asian and Asian Americans in the United States. In 2010, Odo stepped down as the director of the Asian Pacific American Program.

As an author, Odo wrote and coedited several books that pertained to Asian American history, and specifically, Japanese American history. In 1971, Odo along with Amy Tachiki, Eddie Wong, and Buck Wong co-edited an Asian American anthology *Roots: An Asian American Reader*. Odo's next book, published in 1985, *A Pictorial History of the Japanese in Hawaii 1885–1924* chronicles the experiences of the first Japanese immigrants to Hawaii. In 2003, Odo tells the story of a small group of Japanese American soldiers who were a part of the Varsity Victory Volunteers during World War II entitled *No Sword to Bury: Japanese Americans in Hawaii during World War II*.

Also in 2003, Odo was an editor of the *Columbia Documentary History of the Asian American Experience*, which attempted to bring together various texts surrounding Asian American history.

Jeffrey T. Yamashita

See also Japanese Americans

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Ohno, Apolo Anton (1982–)

During the 2010 Vancouver Olympics, Apolo Anton Ohno became the most decorated U.S. Winter Olympian with eight career Olympic medals: two gold, two silver, and four bronze medals in short track speed skating. As of 2012 he won 21 medals in World Championship competition including the overall gold medal at the 2008 games in Gangneung, South Korea.

Born May 22, 1982, in Federal Way, Washington, Ohno's Japanese father, Yuki Ohno, divorced his Caucasian mother, Jerrie Lee, when Apolo was an infant and raised his son in Seattle. A single parent working long hours as a hair stylist and salon owner, Yuki Ohno sought positive ways to occupy his son's time and quickly recognized his athletic ability, especially

in competitive inline skating and swimming. Watching the 1994 Winter Olympics, The young Ohno decided to enter speed skating. In 1996, he became the youngest skater admitted to Lake Placid Olympic Center at age 13. Initially, Ohno was somewhat rebellious and not fully dedicated to the regime of the training camp. He was given the nickname "Chunky" by his fellow trainees and this motivated him to become more focused and committed to the program. In 1997, at 14 years of age, Ohno became the youngest U.S. Senior Champion in the sport. After this triumph, Ohno struggled finishing nineteenth at the World Championship in Nagano, Japan. He did not train for several months, gained weight, and failed to qualify for the 1998 Olympic team. Yuki brought Apolo home to Washington to consider his future in the sport. Ohno decided to rededicate himself to intensive training and won the 1999 World Junior Championship, and 2000–2001 World Cup for short track.

During coverage of the 2002 Salt Lake City Winter Olympics, Ohno, with his long hair, soul patch,



Apolo Anton Ohno at a film premiere in Los Angeles, May 10, 2012. (S. Bukley/Dreamstime.com)

and bandana, became a fan favorite and a recognizable face on the NBC coverage. In the competition, Ohno was disqualified from the 500 meter race, took bronze in the 1,000 meter race after a collision with two other racers, and won gold in the 1,500 meter race after the referee disqualified South Korean Kim Dong-Sung for cross tracking (blocking or impeding another racer from passing). South Korea filed and lost an IOC protest to Ohno's win. They also threatened to pull out of the remainder of the games and boycott the 2004 Athens summer games. Ohno personally received death threats allegedly from supporters of Kim, but did not allow this to distract him or impede his progress as he went on to win the 2003 and 2005 World Cup. Finally, at the 2006 Olympic Games in Turin, Italy, Ohno won gold in the 500 meter race but finished last in the 1,500 meter race. He also won two bronze medals in the 1,000 meter and 5,000 meter relay competition after passing Nicola Rodigari of Italy in the final laps of the race.

His achievements during his career in short-track speed skating were the basis for Ohno's induction into the Asian Hall of Fame in 2007. Concurrent with this honor, Ohno expanded his public profile with his debut in reality television's *Dancing with the Stars* when he was paired with Julianne Hough and eventually won the competition. The demands of the show did not halt his training during the 2007–2008 winter season. He won multiple medals at the World Championships in Milan, Italy, and finished as overall champion at the 2008 Championship held in Gangneung, South Korea.

In 2011, Ohno accepted the challenge of *Subway* spokesman Jared Fogel to run the New York City Marathon and completed it in the time of 3:25:14. As of February 2012, Apolo is still deciding whether to complete in the 2014 Winter Olympics in Sochi, Russia.

Terumi Rafferty-Osaki

See also Japanese Americans

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Okada, John (1923–1971)

John Okada authored the novel, *No-No Boy*, one of the most commonly taught novels about the Japanese American internment and resettlement experience. Although it was published in 1957, the novel was largely forgotten until it was rediscovered in the early 1970s. John Okada's novel tells the story of a young Japanese American man, Ichiro Yamada, and his return to his hometown of Seattle after having served time in federal prison for resisting the draft. Labeled a "no-no boy," Ichiro is disdained by many in the Japanese American community, especially veterans, and he struggles to find a job. Ichiro's friendships with the veteran Kenji and a young woman named Emi play a key role in his character development. Much of the novel is told from Ichiro's point of view and Okada's main focus in the novel is Ichiro's inner struggle as

he continues to blame his mother and himself for resisting the draft, an act that Ichiro considers to be a sign of disloyalty.

John Okada was born in Seattle on September 23, 1923. He had two brothers and a sister and his father owned several hotels. John Okada and his family were sent to a War Relocation Authority Internment Camp in Minidoka, Idaho. Okada served in Army intelligence in the Pacific theater and earned the rank of sergeant. Following his service, he entered the University of Washington where he earned his bachelor's degrees in English and library science and then attended Columbia University where he earned a master's degree in English and met his wife, Dorothy. He moved to Seattle to work for the Seattle Public Library, he then moved to the Detroit Public Library, and later he switched to technical writing with Chrysler Missile Operations. Unhappy with their life in the community in Detroit, Okada and his wife moved to Los Angeles in 1956 where he continued to work as a technical writer. He died of a heart attack on February 20, 1971.

Okada's novel, *No-No Boy*, was published in 1957, but the original run of 1,500 copies did not sell out. The original publisher, Charles Tuttle, noted that the book did not find an audience in the Japanese American community. Jeffery Paul Chan "discovered" Okada's novel in San Francisco in 1970 when he and other Asian American artists scoured used bookstores looking for early Asian American authors. Chan along with Frank Chin, Lawson Inada, and Shawn Wong published an excerpt from *No-No Boy* in their anthology, *AIIEEEEE!* (1974) and dedicated the collection to John Okada and Louis Chu, author of *Eat a Bowl of Tea*. *No-No Boy* was reissued in 1976 with a preface that relates the novel's rediscovery and the conversations that the editors of *AIIEEEEE!* had with Okada's wife, Dorothy, who survived him. She told the editors of the anthology that she had attempted to donate John Okada's papers, including an unpublished manuscript, a novel on first-generation Japanese Americans, to the University of California at Los Angeles. But they rejected her offer, and she burned the manuscripts, notes, and correspondence. Since its republication, the novel on the complex issues of national loyalty has become a staple in the college classroom and has gone through several printings.

Although Okada's novel is largely told from the point of view of Ichiro Yamada, a no-no boy, Okada did serve in the U.S. Army during World War II. Scholars believe that Ichiro's character is modeled after Okada's friend, Hajime "Jim" Akutsu. The novel's title and the insult leveled at Ichiro in the novel, "no-no boy," refers to one's answers to Questions 27 and 28 on survey questions that every male Japanese Americans over the age of 17 were required to answer when they were interned. The questions asked respondents if they would agree to fight wherever ordered and if they would fore-swear allegiance to the Emperor of Japan. "No" answers would classify the respondent as disloyal; and many of the no-no-boys were moved to Tule Lake Internment Camp, the last of the camps to close after the war in March 1946. *No-No Boy's* main character Ichiro and other draft resisters, like those from Heart Mountain Internment Camp, took the extra step of refusing to be inducted into the army when drafted, which was a federal offense. Although Ichiro largely sees loyalty as a simple choice between Japan and America, the reasons for draft resistance or for "no" answers to Questions 27 and 28 were many and complex. Some draft resisters like members of the Heart Mountain Fair Play Committee refused induction to protest their imprisonment in internment camps.

Emily Morishima

See also Chan, Jeffery Paul; Chin, Frank; Inada, Lawson Fusao; Wong, Shawn

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Okihiro, Gary (1945–)

Gary Y. Okihiro is a scholar, author, and a critically acclaimed historian who is one of the founders of the fields of Asian American studies and comparative ethnic studies. His career spans over three decades at both public and private institutions as a teacher and administrator.

Born in Aiea, Honolulu, Hawaii, Okihiro graduated from Hawaii Mission Academy, followed by a BA in history from Pacific Union College. He continued on to earn a PhD in history in 1976 from the University of California, Los Angeles, where his dissertation research focused on the Kgalagadi region of South Africa. Okihiro's career in comparative ethnic studies was established at Humboldt State University, California in 1977, and then at the Department of History at Santa Clara University, California in 1980, where he served as an associate professor and director of the Ethnic Studies Program. In 1989 Okihiro joined the Department of History at Cornell University to help develop an Asian American Studies Program. He reprised his efforts in program development by establishing and serving as the founding director of the Center for the Study of Ethnicity and Race and the Asian American Studies Program at Columbia University, where he continues to teach, research, and write. Okihiro has also served as a professor, visiting lecturer, and senior scholar at

institutions such as Nihon University, Japan; University of Hawaii; Amherst University; Stanford University; University of California, Berkeley; Oberlin College; Vassar College; University of British Columbia; and Princeton University. His dedication to the field is exemplified in his roles as a former president of the Association of Asian American Studies. He is also an active member of the Organization of American Historians, and a delegate to American Council of Learned Societies.

Okihiro's research and writing focuses broadly on the United States, southern Africa, and world history. He is a prolific scholar as he has written and published 10 books on Asian American and Hawaii history, racial formation and racism in the United States, and approaches to understanding history and social formations. Six books have received national awards including *Cane Fires: The Anti-Japanese Movement in Hawaii, 1865–1945* (1991), *Margins and Mainstreams: Asians in American History and Culture* (1994) and *Common Ground: Reimagining American History* (2001). His latest two books are part of a trilogy on space/time. *Island World: A History of Hawaii and the United States* (2008) and *Pineapple Culture: A History of the Tropical and Temperate Zones* (2009). He has edited or coedited six other volumes and co-authored numerous essays, articles, book chapters, and reviews. Okihiro is a frequent keynote speaker and guest lecturer. He has received countless fellowships, grants, and book awards, including the Fulbright-Hayes Dissertation Fellowship, Social Science Research Council and the American Council of Learned Societies Research Fellowship, Lifetime Achievement Award from the American Studies Association, and an Honorary Doctorate from the University of Ryukyus, Okinawa.

Dawn Lee Tu

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Okubo, Minè

See Graphic Novelists

Omachi, George Hatsuo “Hats” (1923–1995)

George Hatsuo “Hats” Omachi was born in San Fernando, California. At the age of 19 his family moved to Fresno, and with the start of World War II they were relocated to Jerome, Arkansas. In the camps George played with the Jerome All-Stars, who competed against and defeated Arkansas A&M, the 442nd ballclub, the Hawaiian Asahi, and neighboring semipro teams. After a brief stay in the camp, he and his wife Alice moved to St. Louis, where he was fortunate to meet future Hall of Fame manager Billy Southworth (inducted in 2008). When the war ended George returned to Fresno where he became a regular in the lineup for Kenichi Zenimura’s Japanese ballclub. After nine years of close mentoring, Zenimura retired and passed the managerial reigns on to Omachi. Within five years Omachi led the Fresno Nisei to back-to-back state championships. In 1968 Omachi joined the New York Mets as their central California scout. He also provided scouting services for the San Francisco Giants, Pittsburgh Pirates, Milwaukee Brewers, and Houston Astros. By the early 1970s the number of Japanese Americans participating in baseball declined, so he formed the Omachi All-Stars, a multiethnic team comprised of the best players in the Fresno County area. In 1984, Omachi was cohost of the Japanese Olympic baseball team during a series of exhibition games in San Francisco before the Olympic Games in Los Angeles.

Much like his mentor Zenimura, Omachi possessed a unique ability to break down a player’s strength and weaknesses almost immediately. He also displayed the same analytical approach and passion for the game. Often referred to as “the Doctor,” Omachi would conduct assessments on potential major leaguers by stripping them down to their shorts and studying the individual’s movement, form, muscle groups, and biomechanics. He was willing to help any ballplayer for free, regardless of age. The only criteria required were a willingness to learn and passion for the game. Players from the major-league to the little-league levels benefited from Omachi’s wisdom. A few of those included Bobby Cox, Tom Seaver, Will Clark, Rex Hudler, and Geoff Jenkins. He worked

passionately and intensely on every level with his players. Rain or shine, Omachi was always available.

Omachi died on May 27, 1995, at the age of 72. Tragically, he was killed in a traffic accident when his car was broadsided. Omachi was on the road scouting for the Houston Astros when the accident occurred. Former major-leaguer Pete Dalena (Cleveland Indians), one of Omachi’s successful pupils from the time he was 16 years old, said “George was good for baseball, but more than that he was good for kids. He made a difference for me. He taught me the principles of batting. He was good for me as a baseball player and as a person. He was instrumental in development of so many people.”

Kerry Yo Nakagawa

See also Japanese American Baseball; Zenimura, Kenichi

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Omi, Michael

Michael Omi has been an influential scholar in the fields of Asian American studies and ethnic studies over the past several decades. His best-known contribution remains the concept of racial formation, a theory he initially advanced in the mid-1980s with sociologist Howard Winant.

Omi’s academic background resides in sociology, where he received an MA and a PhD in the field, both from UC Santa Cruz. For the past several decades, he has served on the faculty of the Ethnic Studies Department at UC Berkeley, where he teaches courses ranging from Asian American communities to comparative ethnic studies research. Along with Sucheng Chan, David Palumbo-Liu, and Linda Vo, Omi has edited the Temple University Press series “Asian American History and Culture.”

Omi came to the forefront of racial theory with the 1986 publication of *Racial Formation in the United States*, coauthored with Howard Winant. Racial formation theory emerged as a reaction to the prevailing tendency of racial theory to treat race as inherently *reducible* to other phenomena (in particular, ethnicity, nation, and class) that, in Omi and Winant's words, "neglect the specificity of race as an autonomous field of social conflict, political organization, and cultural/ideological meaning" (48). Their related notion of "racial projects" posits race as inherently fluid and unstable, constantly formed and reformed in the cauldron of political struggles that span the ideological spectrum from reactionary to radical.

In his many essays published after *Racial Formation*, Omi has applied this theory to a range of important racial issues. For example, in his 2001 essay "(E)racism," Omi interrogates the nature of contemporary anti-racist organizations. For Omi, the efficacy of such organizations turns on the very meanings they apply to race and racism, and he employs racial formation theory as means to situate antiracism in the context of post-civil rights understandings of race and racism. He notes that although white antiracist organizations have primarily focused on neutralizing the prejudice whites have toward other racial groups, organizations run principally by people of color conceive of racism as structural; these latter groups understand that mere "equality before the law" is insufficient in eradicating the myriad inequalities that separate racial groups in the United States today.

Much of Omi's work involves the specific location of Asian Americans within contemporary racial discourse. In the essay "Situating Asian Americans in the Political Discourse of Affirmative Action," Omi and coauthor Dana Y. Takagi demonstrate the inherently complex position Asian Americans inhabit within the contentious racial tapestry of the United States. Arguing that Asian Americans have convenient narrative to exploit, they demonstrate how the prevailing black/white binary suffocates attempts to grapple with the intricacies of racism. As the populations of those who are neither "black" nor "white" continue to grow, Omi and Takagi contend racial theory must keep pace in any attempt to properly assess the complexity of racism in the twenty-first century.

Phil Hutchison

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1.5 Generation Asian Americans

On March 27, 2012, KPCC Radio Crawford Family Forum sponsored a panel titled "Are you a 1.5 generation?" Despite the fact that the concept of 1.5 generation emerged in the 1970s, the saliency of this generational term as well as the confusion of what it means to be a 1.5 generation continues. The practice of labeling of children immigrants is in fact universal. The term is often credited to Ruben Rumbaut who states that he first used the idea of "one and a half generation" and later "1.5 generation" when he wrote about the Cuban and Southeast Asian experience, although others, including Korean American scholar Won Moo Hur, argue that the term was established in the Korean community in the 1980s. The 1.5 generation are children immigrants who are not quite first or second generation. According to the U.S. Census and traditional studies of immigration, the 1.5 generation does not exist—there are only first generation, second, and so on. Immigrants to the United States or those born in Asia are considered first generation whereas those who are U.S. born are second generation. Asian children immigrants, however, are those who straddle both cultures of Asia and the United States and have memories of being an immigrant in a new land. They can pass as second generation in many instances because they are conversationally bilingual, bicultural, and able to switch between the two cultures with relative ease.

The idea of an in-between generation is not unique to Asian Americans, but rather applicable to any

children immigrants who immigrated during their early years and to those who experienced growing up in the United States. The prominence of this generational group hit the airwaves when a Korean soap opera titled “Ilchom Ose” (the 1.5 Generation) first aired in 1995. The drama characterized the 1.5 generation as a group that feels alienated and faces intergenerational conflict with their parents and older Korean relatives. Although the term has been used primarily to refer to Korean Americans, the term has been gaining popularity among the larger Asian American communities and other ethnic immigrant groups. Although there is still debate on what makes one a 1.5 generation, from the age of immigration to language ability, the term has gained momentum in academic circles that differentiates young immigrants from adult immigrants. Social markers are significant in discussing the 1.5 generation as they often are faced with negotiating their Asian ethnic heritage and cultural expectations with the new American culture. One aspect of culture that is linked to be a key identification of the 1.5 generation is language. The range of what makes one bilingual stems from someone who is both fluent in their ethnic language and English, to one who is more fluent in one language. The level of bilingualness, however, varies depending on whether the person is raised in a community with a strong ethnic presence; whether their families continue to speak their ethnic language at home; if they have other friends who are 1.5 generation; or if the person themselves has a strong desire to speak their ethnic language with their elders and/or peers. Another factor that has been cited as a way to distinguish a 1.5 generation person is if one immigrated during their formative years. If we were to conclude that anyone who immigrated between the ages of 6 to 15 is 1.5 generation, we are ignoring the role of space and location as influence. For example, Asian American youth who are raised in neighborhoods with limited Asian ethnic interactions are less likely to have opportunities to speak their ethnic language. If parents encourage their children to speak only English to help them fit in with the rest of the neighborhood, the young immigrants are not likely to become bilingual. Similar dynamics exist with access and familiarity with Asian culture. However, it has become increasingly clear that

geographic community has significant influence in the construction of an Asian American 1.5 ethnic identity. As there are children who immigrate at age three who can’t speak any Korean, there are others who are more fluent in their ethnic language than English largely because of the community in which they were raised. For example, the exposure to other Asian Americans will vary for those who immigrate to Kansas versus those who immigrate to Hawaii; or Korean adoptees who are raised in Minnesota will have a different sense of being Korean as to those who are raised in Koreatown in New York. Regional and cultural exposures to other Asian Americans play a large role in how culture is interpreted and/or embraced by young immigrants who go through a process of learning what it means to be 1.5 generation. Thus, the concept of the 1.5 generation is complex and nuanced by class, location, and social structures that shape their socialization process.

A key indicator of “1.5ness” is language. Language culturally transmits shared understanding and emotions that are not easily expressed through translations. By maintaining an Asian ethnic language, parents are able to relay their feelings and ideas to their children in the manner in which it was passed down to them, allowing intergenerational transfer of cultural knowledge. By continuing to speak their ethnic language when learning English, 1.5 generation can become bilingual, which is a key characteristic of this group. The family’s role is also significant in creating a 1.5 generation. Through the family, the children immigrants continue to practice and learn about their ethnic traditions, holidays, and culture. The 1.5 generation may be perceived as lost or “in-between,” but those who fully identify as 1.5 can become cultural bridgemakers who are able to straddle two cultures.

Mary Yu Danico

See also Koreatown; Shin-Issei/Shin-Nisei Identity

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Ong, Han (1968–)

Han Ong is a Filipino-Chinese American award-winning playwright and novelist and one of the youngest recipients of the MacArthur Foundation's "Genius" Fellowship in 1997. Ong has written nearly three dozen plays, which include *The L.A. Plays* (1990), *The Chang Fragments* (1996), *Middle Finger* (1997), and *The Suitcase Trilogy* (1992–1997). They have been staged throughout the United States and internationally at venues such as the Joseph Papp Public Theater in New York City, the Mark Taper Forum in Los Angeles, and London's Almeida Theater. His two novels have also received positive receptions. *Fixer Chao* (2001) was named as *The Los Angeles Times* Best Book of the Year, and *The Disinherited* (2004) was nominated for a Lambda Book Award.

Ong has been the recipient of fellowships from the National Endowment for the Arts, the Guggenheim Foundation, and the Cullman Center for Scholars and Writers at the New York Public Library. He has also appeared as a guest lecturer at Columbia University and Long Island University and has held playwriting workshops at New York's 92nd Street Y and at the Asian American Arts Alliance.

Born in 1968, Ong was raised in Manila, the Philippines. From a very young age, he knew that he would one day become a writer, and began seriously writing prose in his teens. Growing up Filipino of Chinese descent, Ong experienced first-hand racism against the Chinese in the Philippines. Despite this fact, he was not particularly politically inclined, and in an interview with Jessica Hagedorn in 1993, he describes his teenage self as a middle-class, Catholicized dork. Ong cites his Catholic upbringing as the source of his hatred of redundancy and repetition.

When Ong was 16, his family immigrated to the United States, temporarily staying in Illinois for a month before settling in the Koreatown area of Los Angeles. Because of overcrowding in the schools, Ong was sent to the predominantly white Grant High School, but after only two years, he took the high school equivalency exam. After passing the exam, Ong worked odd jobs to support his passion for writing, and eventually worked at the Mark Taper Forum, where he met George C. Wolfe, who booked him at the Public Theater's New Voices Festival, where he performed his breakthrough "Symposium in Manila." The performance opened doors for Ong, who, almost overnight became one of the most sought-after Asian American playwrights. Touted as "the avant-garde leader of the next generation," Ong had written and staged 20 plays by the time he was 25.

Though Ong's plays are surreal and filled with expressionistic cadences and avant-garde imagery, they unflinchingly delve into complex and serious issues at the intersections of race, class, gender, and sexuality, often through a deconstructive lens. In an interview with Jan Breslauer in 1992, Ong insists, "I want to complexify the issue of race by giving my characters various facets of gender and occupation that we've never seen onstage before now."

His determination to "complexify" racial and class issues in his plays can also be observed in his novels. In 1993, Ong contributed a short story that was initially an excerpt from an unpublished novel, *The Stranded in the World*, to Hagedorn's anthology of Asian American literature, *Charlie Chan Is Dead*. Despite the fact that Ong always believed his true calling was writing novels, it was not until 2001 that he finally published *Fixer Chao*, which quickly became a *Los Angeles Times* bestseller.

Fixer Chao is a picaresque satire that offers a scathing yet humorous critique of the superficial and overprivileged upper class. The novel features William Paulinha, a gay Filipino street hustler who escapes from his dire circumstances by becoming Master Chao, a feng shui practitioner, to con New York City's wealthy elite of money. The plan, engineered by Shem C, a Jewish writer obsessed with revenge against the upper crust of society who shunned him, takes William

through an upper-class society that pays “Master Chao” exorbitant amounts of money to provide them with “expert” feng shui advice. Their failure to recognize that William isn’t Chinese demonstrates the way in which these patrons Orientalize, fetishize, and commodify the very Asian cultures they claim to appreciate. The novel exposes the hypocrisy and ignorance of the upper class, which eschews responsibility for their direct or indirect exploitation of developing nations and the underclass. It also demonstrates the subversive and comical ways in which William’s inauthentic performance of ethnicity allows him to push against the limits of race and class.

Considered Ong’s imagined homecoming to the Philippines, *The Disinherited*, published in 2004, tells the postcolonial story of Roger Caracera, a Filipino expatriate living in the United States who returns to the Philippines upon his father’s death. At the funeral, he is awarded an inheritance of half a million dollars, which Roger considers corrupt, as its legacy can be traced to the colonial sugar industry. In a bid to absolve his father’s legacy of guilt, Roger begins a journey to find a worthy charity for the money. However, his attempts to do so make him complicit in ongoing American imperialist strategies within the Philippines, which undermine self-determination. Ong’s critique of first world intervention within postcolonial states suggests that such interventions, which masquerade as benevolent acts, are always dangerous and must be aggressively interrogated.

Continuing in the vein of *The Disinherited*, Ong is currently working on a forthcoming novel with the working title, *Burden of Dreams*, which tells the tale of an American real-estate mogul who retires to the Philippines and decides to practice philanthropy by sponsoring college educations for local children. Like his second novel, the upcoming work questions the spirit of philanthropy and American involvement in developing nations. A long story with the same plot and title was published in *Zoetrope* in 2009. Ong recently was awarded the 2011–2012 Holtzbrink Berlin Prize from the American Academy in Berlin for the upcoming book.

Krystal Shyun Yang

See also Koreatown

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Onizuka, Ellison (1946–1986)

Ellison Shoji Onizuka was a Japanese American astronaut from Kealahou, Kona, Hawaii. He was the first astronaut in space of Asian descent and first from Hawaii. He was a member of the United States Air Force and worked as an aerospace flight test engineer before becoming an astronaut. Onizuka flew on two space missions, Space Transportation System (STS) 51-C and STS 51-L. He was killed in the space shuttle *Challenger* disaster in 1986, in which all seven members of the crew lost their lives.

Onizuka was born on June 24, 1946, to Masamitsu and Mitsue Onizuka. His grandparents had migrated to Hawaii as plantation workers in the 1890s, and Onizuka grew up in Keolu, Kona on a coffee plantation.



Ellison Onizuka, the first Asian American in space. (National Aeronautics and Space Administration)

His father worked in the coffee fields and drove a taxi and his mother managed a general store. His mother recounted in an interview with *Time* magazine that Onizuka had dreamed of being an astronaut but hesitated to tell anyone because there were no astronauts of color, much less Asian American astronauts, when he was growing up.

Onizuka attended the University of Colorado, Boulder as a member of the ROTC program. He received bachelor's and master's degrees in aerospace engineering in June and December of 1969, respectively, and began active duty in the U.S. Air Force in January 1970. Onizuka was an aerospace flight test engineer with the Sacramento Air Logistics Center on the McClellan Air Force Base in California and worked on flight testing and systems safety engineering. In 1974, he attended the U.S. Air Force Test Pilot School and in 1975 was assigned to the Air Force

Flight Test Center on the Edwards Air Force Base in California as an instructor and manager of flight test modifications for the school's and test center's aircraft fleet. In January 1978, Onizuka was accepted as an astronaut candidate and he completed his training and evaluation in August 1979. He worked at the Kennedy Space Center in Florida and the Shuttle Avionics and Integration Laboratory.

On January 24, 1985, Onizuka became the first Japanese American and Hawaiian-born astronaut in space when he boarded the *Discovery*. He was a mission specialist for Space Transportation System (STS) 51-C, the first Department of Defense space shuttle mission. He was responsible for primary payload activities, including the deployment of a modified Inertial Upper Stage. During this flight, Onizuka logged 74 hours in space as the *Discovery* made 48 orbits around Earth.

Onizuka was selected for the 10th flight of the *Challenger*, STS 51-L, which launched from Kennedy Space Center. Onizuka was assigned as mission specialist to use a handheld camera to film Halley's Comet at perihelion, its closest point to the sun. After several delays, the *Challenger* launched at 11:38 a.m. on January 28, 1986. Seventy-three seconds after liftoff, the shuttle experienced structural failure later determined to be caused by the rupture of an O-ring seal. All crew members were killed by the resulting explosion. Onizuka is survived by his wife, Lorna, and daughters Janelle and Darien. He was posthumously promoted to the rank of colonel, and awarded the Congressional Space Medal of Honor.

Katie Furuyama

See also Japanese Americans

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Otsuka, Julie (1962–)

Julie Otsuka wrote the bestselling novel, *When the Emperor Was Divine*, depicting the internment of a Japanese American family during World War II. Since the novel's publication in 2002, the book has gained a wide readership and has become a favorite among high school and college educators. *When the Emperor Was Divine* tells one family's story from the father's arrest following Pearl Harbor, through the mother and children's incarceration in a War Relocation Authority internment camp in Topaz, Utah, to the family's release and reunification with the father following his release from a federal prison camp. The novel has few historical details and instead focuses intently on the inner turmoil of each family member as they endure their separation and imprisonment during the war and as they attempt to rebuild their lives upon their release; each of the chapters in the novel focuses on a different family member, and each of whom remain nameless in the novel. Beautifully written with understated emotion, the novel is lauded for its psychological realism and the universality of its characterization.

For Otsuka, the unlawful incarceration of over 110,000 Japanese and Japanese Americans during World War II was a subject that haunted her artistic imagination as she began the novel during her stint in the MFA program at Columbia University. Her grandfather's arrest by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and her mother, uncle, and grandmother's imprisonment at Topaz provided the loose inspiration for the novel. Years before she began the novel in the 1980s, Otsuka read through her grandmother's collection of her grandfather's letters and postcards to his family, which had been censored. Although inspired by her family's experience, the novel is fictional and the result of many months of research reading through oral histories, newspapers, and other sources, as her family did not often discuss their wartime experiences especially as she was growing up.

Julie Otsuka was born on May 15, 1962, in Palo Alto, California and grew up in the state. Her father, a Japanese immigrant, worked as an aerospace engineer, and her mother, a second-generation Japanese American, worked as a lab technician. She has two younger brothers. Otsuka graduated from Yale University in 1984. She pursued a career as a painter before moving to New York City where she began writing. In 1999, she received her MFA from Columbia University and had several chapters of *When the Emperor Was Divine* completed by then. The book manuscript was finished in 2001 and published a year later.

Emily Morishima

See also Japanese Americans

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Ozawa, Seiji (1935–)

Seiji Ozawa is a Japanese conductor with a long career in the United States, Japan, and Europe. He is the first Asian to achieve international fame in the world of Western classical music.

Ozawa was born on September 1, 1935, to Japanese parents in Mukden, Manchukuo (now Shenyang, China). After the family returned to Japan in 1941,

Ozawa began studying music at Toho Gakuen School of Music under Hideo Saito, a cellist and conductor who played a critical role in the development of Western music education in Japan. Although he initially started with the piano, he was unable to continue playing the piano after injuring his finger in a rugby game; listening to the performance of Beethoven's Piano Concerto No. 1 with Leonid Kreutzer as soloist and conductor in 1951 made Ozawa shift his focus from piano to conducting.

In 1959 Ozawa left Japan on a freighter ship to study music in Europe. He earned the support of Fuji Heavy Industries, which agreed to provide financial support for Ozawa under the condition that he would ride the company's new scooter throughout his journey and that he would publicize his identity as a musician and as a Japanese national. He thus traveled on the scooter carrying a guitar and a Japanese flag on his back. With Ozawa's subsequent success in Europe and the United States, the Japanese public came to see his quixotic European journey (which he recollects in his memoir published in Japan in 1980) as a symbol of Japan's reentry into the world stage after the nation's defeat in World War II.

Ozawa's international career began with winning the first prize at the International Competition of Orchestra Conductors in Besançon, France, in 1959. The following year he won the Koussevitsky Prize for outstanding student conductor at the Berkshire Music Center (now the Tanglewood Music Center). These achievements earned the attention of the world's premier conductors Charles Münch, Herbert von Karajan, and Leonard Bernstein. Ozawa subsequently came to work closely under the tutelage of these masters. He served as an assistant conductor for the New York Philharmonic from 1961 to 1965 and accompanied the orchestra's Japan tour in 1961. He made his *début* with the San Francisco Symphony Orchestra in 1962 and became artistic director of the Ravinia Festival, the summer home of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra, from 1965 to 1969. With the Chicago Symphony Orchestra he produced many recordings with the RCA label. He was also the music director of the Toronto Symphony Orchestra from 1965 to 1969 and began performing with the Boston Symphony Orchestra and the Philadelphia Orchestra. Ozawa was the first

Japanese musician to hold such posts with prestigious orchestras in North America and to record with a major label.

Like many others who achieved international fame, Ozawa received mixed reaction in his home country even as he was hailed as the symbol of Japan's national success. This was manifested most blatantly in what came to be known in Japan as the "NHK Symphony Incident." Ozawa began performing with Japan's most established orchestra, the NHK Symphony, in 1961, but conflicts with the orchestra members led to the musicians boycotting the concert in December 1962, resulting in Ozawa standing alone on stage. Some attribute this conflict to differences in musical conceptions between U.S.-influenced Ozawa and the orchestra that had been performing with a distinctively European style; others claim that the tension came from the orchestra members' jealousy and resistance toward a young, brash conductor who had achieved international success; yet others argue that the orchestra was protesting Ozawa's irresponsible and immature behavior especially during the Southeast Asia tour in the fall of 1962. After this highly controversial incident, Ozawa did not perform with the NHK Symphony for 32 years until the 1995 concert at Suntory Hall. In the meantime, many influential figures in Japan's music world expressed support for Ozawa, who shifted the base of his Japanese performances to the New Japan Philharmonic Orchestra. In 1984, he assembled the former students of Hideo Saito from all over the world and performed concerts in Tokyo and Osaka. This led to the 1992 founding of the Saito Kinen Orchestra for which Ozawa serves as the music director.

Ozawa is most known for his contribution as the music director of the Boston Symphony Orchestra. He was appointed to the post in 1973 and remained there for 29 years, the longest tenure of any music director. During his tenure in Boston, he improved the orchestra's technical precision and developed a dark, weighty sound for the Romantic German repertoire. Ozawa's repertoire favors large-scale works by Berlioz, Brahms, and Mahler and his 1990s recordings of the Mahler symphonies by Philips has been particularly acclaimed. He also has championed modern composers and has extensively performed works by

Schoenberg, Stravinsky, Ligeti, Messiaen, and has premiered new works by Peter Maxwell Davies, Lucas Foss, and others. His close relationship with Japanese composer Toru Takemitsu has led to numerous collaborations and recordings. He conducts most of the repertoire, including the most difficult scores, from memory. In addition to his musicality, he is well known for breaking the conventions of formal attire and wearing turtlenecks that became his signature performance attire.

More recently, Ozawa has turned more toward conducting opera. In 2002, Ozawa became the principal conductor of the Vienna State Opera; in 2005 he became the music director for the Tokyo Opera no Mori, an annual opera festival held in Tokyo. Since 2006, he has had to cancel many performances because of illness; in 2010 he announced that he was canceling all engagements because of his treatments for esophageal cancer. Although he served as the artistic director for JapanNYC, a music festival mounted at Carnegie Hall where he conducted Britten's "War Requiem," illness caused Ozawa to considerably diminish his involvement in the festival. Despite his illness, he continues his involvement especially with the activities of the Saito Kinen Orchestra. A book of his interviews with author Haruki Murakami was published in Japan in 2011.

Mari Yoshihara

See also Japanese Americans

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Ozawa v. United States (1922)

Takao Ozawa had come to the United States when he was a minor, migrating first to Hawaii and eventually settling in California. He attended Berkeley High

School and matriculated at the University of California at Berkeley, until the Great Earthquake in San Francisco in 1906 disrupted his studies. By the time he applied to become a naturalized citizen, he had lived in the United States for over 20 years and, according to the historian, Yuji Ichioka, "[Ozawa] was a paragon of an assimilated Japanese immigrant, a living refutation of the allegation of Japanese unassimilability." He had married a Japanese immigrant woman as assimilated as himself, they spoke English to one another, raised their American-born children speaking English, attended a Christian church, and perhaps deliberately distanced themselves socially from Japanese immigrants. When he applied for naturalization, for example, he did not ask for the support of the Japanese government, Japanese immigrant organizations, or the Japanese American Citizens League. He preferred to speak for himself: "In name, I am not an American citizen, but at heart I am a true American." In other words, he was asking the federal government to affirm by law that which he already felt inside.

Ozawa had some powerful allies. By 1920, the Empire of Japan was a formidable military presence in East Asia. Japan had taken possession of northern China and Mongolia, the Korean peninsula, and the southern portion of Sakhalin Island. All were acquired through war, against the Chinese, the Russians, the Mongolians, and the Koreans. In 1919, at the Treaty of Versailles, though the Japanese acquired the Shandong peninsula from Germany, the Empire was livid that the Europeans had not fully acknowledged Japanese supremacy in Asia, and leading Japanese politicians accused the Western powers of being hopelessly racist. It did not help that by 1920 the Americans had excluded virtually all Japanese migration to the United States, and the federal courts had consistently rejected the petitions of Japanese immigrants for naturalization, even from men who had served in the American military. The Imperial Japanese government took a deep interest in American immigration and naturalization policies, and they saw there a great many insults to their national honor.

In 1921, American diplomats in the State Department encouraged their government to ease at least some restrictions against the Japanese, arguing that it was unwise to antagonize such a powerful nation.

They reminded their colleagues that in 1906, when President Roosevelt saw a rising Japan for himself, he had recommended exactly the same policy. Yet the federal government and the states had been moving in the opposite direction. Indeed, by 1919, legislators pressed to limit the migration of Japanese women, especially “picture brides,” who were lawfully admitted since 1908 under the Gentlemen’s Agreement of 1907. The Gentlemen’s Agreement had barred the migration of Japanese laborers into the United States, and by 1921, Japanese immigrants already in the United States were completely barred from bringing their spouses.

In California, leading politicians saw the Japanese as an even greater threat to Western civilization than the Chinese. Because Japanese immigrants had been permitted to bring their wives into the United States for over 10 years, they had formed families in California, the couples had children, and they participated in sectors of the economy that were booming. Over a third of Japanese immigrant families went into farming, first as tenants, then as property owners. California passed a series of Alien Land Laws to stop this trend, starting in the legislature in 1913, and by state referendum in 1920. In the first version, “aliens ineligible for citizenship” were not allowed to own or to lease agricultural land; in the second, Japanese immigrants were forbidden from creating agricultural trusts using the identities of their American-born children, or from creating dummy corporations or using the identities of whites to circumvent the rule. Moreover, the new rule provided for escheat actions, where the state could take possession of land held in violation of state rules. Between 1910 and 1920, Japanese immigrant and Japanese American landholdings had actually increased, tripling in counties like Los Angeles; by 1920, however, the harsh new rules threatened to push Japanese Americans completely out of farming. Millions of dollars of property were now at stake.

For these obvious reasons, the Japanese American Citizens League, the Japanese Consulate, and more progressive American diplomats all took a keen interest in Takao Ozawa’s case, though the petitioner himself had been ambivalent about foreign relations and was not a farmer. At the time of his case, he was living in Honolulu and working for an American company.

He was, in his own words, a model minority: “I neither drink liquor of any kind, nor smoke, nor play cards, nor gamble, nor associate with any improper person. My honesty and my industriousness are well known among my Japanese and American acquaintances and friends; and I am always trying my best to conduct myself according to the Golden Rule. So I have all [the] confidence in myself that as far as my character is concerned, I am second to none.” In some accounts of his case, historians say that the federal judge denied Ozawa’s petition not because he thought the petitioner unworthy, but because, through Ozawa, the higher federal courts might strike down the rules preventing honest men like Ozawa from American citizenship.

As a United States Supreme Court Justice, George Sutherland had an uncommon background, if only because he was the first Justice not born in the United States since the Revolution. Although Sutherland had been born in England, he and his parents were Mormons. They moved to Utah, where he attended Brigham Young Academy; later he enrolled at the University of Michigan Law School. Sutherland served first in the House of Representatives and then in the Senate, both times as the gentleman from Utah. He was appointed to the court on September 22, 1922. On October 3, Ozawa’s case appeared before him in oral argument, and in November, Sutherland wrote the unanimous opinion, one of the first he penned for the highest court. To Ozawa’s petition, the answer was no and no.

Sutherland said that “in all of the naturalization acts from 1790 to 1906 the privilege of naturalization was confined to white persons (with the addition in 1870 of those of African nativity and descent), although the exact wording of the various statutes was not always the same. If Congress in 1906 desired to alter a rule so well and so long established it may be assumed that its purpose would have been definitely disclosed and its legislation to that end put in unmistakable terms.” Congress had not done so. The primary question, then, was whether Ozawa was “white” or a person of African nativity—the second possibility had been soundly rejected by Ozawa and his own attorneys, one of whom insisted in both oral and written arguments that Ozawa was physically “whiter” than many Southern and Eastern Europeans who had

become naturalized citizens. Japanese people were the “Yankees of the Orient,” they said.

So, was Ozawa “white”? No: “We have been furnished with elaborate briefs in which the meaning of the words ‘white person’ is discussed with ability and at length, both from the standpoint of judicial decision and from that of the science of ethnology. It does not seem to us necessary, however, to follow counsel in their extensive researches in these fields. It is sufficient to note the fact that these decisions are, in substance, to the effect that the words import a racial and not an individual test, and with this conclusion, fortified as it is by reason and authority, we entirely agree. Manifestly the test afforded by the mere color of the skin of each individual is impracticable, as that differs greatly among persons of the same race, even among Anglo-Saxons, ranging by imperceptible gradations from the fair blond to the swarthy brunette, the latter being darker than many of the lighter hued persons of the brown or yellow races. Hence to adopt the color test alone would result in a confused overlapping of races and a gradual merging of one into the other, without any practical line of separation.” So what test was most appropriate? “Beginning with the decision of Circuit Judge Sawyer, *In re Ah Yup*, . . . the federal and state courts, in an almost unbroken line, have held that the words ‘white person’ were meant to indicate only a person of what is popularly known as the Caucasian race.”

Sutherland conceded that although “Caucasian” could itself be open to debate, it was not so here: “The appellant, in the case now under consideration, however, is clearly of a race which is not Caucasian and therefore belongs entirely outside the zone on the negative side.” If Congress wanted to amend the rule to include people like Ozawa, Congress should do so

and the Court would comply. Neither meant any offense with the present state of the law, especially not to any angry Imperial government: “Of course there is not implied—either in the legislation or in our interpretation of it—any suggestion of individual unworthiness or racial inferiority. These considerations are in no manner involved.”

Ozawa lost and he returned to Hawaii. Very little has been published about his life after his famous case—he himself seems to have withdrawn from public life. A set of challenges to the Alien Land Laws culminated in a series of opinions from the United States Supreme Court in 1923, all of them upholding the Alien Land Laws in California, as well as in other states that had modeled their discriminatory rules after ones from the Golden State. Over the next two decades, prior to their mass internment during World War II, Japanese immigrants were lawfully forced out of the agriculture economy—indeed, by 1945, the vast majority were no longer farmers. The Ozawa case affirmed the idea that Asians were unassimilable and perpetually foreign, and that it was the Americans who were the reluctant party. Paul Spickard reports these words from an editorial published by the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce in 1921: “It is not a question of whether the Jap is assimilable or not, we do not want to assimilate him.”

John S. W. Park

See also Alien Land Laws; “Aliens Ineligible for Citizenship”

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Asian Americans

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Asian Americans

AN ENCYCLOPEDIA OF SOCIAL, CULTURAL,
ECONOMIC, AND POLITICAL HISTORY

Volume 3: P–Z

XIAOJIAN ZHAO AND
EDWARD J. W. PARK,
Editors



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Contents

List of Entries, vii

Preface, xix

Acknowledgments, xxi

*Introduction: Asian Americans in the Twenty-First
Century*, xxiii

Chronology, xxxi

THE ENCYCLOPEDIA, I

Primary Documents, 1255

Selected Bibliography, 1343

Editors and Contributors, 1351

Index, 1361

This page intentionally left blank

List of Entries

- Adopted Asian Americans
- Agbayani, Benny
- Aguila, Chris
- Ah Quin Diary
- Ah Yup, In Re* (1878)
- Ahn, Philip
- Ahn Chang Ho
- Aikido in America
- Akaka, Daniel K.
- Alexander, Meena
- Ali, Agha Shahid
- Ali, Saqib
- Alien Land Laws
- “Aliens Ineligible for Citizenship”
- Allen, Horace Newton
- American Coalition for Filipino Veterans (ACFV) Incorporated
- American Missionaries in Postwar Japan
- American-Style Concentration Camps
- Angel Island Immigration Station
- Anti-Asian Miscegenation Laws
- Anti-Asian Violence, History of
- Anti-Chinese Riot and Expulsion in Seattle (1886). *See* Seattle Anti-Chinese Riot and Expulsion of 1886
- Anti-Chinese Riot in Tacoma. *See* Tacoma Anti-Chinese Riot of 1885
- Anti-Hate Crime Laws
- Anti-Japanese Movement in Hawaii
- Anti-Trafficking Movement
- Aoki, Richard
- Ariyoshi, George R.
- Artists in New York (1900–1940)
- Asian American Adoptees. *See* Adopted Asian Americans
- Asian American Artists in New York (1900–1940). *See* Artists in New York (1900–1940)
- Asian American Athletes and Christianity. *See* Athletes and Christianity
- Asian American Campaign Finance Scandal of 1996
- Asian American Campaign Strategy. *See* Campaign Strategy
- Asian American College Students. *See* College Students
- Asian American Comparative Collection (AACC)
- Asian American Identity. *See* Authenticity in Asian American Identity
- Asian American Labor in Alaska
- Asian American Labor Movement. *See* Labor Movement
- Asian American Legal Defense and Education Fund (AALDEF)
- Asian American LGBT Activism. *See* LGBT Activism
- Asian American Movement (AAM)

- Asian American Muslims
- Asian American 1.5 Generation. *See* 1.5 Generation Asian Americans
- Asian American Political Alliance (AAPA)
- Asian American Sites and Museum Exhibits (Pacific Northwest and Great Basin)
- Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders (AAPIs) in Higher Education
- Asian Americans for Action (AAA)
- Asian Americans in Hollywood. *See* Hollywood, Asian Americans in
- Asian Ethnic Banks
- Asian Immigrant Women Advocates (AIWA)
- Asian Law Caucus
- Asian Music in America
- Asian Pacific Heritage Month
- Asian Religions and Religious Practices in America
- Athletes and Christianity
- Authenticity in Asian American Identity
- Bacho, Peter
- Baek, Cha Seung
- Balcena, Bobby
- Bangladeshi Americans
- “Barred Zone.” *See* Immigration Act of 1917 and the “Barred Zone”
- Barroga, Jeannie
- Bartlett, Jason
- Bellingham “Anti-Hindu Riot” (1907)
- Bemis, Polly (Lalu Nathoy): Perspective 1
- Bemis, Polly (Lalu Nathoy): Perspective 2
- Bhutanese Americans
- Boat People
- Boggs, Grace Lee
- Buddhism in Asian America
- Buddhist Churches of America (BCA)
- Bulosan, Carlos
- Bunker, Christopher Wren and Bunker, Stephen Decatur
- Bunker, Stephen Decatur. *See* Bunker, Christopher Wren and Bunker, Stephen Decatur
- Burlingame Treaty of 1868
- Cambodian Americans
- Cambodian Community in Lowell, Massachusetts
- Cameron House
- Campaign Strategy
- Cao, Lan
- Cao Zishi
- Cayetano, Benjamin
- Cha, Theresa Hak Kyung
- Cham in America
- Chan, Jeffery Paul
- Chan, Kenyon
- Chan, Sucheng
- Chandrasekhar, Subrahmanyam
- Chang, Diana
- Chang, Iris
- Chang, Michael
- Chang, Sarah
- Chang and Eng (The Siamese Twins)
- Chang-Díaz, Franklin Ramón
- Chao, Elaine L.
- Charr, Easurk Emsen
- Chaudhary, Satveer
- Chawla, Kalpana
- Chay Yew
- Chen, Chin-Feng
- Chen, Joan
- Cheng, Lucie
- Chern, Shiing-Shen

- Cheung, King-Kok
- Chiang, Yee. *See* Yee Chiang
- Chin, Frank
- Chin, Vincent
- China Daily News, The (CDN)*
- China Lobby
- Chinatown, New York
- Chinatown, 1982 ILGWU Strike. *See* 1982 ILGWU Strike in New York's Chinatown
- Chinatown Gangs in the United States
- Chinese American Baseball
- Chinese American Childhood
- Chinese American Community Organizations
- Chinese American Funerary Rituals
- Chinese American Youth in Multiethnic Chicago
- Chinese Americans
- Chinese Americans and World War II
- Chinese Christians in America
- Chinese Confession Program
- Chinese Cuisine in the United States
- Chinese Exclusion Acts (1882–1943)
- Chinese Exclusion, Repeal of (1943)
- Chinese Fisheries in California
- Chinese Garment Workers in San Francisco
- Chinese Hand Laundry Alliance of New York (CHLA)
- Chinese Herbal Medicine
- Chinese Immigrant Cemeteries
- Chinese Immigrant Workers in Multiethnic Chicago
- Chinese in the U.S. Civil War
- Chinese Language Schools in the United States
- Chinese Lion Dance in the United States
- Chinese Mining in America
- Chinese New Year Parade
- Chinese Railroad Workers
- Chinese Restaurants in the United States
- Chinese Students in the United States since 1960
- Chinese War Brides
- Chinese War Brides Act. *See* War Brides Act (1945)
- Chinese World (Sai Gai Yat Po)*
- Chinese-Vietnamese Americans
- Ching, Fong
- Cho, Margaret
- Choi, Susan
- Chouinard, Bobby
- Chow, Amy
- Chu, Judy
- Chu, Steven
- Chung, Connie
- Chung, Eugene Yon
- Churches and Ethnic Identity
- Clay, Bryan
- Cohota, Edward Day
- College Students
- Comfort Women
- Committee of 100 (C-100)
- Concentration Camps. *See* American-Style Concentration Camps
- Conger, Hank
- Contemporary Filipino American Communities. *See* Filipino American Communities (Contemporary)
- Contemporary Japanese American Communities. *See* Japanese American Communities (Contemporary)
- Dalai Lama. *See* Tenzin Gyatso (14th Dalai Lama)
- Dandekar, Swati
- Dardelle, Antonio
- Dawson, Toby
- Dear Wing Jung v. United States of America* (1962)
- DeSoto, Hisaye Yamamoto

- Dinh, Linh
- Dīpāvali
- Divakaruni, Chitra Banerjee
- Draft Resistance in Internment Camps
- Draves, Victoria “Vicki” Taylor Manalo
- Du, Miranda
- Duong, Wendy N.
- Eaton, Edith Maude. *See* Sui Sin Far
- 80/20
- Espineli, Geno
- Ethnic Communities in Hawaii
- Ethnoburb
- Eu, March Fong
- Evangelicals and Korean American Community Formation
- Evangelicals on the College Campus
- Evora, Amanda
- Ex Parte Mitsuye Endo* (1944)
- Filipina War Brides
- Filipino Agricultural Workers
- Filipino American Baseball
- Filipino American Communities (Contemporary)
- Filipino American Communities (Historical)
- Filipino American Community Organizations
- Filipino American Domestic Workers
- Filipino American National Historical Society (FANHS)
- Filipino American Newspapers
- Filipino American Youth Cultures
- Filipino Americans
- Filipino Americans in World War II
- Filipino Cuisine in the United States
- Filipino Cultural Night. *See* Pilipino Cultural Night (PCN)
- Filipino Farm Labor Union (FFLU)
- Filipino Federation of America (FFA)
- Filipino Language Movement (FiLM)
- Filipino *Pensionados*
- Filipino Piecemeal Sugar Strike (1924–1925)
- Filipino Repatriation Act (1935)
- Filipino Transnationalism
- Filipino Women and Global Migration, History of
- Filipino World War II Veterans
- Filipinos in Hawaii
- Fong, Hiram
- Fong Yue Ting v. United States* (1893)
- Fujita, Scott
- Fung, Edward
- Future Prospects of Asian Americans
- Gabriel, Roman
- Geary Act (1892)
- Gee, Margaret (Maggie)
- Gender, Race, and Class in Political Participation
- Ghadar*
- Ghadar Party
- Glass Ceiling Debate
- Golf, Asian and Asian American
- Gong, Lue Gim
- Gonzalez, N.V.M.
- Gotanda, Philip Kan
- Goyal, Jay
- Goyle, Raj
- Graphic Novelists
- Graves, Danny
- Guam, U.S. Presence in
- Guthrie, Jeremy
- H-1B Visa
- Ha Jin

- Hagedorn, Jessica
- Haley, Nikki Randhawa
- Harada, Tsuneo “Cappy”
- Harada House
- Hawaii, Ethnic Communities in. *See* Ethnic Communities in Hawaii
- Hawaii, Filipinos in. *See* Filipinos in Hawaii
- Hawaii, Japanese Americans in. *See* Japanese Americans in Hawaii
- Hawaii, Multiracial/Multiethnic Experience in. *See* Multiracial/Multiethnic Experience in Hawaii
- Hawaii, Plantation Workers in. *See* Plantation Workers in Hawaii
- Hawaiian Cuisine
- Hawaiian Religion. *See* Native Hawaiian Religion
- Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders. *See* Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders
- Hayakawa, Samuel Ichiyé
- Hayakawa, Sessue (Kintaro)
- Hayslip, Le Ly
- Hells Canyon Massacre (1887)
- Hindus in the United States
- Hirabayashi v. United States* (1943)
- Hirahara, Naomi
- Hirayama, Satoshi “Fibber”
- Hirono, Mazie K.
- Hmong American Women
- Hmong of Minnesota and California
- Ho, David
- Ho, Fred (Fred Wei-han Houn)
- Hollywood, Asian Americans in
- Honda, Mike
- Houston, Velina Hasu
- Hsüan Hua
- Hu, Chin-Lung
- Huang, Guangcai (Wong Kong Chai or Chae)
- Hula
- Hwang, David Henry
- I Wor Kuen (IWK)
- Ichioka, Yuji
- Iijima, Kazu Ikeda
- Iko, Momoko
- Immigration Act of 1917 and the “Barred Zone”
- Immigration Act of 1924
- Immigration Act of 1990
- Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952. *See* McCarran-Walter Act of 1952
- Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986
- Inada, Lawson Fusao
- Independent Chinese Language Newspapers during the Cold War
- Indian American Community Organizations
- Indian Americans
- Indian Cuisine in the United States
- Indian Denaturalization Cases
- Indian Ethnic Economy
- Indian Exclusion
- Indian Women in America
- Indians in American TV and Film
- Indigenous Groups and the Asian American Experience
- Indochina Migration and Refugee Assistance Act of 1975
- Indonesian Americans
- Inouye, Daniel K.
- Itliong, Larry
- Jaisohn, Philip
- Jang, Jon
- Japan Bashing

- Japanese American Baseball
- Japanese American Christianity
- Japanese American Citizens League (JAACL)
- Japanese American Communities (Contemporary)
- Japanese American Community Organizations (Historical)
- Japanese American Draft Resistance. *See* Draft Resistance in Internment Camps
- Japanese American Transnational Families
- Japanese American Women in the 1930s
- Japanese Americans
- Japanese Americans in Hawaii
- Japanese Americans in Japan
- Japanese Exclusion
- Japanese Farm Workers in America
- Japanese Immigrant Press
- Japanese Immigrant Women
- Japanese Language in Asian American Studies
- Japanese Transnational Identity
- Japanese War Brides
- Jen, Gish
- Jindal, Piyush “Bobby”
- Judo in America
- Kahanamoku, Duke
- Kao, Charles K.
- Katipunan ng mga Demokratikong Pilipinos (KDP)
- Kawamoto, Evelyn Tokue
- Keller, Nora Okja
- Khorana, Har Gobind
- Kibe
- Kim, Derek Kirk. *See* Graphic Novelists
- Kim, Elaine H.
- Kim, Jay
- Kim, Richard Eun Kook
- Kim, Ronyoung
- Kim, Young Oak
- Kingston, Maxine Hong
- Kochiyama, Yuri
- Kogawa, Joy
- Konno, Ford Hiroshi
- Kono, Tommy
- Kooskia Internment Camp
- Korea, U.S. Punitive Action in (1871)
- The Korea Times*
- Koreagate
- Korean American Churches
- Korean American Community Foundation (KACF)
- Korean American Ethnic Economy
- Korean American Farmers in the United States
- Korean American LGBT Movements in Los Angeles and New York
- Korean Americans
- Korean Americans and Transnationalism
- Korean Americans in Hawaii
- Korean Americans in the Cold War
- Korean and Korean American Golf
- Korean Aviation School in America (1920–1921)
- Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA) and the Korean American Community
- Korean Cuisine in the United States
- Korean Immigrant Women in America
- Korean Independence Movement in the United States
- Korean National Association (KNA)
- Korean-Black Relations
- Koreatown
- Koreatown Immigrant Workers Alliance (KIWA)
- Korematsu, Hirabayashi, and Yasui Coram Nobis* Cases
- Korematsu v. United States* (1945)
- Kuo, Hong-Chih

- Kwan, Michelle
 Labor Movement
 Lahiri, Jhumpa
 Lai, Him Mark
 Lam, Tony
 Lang, Ping
 Lang Lang
 Lao American Ethnic Economy
 Lao Americans
Lau v. Nichols (1974)
 Law-Yone, Wendy
 Lee, Ang
 Lee, Bruce
 Lee, C. Y.
 Lee, Chang-rae
 Lee, Dai-ming
 Lee, Don
 Lee, Hazel (Ah Ying)
 Lee, Kyung Won (K. W.)
 Lee, Min Jin
 Lee, Robert G.
 Lee, Rose Hum
 Lee, Sammy
 Lee, Tsung Dao
 Lee, Wen Ho
 Lee, Yan Phou
 Lee, Yuan Tseh
 Leong, Russell
 LGBT Activism
 Li, Choh Hao
 Li, Yi
 Lim, Genny
 Lim, Shirley Geok-lin
 Lin, Jeremy
 Lin, Maya
 Lin, Tung-Yen (T. Y.)
 Lin, Yutang
 Lincecum, Tim
 Little India and South Asian Communities
 Little Saigon and Vietnamese American Communities
 Liu, Henry
 Lo, Lormong
 Locke, Gary
 Los Angeles Riots (1992)
 Louganis, Greg
 Lowe, Pardee
 Lu, Ed
 Luce-Celler Act of 1946
 Ma, Yo-Yo
 Maharishi Mahesh Yogi
 Malaysian Americans
 Manlapit, Pablo
 Manzanar Children's Village (1942–1945)
 Manzanar Riot (1942)
 Marshall, Charles K. *See* Cao Zishi
 Matsui, Doris O.
 Matsui, Robert T.
 Matsunaga, Masayuki "Spark"
 McCarran-Walter Act of 1952
 McCunn, Ruthanne Lum
 Mehta, Zubin
 Meng, Grace
 Minami, Dale
 Mineta, Norman
 Mink, Patsy Takemoto
 Misaka, Wataru
 Moon Festival
 Mori, Toshio

- Moua, Mee
- Mukherjee, Bharati
- Multiracial Asian Americans
- Multiracial/Multiethnic Experience in Hawaii
- Mura, David
- Murayama, Milton
- Nagano, Kent
- Nagasu, Mirai Aileen
- Nakanishi, Don T.
- Nambu, Yoichiro
- Nathoy, Lalu. *See* Bemis, Polly (Lalu Nathoy)
- National Civil Rights Movement Against Anti-Asian Violence. *See* Chin, Vincent
- National Maritime Union (NMU) and Chinese Seamen
- Native Hawaiian Religion
- Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders
- Ng, Poon Chew
- Ngor, Haing S.
- Nguyen, Dat
- Nguyen, Dustin
- Nguyen, Jacqueline H.
- Nguyen, Madison (Phuong)
- Nhat Hanh, Thich
- Ni, Fu-Te
- Nichibei Shimbun* (Japanese American News)
- 1982 ILGWU Strike in New York’s Chinatown
- Noguchi, Isamu
- Odo, Franklin
- Ohno, Apolo Anton
- Okada, John
- Okihiro, Gary
- Okubo, Minè. *See* Graphic Novelists
- Omachi, George Hatsuo “Hats”
- Omi, Michael
- 1.5 Generation Asian Americans
- Ong, Han
- Onizuka, Ellison
- Otsuka, Julie
- Ozawa, Seiji
- Ozawa v. United States* (1922)
- Page Law (1875)
- Paik, Nam June
- Pak, Gary
- Pakistani Americans
- Pan-Asian American Coalitions
- Parachute Kids
- Park, Richard
- Park, Tongsun
- Park Yong-man
- Parque, Jim Vo
- Pei, I. M.
- People v. Hall* (1854)
- Phan, Aimee
- Pierce, Joseph
- Pilipino Cultural Night (PCN)
- Plantation Workers in Hawaii
- Polamalu, Troy
- Political Participation. *See* Gender, Race, and Class in Political Participation; Political Representation
- Political Representation
- Poon, Lim
- Prostitution in Late Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century Asian Immigrant Communities
- Radical Organizations
- Ramakrishnan, Venkatraman
- Redress Movement. *See* Excerpt from the Civil Liberties Act (1988)

- Refugee Act of 1980
- Refugee Camps and Southeast Asian Migration
- Religion and Its Social Function in the Japanese American Community
- Rhee, Syngman
- Robles, Al
- Romulo, Carlos P.
- Saiki, Patricia F.
- Sakata, Harold
- Sam, Sam-Ang
- Santos, Bienvenido N.
- Sasaki, Sokei-an
- Saund, Dalip Singh
- Saxton, Alexander P.
- Science and Technology
- Scott, Robert
- Scott Act (1888)
- Seattle Anti-Chinese Riot and Expulsion of 1886
- Seau, Junior
- Self-Employment
- Sexuality
- Shimomura, Osamu
- Shin, Paull
- Shin-Issei/Shin-Nisei Identity
- Siamese Twins. *See* Chang and Eng (The Siamese Twins)
- Sikh Temple Massacre (Oak Creek, WI) (2012)
- Sikhism in the United States
- Singaporeans in America
- Siv, Sichan
- Son, Diana
- Sone, Monica
- Soong Mei-ling
- South Asian American Transnational Politics
- South Asian Communities, Little India and. *See* Little India and South Asian Communities
- South Asian Ethnic Identity
- Southeast Asian Academic Achievement
- Southeast Asian American Press
- Southeast Asian American Youth and Crime
- Southeast Asian Archive at the University of California, Irvine, Libraries
- Southeast Asian Migration. *See* Refugee Camps and Southeast Asian Migration
- Southeast Asian Refugee Resettlement, Organizational Leadership of
- Spickard, Paul Russell
- Sri Lankan Americans
- Suburbanization
- Sue, Stanley
- Sui, Anna
- Sui Sin Far (Edith Maude Eaton)
- Sumida, Stephen H.
- Sun Yat-sen
- Sung, Betty Lee
- Survey of Race Relations on the Pacific Coast
- Suzuki, Bob H.
- Suzuki, Daisetz Teitarō (D. T.)
- Suzuki, Shunryū
- Swap Meet
- Sylvanus, Thomas
- Tacoma Anti-Chinese Riot of 1885
- Taekwondo in America
- Tahir, Saghir
- Taiwanese Americans
- Takagi, Dana Yasu
- Takaki, Ronald Toshiyuki
- Tan, Amy

- Tao, Terence
Tape v. Hurley (1885)
 Tarak Nath Das
 Tatupu, Mosiula Faasuka
 Tenzin Gyatso (14th Dalai Lama)
 Tét
 Thai American Organizations
 Thai Americans
 Thai Cuisine in the United States
 Thai Temples
 Thai Town
 Thao, Cy
 Third World Strikes
 Third World Unity
 thúy, lê thi diem
 Tibetan Americans
 Tien, Chang-Lin
 Ting, Samuel Chao Chung
 Tokyo Rose
 Tomine, Adrian. *See* Graphic Novelists
 Tomney, John
 Tongs and Tong War
 Tourist Industries
 Townsend, Raymond Anthony
Toyota v. United States (1925)
 Tran, Ham
 Transnational Political Behavior
 Transnationalism. *See* Filipino Transnationalism;
 Japanese American Transnational Families; Japanese
 Transnational Identity; Korean Americans and
 Transnationalism; South Asian American
 Transnational Politics; Transnational Political
 Behavior
 Trungpa, Chögyam
 Truong, Monique
 Tsao, Chin-Hui
 Tsiang, H. T.
 Tsien, Roger Y.
Tsoi Sim v. the United States (1902)
 Tsunoda, Joyce S.
 Ung, Chinary
United States v. Gue Lim (1900)
United States v. Thind (1923)
United States v. Wong Kim Ark (1898)
 University of California (Berkeley) Asian American
 Studies Collections
 U.S.-Korea Treaty of 1882
 Ut, Huynh Cong “Nick”
 Vera Cruz, Philip
 Victorino, Shane
 Vietnamese American Anticommunism
 Vietnamese American Communities, Little Saigon
 and. *See* Little Saigon and Vietnamese American
 Communities
 Vietnamese Americans
 Vietnamese Americans, Chinese-. *See* Chinese-
 Vietnamese Americans
 Vietnamese Cuisine in the United States
 Vietnamese Ethnic Economy
 Vietnamese Nail Salons
 Vietnamese Women in America
 Villa, José García
 Villafuerte, Brandon
 Vivekananda
 Voting Patterns
 Wang, An
 Wang, Chien-Ming
 Wang, Vera
 Wang, Wayne
 War Brides Act (1945)

- Ward, Hines
 Watsonville Riots (1930)
 Wei Min She (WMS)
 Williams, Sunita L.
 Wong, Anna May
 Wong, Elizabeth
 Wong, Jade Snow
 Wong, Kailee
 Wong, Sau-ling
 Wong, Shawn
 Woo, Hong Neok
 Woo, Shien Biau (S. B.)
 Woods, Tiger
 Workingmen's Parties
 Wu, Chien-Shiung
 Wu, David
 Xiong, Joe Bee
 Yamaguchi, Kristi
 Yamanaka, Lois-Ann
 Yamasaki, Minoru
 Yamashita, Karen Tei
 Yamato Colony of California
 Yamauchi, Wakako
 Yang, Chen Ning
 Yang, Gene Luen. *See* Graphic Novelists
 Yang, Henry T.
 Yang, Qing (Yong Seen Sarng)
 Yao Ming
Yasui v. United States (1943)
 Yau, Shing-Tong
 Yee Chiang
 Yellow Brotherhood (YB)
 Yep, Laurence
Yick Wo v. Hopkins (1886)
 Yoneda, Karl G.
 Yoon, Sam
 Yu Lihua (Helen Yu)
 Yung, Judy
 Yung Wing
 Zenimura, Kenichi
 Zhang, Caroline
 Zhang, Yitang
 Zia, Helen

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Preface

We are honored and humbled to serve as the editors of *Asian Americans: An Encyclopedia of Social, Cultural, Economic, and Political History*. This three-volume encyclopedia is a collaborative effort of more than two hundred scholars from various fields and disciplines. The project is committed to making research results and records about Asian Americans readily available in one reference source, where the interested reader can locate the facts, events, trends, or policies concerning Asian Americans, Asian American history, and Asian American studies. Conscious efforts were made on a number of fronts to reflect some of the important developments in Asian American studies and to cover underrepresented groups. Most of the entries build upon existing literature, whereas new research was conducted to cover understudied areas and topics. We gave special attention to issues concerning race, class, and gender relations, as well as transpacific and transnational dimensions of Asian Americans.

Given the diversity and complexity of the ethnic group and the rapid pace of growth of Asian Americans in a fast-changing world, we recognize that the completion of such an undertaking is only one step to our ever-expanding knowledge of the Asian American experience. The field of Asian American studies is relatively young. We trust this book will create a foundation for the expansion of academic inquiries. By making these records more readily accessible, we hope to reach out to a wider audience and inspire more future research.

Beginning in 2000, the U.S. Census Bureau has identified Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders as an independent race category separate from Asian Americans. Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders have unique histories and experiences of their own, and their affiliations with the United States are quite different from those of Asian Americans. To lump Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders together with Asian Americans is to marginalize these groups of people. Nevertheless, because they had been grouped together with Asian Americans by government agencies and academic institutions, readers are more likely to look for information about them from Asian American reference books. For this reason we have made an effort to include some entries on Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders in this project.

This comprehensive reference project contains approximately 600 entries. Cross-referencing is provided in some entries by the use of *see also* lines. An archive of primary sources in Volume 3 is an important addition to the project, which will enable the student to advance beyond narrative summary of historical research. A detailed chronology in Volume 1 offers a quick glance of historical facts and events. We considered several options of organizing the project but eventually settled on the A–Z

arrangement for easy look-up. In addition to the alphabetical list of entries in the front matter, the index serves as a useful tool for name/subject searching.

Transliteration of Names

The transliteration of personal names in this book is sometimes inconsistent for a number of reasons. In most Asian societies, the family name precedes an individual's given name. Asians living in the United States often invert their family and given names following American and European practice, but some have chosen not to do so. For example, Rhee is the family name of Syngman Rhee, a prominent Korean American community leader and the first president of the Republic of Korea, and Yao is the family name for Yao Ming—the former Houston Rockets NBA star from China who never inverted his family and given name. Different transliteration systems and regional dialects also prevent consistency in translation and conversion. Chinese from Taiwan or pre-1949 China transliterate names according to the Wade-Giles system, whereas those from the People's Republic of China use the pinyin transliteration system, one that has been adopted by most academic institutions and educational programs in the United States and throughout the world.

Acknowledgments

It would not be possible to consolidate such a wealth of scholarship, information, and source materials into one reference book without the contributions of over 200 scholars. To build a diverse and inclusive list of entries, we reached out to accomplished scholars and graduate students in both humanities and social sciences, and we also solicited entries from a large number of writers and independent scholars in law, journalism, political activism, and other fields. Our editorial process is one of community building, through which we enjoyed the luxury of having a productive conversation with a large community of scholars. We sincerely hope this project will help expand such a conversation among scholars and students.

We want to thank everyone who has generously shared their scholarly expertise in their entries as well as their ideas and acts of encouragement. Several colleagues and scholars deserve special acknowledgment for their concrete suggestions in the planning stage of the project, and for their efforts in helping to recruit contributors. Sucheng Chan, who insisted that encyclopedia entries should be comprehensive, definitive, and reliable, not only contributed her own original essays, but also helped secure entries from a number of prominent scholars. Suggestions from Diane Fujino, Pei-te Lien, Ruthanne Lum McCunn, and Zuoyue Wang added invaluable guidance to several subject areas. We also want to thank the University of California, Santa Barbara, and the Dean's Office of the Bellarmine College of Liberal Arts at the Loyola Marymount University for providing a welcoming environment for research and writing. Contributions from our colleagues as well as excellent administrative support from Elizabeth Faulkner, Elizabeth Guerrero, and Arlene Phillips from these two universities are very much appreciated. We also want to thank Katie Do, Fang He, Yanjun Liu, Myung Jin Lee, Andrew Turner, and Tian Wu for their assistance.

Finally, we would like to thank the editors at ABC-Clio, especially James Sherman, Kim Kennedy-White, and John Wagner. PreMediaGlobal, especially project manager Magendrarvarman Nithyanandam, provided superb service in copy-editing, typesetting, proofreading, and indexing of the book. We would also like to thank Ellen Rasmussen for photographic research.

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Introduction: Asian Americans in the Twenty-First Century

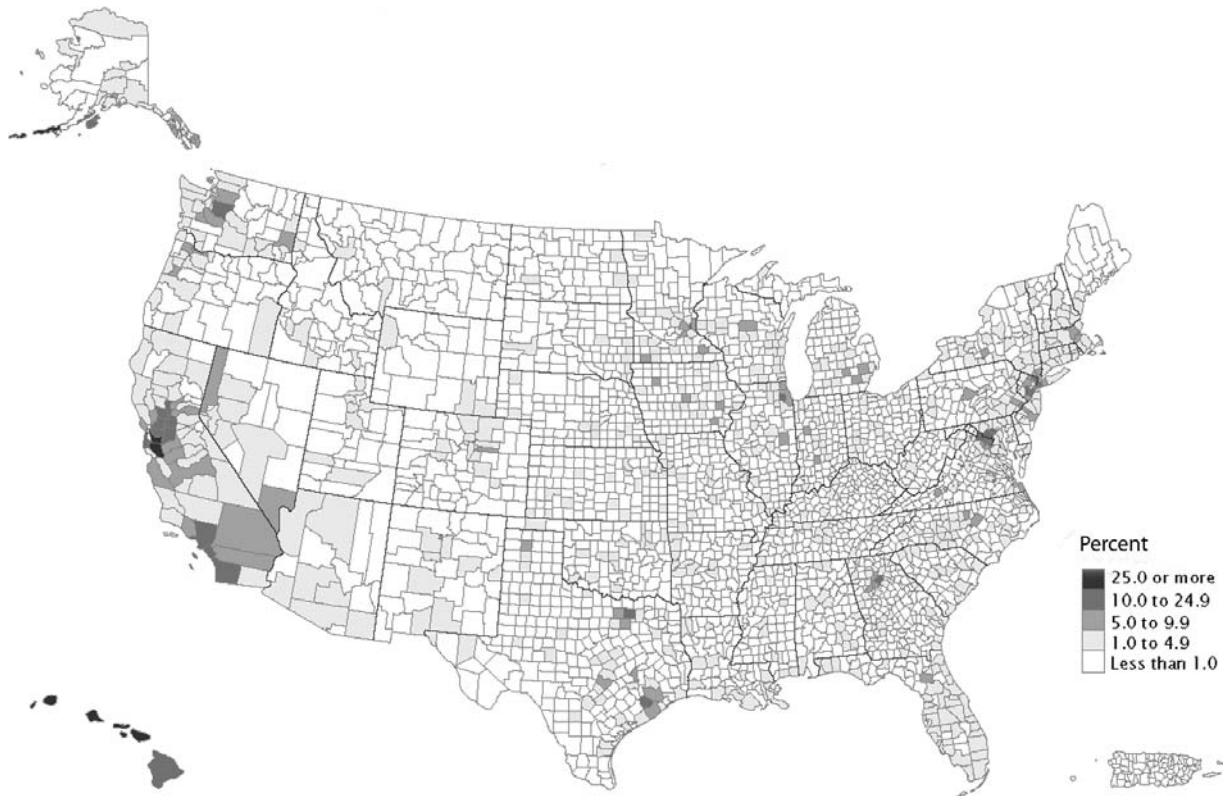
Beginning from the California Gold Rush, Asians have settled in the United States for more than 160 years. The two major groups that arrived first in the late nineteenth century originated from China and Japan. They were joined by immigrants from Korea, the Philippines, and India in the early decades of the twentieth century. Until the late 1960s, however, the Asian population in the United States was small. Between 1951 and 1960, immigrants from Asia accounted for only 6 percent of the total immigrants to the United States. The rate of Asian immigrants began to increase substantially beginning in the 1970s after the Immigration Act of 1965 ended the national origin quota system. Post-1965 Asian immigrants came in large numbers, and they came from many more Asian nations and regions. Most significant changes occurred in the late 1970s and 1980s, when large waves of Southeast Asian immigrants arrived as refugees after the Vietnam War.

Today's Asian America is built by immigrants and their descendants who originated from countries in South Asia, East Asia, and Southeast Asia. In the 1960s, a new generation of Asian Americans, inspired by the Civil Rights Movement, began to organize across ethnic lines in search of a unified front in their struggle for racial equality and social justice. Increasing visibility of Asian Americans as one of the more prominent minority groups in recent decades has had significant impact in political, economic, and social realms; it has also affected race and ethnic relations in the United States in profound and complicated ways.

Population and Distribution

Asian America has become the fastest-growing racial group in the United States, increasing from 3.8 million in 1980 to 6.9 million in 1990, to 10.2 million in 2000, and to 17.3 million in 2010 (including 2.6 million mixed-race individuals). It comprised 5.6 percent of the total U.S. population of 308.7 million. Between 2000 and 2010, the total U.S. population grew by 9.7 percent, from 281.4 million to 308.7 million, whereas the Asian American population increased more than four times faster, with a growth rate of 46 percent. It is worth noting that about 2.6 million people reported to be Asian in combination with other races, which represents 15 percent of the Asian American population. Mixed race Asian Americans is the fastest growing subgroup of the Asian American population.

A high percentage (46 percent) of the Asian American population resided in the West in 2010, constituting 11 percent of the region's total population. Meanwhile,



Asians as a percentage of county population: 2010.

22 percent of the population lived in the South (3 percent of the region's population), 20 percent in the Northeast (6 percent of the region's population), and 13 percent in the Midwest (3 percent of the region's total population). The percentage of the total Asian American population residing in the West had declined recently, however, from 49 percent to 46 percent within a decade. Meanwhile, the proportion of Asian population in the South increased from 19 percent to 22 percent.

Nearly three-fourths of the entire Asian American population resided in ten states in 2010, led by California, home to 5,556,592 Asian Americans. The other states with large populations of Asian Americans were New York, 1,579,494; Texas, 1,110,666; New Jersey, 725,356; Hawaii, 780,968; Illinois, 668,694; Washington, 604,251; Florida, 573,083; Virginia, 522,199; and Pennsylvania, 402,587. All these states have experienced substantial growth of their Asian American population in the past decade. Texas, Florida, and Virginia each enjoyed a growth rate of between 71 to 72 percent, and this pattern continues to show the increasing dispersal of Asian Americans out of their traditional population centers on the West Coast and in Hawaii. Following these states in Asian population growth are Pennsylvania (62 percent), Washington State (53 percent), and New Jersey (52 percent). In comparison, the growth rate is relatively low in Hawaii (11 percent), although the Asian population represents over 50 percent of the entire population. Asians represented 62 percent of Honolulu's population and 51 percent of the population in Kauai. In terms of actual population numbers,

California had the largest gain of Asian American population over the decade, from 4.2 million in 2000 to 5.6 million in 2010. Within California, Asian population constituted more than 25 percent of the total population in four counties, all within the San Francisco-San Jose metropolitan area. Metropolitan areas with the largest population of Asian Americans were Los Angeles (1,884,669), New York (1,878,261), San Francisco Bay Area (1,577,790), Chicago (532,801), Washington, D.C. (517,458) and Honolulu (477,503).

Chinese American, the oldest Asian ethnic group in the United States, was the largest group of Asian America in 2010 (3.8 million). The next two largest groups were Filipinos (3.4 million) and Asian Indians (3.2 million). Given the high rate of immigration in the past decade, these three groups constituted 60 percent of the entire Asian American population. At the same time, since its implementation in 1990, the Diversity Immigrant Visa Program that allows citizens of countries with low rates of immigration to secure permanent residency in the United States have added to the diversity of Asian Americans. In addition to this program, economic and political changes in Asia ranging from rapid development to civil wars have resulted in new immigrant groups from Bhutan to East Timor.

Immigrants constitute a significant majority of adult Asian Americans. According to an analysis of the 2010 census by the Pew Research Center, 59 percent of Asian Americans and 74 percent of its adult population were foreign-born, compared with 13 percent of the total U.S. population. However, there were significant demographic variations within different subgroups. For instance, 75 percent of Korean Americans were foreign born, but only 38 percent of the Japanese American population were immigrants. Among the foreign-born Asian Americans, 54 percent were women. The female-to-male ratio was greater than two-to-one among Japanese immigrants, but males outnumbered females among immigrants from India.

Chinese, next to Spanish, is the most widely spoken non-English language in the United States. In 2010, an estimated 2.8 million people aged five and older spoke Chinese at home. Other Asian languages spoken by a large number of Asian Americans at home are Tagalog, Vietnamese, and Korean. Over half of the foreign-born Asian American population (53 percent) self-reported that they could speak English well, higher than other foreign-born groups in the United States (45 percent).

Socioeconomic Status: Improvement and Gaps

Before World War II, most Asian Americans worked at unskilled and low-paying jobs, often in racially segregated ethnic communities or as migratory agriculture laborers. After World War II, especially since the Civil Rights Movement, Asian Americans have gained access to the mainstream job market; their socioeconomic status has also shown significant improvement. Such improvements have been reported in the Census in every decade since 1970, reinforcing a “model minority” image for Asian Americans.

Asian Americans, however, are not a monolithic population. In the 2010 Census, the estimated median household income for Asian Americans was \$66,286—higher than it was for the overall U.S. population (\$50,831), the non-Hispanic white population (\$56,178), the Hispanic population (\$38,818), and the black population (\$33,137). However, there were wide gaps among different Asian groups. Asian

Indians had a median household income of \$90,711, for example, but the Bangladeshi median household income was only \$48,471.¹ Median household wealth (net worth) for Asian Americans was \$83,500 in 2010, higher than the median household wealth for the overall U.S. population (\$68,529), and higher than it was for Hispanics (\$7,800) and blacks (\$5,730) by large margins. But median household wealth for Asian Americans was significantly lower than it was for non-Hispanic whites (\$112,000). These data on income and wealth should take into account the fact that higher percentages of Asian Americans are urban dwellers concentrated in California, Hawaii, and New York, regions known for their high costs of living. In addition, it is crucial to understand that immigration is a highly selective process. For instance, whereas the median household income of Asian Indians was much higher than that of Hispanics in 2010, the per capita Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of Mexico was over six times that of India (\$10,146 and \$1,514, respectively, in 2011).

Poverty and health insurance rates provide different angles to assess socioeconomic status of Asian Americans. In 2010, about 12.2 percent of Asian Americans were reported by the Census Bureau as living in poverty. In comparison, poverty rates for non-Hispanic whites, Hispanics, and blacks were 9.9 percent, 26.5 percent, and 27.4 percent, respectively. Although poverty rates for Filipino, Japanese, and Indian Americans were relatively low (6, 8, and 8 percent, respectively), 26 percent of Hmong Americans were living below the poverty line. It is worth noting that although 16.5 percent of Asian Americans did not have health insurance in 2009, that rate increased to 18.4 percent in 2010. Nearly a quarter of both Pakistani and Bangladeshi Americans (23 percent) and more than a fifth of Korean (22 percent) and Cambodian (21 percent) Americans were uninsured, whereas the percentage of people without health insurance among non-Hispanic whites, Hispanics, and blacks were 13.5 percent, 30.7 percent, and 20.8 percent, respectively.

Employment patterns for Asian Americans are also complex. Although 48 percent of Asian Americans aged 16 and older were employed in management and professional occupations in 2010, about 17 percent of them worked in service occupations, 22 percent in sales and office occupations, and 10 percent in production, transportation, and moving and shipping occupations. In comparison, only 40 percent of employed Americans held management and professional jobs. Occupational distribution among different Asian groups, however, was diverse. Although two-thirds of Asian Indians held jobs in management and professional occupations, only about a third of Vietnamese Americans did so. Hmong and Cambodian Americans were relatively underrepresented in management and professional positions (20 to 21 percent). Whether Asian Americans with comparable educational levels and professional qualifications are earning the same pay or achieving equal professional advancement opportunities remains to be a serious question. Business ownership rate among Asian Americans continued to grow. In 2007, 1.5 million businesses were owned by Asian Americans, reflecting a 40.4 percent increase from 2002. It must be noted that a large proportion was small businesses, as 44.7 Asian American-owned businesses were in repair and maintenance, personal and laundry services, professional and technical services, and retail trade.

One Asian American group that has usually been overlooked is undocumented immigrants. Undocumented Hispanic immigrants have received most public and

media attention, and they account for approximately three-quarters of the total undocumented population in the United States. The U.S. government officially estimates that about 10–11 percent of the U.S. undocumented immigrants are from Asia, constituting approximately 13–15 percent of the Asian immigrant population. Whether undocumented Asian immigrants have been undercounted remains an open question. If so, their population would have a significant impact on socioeconomic status of the overall Asian American population.

Educational Attainment: Achievement and Gaps

Recognizing both growth and diversity of Asian Americans are especially important in reading statistics of Asian Americans in education. A most remarkable characteristic of the Asian American population is its high level of educational attainment. About 49 percent of Asian Americans aged 25 and older had at least a bachelor's degree in 2010, which was much higher than that of the total U.S. population (28 percent). However, levels of educational attainment for different Asian American groups were uneven. About 70 percent Asian Indian Americans, for example, had at least a bachelor's degree, but only 14 percent of both Cambodian and Laotian Americans held a similar degree.²

The analysis by the Pew Research Center also showed high educational attainment among the new Asian immigrants: 61 percent of the immigrants between the ages of 25 and 64 have at least a bachelor's degree, almost twice as high as non-Asian immigrants. About 81 percent of new immigrants from India held a college degree, but only 17 percent of immigrants from Vietnam had attended college. Further behind immigrants from Vietnam are new immigrants from Cambodia and Laos who have much lower college education attainment.

A higher percentage of Asian Americans 25 and older had graduate or professional degrees than the total U.S. population (20 percent to 10 percent). The Pew Research Center revealed that Asian American students and students from Asia accounted for 25 percent of doctorate degrees granted at U.S. universities in 2010, with considerable numbers in engineering, science, mathematics, computer science, physical science, and life science. Asian or Asian American students also received 20 percent of PhDs granted by U.S. universities in social sciences. These high levels of educational attainment helped Asian Americans find professional jobs. U.S.-trained Asian students from China and India have also been the main beneficiaries of H-1B visa program, which revitalized in 1990, this visa program also provided temporary employment opportunities for foreign-trained Asians in “specialty occupations,” especially in engineering, sciences, and business-related professions. With employer sponsorship, a significant percentage of H-1B visa holders have successfully adjusted into immigrant status. Foreign students from India and China, as well as skilled workers, were the two top-ranked groups to benefit from the program, and they received three-fourths of all H-1B visas granted to Asia in 2011. Indians alone accounted for 56 percent of all the H-1B visas granted by the United States in 2011, whereas those from China received an additional 8 percent. Although considerable numbers of students from Korea, Philippines, Japan, and Taiwan also benefited from this temporary visa program, very few students from other Asian nations were able to do so.

Conclusion

Improved socioeconomic status and increased visibilities of Asian Americans in U.S. politics, educational institutions, and other areas of American life have impacted the development of American society in significant ways. In many parts of the United States, Asian Americans have changed the social landscape of cities and neighborhoods, integrating their customs, values, languages, foods, and institutions. The increasing presence of Asian Americans has enriched the American society, but it has also challenged and strained the nation. Unfortunately, accompanying the drastic demographic changes were also incidents of racial conflict and hate crime, as well as a resurfacing anti-immigrant sentiment. Increasing political participation of Asian Americans has shown impressive results, as more and more of their representatives have been either elected or appointed to political, government, and judiciary posts at local, state, and national levels. In turn, Asian Americans have been able to more effectively pursue political and policy issues that concern them the most: social justice, immigration, health care, public support for education, U.S. foreign relations, and international trade. Their devotion to education and their high enrollment in colleges and universities have had a great impact in educational reform, and many colleges and universities across the United States have established and expanded course offerings in Asian American studies, in Asian history, culture, and languages, and developed educational exchange programs with more and more Asian nations.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, the Census Bureau projected that the Asian American population will grow to 37.6 million by the year 2050, comprising 9.3 of the total U.S. population. The rapid growth of Asian American population of the late twentieth century was the result of large waves of new immigrants from Asia, which became possible after the Immigration Act of 1965 and a host of legislations that addressed the immigration and refugee issues. There is no doubt that new immigrants will continue to come from Asia in significant numbers in the next few decades. In addition to immigration policies of the United States and changing U.S. diplomatic relations with Asian nations, globalization and the development of global economy will play an increasingly important role in determining sources of Asian immigration and directions of Asian migration. Scholars have already noticed that economic development and high living standard in Japan have made emigration less attractive in the past few decades. Korean immigration peaked in the 1970s and 1980s, but it declined in the late 1990s. Although the number of Chinese immigrants continued to grow, the rate of growth has slowed in the past decade. Developments in other parts of the world may also affect Asian migration, as more and more individuals are also paying attention to different opportunities in Europe, Australia, South and Central Americas, Africa, as well as in their neighboring Asian countries. From an Asian diaspora perspective, it would not be difficult to find that Asian emigration has become increasingly multidirectional, in which the United States is one destination (the most attractive one) among many others. Moreover, an increasingly large number of Asian Americans have resettled to Japan, Korea, China, and other Asian nations and many more are moving between Asia and the United States. All these developments will play important roles in shaping Asian immigration and the contours of twenty-first-century Asian America.

Xiaojian Zhao and Edward J. W. Park

Notes

1. Comparison between median household income of Asian Americans is based on tables released by Census Bureau in September 2010, see United States Census Bureau Newsroom, “Income, Poverty, and Health Insurance Coverage in the United States: 2011” (September 12, 2012); comparison between median household income between Asian Indian Americans and Bangladeshi Americans is based on a report from an earlier release from the Bureau, see United States Census Bureau News Release, “2010 Census Shows Asians are Fastest-Growing Race Group” (March 21, 2012).

2. The Pew Research Center’s analysis of Asian Americans, based on the 2010 U.S. Census, selects only six Asian American groups. Many smaller and less well-to-do groups are left out. See, Pew Research Center, *The Rise of Asian Americans*, July 12, 2012.

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Page Law (1875)

The Page Law—enacted on March 3, 1875—restricted the entry of contract labor and prostitutes from China, Japan, or “any Oriental country” into the United States. The law predominantly targeted Chinese women as Congressman Horace F. Page, who authored the bill, attempted to use this measure to stop cheap Chinese laborers and Chinese prostitutes from coming to the United States. The assumption that all Chinese women were suspected of being prostitutes discouraged many from immigrating to the United States.

Under Section 1 of the law, the United States Counsel General located at the port of departure must determine if the immigration is free and voluntary before letting her to board the ship with a clearance certificate. The immigrant must not have entered into a contract for any services that are considered “lewd and immoral.” If any person in the United States forced a person from China, Japan, or any “Oriental country” to the United States for a “term of service,” then that person will be punished by a fine not exceeding \$2,000 and imprisonment not exceeding one year (Section 2). The Act emphasized that prostitution is forbidden, and such agreements are declared void. Furthermore, any person who contracted to bring these women into the United States for prostitution purposes shall be guilty of a felony. If convicted, the government will impose a fine not exceeding \$5,000 and imprisonment not to exceed 5 years (Section 3). Section 4 provided that anyone involved in the “coolly-trade” (indentured servitude) shall be guilty of a felony. Finally, Section 5 prohibited felons and

prostitutes from immigrating to the United States. Additionally, each ship that entered the United States would be subject to inspection.

Prostitution became a problem in the United States following the large number of Chinese men who came, by themselves, to the United States. Men who were married did not bring their wives to the United States, as it was a hostile environment for women. Those who were single had plans to go back to China to start a family. An inherent consequence of the bachelor’s society was the growing number of prostitutes in locales with a prominent number of Chinese men; therefore, the demand for prostitutes was high. So, young women were recruited from China to the United States, not knowing that they signed up to become prostitutes. After arriving in the United States, these women faced exploitation, torture, and the possibility of becoming a slave. Prostitutes were of various races and ethnicity; however, the Chinese prostitutes predominated because of the growing Chinese bachelor’s society in the United States. In response, the Page Law required Chinese women boarding ships in Hong Kong to document that they were of good moral character and were not coming to the United States to engage in prostitution.

The Page Law was the first attempt at restricting Chinese immigration before 1882. It restricted Chinese contract laborers and was very successful in its efforts to prevent female immigration from China. Between the 1870 to 1880 Census, the Chinese female population dropped from 6.4 percent to 4.6 percent.

Jennifer J. Lee

See also Chinese Exclusion Acts (1882–1943); Japanese Exclusion

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Paik, Nam June (1932–2006)

Nam June Paik is widely recognized as the world's pioneering video artist. Known for his avant-garde vision for contemporary art, Paik's signature works incorporated multiple television screens with sculpture, music, and performance art. What began as a fascination for television as a medium of artistic expression in the 1960s spawned into the subject of exhibitions, installations, and institutions worldwide that continue Paik's legacy beyond his passing in 2006.

Born on June 20, 1932, in Seoul, Korea, Paik was the fifth son of a textile manufacturer and grew up studying piano and composition from an early age. In 1950, Paik's family fled from the Korean War, first to Hong Kong, then to Japan. Six years later, Paik graduated from the University of Tokyo with a degree in aesthetics. During his time at the university Paik studied art and music and completed a thesis on the compositions of Arnold Schönberg, an Austrian composer and painter whom he discovered as a high school student in Korea.

Despite cultivating an initial interest in the music and arts in Asia, Paik spent his formative years constructing a creative identity in Europe and the United States. Paik moved to Germany in 1956 to pursue graduate studies at the Universities of Munich and Cologne, and the Conservatory of Music in Freiburg. Here he became deeply involved with the "Fluxus" movement—an international network of artists, composers, and designers challenging established notions of what constituted art. During this time, Paik

experimented with performance art incorporating random happenings and objects including altered pianos and other musical instruments. He would later go on to include altered television sets after experimenting with the medium in the 1960s. In 1958 Paik met John Cage, an American, avant-garde composer, at a music conference and was powerfully inspired by his radical attitude toward art.

Paik began working with video art in the 1960s as he became impassioned by television's effect on mass culture and subsequently the notion of television as a mechanism for forging a world culture. Paik initially experimented with ways to manipulate video images on the screen by tampering with television signals and developing devices allowing him to explore different electronic techniques. Driven by his theoretical perspective redefining television as a medium for two-way communication, Paik continued exploring video art involving public participation in both processes of production and consumption. In 1964, Paik moved to New York City, where he struck up an artistic relationship with classical cellist Charlotte Moorman and began focusing on combining video with performance and sculptural art.

An experimental art scene embedded in the culturally diverse context of New York further cultivated Paik's creative identity. Here he made his "discovery" of the Sony Portapak (the first mass-produced, portable video tape recorder) giving Paik free range to shoot footage. Paik would develop his craft to use video recorders and synthesizers to layer, deconstruct, and reconstruct moving images. Video footage was then edited to include random fluctuations of sound, imagery, and movement at varying speeds, which often created a dreamlike sense of time and space. Paik's television sculptures would often use multiple television sets screening these moving images to construct anything from a cello to gargantuan installations towering at 60 feet.

Since the 1960s, Paik has staged numerous one-man exhibitions—the first being staged at the Galerie Parnass in Wuppertal, Germany. His installations and sculptural work has been the subject of exhibitions at renowned institutions across the United States including the Whitney Museum of American Art in New York, Museum of Contemporary Art in Chicago and

the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art. In addition, Paik has received a variety of awards for his contributions to the art world. These awards include grants and recognition from the Rockefeller Foundation, Guggenheim Museum, American Film Institute, and the state of New York. Paik has also been recognized internationally, with exhibitions and awards in numerous countries such as Korea, Japan, Switzerland, and France—to name a few.

Beyond producing his own art, Paik inspired new generations of artists by taking on a professorship from 1979 to 1996 at the Kunstakademi Düsseldorf, an arts academy in Germany. His stints at studios including WNET's TV Lab in New York introduced alternative content for media consumption. Paik will be remembered for his visionary artwork that encompasses an eclectic realm of philosophical and theoretical explorations, cultural observations, and scientific experiments. His unique perspective emanating from a life of migration and artistic expression gave way to a rich portfolio of art examining creative production in post-industrial, consumerist, and information-based society.

Hyein Lee

See also Korean Americans

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Pak, Gary (1952–)

Gary Pak is lauded as one of the most important Asian-Hawaiian writers of the twentieth century. He is the author of *The Watcher of Waipuna and Other Stories* (1992), *A Ricepaper Airplane* (1998), *Children of a Fireland* (2004), and *Language of the Geckos and Other Stories* (2005). He has written many creative

and critical essays, and coedited *Yobo: Korean American Writing in Hawaii* (2003). His short stories have appeared in numerous magazines, anthologies, and literary journals. Pak has also written and produced two plays, *Only the Wind's Home* (1991) and *Beyond the Falls* (2001). He also served as the producer, editor, and writer for the Olelo Community television series, *Plantation Children: 2nd-generation Koreans in Hawaii*.

After completing his BA in social psychology from Boston University, Pak went on to receive his MA and PhD in English from the University of Hawaii at Manoa, where he specialized in Native historiography of nineteenth-century Hawaiian literature. He has taught at Kapi'olani Community College, and is currently a professor of English and creative writing at the University of Hawaii at Manoa.

Pak was born in 1952 in Honolulu, Hawaii, as a third-generation Korean American to Francis Chin Chan Pak and Etta Chung Hee Pak, second-generation Korean Americans. He was raised in Kane'ohe, Oahu, where he still resides with his family. Like most of the children in his neighborhood, Pak did not distinguish the ethnic divisions between himself and other children; the working-class neighborhood in which he grew up, though multiethnic, had an integrated community. This strong sense of community and inter-ethnic interaction can be found in many of his works. Pak is one of the few Asian American writers who frequently write in multiple ethnic voices and perspectives.

Though he had always written poetry and stories as a hobby, it was not until the birth of his first son in 1980 that Pak began to write seriously. He believed that the stories of his family and community in Hawaii were important and needed to be told—and most of all, he wanted to share these stories with his son and others as a way of enriching cultural experience. Like many Hawaiian writers, Pak writes in local pidgin, which was his first language. His writing often shifts points of view as well as time and place, to demonstrate the collectivity of community and voice. Pak, who believes that all art and writing is inherently political, frequently integrates contemporary Hawaiian issues such as land rights into his writing.

After receiving his MA in creative writing in 1990, Pak began to work on a collection of short stories.

The Watcher of Waipuna and Other Stories was published in 1992 by Bamboo Ridge Press and won the 1993 National Book Award for Literature from the Association for Asian American Studies. The book, which features eight varied stories emphasizing the connections between land, community, and childhood, deals largely with the struggles arising from colonization and imperialism, as well as the way in which these difficulties define both Native and local Hawaiian relationships to the land and each other. Notably, within the book the Hawaiian and pidgin words are neither glossed nor italicized, a decision Pak made to demonstrate how pidgin and Hawaiian words are an inextricable part of the local Hawaiian culture and language.

Pak's first novel, *A Ricepaper Airplane*, was published in 1998. The novel is about a Korean immigrant plantation worker who, on his deathbed, tells his nephew the story of his life as a dreamer, revolutionary, and Hawaiian trade union activist. The symbol of the ricepaper airplane after which the book is named is a fantastic dream the uncle once had about building an airplane out of ricepaper that would return him to Korea. The novel was adapted for stage and was performed at Kuma Kahua Theatre in Hawaii in 2002. It also won the 1999 Ka Palapala Po'okela Award of Merit in Excellence in Writing Literature.

Pak's second novel, *Children of a Fireland*, was published in 2004. As in his first book, Pak continues to write in local pidgin, employing a stream-of-consciousness narrative technique. Although the novel continues Pak's investment in writing about community connections and relations, it takes a dramatic step toward the fantastic by incorporating supernatural elements, allowing the novel to function as a ghost story as well as a portrait of Hawaiian culture and society. It received honorable mention from the Association for Asian American Studies' 2004 Book Award in Prose and Poetry.

Language of the Geckos and Other Stories, published in 2005, is a collection of nine short stories that explore the cross-cultural exchanges and conflicts that occur between the local Asian American ethnic and Native Hawaiian communities of Hawaii, as well as the pasts that haunt them. The narrative voice shifts from character to character as they grapple with the difficulties created by their racial and economic

locations, complicating the common vision of Hawaii as a racial paradise.

Pak is currently working on a forthcoming creative nonfiction book, *Chon-go Ma-bi/High Sky and Horse Fattening: Essays on Contemporary Korean Culture*. Aside from his professional career as a writer and academic, Pak is also heavily involved in local community struggles. Pak's long relationship with community organizing and activism began in the 1970s, when he protested against the Vietnam War and Boston's 1974 school busing crisis. He also was involved in the urban development of agricultural lands and protested against the eviction of low-income residents of Honolulu's Chinatown. He continues to be an outspoken activist for Native Hawaiian land rights and the decolonization of Hawaii.

Pak is winner of the Fulbright Award and spent 2002 in Korea as a Fulbright visiting lecturer at Korea University. His current research interests include creative writing, literatures of Hawaii and the Pacific, Asian American literature, Korean American literature, ethnic American literature, modern Korean literature in translation, and jazz.

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Pakistani Americans

Pakistani Americans are immigrants and their descendants originated from Pakistan. Located in South Asia, the present-day Pakistan is home to several ancient cultures. Early sizable immigration of Pakistani to the United States could be traced to the first two decades of the twentieth century, when the India subcontinent was a British colony. In 1947, India gained independence from the British Empire and the subcontinent was divided into two countries, India and Pakistan. From 1947 to 1971, Pakistan constituted both West Pakistan and East Pakistan, with Islam as the dominant religion of the nation. In 1971, East Pakistan proclaimed independence from Pakistan and formed the People's Republic of Bangladesh.

These historical developments defined and redefined Pakistani immigration to the United States. Before 1947, Pakistani immigration to the United States was part of India diaspora; between 1947 and 1971, it meant immigration of people from both West Pakistan and East Pakistan; after 1971, Pakistani immigration involved only those from the present-day Pakistan.

Early History: India Immigration to the United States

Among the early arrivals from South Asia were groups of Sikhs and smaller groups of Hindus and Muslims. The Sikhs were inhabitants of Punjab of British India, which includes the present-day Punjab province in Pakistan and Punjab state of India. Some of the early immigrants started to come to North America in the late nineteenth century and settled in Canada. When Canada issued restrictive measures to limit the number of entries from India in the first decade of the twentieth century, the number of immigrants to the United States increased significantly. Early immigrants from British India traveled from their homeland through Hong Kong, where they had built a Sikh temple to serve as a stopover for migrants on their way to the United States. These early arrivals settled in California, Oregon, and Washington in small groups and scattered locations. Large numbers of Sikhs, Muslims, and Hindus settled in Imperial and Coachella valleys in

Southern California. They worked as farm laborers and leased land. Some later bought land and orchards, growing cotton, rice, vegetables, and fruits. They also contributed to railroad construction in California and worked in gold mines. Some Indian Americans also served in World War I. The 1917 Immigration Act, however, barred new immigrants from India. Between 1899 and 1924, only 7,700 individuals from British India came to the United States, and some of them had returned to their homeland. During the period of Indian exclusion (1917–1946), it was extremely difficult for immigrants from South Asia to bring their families to the United States. Some Indian immigrants eventually established families in the United States through interracial marriages; many with Mexican immigrant women.

Because the India subcontinent was under British colonial rule until 1947, early immigrants from South Asia shared a common Indian national conciseness and identity. Many early immigrants were actively involved in the Indian independent movement regardless of their regional, linguistic, and religious distinctions. They built ethnic organizations based on religious, social, and political affiliations. The struggle for an independent India and against discrimination helped build a united front. Many early Indian immigrants had mixed feelings about the struggles between religious and regional groups after India independence that eventually led to the partition of Pakistan from India, and later the split of Pakistan and Bangladesh. Early immigrants from the present-day Pakistan considered themselves as Indian immigrants in general; few were related to the current Pakistani American community.

Pakistani Immigration to the United States

Islam is the national religion of Pakistan. In 1947, the population of Pakistan was 98 percent Muslims. Therefore, most of the immigrants from Pakistan were Muslims. The establishment of Pakistani statehood took place only a year after the passage of the Luce-Celler Bill, which repealed Indian exclusion laws and made Indian immigrants eligible for naturalization. The new law established an annual quota of 100 immigrants from India. After Pakistan became an independent nation, it received the same quota. Between

1947 and 1965, most Pakistani immigrants came to study in the universities. In 1965, there were about 2,500 Pakistanis residing in the United States. The number of Pakistani immigrants increased significantly after the enactment of 1965 Immigration Act. A few thousand immigrants arrived each year in the late 1960s. The new immigrants tended to be urban and educated; among them were students seeking advanced degrees and training in America as well as professionals and skilled workers from cities like Karachi and Lahore.

The Pakistani American community expanded at a fast pace after 1980. About 100,000 Pakistanis were in the United States by 1990, and the population has more than doubled each decade thereafter. Because the immigrant community was relatively small to begin with, prospect immigrants from Pakistan benefited from the diversity immigration visa program legislated in the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1990. New York, California, and Texas were the main attractions to the newcomers. The 2000 Census counted 209,273 Pakistani living in the United States. The number was 409,163 in 2010. Because of the significant expansion of the ethnic community, Pakistan was no longer included in the diversity immigration program by 2002.

Pakistani American Population

The New York-New Jersey metropolitan area, which consists of New York City, Long Island and nearby areas in New Jersey, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, has been the choice for most new Pakistani immigrants, including those with no marketable skills and undocumented immigrants. About 25 percent of the Pakistani American population lived in New York-New Jersey metropolitan area in 2010. In New York City, Pakistani Americans are the fifth-largest Asian American group. Metropolitan areas of Houston, Chicago, Washington D.C., Los Angeles, Dallas, Philadelphia, and San Francisco also have sizable population of Pakistani. Pakistani Americans are quite visible in the state of California, especially in Southern California regions such as Los Angeles, Orange County, Riverside, San Bernardino, Ventura, and San Diego. In Northern California, a large number of Pakistani

American engineers and other professionals and skilled workers work in Silicon Valley and San Francisco Bay Area. In the state of Texas, Austin, Dallas, and Houston also attracted a large number of well-educated Pakistani professionals, especially in fields such as medicine, information technology, engineering, and business.

A relatively young ethnic community, about 65 percent of the Pakistani American population was foreign-born in 2010, of which 57 percent gained citizenship. The median age of the ethnic group was 29 years old. Many of those who arrived after 1965 were initially on student visa before gaining permanent resident or citizen status. A considerable number of Pakistanis also gained entry as professionals or skilled workers. Immigrants who gained entries under the diversity visa program came from more diverse socioeconomic backgrounds. Once established, these early arrivals were able to sponsor their family members and relatives through family unification provisions of the 1965 Immigration Act.

About 86 percent of the Pakistani American population aged five years and older in 2010 spoke a language other than English at home. Although most of the bilingual population was fluent in English, a considerable proportion of them had only limited English proficiency (28%) or identified as a linguistically isolated household (12%) in 2010.

The range of educational attainment of the Pakistani population was broad in 2010, so was their socioeconomic status. Overall the population had a very high level of education, which had a great impact on the level of social mobility. About 87 percent of the Pakistani American population had at least a high school diploma, higher than that of the total Asian American population and total U.S. population (86 percent and 85 percent, respectively). And about 55 percent of the Pakistani Americans had at least a bachelor's degree, much higher than that of the Asian American population and the U.S. total population (49 percent and 28 percent, respectively). Those who came to attend graduate schools in the United States are among the most highly educated members of the community. In addition, many Pakistani-trained medical doctors and dentists are now practicing in the United States. The Association of Physicians of Pakistani Descent of North America (APPNA), an

organization to facilitate graduates from medical school in Pakistan to join residency programs in the United States has been active for more than 30 years, with 3,000 registered members in 2012. Pakistan is the fourth-highest source of foreign-trained medical doctors and dentists practicing in the United States. Pakistani Americans are also well represented in engineering, information technology, accounting and other professions. More than half of Pakistani Americans were homeowners (55%) by 2010 and many of them lived in affluent suburbs.

On the opposite end of the spectrum, however, is a large number of new immigrants who have little education, marketable skills, and personal savings. Immigrants gained entry through the diversity immigration visa program, as well as those came through family unification provision of the 1965 Immigration Act are from a broad range of socioeconomic background. This explains the relatively low per capita income for Pakistani Americans (\$24,663) in comparison to the income for the general Asian American population (\$28,342) and total U.S. population (\$27,100). Many new immigrants worked at low-paying unskilled jobs in large cities with no job security or health insurance. Self-employment rate is also high within the ethnic group, and taxi driving is a common occupation for Pakistani immigrants. In New York City, for example, 38 percent of the taxi drivers were South Asians in 2000 and Pakistani taxi drivers were more numerous than those from India or Bangladesh. Poverty rate for the ethnic group remained to be higher (15%) than that of the Asian American population in 2010, and about 8 percent of Pakistani Americans were unemployed compared to 6 percent of the Asian American population. Moreover, the rate of Pakistani Americans who did not have health insurance (23%) was the highest among Asian American groups, tied with Bangladeshi Americans.

Community

Early Pakistani immigrants (1947–1970s) played most important roles in the formation of Pakistani American community. They were the first to become eligible to sponsor family members, which formed the bases for community activities. Community became

increasingly important in the 1980s with the presence of large groups of professionals as well as new immigrants with limited resources. Community organizations provided network services for members to exchange ideas and information, and they assisted new immigrants to find work and established various mutual support systems. The APPDA, an organization to facilitate Pakistani trained medical doctors to practice in the United States, was formed as early as 1982. The Organization of Pakistani Entrepreneurs of North America (OPEN) started in 1998 in Boston to promote entrepreneurship and professional growth; it later opened chapters in Silicon Valley, New York, Chicago, Houston, Washington, D.C., and Atlanta. Pakistani small business owners provided jobs for the newcomers, and many self-employed individuals, such as taxi drivers, introduced their own trade to their fellow immigrants.

Religion is one of the most important aspects of South Asian American communities. Muslims constitute a dominant majority of Pakistani Americans, and mosques often serve as centers of the ethnic community. The majority of Pakistanis belong to the Sunni sect of Islam, and the next important sect is that of the Shi'ite. Unlike it is in South Asia, however, Pakistani American mosques are generally inclusive; it is relatively common for the immigrants to worship at mosques in the area of their residence alongside members of different sects. Major Islamic holidays are also celebrated in integrated mosques.

The importance of religion also led to the participation of Pakistani Americans in larger religious communities. Many Pakistani American students, for example, are members of the Muslim Students Association of America. Hindus, Christians, and Zoroastrians from Pakistan are relatively few, and their religious activities are not bounded by the Pakistani nation-state. Pakistani adherers of Sikhism, Buddhism, Taoism, and Jainism also join religious communities beyond the Pakistani borders.

Pakistani Americans have maintained a strong bond with their ancestral land. When big earthquakes struck Pakistan, the community raised large amounts of money to assist the victims in need. Although there have been tensions among ethnic groups in Pakistan, there is little ethnic division in the Pakistani American

community. A common interest in developments in Pakistan enabled members of the community to unite regardless of their diverse backgrounds.

Pakistani Americans share a common ground fighting against discrimination in the United States. The terrorist attack of September 11, 2001, shocked the world as well as the Pakistani American community. The media treatment of the event from a religious standpoint, however, has created an unprecedented fear, and Muslim groups have experienced the most emotional and psychological stress. After the incident, there was an overwhelming fear about detention and deportation among Pakistani Americans. A number of Pakistani Americans have been mistaken targets for hate crimes.

Compared to some other Asian American groups, Pakistani America is relatively small. But the community has grown at an amazing pace in the past three decades. And because of the increased number of citizens in the community, the Pakistani American population will probably grow at a faster pace in the next two decades, even without the assistance of the diversity immigration visa program. Expanded ethnic business networks will continue to help newcomers adjust to their life in America.

Xiaojian Zhao

See also Asian American Muslims; Bangladeshi Americans; Indian Americans; Luce-Celler Act of 1946

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Pan-Asian American Coalitions

Coming Together: The Emergence of Pan-Asianism

Asians in the United States have always been active in civic engagement—from striking for higher wages and

better working conditions to challenging laws that denied them civil rights to supporting political movements to liberate their homelands. However, it was not until the late 1960s, with the advent of the Asian American movement, that a pan-Asian consciousness and constituency were first formed. The development of a pan-Asian consciousness and constituency reflected broader societal developments and demographic changes as well as the group's political agenda. Before World War II, pan-Asian unity was not feasible because the predominantly foreign-born Asian population did not share a common language. During the postwar years, owing to immigration restrictions and the growing dominance of the second and even third generations, U.S.-born Asians outnumbered immigrants. By 1960, approximately two-thirds of the Asian populations in California had been born in the United States. With English as the common language, persons from different Asian backgrounds were able to communicate with one another and in so doing to create a common identity associated with the United States. Also, the breakdown of economic and residential barriers during the postwar period provided the first opportunity for an unprecedented number of Asian Americans to come into intimate, sustained contact with the larger society—and with one another.

Although broader social struggles and internal demographic changes provided the impetus for the Asian American movement, it was the Asian Americans' politics—explicitly radical, confrontational, and pan-Asian—that shaped the movement's content. Through pan-Asian organizations, publications, and Asian American studies programs, Asian American activists forged a pan-Asian consciousness by highlighting their shared resistance to Western imperialism and to U.S. racism. By the mid-1970s, "Asian American" had become a familiar term. Although first coined by college activists, the pan-Asian concept began to be used extensively by professional and community spokespersons to lobby for the welfare, health, and business interests of Americans of Asian descent. Pan-Asian media such as *Amerasia Journal* and *Asian Week* newspaper have also been established. Moreover, some single ethnic organizations such as the Japanese American Citizens League and the Organization of Chinese Americans began to take up issues that affect all Asians. Commenting on

the “literally scores of pan-Asian organizations” in the mid-1970s, William Liu asserted that “the idea of pan-Asian cooperation [was] viable and ripe for development” (Liu 1976, 6).

The advent of state-sponsored affirmative action programs provided another material reason for Asian American subgroups to consolidate their efforts. Because the welfare state bureaucracy often treats all Asian Americans as a single administrative unit in distributing economic and political resources, it imposes a pan-Asian structure on persons and communities dependent on government support. As dealings with government bureaucracies increased, political and civic participation along a pan-Asian line became necessary, not only because numbers confer power but also because the pan-Asian category is the institutionally relevant category in the political and legal system. Although administratively treated as a homogeneous group, Asian Americans found it necessary—and even advantageous—to respond as a group.

Although political benefits certainly promote pan-Asian organization, it is anti-Asian violence that has consistently drawn the largest pan-Asian support. For many Asian Americans, anti-Asian violence concerns the entire group, cross-cutting class, cultural, and generational divisions. The 1982 killing of Vincent Chin, a Chinese American who was beaten to death by two white men who allegedly mistook him for Japanese, united Asian Americans across generational, ethnic, class, and political lines. For some Asian Americans, the Chin case marked their first participation in a pan-Asian effort. Their belief that all Asian Americans are potential victims propelled them to join together in self-defense and to monitor, report, and protest anti-Asian violence. In particular, Asian Americans pushed for the collection and reporting of statistics on anti-Asian crimes at the local, state, and federal levels. This pan-Asian activism has forced government officials, the media, and the public to be more attentive and responsive to anti-Asian crimes.

Changing Demographic and Economic Characteristics

The post-1965 immigration surge has transformed Asian America—and thus the feasibility of pan-Asian

civic engagement—in dramatic ways. The share of immigration in the United States from Asia as a proportion of total admission grew from 5 percent in the 1950s to 11 percent in the 1960s and to 33 percent in the 1970s, and it has remained at 35 percent since 1980. In sheer numbers, the Asian American population grew from 1.4 million in 1970 to 7.3 million in 1990, to 10.2 million in 2000, and to 14.7 million in 2010. By 2030, it is projected that the API population will be nearly 25 million and will comprise just over 7 percent of the total population. According to Zhou and Gatewood, immigration accounted for more than two-thirds of the spectacular population growth. The population growth for the new national origin groups (Indians, Koreans, Vietnamese, Cambodians, Laotians, and the Hmong) can be attributed almost entirely to immigration. The dramatic growth in the absolute numbers of Asian Americans has been accompanied by increasing ethnic, generational, and socioeconomic diversity within Asian America. As Michael Omi succinctly states, “The irony is that the term [‘Asian American’] came into vogue at precisely the historical moment when new Asian groups were entering the U.S. who would render the term problematic” (Omi 1993, 205).

By most accounts, the expanding diversity of Asian Americans has brought into question the very definition of Asian America—and along with it, the feasibility and appropriateness of pan-Asian identities and practices. In a major public policy report on the state of Asian America, editor Paul Ong suggests that the pan-Asian identity is “fragile,” citing as evidence the group’s ethnic and economic diversity as well as the growing population of bi- and multiracial Asian Americans who want to acknowledge their combined racial heritage. Similarly, in the introduction to their multidisciplinary reader on contemporary Asian America, editors Min Zhou and James Gatewood caution that “differences in class background among the immigrant generation and divergent modes of incorporation of that generation can deter the formation of panethnicity.” Comparing the experiences of affluent Chinese immigrants and Cambodian refugees, Aihwa Ong concludes that the category “Asian American” “must confront the contradictions and instabilities within the imposed solidarity, brought about by the

group's internal class, ethnic, and racial stratifications" (Ong 1976, 751). In Asian American studies, some scholars have critically pointed to the field's privileging of East Asians over South and Southeast Asians—a clear indictment of the suppression of diverse histories, epistemologies, and voices within the pan-Asian framework.

Organizing as Asian Americans

During the post-1965 period, the Asian American community's growing numbers, high growth rate, and local concentration promise to enhance the political influence of their pan-Asian civic engagement. On the other hand, the expanding diversity of Asian America presents multiple challenges to building a meaningful pan-Asian political coalition. A review of the research on Asian American civic engagement suggests that pan-Asian organizing is a *secondary but politically critical phenomenon* that is constantly shaped and reshaped by social, cultural, legal, and political forces in the environment. It is also important to note that ethnic-specific identities and panethnic identities are not mutually exclusive; both exist simultaneously and both serve as a resource for the development of Asian American political participation and empowerment.

Asian Americans, regardless of how they define themselves ethnically, organize panethnically when they determine that pan-Asian alliance is important for the protection and advancement of their civic and political agenda. In her analysis of 55 national pan-Asian organizations from 1970 to 1998, Dina Okamoto found that the number of pan-Asian organizations has increased since 1970 and throughout the 1980s, with the peak occurring in 1980. A smaller number of national pan-Asian organizations formed in the 1990s, which may be due to the increasing diversity of the Asian populations or to the increasing size and influence of the existing organizations. More than one-quarter of the pan-Asian organizations established between 1970 and 1998 were political organizations that shared the common goals of promoting civil, economic, and political rights for Asian Americans as well as for Asians in their respective countries of origin. In a recent study of 2004 registered Asian American organizations, Chi-kan Richard Hung found that pan-

Asian organizations are in the minority (14 percent), but that they tend to have more assets and revenue than ethnic-specific ones. Echoing Okamoto's findings, Hung reports that social service and public interest organizations are more likely to be pan-Asian than religious and cultural ones. Moreover, even though pan-Asian organizations are not growing as quickly as ethnic-specific ones, their steady growth, especially in the arena of political advocacy, is noteworthy. Lai reports that Asian American community-based organizations are among the "fastest growing public service sectors in California during the last three decades" (Lai 2007–2008, 7). In 1998, over 250 pan-Asian organizations existed in Los Angeles and Orange counties. In 2007, there were over 150 organizations that focused on political advocacy alone. Overall, these findings suggest that Asian Americans form pan-Asian organizations to respond to external political and funding opportunities and to fight unequal opportunities and discriminatory treatment.

Other studies confirm that racial discrimination galvanizes pan-Asian mobilization: as Asian Americans find themselves without opportunities and fair treatment, they establish supportive alliances from which to strategize about collective issues. As an example, Leland Saito reports that Japanese and Chinese Americans came together in Monterey Park, California, to protest xenophobic attempts to remove Asian languages on business signs. Linda Vo's study of the Asian Business Association in San Diego provides another example: Asian Americans joined the association because of shared professional interests and shared experiences of economic exclusion and employment discrimination. Along the same line, Okamoto found that underlying structural conditions, such as occupational segregation and spatial concentration, heighten panethnic consciousness, leading Asian Americans to found pan-Asian institutions.

Asian American activists have also organized to combat anti-Asian violence, which is defined not as random attacks against Asians but as a product of structural oppression and everyday encounters. The activities of the Asian Americans United, a panethnic community-based organization in Philadelphia, provide an example. When large numbers of Southeast Asian immigrants began experiencing problems in

Philadelphia with racist violence, educational inequality, and poor housing, a small group of educated East and South Asian American activist responded. Modeling themselves after the militant Yellow Seeds organization in the 1970s, group members insisted on anti-imperialist politics, a critique of racism as institutional and structural, and a focus on activist organizing and politics. They organized a successful rent strike and were part of a victorious legal campaign to institute bilingual education in the local schools. Most important, they sought to build relationships with working-class Southeast Asian communities by creating a youth leadership-training program organized around a pan-Asian identity and radical politics. This example suggests that class need not be a source of cleavage among Asian Americans, and that the concerns of working-class Asian Americans *can* unite people at the grassroots level with class-conscious members of the intellectual and professional strata. The pervasiveness of racism also catalyzes pan-Asian organizing among Asian American college students. Colleges constitute an important site for the emergence of pan-Asianism because they are among the public institutions that lump all Asians into a single group and also because young Asian Americans—whose ethnic and racial identities are shaped largely in dialogue with and in opposition to U.S. racist ideologies and practices—are much more receptive to Asian American panethnicity than their immigrant parents.

Asian Americans have also been active in the policymaking arena. As an immigrant-majority population, Asian Americans have united to contest anti-immigration policies in the late twentieth century. During the 1996 presidential election, the issue of immigration was at the center of attention for Asian Americans. In the congressional fight over the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act, Asian American (and Latino) groups led the proimmigrant family coalition, which formed to preserve yearly allocations of family-unification visas. They also lobbied to protect and enhance the rights of foreign workers. Regarding welfare reform, Asian Americans' responses splintered along ethnic and class lines. Many affluent Asian Americans regarded the harsh 1995 Welfare Reform Act, which bars disadvantaged immigrants from many government assistance

programs, as a "refugee" or "elderly" immigrant issue that did not concern them. However, many Asian Americans became interested in the 1995 Act once they realized that it included language that would have made legal immigrants ineligible for student loans and grants. In other words, it was the proposed cut to educational benefits rather than to welfare benefits that galvanized Asian Americans into action because many did not view educational assistance as welfare. The welfare reform case thus encapsulates both the possibilities and limits of pan-Asian advocacy efforts: on the one hand, Asian Americans will organize panethnically to protect their interests; on the other hand, what they perceive to be *their* interests can and do exclude the needs of the most marginalized Asian American groups.

Conclusion

The emergence of the pan-Asian entity in the late 1960s may be one of the most significant political developments in Asian American civic engagement. The existing evidence suggests that Asian American panethnic organizing is closely linked to civic engagement: whenever there is a need to combine their resources, Asian Americans act as a cohesive unit, presenting a united front against the dominant society. This united front does not mean that Asian Americans dismiss internal differences and divisions, but only that they look beyond them. The post-1965 immigration has fueled population growth and led to greater visibility for Asian Americans, but their changing demographics has also complicated pan-Asian organizing. In particular, Asian immigration to the United States is bifurcated along class lines: many Asian immigrants are uneducated, unskilled, and poor, whereas others are highly educated, skilled, and affluent. Moreover, Asian immigrants do not share a common history, sensibility, or political outlook with U.S.-born Asians. Such internal diversities have made it more difficult for Asian Americans to speak with a unified political voice. Thus Asian American panethnicity has been an efficacious but contested category, encompassing not only cultural differences but also social, political, and economic inequalities.

Yen Le Espiritu

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Parachute Kids

Parachute kids are defined as minors who are sent to live and study in the United States without their parents. They can be as young as eight years of age, but the majority are between the ages of 13 and 17 years old. They often live alone or with a relative, family friend, or unrelated paid caregiver. This phenomenon first emerged in the 1980s. Most parachute kids come from Taiwan, followed by South Korea, Hong Kong, and China, with smaller numbers of parachute kids from other countries such as Indonesia,

Malaysia, and the Philippines. Other terms have been used to describe these children. For example, in Taiwan, these minors are referred to as “little overseas students” or in Mandarin as “Hsiao Liu Hsue Sheng.” The term “air-dropped children” was coined because of the lack of involvement by parents with children attending school abroad. Other terms used by the media include “parental dumping,” or “child dumping,” and in academic literature, they are commonly described as “unaccompanied minors.”

Among the young overseas students coming from Asian countries, those from Taiwan were the most noticeable and gained much media attention both in Taiwan and in the United States. From 1983 to 1993, it was estimated that more than 24,000 elementary school children and over 13,000 secondary (seventh to twelfth grades) school students left Taiwan to attend school in the United States. The majority of these students remained in the United States until the completion of their undergraduate and graduate studies. It has been estimated that the number of unaccompanied minors have increased significantly since 1991 given the intensified political unrest in Taiwan and Hong Kong, and the 1990 revision of the Immigration Act of 1965 that increased the number of immigrants and the number of professional immigrants in particular. As for students from South Korea, a former employee of the Korean Ministry of Education estimated in 1997 that 7,000 unaccompanied minors were enrolled in elementary and secondary schools in Southern California alone.

Many unaccompanied minors arrived in the United States as foreign students on F-1 visas, and approximately one-third came with their entrepreneurial parents on B-2 visitors visas, which were later adjusted to F-1 status. Taiwanese unaccompanied minors are usually between the ages of 6 and 18. The majority of them come from upper-middle class, or upper-class socioeconomic families.

Motivations

Most research on the parents’ motivation for sending unaccompanied children to the United States found that the primary reason is for improved academic opportunities. This is consistent with traditional Asian beliefs in emphasizing education as the key for social

mobility, success, and distinction. In many Asian countries, a college education is a much desired but unlikely goal for most high school graduates because of the rigorous unified national entrance exams at both the high school and the college level. For example, in the early 1990s, there was approximately a 10 percent college admissions ratio in Hong Kong, and only 8 percent of the 18-year-old young adults enrolled in college in Taiwan, compared to 30 percent in Japan and 50 percent in the United States. In South Korea, children often spend 15 hours each day studying away from home to compete for university entrance. Other factors that motivated families to send their children to a new country may include the political uncertainty in Asian countries such as Taiwan, Hong Kong, and South Korea. Parents in Taiwan and South Korea may want their male children to avoid the compulsory military services and for their female children to take care of their younger brother in the United States. For some families, sending their children abroad may serve as a “status symbol” that was indicative of upper socioeconomic class standing. Lastly, some families may have had plans to immigrate but parents needed to stay in the country of origin for family or business reasons and decided to send the children alone to the United States first to adjust to the language and culture before the parents can join them.

Despite the many factors that motivated parents to send their children abroad, parents of the unaccompanied minors decided to stay in their countries of origin and not immigrate to the United States with their children for a variety of reasons. They may have strong business or professional ties in their countries that provide the financial stability that makes it possible for their children to be in the United States. They may need to stay and care for other family members. These parents often hope that their children would return to their countries of origin after being educated in the United States and gaining advantages in the global market for being able to speak English fluently compared to those who were educated in their countries of origin.

Living in the United States

The living situations of these unaccompanied minors range from having their own house to sharing living

spaces with other young adults, including (1) minors living by themselves or with siblings in a house or apartment, (2) minors living with legal guardians who are their relatives or parents' friends, (3) minors living with paid legal guardians/caregivers/landlords, or (4) minors living with other students in boarding schools or privately run boarding homes. These living situations give the unaccompanied minors greater freedom than if they had lived with their parents, and they are often less fearful of trying out typically discouraged behaviors such as smoking or drinking. They also have access to more spending money than the other adolescents. At the same time, these unaccompanied minors are often responsible for not only taking care of their own needs but also the needs of their younger sibling(s) as well. They have to learn how to navigate through different systems, such as schools, government agencies, and the bureaucracy of these systems without adult guidance. In the media and by some in the mainstream society, the unaccompanied minors are often perceived as maladjusted foreigners who attend public schools at the expense of American taxpayers with "bad" or "neglectful" parents. This perception intensified with the critically acclaimed crime-drama *Better Luck Tomorrow* (2003)—Hollywood feature film that included parachute kids as central characters.

A related immigration trend is the "astronaut family," where one parent (usually the mother) immigrates with the children to the host country and the other parent (usually the father) stays in the country of origin living and working to pursue economic advantages. The South Koreans call these families *kirogi*, or wild geese, the birds that mate for life and travel great distances to bring back food for their young. The absent parent who returns to the home country is termed the astronaut, which is a derivative of the Chinese word *taikongren*, meaning "a person who spends time in space." There is very little data on the number of astronaut families in the United States. It was estimated that 100,000 astronaut immigrants arrived in Canada between 1989 and 1993, and the occurrence of such families is common enough for the term to be generally used in the Chinese community and to be noted in mainstream American media. There are many shared motivations for the parents of an astronaut

family to decide to have one parent stay in the country of origin while the rest of the family live in the United States. In addition to the reasons described earlier for parents of parachute kids, the booming economy in East Asian countries made many first-generation immigrants feel that the United States no longer offers as many economic opportunities as in their home countries. Furthermore, for most of the middle class or upper-middle class new immigrants, the employment and financial opportunities in the United States are usually less lucrative than in one's home country. Especially for those who are established professionals (e.g., physicians, attorneys, architects) in their home countries, the process of becoming recognized or obtaining licensure is difficult, in addition to language barriers. Therefore, to sustain lifestyle and financial stability, astronaut families have the main income earner stay behind and continue generating a good income as the rest of the family settles in the new country.

Family units as a whole are often impacted by the separation in distance and different cultures. Communications between parachute kids and their parents became less frequent over time. Parents may feel guilty and worried for being apart from their children. For astronaut families, the physical separation between the parents also impacts the marital relationship and relationships with children.

The common feelings of loneliness, sadness, anger, alienation, and homesickness can become precursors for the development of serious psychological and behavioral problems in parachute kids, such as depression, anxiety, gambling, or substance abuse. The adjustment process inherent in the immigration experience can be a risk factor in and of itself. Research has found that those parachute kids who tend to adjust well are those who make use of available adult supervision and guidance, seek out a network of peers who are similar in background and values, and maintain a connection to their own ethnic identity and community.

Yuying Tsong

See also Adopted Asian Americans; Korean Americans; Taiwanese Americans

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Park, Richard (1976–)

In 1994, the Pittsburgh Penguins selected six-foot, 190-pound Richard Park in the second round (fiftieth overall) of the National Hockey League (NHL) Entry

Draft. Park played in only one regular season game and three playoff games in his debut season, but the following year he played in 56 games and achieved 10 points totaled. For the next five seasons, Park bounced around the minors, playing for NHL affiliates in Cleveland, Cincinnati, Philadelphia, and Utah, as well as for the NHL Anaheim Mighty Ducks and Philadelphia Flyers.

In 2001, Park joined the Minnesota Wild. In his three seasons there, he achieved career highs in games played (81), goals scored (14), assists earned (15), and points totaled (25). During the Wild's Cinderella run in the 2003 Stanley Cup Playoffs, Park scored the winning goal in overtime in game six of the Western Conference Quarterfinals.

During the 2004–2005 NHL lockout, Park played for Team USA in the 2004 World Championship, helping them capture the bronze. He then signed short-term contracts in Sweden and Switzerland with the Malmö Redhawks and the SCL Tigers, respectively. Park returned to the United States to play one season for the Vancouver Canucks and then two seasons with the New York Islanders. Park was named the recipient of the Bob Nystrom Award, presented annually to the Islander "who best exemplifies leadership, hustle and dedication." He also served as the Islanders' alternate captain in the 2008–2009 season. After returning to Switzerland to play for Genève-Servette HC for one season, Park returned to the team that drafted him, the Penguins, for the 2011–2012 season.

Throughout his career, Park has gained renown for his hustle and leadership. He is also considered one of the league's top penalty killers, a role that often requires him to skate when his team is short-handed (down one skater because of a penalty). He scored four short-handed goals during the 2007–2008 regular season, finishing among the league leaders in this category. After Park retires, he plans to raise awareness of hockey in Korea, which will host the 2018 Olympic Winter Games.

Terry Park

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Park, Tongsun (1935–)

Tongsun Park is a South Korean businessman and lobbyist. He was implicated in the 1970s Koreagate scandal and the 2000s U.N. Oil-for-Food Program scandal. His highly publicized involvement in these two political scandals raised lingering suspicions among Americans about the practices of Asian ethnic lobbies and lobbyists.

Park was born on March 16, 1935, in Sunch'ŏn, Korea (now a part of North Korea). Shortly before the Korean War, he fled the North with his family to Seoul. After high school, he moved to the United States and eventually enrolled at Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service. After graduating in 1962, he returned to South Korea to oversee one of his family's companies, *Miryung Sansa* (an oil tanker firm).

Throughout the 1960s, Park returned to the United States frequently and established ties to various political figures in Washington, D.C. In 1966, he opened the George Town Club, where he hosted social events attended by politicians and officials. His elaborate dinner parties earned him a reputation as the "Asian Great Gatsby." During this time, he developed a particularly close relationship with Congressman Richard Hanna (D-CA), with whom he arranged large sales of California rice to the South Korean government.

Through Hanna, he established relationships with other members of Congress, particularly ones representing rice-growing districts.

Impressed with Park's growing influence in Washington, the South Korean government enlisted him to lobby on their behalf during the mid-1960s. By the start of 1970s, he had become a central component of South Korea's lobbying efforts. Using funds from the South Korean government, he gave various congressmen cash and gifts as well as made campaign contributions in exchange for favorable representation in Congress.

In the fall of 1976, Park became a central figure in the Koreagate scandal. The nature of his activities was uncovered during a congressional investigation of the Korean Central Intelligence Agency's activities in the United States. When allegations of illegal lobbying became widely known, a major political scandal ensued, which the press dubbed "Koreagate." Fearing prosecution, Park fled the country shortly after the scandal broke. A U.S. District Court, nevertheless, indicted him on over 30 criminal charges, including bribery, illegal campaign contributions, and racketeering. After being granted immunity by the U.S. government, he returned to testify about his lobbying activities in the spring of 1978. Although denying he was a South Korean agent, he admitted to giving nearly a million dollars to various congressmen and to conspiring with Congressman Otto Passman (D-LA) to buy influence in Congress. His testimony resulted in the conviction of two members of Congress (Hanna and Passman) and the reprimands of three others. In 1979, after the scandal subsided, the U.S. government dropped all legal charges against Park.

In 2005, Park was implicated in the U.N. Oil-for-Food Program scandal. According to investigators, he illegally lobbied on the behalf of the Iraqi government for the approval of the Oil-For-Food Program, which was designed to bypass U.N. economic sanctions against Iraq. He was convicted of conspiracy charges by the U.S. government in the summer of 2006 and was sentenced to five years in prison, \$15,000 in fine, and was forced to forfeit \$1.2 million in ill-gotten profit. Since his release from prison in 2008, Park returned to Korea and has remained active in various business ventures, including serving as chairman for

the Parkington Group, an international consulting business he established in 1976.

Patrick Chung

See also Koreagate; Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA) and the Korean American Community

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Park Yong-man (1881–1928)

Park Yong-man, born July 2, 1881, was a reformist and activist for Korean independence during Japan's annexation of Korea, and one of the early Korean immigrants to the United States. Park is known for mobilizing militantly and internationally, founding organizations advocating independence in Nebraska, Hawaii, and Colorado in the United States. He also traveled around Asia, at one point as an intelligence agent and spy, and aided the establishment of a nationalist army in Siberia.

Park was born into a family that practiced military traditions in Cheorwon, Gangwon province. After Park's parents passed away at an early age, his uncle Park Hee Byung assumed the role of father. Park Hee Byung moved from Cheorwon to Seoul to Japan with Park Yong-man, and it was in Japan that he was exposed to notions of reformation and national independence. Park returned to Korea in 1897 and proceeded to immerse himself in a network of reformists and participated in the reformist movement. Park's activities drew the attention of the Korean government, and Park was imprisoned when he met Syngman Rhee—a fellow reformist and the future first president

of the Republic of Korea. Although the relationship between the two became antagonistic over the years because of divergent political beliefs, when imprisoned together the two shared a fruitful relationship. Park contributed to Rhee's book *The Spirit of Independence* that became one of the most important tracts in Korean independence movement.

After being released from prison in 1903, Park migrated to the United States in 1904 to continue his education. He initially settled in Nebraska and studied at the Hastings Institute in Nebraska. Upon graduating, he moved to Denver, Colorado where he helped mobilize a network of nationalists with his uncle. Park returned to Nebraska to continue his studies in political and military science at the University of Nebraska in the aftermath of his uncle's assassination in 1907.

Coming from a family of military tradition and through continued studies in military science, Park became deeply involved in organizing Koreans in America through the establishment of military schools. He first established a military school in Kearney, Nebraska and later on created the Korean Military Corps (Daechosun Kookmin Kundan) in Hawaii. The Korean Military Corps was supported by the U.S. Hawaii Army Headquarters and trained approximately 300 men before ending its tenure in 1917. This was rooted in his own political point of view that the use of military force was necessary in the anticolonial struggle and in achieving national independence. In practice, this meant offering programs training young Korean Americans through military drills, teaching them military tactics as well as educating them in history, science, and language skills.

In 1919, Park translated the March First Declaration from Korean to English for publication in Hawaii. In May of the same year, he took on the role of intelligence agent for the American Expeditionary Forces in Siberia. Americans were allied with the Japanese military force in Siberia at the time, and consequently Park allegedly and inadvertently was assigned the task of spying on Koreans, which was paradoxical to his own nationalist agenda. However it was during this time that Park also covertly contributed to founding a nationalist army.

Park's job at the American Expeditionary Forces ended with the withdrawal of U.S. forces in Siberia

the following year. Subsequently, Park traveled to Shanghai where he became involved with the activities of the Korean Provisional Government—a government in exile. While in Shanghai, Park furthered his militant efforts by pooling funds to a leftist, militant group called Yiyuldan; he was also part of negotiations for a clandestine defense pact between the Soviets and the Provisional Government. His commitment to military confrontation with the Japanese was what drove a fork in his relationship with Syngman Rhee, who committed to a more diplomatic approach to the anticolonial struggle. In addition, despite his commitment to national independence, Park was also known to have continued working with those who supported the Japanese annexation of Korea.

Park continued his efforts in mobilizing militantly in Manchuria. In 1924, he returned to Korea with a group of military and business leaders from the Japanese puppet government of China and was eventually accused by the Korean Provisional Government of being a Japanese spy and collaborating with the enemy. Park was assassinated on October 17, 1928, in Beijing, China at the request of General Ji Chung Chun—head of military affairs in the Provisional Government. Consequently Park’s legacy remains a contradiction of reformist activity striving toward national independence through military confrontation with the Japanese and simultaneously being accused of engaging in activities advocating the efforts of Japanese oppression.

Hyein Lee

See also Korean Americans; Rhee, Syngman

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Parque, Jim Vo (1976–)

Jim Vo Parque is a former Major League Baseball (MLB) pitcher who possesses Vietnamese ancestry on his mother’s side. Born in Norwalk, California in 1976, Parque starred at UCLA before being drafted in the first round by the American League Chicago White Sox in 1997. He quickly moved up the Minor League ladder and started his first game for the White Sox in 1998. Until arm injuries plagued him, Parque had carved out a promising career as a left-handed starter. In 2000, he had a record of 13 wins and 6 losses. However, by 2002, he was on his way out of Major League Baseball. Parque subsequently confessed to using steroids when struggling with a damaged left arm.

Joel S. Franks

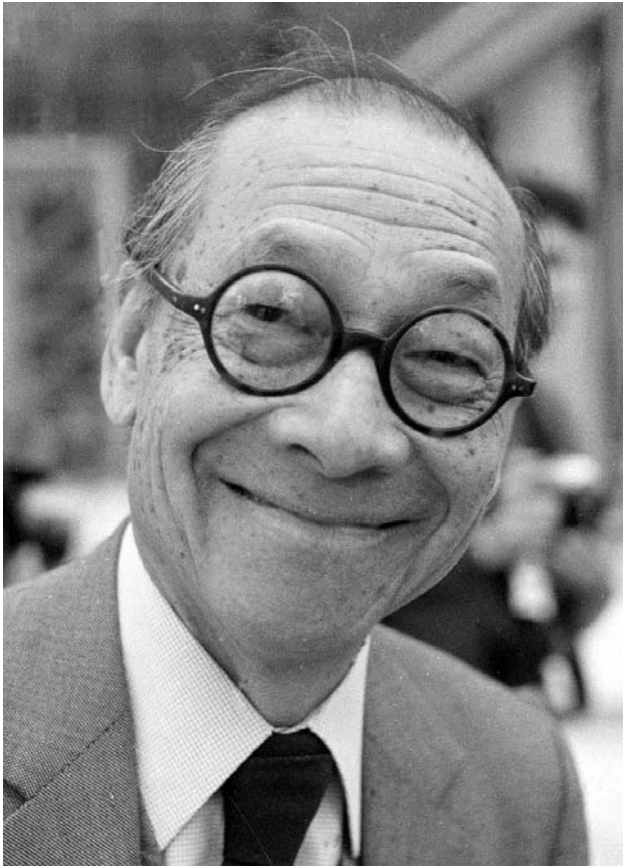
See also Vietnamese Americans

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Pei, I. M. (1917–)

Jeoh Ming (I. M.) Pei is a renowned Chinese American architect, founder and partner at Pei Cobb Freed & Partners, and leader in the Chinese American community. Pei is best known for his work on large-scale institutional and high-profile projects, such as the Grand Louvre in Paris, the East Building of the National Gallery of Art in Washington, the John Fitzgerald Kennedy Library in Boston, and the Bank of China Tower in Hong Kong. Pei’s signature style defies easy categorization and blends a modernist penchant for sleek geometric lines, glass, concrete and steel with a dedication to local context, history, and indigenous materials. In addition to his architectural accomplishments, Pei founded the Committee of



Chinese American architect I. M. Pei. (AP Photo)

100 in 1990, following the Tiananmen Square protests and massacre in 1989, with the goal of providing a voice for Chinese Americans in the United States, speeding their integration into all facets of American life, and to seek positive relations between the people of the United States and China.

Pei was born on April 26, 1917, to Tsuyee and Lien Kwun Pei in Canton, China, where Tsuyee worked at the Bank of China. Pei grew up in Shanghai and Suzhou (Jiangsu province) and left China for the United States to attend college in 1935. Though he had planned to return to China after completing his schooling, war and China's political turmoil made his move a permanent one.

Likewise, Pei's educational path was bumpy and almost discouraged him from his early goal of becoming an architect. Pei enrolled in the University of Pennsylvania to study architecture, but he quickly found that the campus climate and emphasis of the program on the mastery of the classical Parisian design

style as transplanted from the Ecole de Beaux-Arts were not a good fit. After only a few weeks at Penn, Pei transferred to the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) and began studying engineering. Dean William Emerson noticed his potential in sketches that he had made for his engineering courses and persuaded him to return to architecture. Pei received his Bachelors of Architecture at MIT in 1940.

Though Pei had intended to return home to China after graduation, the Japanese bombing of Shanghai and subsequent occupation of the city prevented his return. Instead, Pei took a position as a draftsman at Stone & Webster, an engineering firm in Boston. In June 20, 1942, Pei and Eileen Loo were married. In 1942, Pei attended the Harvard Graduate School of Design's architecture program, led by Bauhaus refugees Walter Gropius and Marcel Breuer. In contrast to MIT's emphasis on the Beaux-Arts style, Gropius and Breuer espoused a modernist style and philosophy that a change of the architectural environment toward streamlined, utopian geometry made possible with use of modern materials would lead to social change. Pei embraced the influences of his mentor Gropius, and other modern designers such as Le Corbusier, Mies van der Rohe, and Frank Lloyd Wright, but regarded some of social implications of the modernist vision with some skepticism.

Shortly after enrollment, Pei left Harvard to volunteer for the National Defense Research Committee in Princeton, a liaison between physicists conducting weapons research and the White House. Pei drew upon his expertise as an architect and understanding of how buildings were held together to understand how to destroy them and was called upon to devise plans on how to most effectively bomb Japanese cities.

Once the war ended, Pei returned to Harvard to earn a master of architecture degree in 1946. Following graduation, Pei began teaching at Harvard. In 1955, both Pei and Eileen became naturalized U.S. citizens.

In 1948, after heavy recruitment by New York real estate developer William Zeckendorf, Pei joined real estate development corporation Webb & Knapp as its director of architecture. Pei's early projects included a renovation of Webb & Knapp's offices and, in 1950, his first building—a corporate building for Gulf Oil

in Atlanta used local Georgia marble to keep costs down. At Webb & Knapp, Pei oversaw large-scale architectural and urban renewal and redevelopment projects that were met with varying levels of success. After several projects in Denver, Washington, D.C., and Montreal, Pei gained a reputation among Zeckendorf's vice presidents for designing very costly buildings. Providing oversight for many simultaneous projects, Pei was less free to develop his own design style and relied on his staff to work in-depth on individual projects. Though providing connections and experience with development and the business side, his association with Zeckendorf stigmatized Pei as a developer's architect, and critics considered his projects at Kips Bay Plaza in Manhattan and University Plaza at New York University to be bland modernist towers that ruptured the landscape of their immediate surroundings.

In 1955, Pei took steps toward separation from Webb & Knapp by establishing I. M. Pei & Associates. By 1960, I. M. Pei & Associates officially broke from Webb & Knapp. They would go on to become I. M. Pei and Partners, to recognize the contributions of Henry Cobb, Araldo Cossutta, and administrative talents of Eason Leonard in 1966, though the partners would not be officially recognized in name until the firm became Pei Cobb Freed & Partners in 1989. The firm's break from Webb & Knapp allowed Pei to more fully develop his own style by having a more direct role in individual projects.

Pei's design for the National Center for Atmospheric Research (NCAR) in Boulder, Colorado, was emblematic of his sensitivity towards integrating the natural elements of a site with the built environment and incorporation of indigenous building materials and styles. Located on a 6,200-foot high mesa in the Rocky Mountain foothills, together with client Dr. Walter Orr Roberts, Pei created a meandering approach that drew upon the natural drama of the site, and a sculptural rectilinear grouping of structures that nestled into the hillside that were inspired by Anasazi Indian adobe buildings.

After the NCAR project, Pei won two important commissions that would considerably raise his national profile and garner him both acclaim and criticism: the John Fitzgerald Kennedy Library and the

East Building of the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C. The first project was wrought with controversy, including organized opposition to an influx of tourists to the proposed site in Cambridge, Massachusetts, in general, and to Pei's design in particular. After modifications to the design and the passage of several years, the Kennedy Library Committee settled on a site at Columbia Point, with views of downtown Boston and the harbor. The Kennedy Library featured a dramatic space-frame atrium, framed by intersecting and processional geometric forms. Though met with only a muted critical response when it opened in 1979, the bond that Pei forged with Jacqueline Kennedy during the project granted him access to important connections and international attention. Indeed, throughout his career, Pei's friendliness, confidence, elegant demeanor, powers of persuasion, and intuitive ability to negotiate power dynamics and befriend clients were important professional assets that complemented his technical and design skills.

In 1978, the East Building of the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., another of Pei's major long-term projects, opened. With the East Building, a collaboration with sponsor Paul Mellon and assistant director of the National Gallery, J. Carter Brown, Pei intended to showcase large-scale modern art as well as smaller works and to accommodate large crowds. Pei embraced the trapezoidal shape of the site on the Mall by bisecting the site into two triangular buildings, one for the gallery and another for a study center, and repeated the triangular motif throughout. Irregularly shaped panes of glass in triangular scaffolding added light and movement to the main space, which is adorned with a large abstract sculpture by Alexander Calder.

The building received mixed reviews. Some praised it as an appropriate showcase for contemporary art at a grand scale, and others deemed it too targeted toward the popular consumption of art and lacking in depth. There were still others who criticized the East Building for not being innovative enough and lacking a clear vision, an evaluation that mirrors critiques of Pei's overall body of work. Indeed, Pei's oeuvre shows a conservative refinement and melding of existing styles rather than that of a trailblazer or stylistic purist.

Changing international relations between the United States and China also began to impact Pei's

professional and personal trajectories. In 1974, Pei was able to return to China for the first time as part of a professional delegation with the American Institute of Architects. In 1978, he was invited to China to serve as an advisor on issues of development and city planning, during which, despite his image as a modernist, Pei wanted to preserve China's cultural and architectural heritage. He returned to China again later in the year, and declined an invitation to design several large modern hotels, including a tower near the Forbidden City. Pei expressed his opinion against any project to mar the skyline near the Forbidden City, and his opinions were well taken by the Chinese government. Pei eventually agreed to develop a luxury hotel at Fragrant Hill in northwestern section of Beijing. The Fragrant Hill Hotel was to be a low rise with 325 rooms that mediated on themes that Pei had presented in his master's thesis and with which he would continue to grapple when building the Suzhou Museum in 2006: how to establish a new vernacular in architecture that incorporated historical precedent and style with the demands of contemporary circumstances. Though temples and palaces were no longer relevant economically or ideologically, neither did Pei find the socialist style of Russian architecture desirable. His understated design for the Fragrant Hills Hotel drew upon the style of traditional Chinese family homes, the framed views in the style of the Shizilin Garden in Suzhou, and incorporated rock formations and existing trees as counterpoints to the built landscape. The design, completed in 1982, surprised many in China, who had anticipated something more elaborate, sleek, and modern from Pei. He found the project a challenge and working with the local Chinese construction crew highlighted that after years of living in the United States, he might not be as thoroughly Chinese as he had once thought.

His next project, a 72-story tower for the Bank of China in Hong Kong brought Pei back to the bank branch that had been founded by his father, who was later stripped of his job when banks were nationalized in the Communist revolution. For the skyscraper, Pei developed a diamond-shaped scaffolding that allowed the tower to be structurally sound and taller than its competitor, Norman Foster's Hongkong Bank. In early 1990, Pei began meeting with other prominent Chinese

Americans, including General Motors vice president Shirley Young, investment banker Oscar Tang, and physicist T. D. Lee. Together, they decided to collectively form a group called the Committee of 100, comprised of elite Chinese Americans from various professions. The group's goals would include promoting the dignity and rights of Chinese Americans and Chinese in general, serving as cultural intermediaries, and advising the U.S. government on policy matters relating to China. Government officials such as the Chinese and American ambassadors supported the Committee of 100, but Asian American grassroots activists criticized it as elitist and lacking expertise in substantive issues. The Committee of 100 also works to promote Chinese American interests and support Chinese American candidates from both major political parties.

Pei also celebrated the completion of an office building for the Creative Artists Agency in Hollywood, the Morton H. Meyerson Symphony Center in Dallas, a science building at the Choate Rosemary School in Wallingford, Connecticut, and the project for which he is perhaps best known—the Grande Louvre in Paris. Pei was tasked with incorporating the Richelieu wing into the museum and reorganizing the rooms for gallery and storage space. To clearly demarcate an entrance, Pei devised a translucent pyramid, a shape that had appeared in some of his earlier designs. He intended the pyramid to both visually dissolve into the courtyard space and integrate with the geometric lines of the surrounding buildings. The appropriateness of the pyramid became a source of debate within France, and nationalists questioned the ability of an American with Chinese ancestry to restore a symbol of French national culture and Western art and civilization. Eventually, Pei's work on the Grand Louvre was met with widespread acclaim.

In 1989, Pei stepped down from his role as an active partner in his firm. This allowed him to take on projects of special interest, such as a bell tower and the Miho Museum of Art in Shiga, Japan, for the religious group Shinji Shumeikai, the Four Seasons Hotel in midtown Manhattan, the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame in Cleveland, the Schauhaus wing of the German Historical Museum in Berlin, and the Musée d'Art Moderne Grand-Duc Jean in Luxembourg.

Over his career, Pei has been awarded several honorary doctorates and has won almost every major professional accolade possible. When he was named the 1983 Pritzker Architecture Prize Laureate, he used the prize money to set up a scholarship fund for Chinese students to study architecture in the United States and return to China to practice, thus allowing others to fulfill the goal that he had hoped to achieve as a young man.

Katie Furuyama

See also Chinese Americans; Lin, Maya

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People v. Hall (1854)

In August 1853, George W. Hall, a white man, was indicted for the murder of Ling Sing, a Chinese miner, in Nevada County, California. During Hall's trial, three Chinese witnesses and one white witness testified on behalf of the prosecution. In October 1853, the jury found Hall guilty of murder and sentenced him to death by hanging. Hall appealed the verdict to the California Supreme Court. Hall argued that Chinese witnesses should be prohibited from testifying in court under Section 14 of the California Criminal Proceedings Act. Hall raised this issue for the first time on appeal, which would normally be barred from review. However, the court entertained this issue and wrote an opinion—racist by modern standards—that echoed the sentiments that many white miners held toward the Chinese in the 1850s.

The animosity toward the Chinese miners corresponded to the influx of Chinese in California mines following the Gold Rush of 1848. The Chinese population in California in 1850 was 660; 10 years later, that number had risen dramatically to 34,933. Feeling

threatened by the competition, white miners subjected their Chinese counterparts to physical abuse, excluded them from some mining districts, drove them off of good claims, and asked them to pay higher prices for worked-out claims. They even tried to exclude the Chinese through discriminatory laws, such as the Foreign Miners' Tax of 1852.

The Foreign Miners' Tax of 1852, in practice, was targeted at the Chinese miners; the tax collectors collected these taxes almost entirely from the Chinese. Some of the tax collectors abused their power by collecting taxes from the Chinese on multiple occasions. Other tax collectors murdered Chinese miners. For the Chinese miners who witnessed these incidents of abuse, the admissibility of their testimonies rested upon the outcome of the California Supreme Court's decision in *People v. Hall*. This decision would either combat the aforementioned violence or escalate it.

The California Supreme Court in *People v. Hall* began its review with an examination of Section 14 of the California Criminal Proceedings Act. The Act stated that "No Black, or Mulatto person or Indian, shall be allowed to give evidence in favor of, or against a white man." The Supreme Court, for the first time, had to review whether this Act would be applicable to the Chinese. Following its analysis, the California Supreme Court held that the Chinese were "Indians" and therefore could not testify in court against a white man. This holding meant that Hall's conviction had to be overturned.

Chief Justice Hugh C. Murray, writing for the majority, provided three reasons for overturning the jury verdict. First, the court examined the legislative intent of the words, "Black, Indian, and white" as used in section 394 of the California Civil Act and Section 14 of the California Criminal Proceedings Act. Section 394 used the term "Negro" and Section 14 used the term "Black." The court interpreted the term "Black" to be more broad and comprehensive. Therefore, "Black" is a generic word, which signifies that "white" and "Indian" are generic term as used in section 14 of the California Criminal Proceedings Act.

Before the court addressed whether "Indian" was a generic term, the court examined what the term "Indian" means. The court believed the legislative intent was to include "those portions of Asia which

include India proper, the Eastern Archipelago, and the countries washed by the Chinese waters, as far as then know, were denominated the Indies. . . .” This explanation, coupled with the court’s discussion on Columbus’s voyage to the New World, means the term “Indian” refers to “American Indians and the Mongolian, or Asiatic,” because they “were regarded as the same type of the human species.”

Second, the court resorted to ethnology and early geography to further support its explanation of what it believed was the legislative intent behind the term “Indian.” The court referenced the movement of the early Asian tribes into the Americas and the similar physical features between the peoples of Asia and the Native Americans. The court acknowledged that “the name of Indian, from the time of Columbus to the present day, has been used to designate, not alone the North American Indian, but the whole of the Mongolian race, and that the name, though first applied probably through mistake, was afterwards continued as appropriate on account of the supposed common origin.” The court believed this was the, “common opinion in the early history of American legislation . . . and . . . all legislation upon the subject must have borne relation to that opinion.” As a result, the term “Indian” is generic and comprises the Chinese race. Such an interpretation would exclude the Chinese from testifying in court against a white man.

The court emphasized that the only person who could testify against a white person was a white person. In the words of the court, “the Legislature . . . adopted the most comprehensive terms to embrace every known class or shade of color, as the apparent design was to protect the White person from the influence of all testimony other than that of persons of the same caste. The use of these terms must, by every sound rule of construction, exclude everyone one who is not of white blood.”

Finally, the court relied upon public policy to verify their construction of the term “Indian.” If the court admitted non-whites to testify, it would “admit them to all the equal rights of citizenship, and we might soon see them at the polls, in the jury box, upon the bench, and in our legislative halls . . . it is an actual and present danger.” As the court stated, it could not imagine extending equal rights to non-whites. Justice

Alexander Wells dissented; however, no dissenting opinion was written.

This decision sanctioned white men to commit acts of violence against the Chinese; it made the Chinese more susceptible to abuse and riots. In response to the *Hall* decision, the Chinese hired lobbyists to advocate on their behalf in Sacramento. But change was slow. The impact of the *Hall* decision lasted for 18 years, from 1854 to 1872. In 1872, in an effort to conform state law to the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution, statutes and case law could no longer prohibit the admission of evidence in court provided by the Chinese or any race. No California statute or case law ever directly overruled the decision in *People v. Hall*.

Jennifer J. Lee

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Phan, Aimee (1977–)

Author Aimee Phan was born in the city of Orange, California, the first of two children. Her parents were part of the small population of students and professionals who came to the United States from Vietnam before 1975; her mother and father subsequently became a social worker and medical interpreter, respectively. Phan’s mother, having returned to Vietnam for a visit immediately before April 1975, was asked to accompany an orphanage upon her departure, and was therefore one of the social workers on a flight of Operation Babylift. Phan discovered this in the end stages of writing her first book.

Phan attended public schools in Orange and later in Irvine, although these were still largely white communities. At UCLA for her undergraduate studies, she started as a pre-med student, but took courses in literature and writing concurrently, knowing that the latter were her true interests. For a time Phan considered pursuing a career in journalism, as a supposedly more practical or financially stable alternative to

creative writing and began writing for the *Daily Bruin* campus newspaper. She interned at the *New York Times* Dallas bureau and at *USA Today* after her sophomore and junior years of college, respectively. Phan graduated with an English major and an Asian American studies minor in 2000.

Accepted to the Iowa Writers' Workshop, where she won a Maytag Fellowship, Phan received her MFA in 2002. She has taught creative writing in at the University of Nevada in Las Vegas (2003–2005), in the English department at Washington State University (2005–2007), and is currently assistant professor in the graduate writing program and chair of Writing and Literature at California College of the Arts (2007–present).

Phan's first book, *We Should Never Meet* (Picador 2005), a collection of lightly intersecting, fictional stories set in both South Vietnam and Orange County, centers on the lives of Vietnamese orphans during the war and then decades later. It shifts perspective between those of four adoptees in the 1990s, and of those who *may have* given birth to or tended to them as babies at various orphanages—although resisting the reader's urge to make those connections definitive. Informed by a strong feminist as well as ethnic studies analysis, the book creates a structure of expectation and disappointment, echoing the emotional guesswork of adoptees looking for their histories. The narratives remain circumspectly unresolved: What is lost is not recovered, whether histories or relationships; connections broken are not remade. But Phan's Vietnamese Americans move forward, with whatever new possibilities are afforded by forgiveness.

A carefully constructed and highly teachable book, *We Should Never Meet*, won the 2004 Association of Asian American Studies Book Award, was named a Notable Book by the Kiriyama Prize in fiction, and was a finalist for the 2005 Asian American Literary Awards.

The *San Francisco Chronicle* reviews the book as follows:

The characters in each story are connected by their shared experiences in the Vietnam War: a mother who has to give up her mixed-race child for adoption; a U.S. doctor who comes over to volunteer at an orphanage; an adoptee who's in cultural limbo;

a Vietnamese social worker who risks her future to keep her family together; a woman struggling to forge a new identity for herself in the United States as she tries not to forget her past. The characters in one story have cameos in another, Phan weaves them together seamlessly.

To her credit, Phan does not try to water down the complicated issues involved, does she try to invoke a false sympathy for or demonize any of her characters. There are no clear-cut solutions or happy endings in the portraits she creates, which is a testament to her vision and skill as a writer. It would have been easier to take sides, to simplify feelings and strive for clear answers, but she sets herself the more difficult task of being real. The author doesn't let anyone get away clean; everyone has scars here.

Publishers Weekly lauded *We Should Never Meet* as “a wrenching, poignant collection,” whereas the *Los Angeles Times* praised the stories for their “acuity and sensitivity, and a wisdom that is remarkable for such a young writer.” In *Ends of Empire*, Jodi Kim calls the book a “significant and much-needed analytic in the discussions of transnational adoption,” for its resistance of “the sentimentalist tropes saturating dominant representations of both refugees and transnational adoptees,” and for declining the presumed teleologies of American immigration (218–219).

Phan's second book, a novel titled *The Re-education of Cherry Truong*, follows a Vietnamese refugee's extended family over several generations as they scatter and resettle in France and the United States. The title character is a woman on the brink of medical school, who takes a trip to Vietnam to retrieve her banished brother. It is due out in March 2012 from St. Martin's Press.

Phan has also continued to freelance in journalism. Her journalistic work includes topics of general interest, but she specializes in the Vietnamese diaspora and Asian American issues. Her nonfiction essays, editorials, and reporting have appeared in the *New York Times*, *USA Today*, and the *Ngu'òì Viêt 2*.

erin Khuê Ninh

See also Vietnamese Americans

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Pierce, Joseph (1842–1916)

Brought from Canton, China to Kensington, Connecticut, as a boy by Captain Amos Peck III, Joseph Pierce was said to have been sold by either his father or brother, dubbed Joe by the ship’s crew, and given the surname of President Franklin Pierce. Farming at the outbreak of the Civil War, Pierce mustered into Company F, Fourteenth Connecticut Volunteer Infantry on August 23, 1862. In the numerous regimental histories published after the war, he is the only Chinese soldier whose photograph was included.

The Fourteenth Connecticut’s first battle, Antietam, cost the regiment dearly in dead, wounded, and missing, and according to Pierce, he hurt his back when he fell over a fence. He distinguished himself in Gettysburg, where he was among the first to go out on the skirmish line on July 2, 1863, and volunteered for the critical

attack against the Bliss farm on July 3, the day of Pickett’s charge. Halfway between the opposing armies, the masonry of the farmhouse and barn created a miniature fortress that both armies coveted and that Confederate sharpshooters controlled the morning of July 3, allowing them to fire at Union positions on Cemetery Ridge. Under savage fire, the Fourteenth Connecticut brought the Bliss farm back under Union control, contributing to the Confederate defeat later in the afternoon.

Promoted to corporal on November 1, 1863, Pierce was assigned to recruiting service the following month and sent back to conscript camp in New Haven from February 9 through September 1864, when he returned to his company, mustering out with them at Baileys Crossroads, Virginia, on May 31, 1865. According to *New York Times*, the regiment’s chaplain told a reporter years later, “‘Our Joe,’ as we all called him, was rarely off duty—a brave, capable, and faithful soldier.”

Instead of returning to farming, Pierce settled in Meriden where he worked as an engraver in its famous silverware industry. Like many Civil War veterans, however, Pierce found his service injury continued to trouble him, especially after he turned 40, and as of October 25, 1890, he began collecting an invalid pension of \$10 a month under the act of June 27, 1890. His requests for an increase were repeatedly denied, and because he was supporting a wife and three children, he could not stop working despite muscular rheumatism, heart disease, and general debility.

Over the years, Pierce changed his identity. During the war, he fought with his hair combed in a queue, and through the 1880 U.S. Census, he identified himself as Chinese. But after Congress passed the Geary Act of May 5, 1892, requiring Chinese to carry a certificate of residence, he gave Japan as his country of origin. Franklin, the only one of his children to marry, passed as white and claimed both his parents were born in Connecticut. On Pierce’s death certificate, his place of nativity is “unknown.”

Pierce was buried in the Walnut Grove Cemetery after a private funeral without military honors, and his grave remained unmarked until Co. G, Fourteenth Regiment Connecticut Volunteer Infantry, Inc., led by Irving D. Moy, arranged for a Grand Army of the Republic marker, which they dedicated on August 5, 2006.

Ruthanne Lum McCunn

See also Chinese in the U.S. Civil War

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Pilipino Cultural Night (PCN)

The “Pilipino Cultural Night” (or PCN) is a performance staged by thousands of students on college and university campuses throughout the United States and Canada. Elements of the PCN as a performance genre emerged in the late 1970s, and the shows were fully realized by the early 1980s, coinciding with the growing numbers of college and university students in the United States of Philippine heritage, many clustered on West Coast campuses and organized through student ethnic heritage organizations. PCNs share many of the performative elements found in other nation-based performances, for example, Mexican ballet *folklorico* or the national dance theater presentations of Jamaica, Ethiopia, or the Netherlands. However, the PCN is more analogous to ethnic minority group expressive forms of culture and public ritual that take place within larger multicultural settings.

Naming the Genre

Custom and repeated use has anchored the preference for the term *Pilipino* in the “Pilipino Cultural Night,” even though there have been several instances where show organizers have offered alternatives, such as “Filipino Culture Night” or “Filipino Fiesta.” Using

the term *Pilipino* conveys the show organizers’ commitment to what is purportedly a kind of “rhetorical anti-assimilationist strategy,” that is, a way to embrace, claim, or simply announce one’s Philippine cultural authenticity. The genre’s name is reliably tied to the use of “Pilipino,” which has not translated into developing a consensus outside of the show for how individuals or groups continue to self-identify as “Filipino,” “Philippine,” or “Filipino American.”

Structure

Many PCNs involve the presentation of two elements: the performance of Philippine folkloric forms through music, costume, and dance; and a theatrical narrative, or “skit” that is interspersed between the folkloric dances. First, PCNs offer dynamic reinterpretations of the Philippine national repertoire that was created in the early 1930s by Manila-based educators at the University of the Philippines and at Philippine Women’s University. As Gilmore notes, U.S.-based student performers rely heavily on the presentational style of dance theater performances by the Bayanihan Philippine National Dance Company. “The Bayanihan,” as the troupe is known colloquially, attained international praise for their performance at Expo ’58 and during their 1959 tour that featured a critically acclaimed appearance at New York City’s Winter Garden Theatre. Gonzalves points out that the Bayanihan’s stylized dance theater presentations drew on the research conducted in the late 1920s and early 1930s by physical educator Francisca Reyes Aquino, whose work was sponsored by Jorge G. Bocobo, president of the University of the Philippines from 1934 to 1939. These Manila-based educators codified a national performance repertoire in anticipation of the Philippines’ sovereignty.

Second, the “skit,” the other primary feature of the PCN, is a theatrical narration in which U.S.-based Filipinos are the chief protagonists. Although hundreds of performances have taken place since the inception of the PCN as a performance genre, PCN theatrical narratives have relied on durable conventions, devices, and narrative arcs in which U.S.-based Filipino youth travel to the Philippines, come in contact with Philippine historical characters, or perform rituals, or other

actions that are emblematically Philippine in nature, at least from the perspective of the overseas Filipino performer or audience member. Several shows have featured protagonists in a so-called identity crisis—they have very little knowledge of their Filipino heritage, a situation that produces consternation and humor among their on-stage friends and family. In a familiar quest motif, the characters meet guides—elders, spirits, or parent figures—who transport them from suburban settings in the United States to a pastoral, idyllic, and timeless Philippines. During their journey, the characters encounter sounds and visions that are dramatized in the form of folk-dances, and they marvel at their new knowledge of aspects of Filipino culture. Although many of the shows feature a clumsy coupling between the Philippine dance theater pieces and the theatrical narration, many of the folkloric elements—the bird dances, courtship waltzes, and warrior chants, for example—help to confirm for the protagonists what they think they should know about the Philippines and “Filipino culture.” The folkloric elements also allow the show organizers and participants to arrest the forward march of modern or contemporary time by throwing the protagonists not simply into an historic past, but rather a mythic one, that is, a time that only appears to be “released” from time itself. By the end of the show, the characters have reached an epiphanic state of cultural awareness and pride as they “return” to the United States.

Themes

The PCN offers several thematic possibilities for both performers and audiences. PCNs demonstrate how performances continue to be a rich site for investigating the inculcation of cultural knowledge, the invention of tradition, and the body as a repository for collective memories. The PCN articulates a deep sense of cultural pride about most things Philippine, precisely at a time in the lives of young Filipino Americans when they are working toward the attainment of a higher U.S. socioeconomic status by virtue of their college and university education. Also, the PCN nostalgically imagines not only a return to a *place* (usually, a bucolic version of Philippine life), but also to a *time*, that is, a mode of temporal apprehension that is

perhaps outside the normative pacing of both U.S. and Philippine nationalisms.

Criticisms and Parody

Gaerlan noted that PCN performances featuring the popular *Singkil* dance theater suite—which has become emblematic of the southern Philippines and, hence, Muslim Filipino cultures as a whole—can be uncritical of the presentation of Philippine dance narratives; for example, performers may embrace an anticolonial symbolic politics although remaining silent on the choreographed representations of enslaved persons. Gilmore stated that Filipino American performers will often uncritically rely on the presentations of a single dance company—whose musical directors, choreographers, and costumers have attested to the highly stylized nature of their presentations—in an effort to authenticate their own U.S.-based choreography. Gonzalves revealed the fiction of the creation of dance theater and folk dance repertoire that coincided with the anticipation of formal Philippine sovereignty, thereby revealing that such performance repertoires are in fact twentieth-century inventions. Also, this research documented how U.S.-based comedians and other performers have generated their own parodies of the PCN, emphasizing static and ossified portrayals of both Philippine and U.S.-based cultures.

Theodore S. Gonzalves

See also Filipino Americans

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Plantation Workers in Hawaii

Asian plantation workers had a major role in the economic success of Hawaii's plantations. The need for relatively low-wage field labor on the sugar and pineapple plantations in the islands drew Asian workers from various nations to the Hawaiian Islands. Many workers intended to stay only through the duration of their contract, to send the majority of their earnings back home, and to eventually return to their native lands. However, many laborers ended up making Hawaii their permanent home. Though they worked the land and helped build the islands' economy for generations, today local Asians in Hawaii are often viewed as "settlers," despite having been in the islands for almost two centuries. Owing in large part to the national and ethnic diversity of the plantation laborers, Hawaii has a large multiracial population. Hawaii is the only state in the United States aside from California that does not have a numerical racial majority. Since the mass importation of plantation labor of the late 1880s, no racial majority has existed in the islands. Hawaii is also the only state where interracial couples and racially mixed individuals are the norm rather than an exception.

In the middle of the nineteenth century, Hawaii's plantation owners were desperate for a continuous and cheap labor supply and began to recruit contract workers from overseas. Low-wage laborers were needed on the islands because the Native Hawaiian population refused to work for the oppressive European and American businessmen who were running the large-scale plantations in the islands.

In 1852, without an adequate local labor force, plantation owners first looked to workers from China. Chinese laborers mainly consisted of men who made the journey to the islands without their families and sent their pay back home. Many expected to return to China after the expiration of their initial five-year labor contracts. By 1874, some Chinese had worked the duration of their contracts and left the plantations to return home. However, many stayed in Hawaii and moved to Honolulu to work for businessmen or perform domestic work. By the last decades of the nineteenth century, Chinese made up almost 25 percent of the islands' population. In 1900, after the United States annexed Hawaii, the importing of Chinese labor to the islands was barred under the Chinese Exclusion Act. The Act prohibited members of the laboring class from freely migrating between the United States and China. As a territory of the United States, Hawaii had to follow U.S. laws and regulations and thus lose a major source of potential labor.

During the decade prior to annexation, plantation owners had also begun to recruit an additional workforce from Japan. Japanese contract workers arrived in the islands in large numbers and joined Chinese on the plantations. Though many Chinese could freely leave the plantations after their contracts were up, it was in the plantation owners' best interest to retain many of them. Having a multiethnic workforce helped the owners have more control over their workers as neither group would have a large enough number to force change. However, the large number of Japanese workers who continued to arrive in the islands and who made early attempts at pushing for workers' rights made the plantation owners fearful of potential uprisings. Thus, in 1902, the plantation owners turned to Korea as a new source of labor. At this time, smaller numbers of workers were also contracted from Italy, Portugal, the Southern United States, Puerto Rico, and Okinawa. However, their numbers never reached the level of those of the Asian ethnic workers and many of them rebelled against plantation hierarchies and racism right from the start.

With Chinese, Japanese, and Koreans working in significant numbers on the plantations in the early years of the twentieth century, plantation owners felt fairly secure that their laborers conspiring against them

would be unlikely. Because of the relations between their home countries, Japanese and Chinese and Japanese and Koreans were not likely to get along in the islands. Not having a common language or culture and being housed by race in different areas of the plantation also kept the groups of workers separate, making it much easier for the plantation owners to use divide and control methods. The various Asian ethnic laborers viewed each other as enemies because of their histories of war and colonization back home and because in the islands they were paid and treated differently based on their ethnicity. Additionally, the events occurring within the home nations directly impacted the Asian labor source and thus the population in the islands. For instance, in 1905 Korean labor to the islands was stopped as Japan banned Korean migration to Hawaii after signing the protectorate treaty.

The continual and urgent need to keep a steady labor source in the first decade of the twentieth century had plantation owners looking to the Philippines. Because the Philippines were a colony of the United States, Filipinos were American nationals and could migrate freely to and from Hawaii. In 1906, Filipino men began making their way to Hawaii as the next group in the search for a constant labor supply for the plantations. New Filipino workers were paid even less than their Chinese and Japanese peers and were segregated from the Asian workers by being made to live in the least desirable areas on the plantations. As newcomers and because of the plantation owners' racism, Filipino workers sometimes had Japanese as their direct bosses because of the longer duration of the Japanese on the islands and their higher-class status within the plantation system.

As each new group of laborers established themselves on the plantations and in the islands, another group faced limitations and/or a complete ban on their continued immigration. In 1907, Japanese migration to the islands was restricted under the regulations of the Gentleman's Agreement between the United States and Japan. However, even without new Japanese laborers taking up residence on the plantations, Japanese numbers were significant as many of the early contract workers came to the islands with families, or men had participated in the picture bride system of arranged marriage and had brought wives to the

islands. After approximately 20 years in the islands, the population was large enough for the Japanese as a collective to advocate for higher wages.

In addition to contributing to building, strengthening, and expanding Hawaii's economy, the Asian and Pacific Islander workforce was also involved in early advocacy for workers' rights. Because of their numbers and their years on the plantations, Japanese workers were the organizers of the first major labor uprising on the plantations. In 1909, 7,000 plantation workers on the island of Oahu launched a four-month strike for increased wages and an end to disparate pay based on ethnicity. Striking was especially difficult for plantation workers as the plantation was not only their place of work but place of their residence. The Japanese laborers sacrificed greatly to implement better working conditions. However, the response of the plantation owners was to bring over even more Filipino workers to replace Japanese strikers and keep the plantation economy running.

Two major subsequent labor strikes in 1920 and in 1924 also involved the Japanese workers but were ethnically inclusive as Filipino laborers were integral participants. In 1920, Japanese and Filipino plantation workers collectively protested for a pay increase. The strike lasted six months, but the workers' sacrifices were not in vain as they came away with a small wage increase. The outcome of the 1920 strike was also significant in that it brought an end to the decades-long process of pay differentials according to ethnicity. In addition, Japanese and Filipinos now saw that uniting despite national and ethnic differences worked to force their employers to make changes. Ronald Takaki said that the most significant gain from the 1920 labor strike was to go beyond "blood unionism" as the workers chose class-based solidarity over individual national and ethnic commonalities.

Solidarity based on socioeconomic similarities between different Asian ethnic groups also contributed to the "local" identity that many long-time Asian residents of the islands have adopted. The term "local" for ethnic Asian islanders denotes a history in the islands and/or on the plantations, a respect for and contribution to the land, a connection to Hawaiian culture, and often those who identify as local are of Asian, part-Asian, and/or mixed race descent. Many have

spent the majority of their lives in Hawaii or are part of families who have lived in the islands for generations. Today, unlike within the continental United States, “Asian American” as a racial grouping and form of racial and political identification does not really exist or make sense in Hawaii. Instead there are local Asians whose pride and connection to their homeland remains a basis for their personal and collective ethnic, social, and political identification with Hawaii.

Local solidarity also came out of the events of the early 1930s that further bonded non-white members of the working class together. The infamous, controversial, and tragic Massie case that unfolded in the islands (where men of Asian and Hawaiian descent were tried on the basis of one white woman’s claim of rape that lacked evidence, a Hawaiian man, Joseph Kahahawai was killed in response, and his wealthy white killers went free) started to loosen the tight grip of power held by the affluent white ruling class. Having Asians of different ethnic groups, Hawaiians, racially mixed individuals, other members of the laboring-classes deemed both undeserving of justice and a collective threat by upper class whites inspired the coming together of those groups of people. The outcome of court cases that allowed for the killing of a poor Hawaiian man to go unpunished, motivated working class whites, Japanese, Chinese, Filipino, and Hawaiians to come together to make social and community change for those who suffered at the hands of corrupt and oppressive white authority.

Presently, the population of the Hawaiian Islands remains racially and ethnically diverse with many of its residents being of mixed race ancestry. Though the plantations are no longer the primary contributors to the islands’ economy, their legacy is reflected in the current island ethnic and socioeconomic demographics. Today, as has been the case for several decades, whites (both local and from the U.S. continent), Japanese and Chinese comprise the highest numbers of ethnic groups in Hawaii, and members of those groups are regularly at the top of the financial and socioeconomic ladder. As was the case during the plantation era, Filipinos in the islands today occupy much lower rungs on the financial and socioeconomic ladder. Whereas local Japanese and Chinese, as well as Taiwanese and Japanese transnationals own and control much of the islands’ businesses, real estate, and tourism. Immigrant Filipinos and other newer

Asian immigrants, including Vietnamese and Pacific Islanders work in low-level positions in the local tourist industry. They, along with many Native Hawaiians, are some of the most disenfranchised of the islands’ residents.

Currently, the term “settler colonialist” is used by Hawaii scholars to distinguish between Native Hawaiians and all others residing in the islands. The term also somewhat controversially is applied to local Asians, even those with plantation roots, who are viewed as colonialists when compared to Native Hawaiians. Scholar and writer, Candace Fujikane states that to understand settler colonialism as applied to local Asians we must take into account how their living practices in the islands stand in the way or harm Native Hawaiians’ access to justice. Basically, when Asians engage in financial, social, and political behavior that furthers the Hawaiian economy and society in their favor or they fail to support the efforts of indigenous Hawaiians to reclaim their land, they are behaving as colonialists rather than those with a deep investment in the land and its people.

Valerie Lo

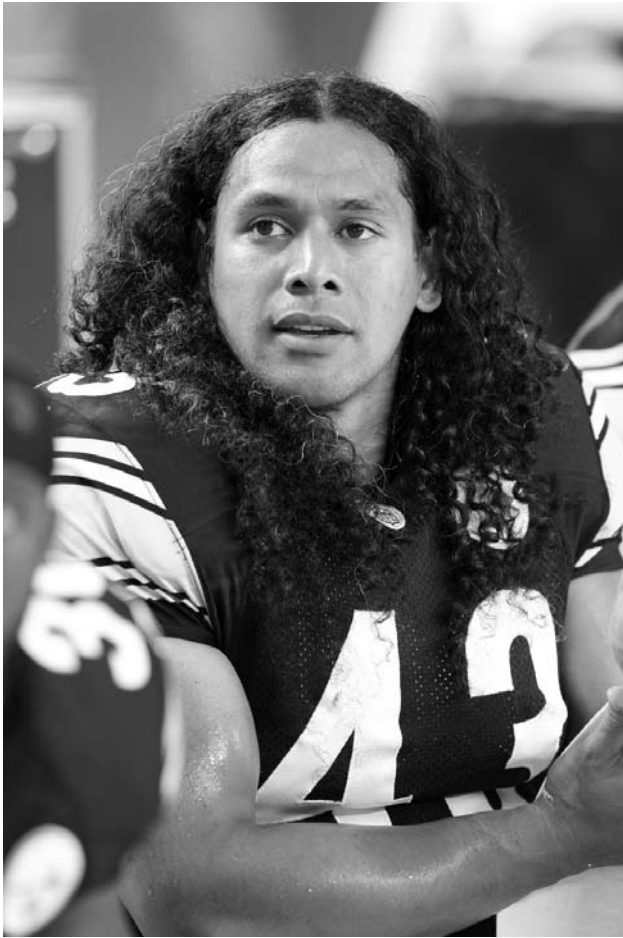
See also Ethnic Communities in Hawaii; Filipinos in Hawaii; Japanese Americans in Hawaii; Takaki, Ronald Toshiyuki

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Polamalu, Troy (1981–)

Troy Aumua Polamalu is a strong safety for the Pittsburgh Steelers and one of the most feared defensive



Pittsburgh Steelers safety Troy Polamalu. (AP Photo/Gene J. Puskar)

players in the National Football League (NFL). Born on April 19, 1981, in Garden Grove, California, Polamalu is of Samoan descent. He grew up in Winston, Oregon, and attended Douglas High School. He was an All-State football player as well as a standout on the baseball and basketball teams. Polamalu went on to the University of Southern California (USC), where he was a three-year starter and a two-time All-American.

During the 2003 NFL draft, the Steelers thought so highly of Polamalu that they did two things they had never done in the first round of any previous draft: make a trade to improve their position and select a pure safety. Convinced that the Trojan great would have an instant impact on their lackluster pass defense, Pittsburgh surrendered their picks in the first, third and

sixth rounds to move up eleven spots and take Polamalu with the sixteenth overall selection.

The move turned out to be a huge success. The 5-foot-10-inch Polamalu, who is known for his long, flowing locks, is used in a variety of defensive packages and is one of the most versatile players in the league. In just his third season, he tied the NFL record for most sacks in a game by a safety with three against the Houston Texans. A few months later, he helped the Steelers defeat the Seattle Seahawks for their fifth Super Bowl. The franchise was so satisfied with Polamalu that they made him the highest-paid safety in the league before the 2007 campaign. He showed his worth in the fourth quarter of the 2008 conference title game, intercepting a pass and returning it 40 yards for a touchdown against the Baltimore Ravens. Pittsburgh went on to beat the Arizona Cardinals 27–23 in the Super Bowl, as Polamalu took home his second championship ring and the Steelers became the first organization to win six Vince Lombardi Trophies.

In 2009, Polamalu appeared with Cardinals wide receiver Larry Fitzgerald on the cover of the popular video game *Madden NFL 10*. Although a knee injury hindered his season, Polamalu responded with a phenomenal effort in 2010. He tied a career high with seven interceptions and played in his third Super Bowl. Pittsburgh lost to the Green Bay Packers 31–25, but Polamalu was voted the Defensive Player of the Year by the Associated Press. The award added to an impressive list of accolades that includes four First-Team All-Pro selections and a spot on the NFL 2000s All-Decade Team.

Despite his hard-hitting reputation, Polamalu is known for his gentle personality off the field. He is a devout Greek Orthodox Christian and has made religious pilgrimages to Greece and Turkey. During the 2011 NFL lockout, Polamalu went back to USC and completed the graduation requirements for a degree in history. Along with his wife, Theodora, he founded The Troy and Theodora Polamalu Foundation, which is dedicated to providing aid to American Samoa and the Pittsburgh Children's Hospital. The couple also created the Henry Panos Fund, named after Theodora's grandfather, who served in World War II, to help injured combat veterans.

Joe Udell

See also Ward, Hines

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Political Participation

See Gender, Race, and Class in Political Participation; Political Representation

Political Representation

Asian American political representation is almost always discussed in the context of a paradox: Why is a racial group with such a high socioeconomic status underrepresented in the political arena? This entry explores why and to what extent Asian Americans do not have representation that matches their population level in the U.S. Congress and in the legislature of states in which large numbers of Asian Americans live, such as California.

In political science representation is conceived in two ways: descriptive representation and substantive representation. In the context of this entry, descriptive representation means individuals who are openly identified as Asian are elected or appointed to important political offices. Substantive representation means that the political *interests* of Asian Americans are achieved in politics, regardless of the race of leadership.

The following examination is mostly confined to descriptive representation. This is not because substantive representation is not important; indeed, given that Asian Americans are descriptively underrepresented, how they achieve their policy goals is an important question to ask. Rather, substantive representation is not analyzed here because it is difficult to study. With

so diverse ethnic groups within Asian Americans themselves, it is nearly impossible to define what "Asian American interests" are. Moreover, with certain exceptions, what legislative bills or executive actions match the preferences of Asian Americans (and not of minorities as a whole) is difficult to identify. Within American political science, this a qualitative difference between Asian American politics and the politics of other major racial minority groups where interests and political preferences are seen as more readily identifiable.

In terms of descriptive representation, Asian American underrepresentation in the political arena is often ascribed to their culture, in particular influence from their parents. Anecdotes abound that Asian Americans were told by their parents to become engineers, doctors, lawyers, and other professionals so that they could lead a steady and risk-free life. But this "cultural thesis" does not explain Asian American underrepresentation, because there are indeed many Asian Americans who have run for offices (some of them lost, so they may not just remain in our memory).

The factors leading to underrepresentation must therefore be looked for in other places. First is history. Because of the anti-Asian immigration laws and court rulings from the 1880s through the 1930s, Asian Americans were not allowed to immigrate in large numbers or become naturalized citizens. This slowed Asian American political participation, both in voting and running for offices, compared to other racial and ethnic groups. Moreover, "forever foreigner" images that were created during this period function against Asian American candidates even today, making them look as if they are not "American."

Second is the ethnic and socioeconomic diversity within Asian Americans. These factors make it difficult to create pan-Asian coalitions. What do Japanese American white collar workers and Southeast Asian refugees have in common? Moreover, do they live next to each other? Not only are Asian Americans ethnically divided but even among their own ethnic groups they tend to live dispersed in separate suburbs instead of concentrated in urban centers. Therefore, Asian Americans are often outnumbered by other racial groups, which make it difficult for them to create majority Asian districts.

Third is the low voter registration rate of Asian Americans compared to whites. There are three steps for immigrants to voting—naturalization, registration, and voting itself. If they pass the second step—that is, once registered to vote, Asian Americans are as likely to vote as whites. Despite voter registration initiatives by various nonprofit organizations (such as APIA Vote), however, the level of registration for Asian Americans is low because of many factors such as language barriers and the lack of familiarity of the U.S. political system (some countries in Asia, for instance, provide automatic registration for their nationals).

With these obstacles, to what extent do Asian Americans achieve descriptive political representation? Although this relatively easy compared to the study of substantive representation, this task is not straightforward because it is sometimes difficult to identify who “Asian American” politicians are. In some cases, politicians are not willing to “come out” to tell to the public that they have Asian heritage (especially when it is not obvious from their surnames). For instance, Filipino ancestry of Robert “Bobby” Scott (D-VA), a liberal member of the House, and John Ensign (R-NV), a former conservative member of the Senate, are not known even by most scholars who study Asian American politics. In other cases, it is difficult to determine where to draw the “Asian” line without reproducing arbitrary lines drawn by U.S. government in the past to defend white privilege. While Iranian Americans and Armenian Americans are considered “white” and Afghanistan Americans and Asian Indians “Asian,” this tells us more about illogic of U.S. Supreme Court Cases on naturalized citizenship than about any “real” or essential differences in political interests. However, the data for this study uses the 2010 Census and therefore relies on government definition of Asian.

The first place to look at the level of descriptive representation of Asian Americans is the United States Congress. Table 1 lists all Asian American members (excluding nonvoting members such as those from American Samoa) who have served in the U.S. Congress at the time of this writing (summer 2012).

Table 1 shows several important facts. First, there are currently eight members in the House and two in

the Senate who are at least part Asian. Although these numbers may not look small, they fade compared to the proportion of Asian American population in the country. Although Asian Americans comprise 4.8 percent of the country (in one race only; in the case of two or more races, 5.6%), they are represented by only 1.8 percent in the House and 2 percent in the Senate. Because the two Senators are both from Hawaii, no Asians on the continent are directly represented in the Senate.

Second, despite this underrepresentation, the number of Asian American members has been growing. In 2000, there were only four House members. Typically politicians’ careers start with local education boards or city councils, then move on to state legislatures, and when opportunities arise, running for the U.S. House or Senate. Mike Honda is a good example of this pattern. He started his political career as a member of the San Jose Unified School Board in 1981. He then won an election to be on the Santa Clara County Board of Supervisors in 1990. After that, as Tables 1 and 2 indicate, he proceeded to the California State legislature and then the U.S. House. Honda’s example exemplifies how important it is to have Asian American local politicians for future “candidate pools” for higher offices.

Judy Chu, another Californian, has a similar case, but hers is accompanied with more hardship. Chu was elected to the Monterey Park city council in 1988 and served as mayor three times. She ran for the state assembly seat unsuccessfully twice in 1994 and 1998, defeated both times by a Latina in a district (49th) in which Latinos outnumbered Asian Americans. It was in a special election in 2001 that Chu was elected to take this seat.

Third, there are ethnic variations among Asian Americans who served in Congress. The first Asian in Congress is not a Japanese American Democrat from Hawaii, as people may often think; that honor goes to Dalip Singh Saund, an immigrant from India (he was the only Sikh member who ever served in Congress up until today). It is true that Japanese Americans dominate the list of the members, but Chinese Americans have been elected not only from Hawaii but also from the mainland (David Wu and Judy Chu). Korean (Jay Kim), South Asian

Table 1. Asian Americans Who Have Served in the United States Congress

Year Served	Member Name	Ethnicity	Party	District
House				
1957–1963	Dalip Singh Saund	South Asian Am.	Democrat	California 29th
1959–1963	Daniel K. Inouye	Japanese Am.	Democrat	Hawaii At-Large
1963–1977	Spark M. Matsunaga	Japanese Am.	Democrat	Hawaii At-Large, then 1st
1965–1977	Patsy T. Mink	Japanese Am.	Democrat	Hawaii At-Large, then 2nd
1975–1995 ^a	Norman Y. Mineta	Japanese Am.	Democrat	California 13th, then 15th
1977–1990 ^b	Daniel K. Akaka	Chinese and Native Hawaiian	Democrat	Hawaii 2nd
1979–2005 ^c	Robert T. Matsui	Japanese Am.	Democrat	California 3rd, then 5th
1987–1991	Patricia F. Saiki	Japanese Am.	Republican	Hawaii 1st
1990–2002 ^d	Patsy T. Mink	Japanese Am.	Democrat	Hawaii 2nd
1993–1999	Jay C. Kim	Korean Am.	Republican	California 41st
1993–present	Robert Scott	African and Filipino Am.	Democrat	Virginia 3rd
1999–2011 ^e	David Wu	Chinese Am.	Democrat	Oregon 1st
2001–present	Mike Honda	Japanese Am.	Democrat	California 15th
2005–2008 ^f	Bobby Jindal	South Asian Am.	Republican	Louisiana 1st
2005 ^g –present	Doris Matsui	Japanese Am.	Democrat	California 5th
2007–present	Mazie Hirono	Japanese Am.	Democrat	Hawaii 2nd
2009–2011	Anh “Joseph” Cao	Vietnamese Am.	Republican	Louisiana 2nd
2009–present	Steve Austria	White and Filipino Am.	Republican	Ohio 7th
2009 ^h –present	Judy Chu	Chinese Am.	Democrat	California 32nd
2010 ⁱ –2011	Charles Djou	Chinese and Thai Am.	Republican	Hawaii 1st
2011–present	Hansen Clarke	African and Bangladeshi Am.	Democrat	Michigan 13th
2011–present	Colleen Hanabusa	Japanese Am.	Democrat	Hawaii 1st
Senate				
1959–1977	Hiram L. Fong	Chinese Am.	Republican	Hawaii
1963–2012 ^j	Daniel K. Inouye	Japanese Am.	Democrat	Hawaii
1977–1983	S. I. Hayakawa	Japanese Am.	Republican	California
1977–1990 ^k	Spark M. Matsunaga	Japanese Am.	Democrat	Hawaii
1990 ^l –present	Daniel K. Akaka	Chinese and Native Hawaiian	Democrat	Hawaii
2001–2011 ^m	John Ensign	White and Filipino Am.	Republican	Nevada

Note: Only voting members are shown (non-voting delegates are not included).

^aResigned on October 10, 1995 to take a position in a private company.

^bResigned on May 15, 1990 to take a U.S. Senate seat.

^cDeceased on January 1, 2005.

^dDeceased on September 28, 2002.

^eResigned on August 3, 2011, due to a reported sexual scandal.

^fResigned on January 14, 2008, to become the Governor of Louisiana.

^gSworn in on March 8, 2005 to a seat vacated by a deceased member (Bob Matsui, her husband) after a special election.

^hSworn in on July 14, 2009, to a seat vacated by a resigned member (Hilda Solis, who took a cabinet position in the Obama administration) after a special election.

ⁱSworn in on May 22, 2010 to a seat vacated by a resigned member (Neil Abercrombie, who concentrated on his campaign to governorship) after a special election.

^jDeceased on December 17, 2012.

^kDeceased on April 15, 1990.

^lSworn in on May 16, 1990 to a seat vacated by a deceased member (Spark Matsunaga); elected by special election on November 6, 1990.

^mResigned on May 3, 2011, due to reported financial affairs with his staffers.

Source: Aoki and Takeda (2008), used with permission. Updated by the author using Nakanishi and Lai (2007, 2011), Tong (2011) and U.S. Congress (n.d.).

(Dalip Singh Saund, Bobby Jindal, and Hansen Clarke), and Vietnamese (Anh “Joseph” Cao) have also been elected. It was widely held that the first Vietnamese House member would be Van Tran, a famous California Assembly member in Orange County, but before Tran ran for the House unsuccessfully in 2010, Cao took a Louisiana seat in a 2008 election held by a member who was removed by corruption charges. What is lacking in the list of members is a self-identified Filipino despite the fact that Filipino Americans are the third-largest Asian American ethnic group.

Table 2 details Asian Americans who have served in the California state legislature. Similar features can be seen in this table as in Table 1. First, Asian Americans are somewhat underrepresented in the legislature. Asian Americans comprise 13.0 percent of the California population (in one race alone; 14.9 percent in two or more races), but there are currently only eight Asian American House members (10 percent of the 80-member chamber) and only four Senators (10 percent of the 40-member chamber).

Second, however, the current level of underrepresentation is not so severe when compared with other states. For example, New York, where 7.3 percent of the state population is Asian American, is represented by only one Asian representative in the 150 member Assembly: Grace Meng (Democrat, 22nd district, Flushing, Queens, and daughter of Jimmy Meng, who previously held that seat). In contrast, the number of California state legislators has grown significantly in the past decade. Although California has been home to a large number of Asian Americans, there have been no Asian American state legislators during the period between 1981 and 1992, and only two members (Mike Honda and George Nakano) served in the 1997–2000 period. The trend changed, however, when three Chinese American women—Wilma Chan, Carol Liu, and Judy Chu—began to serve in 2001. They added more female Asian faces to the legislature as well, where only March Fong Eu had served as an Asian female state legislator (Eu later became secretary of the state; her adopted son, the late Matt Fong, became state treasurer).

Third, again, we can see some ethnic variations in Table 2. Although Chinese and Japanese Americans

comprise the majority of past and present Asian American state legislators, the first Asian American ever elected to the legislature was a Korean American, Alfred H. Song. However, the absence of a Korean American legislator since Song is striking, especially given the large population of Korean Americans in the state (in particular Koreatown in Los Angeles and in affluent communities in Orange County). Moreover, as in the case of the U.S. House, the absence of a Filipino legislator is worth mentioning in light of Filipino Americans’ long history in the state, relatively high socioeconomic status, and their concentrated population areas (such as in Daly City and Carson).

Political representation cannot be assessed only by its presence in legislatures. It is also measured by its level in the executive and judicial branches as well.

In the executive branch, needless to say, there has not been an Asian American president of the United States. Although there are numerous Asian American judges and lawyers, there has not been an Asian American Supreme Court Justice. With President Barack Obama’s appointment of Sonia Sotomeyer, a Latina, to the Supreme Court in 2009, some Asian Americans are waiting for an appointment of an Asian American to the highest court in the land.

At the cabinet level, several Asian Americans have been appointed and confirmed in the past three administrations. The first Asian American cabinet member is Norman Y. Mineta (Japanese American), who became the secretary of commerce in July 2000 after his predecessor, William M. Daley, resigned to take a position on Al Gore’s presidential campaign. Mineta, a Democrat, went on to serve in the George W. Bush administration as the secretary of transportation until 2006. As transportation secretary, he faced the 9/11 terrorist attacks and ordered to land all airplanes flying above or around U.S. territories within hours after the attacks. He also took a tough policy against racial profiling at airport security gates.

George W. Bush appointed the first Asian American woman, Elaine Chao (Chinese American), to the cabinet as the secretary of labor. Chao, wife of Senator Mitch McConnell (R-Kentucky), was the only cabinet member who served the entire eight-year Bush administration, after her colleague, Donald Rumsfeld, resigned toward the end of the term.

Table 2. Asian Americans Who Have Served in the California State Legislature

Year Served	Member	Ethnicity	Party	District ^a
House				
1963–1966	Alfred H. Song	Korean Am.	Democrat	45th (Los Angeles County)
1967–1974	March Fong Eu	Chinese Am.	Democrat	15th (Alameda County)
1969–1970	Tom Hom	Chinese Am.	Republican	79th (San Diego County)
1973 ^b –1980	Paul T. Bannai	Japanese Am.	Republican	53rd (Los Angeles County)
1975 ^c –1980	S. Floyd Mori	Japanese Am.	Democrat	15th (Alameda County)
1993–1998*	Nao Takasugi	Japanese Am.	Republican	37th (Ventura County)
1997–2000 ^d	Mike Honda	Japanese Am.	Democrat	23rd (Santa Clara County)
1999–2004*	George Nakano	Japanese Am.	Democrat	53rd (Los Angeles County)
2001–2006*	Wilma Chan	Chinese Am.	Democrat	16th (Alameda County)
2001–2006*	Carol Liu	Chinese Am.	Democrat	44th (Los Angeles County)
2001 ^e –2006*	Judy Chu	Chinese Am.	Democrat	49th (Los Angeles County)
2003–2008*	Alan Nakanishi	Japanese Am.	Republican	10th (San Joaquin County)
2003–2008*	Shirley Horton	White and Japanese Am.	Republican	78th (San Diego County)
2003–2006 ^f	Leland Y. Yee	Chinese Am.	Democrat	12th (San Francisco County)
2005– 2010*	Alberto Torrico	Latino and Japanese Am.	Democrat	20th (Alameda County)
2005– 2010*	Van Tran	Vietnamese Am.	Republican	68th (Orange County)
2005 ^g –2010*	Ted W. Lieu	Chinese Am.	Democrat	53rd (Los Angeles County)
2007–2012*	Mike Eng	Chinese Am.	Democrat	49th (Los Angeles County)
2007–2012*	Mary Hayashi	Korean Am.	Democrat	18th (Alameda County)
2007–2012*	Fiona Ma	Chinese Am.	Democrat	12th (San Francisco County)
2008 ^h –present	Warren T. Furutani	Japanese Am.	Democrat	55th (Los Angeles County)
2009–present	Mariko Yamada	Japanese Am.	Democrat	8th (Yolo County)
2009–present	Paul Fong	Chinese Am.	Democrat	22nd (Santa Clara County)
2011–present	Richard Pan	Chinese Am.	Democrat	5th (Sacramento County)
2011–present	Das Williams	White and Indonesian Am.	Democrat	35th (Santa Barbara County)
Senate				
1967–1978	Alfred H. Song	Korean Am.	Democrat	26th (Los Angeles County)
2007–present	Leland Y. Yee	Chinese Am.	Democrat	8th (San Francisco County)
2009–present	Carol Liu	Chinese Am.	Democrat	21st (Los Angeles County)
2011 ⁱ –present	Ted W. Lieu	Chinese Am.	Democrat	28th (Los Angeles County)

Notes:

^aSome districts spread onto multiple counties but only one county (in most cases, the county in which a member's district main office is located) is shown.

^bElected by special election on June 26, 1973 to a seat vacated by a deceased member.

^cElected by special election on March 4, 1975 to a seat vacated by a deceased member.

^dResigned to take a seat in the U.S. House of Representative.

^eElected by special election on May 15, 2001 to a seat vacated by a member elected to State Senate.

^fResigned to take a State Senate seat.

^gElected by special election on September 13, 2005 to a seat vacated by a deceased member.

^hElected by special election on Feb 5, 2008, to a seat vacated by a member who took a U.S. House seat.

ⁱElected by special election on February 15, 2011, to a seat vacated by a deceased member.

*Did not run for reelection due to term limits (three terms, six years in the House, and two terms, eight years in the Senate).

Source: Aoki and Takeda (2008), used with permission. Updated by the author using Nakanishi and Lai (2007, 2011) and Asian Pacific Islander Legislative Caucus (n.d.).

Table 3. Asian Americans Who Have Served as Governors of States

Year Served	Governor	Ethnicity	Party	State
1974–86	George Ariyoshi	Japanese Am.	Democrat	Hawaii
1986–94	John Waihee	Native Hawaiian	Democrat	Hawaii
1994–2002	Benjamin Cayetano	Filipino Am.	Democrat	Hawaii
1997–2005	Gary Locke	Chinese Am.	Democrat	Washington
2008–present	Bobby Jindal	Indian Am.	Republican	Louisiana
2011–present	Nikki Haley	Indian Am.	Republican	South Carolina

Source: Compiled by the author using Aoki and Takeda (2008).

President Obama appointed a record three Asian American members to his cabinet. They were Steven Chu (secretary of energy, Chinese American), Eric Shinseki (secretary of veteran affairs, Japanese American), and Gary Locke (secretary of commerce, Chinese American). Locke left his position in 2011 to become the first Chinese American ambassador to China. Interestingly, in the same year, Obama appointed Sung Kim, a naturalized immigrant, the first Korean American ambassador to the Republic of Korea (ROC). It is to be seen whether future administrations will appoint an ambassador of the ethnic origin to other Asian countries like Japan and India.

Representation in the executive branch can be seen at the state level as well. Table 3 shows Asian Americans who have served as governors of U.S. states. Because gubernatorial candidates must collect votes statewide, not surprisingly, the first three governors (George Ariyoshi, John Waihee, and Benjamin Cayetano) were all from Hawaii. Interestingly, however, the following Asian American governors were elected where the Asian American population was not so large. In the case of Gary Locke, his record as the County Executive of King's County (which includes the Seattle area) might have appealed to Asian American voters there. But in the case of Bobby Jindal and Nikki Haley, two Republican South Asians in Southern states did not make any special appeals to Asian voters. Their election indicates that Asian Americans may be able to (or may have to) win an election as an "American" without foregrounding their ethnicity.

The foregoing assessments indicate that Asian Americans are still politically underrepresented, yet their descriptive representation in terms of the numbers

of Asian American members of Congress and state legislatures is growing. Moreover, as Nikki Haley and Bobby Jindal demonstrate, what it means to be an Asian American political leader is constantly evolving.

Okiyoshi Takeda

See also Ariyoshi, George R.; Cayetano, Benjamin; Chao, Elaine L.; Chu, Judy; Chu, Steven; Eu, March Fong; Haley, Nikki Randhawa; Honda, Mike; Jindal, Piyush "Bobby"; Locke, Gary; Meng, Grace; Mineta, Norman; Voting Patterns; Wu, David

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Poon, Lim (1918–1991)

Born on March 8, 1918, into a poor family on Hainan Island, Lim Poon left home as a teenager to apprentice as a “learn-boy” on British freighters. He rose to second steward after six years and was on the S.S. *Benlomon*, which was sailing from Capetown to Paramaribo in Dutch Guiana, now Surinam, when it was sunk on November 23, 1942, by two torpedoes from a German submarine, the U-172, in position 00.30N, 38.45 W, 750 miles east of the Amazon River. All hands were lost except Poon who dogpaddled to a wooden life raft from the ship and whose endurance for 133 days would earn him the Guinness World Record for survival alone at sea, a record that has yet to be broken.

Rations of food and water on the raft lasted 40 days. To catch rain water, Poon slanted a square of canvas between the raft’s four posts and formed a sloping roof with a gutter. He created a fishing line by separating the strands of hemp rope that encircled the raft and made a hook out of a flashlight’s spring. Using barnacles from the sides of the raft as bait, he caught small fish. Prying loose a nail from the raft, he made a second, larger hook and line, and then hooked a small fish by its tail so it could still swim and attract bigger fish. With a knife made from the lid of a tin, he sliced the fish into pieces and dried them like villagers back home.

His darkest hours were when he was denied the chance of rescue—first by a passing ship that deliberately refused him, then by a storm that rose shortly after a plane sighted him and marked his position. In the storm’s aftermath, long days without rain or fish reduced Poon to drinking his own urine. Near death, he managed to catch a bird, kill it, drink its blood, eat its innards, and meat. He caught and consumed a second bird before both the fish and rain finally returned.

A Brazilian fishing family picked Poon up 10 miles off the coast of Brazil, east of Salinas, in the state of Para, and delivered him to the British consul in Belem.

Amazed at Poon’s excellent physical condition, U.S. Naval Lieutenant Samuel Harby arranged for Poon to reenact his experience in New York to help future castaways. When Poon offered to join the navy, however, he was rejected because of flat feet.

Poon was authorized by special order of the War Shipping Administration to wear the United States Merchant Marine Combat Bar with One Star for “His courage and fortitude will be an enduring inspiration to merchant seamen of all the United Nations.” King George VI invested him with the British Empire Medal. The Executive Council of the Chinese Republican Government awarded him a Certificate of Honor. Yet it was only through the persistent efforts of Lt. Commander Samuel Harby that the 81st Congress finally passed a special bill granting Poon permanent residence in the United States. President Harry Truman signed this Private Law 178 on July 27, 1949, and the final papers for Poon’s citizenship were completed in 1952. Settling in Brooklyn with a bride from Hainan Island, Poon returned to sea as a steward and retired as a chief steward in 1983. He died on January 4, 1991.

Ruthanne Lum McCunn

See also Chinese Americans

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Prostitution in Late Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century Asian Immigrant Communities

Prostitutes and prostitution were critically important to early Asian immigration networks and to nascent nineteenth-century Asian American communities. In the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, several factors resulted in relatively small numbers of Asian women migrating to the United States. Cultural beliefs about the duties and place of wives and mothers made them reluctant to leave. Also, a shrewd economic calculus showed that families maximized their

opportunities and minimized their risks by sending only men overseas. Arguably most important, restrictive and discriminatory laws told Asian women that America did not want them and made Asian men loathe to bring their wives, daughters, or sisters to a prejudiced land bent on excluding them.

Still, Asian women did immigrate to the United States before and during the exclusion era. Many came as wives of Chinese merchants. Although these women had to prove their status, sometimes by supplying x-rays of their bound feet to show they were not laborers or laborers' wives, even after the 1882 exclusion the United States allowed merchants' wives to enter. Also, following the Supreme Court's 1902 decision in *Tsoi Sim v. United States*, Chinese women used the legal logic of coverture to gain entry as wives of American citizens. This case stood until 1924 and allowed some Chinese American families to form. Japanese women also came as wives of merchants, but after the Gentleman's Agreement of 1907 they also entered as "picture brides" of Japanese laborers. Although the 1921 Ladies' Agreement ended this practice, the interlude provided a foundation for Japanese family formation in America. Also, in an attempt to ensure greater labor stability, sugar plantation operators in Hawaii encouraged Japanese, Korean, and Filipino workers to bring or form families.

Groups opposed to Asian immigration used the specter of prostitution as a key rhetorical and legal tool to block both Asian women's entry and Asian entry in general. As in mainstream moralizing discourse, exclusionist groups opposed to Asian immigration used the image of the prostitute as a synecdoche for the multiple threats and failures that meant Asians should not be allowed entry to America. Although even rabidly anti-Asian labor groups, such as the Workingmen's Party of California, recognized that prostitutes themselves were victims of exploitation, these groups still used prostitution as a symbol of the Asian slave mentality that made them unfit for the American free labor marketplace. The presence of prostitutes, coinciding with the relative absence of wives, also convinced anti-Asian groups that Asian men could neither protect nor provide for their women. Political cartoons, salacious newspaper stories and photographs, and supposedly authentic tours of Chinatowns also used

prostitutes as examples of vice, licentiousness, and disease that many thought characterized Asians and Asian American communities. Because Asian prostitutes did not limit themselves to Asian clients, xenophobic and eugenicist Americans also saw the horror of miscegenation in the threat of white men visiting Asian prostitutes. The myriad imagined threats and implied failures encapsulated in the figure of the prostitute were central to the passage of the Page Act in 1875 and to later broader exclusion of Asians.

Although anti-Asian forces, as well as the U.S. Census and other local and national government agencies, greatly exaggerated the number of Asian prostitutes, out of a combination of malice and ignorance, Asian prostitutes did work in America. In fact, prostitution was perhaps the most profitable enterprise for Asians in America. Strikingly, some of the first Chinese prostitutes in San Francisco made substantial profits for themselves. Ah Toy, who came to San Francisco from Hong Kong in 1849, became the city's first Chinese prostitute (or at least the first to be recorded). Ah Toy bought her own freedom and then began a career as a self-employed courtesan who served both Chinese and white clients. She was quite successful and within only a few years owned and operated at least two houses. Initially, self-employed prostitutes and businesswomen like Ah Toy and Ah Joan controlled Asian prostitution in San Francisco; they owned the buildings, kept the profits, took loans from local businessmen, and took clients to court if they failed to pay. The *Alta California* even recorded an 1852 case in which Ah Toy sued a Chinese gangster to avoid paying protection money. However, in 1854 *People v. Hall* effectively ended Chinese recourse to California courts by banning Chinese testimony. This legal shift may have helped change the character and control of Asian prostitution in America, but the enterprise was simply too lucrative to escape the encroachment of the growing Chinese secret societies (tongs) seeking to control Chinatown's vice economy.

It is important to note, however, most Chinese prostitutes were brought to the United States in the late nineteenth century against their free will, and those who were able to work as free agents were few. Many young Chinese girls were lured, sold, or kidnapped in

China and trafficked to the United States, where they were forced to work as prostitutes.

Although the Page Act barred the importation of prostitutes (along with contract laborers), San Francisco allowed brothels to operate openly until 1917. The nebulous legal position of Asian prostitution in America combined with its high profit margins led to elaborate transnational networks to support it. Agents in China obtained girls for the trade through false promises, purchase, or kidnapping. The Page Act (1875) subjected prospective immigrant Asian women to increased scrutiny and cut into tong profit margins because the importers often had to bribe the U.S. consul in Hong Kong to establish the women's "good character." The passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882 made importation from China prohibitively expensive, so tongs such as the Hip-Yee Tong, which dominated the trade, began kidnapping Chinese women already in America. Although prostitution continued, demographic, geographic, and social changes in California's Chinese population meant that large organized prostitution rings began to decline in the 1880s.

In addition to prostitution's rhetorical and political function for anti-Chinese organizations, and its economic role within the Chinese community, nineteenth-century prostitution also played an important social role in Asian America. Although conditions on Hawaii differed, the skewed sex ratios among both the Japanese and Chinese in America meant that communities were almost entirely male. Prostitutes, whether in urban Chinatowns or rural mining or agricultural camps, provided both sex and female companionship. Diaries left by Chinese men indicate that visiting a prostitute was an accepted form of relaxation and, for the higher class prostitutes, a cultural activity that did not necessarily involve sex. Some prostitutes eventually escaped the vice trade and were able to form families.

White nativist groups used Asian prostitutes rhetorically to foment anti-Asian sentiment. Asian American men, primarily in Chinese tongs, used prostitutes as lucrative investments that paid exponentially better returns than gold mining, farming, or laundries. Asian-American men also used prostitutes for socialization, companionship, and community and family

formation. Finally, for crusaders like Donaldina Cameron and other Mission Home women, Asian prostitutes helped establish white Victorian women's moral authority and provided these women with power in the community. Each time Cameron led San Francisco police in a raid, appeared in the courts, intervened in immigration cases, or campaigned for donations to the Mission, she asserted the right (and duty) of properly defined Victorian women to act in the public sphere. Cameron sometimes contracted out former prostitutes she rescued to local orchard owners for cheap labor, and she found marriage suitors for many of them. The moral authority she derived from her work was significant.

Asian prostitutes were used by Victorian crusaders, anti-immigration activists, criminal societies, and their own nascent communities. Much of their lives is lost to history because of the paucity of records prostitutes themselves left. It is apparent that they were not completely powerless. Victorian women used prostitutes to establish their moral authority, but these same prostitutes could also use the rescue missions for security, education, and greater social mobility. Tongs and brothel owner profited immensely by acquiring and employing prostitutes, but some prostitutes also resisted by refusing to provide services, by fleeing their captivity, and by committing suicide. Some were eventually married and had children.

Jason Stohler

See also Cameron House; Chinese Exclusion Acts (1882–1943); Page Law (1875); *People v. Hall* (1854); Tongs and Tong War

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Radical Organizations

Asian America has a long history of radical organizing, but one obscured by the long-standing dominant view of Asian Americans as apolitical subjects or partisans of mainstream electoral politics. Among the early immigrants were Leftists who fought fierce labor struggles, protested U.S. anti-immigrant policies, engaged in homeland politics, and were strong advocates of socialism or other radical alternatives to capitalism. In the late 1960s to late 1970s, during the height of the Asian American Movement (AAM), radicalism was arguably the predominant political orientation among Asian American activists. Moreover, Asian American Marxists provided significant leadership to the U.S. Left.

Early Asian American Radicalism

Before the advent of the model minority image, Asian Americans were viewed as hyperpolitical, Yellow Peril threats to the U.S. racial and social order. In *People v. Hall* (1854), the California Supreme Court ruled that Chinese could not testify against Whites in court, fearing that allowing so would encourage the Chinese to fight for naturalized citizenship and other rights. In 1917, Japanese immigrants were seen as political protesters who refused to “acquiesce[e] in the position assigned them, as, on the whole, the great mass of Negroes seem disposed to do,” but instead, “have taken a bold stance for their rights and insist that there shall be no discrimination against them.”

Although Yellow Peril fears were overblown, there existed a significant, though small, radical immigrant community. Given their working-class

conditions and early labor organizing, many Asian Americans were drawn to the militant labor struggles of the 1920s and 1930s and formed or joined Left organizations. Happy Lim and Ben Fee were creative writers, Communists, and leaders of the Chinese Workers’ Mutual Aid Association formed in San Francisco in 1937 to organize workers, to raise labor consciousness through discussion and study, and even to teach “singing classes for workers to learn songs of revolution and about the War of Resistance.” The most famous Japanese immigrant socialist was Sen Katayama, founder of labor and socialist movements in Japan and active with the Communist Party USA (CPUSA); longshoreman and Communist Karl Yoneda was also widely known. By the 1930s, a higher proportion of Japanese Americans (1 in 650) were in the CPUSA than the general U.S. population (1 in 5,000). There were nearly 200 Japanese Americans in CPUSA in the 1930s and some one thousand fellow travelers. Carlos Bulosan, in his widely read semiautobiographical novel, *America Is in the Heart*, details the agonizing struggles of 1930s–1940s Filipino laborers at a time when “No Dogs and Filipinos” signs were common. In the 1960s, the Filipino-based Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee, led by Larry Itliong, merged with Cesar Chavez’s Mexican-based group to form the famed United Farm Workers of America (UFW). Although Chavez and Mexican laborers are best known, it was the more militant Filipino laborers who in 1965 started the successful, five-year grape strike, supported by a nationwide grape boycott, as depicted in Philip Vera Cruz’s memoir.

During and after World War II, the Asian American Left all but disappeared as a result of fierce state repression and the errors of the leading Left

group, the CPUSA, which ousted its Japanese American members and failed to oppose the Japanese American evacuation. So when the AAM emerged in the late 1960s, young activists knew little, if anything, about their radical past. Still, a few Asian Americans connected the Old and New Lefts. In the Workers Party and later Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in the 1940s and 1950s, Chinese American Grace Lee Boggs worked with the famed C. L. R. James and Raya Dunayevskaya, urging the global workers' struggle against capitalism to include the black struggle against racism. Since the early 1960s, Grace Lee Boggs, with her husband James Boggs, worked in militant labor and black radical struggles in Detroit and together wrote the influential book, *Revolution and Evolution in the Twentieth Century*. A generation younger, Japanese American Richard Aoki joined the SWP in Berkeley in the early 1960s, but left in 1967 over differences on armed self-defense and Black Nationalism. Aoki emerged as the most prominent non-black in the Black Panther Party (BPP) and an early leader of the Asian American Political Alliance (AAPA) and Berkeley's Third World strike. Japanese American Kazu Iijima worked with the CPUSA's youth group in the 1930s and cofounded Asian Americans for Action (AAA) in New York City in 1969. There were also independent radicals like the prominent Japanese American activist Yuri Kochiyama who, after being radicalized by Malcolm X, immersed herself in the revolutionary Black Nationalist movement in Harlem as well as anti-imperialist Asian American and Puerto Rican struggles.

Asian American Radicalism, 1960s and Beyond

Asian American radicalism grew as the overall U.S. New Left developed but also shaped the larger movement by centering an analysis of racism and imperialism and demanding self-determination and Third World solidarity. Most Asian American Leftists applied a Marxist analysis of capitalism (as an economic system in which the means of production are privately owned and motivated by profit and capital accumulation; profits derived largely from exploiting labor, forming the basis for class struggle between the working-class and capitalist class) and a Leninist

analysis of imperialism (as the highest stage of capitalism—marked by monopolies; the export of capital, not merely goods; and the merging of banking and industrial capital into finance capital—generating the need to move into the less industrialized spheres to expand profits). In this context, the Black Power movement and Third World revolutions were the strongest influences on the development of Asian American radicalism and arguably on the overall AAM itself.

In 1968, a worldwide revolution took place, from the Vietnamese Tet offensive exposing the vulnerability of U.S. power, to the millions-strong general strike in France, to protests against the police massacre of students in Mexico City, to huge antiwar protests on U.S. campuses. The students and workers protested along multiple fault lines, but the Vietnam War was the foremost galvanizing issue, particularly for the U.S. New Left. As opposition to the war in Vietnam grew, the liberal peace movement's demand to "bring the boys home" turned to New Left critiques of U.S. imperialism. In addition, China, along with Vietnam and Cuba, became the dominant model of revolution as 1960s activists criticized the USSR's move toward "peaceful coexistence" with capitalism. For Asian Americans, the gaze toward China and Vietnam radicalized their activism and made them particularly receptive to the ideas of Marx, Lenin, Mao, Fidel, Guevara, and others.

Beginning in 1968, amid worldwide student protests, Asian American political organizations began to form a widespread and sustained collective movement. Many of the earliest groups, including AAPA in Berkeley and AAA in New York City, embraced anti-racist, anti-imperialist politics, linked domestic and international struggles, and emphasized serving the community. Within a year or two, these groups, or offshoots of them, moved further to the Left, embracing an eclectic socialism and later Marxism-Leninism. Max Elbaum contends that Marxism-Leninism became the dominant left trend in the AAM as well as within the Asian American communities, where its ideas about the need for a U.S. revolution and support for Marxist-Leninist parties in China, Vietnam, and the Philippines spread well beyond activist ranks.

The earliest revolutionary organization of the AAM, the Red Guard Party, was started by U.S.-born

street youth in San Francisco's Chinatown in February 1969. Two years earlier, Leways, Inc. had purchased a pool hall, through a raffle, as a recreational outlet for Chinatown youth and at a time when non-profit organizations were sparse, developed community youth and job programs. But frustrated with the difficulties of changing Chinatown conditions and after studying with Black Panthers and others, Leways members created the Red Guard Party. More than any other AAM group, the Red Guards emulated the BPP in its program, lumpen proletariat membership, and activities. The Red Guards' 10-point program was almost identical to that of the Black Panthers, with one major departure: The Red Guards demanded that the U.S. government view Mao as "the true leader of the Chinese people." The Red Guards also established a free lunch for seniors program, worked to save a playground from being developed into high-income housing, and brought Maoist politics into Chinatown, tightly controlled by the anti-Communist Six Companies.

In late 1969, in New York City, radical students and working-class youth, primarily from AAA and Columbia University's AAPA, collectivized their income and opened a storefront in Chinatown. Inspired by the BPP and Young Lords, I Wor Kuen (IWK) developed a 12-point program that called for housing, health care, and self-determination for Asians and all Third World peoples. Extending beyond the Panthers, IWK explicitly promoted "a socialist society" to promote human rights over capitalist labor exploitation. IWK's program was unique at the time, with the notable exception of the Young Lords, in explicitly calling for "an end to male chauvinism and sexual exploitation." IWK also established childcare programs and was known for its predominance of women's leadership. Material conditions in Chinatown motivated the IWK's "serve the people" programs. In February 1970, IWK members, dressed in berets and sunglasses and promoting a new militancy, began selling their newspaper, *Getting Together*. The first issue declared Chinatown to be "a ghetto," with 40,000 residents overcrowded in rat- and roach-infested tenements and paying high taxes on low wages. To gain "community control of our institutions and land," IWK began to provide health services, particularly

tuberculosis testing, and developed Chinatown's first clinic, complete with bilingual staff.

In 1971, IWK and Red Guard members jointly formed the first nationwide Asian American revolutionary organization, under the name IWK. Former Red Guard members later issued a document criticizing the Red Guards for having an "ultra-military line" that promoted armed struggle without first developing a community base and for their inattention to workers' organizations. These critiques reflected IWK's focus on serve-the-people programs and developing an anticapitalist analysis of social problems. From the start, IWK distinguished themselves from "do-gooders" out to save somebody else" and "bureaucratic agenc[ies] to hand out charity." Instead, like the Panthers, they sought to use their service programs to improve people's lives, to build a mass base, and to raise political contradictions about the U.S. government and capitalism. In 1972, IWK moved in two directions. Their Chinatown work showed the significance of service, but also the limitations of reformism. So through experience and study, they adopted Marxism, Leninism, and Mao Zedong thought as an ideological framework to effect revolutionary change. They also established the Chinese Progressive Association as a mass-based, grassroots organization.

In the early 1970s, similar radical developments were occurring across the nation. After the successful Third World strikes at UC Berkeley and San Francisco State College, AAPA members turned toward Asian American Studies or community activism. By early 1970, former AAPA members and others established the Asian Community Center (ACC) in San Francisco and provided free food for mothers and children, activities for youth and the elderly, and support for labor struggles and tenant rights. Their "serve the people" programs, inspired by Mao and the Black Panthers, had a dual purpose: (a) to provide direct services to "help our people and ourselves to solve our community problems"; and (b) to educate the community for self-empowerment. They opened Everybody's Bookstore to provide the hard-to-locate Asian American studies books and newspapers from China.

Seeking a clearer political ideology, some ACC members started Wei Min She (WMS), meaning "organization for the people," in January 1971.

Moving away from revolutionary nationalism, they raised a class analysis of imperialism as the root cause of oppression: “The system of imperialism is controlled by the small class of capitalists who own the majority of the world’s wealth, while everyone else must work to live.” They retained their focus on community organizing, but also promoted workers’ struggles. WMS also formed a women’s group that pushed the group to view the struggle for women’s equality as intertwined with the overall struggle for Asian liberation.

Filipino Americans saw themselves as uniquely positioned, both as “brown” people within the Yellow Power movement and as former U.S. nationals, whose homeland was dominated by U.S. neo-colonialism. U.S.-born anti-imperialist activists and radical exiles from the Communist-led Philippine revolution, many from the San Francisco-based *Kalayaan* newspaper collective, formed the *Katipunan ng mga Demokratikong Pilipino* (KDP or Union of Democratic Filipinos) in July 1973. KDP’s dual goals were to support the national democratic movement in the Philippines and to struggle for a socialist United States. They opposed Philippine President Marcos’s martial law and organized support for Filipino American workers. At times, the two goals intersected, as in the 1981 murders of two Filipino cannery workers, labor organizers, and KDP members in Seattle, targeted by Marcos supporters for their anti-Marcos activities.

Despite their strong political unity—in opposition to imperialism, capitalism, racism, and in support of socialism—the various Asian American Left organizations also had bitter clashes, reflecting the fierce ideological conflicts that occurred throughout the 1970s U.S. Left. The International Hotel struggle in San Francisco provides an example. The KDP, IWK/CPA, and WMS/ACC all had offices on Kearny Street in or near the I-Hotel, home to elderly bachelors and a number of AAM organizations. The 10-year I-Hotel struggle drew tens of thousands in a broad-based movement that helped define the AAM of the 1970s. But the three revolutionary groups had sharp differences over ideology, strategies, and tactics. KDP, working closely with the International Hotel Tenants Association (IHTA), prioritized the needs of the elderly working-class Filipino and Chinese tenants and

were the most willing to work with city officials to develop strategic compromises to halt eviction and demolition. Other Left groups accused the KDP of being “hopelessly reformist.” By contrast, WMS and its later formation as the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) sought to heighten consciousness about the ways capitalism prioritized corporate profits over human rights and opposed the gentrification of Manilatown to make San Francisco the “Wall Street of the West.” WMS/RCP prioritized sharpening political ideology over strategies that produced small gains for tenants. Activists criticized the WMS/RCP for using ultra-Left, provocative tactics and for being a rogue organization, refusing to work with others over ideological disagreements and disrupting city hearings. The IWK/CPA strove for reforms for tenants, while raising revolutionary ideas. They emphasized how national oppression and racism intersected with capitalist motives in shaping corporate desires to demolish the I-Hotel.

These clashes reflected sharp ideological and organizational differences among Asian American Leftists in the late 1970s and beyond. Max Elbaum writes convincingly of a New Communist Movement that began in the late 1960s and remained vital throughout the 1970s. He argues against the mainstream historiography’s view that U.S. radicalism disintegrated in the early 1970s, brought about by the shift to Black Power, at a time of overall movement decline and a shrinking U.S. political economy. Rather than disappearing, Asian American radical organizations merged into multinational formations. For many, their community experiences and political study moved them beyond nationalism, even revolutionary nationalism, toward Marx, Lenin, and Mao as a means of opposing capitalism, imperialism, and racism. Many also wanted to form a vanguard party that would replace the defunct CPUSA in providing ideological and organizational leadership to guide spontaneous rebellions. In 1974, WMS joined the Revolutionary Union (RU), the first and until then largest New Communist group, which dissolved to form the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP). In 1978, the IWK merged with the predominantly Chicano August 29th Movement to form the League of Revolutionary Struggle (LRS). Amiri Baraka’s

Revolutionary Communist League (formerly Congress of African Peoples), East Wind (a Japanese American Left organization in Los Angeles), and others soon joined. LRS was unique among the U.S. Left in its predominance of Third World membership (some 80%) and leadership, and its majority women's leadership and membership. LRS prioritized nationality-based organizing and according to IWK/LRS member Fred Ho, "had more [Asian American] members and far greater and extensive work in the 1980s than IWK ever had in the 1970s." Working primarily through secret members—many were top leaders in labor, community, student, and cultural sectors—and through their publication, *East Wind*, LRS exerted a significant influence on Asian American student and community struggles on both coasts. The LRS was known for its mass-based work (and was criticized for having a low priority on theoretical study), was a major force in Jesse Jackson's bids for presidency, and did not strive to be the vanguard party. In late 1976, the KDP began meeting with the Third World Women's Alliance and the Northern California Alliance, to form Rectification, later Line of March, which developed a theoretical journal and promoted party building. There were others, too, particularly the Asian Study Group in New York, founded by Jerry Tung, that formed a mass group, Asian Americans for Equal Employment, and also merged into multinational Marxist-Leninist groups, Workers Viewpoint Organization and later the Communist Workers Party (CWP).

Asian Americans played a significant leadership role in the New Communist movement—all the more significant given their continuing political invisibility. Former IWK women provided the major operational leadership for LRS; two of the three Rectification network founders were from the KDP; and Jerry Tung was selected as CWP general secretary. Although most Left organizations ended by 1990 (Line of March in 1989; LRS in 1990; CWP in 1990), Asian American radicals, though with little visibility, continue to work in the RCP and other socialist formations, in mainstream justice groups, and as independents. There was a small revival of Asian American radicalism in the 1990s, in response to California's anti-immigrant legislation and nationwide bans on affirmative action, and after September 11, 2001, in response to the

perpetual "war on terrorism." Even as the demographic base shifts toward the middle-class, the growing anti-immigrant movement, ongoing racism, and hardships caused by capitalist prioritizing war and corporations over education and healthcare suggests the basis for an expanded Asian American radical movement.

Diane Carol Fujino

See also Aoki, Richard; Asian American Movement (AAM); I Wor Kuen; Iijima, Kazu Ikeda; Katipunan ng mga Demokratikong Pilipinos (KDP); Kochiyama, Yuri; Wei Min She (WMS)

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Ramakrishnan, Venkatraman (1952–)

Venkatraman Ramakrishnan is an Indian-born American and British structural biologist. He was awarded the Nobel Prize jointly with Thomas A. Steitz and Ada E. Yonath in Chemistry in 2009 "for studies of structure and function of the ribosome."

Venkatraman Ramakrishnan was born in 1952 in Chidambaram in Cuddalore district of Tamil Nadu, India, when his father was away on a postdoctoral



Joint winner of the 2009 chemistry Nobel Prize
Venkatraman Ramakrishnan. (AP Photo/Alastair Grant)

fellowship at the University of Wisconsin, Madison. His mother was also a scientist who taught at Annamalai University in Chidambaram. During his parents' absence, he was brought up by his grandmother and his aunts in an extended Indian family. In 1955, his parents moved to Baroda (called Vadodara since 1976) in Gujarat, where his father was appointed to head a new department of biochemistry at the Maharaja Sayajirao University. His mother got a PhD degree in psychology from McGill University later under his father's encouragement, which was unusual at the time in India. Ramakrishnan's childhood and adolescence were filled with visiting scientists from both India and overseas. A life of science struck him as being both interesting and particularly international in its character.

In Baroda of Gujarat, Ramakrishnan was educated at Convent of Jesus and Mary. His move to Baroda was something of a culture shock for him. He was three then and could only speak Tamil. When

he moved to Baroda, however, he had to learn a new language, Gujarati. One of his childhood memories is being unable to understand the language his young peers were speaking. This feeling of being an outsider has remained with him for much of his life as his career has taken him to many different countries. He spent one year in Adelaide, Australia from 1960 to 1961 and then moved back to India with an Australian accent. After high school, he failed in the entrance test of the Indian Institutes of Technology (IIT), partly because he did not attend the coaching classes, which his parents thought were "nonsense." His entrance test for a seat in the Christian Medical College in Vellore in Tamil Nadu was unsuccessful as well because the school was founded to mainly train female doctors. Although he was offered admission to study medicine in Baroda in 1968, he chose basic science instead under a National Science Talent Scholarship. He got his bachelor's degree of science in physics from Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda in 1971.

In the summer of 1971, when his parents took a short sabbatical at the University of Illinois in Urbana, Ramakrishnan visited the United States for the first time. He decided to go to graduate school in the United States, but few universities would consider his application without GRE scores. Later, he was offered a fellowship by Ohio University's physics department, which he accepted after turning 19 years old. Ramakrishnan got married in 1975 to Vera Rosenberry, who studied painting at the university. After he received his PhD in physics in 1976 from Ohio University, he intended to go to graduate school again for a second PhD in medicine. Even though he did extremely well on the MCAT (a nationwide medical college entrance exam) scoring in the 99th percentile in all the subjects, he got only one interview from Yale and was not selected because he was not an American citizen or even a permanent resident at the time.

In 1976, Ramakrishnan attended the University of California, San Diego (UCSD) to study biology. In 1977, he read an article in *Scientific American* written by Don Engelman and Peter Moore on ribosomes that he found most interesting. He then decided not to get his second PhD. Instead, he went to Yale University to work on ribosomes as a postdoctoral fellow with

Peter Moore from 1978 to 1982. At Yale, Moore and his coworkers, including the biochemist Don Engelman, put Ramakrishnan to work as he learned to isolate, purify, reconstitute, and assay ribosomes from cells. These specialized methods he learned in Moore's lab proved invaluable to him.

In spite of his contributions to ribosomal structure at Yale, Ramakrishnan's initial entry into academia was without doubt hard-won. He applied to approximately 50 universities, but he could not get a faculty position at the beginning. Instead, he accepted an appointment in the Biology Division at Oak Ridge National Laboratory in Tennessee in 1982. He was disappointed at the job because the Biology Division put him at the neutron scattering facility with no research resources. He began looking for alternatives within a month after arriving in Oak Ridge. Although quite unsatisfied with the research environment in Oak Ridge, Ramakrishnan made many fast friends there and his collaboration work with several structural biologists on the nucleosome sparked his interest in chromatin that continued until 1998, when he shifted to concentrate entirely on the ribosome.

Eager for bigger challenges and enough resources to conduct independent research, Ramakrishnan came to work at Brookhaven National Laboratory in 1983, where he was eventually hired as a biophysicist with tenure in 1990. There were two crucial developments for him at Brookhaven National Laboratory. The first was his collaboration with Steve White to find a better way to purify proteins. The second was the work enabling him to master new tools and collaborate with new colleagues. He was also a visiting scientist at Medical Research Council Laboratory of Molecular Biology (MRC-LMB) in Cambridge, England, from 1991 to 1992. From 1994 to 1995, he was a senior biophysicist at Brookhaven National Laboratory.

Ramakrishnan moved to the University of Utah as a professor of biochemistry in 1995. However, his funding there was limited. In 1999, he moved to England, taking a position at the MRC-LMB in Cambridge. When in Cambridge, Ramakrishnan's laboratory published a 5.5 angstrom resolution structure of the 30S subunit in 1999. The following year, his laboratory determined the complete molecular structure

of the 30S subunit of the ribosome and its complexes with several antibiotics. His next study provided structural insights into the mechanism that ensures the fidelity of protein biosynthesis. He became a senior research fellow at Trinity College of Cambridge in 2008.

After he left India at age 19, Ramakrishnan has gone back to visit only three times. In early 2002, he was asked to present the first G. N. Ramachandran Memorial Lecture in Chennai, and he also visited the Indian Institute of Science in Bangalore. His first visit to India in interactions with the Indian scientific community allowed him to get connected with scientists there. He later held a G. N. Ramachandran visiting professorship at the Indian Institute of Science in Bangalore. The Indian National Science Academy elected him as a foreign fellow in 2008. In 2010, he received India's second highest civilian honor, the Padma Vibhushan. He has become a source of inspiration for many people in India.

Ramakrishnan is a Fellow of the Royal Society, a member of EMBO (European Molecular Biology Organization) and the U.S. National Academy of Sciences. Prior to the Nobel Prize, he had received, the Louis-Jeantet Prize for Medicine in 2007. And he was given a knighthood in the 2012 New Year Honours for services to Molecular Biology.

Yanjun Liu

See also Indian Americans

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Redress Movement

See Excerpt from the Civil Liberties Act (1988)

Refugee Act of 1980

The Refugee Act of 1980 (Public Law 96-212) was the first comprehensive legislation on refugee admissions and resettlement in the United States. The act, which was signed into law by President Jimmy Carter on March 17, 1980 and went into effect on April 1 of that year, was a direct response to the growing issue of boat people pushed out of Indochina during the Vietnam War. The act defined who could be considered a refugee, laid out how the country would accept and resettle them, and how they could change their status and apply for citizenship.

Before the passage of the act, refugee admissions to the United States were considered on a case-by-case basis. The U.S. response to increasing displacement of people in Southeast Asia, Cuba, and Communist Eastern Europe demonstrated that this *ad hoc* admissions process was unsustainable, and that the country needed codified procedures and definitions that could manage refugee admissions in the long term.

The United States began to accept people as “refugees” only after World War II, when the government began using the Attorney General’s discretionary parole power to accept Eastern Europeans fleeing Communism. In 1965, Congress passed an amendment to the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 to systemize the refugee admissions process. It allowed for a certain number of people fleeing political, religious, or ethnic persecution in an Eastern Hemisphere Communist or Middle Eastern country to gain conditional admission to the United States. Although the amendment was intended to avoid having to accept refugees on an *ad hoc* basis, its specifications received a challenge in the same year from the Cuban refugee crisis, as Cubans were not eligible for entry under the new law.

The refugee crisis created by the Vietnam War reached its peak in the late 1970s. In 1978, President Carter ordered American ships to pick up people

fleeing Vietnam by boat. The administration moved to accept more refugees, in part to encourage other countries to do the same. By 1979, tens of thousands of Indochinese refugees were allowed into the United States per month. President Carter created the post of U.S. Coordinator for Refugee Affairs, and the Department of State and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare created their own Offices of Refugee Affairs.

The increasingly dire refugee crisis caused by United States intervention in Southeast Asia led Congress to develop comprehensive legislation regarding refugee admissions. The Refugee Act of 1980 not only defined who could be admitted and how many to admit but also set out guidelines for resettlement assistance, which the federal government began to provide on a group-specific basis starting with the Cuban Refugee Program in 1962.

The law used the definition of “refugee” provided in the United Nations Protocol on the Status of Refugee. Under the new law, refugees may be from any country and may be suffering any form of persecution based on race, religion, nationality, political opinion, or membership in a particular social group. Only those refugees who are not permanently resettled in a third country may be eligible for entry to the United States. Those who participated in the persecution of others are not eligible.

The law directed the attorney general to develop a procedure for screening refugees abroad and determining whom to admit. The spouse and children of any individual granted refugee status are automatically given refugee status. The law allowed for 50,000 refugees to be admitted between 1980 and 1982; afterward, the president may decide on the limit after consulting with Congress. The president may exceed the set limit for a given year should a humanitarian crisis require it.

The law created an Office of Refugee Resettlement in the Department of Health and Human Services and stipulated that this office provide assistance to refugees, including job training, English as a second language classes, and limited cash and medical assistance. It also specifically required that equal access and opportunity to this assistance be given to women.

Under this law, refugees could apply for permanent residency after one year of living in the United States. Most refugees are protected from deportation to their country of origin if they continue to be persecuted there. However, those who commit serious crimes and those who are determined to be national security risks may still be deported.

No significant changes to United States refugee law have been passed since the Refugee Act of 1980. According to the Department of State, more than 1.3 million refugees from East and Southeast Asia have been resettled in the United States between 1975 and 2011, mostly from Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos. This included Vietnamese, Khmer, Lao, Hmong, Chinese, Cham, and other ethnic groups living in that region. An additional 250,000 refugees from West and South Asia have been admitted in this time frame. Current refugee priorities in the Asia include Burmese, Bhutanese, and North Koreans.

Calvin N. Ho

See also Boat People; Refugee Camps and Southeast Asian Migration

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Refugee Camps and Southeast Asian Migration

In 1975, North and South Vietnam unified under a Communist regime, forcing the migration of approximately 1.5 to 2 million refugees by land and sea over a period of two decades. First asylum countries (countries in the region that offered temporary asylum and shelter in provisional campsites) included China and Thailand (the two countries that refugees could reach by foot), Indonesia, Philippines, Malaysia, Hong

Kong, Singapore, and even Australia. The pattern of migration out of the region is typically categorized into three periods. The first period includes evacuations that took place between mid-April and early-May of 1975, during the weeks before and after the historic fall of Saigon. The second period, known as the period of the Boat People, occurred between 1975 and 1986, with peak migration occurring from 1978 to 1982. The third period of migration took place from 1987 into the early 1990s. Between these periods, migration streams ebbed and flowed until the early 1990s, when several thousand refugees would be forced to repatriate (i.e., return to Vietnam) under the 1989 Comprehensive Plan of Action mandated by the office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

Neither first-asylum countries nor the West anticipated the extent of the exodus, which continued to flow through illicit channels despite the dangers involved in seeking asylum. Fear of political retribution forced families to escape in secrecy, leaving many vulnerable to exploitative channels that would cost life savings and sometimes result in arrest. An underground economy emerged for buying and selling travel papers and information on escape routes. However, double agents and opportunists quickly took advantage of the underground economy, often compromising the planned escape or abandoning individuals and groups at assigned locations. Successful avoidance of landmines and pirates did not automatically end with asylum. Sometimes refugees faced rejection by camp officials because of camp overcrowding. Boats were pushed back into the sea; refugees on foot were forced to retrace steps over landmines. In 1979, Hong Kong had 68,748 refugees; Malaysia 53,996; Indonesia 48,651; Thailand 11,928; the Philippines 7,281; and Singapore 5,451. When Hong Kong, Malaysia, and Indonesia, the most overburdened locations, began turning away new arrivals by refusing docking privileges, desperate refugees purposefully damaged vessels to prevent a forced return to sea. Larger ships carrying from 2,000 to 3,000 refugees were forced to linger for weeks offshore before they were granted entry or were redirected to different campsites.

Refugees admitted to camps continued to face harsh conditions, with thousands lingering in crowded makeshift bungalows for periods of six months to

several years. Camp residents were forced to build unstable domiciles out of foraged or traded material. In Malaysia's Pulau Bidong camp, for example, 40,000 refugees resided in a crude 200-acre campsite that lacked proper provisions and provided no privacy. Living quarters were not secure and safety continued to be a major concern as the influx of arrivals prevented the timely establishment of infrastructure. With no plumbing available, makeshift latrines were constructed with slabs of wood built over seawater. Former refugees have reported collecting rainwater for drinking purposes. When time in the camps began to grow longer, classrooms were set up and cafes and gambling rooms were built. Residents established makeshift medical clinics to help care for the ill. Despite attempts to create community, rapes and kidnappings occurred, as did thefts, brawls, and riots. Women and children were especially vulnerable in this chaotic environment, particularly if they were unaccompanied. In the mid-1980s, academic anthropologist James Freeman and former refugee and United States trained sociologist Dinh Huu Nguyen visited the camps and found that the vulnerability of children attracted violations that included rape, theft, and bullying from guards and adult refugees alike.

In 1979, a diplomatic standstill between Vietnam and the United States over conditions of normalization precipitated a desperate measure by the UNHCR to offer refugee status and asylum to all evacuees attempting to leave Vietnam. At the UNHCR Convention on the Indochinese Refugee, Vietnam announced that it would not permit refugee repatriation unless economic and diplomatic normalization occurred, including reinstatement of Vietnam's membership in the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The United States refused these conditions, insisting on continued embargo and refusal of aid. To curb anxieties felt by first asylum countries and the subsequent refusal of asylum to new refugee arrivals, the UNHCR mandate included provisions that guaranteed the eventual resettlement of refugees in Western nations. The provision temporarily alleviated concerns held by first asylum countries over the fact that permanent integration of refugees would leave the countries vulnerable to military occupation and political annexation by a Vietnam eager to expand. First asylum countries were also less

prepared than the West to support the new population economically.

When evidence of the high death rates of clandestine boat escapees became known, the United States implemented the 1979 Orderly Departure Program (ODP) in concert with the UNHCR mandate for automatic asylum for Southeast Asian refugees. The Orderly Departure Program sought to work with the Vietnamese government to provide legal means of escape that were less perilous and more sustainable. Still, many Southeast Asians could not navigate successfully the bureaucracy of the ODP, which involved a cumbersome exchange of lists of names between the two governments. Clandestine and independent escapes by boat continued into the 1990s. The ODP in concert with UNHCR's blanket measure of guaranteed political asylum resulted in an increase in refugee migration by boat, mostly by ethnic Chinese fleeing restructuring and reeducation between 1978 and 1982. In 1979, refugee arrivals to first asylum countries numbered 202,000. By 1980, 400,000 refugees arrived to a first asylum country, with 400,000 others killed or drowned. Hong Kong alone claimed a total of 124,225 refugees between 1975 and 1984. The total number of refugees that remained in all camps in 1986 was approximately 35,000, with many having lingered in the camps for years. With resettlement quotas in Western countries still high enough to accommodate the remaining 35,000, a new influx of refugees started to arrive in 1987 to first asylum countries. Hong Kong, Indonesia, and Malaysia, became concerned that no end was in sight.

In 1988, in response to a new wave of arrivals, Hong Kong broke with the UNHCR's 1979 mandate and established its own measures to stem the flow of arrivals. Under its new policy, Hong Kong required new arrivals to undergo "Refugee Determination Procedure," a screening process that conveniently classified a majority of screened candidates as unclassified persons rather than as refugees, thus lowering their chances of resettlement in the West. The new procedure legitimated Hong Kong's suspicions that more recent refugees were economic refugees rather than political refugees, a distinction that many legal theorists and human rights advocates challenge. Procedural weaknesses also played a role in the adjudication

errors of Status Boards who were charged with determining an applicant's status. Status Boards, for example, regularly relied on narrative summaries provided by interviewers and did not meet applicants themselves. The persons labeled "unclassified" rather than "refugee" lingered in camps even after a program of "voluntary" repatriation was brokered with Vietnam in 1988. Hong Kong elected to employ forcible repatriation of unclassified individuals to encourage camp residents to voluntarily return to Vietnam.

One strategy implemented by Hong Kong was a closed camp policy that restricted the movement of Southeast Asian refugees, prohibiting camp residents from seeking minor employment, education, or participating in any activity outside of the camp boundaries. Refugees were held as prisoners indefinitely in these detention centers until voluntary or forced repatriation. The international community criticized Hong Kong's policy and argued that its detainment action was not in response to a threat caused by the refugees but rather a means of control and determent that undermined asylum and human rights protocol. The number of refugees in closed camps in Hong Kong 1987 was 9,537 (with 3,395 new arrivals that year). In 1988, Hong Kong's detainment number increased to 25,673 (with 34,112 arrivals that year). By 1989, the number of refugees detained by Hong Kong had surged to 55,728.

On December 16, 1988, a Memorandum of Understanding signed between Hanoi and UNHCR allowed repatriation of refugees on a voluntary and case-by-case basis. The first voluntary repatriations under the memorandum occurred on March 2, 1989 with 75 refugee campers. By May, a second repatriation effort increased the number to 148. In 1990, 5,452 were repatriated. In 1991, repatriation numbers grew to 7,747; in 1992, they climbed to 12,612. The UNHCR's 1989 Comprehensive Plan of Action ensured resettlement in the West for refugees arriving in Hong Kong before June 14, 1988, and before March 15, 1989 in other asylum countries within three years of the plan. Few refugees arriving after these dates were resettled in the West. Most were indeterminately detained until forcibly or voluntarily repatriated. To encourage voluntary repatriation, the UNHCR provided monetary stipends of US\$360 as reintegration incentive and assistance per person, adult and child. Additionally, \$50

spending cash and \$25 for children was distributed. Hong Kong remained the only first asylum country to establish an Orderly Repatriation Program.

Linh Hua

See also Boat People; Refugee Act of 1980

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Religion and Its Social Function in the Japanese American Community

Religions and religious organizations play a vital role in virtually all ethnic communities in our country. More than just places of worship, ethnic churches, temples, synagogues, and mosques provide a host of social and economic functions ranging from housing and employment services to dancing and sports. Like other ethnic community organizations in the United States, religion and religious organizations provide a safe and often familiar environment in an otherwise strange land. Moreover, as the relationships between a religion, the ethnic community, and the larger society evolve, the social functions similarly adjust as well.

For the Japanese American community, the link between social functions and religion began from the very onset of the community itself. The first religious organization, and perhaps the first Japanese American organization in general, was the Fukuinkai (Gospel Society) established by students converts in San Francisco in 1877. In addition to bible study, the group offered a bunk house and social receptions for Japanese students and travelers.

The connection between religion and social functions became firmly established once the communities of Japanese Americans grew. Large-scale Japanese immigration to Hawaii and the United States began in 1885, when many Japanese went as contract laborers to the sugarcane plantations in Hawaii. In May of that same year, the First Japanese Presbyterian Church of

San Francisco began its operation. In 1886, the first Japanese Young Men's Christian Association formed in San Francisco. These organizations were an outgrowth of the Gospel Society and American missionaries working within the immigrant community.

Transplanted Japanese religious organizations became a part of the community a decade later through the formation of the Young Men's Buddhist Association (YMBA) in 1898 also in San Francisco. The YMBA subsequently formed the North American Buddhist Mission (NABM) that same year. The NABM and its current incarnation, the Buddhist Churches of America (BCA), is an overseas branch of the Nishi Hongwanji (Western School) of Jodo Shinshu (True Pureland) school from Kyoto.

The membership for these ethnic religious groups consisted primarily of young male laborers. In keeping with this body and its circumstances, the religious organizations offered general settlement services such as employment, medical, housing assistance and language classes. In a population of predominantly single male laborers, the role of religion was also, in many ways, limited. The lives of these men revolved around hard labor over long hours and days. These individuals often had little time to devote to religious activities.

Socially, however, the churches, temples, and, most notably, the Young Men's Associations expanded their activities to appeal to what little social time this population enjoyed. By 1900, the associations had established libraries, dormitories, and community newspapers. The churches and temples also began to include music classes as well as employment offices, and a savings department as part of its operations.

Another key factor affecting the course of the Japanese American community was the anti-immigrant and anti-Japanese movement. The first decade of the twentieth century saw a rise in anti-Asian sentiment throughout the Western U.S. states. One of the most significant actions in this respect was the 1906 San Francisco Board of Education's vote to create segregated Asian schools for Japanese students.

Although the number of children would be affected was small, this decision became an international issue when the Japanese government protested on behalf of their emigrant populations. The subsequent negotiations resulted in the 1907

Gentlemen's Agreement that essentially traded unsegregated schools for the end of labor migration. The general hostility toward immigrants continued, however.

By 1913, all of the Western U.S. states had passed a series of "alien land laws," which denied specific immigrant groups the right to own land. The legal culmination of the hostility manifested itself in the federal Immigration Act of 1924, which effectively ended all significant immigration from Japan.

As the flow of immigrants represented the original source for the membership in the organization, the end of labor immigration meant the end of a steady supply of potential new members. Moreover, the efforts to marginalize and exclude the Japanese from mainstream economic life would mean that its membership was not likely to have the type of financial resources to assist the maintenance, let alone growth of the organization.

This situation, however, pushed the social role of the religious organizations within the community. In the face of a hostile general community, the Japanese American population experienced an enhanced sense of ethnic solidarity. Like other immigrant groups, the Japanese Americans developed their own ethnic enclaves in which they recreated the social services unavailable elsewhere. The churches and temples were one of those organizations to which the community turned.

Similarly, and perhaps ironically, the Gentlemen's Agreement of 1907 was one of the other key factors in expanding and consolidating the Japanese American community. Although it curtailed the immigration of Japanese as laborers, a loophole existed for wives and children of those already residing in America. The Agreement allowed for these individuals to immigrate as part of a family reunification. This allowance began the period of "shashin-kekkon" or picture brides.

The term "picture brides" refers to the practice of exchanging photos as the means by which prospective husbands and wives made their marriage choices. Once a couple agreed to marry, a proxy groom would stand in for the husband at the marriage ceremony in Japan. Upon official record of the marriage, the new bride became eligible for entry into the United States under the terms of the 1907 Gentlemen's Agreement.

Thus, from 1907 to 1924, over 20,000 Japanese women entered U.S. ports. The unification of husbands and wives transformed the Japanese American community from being a primarily bachelor society to a family community. Soon, thereafter, these families led to the emergence of an American-born generation: the Nisei.

These demographic shifts translated into both an expansion of social functions as well as a basic shift in activities. Rather than simply providing newcomer settlement and assimilation services for single workers, the organizations began to meet the needs of a family population. The first indication of this transition came with the formation of Japanese language schools in 1903. Subsequently, in addition to language classes, the churches began to provide a whole host of what can be described as cultural activities. The church offered martial arts training in the form of judo, kendo, and karate. By 1914 church athletic leagues began holding games and tournaments and all Nisei Boy Scout troops was formed in 1915.

By the 1920s individual churches and temples had expanded their networks to engage in state and national activities. Through state and national conferences, social functions expanded ostensibly as a part of religious meetings and discussions. As a part of these religious gatherings, there would always be dances and receptions.

In effect, the Nisei utilized these conferences to extend their social network in the Japanese American community. As these gatherings numbered in the thousands at their largest, they allowed the Nisei to see and to engage with their peer group. By the 1930s, social activities, in many ways, dominated these religious organizations. Although religious services occurred on Sundays, the other remaining days of the week saw the buildings being used for everything from dances and sports events to ice cream socials. The organizations also became a sponsor for community events such as camping trips and picnics as well as beauty contests and festivals.

The entry of the United States into World War II brought about what amounted to a forced dissolution of Japanese American communities on the West Coast. With the relocation of Japanese Americans, virtually all Japanese American churches and temples were

shuttered. When in the relocation centers, the various religious organizations formed interfaith councils to share and coordinate religious as well as social functions, allowing each group to continue to operate under the difficult conditions.

As church members returned to their communities in early 1945, the church and temples facilities served as resettlement centers for the people returning from the relocation centers. In the face of continuing social hostility to the Japanese American community, the churches provided temporary hostels, job placement centers, and meeting places. More important, the experience of incarceration during the war had created a generational sea change in the ethnic community. On one hand, the leadership of the community and the religious organizations passed from the Issei to the Nisei. On the other, the Nisei were left with a shared bond and identity as an ethnic group as a result of the relocation experience.

The postwar era until the late 1970s and early 1980s thus marks a second stage in which the Japanese American religious organizations reasserted its ethnic community service functions. The Japanese American community once again turned to their ethnic churches and temples for social functions of the community. They largely recreated the groups and activities originally developed before the war and also extended those functions to the third generation of Japanese Americans, the Sansei. Moreover, as anti-Japanese sentiment transformed to tolerance and even friendship and admiration, Japanese Americans began to make significant gains socioeconomically. With this change in the status of the ethnic population, the geographic spread of the Japanese American community changed as well. New ethnic churches and temples not only improved and expanded their facilities but also began to build new branches in suburban areas rather than in former urban ethnic enclaves or rural communities.

From the 1980s, Japanese American religious organizations experienced some new changes. On one hand, the membership remains overwhelmingly Japanese American. On the other hand, the issue with new demographic change is that with high levels of structural and physical assimilation among the Sansei and low levels of immigration from Japan, the ethnic enclave is gone. Thus, it seems that the traditional social roles are no longer needed by its ethnic community.

Yet the pattern thus far has been that this increasingly assimilated membership continues to look for ways to maintain their ethnic identity and have turned to the churches to provide this. The 1980s saw the initiation of Japanese cultural programs for children during summer recess. With Japanese names such as Medaka (minnow), Tampopo (dandelion), and Gakko (School), these are programs that introduce Japanese American children to elements of Japanese and Japanese American culture, history and traditions. In a parallel development, a number of churches began to sponsor Taiko (Japanese drum) groups in the 1980s as well.

This indicates that Japanese American religious organizations have experienced a persistence of ethnicity in the motivations of members. In effect, although Japanese Americans now have the ability to find social outlets in the general society, they choose to attend ethnic churches and temples and utilize them precisely because of their ethnic social roles.

Thus, 120 years into the history of Japanese American religious organizations, the specific social roles have changed, but they appear to have been largely structured within the activities originating from and addressing the needs of the community. From immigration to settlement, to segregation, to incarceration, to resettlement, to acceptance, and perhaps finally to assimilation, the experience of these churches, temples, and associations is a reflection of the experience of Japanese Americans and the Japanese American community.

In every stage of the community, religious organizations had the resources, will, and ability to address the needs of the ethnic population both religiously and socially. As the composition and the needs of the membership changed, the churches and temples were there once again to be a social resource.

Arthur Nishimura

See also American Missionaries in Postwar Japan; Japanese American Christianity; Japanese Americans

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Rhee, Syngman (1875–1965)

On March 6, 1875, Syngman Rhee was born into a scholarly *yangban* family of royal lineage, in the ancient capital of Kaesong, now part of North Korea. Despite his aristocratic background, he grew up with Korea's poor on the outskirts of Seoul and realized the importance of the welfare of the common people. When he was nine years old, an epidemic of smallpox left him blind until medical missionary Dr. Horace Allen cured him. Rhee's early education consisted of Chinese Confucian classics and calligraphy, supplemented by Korean traditional proverbs and poetry. At the age of 19, he enrolled at Paejae Middle School, run by American Methodist missionaries, to study the modern world and the English language. While attending Paejae, Rhee started the first daily newspaper in Korea. It was published partly in Korean and partly



Syngman Rhee, president of South Korea (1948–1960).
(Library of Congress)

in English, establishing Rhee's habit of addressing both Korean and American audiences in his political endeavors.

After the Sino-Japanese War, Japan promised Korean independence only to consolidate the eventual colonization of the country. Rhee helped found the Independence Club to organize mass protests but was arrested in 1897. After a failed escape attempt, Rhee was placed in solitary confinement for seven months and subjected daily to extreme torture, after which he was tried and sentenced to life imprisonment, barely escaping execution on the evidence that the pistol in his possession had been unused. Rhee spent his prison years constantly reading English magazines and books and writing his magnum opus, *The Spirit of Independence*, which outlined the principles of individual freedom and self-determination of nations in relation to Korean independence. This was also a time of spiritual awakening. Rhee had gradually gained an appreciation of Christianity's role in fostering Western democracy, and out of his humbling prison experience awoke his deep Christian faith, one of his most defining traits.

Upon his release in the upheaval of the Russo-Japanese War in 1904, Rhee went to Washington D.C. to work for the cause of Korean independence from abroad, hoping to invoke the language of peace and friendship in the Korean-American Treaty of 1882. He met with President Theodore Roosevelt and other influential Americans, but discovered that most were too circumspect about maintaining good relations with Japan and broadly considered Korean independence a lost cause. In the interim, Rhee, believing an advanced education would be useful for his career, entered George Washington University, fortuitously named for Rhee's lifelong hero. He was awarded his AB in 1907, after which he completed both his MA at Harvard and his PhD at Princeton within the span of three years, making him the first Korean to receive a doctorate in the United States. He later attributed his American education in history, political science, and economics as the foundation for his work toward establishing a self-governed Korea. He made long-lasting connections at Princeton, including President Woodrow Wilson. Rhee returned to Korea in 1910 that had been annexed by Japan. Feeling wary of the Japanese, who recognized him as a threat, he lived in exile until the end of Japanese rule in 1945.

In 1912, Rhee received an invitation from the Korean National Association, a nationalist expatriate organization in Hawaii. Rhee spent the next 25 years in and out of Hawaii working for the independence movement in exile and serving the Korean-Hawaiian community as school principal and church founder. Concurrently with the March 1, 1919, nationwide uprising against the Japanese occupation, exiles in Shanghai established the Korean Provisional Government. Rhee was elected in absentia as its first president, a post he held until 1939. In 1934, Rhee married Francesca Donner whom he had met on a trip to meet delegates to the League of Nations where Donner had been working as secretary to the Austrian delegation. She would prove to be an invaluable help to Rhee's work for the rest of his life.

Rhee spent the World War II years in Washington gaining recognition, with help from his old American missionary friends, and pleading for Allied promises on the basis that Korean independence was a matter of Asian stability and international security. In early

1941, he published *Japan Inside Out*, in which he warned the United States of the danger of leaving an imperialist aggressor unchecked—proved by the December 7 Pearl Harbor attacks later that year.

The Allied victory in 1945 signified Korea's liberation and the end of Rhee's self-imposed exile. The Americans were received enthusiastically as liberators, and their endorsement of Rhee, as well as his personal prestige, nationalist credentials, and force of personality, gained him a strong following. From the beginning, the United States and the Soviet Union (USSR) had asymmetrical commitments to their joint military occupation. The USSR with interests in entrenching themselves on the Korean peninsula set up highly trained and disciplined Communist cadres in North Korea. In contrast, government in South Korea under the ambivalent and ill-prepared United States was disorganized and partisan. Of the numerous political factions, Rhee, campaigning for immediate independence and unification, rose to the forefront. In May 1948, he was overwhelmingly elected Chairman of the newly formed National Assembly; in July, he was elected president, and, in August the Republic of Korea (ROK) was declared as the only lawful government in Korea, for the USSR had refused to hold elections in the North.

North-South antagonism steadily grew. On June 25, 1950, with Soviet and Chinese backing, North Korea invaded, taking the ROK army by surprise, and captured Seoul by June 28, forcing Rhee to relocate his government to Pusan. The UN Command counterattack under General Douglas MacArthur revived Rhee's hope for unification, and he pushed for a northward surge. But President Harry Truman's fears of a wide-scale international war were realized when Chinese entered the war, resulting in a two-year stalemate. Military Armistice Agreement was signed on July 27, 1953, to bring an uneasy stalemate to the war.

Rhee was reelected in 1952 by popular vote. He exercised control through the loyalty of the bureaucracy, police, and military, which were staffed by trained and talented professionals. Those staff had formerly served under the Japanese, prompting accusations of collaboration, which Rhee deflected with his own impeccable anti-Japanese credentials. The Korean

War had damaged the nation's infrastructure and industrial capacity and brought floods of refugees from North Korea, China, Manchuria, and Japan. Realizing that the key to real economic recovery lay in modernization, Rhee promoted compulsory elementary education in Korea and study abroad programs in the United States. An important part of his modernization policy was land reform to create a new class of entrepreneurial farmers and to break the feudal power of yangban landlords.

In 1955, various anti-Rhee groups merged to form the Democratic Party. His supporters, realizing that Rhee must stay in leadership to preserve the government and their personal privileges, pushed through a constitutional amendment allowing him to run for a third term even though the votes fell short of the required two-thirds majority. Rhee was reelected in 1956, but his administration was quickly becoming drained of resources in the face of strong opposition from the Assembly. In the fourth presidential election, not only did Rhee win by a landslide, but his widely unpopular running mate won as well, prompting cries of electoral fraud. Student demonstrations that began in Seoul spread into other major cities, and the military intervened but failed to stop the growing political protest. Rhee resigned on April 26, 1960 and lived in Hawaii until his death in 1965 at the age of 90.

For one so devoted to his nation, Syngman Rhee lived much of his life abroad and died far away from his country. His regime was marred by corruption and scandal and is largely considered a failure. Yet, accusations that Rhee was autocratic must be viewed in the historical context. Korea, suddenly thrust into the modern international sphere after isolation and foreign domination, was in many ways unready for democracy and lacked the necessary capital, infrastructure, and the capacity to govern. Though often misunderstood, Rhee left a tangible mark on modern South Korea. His Economic Development Council, his program to train technocrats, and the U.S. economic aid he secured laid the groundwork for South Korea's modernization.

Sookhee Oh

See also Korean Americans; Korean Americans in the Cold War; Korean Independence Movement in the United States

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Robles, Al (1930–2009)

Born in San Francisco on February 16, 1930, Alfred A. Robles was a Filipino American poet, teacher, and community activist who published numerous poems and collected the history of the Bay Area *manongs* (elderly first-generation Filipino migrant workers). Robles was second eldest of a large family consisting of 10 brothers and sisters. He was born and raised in San Francisco's Fillmore district and remained there virtually his whole life.

Al Robles's poetry combined explorations of space, place, and time within a framework of identity based avant-garde poetics established within communities of ethnic writers beginning in the late 1960s. Often in a single poem, Robles mixed numerous dialects—language from the streets of San Francisco, the heterogeneous voices of the manong, and Tagalog—crossed back and forth between the Philippines and the United States, and moved between the past and the present. The manong were central to his poetic aesthetic. In the introduction to *Rappin' with Ten*

Thousand Carabaos in the Dark (1996), Robles wrote: "As a poet I've followed the footprints of the manongs. I gathered up their history from Agbayani Village to Stockton, in the farms and fields that stretched north, south, east, and west. I followed them deep inside fish bellies swimming across the icy cold Pacific waters. Sat down with every single manong and watched as they weaved out dreams from fishnets beneath trees, in the Kauai rains. I cried out to them across the sugar cane fields." The manong, however, were not only vessels of the past, their stories informed the sensibilities of second- and third-generation Filipino Americans, such as Robles. In this manner, Robles's project was political in that it provided Filipino Americans with an alternative history and a path to connect with their cultural and ethnic heritage. In the poem, "Tagatac in Ifugao Mountain," he wrote: "Who's going to travel/far back in the past?/Writing empty poems/to the wind/is closer to ifugao mountain/Brings the mind closer/to its roots."

Robles was conscious of his identity as a Filipino American and Asian American poet. In fact, Robles felt poetry was a vehicle for Asian Americans to explore and create their identity against the backdrop of racial and class discrimination in the United States. Moreover, he argued that poetry should be a vehicle where Asian Americans connect with other communities of color. In his essay, "Hanging in the Carabao's Tail" (1989), Robles recalled the origins of the Asian American poetry movement in the early seventies: "As Asian American poets, it was essential to dwell on our identities, to feel the need to find who we are. This was not just mere talk. This has been the stepping stone of Asian American poetry. Yet, however, no matter how brown, black, yellow or red we are—whether we like it or not, we should live as one tribal family, not dividing the communities of poets running amok."

Robles's poetic practice crossed over into his work as a teacher, community activist, and historian. It is difficult to delineate the parameters of each role because they each informed and influenced the other. Beginning in the early 1970s, Robles began going to the Kearny Street Workshop, which at this time was located within the original I-Hotel. The Kearny Street Workshop was established in 1972 to promote the

creative endeavors of Asian Americans during a time of radical change within the United States. Robles remained a fixture at the Workshop throughout his life, offering mentorship and guidance to generations of young poets. The I-Hotel is also where Robles often interacted with the manong and collected their stories. When the I-Hotel became the target of San Francisco's urban renewal project, Robles was at the forefront of the movement to save the building that was the home for numerous low-income Filipinos. Even though the movement to stop the destruction of the I-Hotel was ultimately unsuccessful, Robles continued to work to find new housing for the elderly. As a teacher and mentor, Robles was known for taking emerging activists and artists to Agbayani Village in Delano and the Japanese internment camps at Tule Lake. He felt it was important for poets to bring themselves into history.

In 1996, the UCLA Asian American Studies Center published *Rappin' with Ten Thousand Carabaos in the Dark*, which remains the only volume of his collected poetry. In 2008, filmmaker, Curtis Choy, released a 47-minute documentary about Robles entitled, *Manilatown Is in the Heart: Time Travel with Al Robles*. The film follows Robles through various areas of San Francisco and provides a wonderful record of his multilayered and vibrant life. He died on May 2, 2009.

Jeffrey Kim Schroeder

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Romulo, Carlos P. (1899–1985)

Born on January 14, 1899, in Camiling, Tarlac, Philippines, Carlos Peña Romulo was a Filipino politician, diplomat, writer, and intellectual. He lived parts

of his life in both the Philippines and the United States. Romulo's life can be seen as comprising three main periods: the Quezon era, the era of exile, and the postwar years. Each of these periods highlights specific themes in his overall thought.

Romulo studied at Manila High School and the University of the Philippines. He came from an economically privileged social class and spoke multiple languages and dialects. Under the influence of his American high school instructors, he became an ardent admirer of the English language and American culture. Simultaneously, he developed a deep veneration for then Philippine Senate President Manuel Quezon, under whom Romulo would later serve in various roles and guises.

Although Romulo came into contact with Americans in the Philippines, his experience of racial difference became more nuanced after he traveled to the United States as a *pensionado* (government scholarship student) and enrolled in graduate school at Columbia University, where he studied foreign trade service and comparative literature. When studying at Columbia, he discovered racism aimed at not only African Americans but also Filipinos. Despite the difficult circumstances, Romulo chose not to exclude himself from interacting with whites. Rather, Romulo continued to interact with both whites and African Americans and used his influence to bridge the gap between the two groups. Some scholars have argued that Romulo's strategy for dealing with racism at Columbia University served as a model for how he would deal with the colonial question later in life at the level of the transnational.

After graduating from Columbia University, Romulo returned to the Philippines in 1922 and began working under Quezon as his private secretary and the assistant editor of the *Philippines Herald*. Although their relationship was at times tumultuous, Romulo remained close to Quezon throughout the 1930s and into the 1940s. It was during this period that Romulo began to develop his ideas on how the Philippines might forge its own strand of a postcolonial modernity. Rather than reject the social, political, and economic policies imposed upon the nation by their colonial oppressors, Romulo argued for an acceptance of Western European liberal ideology. He felt the clearest

path toward decolonization was to prove to the United States that the Philippines was a nation that shared its same values and mores. It was also during this time that Romulo began to develop his relationship with U.S. General Douglas MacArthur. Because of his ambivalent stance toward U.S. colonialism and his privileged position with the U.S. military, Romulo had a somewhat fraught relationship with more staunchly anticolonial Filipino and Filipino American intellectuals.

The 1940s was an incredibly rewarding time for Romulo. During this period he won the Pulitzer Prize for correspondence and published four important autobiographical books, *I Saw the Fall of the Philippines* (1942), *Mother America* (1943), *My Brother Americans* (1945), and *I See the Philippines Rise* (1946). Historian Augusto Fauni Espiritu has argued that during this era Romulo began to adopt more anti-colonial stance in his writing, which included the development of emerging pan-Asian and Third World perspectives. During World War II, General MacArthur sent Romulo to the United States where he gave hundreds of lectures throughout the country in support of the Pacific War. Although living in the United States, Romulo often thought of himself as an exile and this theme would imbue his later writings.

At the end of World War II, Romulo was appointed resident commissioner to the United States Congress by President Sergio Osmeña and thus began his career in Philippine politics. From 1949 to 1950 he was president of the United Nations General Assembly. He served as the Philippines' Secretary of Foreign Affairs from 1950 to 1952, 1963 to 1964, and 1968 to 1984. In 1953, Romulo unsuccessfully

ran for president of the nation. After his failed attempt to run for president, Romulo continued to write many books on both national and international politics, including *Crusade in Asia* (1955) and *The Meaning of Bandung* (1956). In these books, he further developed his ideas on various issues concerning decolonization, pan-Asian identity, the question of communism in Asia.

Among scholars and historians of the Philippines and Asian American studies, Romulo remains a controversial figure because of his complex relationship with the United States, and in the final period of his life, his association with the Marcos regime. Because of his support of Marcos, Romulo's writings have been largely overlooked until recently where the discourses of ethnic studies, transnationalism, and postcolonial theory have opened up new critical paradigms where these contradictory narratives can be examined. He died on December 15, 1985, in Manila.

Jeffrey Kim Schroeder

See also Filipino Americans; Filipino Americans in World War II; Filipino Transnationalism

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Saiki, Patricia F. (1930–)

Patricia Fukuda “Pat” Saiki is a Japanese American politician and educator from the State of Hawaii. She represented Hawaii’s 1st Congressional District for four years (1987–1991) and served as the administrator of the Small Business Administration under President George H. W. Bush (1991–1993). She is a Republican.

Patricia Fukuda Saiki was born on May 28, 1930, in Hilo, Hawaii. She graduated from high school in 1948 and then from the University of Hawaii in 1952 with a bachelor’s degree. After graduation from college, Saiki got married and taught history in Hawaii’s public and private schools for many years. She began her political career by working in local party politics and would later become the vice chair of the state Republican Party (1966–1968). She was a very active member of the Hawaiian Republican Party organization. Her first public office was in the Hawaiian House of Representatives. Saiki was elected in 1968 and served for six years.

In 1974, Saiki was elected to the Hawaiian State Senate and enjoyed an eight-year tenure. During her time in the Hawaiian State Senate, she rose to occupy the position of assistant GOP floor leader. However, she left in 1982 and made an unsuccessful bid for the position of lieutenant governor.

During her time out of public office, Saiki returned to her political roots by working for the Republican Party. In her position as party chair (1983–1985), she played an instrumental role in reviving the Republican Party in Hawaii’s Democrat-dominant political climate. In 1984, President Ronald W. Reagan was able to become the second Republican presidential

candidate to carry the Hawaiian Electoral College during the presidential election.

In September 1986, Saiki was unsuccessful in the special election for the vacant seat of U.S. Representative that Cecil Heftel left behind when he entered the Hawaiian gubernatorial race. She lost the race to Democrat Neil Abercrombie. However, as Heftel’s original term ended, Saiki once again faced her Democratic opponents. In the same year (1986), Saiki ran a second time for the Representative seat from Hawaii’s 1st Congressional District, but this time against Democrat Mufi Hannemann (Neil Abercrombie had lost the primary to Mufi Hannemann). She was successful the second time around and was elected to Congress, thus becoming the only Hawaiian Republican to ever hold a House seat. She would serve for two consecutive terms, extending her tenure in Congress between 1987 and 1991.

Although Saiki served in Congress, she also took up important positions in the Republican Party. She served as a delegate and secretary of the Republican National Convention (RNC) in 1988.

Saiki was known for being fiscally conservative on economic issues. She was also a staunch supporter of the foreign policies of President Ronald Reagan and President George H. W. Bush. During her time in the House, she voted in support of funding for the Strategic Defense Initiative as well as aid for the Nicaraguan Contras. However, she was much more moderate when it came to social issues. She believed that women should have control of her own reproductive choices. This issue position stemmed from her own experience as a woman who had to work hard to prove herself professionally in a male-dominant field. Saiki also had a deep interest in the protection and

preservation of life in the ocean as well as offshore habitat. As a representative from Hawaii, it is perhaps unsurprising that the protection of ocean environment was an issue that she felt deeply about. In addition, as a person of Japanese descent, Saiki cosponsored the Civil Liberties Act of 1988, which provided monetary reparation and official government apologies for Japanese Americans that were interned during World War II. She was one of the few Republicans that broke rank to vote in favor of this bill. This landmark piece of legislation was signed into effect by President Ronald Reagan.

During her time in the House, Saiki served on the Committee on Banking, Finance, and Urban Affairs, the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, as well as the Committee on Aging.

In 1990, Saiki decided to enter the special election to fill the Senatorial seat that was left vacant when Senator Spark Matsunaga passed away unexpectedly. She was able to beat out other Republican hopefuls to win the GOP nomination but fell short of her efforts when she faced her Democrat opponent, Daniel K. Akaka, during the special election. She was succeeded in her congressional seat by Democrat Neil Abercrombie.

After departure from Congress, Saiki continued to serve in the government, but this time as the Director of the Small Business Administration working under President George H. W. Bush between 1991 and 1993. In 1994, she also made an unsuccessful bid for the Hawaiian gubernatorial race, losing to her Democratic opponent Ben Cayetano.

During her long and distinguished political career, Saiki had assumed many leadership roles. Some of those include the chairman of the National Women's Business Council, a delegate to the Emperor of Japan's funeral, a member on the President's Advisory Council on the Status of Women, and the President's National Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year.

Saiki has returned to her educator role as she retired from public life. She taught in Hawaii and briefly at Harvard University's Institute of Politics at the John F. Kennedy School of Government in 1993.

Jeanette Yih Harvie

See also Akaka, Daniel K.; Cayetano, Benjamin; Matsunaga, Masayuki "Spark"; Political Representation

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Sakata, Harold (1920–1982)

Harold Toshiyuki Sakata, born July 1, 1920 in Holua-loa, Hawaii, was the first American of Japanese ancestry to win a medal in the Olympics, a professional wrestler, and James Bond's bowler-hatted nemesis in the movie *Goldfinger* (1964).

Sakata grew up skinny, so at the age of 16, he started lifting weights. He won his first weightlifting competition in 1941, and in 1948, he won a silver medal at the Summer Olympics. All but one member of the U.S. Olympic weightlifting team of 1948 was the son of immigrants, and the exception was an African American. Thus, for American minority communities, the symbolism of the 1948 weightlifting team was that iron (and by extension, sport) did not discriminate.

During the winter of 1949–1950, Sakata quit amateur weightlifting to become a professional wrestler. The reason was that amateur weightlifting did not put food on the table.

During late 1951, Sakata participated in a pro wrestling promotion that toured Japan. Highlights of this tour included the debut of Japan's first pro wrestling superstar, a former sumotori called Rikidozan (Kim Sin-nak, 1924–1963).

Upon returning to the United States in early 1952, Sakata changed his image. No longer Mr. Sakata, the smiling weightlifter from Hawaii, he was now the glowering Tosh Togo, brother of the infamous Great Togo (Oregon's Kazuo George Okamura, 1912–1973). Audiences' cries of "Kill the Jap!" during appearances of the Togo Brothers led to a series of legal challenges spearheaded by the Japanese American Citizens League of Minneapolis. The uproar

eventually caused U.S. television networks to curtail the kinds of stereotyping allowed on national broadcasts and contributed to professional wrestling being relegated to regional rather than national markets until the 1980s.

Nonetheless, as Tosh Togo, Sakata traveled more widely and made more money than ever before, and it was his wrestling appearances in Britain in 1963 that caused the producers of *Goldfinger* to choose him to play Oddjob in the movie. Sakata reprised the Oddjob character in television ads for Vicks cough syrup, and from 1965 until his death from cancer in 1982 he played the villainous characters in television shows and movies. He died of liver cancer on July 29, 1982, in Honolulu, Hawaii.

Joseph R. Svinth

See also Hollywood, Asian Americans in; Japanese American Citizens League (JACL); Japanese Americans

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Sam, Sam-Ang (1950–)

Sam-Ang Sam is a Cambodian American ethnomusicologist and performer who has also served the Cambodian American community as executive director of the Cambodian Network Council headquartered in Washington, D.C. during the 1990s. He was born on January 8, 1950, in Pursat Province, Cambodia. His family moved to a town on the outskirts of Phnom Penh, Cambodia's capital, when he was 13 years old. The following year, he enrolled at the École Nacional de Musique, which was absorbed into the Royal University of Fine Arts when the latter was established. After two years of study there, Sam transferred to the Faculty of Choreographic Arts. From 1968 to 1970,

the university's dance and music students, including Sam-Ang Sam, and some of its faculty were stationed in Siem Reap, where Angkor Wat is located, to perform for tourists and visiting dignitaries. In addition to studying under two of the royal palace's master musicians, Sam learned from village musicians in the Siem Reap area.

Prince Norodom Sihanouk, who had ascended the throne at age 18 but later abdicated the throne to participate more actively in his country's politics (changing his own title from "King" to "Prince"), was a strong patron of the arts. His favorite daughter was the star of the Khmer classical dance troupe. When Sihanouk was overthrown by his own defense minister, Lon Nol, in a 1970 coup, the new government sent the music and dance students back to Phnom Penh. In 1974, Sam-Ang Sam married Chan Moly, a Khmer classical dancer trained in both the palace and the Royal University of Fine Arts. That same year, he received a scholarship from the Conservatory of Music at the University of the Philippines to study Western music composition under José Maceda.

Sam and his wife were in the Philippines when the Khmer Rouge, the most radical wing of Cambodia's Communists, captured Phnom Penh on April 17, 1975, and launched a campaign to destroy all facets of modern, urban civilization as well as all aspects of Khmer culture. During the three years and eight months that the savagely brutal Khmer Rouge were in power, at least 1.7 million Cambodians out of a total population of slightly over 7 million people perished from executions, starvation, disease, overwork, and exposure to the elements. Like other Cambodians who were abroad when the Khmer Rouge came to power, Sam-Ang and Moly lost contact with all their family members in Cambodia. In 1977, the Sam family, which now included a daughter, resettled in the greater Philadelphia area as refugees. Sam supported his family by working in a bakery and both he and one of his brothers who had also managed to find his way to the United States got busy helping other Cambodian refugees. He also gathered together Cambodian refugee musicians and dancers to find ways to keep alive important elements of Cambodian culture. Sam's second daughter was born in the United States during this period.

In 1980, the family moved to Connecticut where Sam earned a BA and an MA in music composition from Connecticut College. Then he attended Wesleyan University where he received his PhD in ethnomusicology in 1988. During his years of graduate study, Sam-Ang Sam and Chan Moly Sam teamed up with Sam-Oeun Tes to form the Apsara Ensemble. Tes had been a former member of the royal palace's classical dance troupe. She had gone to the United States in 1971 to marry a Cambodian man living there and in 1980 she established the Cambodian-American Heritage Troupe. This troupe and the Apsara Ensemble have performed in numerous venues over the years.

After completing his PhD, Dr. Sam taught at Cornish College of the Arts (one of only three fully accredited private colleges teaching both performing and visual arts) and at the University of Washington, both in Seattle. Sam formed the Pin Peat Ensemble and performed all over the Puget Sound area from 1988 to 1992. He played the *shawm*, a quadruple reed instrument. In 1992, the Sam family moved again—this time to Washington, D.C., when Dr. Sam was chosen as the executive director of the Cambodian Network Council. The council was founded in Chicago in 1988 and incorporated as a nonprofit organization in Texas in 1989. It came into being because Cambodian American leaders felt it was important to coordinate the work of dozens of federally funded Mutual Assistance Associations that had sprung up in various locations where Cambodian refugees had settled. After receiving funding from the Office of Refugee Resettlement, the council moved its headquarters to Washington, D.C. It had two goals: to deal with domestic issues affecting Cambodian refugees in the United States and to support reconstruction and socioeconomic development in Cambodia. When serving as executive director, Dr. Sam received a MacArthur “genius” grant to honor and support his advocacy work as well as his efforts to preserve Cambodian culture.

After five exhausting years as an administrator, the Sam family moved back to Seattle. However, the family is in fact a transnational one. The two daughters have also become performers and all the Sams have traveled around the world introducing Cambodian classical dance and music to new audiences. Sam-Ang and Chan Moly Sam have also offered

master classes in their respective areas of expertise in North America, Europe, and Japan. Not only that, but Dr. Sam has recorded traditional Khmer music and his compact discs are now sold globally via the Internet. He also spends significant periods in Cambodia to teach and to help the Royal University of Fine Arts to develop its curriculum.

Sucheng Chan

See also Cambodian Americans

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Santos, Bienvenido N. (1911–1996)

Born in Tondo, Manila, Philippines in 1911, Bienvenido Nuqui Santos was a Filipino American writer and intellectual who wrote short stories, novels, and nonfiction. Throughout his life he traveled back and forth between the Philippines and the United States, which influenced the forms, themes, and overall style of his writing. He is considered by many scholars to be an early example of an Asian American writer with a transnational and postcolonial perspective.

After completing his education in the Philippines in 1941, Santos traveled to the United States as a government *pensionado* (scholarship student). He studied English at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign as well as Columbia and Harvard University. During World War II, Santos served for the exiled Philippine government in Washington, D.C., along with other Filipino American intellectuals such as the playwright Severino Montano and the avant-garde poet José Garcia Villa. He returned to the Philippines in 1946, where he taught and was a

university administrator. In 1958, he again returned to the United States, this time as a Rockefeller Foundation fellow, and enrolled in the University of Iowa's Creative Writing Workshop. After Philippine president Ferdinand Marcos declared martial law in the Philippines on September 21, 1972, Santos and his family did not return home for many years. From 1973 to 1982, he was the Distinguished Writer in Residence at Wichita State University. In 1981, his alma mater, the University of the Philippines, and Bicol University in Legazpi City awarded him honorary degrees in letters and the humanities. In the mid-1980s, he moved to Greeley, Colorado but also spent several months of the year living and teaching in the Philippines.

As a child, Santos was educated in American-run schools, which is where he learned English, the language he employed to write his numerous short stories, novels, memoirs, and essays. During this time he realized the complexities of growing up a colonial subject. For example, an American teacher who could not believe that a native Filipino could write English in such a sophisticated manner accused him a plagiarizing an essay, which had a devastating effect on Santos psychologically. This incident made Santos conscious of the inherent racism and overall spurious nature of American colonial ideology, and it also motivated him to choose writing as a profession.

Over the course of his lifetime, Santos produced many works of fiction and nonfiction, which were characterized by their explorations of exile and postcolonial identity. He often lamented feeling like an outsider in both the United States and the Philippines, and this outsider's perspective became a principal trait of his literary aesthetic. For example, his novel, *The Volcano* (1965), explores the fraught relationship between the United States and the Philippines in the newly postcolonial era. The novel revolves around attempts by altruistic but misguided Christian missionaries to convert the Filipino natives from Catholicism to Protestantism. Historian Augusto Fauni Espiritu argues that *The Volcano* highlights the themes of loyalty and betrayal, one of the recurring motifs in all of Santos's writing. His other novels are *Villa Magdalena* (1965), *The Praying Man* (1977), *The Man Who (Thought He) Looked Like Robert Taylor* (1983), and

What the Hell for You Left Your Heart in San Francisco (1987).

Although Santos wrote all his novels in the United States, the only work of his that was published there was his short-story collection, *Scent of Apples* (1979). This collection groups together 16 stories written from as early as 1955 up through the 1970s and is his most well-known work in the United States. Many of the stories focus upon poor, older Filipino exiles and explore the themes of loneliness and alienation as a result of physical and psychic displacement. In the "Scent of Apples," Santos created one of his most compelling characters, Celestino Fabia, an impoverished Filipino farmer. Fabia invites the unnamed protagonist of the story—a Filipino intellectual traveling around the United States during World War II giving lectures to groups of mostly white, female college students—to his house for dinner so his white wife and biracial son can meet an authentic, "first class" Filipino. Fabia keeps a faded photo of an unknown Filipino woman on his dresser, and Santos uses this image to illustrate nostalgic relationship to his motherland. Although *Scent of Apples* is his most well-known book in the United States, it is *What the Hell for You Left Your Heart in San Francisco* that scholars N. V. M. Gonzalez and Oscar V. Campomanes speculate might be "the quintessential Filipino American novel to date." Set in the United States, the novel examines the effects of an ever-expanding consumer culture upon various segments of the Filipino American community as well as the conflicts between first- and second-generation Filipino immigrants.

In the last years of his life, Santos published over 1,000 pages of autobiographical writing, which was yet another significant contribution to Asian American and postcolonial literature. Titled *Memory's Fictions: A Personal History* (1993), his personal memoir prioritizes the manner in which the subjective mind—and particularly, the imagination—shapes how we remember historical events, thus blurring the lines between what is fact and what is fiction. Some of his other works of nonfiction are *Postscript to a Saintly Life* (1994) and *Selected Letters: Book 1 and Book 2* (1995 and 1996). He died in Sagpon, Albay, Philippines, in 1996.

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See also Filipino Americans; Filipino *Pensionados*; Gonzalez, N. V. M.

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Sasaki, Sokei-an (1882–1945)

Sokei-an Sasaki was among the first wave of Japanese Buddhist missionaries who came to the United States in 1906 and founded the Buddhist Society of America 24 years later in New York (currently known as the First Zen Institute of America). He was remarried shortly before his death in 1945 to Ruth Fuller Sasaki (1892–1967), who was instrumental in carrying on Sokei-an's teaching legacy.

Born in Japan as Sasaki Yeita in 1882, Sokei-an was 15 years old when his father died. He apprenticed himself to a carpenter and eventually came to study sculpture at the Imperial Academy of Art in Tokyo, graduating in 1905. During this period he also became a disciple of the Rinzai Zen teacher Shaku Sōkatsu (1869–1954), who was the disciple of the famed Shaku Sōen (1859–1919), and in 1906 he moved with his teacher, fellow disciples, and new wife to a small parcel of land in Hayward, California to establish an American Zen community. In the end the missionary endeavor was not successful, and by 1913 Sokei-an remained alone in America.

Sokei-an traveled across America doing a variety of jobs, often involving his skills as an artisan or as a writer. He returned to Japan for two short stints to finish his Zen training, officially becoming Sōkatsu's teaching heir in 1922 and receiving his formal certification to teach in 1928. After founding the Buddhist Society of America in New York in 1930 (and incorporated the following year), Sokei-an spent the next

decade offering lectures on important Buddhist texts and formal Zen training to his students. His teaching style tended to emphasize traditional Rinzai *koan* practice over seated meditation practice. He also published a newsletter, the *Cat's Yawn*, from 1940 to 1941.

In June 1942, following the attack on Pearl Harbor, the Federal Bureau of Investigation arrested Sokei-an as an "alien enemy." Interned on Ellis Island and in Fort Mead in Maryland, his health deteriorated before finally being released in August 1943 after an ardent campaign by several of his American students. Within the year he married Ruth Fuller Everett, an American Zen practitioner, whom he had initially met in 1933. Shortly before his death he requested that the Buddhist Society of America be renamed the First Zen Institute of America, which continued its operation under the guidance of Fuller until her death in 1967.

Sokei-an died in 1945 in New York. Although Sokei-an was the first Japanese Zen lineage holder to settle permanently in America, he never named an official heir to his teachings. The First Zen Institute of America was his legacy and emerged as an influential center of activity during the "Zen boom" of the Beat generation in the 1950s and 1960s. It continues to offer classes and publish many of Sokei-an's scriptural translations and writings on Zen.

Peter M. Romaskiewicz

See also Buddhism in Asian America; Buddhist Churches of America (BCA); Japanese Americans

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Saund, Dalip Singh (1889–1973)

Dalip Saund was the first Asian American to serve in Congress representing California's 29th district in the House of Representatives. Elected in 1956 and for



Dalip Singh Saund, U.S. congressman (1957–1963), with John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson. (Courtesy Eric Saund)

three consecutive terms, Saund suffered a debilitating stroke in 1962 forcing him to relinquish his congressional seat. After years of poor health, Saund died in California on April 23, 1973, at the age of 83.

Dalip Singh Saund was born on September 20, 1889, in Punjab, India to wealthy but illiterate Sikh parents. Saund's father and uncles provided a primary education for the children of Chhajalwadi village, including Saund, by endowing a small one-room schoolhouse and paying the salary of the village schoolmaster. Saund continued his education and earned a BA in mathematics from the University of Punjab. Following the completion of his undergraduate studies in 1919, Saund traveled to the United States to pursue an advanced degree with the hopes of one day returning to India and establishing a canning

industry. Saund began at UC Berkeley in 1920 originally taking classes in agriculture, but he soon moved into mathematics at the department's invitation. Saund completed both his masters and doctoral degrees in mathematics in 1922 and 1924, respectively.

During his youth, Saund experienced deep disappointment because of Britain's failure to grant India independence following the conclusion of World War I; as a result, he became deeply influenced by figures such as Mahatma Gandhi and Abraham Lincoln. Saund's readings of Lincoln's works stirred within him a deep desire to learn about the United States and he eventually made his way to California to study at the University of California Berkeley. As a student at Berkeley, Saund lived at a clubhouse established and maintained by a Sikh Temple in Stockton, California

and joined the Hindustan Association of America. It was during this time that Saund began to write speeches, taking every opportunity to expound upon India's right for self-government. One particular experience proved to have a profound influence on Saund's life. After delivering a half-hour talk on India's right to independence at the Hindustan Association of America's annual convention, an invited political science professor proceeded to tear Saund apart flooring Saund with questions Saund could not answer. Saund learned from this experience and would later prove highly knowledgeable of politically relevant facts, often to the chagrin of his political opponents.

Despite offers of professorships from two colleges in India and initial plans to return home upon graduation, Saund's student years had instilled in him a great admiration of the United States' institutions and leaders. Even in the face of discrimination, Saund firmly believed that America exemplified the highest form of democracy given that its people had developed a system based upon the Declaration of Independence and the belief that all men are created equal. With these convictions in mind, Saund resolved to remain in the United States and forgo his return to India. Saund's time in the agriculture department at Berkeley and his contacts with Hindus in the Imperial Valley set him up with several job opportunities outside the field of mathematics and, upon completion of his doctorate, Saund accepted work as foreman of a cotton-picking crew in Southern California.

Discriminatory laws like the Alien Land Act, which prohibited Asians ineligible for citizenship from owning or leasing farmland made Asian immigrants in the Valley susceptible to the ups and downs of the farming business and Saund was no different. Saund dabbled in celery, melons, corn, lettuce, and beets, and though he had good years, bad years resulted in debt. Despite the fact that many of his fellow farmers had to declare bankruptcy, Saund was eventually able to pay off his debt over a series of years. Saund did more, however, than just farm. He met and married his wife Marian Koss, a second-generation Czech American, in 1928, and wrote his first book, *My Mother India*, in 1930. Saund also established a Current Events Club in 1937 and was active in the local Toastmasters. Saund's commitment

to the ideals expressed in the Declaration of Independence led him to campaign for an end to the restrictions prohibiting the naturalization of India natives as U.S. citizens by forming the India Association of America with Saund serving as its head. Saund's organization was eventually successful, and in 1946, President Truman signed the bill into law. Saund was one of the first to apply for citizenship under the law and on December 16, 1949, he took the oath of citizenship.

Saund moved his wife and children to Los Angeles for health reasons but continued to work in the Imperial Valley winning election as justice of the peace for Westmorland Township in 1950. His election was thrown out on grounds that he was not a citizen for the required year but in 1951 he became chairman of the Imperial County Democratic Committee, a post that gave Saund experience in campaigning for Congress. In 1952, he was victorious in his second bid for the judgeship of Westmoreland, a post he held until he resigned on January 1, 1957. Saund's resignation from the judgeship followed on the heels of his successful run for California's 29th congressional seat. Saund became the first Democrat elected from the 29th district. Once in Washington, Congressman Saund served on the House Foreign Affairs Committee, which provided him the opportunity to travel to Asia to promote greater understanding between the United States and Asian countries. Saund also worked tirelessly to serve his constituents in the Imperial Valley where he focused on issues such as flood control and the search for supplemental water for Southern California. Saund won his next two elections with more than 60 percent of the vote.

Throughout his life Dalip Singh Saund remained committed to liberal ideals of free-enterprise, human equality, and self-government. Saund firmly believed in the goodness of democratic institutions despite his own experiences with discrimination and pointed to his election as evidence that change is indeed possible. Despite all of his accomplishments, Saund's remarkable triumph over prejudice is perhaps the best-remembered aspect of his career.

Katie O. Swain

See also Indian Americans; Political Representation

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Saxton, Alexander P. (1919–2012)

Alexander P. Saxton was a Marxist activist, union organizer, writer, and historian. He was one of the founding directors of the UCLA Asian American Studies Center. His book, *Indispensable Enemy: Labor and the Anti-Chinese Movement in California* (1975), was one of the founding texts in Asian American studies.

Saxton was born in Great Barrington, Massachusetts in July 16, 1919, and grew up in New York City. He was one of two children of Eugene Saxton. Eugene Saxton was an editor with Doubleday and then Harpers. His editorial list of authors included John Dos Passos, O. E. Rolvaag, and Richard Wright. Martha Saxton, Saxton's mother, was a literature teacher at a private girls' school in New York City. Educated at Friends Seminary in New York City and Phillips-Exeter in New Hampshire, Saxton attended Harvard University from 1936 to 1939. In 1940, as a result of the struggle for his ethnic and political consciousness, Saxton decided to transfer to the University of Chicago. One result was the release of his first novel, the autobiography-like *Grand Crossing*, in 1943; the other result was his decision to join the Communist Party.

Before he switched from fiction to history, Saxton had spent more than 20 years as a merchant seaman and carpenter, some of those years as an activist and union organizer. At age 43 he determined to pursue a doctorate in history at the University of California,

Berkeley, where he studied with Walton Bean, Henry Nash Smith, and Kenneth Stampp. In 1967, Saxton obtained his PhD. At age 49, he took his first academic job at Detroit's Wayne State University. After teaching for a year at Wayne State University, he joined the history faculty at the University of California at Los Angeles until his retirement in 1990.

During his teaching and research career in UCLA, Saxton contributed to the establishment of Asian American Studies Center and served as chair of its faculty board of advisers for almost 20 years. His contributions to the Center were best summed up by the creation, on the occasion of his retirement, of the Saxton Award for the best article in *Amerasia*, the Center's journal for scholarship in Asian American history.

Saxton's publications include (1) history books: *The Indispensable Enemy: Labor and the Anti-Chinese Movement in California* (1975); *The Rise and Fall of the White Republic: Class Politics and Mass Culture in Nineteenth Century America* (2003); *Religion and the Human Prospect* (2006) (2) novels: *Grand Crossing* (1943); *Bright Web in the Darkness* (republished in 1997); *The Great Midland* (republished in 1997). Saxton passed away on August 20, 2012, in Lone Pine, California, at the age of 94.

Chi-ting Peng

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Science and Technology

As myriad popular observers and academic investigators have long noted, Asian Americans' aggregate educational and occupational profiles are highly concentrated in STEM fields. These fields, which include not only the science, technology, engineering,

and mathematics that together form the STEM acronym, also include fields like agriculture and natural resources, psychology, architecture, and food processing. The STEM fields comprise, in other words, those bodies of knowledge and practice, as the National Center for Education Statistics puts it, that are “of particular relevance to advanced societies.”

In high school, Asian American students are far more likely than their non-Asian American peers to plan on majoring in STEM once they get to college. In college, Asian Americans are more likely than their non-Asian American peers to choose STEM majors, more likely to stick with those majors when the going gets tough, and more likely to successfully complete bachelor’s degrees in STEM fields. Those who go on to graduate school demonstrate the same inclination. A recent Pew Research Center report found that although they accounted for only 5.5 percent of adults aged 18 or older, Asian Americans in 2010 earned 45 percent of doctorates awarded in engineering, 38 percent in mathematics and computer science, 33 percent in the physical sciences, and 25 percent in the life sciences. In the workforce, Asian Americans are nearly three times more likely to be employed in STEM than are non-Asian Americans. The U.S. Department of Labor’s Current Population Survey found that Asian Americans, who constituted 4.9 percent of the population of employed Americans for 2011, represented 8.8 percent of people employed in architecture and engineering, 9.8 percent in the natural sciences (including medicine), 16.6 percent of people working in computer and mathematical occupations.

Why are Asian Americans overrepresented in STEM fields? In historical terms, Asian Americans’ overrepresentation in STEM is a direct consequence of the increasingly close interaction that developed, over the course of the twentieth century, between Asian American desires for social mobility, on the one hand, and the high-level manpower needs of advanced economies, on the other hand. Until about the middle of the twentieth century, however, anti-Asian racism, most visibly in the form of barriers in immigration policy and the domestic labor market, retarded the growth of Asian American participation in STEM. Those barriers began falling during World War II. At the same time, opportunities in STEM

began rapidly expanding, and expanding in ways that meshed particularly well with Asian Americans’ circumstances and aspirations at midcentury.

More specifically, the inclination toward STEM fields grew out of two different Asian American projects: (1) the efforts, beginning in the late nineteenth century, to raise their homelands into the ranks of advanced nations through education and training in the disciplines of economic development and military preparedness, and (2) the attempts, on the part of native-born, second-generation Asian Americans, beginning in the early twentieth century, to move beyond the ethnic niches to which anti-Asian racism had often succeeded in confining their parents, and now sought to confine them. To students engaged in either of these projects, the STEM fields offered a set of distinct advantages, compared to other fields of study, for circumventing the barriers U.S. society erected to keep Asians out of America and Asian Americans out of its most privileged sectors.

As the various anti-Asian exclusionary movements achieved their purposes during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, for example, the pursuit or possession of an advanced education became one of the few ways for Asians to enter the United States. Each exclusion, it must be remembered, focused on *laborers*; students and teachers, along with other classes of people like diplomats, tourists, merchants, and ministers, were specifically exempted. The growing thirst for economic development in Asia, which viewed scientific and technological educational exchange as an important tool, coupled with American interest, official and otherwise, in using educational exchange as a vehicle for the transmission of American values and the propagation of American influence abroad, resulted in the beginnings of numerically small intellectual migration streams between the United States and, most notably, China, the Philippines, and India—intellectual migration streams that emphasized STEM.

When Dalip Singh Saund, for instance, arrived in the United States from India to learn food-canning techniques, some three years after Congress had passed the 1917 Immigration Act in response to racist and nativist agitation about the “turban tide,” Saund, a Sikh from the Punjab region of India, found some

80 other Indian students already studying at UC Berkeley. Similarly, the first group of “Boxer scholars”—Chinese exchange students who came to the United States beginning in 1909, supported by the scholarships created out of the U.S. remission of Boxer Rebellion indemnity funds—were concentrated in technical fields useful for economic development: science, engineering, mining, and agriculture.

STEM training promised significant rewards to exchange students upon their successful return home. Recruitment efforts for Chinese Educational Mission of the 1870s (through which the Chinese government sought to acquire Western industrial and military technologies) promised those who volunteered to spend more than a decade studying in the United States that, upon their return to China, they would be given government jobs and awarded regular official rank, on a par with those who entered imperial service through the traditional examination system. In a similar fashion, the institutionalization of professional nursing in the Philippines under U.S. colonial rule likewise offered the prospect of social mobility outside the extant social order, by opening to young Filipino women not only educational and employment opportunities previously unavailable to them, but opportunities to burnish their professional credentials with a stint of advanced training in the United States.

During the early decades of the century, America’s official openness to Asian exchange students did not include openness to their immigrating, however. For example, although it exempted students from exclusion, the 1917 Act also required individuals in the exempted categories to “maintain” their status or face deportation. This meant that Asian students, upon the completion or cessation of their studies, had to go. Fully-trained Asian professionals in STEM fields, by contrast, were welcome to immigrate, but their welcome was conditional. Those admitted as “physicians, chemists, and civil engineers” for instance—some of the STEM occupations specified in the 1917 Act—had to stay put in those fields, or, if they changed jobs, to choose from among the other exempted occupations. Otherwise they, too, became subject to deportation. Combined with the widespread and episodically violent nature of anti-Asian racism well into the twentieth century, provisions like these helped to ensure

that the intellectual migration streams between Asia and America remained numerically small and mostly circular.

Some residual migration did inevitably occur before the lifting of the various anti-Asian exclusion measures. Mostly these were individuals who, through some combination of intellectual ability and academic achievement, the support and sponsorship of American individuals and institutions, and plain old good luck, were able to find employment commensurate with their educational backgrounds, and, for one reason or another, ended up staying permanently in the United States. This group included Japanese American bacteriologist Hideyo Noguchi, Chinese American physicist Chien-Shiung Wu, Chinese American biochemist Choh Hao Li, and Indian astrophysicist Subrahmanyan Chandrasekhar.

Most who sought to stay were not so lucky, as Dalip Singh Saund’s career trajectory illustrates. At the invitation of one of UC Berkeley’s mathematicians, Saund switched from the Agriculture Department, where he was studying food canning, to the Department of Mathematics, the field of his undergraduate degree. Saund earned a PhD but was unable to find a job in his field, and so went into the fields, finding work, as did the vast majority of other Punjabi Sikhs during that period, in agriculture in California’s Imperial Valley. (Saund later became a justice of the peace and then the first Asian American elected to the U.S. Congress.)

Native-born Asian Americans also saw white-collar work, and STEM occupations in particular, as a way to achieve social mobility. A survey, for example, of Nisei college students conducted in the late 1920s and early 1930s found that over 70 percent of them aspired to white-collar jobs, rather than to working in agriculture, as the majority of their parents had. For this generation of Asian Americans, social mobility was also linked to geographical mobility, albeit in different ways than for Asian exchange students. White-collar occupations offered the Nisei the chance to work in urban, rather than rural, settings; for second-generation Chinese Americans such jobs meant the possibility not just of working, but maybe even of living, outside of America’s Chinatowns; it held out the promise, to second-generation Filipina/o

Americans, of a chance to stop following the crops, or to patronize as customers those establishments where so many of their parents were only admitted as cooks or maids or janitors, if at all.

In statistical terms, second generation Asian Americans looked like they were poised to accomplish these goals surprisingly early in the twentieth century. They began reaching educational parity with White Americans during the second quarter of the century (based on the percentage of children and youth, 20 years old or younger, enrolled in school), and in some cases even surpassing them. Although they did receive some benefits from this accomplishment, however, the gains were limited, mostly helping them to avoid the kinds of poor outcomes suffered by other non-white minorities, but failing to approach the kind of returns to education enjoyed by whites. Whatever mobility into white-collar work they did see, moreover, was likely to have been realized in Asian America's ethnic economies—as the proprietors of businesses serving their coethnics or as providers of professional services to them—rather than in the mainstream of U.S. society.

Although these outcomes do not seem to have dampened Asian American desires for education, they may have channeled those desires in the direction of STEM fields. STEM fields had much to recommend them to people in just this situation: positioned for white-collar work but prevented from gaining equal access to it. STEM jobs, like other white-collar jobs, were of course of relatively higher status and higher income than manual labor. They were also then, and indeed continue to be, characterized by more objective criteria for evaluating an individual's ability—more objective than the criteria in fields like law or education.

Recent research has suggested, moreover, that today's Asian American students and their families survey the racial topography of the labor market as part of their educational decision-making processes and often choose STEM fields for the ways these fields seem to be more welcoming of Asian American participation, compared to other fields that are characterized by relatively lower Asian American participation rates, like professional sports or politics or entertainment. Whether or not education is an Asian cultural

value, these scholars argue, it definitely becomes more salient or functional as it becomes a part of Asian Americans' "strategic adaptation" to U.S. society.

Believing, moreover, that the dominant society perceives them as "nerds," for lack of a better term—not especially popular, or as socially active, or athletic, as their peers—and recognizing that they might suffer from deficiencies in what scholars term "cultural capital" (deficiencies in their understanding of, and facility with, the dominant society's artistic forms, cultural institutions, social mores, and behavioral expectations), Asian American students, so another line of investigation contends, look to fields like the sciences and engineering, where social skills and cultural capital seem to figure less importantly in who succeeds and who does not. In addition, it might be added that historically STEM practitioners have often been portrayed in popular culture as powerful figures, albeit ones who lack social skills and are disdainful or ignorant of social mores.

The point is that pressures like these on contemporary Asian American student choices would have operated with even greater force a century before, perhaps helping to explain why, for example, although about half of the Nisei in the survey previously described hoped to find positions in business, slightly more than half of them set their sights on STEM fields, aspiring to become doctors, dentists, pharmacists, and engineers.

Until about midcentury, however, racism succeeded in denying Asian Americans large-scale entrance to the world of white-collar occupations, just as it had succeeded in ensuring that the vast majority of potential Asian immigrants in STEM fields ended up back in their homelands. World War II and the onset of the Cold War changed all of this, for a couple of reasons. First, as many scholars have observed, the demands of a wartime economy swept aside obstacles to the labor force participation of marginalized groups. This was as true in STEM employment as it was in industrial employment. A 1947 survey of native-born Chinese American college graduates found the majority of them gainfully employed in not just white-collar, but professional work, and concentrated in particular in the sciences, engineering, and medical fields. The survey respondents cited things like

self-employment, occupational independence, and prestige as factors motivating their educational and career choices. Similarly, studies of native-born Japanese American men showed them taking advantage of the falling barriers after their release from the internment camps and moving remarkably quickly into professional occupations during the 1950s.

Second, and more important for the long term, World War II and the Cold War radically and irrevocably transformed the relationship between STEM fields and national security. Near the end of the war, U.S. federal government officials and military planners resolved to maintain contact with academic scientists and to do what they could to support basic academic research. Basic research had proved vital to the national defense during the war, in nuclear weaponry, certainly, but also in areas like radar detection (including radar's application to the proximity fuse), penicillin, and blood plasma. Federal support for academic science grew exponentially during the postwar decades, driving growth both in STEM training structures and in STEM employment. In combination with the later shift toward a postindustrial economy, this produced a 24-fold increase in the number of STEM jobs during the latter half of the twentieth century, from less than 200,000 to somewhere in the neighborhood of 4.8 million.

The federal government and the military were not only interested in scientists' (and engineers' and technicians') contributions, however. They were also increasingly interested in their movements, especially across national borders. Nuclear proliferation, it must be remembered, involves not only the unsanctioned transfer of nuclear devices, information, and materials, but also the human beings in possession of the knowledge and techniques that make nuclear weapons so monumentally destructive. Intellectual migrations had in fact played crucial roles in the United States' successful development of nuclear weapons in the first place. The contributions of Jewish refugee scientists figured importantly at every stage of the Manhattan Project. Even before that, a generation of American physicists and chemists had gone to Europe, many to Germany, for their graduate training, including, notably, the director of Los Alamos and acclaimed "father of the atomic bomb," J. Robert Oppenheimer.

One byproduct of the transformation of the relationship between STEM and national security, in other words, was a transformation of the national security significance of intellectual migration. "Operation Paperclip," a program the U.S. government operated in Europe beginning in 1945, illustrates the magnitude of this transformation. Before the war, and especially during the 1930s, thousands and thousands of European Jews fleeing the rise of Nazism in Europe were denied entry to a United States that had just finished closing its gates in 1924, with the passage of the Johnson-Reed Immigration Act. Some advocates for the refugees pleaded with the Congress to make minor adjustments to U.S. immigration policy, adjustments that would, at the very least, have allowed entry to what the advocates called "exceptional people"—distinguished writers and artists and scholars and scientists. The Congress refused.

The goal of "Operation Paperclip" was to locate and identify "exceptional" Germans and Austrians—the scientists, engineers, and technicians who had worked in war-related fields—to deny their skills to the new enemy on the horizon, the Soviet Union, by ensconcing and employing these highly skilled and highly educated folks in the West, and, in a few hundred cases, even bringing them to the United States. As scholars have shown, former Nazis and alleged war criminals benefited from Operation Paperclip.

Cold War concerns over the movements of highly educated people, especially in STEM fields, had a direct consequence on the demography of Asian America during the 1950s. There were some 5,000 or so students from China studying in American colleges and universities in 1949, when China became a Communist country. Many of the "stranded students," as they came to be known, were motivated by the desire to take part in the reconstruction of their homeland from the ravages of war and civil war, and thus were concentrated in STEM fields. As a result of that concentration and the change in political leadership in China, however, they became the focus of official American efforts during the 1950s to encourage them to abandon any plans that they might still have had of returning home, to formally adjust their statuses, and to become permanent residents and citizens of the United States—to deny their skills, in other words, to

the People's Republic of China. Some did manage to return, but most ended up staying.

Cold War competition over “hearts and minds” added another dimension to this transformation of intellectual migration. Just as the United States and the Soviet Union compared tallies of bombs and missiles, they were also acutely aware that each side's tally of people in STEM fields was a measure of its ability not only to win the arms race, but to deliver on its promises of economic modernization to “undecided” countries in the developing world. “We will see who has more engineers . . .!” Nikita Khrushchev once shouted, during a speech in Burma in the mid-1950s. Later in the speech Khrushchev offered to build and staff a technological institute in Rangoon “as a gift to the people of Burma from the people of the Soviet Union.”

It was against the backdrop of this level of Cold War competition—what contemporaneous observers called the “Battle for Brainpower”—that what scholars term the “global articulation of higher education” began to accelerate. The prohibitive cost of building an infrastructure for training high-level manpower forced many developing nations to rely, temporarily at least, upon the educational infrastructures already available in advanced nations. After World War II, for example, the United States became the most popular destination for international students, especially in STEM fields, and especially for students from those Asian countries that had experienced comparatively more economic development, and thus increases in educational levels, than other parts of the developing world at the time. The United States also used the power of the dollar to actively and vigorously compete on this Cold War playing field, and, in the process, shaped higher education in Asia in ways that also favored the migration of highly-educated Asians to the United States.

At the same time, and also motivated by Cold War concerns, the United States continued the process, begun during World War II, of dismantling the racist barriers in immigration and naturalization policy that severely restricted Asian immigration and prohibited Asian immigrants from becoming naturalized citizens. Not surprisingly, given the transformation of intellectual migration, the new system the United States

put into place with the 1965 Immigration Act featured preferences for highly educated people (as had the earlier McCarran-Walter Act of 1952).

Thus, just as native-born Asian Americans were positioned to take advantage of falling domestic barriers and to begin moving into STEM fields, so too were exchange students and visiting professionals from Asia positioned to take advantage, if they so desired, of the falling barriers in U.S. immigration and naturalization policy. And, as history has shown, thousands upon thousands of them did desire, finding more and better opportunities for social mobility in the United States than back home. The transformation of their migration stream into one that resulted in significant levels of immigration meant that the two Asian American projects were now aligned in their effects on Asian America's occupational structure. The positive feedback, in the form of gains in socioeconomic status experienced by Asian Americans in STEM fields during the 1960s and 1970s, produced a kind of institutionalization of the inclination toward STEM fields. The STEM pipeline, in other words, has in some sense become an element of Asian American culture—at great cost, to be sure, as scholars have argued, but also to profound effect; close to half a century later, it continues to generate surprising levels of Asian American participation science-based and technical fields, and will likely do so into the foreseeable future.

Benjamin C. Zulueta

See also Li, Choh Hao; Saund, Dalip Singh; Southeast Asian Academic Achievement; Chandrasekhar, Subrahmanyam; Wu, Chien-Shiung

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Scott, Robert (1947–)

Robert Cortez “Bobby” Scott is an American lawyer and politician. He is a member of the Democratic Party and has represented Virginia’s 3rd Congressional District since 1993. He is of African American as well as Filipino descent. Scott also served with the Virginia House of Delegates (1978–1983) and the Virginia State Senate (1983–1993).

Robert Scott was born Robert Cortez Scott on April 30, 1947, in Washington, D.C., but grew up in Newport News, Virginia. He is commonly referred to as “Bobby” Scott. His maternal grandfather is of Filipino descent. He later studied at Harvard University and received a bachelor of arts in 1969. He also received a doctor of jurisprudence from Boston College School of Law in 1973. As a young man, he was a member of the United States Army Reserve between 1970 and 1974 and member of the Massachusetts National Guard between 1974 and 1976. In the period between law school and Scott’s election to the House of Representatives, he worked as a lawyer at Newport News, Virginia.

Scott was first elected into public office in 1978 when he won a seat in the Virginia House of Delegates. After four years serving as a delegate, he moved on to serving in the Virginia State Senate in 1983.

During his time in the Virginia General Assembly, Scott devoted energy to providing healthcare benefits to women and children. He also worked to increase the minimum wage in Virginia. Scott was also concerned about crime prevention and sponsored the Neighborhood Assistance Act, which helped to provide tax credits to businesses that offered donations to programs committed to crime prevention.

Scott first ran for Congress in 1986 from Virginia's 1st District but lost to his Republican opponent. However, he left the Virginia State Senate in 1993 with 16 years of service after his victory in Virginia's 3rd Congressional District. Scott became the first African American to be elected into Congress from Virginia since Reconstruction and the second African American to ever be elected to Congress from Virginia. He is also the first person of Filipino descent to serve in Congress. Scott has since been reelected to Congress for nine more terms despite an incidence of redistricting in 1997 in which the court declared Scott's original 3rd District unconstitutional as race had been the main factor during the initial districting. However, the redistricting did not have as large an effect as many had anticipated. The newly drawn district was still comprised of a large African American population. Scott has been mainly unchallenged in his Congressional District.

After his election, Scott carried to Congress his adamant support of civil rights and his firm belief in the protection of civil liberties. Scott advocated for the reauthorizing of the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA). This is a piece of legislation that protected children with disabilities so they can obtain an education that is free and appropriate. IDEA was first enacted in 1990 and reauthorized in 1997. Also, in recent years, as same-sex marriage and gay rights became topics of discussion, Scott has supported the prohibition of job discrimination according to sexual orientation. He was also opposed to a constitutional amendment prohibiting same-sex marriage. In terms of civil liberties, he was outspoken against President George W. Bush's wiretapping policies and was opposed to making the Patriot Act a permanent fixture.

Although Scott has had prior experience in the military and has been recognized for his support of

the military community, he was an outspoken opponent of the Iraq War. Scott supported and applauded the decision to change course in Iraq as well as the withdrawal of troops in a responsible and orderly manner.

Scott is a prominent and active member in the House of Representatives. He serves on the Committee on the Judiciary, where he is the chairman of the Subcommittee on Crime, Terrorism and Homeland Security. He also serves on the Subcommittee on the Constitution, Civil Rights, and Civil Liberties, and the Subcommittee on Commercial and Administrative Law. He is also a member of the Committee on Education and Labor, where he is committed to the subcommittee on Early Childhood, Elementary and Secondary Education and the Subcommittee on Healthy Families and Communities. Scott also serves with the Committee on the Budget.

Scott is also involved in caucus work. A few of the caucuses he is a member of include the Congressional Asian Pacific American Caucus, the Congressional Army Caucus, and the Congressional Black Caucus.

Scott has been the recipient of many awards and honors. An example is an award for dedication to public service and commitment to equal justice for all, presented to him by the American Bar Association in April 2008. He has also been recognized by the American Legion for his support of veterans.

In the 111th Congress, Scott sponsored legislations to provide better healthcare coverage for children and pregnant women. He also continued his long-term efforts to provide better public safety. One of those initiatives involved provisions for the establishment and operation of a National Center for Campus Public Safety.

Scott was reelected in 2010 with 70 percent of the vote and in 2012 with over 80 percent of the vote.

Jeanette Yih Harvie

See also Filipino Americans; Political Representation

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Scott Act (1888)

The Scott Act prohibited the re-entry of Chinese laborers into the United States. Beginning on October 1, 1888, those who left the United States with certificates of re-entry—issued in accordance with the Act of 1882 and as amended by the act of 1884—could no longer enter or re-enter the country. The re-entry certificates were declared void, and this took effect immediately. This action affected over 20,000 Chinese laborers who were visiting China, as well as 600 Chinese laborers on their way back to the United States.

The Scott Act embodied the terms of an 1888 treaty between the United States and China that never materialized. Congressman William Scott of Pennsylvania introduced a bill that attempted to do what the treaty was set out to do, and more. The bill would have excluded the re-entry of Chinese laborers into the United States, even those with re-entry certificates. The bill differed from the treaty in two ways: first, it put a stop to the immigration of Chinese laborers on a permanent basis instead of prohibiting immigration for 20 years; and second, there was no exception for the return of Chinese laborers. The treaty would have carved out an exception for Chinese laborers who had one of the following in the United States: wife, children, parents, property, or debts of at least \$1,000. The swift passage of the new bill was on the heels of the 1888 presidential election between Grover Cleveland and Benjamin Harrison. The bill passed the House without debate and passed the Senate with some debate. Thereafter, President Cleveland signed the bill into law.

The passage of the Scott Act was met with celebration throughout California by white voters. However, the Chinese laborers were concerned, as the new law would prevent their return to the United States following a visit to China. Chinese merchants were also concerned, as they feared the new law would be made applicable to them as well. The Chinese community responded by filing lawsuits. Before they could do so, they needed someone who was negatively impacted by the new law. They were able to bring legal challenges through Chae Chan Ping, a Chinese laborer, and Lau Ow Bew, a Chinese merchant.

Chae Chan Ping—*Chae Chan Ping v. United States*, 130 U.S. 581 (1889)—was on his way back to the United States when the Scott Act took effect and thus had no notice of the passage of the Act. He lived in California for 12 years and returned to China for a brief visit. When he left the United States, he obtained a certificate of re-entry. The certificate was issued to him by the collector of customs of the port of San Francisco. He arrived back in San Francisco on October 8, 1888 on the steamship *Belgic*. Upon arrival, he presented his certificate to a customs house officer, who refused him entry because of the newly passed Scott Act. Captain Walker of the *Belgic* steamship detained Chae Chan Ping on board the steamer. The federal District Court issued a *writ of habeas corpus*. Thereafter, the court found Chae Chan Ping was not entitled to enter the United States. An appeal was taken, in which the United States Supreme Court was asked to consider the validity of the Scott Act.

The Supreme Court stopped short of deciding whether or not Congress should have modified or repealed the 1864 and 1880 treaties the United States entered into with China for the terms of the Scott Act to be consistent with the treaties. The reason the court did not decide upon this issue is that there are limitations on federal court jurisdiction; one of the limitations is that courts will not address matters of political question (such as validity of treaties with foreign nations). Such political questions are constitutionally reserved for another branch of government to decide; in this case, the legislative branch (Congress).

Furthermore, in terms of the hierarchy of laws in the United States, the federal Constitution prevails

over all other laws. Next in line to the Constitution are federal statutes and treaties. As between federal statutes and treaties, the one dated last in time prevails. Therefore, the Scott Act prevailed over the 1864 and 1880 treaties. In addition, the Supreme Court found that the re-entry certificates amounted to a license, instead of a contract, between the Chinese people and the United States government. The Court added, “Whatever license . . . [the] Chinese laborers may have obtained, previous to the act of October 1, 1888, to return to the United States after their departure, is held at the will of the government, revocable at any time, as its pleasure.” The *Chae Chan Ping* case made it clear that Chinese laborers could no longer re-enter the United States, even after obtaining re-entry certificates. In March 1892, the Supreme Court in *Lau Ow Bew v. United States*, 144 U.S. 47 (1892), clarified whether or not Chinese merchants needed re-entry certificates and the validity of those certificates.

Lau Ow Bew came to the United States in 1874 and lived in Portland, Oregon for 17 years. During that time, he ran Hop Chong & Co., a wholesale and importing business. He left the United States for China with intentions of returning. Prior to leaving, he obtained the proper evidence of his merchant status from the United States government, in accordance with the 1890 treasury department regulation. On August 11, 1891, he reached San Francisco on the steamship, *Oceanic*. The collector of the port of San Francisco refused to permit him to land because he failed to produce a certificate from the Chinese government of his merchant status, per section 6 of the 1882 Act (and as amended by the 1884 Act). Captain Smith of the *Oceanic* steamship detained him on board the steamer. The District Court denied Lau Ow Bew’s writ of *habeas corpus* and ordered him deported; the Ninth Circuit affirmed this deportation order.

The Supreme Court wrote, “Chinese merchants domiciled in the United States have, and are entitled to exercise, the right of free egress and ingress, and all other rights, privileges and immunities enjoyed in this country by the citizens or subjects of the ‘most favored nation.’” In fact, “it is impossible to hold that this section was intended to prohibit or prevent Chinese merchants, having a commercial domicile

here, from leaving the country for temporary purposes, and then returning to and re-entering it; and yet such would be its effect. . . .” The court noted that Congress did not set a contrary rule to the Act of October 1, 1888, which prescribed an “absolute exclusion of Chinese laborers.” The *Lau Ow Bew* decision made it clear that Chinese merchants were a class separate from Chinese laborers and had the privilege of traveling freely to and from the United States.

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See also Chinese Exclusion Acts (1882–1943); Geary Act (1892)

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Seattle Anti-Chinese Riot and Expulsion of 1886

On the morning of February 7, 1886, in Seattle a mob evicted hundreds of Chinese from their homes and attempted to send them out of the city by steamer or rail. The local Home Guard (and later federal troops) held back the mob, but a skirmish the next day left several rioters wounded, one of whom died. Despite a court order halting a steamer from transporting 97 Chinese against their will, 196 Chinese left by ship the next morning and another 110 fled by the next steamer the following week.

The Seattle riot followed a series of anti-Chinese attacks in many locations in the Pacific Northwest, the most notorious of which was the anti-Chinese riot in Tacoma, a city located 30 miles south of Seattle, the previous November. To prevent a violent outbreak in Seattle, federal troops were dispatched, and 15 leaders of the anti-Chinese movement in Seattle were arrested.

The vigilante action in Seattle in 1886 was planned during a meeting and rally the preceding evening on February 6. Groups of five entered the homes of Chinese on the pretext of checking on city health

regulations, and then with the support of a mob in the street, evicted the Chinese from their homes and escorted approximately 350 Chinese to the steamship dock. The territorial governor, Watson Squires, declared martial law (which President Cleveland later made official), and by February 10 federal troops were posted in Seattle, where they remained for several months.

Chinese workers had first been welcomed in Seattle as cooks, domestic servants, peddlers, and laborers for the many street and canal projects. However, with the economic slump in the 1880s, white workers saw them as competitors for jobs and blamed them for unemployment and low wages. Calls that “the Chinese must go” became increasingly shrill and prevalent among labor leaders, politicians, and in the press. By 1885 there were probably 400 Chinese residents, most of whom were male, but the community included wives of merchants and children, 40 of whom attended a church-sponsored Chinese school.

Unlike Tacoma, where the militant movement was led by the Sinophobic mayor overwhelmed the moderate “law and order” element, Seattle’s business leaders and other moderates openly opposed the violence and protected the Chinese with the aid of federal troops. Principal among this group was Judge Thomas Burke and Mayor Henry Yesler. On November 5, 1885, Burke delivered an impassioned speech before a crowd of 700 at the Opera House for the anti-Chinese mass meeting organized by the Knights of Labor. He opposed force and violence and urged respect for the laws and treaties, but he was hissed and booed. Mayor Yesler and Sheriff John McGraw also acted to maintain order and called upon the governor for military assistance.

The “law and order” element and government authorities were no more successful in prosecuting the rioters in Seattle than elsewhere in the Pacific Northwest, which reflected the widespread anti-Chinese and pro-labor sympathies. In 1885, a grand jury indicted 15 leaders of the militant anti-Chinese group on conspiracy charges, including Daniel Cronin, the Knights of Labor organizer from Eureka, California; Mary Kenworthy, a popular socialist leader; and George V. Smith, lawyer and utopian community organizer. As in nearly every case in the West, the Seattle anti-Chinese leaders were found not guilty by

the all-white jury, and in this case the defense did not even present an argument against the conspiracy charges. Among those arrested in February 1886 by the martial law authority for leading the agitation were the Chief of Police William Murphy, W. H. Pinckney, a policeman, and prominent lawyers Junius Rochester and George V. Smith. None of those arrested was ever convicted.

The events in Seattle reflected a combination of racial hostility toward the Chinese that crossed class lines and a growing conflict between labor and business in the Pacific Northwest. Advertisements for local businesses proclaimed “No Chinese employed” and newspapers regularly published derogatory stories and inflammatory editorials. Topics included the morals, habits, and living conditions of the Chinese, along with claims against the Chinese for economic woes and violations of immigration statutes. Although few publicly expressed direct support for the Chinese merchants and workers, the newspapers and many organizations in Seattle decried the lawlessness and violence of the anti-Chinese movement. Following the violence, the King County Bar Association adopted a strongly worded resolution against the lawlessness of the mob, supporting the necessity of martial law and respect for the laws and government.

A few dozen Chinese stayed in Seattle, mostly house servants in white households and several established Chinese merchants. One of the most prominent and successful of these was Chin Gee Hee, a partner in the Wa Chong Company and a labor contractor. During the riots Chin contacted the Chinese Consul in San Francisco to ask for assistance and later reported business damages sustained in the riots to the Chinese officials as part of the investigations for reparations. Chin Gee Hee’s family was among the victims, however. Rioters dragged his wife out of their house and down the stairs by her hair. Afterward, she became ill and miscarried. Other prominent merchants who remained and prospered were Chin Chun Hock, the first Chinese to settle in the city and founder of the Wa Chong Company, Chen Cheong, perhaps the first Chinese resident to start a business, and Eng Ah King.

Later, Chin Gee Hee founded the Quong Tuck Company, and after the great Seattle fire of 1889, he

erected the first brick building, which became the center of the new Chinatown. By 1890, the Chinese community was as large as it had been before the riots.

Paul Englesberg

See also *Watsonville Riots (1930)*

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Seau, Junior (1969–2012)

Tiaina Baul "Junior" Seau was a 20-year veteran linebacker in the National Football League (NFL) playing for the San Diego Chargers, Miami Dolphins, and the New England Patriots. Over the course of his career he was a 12-time Pro Bowl selection, 10-time All-Pro selection, and was unanimously selected to the Pro Football Hall of Fame's, All-Decade Team for the 1990s on defense. Over the course of his career Seau accumulated 1,526 tackles, 11 forced fumbles, 18 interceptions, and 56.5 sacks. For the first 13 years of his career Seau was the face and leader of the San Diego Chargers, leading them to victory in the 1994 AFC Championship; however, they lost to the San Francisco 49ers in the Super Bowl. He also played in a second Super Bowl for the 2007 New England Patriots who lost to the New York Giants.

Seau, fifth of seven children of Tiaina Seau, Sr. and Luisa Mauga Seau, of American Samoan origin

was born and raised in San Diego. At Oceanside High School, Seau was a standout athlete in basketball and football and named to the *Parade* All-American team. After he graduated in 1987, Seau attended the University of Southern California. In 1989 he was named the PAC-10 Defensive Player of the Year, NCAA First Team All American, and helped the Trojans win back-to-back PAC-10 titles and played in two Rose Bowls. In 2009, USC inducted Seau into its Athletic Hall of Fame.

As Junior Seau earned praises for his meteoric rise in the NFL after he was drafted in the first round in 1990, he also gave back to the San Diego community. The NFL recognized his charity work and named Seau as Man of the Year in 1994. The Junior Seau Foundation has raised and dispersed almost \$4 million to children and young adults including \$800,000 in the Scholars of Excellence program. Seau was also an entrepreneur; he opened Seau's Restaurant in Mission Valley, California in 1996 and created the clothing line Say-Ow Gear.

In 2010, Seau drove his SUV off a cliff in Carlsbad, California after being arrested and jailed for domestic violence. He claimed he had fallen asleep at the wheel. On May 2, 2012, it was reported Seau took his own life with a gunshot wound to the chest. On May 3, a vigil was held outside of his home in Oceanside and on May 11, 2012, thousands of fans gathered at Qualcomm Stadium, the home field of the San Diego Chargers, to celebrate Seau's life and legacy. No suicide note has been found. On June 7, 2012, 81 lawsuits charged the NFL for failing to inform and protect players from long-term damages to the brain including concussions, strokes, dementia, and Alzheimer's disease.

Terumi Rafferty-Osaki

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Self-Employment

Asian America began to take shape in the late 1840s when a large number of Chinese immigrants arrived in the United States as contract laborers. In the span of more than 150 years, it has evolved into a vastly diverse ethnic community, consisting of people whose ancestors, or who themselves, were born in more than 25 Asian countries. As of 2008, the estimated number of Asian Americans had grown to 15.5 million (or 5 percent of the total U.S. population), up from less than 12 million in 2000 and from 1.4 million in 1970. The many-fold growth in the past 40 years is primarily because of immigration, which has accelerated since the passage of the Hart-Celler Act of 1965. Based on the 2000 U.S. Census, nearly two-thirds of the Asian American population are foreign born (the first generation), another 25 percent are native born with foreign-born parentage (the second generation), and only 15 percent are native born with native-born parentage (the third generation). Japanese Americans are an exception as this ethnic group is entering the fourth generation in America. This essay offers a demographic overview of the Asian American population at the dawn of the twenty-first century with a discussion on one of the trajectories of Asian American social mobility—self-employment.

The Asian American community includes a variety of ethnically distinct subgroups. In 1970, the size of the ethnic population was about 1.4 million, largely composed of three national-origin groups—Japanese (41 percent), Chinese (30 percent), and Filipino (24 percent). Those who fell into the "Other Asian" category (5 percent) included mostly Koreans and Asian Indians. Since 1970, immigration from Asian countries has accelerated and remained at a high rate into the twenty-first century. Immigration accounted for more than half of the Asian American population growth (e.g., for 70 percent of Indian growth, 63 percent of Filipino growth, 59 percent of Vietnamese growth). The share of immigrants from Asia as a proportion of the U.S. total inflow grew from a tiny 5 percent in the 1950s to more than a third since the 1980s. Prior to 1980, no Asian country was on the United States' annual list of top 10 immigrant-origin countries; since then, however, China, the Philippines, India, Korea, and Vietnam have shown up on the list repeatedly. Between 1980 and 2009, 8.7 million immigrants from Asia were legally admitted into the United States as permanent residents. Consequently, the ethnic community has been dramatically transformed to diversify into at least 28 national-origin groups, which were officially tabulated in the U.S. Census. Chinese and Filipinos are the largest subgroups (at 3.62 million and 3.06 million, respectively), followed by Indians (at 2.73 million), Vietnamese (1.73 million), Koreans (1.61 million), and Japanese (1.30), as estimated in 2008. National origins stretched out to many other Asian countries, many of which had no prior settlement histories on American soil, such as Cambodians, Pakistanis, Laotians, Hmongs, and Thais. The "Other Asian" category in the Census count includes Bangladeshis, Indonesians, Malaysians, and Singaporeans, among others.

Although most of the Asian immigrants have come directly from their ancestral homelands, others have arrived from a third country. For example, the Chinese today have immigrated into the United States not only from mainland China but also from the Chinese diaspora—Hong Kong, Taiwan, Vietnam, Cambodia, Malaysia, and the Americas. Indians have arrived not only from India but also from Fiji, Uganda, Trinidad, South Africa, and the United Kingdom.

Many of the Southeast Asians have been resettled in the United States after they fled their ancestral homelands and spent various lengths of time in refugee camps in other countries in Asia and Europe. Among foreign-born Asians in the United States today, about 42 percent have arrived in the United States after 1990, and 47 percent are naturalized U.S. citizens, which indicates that the Asian American population is still primarily an immigrant-dominant ethnic group.

Contemporary Asian immigrants are diverse not only by origins but also by socioeconomic status (SES). Unlike earlier immigrants from Asia, who were mostly low-skilled laborers and disproportionately single males, today's immigrants from Asia include those who come to join their families, who invest their monies the U.S. economy, who fill the labor market demands for highly skilled labor, and who escape war, political or religious persecution, and economic hardships. For example, scientists, engineers, physicians, and other skilled professionals tend to be overrepresented among Indians, Filipinos, Chinese, and Koreans, whereas less-educated, low-skilled workers tend to be overrepresented among Vietnamese, Cambodians, and Laotians, most of whom enter the United States as refugees. Middle-class immigrants are able to start their American life with high-paying professional jobs and comfortable suburban living, whereas low-skilled immigrants and refugees have to endure low-paying menial jobs and ghettoized inner-city living. In general, Asian Americans have shown remarkable achievements in key SES indicators—education, occupation, and median family income. As of 2008, 50 percent of them held bachelor's degrees or more, and 48 percent held managerial-professional or related occupations, as opposed to 28 percent and 35 percent, respectively, of all Americans. Their median household income was \$70,000 in 2007 dollars, as opposed to \$52,000 for American households. However, there were marked intragroup differences. Southeast Asian refugee groups fared poorly in all the listed SES indicators.

Asian Americans today tend to settle in urban areas all over the United States but are more concentrated in the West. According to the 2000 U.S. Census, one state, California, by itself accounted for more than a third of all Asians in the United States, and California

also had the largest number of each of the six main national-origin groups. New York accounted for 10 percent of all Asian Americans, second only to California. Chinese, Indians, and Koreans were heavily concentrated in New York, but not Filipinos, Japanese, and Vietnamese. Several other states deserved special mention: As of 2000, Texas had the second-largest Vietnamese population, next to California. Illinois had the third-largest Filipino population, next to California and Hawaii. Washington had the third-largest Japanese population, next to California and Hawaii. And New Jersey had the third-largest Indian and Korean populations, next to California and New York. Among cities with a population over 100,000, New York City, Los Angeles, and Honolulu had the largest number of Asians, whereas Daly City, California, and Honolulu were Asian-majority cities.

Trajectories of social mobility among Asian Americans vary from those of the past because of tremendous diversity in the contexts of emigration and host society reception. Three predominant trajectories are noteworthy. The first one is the familiar time-honored path of starting at the bottom and moving up through hard work. The second trajectory is the incorporation into professional occupations in the mainstream economy through extraordinary educational achievement. The third trajectory is ethnic entrepreneurship.

Self-employment has been viewed as an alternate and effective means of social mobility in the Asian American community. Historically, Chinese Americans and Japanese Americans depended on ethnic businesses as a way to climb up the socioeconomic ladder, especially during the era of legal exclusion and labor market discrimination. Since the 1970s, unprecedented Asian immigration, accompanied by the tremendous influx of human and financial capital, has set off a new stage of ethnic economic development. As of 2000, 11 percent of Asian American workers 25 years or older were self-employed, compared to 13 percent of white workers and 5 percent of black workers. Koreans, Chinese, Indians, and Vietnamese showed fairly high rates of self-employment (over 11 percent). Koreans in particular were nearly twice as likely as whites to be self-employed (24 percent versus 13 percent).

Growth in business ownership among Asian Americans is the fastest of any racial group. Although the number of black- and Hispanic-owned businesses grew rapidly from 1977 to 1997, neither came close to matching the phenomenal expansion of Asian-owned businesses, which grew at the fastest rate, increasing 768 percent (from 105,158 in 1977 to 912,960 in 1997), and having the largest gross sales receipts, at \$306.9 billion in 1997. As of 2002, the number of Asian-owned firms climbed to 1.1 million; three-quarters of all Asian-owned firms were owned by Chinese, Indian, Korean, or Vietnamese entrepreneurs. Asian-owned firms made up 4 percent of the total U.S. nonfarm businesses, 2 percent of their employment, and 1.4 percent of their receipts. But absolute numbers were significant as they employed more than 2.2 million people and generated \$327 billion in revenue. Thirty-one percent of Asian-owned businesses operated in the category “other services,” such as personal services, and repair and maintenance; they also owned 5.8 percent of all professional, scientific, and technical service businesses in the United States. Overall, there was approximately 1 ethnic firm for every 11 Asians, but only 1 ethnic firm for every 30 blacks and 1 for every 23 Hispanics.

Asian-owned businesses are spreading out all over the country but tend to be highly concentrated in states where there is a large Asian American population. As of 2002, nearly 60 percent of all Asian-owned firms in the United States were found in three states—California, New York, Texas, and New Jersey; among major cities, New York City took the lead in the number of Asian-owned firms (112,441), followed by Los Angeles (47,764), Honolulu (22,348), and San Francisco (19,639).

About 28 percent of Asian-owned businesses were home based, which was the lowest among all minority-owned firms. Typically, Asian-owned businesses rely heavily on pooled family savings and family labor. Such businesses include restaurants, sweatshops, laundries and dry cleaners, greengrocers, fish markets, liquor stores, nail salons, newsstands, swap meets, taxicabs, and motels. In New York City, there were about 500 Chinese-owned garment factories employing some 20,000 Chinese immigrant workers, and about 400 Korean-owned garment factories employing

more than 14,000 Hispanic workers during the industry’s peak in the late 1980s. There were about 2,000 dry cleaners run by Koreans, about 1,400 Korean-owned green grocers, and about 70,000 South Asian taxi drivers in New York City in the 1990s. Indian Americans also owned a disproportionately large number of motels around the country at the turn of the twenty-first century. In the last two decades, Asian-owned firms evolved out of the stereotypical mom-and-pop operations in the retail trade and labor-intensive, low-tech manufacturing operations. Many Asian entrepreneurs today offer various professional services in law, finance, real estate, and medicine, and are engaged in capital- and knowledge-intensive research and development in telecommunication, computer science, pharmaceuticals, biochemistry, and biotechnology. For example, Computer Associates International (a Fortune 500 public firm specialized in computer technologies based in New York) and Watson Pharmaceuticals (a large public firm based in Los Angeles) were Chinese- or Taiwanese-owned companies but rarely considered *ethnic* businesses because the immigrant entrepreneurs successfully shed their ethnic distinctiveness and incorporated their businesses into the core of the mainstream economy.

In the existing literature on Asian American entrepreneurship, ample empirical evidence has shown support for five major arguments about the effects of ethnic entrepreneurship. First, entrepreneurship creates job opportunities for the self-employed as well as for ethnic workers who would otherwise be excluded. Second, ethnic entrepreneurship relieves sources of potential competition with native-born workers by generating new employment opportunities rather than taking up jobs, or crowding out natives, in the existing labor market. Third, ethnic entrepreneurship not only fosters entrepreneurial spirit and sets up role models among coethnics but also trains prospective entrepreneurs. Fourth, ethnic entrepreneurship affects the economic prospects of group members as well as out-group members. Fifth, and perhaps most controversial, there is a significant earnings advantage of self-employment over other forms of employment net other observable human capital and demographic characteristics. Research regarding earnings benefits has yielded mixed results, however. Problems also arise that leave

some workers behind in their pursuit of upward social mobility, such as labor rights abuse and over-concentration of jobs that entail low wages, poor working conditions, few fringe benefits, and lack of mobility prospects.

At present day, ethnic entrepreneurship is not only pursued by first-generation Asian immigrants, it has increasingly been attractive to the highly assimilated second generation as a viable means for social mobility. Greater participation of highly skilled immigrants and the children of immigrants in entrepreneurial activity, in turn, is likely to facilitate the incorporation of the Asian American community into mainstream America.

Min Zhou

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Sexuality

Asian American sexuality evades fixed definition and description. As an expression of desire, sexuality ignites the erotic, physical, emotional, and imaginative senses of the body and mind. Sexuality is driven ultimately by the desire to connect and relate to others, so that any identity based on sexuality depends on relationships that reach beyond the boundaries of the individual self. Asian American sexuality includes the multiple experiences of desire described by the terms queer, transgender, intersex, bisexual, pansexual, polyamory, lesbian, gay, heterosexual, sexual outlaw, gender nonconforming, asexual, interracial, interethnic, intergenerational, interability, interclass, fetish, vanilla, kink, bondage, voyeur, exhibitionist, virtual, and more variations of sexual expression than can be named. Yet, the simplicity of naming can cover over socially enforced hierarchies of power that continue to uphold as natural, normal, and valuable sexualities that are modeled after the image of the binary gender (male/female) conformant, heterosexual, married,

reproductive, white American middle-class nuclear family. As a powerful set of affects that brings together self and others, sexuality is not just a personal or private matter. Sexuality is shaped and expressed at the points where social histories, institutions, images, and ideas interact with subjective perceptions, bodies, senses, and imaginations.

For Asian Americans and other racially subjugated communities in the United States, sexuality is an expression of desire, pleasure, and relationship that remains tied to struggles for self-determination in the face of market and state organized social perceptions and control. Dominant perceptions of Asian Americans, which often shift between images of hypersexuality and absent sexuality, aggression and submission, the model and the perverse, lack and excess, and the domesticated and exotic, have been shaped by linked cultural, political, and economic institutions, including the Hollywood media industry. Twentieth-century Hollywood narrative cinema and its twenty-first century transnational multimedia conglomerate counterparts have contributed to producing these stereotypes by limiting the representation of Asian Americans and Asians to a few reproducible formulas such as the inscrutable villain, hypersexual dragon lady or prostitute, the sexually repressed geek, the sacrificial lotus blossom, the subservient geisha, the technomartial arts body, the spy, and the terrorist. In each of these examples, racialization occurs through attributing deviant sexuality and/or gender. These stereotypical representations shape popular perceptions that reinforce U.S. state efforts to police and control migration, naturalization, citizenship, and access to wealth and resources based on heteronuclear family structures and relationships, HIV status, sexual orientation, gender identity and presentation, labor needs, trade and market benefits, military advancements, diplomatic relations, and distinctions between countries considered favored, enemy, or dependent. And these repeated images help to expand Hollywood's consumer markets within the United States and globally, while continuing to streamline production and maintain racial, sexual, and gender hierarchies within the media industry. In finding self-determined sexual expression, Asian Americans have had to navigate and counter the forms of sexual and social regulation

institutionalized by dominant sectors, including Hollywood. Asian American feminist, transgender, queer, radical, leftist, and decolonizing movements have participated in reimagining and creating forms of sexual expression, identity, and community that resist the normalizing demands of the state and capitalist market.

The undervalued, fragmented, and missing archives documenting the sexual histories of Asian Americans provide further motivation for transformative and diverse reimaginings of Asian American sexualities. These diminished archives are an effect of the regulation and destruction of heterogeneous forms of intimate relationships and sexual and gender expression through the racial normalizing of femininity, masculinity, and sexuality in securing the modern U.S. state and American national identity. Abstract American citizenship was granted to white males exclusively until 1870, thereby equating masculinity with whiteness in defining American national subjects. The granting of eligibility for citizenship to men of African descent in 1870 and then Asian men from 1943 to 1952 *assigns* these non-white subjects male or masculine status in secondary relationship to white masculinity, which was still considered the normal or ideal embodiment of national citizenry. In contrast, Asian women's eligibility for citizenship was indirectly and derivatively granted in relationship to the general category of Asian immigrant—presumed to be and pronounced male/masculine—and also in relationship to white American women, whose gaining of independent citizenship rights in 1922 depended on barring “alien women” from naturalization. In laws restricting Asian immigration, Asian women were addressed directly as gendered sexual subjects to be policed, even before the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act. The 1975 Page Law outlawed the immigration of Chinese women suspected of being prostitutes and also barred the entry of male convicts and laborers. Despite the small number of Chinese female immigrants in the United States, the sexual moralism directed at those identified as Chinese prostitutes called for surveillance over *all* Chinese women and the general banning of Chinese immigration, which set the precedent for the 1882 Exclusion Act. Preempting a similar move to bar Japanese immigration based on perceived female prostitutes, the Japanese government chose to

self-regulate migration in the 1907–1908 Gentleman's Agreement with the United States. And before the Page Law, the state of California passed legislation targeting Chinese prostitution as a “public nuisance” in 1866 and then blocked the entry of “Mongolian, Chinese, or Japanese females, born either in the Empire of China or Japan or in any of the Islands adjacent to the Empire of China” suspected of being imported for “criminal and demoralizing purposes” in 1870. Sexual and gender subordination, normalization, policing, and surveillance were central to the prohibition of Asian immigration, citizenship, and social integration prior to 1965.

Recovered histories of Asian American sexuality and gender show the ways in which the presumed rationality of America's modernization relied on informally organized, sexually defined and engendered *extra-economic*, political, and social sectors. Before the mid-twentieth century, Asian men and women worked for substandard payment as temporary, flexible, or indentured workers under conditions dictated by their employers and segregated to the outskirts of formal workforces. Filipino, Asian Indian, Chinese, and Japanese immigrants provided the informal, second-tiered labor, and resources needed to develop more technologically standardized and specialized and also formally distinguished industrial, nonindustrial (agricultural), recognized service (including paid “domestic” work), and nonrecognized service (sex, intimate, and leisure work) sectors, positions, and labor. Along with anti-Asian immigration laws, state anti-miscegenation laws, disenfranchisement from naturalization and property ownership, and the legislated and informal segregation of work, living, and public quarters, including vice districts, brothels, and bachelor communities, further enabled the sexual, gender, and racial ordering of work, space, and bodies according to informal/ formal sectors and public/ private spheres. The flexibility, impermanence, and dependency demanded of Asian immigrants at work, at home, and in public was racially coded and interpreted as sexual and gender ambiguity, perversion, contagion, and threat. Accusations of sexual immorality and gender abnormality incited campaigns to drive out South Asian male workers through white mob attacks and to cleanse Chinese “houses of ill fame”

through legislated and public policing. Political and community leaders, media sources, organized labor, and company heads charged Asians with threatening to contaminate white civil society, often by evoking the vulnerable figures of the white family, women, and youth. The deviant sexing of structurally determined Asian immigrant spaces and bodies helped to establish “normal” white masculinity and femininity as embodying proper sexual behavior limited to reproductive heterosexuality, whereas displacing the sexual and gender self-determination of Asians. At the same time, the informal, marginalized, and deviant spaces and bodies assigned to Asians at the edges of formal, rational, and moral economies created new forms of social intimacy, erotic desire, family, and community, freed from convention.

Since the mid-twentieth century, the restructuring of the U.S. state and economy through transnational networks has meant the dominance of service, finance, science, technology, military, cultural sectors in the United States and the outsourcing of labor-intensive manufacturing and service as secondary, de-formalized sectors, including export processing or free trade zones, international domestic work, and sex tourism, to locations in the global South and in “peripheral zones” within U.S. cities and rural areas. Outsourced sectors continue to recruit and discipline Asian workers according to racialized sexual and gender presumptions and fantasies. For example, expressions of Filipino masculinity continue to negotiate the feminizing neocolonial strategies of the transnational shipping industry along with the masculinizing nationalist strategies of the Philippines state, which have both fueled the demand for Filipino male seafaring labor since the 1970s. In countering these attempts to enforce gender norms, Filipino seafarers, along with Filipino tomboys, have created nonconforming masculinities, undetermined by anatomical sex, through collective practices of remembering, cultural transmission, and social intimacy. The liberalization of naturalization, citizenship, and immigration laws by 1965, in addition to gains in civil rights, public participation and cultural representation, have enabled the partial inclusion of more resourced, technically skilled, and educationally privileged Asian Americans and Asian immigrants into formal sectors of the U.S. state, economy, and

public sphere. But, Asian immigrants and Asian Americans with fewer economic and educational resources and professional skills training and from war-torn, colonized, de-industrialized countries in Southeast Asia, the Pacific Islands, the Middle East, and South Asia continue to be confined to the edges of formal political, economic, and public sectors. And, since 9/11, U.S. state-sponsored profiling, policing, detention, and violence targeting people perceived to be Middle Eastern, Arab, or Muslim as potential “terrorists” have relied on the racial sexualization of Islam, Arabs, and the Middle East region as primitive, monstrous, and abnormal. As a counterpart, the U.S. “war on terror” has included efforts to recast and normalize sexual, racial, and immigrant communities previously excluded or marginalized within American national identity as model patriots and citizens, including gays and lesbians. The semi-institutionalization of cultural nationalist and modernist approaches to Asian American identity, history, and culture within dominant sectors by the 1980s has limited the capacity of Asian American social movements, cultural production, and historiographies to engage with sexuality and gender as ongoing technologies of racial control. These institutionalized approaches have also prevented engagement with more recent or previously unacknowledged formations of Asian American and Asian social identity and history shaped by changing relationships between the U.S. state and different Asian states and regions within the context of transnational war, migration, neoliberalism, and finance and cultural capitalism, beyond the East Asian-centered focus of Asian American racial politics as it emerged in the 1960s.

By the beginning of the twenty-first century, cultural production and social activism focusing on Asian American sexualities and genders emerged in mass at the borders of dominant sectors, institutions, and bodies of knowledge. Anthologies including *Lotus of Another Color*, *Q & A: Queer in Asian America*, and *Dragon Ladies: Asian American Feminists Breathe Fire*, along with poetry and fiction by Kitty Tsui, R. Zamora Linmark, Ginu Kamani, Jessica Hagedorn, Justin Chin, V. K. Mina, and Joel Tan, expanded and re-assembled Asian American racial identity and cultural imagining to include lesbian, gay, bisexual, gender nonconforming, queer, feminist, and women’s

experiences and accounts. Community-based groups, including TriKone, the Asian Pacific Lesbian Bisexual Network, Asian Immigrant Women Advocates, Gabriela Network, INCITE, San Francisco Women Against Rape, Community United Against Violence, and the Audrey Lorde Project organized based on an understanding of the interconnections between homophobia, heterosexism, transphobia, racism, local and global economic exploitation, gender and sexual oppression, and nationalism. Visual artists across mediums (zines, performance, video, and film), including Pratibha Parmar, Cheang Shu Lea, Erica Cho, Hoang Nguyen, Hima B. Ming Yuen S. Ma, Gigi Otalvaro-Hormillosa, Lynne Chan, D'Lo, Gregg Araki, Quentin Lee, Mimi Nguyen, Richard Fung, and Machiko Saito, worked to confront and recreate the dominant iconography of sexual and gender racialization to produce more critical, empowering, and playful relationships to Asian American visual representation. In conversation with these interventions, queer diasporic and queer of color critiques and also women of color and transnational feminist analyses addressed the centrality of sexual and gender normalization within the context of more recently decentralized and globally networked U.S. state and capitalism. During the first decade of the twenty-first century, transgender, gender queer, and gender nonconforming expressions of Asian American and Asian diasporic sexuality and gender, including media interventions by Kit Yan, Yozmit, Felix Endara, and Wu Tsang, contribute to the dynamic disassembling and re-assembly of Asian American social identity and history, coalitional movement, and cultural imagining. Together, they create possibilities—beyond re-normalization—for resistance and vitality in relationship to the changing conditions of racial sexualization and gendering.

Jian Chen

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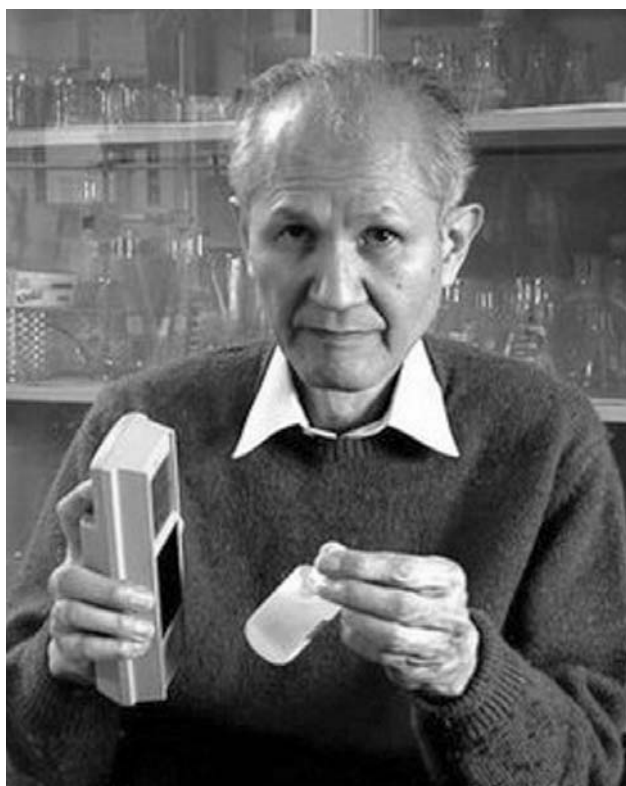
Shimomura, Osamu (1928–)

Osamu Shimomura, a Japanese American biochemist, who shared the 2008 Nobel Prize in Chemistry for the discovery of green fluorescent protein

(GFP), is one of the world's foremost experts on bioluminescence.

Osamu Shimomura was born on August 28, 1928, in Fukuchiyam, Kyoto-Fu, Japan. Osamu Shimomura's father, Chikara Shimomura, was a captain in the Japanese Army. In 1933, Chikara Shimomura was stationed in Manchuria and required Osamu, his younger brother Sadamu, and his mother Yukie to move to Sasebo, Nagasaki Prefecture where they lived with Tsuki Shimomura, Osamu's grandmother.

In 1941, Shimomura entered middle school in Sasebo but moved to Osaka following his father's transfer during World War II. Japanese wartime militarism disrupted school studies frequently and students would sometimes perform military exercises in lieu of attending lectures. Heeding his father's advice, Shimomura's family moved to the countryside in Isayaha near Nagasaki in 1944. On the first day of tenth grade, the students were mobilized to the Omura



Osamu Shimomura, of the Marine Biological Laboratory (MBL) at Woods Hole, Massachusetts, won the 2008 Nobel Prize in chemistry for his discovery and development of the green fluorescent protein, GFP. (AP Photo)

Naval Aircraft Arsenal because the National General Mobilization Law had been enacted, requiring citizens to work in the wartime economy. Students like Shimomura no longer studied or attended lectures; they worked instead. In the spring of 1945, Shimomura's class graduated but the student mobilization continued.

On August 9, 1945, the air raid siren sounded in Shimomura's factory and instead of hiding inside a bunker, Shimomura and his friends waited on a hill and watched a B-29 drop a payload. Once the plane had passed, Shimomura returned to the factory and was blinded by a flash of light and hit by the pressure caused by the atomic bomb dropped on Nagasaki. On August 15, the Japanese emperor surrendered and brought an end to the war with the United States and the student mobilization.

Shimomura tried to enter college in 1946 and 1947 but was rejected because the student mobilization prevented him from receiving a proper education. In 1948, Shimomura was accepted into the Nagasaki Pharmacy College, which temporarily reopened nearby in a vacated military barrack. Lack of resources and equipment at the college made it challenging to conduct experiments. Because organic synthesis experiments could not be performed with the poor equipment, Shimomura studied inorganic ionic reactions under Professor Shungo Yasunaga. The work done in Yasunaga's lab would result in Shimomura's first paper in 1953 published in the *Journal of the Pharmaceutical Society of Japan* for the development of a glass capillary and alumina powder chromatography.

In 1951, Shimomura graduated from Nagasaki Pharmacy School and worked in Yasunaga's lab as a teaching assistant. After four years of work, Yasunaga introduced Shimomura to Professor Yoshimasa Hirata, an organic chemist at Nagoya University. Shimomura was offered a position in Hirata's lab and enrolled as a research student in 1955. Shimomura's first project was the purification and crystallization of the protein luciferin from *Cypridina*, which is involved in the small crustacean's luminescence. After 10 months of work, Shimomura was able to crystallize the protein and the results were published in 1957.

In 1959, Shimomura was invited by Dr. Frank Johnson to work in his Princeton University

laboratory. To Shimomura's surprise, professor Hirata granted Shimomura a doctoral degree for his *Cypridina* work, knowing the doctorate would open up opportunities for study like the Fulbright travel grant for his new position in Princeton. In August 1960, Osumu Shimomura married Akemi Okubo. In September 1960, Osumu traveled to Princeton and in the following month, Akemi would join him.

Dr. Johnson assigned Shimomura to study bioluminescent properties in the jellyfish *Aequorea*. To acquire fresh samples, Dr. Johnson, Shimomura, and other members of the lab traveled to Friday Harbor in Washington State. The group was hosted by Dr. Robert Fernald from the University of Washington. Jellyfish was collected along the lab dock and luminescent material was extracted in large quantities.

Back in Princeton, luminescent protein was purified and studied. The protein extracted was named aequorin, the first photoprotein discovered. They also discovered in the luminescent extract a green protein that is now called green fluorescent protein, the subject of Shimomura's 2008 Nobel Prize.

Shimomura's U.S. visa expired in 1963 requiring him to return to Japan. Shimomura took the position of associate professor at the Water Science Institute in Nagoya University under Professor Tadashi Koyama. Working with the graduate student Yoshito Kishi, the group determined the structure of *Cypridina* luciferin, the protein Shimomura crystallized and purified six years earlier.

Shimomura continued to study different bioluminescent organisms but decided to focus on understanding the mechanism of aequorin luminescence to generalize its use as an analytical tool for other scientists. To do this, he returned to Dr. Johnson's lab in Princeton and spent 12 years to determine a structural model of aequorin, which required multiple trips to Friday Harbor to collect the raw materials for study. In 1972, Shimomura was able to establish the understanding of the aequorin luminescence reaction and its usefulness as a calcium probe.

In 1977, Dr. Johnson retired and Shimomura moved to the Marine Biological Laboratory in Woods Hole, Massachusetts where he was a senior scientist and a professor at Boston University Medical School. By 1975, aequorin had been used by biologists as a

calcium probe and Shimomura was the primary supplier of aequorin, providing samples for investigators all over the world. In 1995, Shimomura began research in the three-dimensional structure of aequorin and published the results in 2000.

Shimomura retired from the Marine Biological Laboratory in 2001 but continued to work in his home where he set up his Photoprotein Laboratory. To teach the next generation of students about the chemistry of bioluminescence, Shimomura authored the book *Bioluminescence: Chemical Principles and Methods*, which was published by World Scientific Press in 2006. The book contains an overview of the chemistry of all known bioluminescence systems and organisms.

In 2006, Shimomura received the Asahi prize, a prize granted in Japan for achievement in scholarship and the arts that has made a contribution to society. In 2008, Shimomura received the Nobel Prize in Chemistry along with Martin Chalfie and Roger Y. Tsien for their discovery and development of green fluorescent protein. Osamu Shimomura's contributions of bioluminescent chemistry gave scientists around the world a tool to visualize biological processes and broaden scientific understanding of bioluminescence.

Robert O'Dowd

See also Japanese Americans

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Shin, Paull (1935–)

Paul Shin is a Korean American Democratic legislator in the state of Washington. He was the first Korean American to be elected to the legislature in Washington when he was elected to the House of Representatives, and currently serves as a state senator. Shin is a former college professor of history and East Asian

civilization. As a legislator, he is an advocate for education, international trade, and Asian American affairs. A Korean American adoptee, Shin also reaches out to the adoptee community and shares his story with others.

Shin was born in Korea in 1935 during the Japanese occupation. His mother died when he was four years old, and he was abandoned by his father. His Korean birth name is Shin Hobom. Living on the street and turned away from schools, he was unable to attend school in Korea. During the Korean War, he was taken in by a group of soldiers in Seoul, who offered him a job performing domestic chores at the U.S. Army medical unit where they worked. Ray Paull, a dentist and soldier in the unit, developed a strong bond with Shin and adopted him at the age of 16. After the war, Shin immigrated to Salt Lake City at the age of 18 in 1954 and changed his first name to Paull to honor his adoptive father. Ray Paull and his wife, Donna, have two children, both adopted, and five grandsons.

Once in the United States, Shin sought the education that he had not been able to achieve in Korea. Turned away from schools because of his age and limited command of English, he was able to earn a GED (General Equivalency Diploma) and attend Brigham Young University, where he earned a degree in political science. He went on to earn an MA in public and international affairs at the University of Pittsburgh, and a PhD in Korean studies at the University of Washington. Shin taught at the college level in Hawaii and after moving back to the Pacific Northwest, he was a professor at Shoreline Community College for 26 years.

Shin was introduced to politics in 1976 when Governor Dan Evans sought advice on how to increase trade with Korea and Japan and appointed Shin as trade ambassador. Governor Booth Gardner succeeded in convincing Shin to run as a Democrat; in 1992, Shin was elected to the State House of Representatives where he served during the 1993–1994 session as the first Korean American representative. After unsuccessful bids for the U.S. House of Representatives in 1994 and lieutenant governor in 1996, he was elected in 1998 to the Washington State Senate for District 21.

Shin continues to advocate in favor of education, trade, and Asian Americans. He is vice chair of the

Higher Education and Workforce Development Committee; the Agriculture and Rural Economic Development Committee; a member of the Economic Development, Trade, and Management Committee; Transportation Committee; and Governor's Commission on Asian American Affairs. He coordinated efforts to secure funding for an endowment for the Korean Studies Program at the University of Washington, spearheaded legislation to bar the usage of the term "Oriental" in favor of "Asian" in state documents, and counts among one of his proudest accomplishments the establishment of January 13 as Korean American Day as a state holiday in 2007. In 2012, he came under criticism for being one of three Democrats in the Senate to vote against marriage equality.

Katie Furuyama

See also Korean Americans; Political Representation

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Shin-Issei/Shin-Nisei Identity

The word "shin" in "Shin-Issei" and "Shin-Nisei" translates to "new" in the Japanese language. Issei meaning "first generation" and Nisei meaning "second generation" are borrowed from the popular language

of Japanese diaspora around the world. What is “new” about these immigrants and their offspring is that they were part of the second wave migration, post-World War II. Shin-Issei immigrants include those who are known as “war brides,” wives of U.S. military men, as well as any Japanese who immigrated to the United States after the 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act, which repealed the 1924 National Origins Act.

Context for Migration

The newcomer Japanese population is relatively low when compared to other post-1965 Asian immigration. However, the recent U.S. Census shows that Japanese newcomers make up as much as 30 percent of the Japanese American population in certain states such as New York, Illinois, Washington, and Hawaii. This confirms that certain parts of the United States are still popular destination places for Japanese emigration.

Japanese newcomers enter the United States with various motives. After the war, people may have left Japan because of widespread famine and war-torn environment. However, unlike the new wave of Chinese immigrants who heavily relied on the “family reunification clause” of the 1965 Immigration Reform Act, which allowed them to be with their naturalized children, spouse, or siblings, the new wave of Japanese immigrants typically had no relatives living in the United States and had to find other ways for legal entry.

One of the major forces of migration was the global economic restructuring of the post-war era. Particularly during the 1980s, Japan experienced a huge economic boom in which the value of the yen skyrocketed. This provided the outward push for Japanese capitalism and consequently, multinational corporations set up headquarters in places like Torrance, California operated by Japanese expatriates. Most of these male expatriates, along with their wives and children, usually came for two- to five-year periods on work visas, but some of them have remained or returned later, changing their status to more permanent forms such as “green cards” (permanent residency card) or obtained American citizenships, often with employer sponsorship.

Japan also went through massive reforms in education as part of its globalization efforts in which the

study-abroad experience, traditionally limited to upper-class elites during the Meiji era, was now being promoted to average citizens. Soon, Japan became one of the top nations in issuing student visas. Similarly, with the rising value of the yen, tourism was a new popular form of entertainment. Some of these Japanese *migrant* students and tourists became *immigrant* newcomers for one reason or another, including securing qualifying employment and marriage to American citizens. Although there are no data that clearly show what percentage of Japanese immigrants first entered on visa-status as opposed to immigrant-status, it has been noted by some that post-1965, more Japanese came as “non-immigrants” before adjusting their status to permanency. In Canada, Nobuko Chubachi found that most Japanese Canadian immigrants actually went through “gradual immigration” in which they took a step-by-step process, experiencing “the West” typically first through a travel, student, or work visa before finally deciding to immigrate permanently. It is highly likely that most Japanese in the United States also came first on visas before becoming permanent residents.

Japanese immigrants have low rates of naturalization when compared to other Asian immigrant groups. According to the 2009 Census, only 38 percent of Japanese foreign born in California became naturalized citizens. When compared to the 69 percent of Chinese and 67 percent of Filipinos who have naturalized, Japanese immigrants are not becoming American citizens. This may be attributed to many factors such as national pride, security of benefits, and/or economic and political stability of Japan. The Census also shows that Japanese female immigrants are more likely to naturalize than their male counterparts. This may be attributed to the fact that Japanese women marry American citizens more often as compared to marriages of Japanese men to American women.

The children of the Shin-Issei immigrants, the Shin-Nisei, are U.S. citizens by birth. As children of Japanese nationals, many Shin-Nisei also have Japanese citizenship by bloodline. Currently, Japan does not recognize dual-citizenship and thus, lawfully, Shin-Nisei must choose which nationality to keep. However, because Japan does not enforce this regulation, many Shin-Nisei have been able to keep both

citizenships, hiding their American passport from Japanese immigration officials.

Identity Formation

The Shin-Issei and Shin-Nisei identities are strongly influenced by the sociocultural and historical context of their local regions. For example, in areas such as California where ethnic resources (Japanese language schools, supermarkets, Japanese restaurants, travel agencies, banks, newspapers) are abundant because of the long history of Japanese and Japanese American communities, Shin-Issei and Shin-Nisei are able to maintain their Japanese lifestyles in America. On the other hand, if a Japanese newcomer and their children live their lives in less ethnic regions of the United States, their connection to Japan and Japanese language and culture will be limited, though not entirely cut off thanks to new modes of communication and affordable travel.

Particularly in California, a majority of the Shin-Issei and Shin-Nisei are bilingual and bicultural because of the availability of transnational resources such as language institutions and cultural products, ranging from Japanese television to hair and beauty products. For instance, in Southern California, because of the high number of expatriate families whose children must ease back into Japan at a later point in life, the Japanese government established the *Asahi Gakuen*, a formal Japanese language school that teaches based on a curriculum comparable to the one followed in Japan. Through language, the Shin-Nisei are inculcated Japanese values and traditions. Therefore, within these ethnic-rich areas, the Shin-Nisei individuals embody a highly transnational identity that navigates between what it means to be Japanese and American.

Partly because of this strong dual identity as Japanese and as Americans, Shin-Nisei's place within the old-timer Japanese American spaces is sometimes questioned. Growing up among Yonsei and Gosei Japanese Americans, Shin-Nisei's understanding of their ethnic identity may conflict with those understood as traditionally Japanese American. For instance, many Shin-Nisei do not have a culture of playing J-league basketball, learning *odori*, or participating in Nisei week although more and more of these activities and

events are being inclusive of the new wave of immigrants and their children.

In conclusion, Shin-Issei and Shin-Nisei identity, like all other forms of identity, are fluid and situational. Their identity formation depends heavily on the regional, social, and historical context in which they are raised as well as how close they identify with their Japanese side. No one description of identity can capture the diverse and dynamic nature of Shin-Issei and Shin-Nisei identity, and their ever-changing ethnic identity must be understood within the context of the larger local and global trends.

Eri Kameyama

See also Japanese Americans; Kibei

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Siamese Twins

See Chang and Eng (The Siamese Twins)

Sikh Temple Massacre (Oak Creek, WI) (2012)

Tragedy struck the Milwaukee suburb of Oak Creek, Wisconsin on August 5, 2012, around 10 a.m. when 40-year-old Wade Michael Page entered the town's

Sikh Gurdwara and opened fire. This white man shot and killed six Indian (Punjabi) men: Paramjit Kaur, Satwant Singh Kaleka, Suveg Sing Khattrra, Prakash Singh, Ranjit Singh, and Sita Singh. A white police officer Lt. Brian Murphy arrived to assist and was shot multiple times by Page. Soon afterwards Page shot himself after being shot in the stomach by another officer. A standard Sunday morning ritual, of people of faith gathering for community and prayer, became the site of a domestic terror attack. It is an ongoing process for family and friends of the victims to come to terms with their loss. In the words of Pardeep Kaleka, son of Satwant Singh Kaleka, “A lot of people say you go through certain stages of grieving . . . The thing they don’t tell you is that you go through those and you go back to one, and you go back to the next one. There’s disbelief, and acceptance, and there’s sheer terror” (Meidenbauer 2012).

The “sheer terror” of that morning quickly became connected within public discourse to a mass shooting a month earlier and the debate over gun laws. James Holmes opened fire at a movie theater during the screening of the film, *The Dark Knight Rises* in the Denver suburb of Aurora.

But, many differences between the shooting tragedies must be recognized, rather than conflating them as “mass shootings.” Both are horrible tragedies, but arguably what the Oak Creek massacre represents is a greater threat to our national fabric, despite the fact that it received less media coverage. It is a greater threat because although there will always be madmen bent on hurting others as in Aurora, the Oak Creek shooting represented the manifestation of how white supremacy interacts with the U.S. military and racial ideologies. Page was in the U.S. army before discharged for drunken behavior. Oak Creek indicates how the line between U.S. imperial exercises abroad bleed into racial profiling, violence, and detention policies at home.

Media coverage focused on Page as a white supremacist, thereby disconnecting him from everyday white supremacy. His tattoos and music received concentrated media attention. This framing made it easier to consider the shooting and the hatred it represented as atypical within American society. The discourse about the shooting focused on his mental and

emotional extremity rather than about the conditions of whiteness and Christian normativity that contribute to such hatred. For instance, how Page’s time in the Army interacted with his racist views is not well known.

The white supremacist framing, along with that of madmen and relaxed gun laws, has made it harder to recognize this attack as one in a long line of racially motivated violence on South Asian Americans both post- and pre-9/11. Bellingham riots of 1907 similarly involved white supremacists taking back “their land” from a perceived foreign invasion. The most infamous post-9/11 shooting had been of Balbir Singh Sodhi, a Sikh gas station owner in Mesa, Arizona. He was killed on September 15, 2001 in what was clearly a hate crime as well. Within 24 hours of that shooting, a mosque in Joplin, Missouri was burned down. The fire was not the first attempt of arson on that Islamic center. Attacks on mosques are common but rarely arouse national attention.

The massacre at Oak Creek received less attention than that of Aurora. The discrepancy in coverage can be explained by the fact that fewer people died in Oak Creek, that the shooter killed himself in Oak Creek but remained alive in Aurora, and that media had “shooting fatigue” after the Aurora incident. But, contributing to the discrepancy is the fact that the overwhelming number of journalists are not Sikh, South Asian, Asian American, or even minorities. As journalists tend to concentrate on stories that “hit home,” whose mythical home they imagine is racialized.

The lessons to be learned from Oak Creek are many. White supremacy is alive and well in the United States, but the pervasive conditions of whiteness, military imperialism, and Christian normativity should not be overlooked in the process. Attacks on religious and racial minorities deserve special consideration relative to other tragedies. The attack at Oak Creek is one of many such incidents on South Asian and other Muslim Americans over the course of a century. Framing the tragedy as akin to other mass shootings, such as at Aurora, misrepresents the conditions that lead to these racialized incidents. In turn, the attack at a Sikh gurdwara reminds the South Asian community that it is best to come together rather than try to forge one’s rights by avoiding association with other South Asian groups.

Racism and intolerance do not make nuance distinctions. Sikh and other religious organizations have joined with others to lead the way. Although religion is one organizing line within American society, the need to come together surpasses that as well.

Pawan Dhingra

See also Sikhism in the United States

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Sikhism in the United States

Sikh Americans have made significant contributions in the United States, such as in public service, business, and military service, and in this respect they have

played a meaningful role in the history and development of the Asian American diaspora. In the wake of the September 11, 2001, attacks, Sikhs, because of their conspicuous articles of faith, have faced considerable challenges, which have compelled the community members to quell hostile reactions to their appearance, to diminish ignorance of Sikhism and Sikh identity, and to forge relationships with other affected groups, the government, and the media.

Sikhs are adherents of Sikhism, a monotheistic religion founded in the fifteenth century, in the Punjab region of South Asia that is now split between current-day Pakistan and India. There are three essential elements to the Sikh belief system. First, that one is to think about and recite the name of God; second, that one is to make an honest and decent living as part of society; and third, that one is to give back to and help the less fortunate when feasible. Guru Nanak, who began spreading this message in a time of conflict between Hindus and Muslims, was followed by nine other living spiritual teachers, or *gurus*. Guru Gobind Singh, the tenth and last living *guru*, installed a book of hymns penned by several *gurus* and other spiritually minded poets as the permanent guide for Sikhs. He also established the "*Khalsa panth*," or a group of saint-soldiers comprised of men and women who are to commit themselves fully to Sikh teachings and the Sikh way of life. Those Sikhs who want to become part of the *Khalsa* agree to a code of conduct, which, among other things, requires individuals to keep five articles of faith, including unshorn hair. Observant Sikhs thus do not cut their hair and wear a turban on their heads. (Most Sikh women elect to cover their heads with a scarf instead.) The Sikh turban is therefore an integral part of a Sikh's physical identity, carrying with it deep religious and symbolic meaning. The Sikh turban would serve, however, as a marker for prejudice and discrimination as Sikhs made their way from South Asia to the United States and especially as Sikhs contended with the post-9/11 backlash.

The Sikh footprint in the United States can be traced to the late nineteenth century. Early Sikh migrants arrived primarily to the West, where the agricultural landscape mirrored that which existed in Punjab. In this limited way, the transition to the United States was rather straightforward for early Sikhs settlers, who



Sikh worshippers eat lunch at the new National Gurdwara and Sikh Cultural Center in Washington, D.C. (Chip Somodevilla/Getty Images)

worked in farms, mills, and foundries. Some Sikhs were credited with helping build railroads in the West at a time when these railways were part of a developing national infrastructure and a network of commerce that was critical to the growing industrial economy. As a natural consequence of their presence, Sikhs developed community institutions in America. The first Sikh place of worship in the United States was founded in the 1910s in Stockton, California, where Sikhs still retain a sizable population. It was not uncommon during this time for Sikh male immigrants in the United States to marry women of Hispanic (mostly Mexican) ancestry, given shared values on the importance of family and similarities in their respective cuisine. (In California, the state's notorious antimiscegenation did not cover Sikhs who were Asian but neither "Mongolian" nor "Malay.")

Sikh immigration to the United States was relatively modest at the beginning and first part of the twentieth century; however, Sikh migration increased significantly thereafter. A wave of Sikh migration corresponded with the relaxing of federal immigration

laws in 1965. Modified immigration laws favored professionals, such as physicians, engineers, scientists, and Sikhs in these occupational areas were among those who were able to take advantage of these preferences. Today, though figures vary widely, roughly 500,000 Sikhs reside in the United States.

Despite the general, inherent difficulties that immigrant and minority groups encounter and despite the additional problems associated with discrimination and harassment tied to their unique appearance, Sikhs have prospered in various segments of American society. Perhaps most notably, Dilip Singh Saund became the first Asian American, let alone Indian American or Sikh American, member of Congress. Sikh achievements in public service continue to this day. Preet Bharara, for example, is the chief federal prosecutor in Manhattan, and Nikki Haley, the daughter of Sikh parents, currently serves as Governor of South Carolina and is a rising figure in the Republican Party.

Sikhs have brought an entrepreneurial spirit to the United States. Contemporary examples include

Dr. Narinder Kapany, generally viewed as the “father of fiber optics,” Ajaipal “Jay” Viridy, whose company is credited with supplying the underlying search technology to Twitter, and Ajay Singh Banga, CEO of MasterCard. White converts to Sikhism, who are concentrated in the American Southwest, have demonstrated the ability to start thriving businesses, such as Akal Security, the largest provider of physical security to American airports and federal courthouses. (These converts’ entrepreneurial initiative stemmed in part from their sense that non-Sikhs may not hire individuals with turbans and beards.) Sikhs’ knowledge and interest in business has translated into academic prominence. Jagmohan Raju, for example, serves as chair of the marketing department at the well-regarded Wharton school of business at the University of Pennsylvania. In terms of the arts, Sandeep “Sonny” Caberwal became the first turbaned Sikh model for a major designer, when he participated in Kenneth Cole print and online campaigns.

As Sikhism originated in a time of strife between the ruling Mughals and Hindus, Sikhs themselves became the object of religious persecution at the hands of the Mughal Empire. In response, Sikhs developed a martial culture, which was codified and perhaps best exemplified by Guru Gobind Singh’s establishment of the *Khalsa*. This interest and expertise in battle and military affairs was not lost on Sikh Americans. In fact, Sikh Americans, including Bhagat Singh Thind (who, in a seminal U.S. Supreme Court decision, was denied naturalized citizenship because he was not considered “white”), joined and fought with the U.S. Army in World War I and World War II. Sikh Americans joined the call to arms in the wake of the 9/11 attacks as well. In 2003, Sergeant Uday Singh was killed when in service in Iraq. The first Sikh American soldier in the U.S. forces killed in the war in Iraq, Sgt. Singh’s grave marker is the first at Arlington National Cemetery to contain a Sikh symbol.

The terrorist attacks of 9/11 represented the start of a defining era for Sikhs in the United States. Because of Sikhs’ physical appearance and the fact that the architects of the attacks, Osama bin Laden and others, wear turbans and have long beards, Sikhs encountered significant hate violence and discrimination. This mistreatment began almost immediately after the attacks

themselves and has continued in the years since that fateful Tuesday morning. For example, literally as the Twin Towers fell, Amrik Singh Chawla was chased, in Manhattan, by a group of men who insisted that Chawla take off his turban. (Incidentally, a Sikh, Dr. Navinderdeep Singh Nijher, was one of the first medical responders to Ground Zero.) The mistaken connection between Sikhs and al-Qaeda, and the backlash against Sikhs, were, in other words, almost instantaneously activated upon the attacks. Sikhs, as a result, were contending with both the general concern about the possibility of another attack on the American homeland, and an additional concern that they would be subjected to violence from their fellow Americans.

In a high-profile incident, on 9/11, Sher Singh was taken off of an Amtrak train in New England, for no other reason than his appearance and the belief that he was affiliated with the 9/11 terrorists. His detention attracted national attention, and he was portrayed, in his turban and flowing beard, as a suspected terrorist. (He was later cleared of all serious wrongdoing, charged only with carrying a concealed weapon, though his exoneration did not make the news, thus leaving the negative impression related to Sikh identity uncorrected as to the public.)

A number of other hate incidents occurred on 9/11, and this considerable spike in bias crimes were noted by the federal government and President George W. Bush, who was the most prominent official to, among other things, appeal for tolerance and implore Americans to be mindful of the view that targeting Muslims and those perceived to be Muslim was “un-American.”

Despite these formal protestations, Sikhs’ worst fears with respect to the backlash were realized on September 15, 2001, when Balbir Singh Sodhi was killed in Mesa, Arizona by a self-proclaimed “patriot” who sought that day to kill some “ragheads.” (The utterance of such epithets, including “raghead” and “camel jockey” were not infrequent prior to 9/11, but became a more regular part of the Sikh American experience after 9/11. “Bin Laden” or “terrorist” joined the catalogue of preferred insults hurled at Sikhs following 9/11.) Sodhi’s murder garnered national press and reinvigorated Sikh efforts to combat the misperception that they were connected to terrorist elements and the ignorance of Sikhism and Sikh identity.

Though Sikhs had been present in the United States for over 100 years at this point, and though the community had grown in large numbers in the last five decades, Sikhs lacked a structure or framework with which to manage and engage in these necessary efforts. The Sikh American response to 9/11 was therefore *ad hoc*. Springing from the tragedy and the backlash were two civil rights organizations, the Sikh Coalition and the Sikh American Legal Defense and Education Fund, which assumed responsibility, on behalf of the community, to respond to inaccurate representations of Sikhs in the media, remonstrate with the government about the mistreatment of Sikhs, build relationships and express solidarity with organizations from other affected groups, and to generally advocate for the welfare of the Sikhs relative to all aspects of post-9/11 discrimination.

This formal approach was critical, given the scope of the discrimination against Sikhs. Indeed, aside from murder, stabbings, physical assaults, and verbal harassment, Sikhs have been profiled, ejected from airplanes, terminated from and refused employment, and bullied in schools, among other things, all on account of their appearance and specifically some Americans' hostility to it. That is, Sikhs have encountered problems in various contexts and this mistreatment continues to the present day. The post-9/11 era exists nonetheless as a defining moment for Sikhs, not only as a people, but as a viable voice in the civil rights and national security policy arenas.

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See also Indian Americans; Saund, Dalip Singh; Sikh Temple Massacre (Oak Creek, WI) (2012); *United States v. Thind* (1923)

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Singaporeans in America

Numbering about 29,000 among some 200,000 overseas Singaporeans, Singapore citizens (or former citizens) living in America probably constitute one of the smallest—and youngest—national communities of Asian origin in the United States. Many of them are students or white-collar professionals and can be found clustered around the major cities of New York, San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Chicago. Over the last few decades, this migratory trend has picked up its pace markedly as Singapore developed into a fully fledged market economy. As the United States has been instrumental in the past to growing the island state's entrêpot economy in service of (U.S.-led) international trade, Singapore today has become one of the largest business and (re)export hubs globally with deep economic, political and cultural links to America. This has translated into increasing numbers of Singaporeans who migrate to the United States each year, pursuing career, investment, and educational opportunities that have been opened up because of these ties.

Singaporean immigrants to the United States are usually young(er), single, and, if married, without children. Although a fraction of these migrants eventually relinquish their Singaporean citizenship in exchange for an American one, most of them eventually return to the city-state or move on to third destinations. It is not uncommon for some to start a family and have children while in America. These children would have grown up accustomed to American culture, and they often have dual citizenship status until 21 years of age by Singapore law. Given the differing ways that

Singaporeans come to be a part of American society, describing these migrants collectively as “Singaporean Americans” may be a bit of a misnomer. An understanding of the migration and national history of Singapore is necessary to fully appreciate the complexity of this demography.

Singaporean Emigration

As a young nation established shortly following the end of British colonialism, Singapore is a tiny island-state in Southeast Asia better known for being a product of immigration than as a major exporter of human capital. Even in the post-independence era, the demographic makeup of the country continues to draw strength from, not so much the natural increase of its native population, but rather the influx of large numbers of “new” immigrants. Because of this constant inflow, the percentage of noncitizens—or, roughly, the foreign-born—in the city-state has increased from 9.6 percent to 36.4 percent in the short span of four decades (Singapore Department of Statistics, 2010). In recent years, particularly, with rapidly declining fertility rates, the Singaporean state has sought to greatly liberalize immigration policies to enable the sustainable growth of the city’s population through immigration (Yeoh and Lin, 2012). More than just increasing in absolute numbers, these recent entrants now hail from a diversity of countries and regions, and range from students and expatriates to temporary contract workers, marriage migrants, and other sojourners.

Appreciating this historical context of immigration in Singapore is crucial to coming to grips with the equally salient event of emigration out of the city-state. Unlike in other societies, Singaporean emigration is not necessarily negatively correlated with population inflows. On the contrary, the two may increase in tandem. The continual attrition of people amid high rates of immigration in fact reflects the social psyche of a nation that has long been exposed to a culture of itinerancy and self-enterprise. As much as immigrants are valued for their pragmatic contributions to the city-state, emigration has likewise been regarded by the people as a means to gain greater cultural capital and new opportunities for oneself. It is, in short, another side of the same coin of mobility and cosmopolitanism,

which has always been an essential part of this “mobile city” (Oswin and Yeoh 2010).

Notwithstanding, the valorization of mobility in Singapore is seldom a result of organic evolution, but is heavily abetted by the state. Much like how immigration is employed as a demographic control valve for meeting the city’s manpower needs, outbound travel among Singaporeans is encouraged by the government for economic reasons as well. Most notably, the Goh Chok Tong administration articulated in the 1990s a roadmap for the country that involved expanding Singapore’s economic sphere through a process called “regionalization,” later recalibrated as “globalization.” Part of this strategy involved supporting highly skilled citizens to undertake international business assignments and greenfield ventures overseas as part of their career development (Singapore 21 Committee, 1999). Promising youths, with an obligation to return, are also frequently sent to the United States, among other countries, on government scholarships for tertiary education and learning. Implicit in this rationale is thus the desire that these “cosmopolitans” would in time acquire new skills, come back and serve as economic extensions of the nation, helping Singapore enlarge its pie in various high-value and technologically advanced industries both locally and abroad. In this sense, Singaporean emigration is always understood to be temporary and reversible by design.

Transnational Singaporeans

Partly as a result of these socio-political ideals, Singaporean emigration is also a far more complex phenomenon than simply a linear trajectory of uproot, resettlement, and assimilation in the host country. Often involving the highly skilled, Singaporean emigrants are able to lead extremely mobile lives that allow them to continue meaningful ties with their home-state while “away.” Some of the practices that these transnational citizens adopt include maintaining regular telecommunicatory contact (e.g., phone calls, e-mail, and Skype) with relatives, friends, and business contacts, making frequent return trips to Singapore (or having people visit them), and keeping themselves abreast on the latest developments and news in the

city-state. Reciprocally, albeit with an element of contrivance, the Singaporean state has also been conscientious to engage this economic diaspora by providing them with relevant online newsfeed on Singapore (e.g., job opportunities and policy updates), organizing events, forums, and food fests in their cities of residence, and establishing relations offices worldwide that double as clubhouses, to moor overseas Singaporeans back “home.” Both voluntarily and institutionally, therefore, there is ostensibly a strong interest for transnational exchange between citizen and country. This strategic sense of mutual identification is furthermore being mediated and strengthened by a slew of cultural, business, and student associations, which serve as important rallying sites for an increasingly deterritorialized Singapore.

Transnationalism, however, is not just a practice of economic pragmatism or for the sake of national affiliation. One of the most common reasons why Singaporean emigrants endeavor to straddle between America and Singapore simultaneously concerns their wish to preserve their kinship ties with family members who have not emigrated with them. In some ways, this desire buys into the Singaporean state’s frequent emotional appeals to emigrants to continue to regard Singapore as home and a place of contribution, on account of these familial ties (Ho 2008). But, at the same time, transnational practices are also an indirect result of the tendency for families to “split” upon one or more members’ decision to emigrate, thereby necessitating long-distance contact. This may be because of residency restrictions overseas, financial and household constraints (see Willis and Yeoh 2000), or simply a lack of desire among those “left behind” to follow suit. Whatever the case, the challenges and burdens of reconciling such transnational distances can quickly surface when migration stints switch from being a temporary stint to something more indefinite. This is particularly the case for migrations to the United States, given the fact that many Singaporeans manage to secure more highly paid jobs and/or better career prospects than in Singapore.

One pressing issue arising from this persistent reliance on transnationalism concerns the disruptions to family life that such separations may bring. Although the problem of long-term separation of spouses is not

a common issue, it is customary for married Singaporean women among these to migrate as trailing spouses. Often, they have to withdraw their labor from the work economy in Singapore and accommodate to their husbands’ career ventures in America. This in turn translates into a need for these women to start new lives away from their parental families and/or employment of choice. In yet other cases, children going abroad to study in the United States can similarly introduce a mobile and unstable factor to the family. In particular, these young adults typically “leave behind” parents in Singapore (Lam et al. 2006), who, unlike their Hong Kong and Taiwanese counterparts, seldom show a predilection for joining their children overseas. Instead, in responding to this unintended long-distance separation, the onus falls upon the (retired) parents to maintain the integrity of the family unit through making visits halfway round the globe.

This is not to say that Singaporean emigrants are pursuing an unprofitable dream by choosing mobility over the certainties of sedentariness. In a society where globalization is greatly revered, transnationalism offers to its patrons new opportunities, perspectives, and, at times, the mark of elitism—qualities that the state desires for its *crème de la crème*. Yet, the increasing appetite for transnational modes of living among Singaporeans can inject a new dimension of unpredictability for the city-state as much as for individual lives. Whereas a stringent nationality regime that does not permit dual citizenships may ensure that most overseas Singaporeans remain politically tied to the nation—if for the sake of facilitating their future return (Ho 2008)—the heightened state of world-mindedness in the populace also means that Singapore faces a perennial threat of “brain drain,” as its people become more globally marketable and footloose. Able to restrain this permanent transience is now only the kinship ties that sustain a sense of home for these emigrants. In a place where mobility is the norm rather than the exception, propensities to take flight again, even upon return, appear to be a constant challenge as much as an asset.

Singaporeans in the United States

Studying why transnationalism is very much a staple part of these Singaporeans’ everyday experience has

the added benefit of shedding light on their distinctiveness as a community apart from other, often ethnically based Asian groups in the United States. Turning now to the perspective of the host society, the vast majority of these Singaporeans are recent, first-generation immigrants, who inevitably retain fresh memories of, and as earlier outlined, strong ties with their hometown. Although many in this small, middle-class community hold professional jobs that are in demand in the United States, only about 30 percent of them eventually take up the American citizenship (U.S. Census 2011), proving again that, for most of them, their sojourn is meant only to be transitory. The most common type of foreign status that these migrants possess in the United States is, in fact, that of an international student or a foreign employee in a specialty occupation (H-1B visa-holder). Following the implementation of the U.S.-Singapore Free Trade Agreement in 2004, a growing number has furthermore sought the even more transient, but readily available, H1B1 professional visa, which allows them easy, renewable access to the opportunities in the United States without having to be subject to the onerous requirements associated with more permanent forms of residency status (e.g., America's worldwide tax regime).

This general state of transience is furthermore complicated by the diversity of pathways through which members of this community come to live and work in America. Although one can generalize that the majority of them are employed in advanced sectors such as finance (in New York) and information technology (in the San Francisco Bay Area), their migrations are not easily reducible to a single schematic of family chain migration or a calculated practice of flexible citizenship (Lin and Yeoh 2011); instead, they are funneled through different routes made available through elaborate networks. Moving as education seekers who subsequently stay on to work in specialized fields such as in the arts; as intra-company transferees who later acquire permanent residency; as entrepreneurs and academics returning to their alma mater in the United States; as bankers who later move on to other world cities such as London; or as government officials who are required to return to Singapore after completing their missions, there are

simply no easy archetypes among Singaporean immigrants in America. Yet in this diversity are already numerous successful figures that have helped reinvigorate the American scene with a Singaporean brand of talent and work ethic. In a short span of just a few decades, these people have included singers (Corrinne May; Sun Ho; Anita Sarawak), artists (Ng Woon Lam; Wee Hong-Ling; John Clang), academics (Shih Choon Foong; Simon Ng; Chua Nam-Hai), and business leaders—many of whom have excelled and accomplished respectable results in their respective fields.

On a more cultural note, Singaporeans in America also continue to draw their identity from their common cultural roots in Singapore. In many American cities, they can be found loosely connected in the form of informal associations and clubs, which regularly organize social events, sometimes in conjunction with overseas Malaysians, during festive seasons such as Chinese New Year, Deepavali, and Singapore's National Day. Such displays of (extra) national unity and solidarity, however, do not preclude internal imbalances and slippages that can sometimes be uncovered on a closer look. One case in point is the exceptionally high percentage of Singaporean immigrants to the United States (as well as elsewhere) who are ethnic Chinese, a phenomenon that seems to contradict the multiracial character of the city-state. Accounting for some 70 percent of the population in Singapore, the Chinese—as opposed to the Malays and Indians—are often more highly educated, wealthier, and therefore more mobile than their non-Chinese counterparts. It is then not surprising that they also constitute by far the largest group of Singaporean “cosmopolitans” shuttling between the city-state and the United States. This is not to say that minority groups from Singapore are absent in the United States, but that Singaporean immigrants to America broadly follow these socioeconomic conventions, which appear to also impress themselves upon the American landscape in fairly racialized ways.

Turning to a slightly different register, a final observation, and an interesting departure from the overarching themes of globalization and transnationalism is perhaps provided by the segment of Singaporean immigrants who *do* ultimately settle down and

acquire U.S. citizenship. Excepting a small group of Singaporean “dissidents” who have relinquished their former citizenship for more complex political reasons, these “Singaporean Americans” are typically of the older generation, who have built their careers and families in the United States over long periods of time. Although they may still identify with other Singaporean immigrants, they are naturally more rooted to their communities in the United States, and are unlikely to return to Singapore. Additionally, many of them have raised children in their adopted homeland, who often have little or no recollection of Singapore. This estrangement is especially so for male children, who may have consciously been registered as American-only, rather than dual, citizens by their parents at birth, so that the need for them to serve in Singapore’s military service can be averted. Given that “Singaporeanness” is not an ethnicity but a nationality, this termination of official ties with Singapore also puts an end to these children’s claim that they are, or ever were, “Singaporean.” Instead, they simply are reclassified as “Asian” in the American context. Herein also lies the possibility that the “Singaporean American” label is but a short-lived and limited category, only applicable to those who can identify with both nations at the same time.

Closing Remarks

Clearly, Singaporeans in America are a diverse community composed of multiple typologies of well-educated and highly skilled migrants. Indeed, despite the small population size of Singapore, they hardly arrive in America for the same reasons, or on the same terms. Some have newly arrived and are still exploring their various options to settle, return, or relocate to a third country; others adapt to their new living environment by adopting a transnational lifestyle, maintaining contact with people back home; yet others simply embrace their new identity to the fullest, acquiring American citizenships for themselves and their families. Yet, amid all these different pathways, one thing is sure: For a people long accustomed to the ideals of mobility, moving to a foreign land promises new opportunities and hopes for a better future. These developments look set to continue into the future, and become even more complicated in time to come for Singapore. Particularly, in

view of the rapid influx of “new” immigrants into the city-state, and the increasing dilution of what “Singaporeanness” (used to) mean(s), it is certain that the face of the island nation, and “Singaporean Americans,” will never cease to morph at each global turn.

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See also Malaysian Americans; Transnational Political Behavior

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Siv, Sichan (1948–)

Sichan Siv is a retired Cambodian American diplomat who has served the U.S. government in several capacities, rising to the rank of ambassador when he

was the U.S. Representative to the United Nations Economic and Social Council from 2001 to 2006. Siv was born on March 1, 1948, in Pochentong, a village near Phnom Penh, Cambodia's capital. His father, a police chief, and an older sister both died when he was nine. His remarkable mother relied on her skills as a cook and caterer to support Sichan and his two remaining older siblings, the three children of the sister who had died, and her own youngest brother. Throughout his life, Siv has drawn strength and courage from the lessons of love, resiliency, determination, and hope that his mother taught him.

After graduating from high school, Siv was accepted in a training program for aspiring airline flight attendants after demonstrating his fluency in French, English, and Khmer, his native tongue. French was the language of instruction in his secondary school, so he knew it well; he picked up English by reading many books from the United States Information Service Library in Phnom Penh. Because his work schedule was flexible, he also enrolled simultaneously in three different curricula at the Royal University in Phnom Penh: law and economics, the humanities, and pedagogy. He also studied Japanese and German. After graduating at the top of his class in the Faculty of Pedagogy, he became a teacher.

Siv was working for Royal Air Cambodge, Cambodia's national carrier, when the country's legislature deposed Prince Norodom Sihanouk when the latter was out of the country in March 1970. Lon Nol, the defense minister, seized power and became the Prime Minister, changing Cambodia's government from a monarchy to a republic. For the next five years, the Lon Nol regime, supported by military and financial aid from the United States, fought a civil war with the Khmer Rouge, the most radical faction among the Communists in Cambodia. Before Sihanouk was deposed, the United States had started a secret bombing campaign over eastern Cambodia near the Cambodia-Vietnam border to kill North Vietnamese Communist, as well as Vietcong (South Vietnamese Communist) troops, and to destroy their weapons and ammunition caches. Communist forces were using eastern Cambodia as a staging area and a sanctuary as they fought against South Vietnamese and American troops. The ground and air war killed hundreds of

thousands of people and drove some 2 million Cambodian peasants (about a quarter of the total population) from their homes into Phnom Penh and other urban areas.

In this chaotic situation, Sichan Siv quit his teaching job and went to work for CARE (Cooperative for American Relief Everywhere). He used his linguistic skills to help CARE manage its multimillion-dollar humanitarian program in Cambodia. By early 1975, the Khmer Rouge had destroyed the boats plying the Mekong River that brought supplies to Phnom Penh, thereby cutting off a major lifeline to several million people seeking refuge in Phnom Penh. The Khmer Rouge also blocked all roads to the capital and destroyed railway tracks, leaving airlifts as the only way to bring food and other necessities into the city. When Khmer Rouge troops began a siege of Phnom Penh, the U.S. embassy informed CARE that space would be reserved for the agency's American personnel and a few of its Cambodian senior staff on the helicopters that would be used to evacuate Americans from Phnom Penh. Siv missed, by 30 minutes, the last helicopter flight out of the capital on April 12, 1975, because he was busy arranging a food delivery and he felt he could not leave without saying goodbye to his mother.

Khmer Rouge troops in all-black clothing and sandals made from rubber tires and armed with AK-47s, machine guns, bazookas, and grenade launchers marched into Phnom Penh on April 17. Siv's extended family and other residents were ordered to leave the city and go to their ancestral villages. The Siv family headed to the village where Siv's father had been born. Siv threw away his eyeglasses because a rumor was spreading that the Khmer Rouge intended to kill all educated people whom they considered to be "lackeys of capitalism and imperialism." He knew that with his university degree and employment in an airline company, two schools, and an American relief agency, his presence would endanger the rest of his family. His mother urged him to escape and bid him farewell with the words, "Remember what I have been telling you since you were a child: No matter what happens, never give up hope." She gave him her gold wedding ring, a gold necklace that her own father had given her, and a scarf.

Siv escaped on a bicycle in May 1975, carrying a bag of rice, some dried fish, the gifts from his mother, and some money. He repeatedly outwitted Khmer Rouge guards at checkpoints by telling them that he had just come from “serving *Angka*” (*Angka* means organization in Khmer; it was what the Khmer Rouge called themselves) and had a pass to go to the next village. People needed passes to get through these checkpoints, so Siv wrote his own. Most of the teenaged Khmer Rouge soldiers were illiterate so they did not know that the piece of paper he showed them was a fake. He kept pedaling toward the west, hoping to reach Thailand.

About a month after he left his family, he was detained by Khmer Rouge soldiers traveling with a convoy of trucks, vans, and cars all chained to each other and pulled by a huge International Harvester truck towing all the vehicles to Sisophon, a town near the Cambodian-Thai border. For the next eight months, Siv was forced to work in a brigade of 30 people who labored 18 to 20 hours a day under the hot sun with no rest. Each person was fed only one bowl of thin rice porridge with a few grains of salt per day. When the cooks managed to catch insects, lizards, snakes, or rats, those were added to the meal. Siv’s forced-labor brigade built levees and dams, repaired irrigation canals, and rebuilt roads, all with their bare hands. Every night, before being allowed to sleep, they had to listen to lectures about the Khmer Rouge revolution.

In November 1975 Siv was asked whether he knew how to operate a crane. He said “yes” even though he had no idea how cranes worked. Luckily for him, he found an instructional manual in the crane, which was used several times a week to lift huge logs on to trucks. During these trips to the border region where the logging operation was located, Siv studied the terrain and talked to local villagers who told him that the Thai border was about a day’s walk away and that the area was full of land mines. As the work at the logging site appeared to be coming to an end, Siv realized he had to escape as soon as possible.

One day, riding on top of the logs, he jumped off the truck but his jacket got caught in the large metal clamps that held the logs in place. He was dragged for about a mile before he managed to free himself.

The red dust made by the truck’s wheels camouflaged his daring escape. He ran into the jungle. To get his bearings, he looked at the trajectories of the sun and the moon to figure out which direction was west. After walking for three days in the jungle, he fell into a booby trap—a deep hole full of sharpened bamboo spikes—used to catch wild animals. What saved his life was his height. At six feet tall, the bamboo spikes lacerated his legs and abdomen but not his chest or head. Bleeding and in severe pain, he used all the strength he could muster to pull himself out of the hole. When pushing forward through the thick underbrush and trees, he heard a loudspeaker inviting people to a celebration at a Buddhist temple. As he walked toward the sound, he noticed sneaker prints in the dirt and realized he must have reached Thailand because no Khmer Rouge wore sneakers.

The monks at the temple sent word to Thai border guards who came to take Siv to their boss, who fed Siv a large meal and gave some medicine for his wounds. The border guards took him to a police station and then a prison where he was strip searched and interrogated. When his clothes were returned to him, he discovered that his mother’s wedding ring and necklace, as well as the money he had hidden in his clothing, were gone. The only gift from his mother that was left was her scarf. The prison’s warden told him that if he wanted to leave, he had to pay a bail equal to about U.S.\$40. Because all his money had been stolen, he asked the warden for permission to send a letter to Bangkok where he knew his former Japanese language teacher was working. The teacher and his wife came to the prison and paid the bail. Siv was taken to a refugee camp on the grounds of Wat Koh, a Thai Buddhist temple, where about 3,500 Cambodia refugees were being housed.

Siv thought that his fellow refugees were likely to be resettled in English-speaking countries, so he began teaching elementary English to about 200 people who wanted to learn the language. He also had his head shaved and became a novice monk at the local *wat* (which means Buddhist temple in Thai). He wrote the U.S. embassy in Bangkok and asked for help. When his closest colleague from CARE, who had moved to Sri Lanka after being evacuated from Phnom Penh, discovered that he had made it to Thailand, she wrote

and promised to do everything possible to get him resettled in the United States. His resettlement offer came in June 1976 when Robert and Nancy Charles of Wallingford, Connecticut, who had lived in Thailand when Mr. Charles was the Peace Corps director in northeastern Thailand, offered to sponsor him.

After arriving in the United States on June 4, 1976, Siv was determined to become self-sufficient as quickly as possible. He found a job picking apples, then worked in a Friendly Ice Cream Store. He moved to New York City in January 1977 where he worked as an assistant cashier in a restaurant, then as a taxi driver, quickly memorizing the names and locations of streets in New York City. As refugees from Cambodia, Vietnam, and Laos landed in the United States in increasing numbers, Siv became a social worker first at the Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service, then in the office of the Episcopal Church's Presiding Bishops' Fund for World Relief.

He yearned to go to graduate school and wrote letters to many universities seeking admission. Columbia University's School of International Affairs admitted him with a full scholarship. Just as he was packing up to move into a dormitory at Columbia, he received a letter from a childhood friend who had reached a refugee camp in Thailand. The letter told him that 15 members of his family, including his mother, had been killed by the Khmer Rouge. He found a Thai Buddhist temple in New York City and asked the head monk to shave his head so that he could mourn their deaths. After receiving his MA in international affairs, he worked as a financial analyst at a bank. He became a naturalized U.S. citizen in 1982; he married a Texan, Martha Lee Pattillo, who had worked at a United Nations agency in Bangkok, in 1983.

During the years when Siv was making a new life for himself in the United States, a momentous chain of events was taking place in Cambodia. On Christmas day 1978, 100,000 Vietnamese troops and a sizable contingent of Khmer Rouge defectors who had found sanctuary in Vietnam invaded Cambodia. They encountered no resistance along the way and marched into Phnom Penh on January 7, 1979. Khmer Rouge leaders fled into the jungle, taking about 40,000 soldiers with them. The Vietnamese set up a new government led by two young former Khmer Rouge

military commanders, Heng Samrin and Hun Sen, both of whom remain prominent today—Heng in an honorific position and Hun as prime minister of Cambodia.

A coalition of “strange bedfellows,” made up of forces loyal to Prince Sihanouk, adherents of Son Sann who had served as a prime minister under Sihanouk, and civilian leaders of the Khmer Rouge, held Cambodia's seat at the United Nations. The only thing these three groups had in common was their desire to kick the Vietnamese out of their country. The United States was so anti-Vietnam during this period that it ignored Khmer Rouge atrocities and supported the coalition because the United States also wanted to end the Vietnamese occupation. When former Prime Minister Son Sann discovered that Siv was in New York, he asked Siv to help his faction at the United Nations. Siv and his colleagues lobbied U.S. lawmakers, the White House, and UN delegations from Southeast Asian countries, meanwhile giving many interviews to the U.S. mass media and talks to organizations to tell Americans about the plight of the Cambodian refugees who had found their way to makeshift refugee camps along the Thai-Cambodian border where they faced starvation. After 10 years of armed conflict between the troops of the Vietnamese-sponsored government and those supporting the three coalition members on both sides of the Thai-Cambodian border, the Vietnamese finally withdrew their forces in 1989. The United Nations brokered a peace settlement in 1991 and supervised national elections in 1993 that finally brought a measure of peace to the devastated country.

Meanwhile, Siv got involved in U.S. electoral politics. He worked as a volunteer in the presidential campaign of George H. W. Bush (the father) who was President Ronald Reagan's vice president. After Bush won the 1988 elections, Republican operatives who had been impressed by Siv's dedication suggested that he be considered for a job in the White House. He was hired as President Bush's deputy assistant for public liaison—the first Asian American to hold such a high post within the White House. Siv and his colleagues in the Office of Public Liaison addressed a broad array of issues, helping the public to understand the Bush administration's policies and priorities. In addition, Siv participated in the planning process that led to the UN peace agreements on Cambodia.

He was one of the leaders of the U.S. delegation to the Paris Conference on Cambodia in October 1991. He was also a member of the U.S. mission to Cambodia in 1992 as UN peacekeeping troops arrived to carry out the repatriation of 370,000 refugees from the Thai-Cambodian border camps and get them resettled in Cambodia, to register people to vote, and to supervise the 1993 elections. Siv had a personal quest as well: by talking to villagers, he found the spot where his family had been killed. He had a Buddhist memorial service performed at that location and another one in Pochentong, his birthplace.

Siv left his White House job in January 1993 after Bill Clinton won the 1992 presidential elections. However, when George W. Bush (the son) became president, he appointed Siv to the UN Commission on Human Rights and soon after that as the U.S. Representative to the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) with the rank of ambassador in 2001—a post that required U.S. Senate confirmation. ECOSOC is responsible for promoting economic, social, and health-related developments around the world; dealing with humanitarian crises wherever they may arise; and coordinating UN General Assembly affairs. Siv was particularly concerned about human trafficking and worked hard to help find ways to end that evil practice. Veteran diplomat John Negroponte was the U.S. Chief of Mission at the time and he and Siv got along very well. The sociable, affable, and multilingual Siv tried to become friends with as many of the 250 other ambassador-level representatives at the UN as possible, but U.S. personnel did not socialize with representatives from Cuba, Iran, Iraq, North Korea, and Libya though they did work professionally with them. Siv recalls with pleasure that in November 2003 he delivered, in Spanish, the U.S. statement on the trade embargo against Cuba.

After five hectic years at the UN, Siv retired in 2006. He wrote his autobiography, *Golden Bones: An Extraordinary Journey from Hell in Cambodia to a New Life in America*, which was published in 2008. “Golden Bones” is a Cambodian term for people who are particularly lucky. He now spends time giving talks, traveling, riding horses as a Texas cowboy, and serving as the Texas State commissioner on holocaust and genocide. He had taken flying lessons in the

1980s and has a pilot’s license, which allows him to be a volunteer in the U.S. Air Force Auxiliary Civil Air Patrol and the San Antonio Aviation Police. He and his wife have settled down in San Antonio, Texas, but they still travel widely. He attends services at the Presbyterian Church in San Antonio, his wife’s denomination, but continues to say Buddhist prayers everyday in front of his mother’s scarf.

Sucheng Chan

See also Cambodian Americans

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Son, Diana (1965–)

Born in Philadelphia and raised in Delaware, Diana Son became interested in writing at an early age. When she was in the fourth grade, an essay she wrote on Thanksgiving was chosen as the best in the class. This acknowledgment created her interest in writing. A few years later when in high school in Dover, Delaware, her class made a field trip to New York to attend *Hamlet* produced by Joseph Papp and featuring a woman, Diane Venora, as Hamlet. This feature of the play with a woman playing Hamlet impressed Son, who felt that this casting choice enabled her to better relate to the character of Hamlet as a woman. This kindled an interest in drama and literature, and Son went on to pursue a bachelor’s degree in dramatic literature at New York University from 1983 to 1987.

Her landmark play, *Stop Kiss* (1998), premiered Off-Broadway at The Public Theater. Reviewer Simon Saltzman referred to the play as “a funny, poignant,

horrifying, and finally inspiring urban play.” The play was named one of the best plays of 1999 by the *New York Times*. The play also won the GLAAD (Gay and Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation) media award for best New York production. *Stop Kiss* explored the lives of two young women in New York City, as they find themselves falling in love with each other. The key theme of the play was the simple basic fact that everyone is entitled to find love, no matter the gender or color of the individual. Indeed the play transcends the specifics of a gay romance and looks at the broader theme of commitment, personal identity, and love. *Stop Kiss* has been performed by over a hundred theater companies from New York to London to Seattle. The initial premise for casting the play was to examine the racial diversity of New York. However in productions outside of New York City, this has not been the case, much to the consternation of the playwright.

Satellites (2006), which opened at The Public Theatre in New York City, was a conscious effort to examine interracial relationships. The characters in question, a Korean American woman and an African American man, were in a sense complex, as they did not really have a clear sense of their ethnicity. It is indeed ironical that such a juxtaposition of characters would create an interesting dynamic between the black and Korean communities.

Boy (1996) premiered at the La Jolla Playhouse, San Diego under the direction of Michael Greif. The premise of the play revolved around a couple who are blessed with a fourth daughter, but are determined to let everyone believe that this child is a desperately needed boy. It is autobiographical to a degree, in that on Son’s mother’s side there were six siblings, all girls. A son was greatly desired, but after six daughters, her grandparents decide to adopt a boy.

Fishes (1998) opened first at the People’s Light and Theatre Company in Malvern, Pennsylvania and then moved on to New York City. In this play, Son turned to the intricacies of a mother-daughter relationship. *R.A.W. ('Cause I’m a Woman)* (1993) was a short play that premiered at the Ohio Theatre in SoHo. The letters in the title stand for Raunchy Asian Woman. It was first developed at the Asian American Playwrights Lab and featured four Asian women responding to images of Asian women stereotypes.

Son has been the recipient of many awards. She won a NEA/TCG Residency grant to work at the Mark Taper Forum, Los Angeles. She has also worked with the National Theatre in London with a Brooks Atkinson Fellowship.

Son has branched out from playwriting to include an impressive array of credits in television and screenwriting. Son has served as an executive producer for the television series, *Law and Order: Criminal Intent*. She has also written many television pilots, worked on a film for Showtime and also worked in the area of feature films for Fine Line Pictures and Robert Greenwald Productions. She is quoted as saying, “I write for TV, for the money, full stop.” On the other hand television writing has only served to strengthen her plot writing skills. Son has also taught at various educational institutions like Yale and New York University. Currently she has taken a hiatus from teaching to raise her children. However, teaching is something that she would love to go back to in a few years down the road.

Ambi Harsha

See also Hollywood, Asian Americans in

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Sone, Monica (1919–2011)

Born on September 1, 1919, Monica Sone (Kazuko Itoi) is best known for her semiautobiographical memoir *Nisei Daughter*, which illuminates the experience of a Japanese American girl coming of age during the pre-war and World War II era in the Pacific Northwest. Although her memoir is noted for its light and humorous tone, *Nisei Daughter* expresses some of the Nisei or second-generation Japanese Americans’ concerns and shows the struggles they experienced from the expectations of their families, communities, and mainstream society. For example, Sone’s first person narrative begins with her parents’ announcement that she is to attend Japanese language school. It is this shocking moment when she realizes that she is Japanese and must grapple with what it means to be different.

As the memoir progresses she continues to address these moments of difference as a young adult, from being denied as renters because she was Japanese American to furthering her education. She had originally intended to attend the University of Washington, but her parents decided to send her to business school to work as a stenographer or typist. Because it was difficult for Nisei to gain employment despite the degrees they held and because of the growing tensions between the United States and Japan, these types of decisions were not uncommon. She finishes business school early in the hopes of attending a four-year university only to find herself admitted to the North Pines Sanitarium for tuberculosis.

After being discharged after nine months of treatment, she returns home only for her world to change again with the bombing of Pearl Harbor and the subsequent internment of Japanese Americans. Although Sone does address the harsh conditions of internment: being forcibly moved from her home, harsh living conditions, and feeling like the enemy, she also documents family moments that are happier, including her brother's wedding. The narrative ends hopefully with Sone's character enjoying her college education and finally coming to terms with both her Japanese and American identities. This narrative of one Japanese American woman's coming to terms with the complexity of her identity that ultimately resolves in the blending of the two is a much discussed issue for the second generation. But at the same time, her life story is so much more than a commentary on being Japanese and American because it complicates this resolved narrative of assimilation by commenting upon the continuing racial discrimination and violence that lingers long after her release from internment.

Nisei Daughter was first published in 1953 and reprinted in 1979 coinciding with the Japanese American Citizens League's campaign for redress and restitution. Sone's tone is serious and urgent as she passionately writes in the 1979 edition's preface that the memories of internment are never to be forgotten, not only to acknowledge a wrong that was committed by a nation but to discourage further injustices. *Nisei Daughter's* articulation of a young Japanese American woman's experiences serve as one of those accusing memories. Its reprinting reminds other Japanese

Americans to also partake in a bit of storytelling, to share with the nation about a time when Japanese Americans were incarcerated because of their race and to point to the fragility of civil liberties. Sone's work is an important record of Japanese American history and continues to be taught in classrooms throughout the United States.

Much like her memoir, Sone was born to Issei (first-generation Japanese) parents in Seattle, Washington, both of whom were intellectuals in Japan. Her mother, the daughter of a Japanese Christian minister would often write poetry whereas her father was an aspiring law student before immigrating. Sone spent her childhood in a hotel managed by her father on Skid Road that allowed her more interaction with white society. Sone was also a patient at Firland Sanitarium in North Seattle where she met and befriended fellow writer, Betty MacDonald. During World War II, Sone and her family were forcibly relocated to Camp Harmony in Puyallup, Washington and later interned at Minidoka War Relocation Center in Idaho. Through the assistance of the Student Relocation Council, Sone was able to leave Minidoka to attend Hanover College in southern Indiana. From there she went on to Case Western Reserve University where she graduated with a degree in clinical psychology. She later married Geary Sone, a Nisei veteran and eventually settled in Canton, Ohio with their four children: Philip Geary, Susan Mari, Peter Seiji, and John Kenzo. Monica Sone passed away on September 5, 2011.

Wendi Yamashita

See also Japanese American Women in the 1930s; Japanese Americans

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Soong Mei-ling (1898–2003)

Soong Mei-ling (Soong Mayling), also known as Madame Chiang Kai-shek, was born in 1898, the

fourth of six children and the youngest of three daughters of Charles (Charlie) Jones Soong (1863/1866–1918), a prominent Shanghai businessman and a Southern Methodist missionary, and Ni Kwei-tseng (Guizhen, 1869–1931), the favorite daughter from one of the most illustrious families in China. Madame Chiang was the first Chinese and second woman to address both chambers of the U.S. Congress, a patron of the International Red Cross Committee, honorary chair of the British United Aid to China Fund, and First Honorary Member of the Bill of Rights Commemorative Society. Ernest Hemingway called her the “empress” of China. She died in New York City in 2003, at the age of 105. Her published works include *This is Our China* (1940), *The Sure Victory* (1955), and two volumes of selected speeches.



Soong Mei-ling (Madame Chiang Kai-shek). (Library of Congress)

The Soong Family

Soong Mei-ling’s mother, Ni, was a Christian and received a Western education from a mission school for girls. Mei-ling’s father, Charlie, studied theology at Vanderbilt University in Nashville, Tennessee before returning to China as a missionary for the Methodist Church. He quickly vaulted into China’s aristocracy after marrying Mei-ling’s mother. Charlie met Sun Yat-sen in 1892 and later became one of Sun’s closest confidants and supporters.

Mei-ling and her sisters are known as the Soong sisters partly because of their prominent political involvement and influences in Modern China. Mei-ling’s eldest sister Ai-ling (Eling, 1890–1973) married Kung Hsiang-hsi (Kong Xiangxi, 1881–1967), also known as H. H. Kung, the finance minister in the Kuomintang (KMT, or Guomindang, GMD) or Nationalist Party. The second of the three daughters, Ching-ling (Qingling, 1893–1981), married Sun Yat-sen (1866–1925), the founder of the Republic of China, and became joint president of the People’s Republic of China from 1968 to 1972, and honorary president in 1981, just before the passing of the Constitution in 1982. Mei-ling married Generalissimo and President Chiang Kai-shek. After the defeat of Chiang Kai-shek’s Republic of China (ROC) government in the Chinese Civil War in 1949, Mei-ling followed her husband to Taiwan, whereas her sister Ching-ling, siding with the Communist People’s Republic of China, stayed on the mainland.

Education

Soong Mei-ling left home with Ching-ling to go to Wesleyan in 1907, following in their elder sister Ai-ling’s footsteps. They first studied for a year at a small private boarding school in Summit, New Jersey. Ai-ling returned to Shanghai after graduation in 1909. Mei-ling attended Piedmont College for a year, before returning to Wesleyan in 1910. After Ching-ling graduated from Wesleyan in 1913, Mei-ling transferred to Wellesley College near Boston where her brother T. V. was attending Harvard at the time. She graduated from Wellesley College in 1917 at the age of 20, as one of the 33 Durant Scholars, recipients of

the highest academic honor conferred by the college, with a major in English literature and a minor in philosophy. She was also a member of Tau Zeta Epsilon, Wellesley's Arts and Music Society.

After she returned to Shanghai following her graduation from Wellesley, Soong Mei-ling began teaching English at the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA). In addition, Mei-ling founded the McTyeire Society with the support of Ai-ling and other upper-class Shanghai women to raise funds for the Shanghai private girls' school and served as president of the American Women's College Club in Shanghai. Mei-ling also served on the Film Censorship Committee of China, which screened all films before they were exhibited in China and censored those with derogatory portrayals of the country. Mei-ling's fluency in Mandarin was crucial to establish her legitimacy among the Chinese as the country tried to define a national culture distinct from foreign influences. During the next decade, Mei-ling increasingly participated in the civic culture of Shanghai as a socialite and as a volunteer in reform efforts.

Marriage with Chiang Kai-shek

Soong Mei-ling met Chiang Kai-shek in 1920 when she was 22 years old, and Chiang 11 years her elder. Chiang Kai-shek was educated abroad at a Japanese military academy, and was put in charge by Sun Yat-sen of founding and directing the National Military Academy, where he trained a loyal group of highly skilled army officers and quickly established his reputation in the KMT/Nationalist Party. Chiang Kai-shek was already married twice before he met Soong Mei-ling and had two children. Chiang Kai-shek and Soong Mei-ling met at a Christmas party at Sun Yat-sen's home in Shanghai given by her older brother, T. V.

Mei-ling and Chiang shared similar backgrounds, including an education abroad, merchant parents, an intense nationalism, a deep resentment of foreign imperialism, and a conviction that the Chinese would be shaped into a modern vital nation, even if force were required. It is also believed that there were political considerations from both sides. The Soong family would profit from Chiang's rise to power, and by marrying Mei-ling, Chiang could claim Sun Yat-sen as his

brother-in-law to gain further legitimacy in the KMT. Ai-ling's husband, H. H. Kung, a wealthy industrialist and banker, also was invested in opposing the Communists. The only person in the Soong family that did not like this alliance was Ching-ling, who had reacted strongly against Chiang's actions in Shanghai, when he killed over 5,000 people with leftist or Communist connections in an attempt to eradicate the Communists in Shanghai.

When Chiang and Mei-ling were married in 1927, they had two weddings, one traditional Chinese and one Christian. The secretary of the YMCA performed the Christian ceremony before 1,000 guests, followed by a traditional ceremony. The ceremony was covered in all of the local press and was one of the year's major social events. Ching-ling did not attend the wedding because she believed that Chiang had betrayed Sun and her late husband's ideals. T. V., Mei-ling's older brother was appointed by Chiang in 1928 to manage the finances of the KMT/Nationalist government.

Soong Mei-ling and Chiang Kai-shek's marriage was a local and international political event. Officials in the U.S. Department of State's Far Eastern Division noted their marriage with interest, as Mei-ling's devotion to Christianity and active involvement in civic and government activities were seen as signs of modernization and westernization of China. As Chiang continued to fight against Chinese Communists, Mei-ling formed a women's club to care for wounded foreign and Chinese soldiers, and proposed a committee of Protestant missions to evangelize in major governmental hospitals, and worked to involve churches in developing the rural areas that were affected by flood, famine, or war. She also began two schools in Nanjing for the children of Nationalist soldiers who had been killed.

Roles in International and Domestic Politics

Soong received greater international attention when Chiang Kai-shek was held hostage in Sian (Xian) in 1936 by his associate Chang Hsueh-liang, known as the Young Marshal. Mei-ling, her brother T. V., and Chiang's advisor, W. H. Donald flew to Sian to negotiate for Chiang's release. What was less known was that Chang and Chou En-lai of the CCP, during this

event, helped negotiate an end to the hostilities between the two parties, suspended China's internal political conflict, and Chiang Kai-shek emerged as the leader of the united front of China against Japan.

In the United States, the *New York Times* featured on its front page excerpts from Chiang's diary and Mei-ling's account of the event, which led to a book publicizing Mei-ling's role in converting Chiang to Christianity and her political leadership in China's political transformation. Although there were Americans, such as Pearl S. Buck, who had a more critical eye toward the couple, the publisher of *Time* and *Life* magazines, Henry Luce, along with many other Americans believed that the couple contributed to the positive relationship between the United States and China. Luce placed the Chiangs on the cover of *Time* as "Man and Women of the Year" in 1937.

Soong Mei-ling was a member of the Legislative Yuan from 1930 to 1932, and headed the conservative New Life movement from 1934 with the goals to raise public morals, impose modest dress, and uphold women's family roles. From 1935 on, Soong Mei-ling and her elder sister, Ching-ling, Sun Yat-sen's widow, worked together mobilizing women for the war. Speaking perfect English, Soong Mei-ling was invaluable to Chiang in his relations with the United States. She was appointed by Chiang as the Secretary-General of the Chinese Aeronautical Affairs Commission from 1936 to 1938. In 1945, she became a member of the Central Executive Committee of the KMT. As Chiang Kai-shek rose to become generalissimo and leader of the KMT, Soong Mei-ling acted as his English translator, secretary, and advisor. During War World II, Soong Mei-ling worked on promoting the Chinese cause and building a legacy for Chiang Kai-shek to be on par with Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin.

Soong Mei-ling's visible and official role in the Chinese KMT/Nationalist government was praised by some Americans as evidence of the influence the United States had on China, but this is questioned by many Chinese and Chinese military leaders. Even though it is difficult to ascertain how much power she actually had, the image of Mei-ling sharing power with Chiang, the generalissimo, in a companionate marriage gained sympathy from the United States, but did not endear her to Chinese nationalists.

After the United States entered World War II, with China and the United States now sharing a front against Japan, Soong Mei-ling was invited by then first lady Eleanor Roosevelt to visit the United States as a guest of the president and first lady at the White House in 1943. She was also invited to address both the House and Senate of the U.S. Congress. The speech was nationally broadcast and made a huge impact on the U.S. public. Madame Chiang then embarked on a six-week speaking tour across the country and gathered support along the way, increasing donations to China relief organizations by 200 percent. The media and the public were fascinated with the "new China" and Madame Chiang Kai-shek.

At the same time, during Madame Chiang's stay in the United States, rumors emerged among diplomatic circles that her marriage was failing, that Chiang Kai-shek's second wife had moved back to live with him in ChongQing (ChungKing), and Chiang had impregnated another woman. There were also speculations about her possible refusal to have children and if she was fitting to be a "first lady." By the time Madame Chiang reached Los Angeles, her last stop in the speaking tour, she was severely ill and rumored to have had a nervous breakdown. Chiang Kai-shek was furious with the rumor reports and demanded that she returned to ChongQing immediately. However, after returning to ChongQing in late October, Soong Mei-ling and her sister Ai-ling left soon after for Brazil, further fueling the speculation about her marriage to Chiang.

During the war, more than \$3 billion was appropriated by the Congress to China, and most of it was transmitted through T. V. Soong, Mei-ling's brother. In 1948, Soong Mei-ling traveled to Washington again to appeal for emergency aid for Chiang's war against the Chinese Communists, but she was unsuccessful this time. President Harry Truman kept her out of the White House. Later he told one of his biographers that Madame and President Chiang, the Soong family, and the Kungs had swallowed up too much money from the U.S. aid to China.

Late Life

After Chiang Kai-shek died in 1975, Soong Mei-ling assumed a low profile and moved to Lattingtown,

Long Island, New York. In 1976, she was diagnosed with breast cancer and had a mastectomy, and later, a second one. In 1981, she refused the invitation to attend her sister Ching-ling's funeral in China. When Chiang Kai-shek's successor and his eldest son, Chiang Ching-kuo, died in 1988, Soong Mei-ling returned to Taiwan briefly. She made her last visit to Taiwan in 1995. In the same year, Soong Mei-ling made a rare public appearance attending a reception held on Capitol Hill in her honor in connection with celebrations of the 50th anniversary of the end of World War II.

Soong Mei-ling sold her Long Island estate in 2000 and spent the rest of her life in Gracie Square apartment on the Upper East Side of Manhattan, in which she died in her sleep on October 23, 2003. Her remains were laid to rest at Ferncliff Cemetery in Hartsdale, New York, and it was stated that she wish to be buried in mainland China with Chiang Kai-shek after the political differences between the Republic of China and the People's Republic of China are resolved. Chiang is currently entombed in Cihu, Taiwan.

Yuying Tsong

See also Chinese Americans and World War II; Sun Yat-sen; Taiwanese Americans

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South Asian American Transnational Politics

On September 25, 2006, outside a hotel in Manhattan, hundreds of Pakistani immigrants were assembled in two separate groups on the eve of Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf's visit to New York City to attend the United Nations General Assembly. The two groups were there to express their views about the prevailing conditions in Pakistan, particularly about the legitimacy of military rule being led by President Pervez Musharraf. Those opposed to the military rule and Musharraf's regime were being led by Asian-American Network against Abuse of Human Rights (ANAA), a nonprofit U.S.-based group of Pakistani immigrants for restoration of human rights in Pakistan. The group held a meeting earlier that day to discuss the ways to highlight human rights violations in Pakistan through lobbying and activism in the United States. Pakistani immigrant activists from all across the United States had traveled to join the meeting and protest against the military regime in Pakistan. The counterprotest to express support for the military regime was also attended by a significant number of Pakistani immigrants.

On May 3, 2006, around 200 Indian Americans from all across the United States attended a White House briefing led by Karl Rove on the importance of the U.S.-India Civil Nuclear Deal for both the United States and India. The group traveled to Washington, D.C. to meet the members of Congress from their respective areas to lobby for the passage of U.S.-India Civil Nuclear Deal. The effort was a part of the lobbying campaign launched by various organizations of Indian immigrants to push for the passage of the U.S.-India Civil Nuclear Deal through the Congress.

The above two descriptions are contemporary examples of the numerous ways in which South Asian immigrants engage with transnational politics. South Asians in the United States have a long history of transnational political engagement. The earliest group of immigrants from South Asia came to the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century when India was a British colony. The British colonial rule in India was an issue of major concern among

South Asian immigrants, and scholars have documented a rich history of transnational political engagement in the United States in support of the anticolonial struggle. The Hindi Association of Pacific Coast, more popularly known as the Ghadar party (meaning mutiny or revolution), was founded in 1913 in Oregon with the aim of liberating India from British colonialism by all means possible. The group had its ardent followers among laborers from India in California, Washington, and Oregon and a handful of Indian students enrolled in different U.S. universities. The racialized condition of migrants from India in the mills and farms of the Pacific Coast in early twentieth century also shaped the organizing efforts of the Ghadar party. The Ghadar movement in the United States was broad enough to draw Sikhs, Muslims, and Hindus, and it developed into a group that attracted political rebels, students, intellectuals, workers, and farmers alike.

The current forms of transnational politics emerged after the Hart-Celler immigration reform in 1965 that inaugurated a new phase of immigration from South Asian countries to the United States. The period after 1965 has seen immigration from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, and other South Asian countries. This new phase of immigration from South Asia brought a significant number of educated professionals, particularly from India and Pakistan. The flow of immigration from South Asia has steadily increased in the last 40 years and now the community includes professionals, small entrepreneurs, and working-class populations. Technological innovations leading to ease of mobility and communication have brought the world closer and provided the immigrant communities the tools and resources to maintain strong transnational lives and strengthened their transnational political engagements. The recent trends of political engagement among South Asians in the United States suggest that there are three kinds of organizations that either directly or indirectly get involved in transnational politics. First, there are lobbying organizations that are active on U.S. foreign policy issues relating to their countries of origin. One of the most prominent examples of this kind is USINPAC, which claims to represent the interests of the Indian American community on Capitol Hill, and it gets heavily involved in lobbying on issues related to India. This commitment

of USINPAC was reflected in its important role in lobbying Congress in 2006 for the passage of the U.S.-India Civil Nuclear Deal. Along similar lines, Pakistani American Public Affairs Committee (PAK-PAC) claims to represent Pakistani Americans and lobbies with Congress on issues related to Pakistan. Bangladeshi immigrants have also been involved in attempts to create a group that can speak on behalf of Bangladeshi Americans in Washington, D.C. and can also support and lobby for Bangladesh on important issues. This kind of transnational political engagement is generally focused on countries of origin and can often lead to conflicting policy goals of different South Asian communities in the United States given the contentious relationship among South Asian countries. The continuation of the politics of ongoing rivalry between India and Pakistan by the Indian and Pakistani American community is an example of how transnational political engagements of diasporic communities can get entangled in nationalism emanating from the countries of origin.

The second category of South Asian groups engaged in transnational politics is more directly connected to political groups in the countries of origin. For instance, among Indian immigrants in the United States, there are groups that support two of the major political parties of India—the Indian National Congress Party (INC) and the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP). The U.S.-based Indian National Overseas Congress (INOC) and Overseas Friend of BJP (OFBJP) support the Congress party and BJP in India, respectively. They work toward creating networks of support for these political parties among Indian immigrants in the United States. In the last 10 to 15 years, BJP and its affiliates such as Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP) and Rashtriya Swayamsewak Sangh (RSS)—the groups that espouse a political ideology aimed at transforming India from a secular state to a theocratic Hindu state and engage in virulent anti-Muslim politics—have established organizations and associations in different parts of the United States to mobilize resources and support in favor of their political program and ideology.

Pakistani and Bangladeshi immigrant communities also have similar kinds of political formations. Because of a long history of military rule, political

parties are not that strong in Pakistan and that gets reflected in a relatively weak presence of Pakistani political parties and their affiliates in the Pakistani American community. However, Pakistani political parties such as Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP), Pakistani Muslim League (N), and Pakistani Muslim League (Q) do have their U.S.-based formations active in the community. More important, the Pakistani American community has also been deeply divided on the question of military rule and has seen a number of campaigns, rallies, and political meetings in the United States either in favor or against a former military general who retained both the presidency and his military office until very recently. A significant section of the Pakistani American community has also been involved in the struggle for democratic governance in Pakistan. Bangladeshi immigrants are relatively new to the United States and there is a very distinct pattern of transnational political involvement among Bangladeshi immigrants, reflective of an intense engagement of the community with the political process in Bangladesh. The intensity of engagement is reflected in the presence of major Bangladeshi political parties—Awami League, Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP), and Jamaite Islam—in all the major U.S. cities where Bangladeshi immigrants are settled. There are state and city branches of these political formations and the intense political rivalry and factionalism of Bangladeshi politics is played out in the United States.

The third category of organizations is different from the earlier two because these organizations engage in transnational activities that do not involve the formal political process. There are a number of organizations active among South Asian communities that focus on developmental work in the countries of origin. Even though a large majority of South Asian immigrants do not engage with the political process of their home countries in terms of joining groups and participating in activities related to political parties, a significant number of them do get involved in developmental or charity work in their countries of origin. The presence of organizations such as ASHA, Association for India's Development (AID), and India Development and Relief Fund (IDRF) along with many smaller initiatives is indicative of the engagement of the Indian immigrant community in the social

and developmental process. Among Pakistani and Bangladeshi American communities there are also similar organizations that focus on developmental work. Organizations such as Development in Literacy (DIL) and Human Development Foundation (HDF) carry out similar work of resource mobilization among Pakistani American community for developmental work in Pakistan. Organizations working along similar lines among Bangladeshi immigrants influence and enhance transnational engagement of these communities. These developmental organizations are nonpolitical in terms of their professed distance from different political parties and groups and their focus on economic development and social issues. However, a closer look at these organizations suggests that they are involved in a broad array of philanthropic, charity, civic, and political work in their countries of origin. Moreover, there is no strict separation between political and nonpolitical engagement. The example of India Development and Relief Fund is quite illustrative in this context. The work of resource mobilization by IDRF among Indian Americans for developmental projects in India became highly controversial when a watchdog group of Indian Americans—Campaign to Stop Funding Hate (CSFH)—came out with a report concluding that IDRF was funneling all of its money to charity organizations linked to Hindu right-wing groups such as RSS, BJP, and VHP, which believe in virulent anti-Muslim and anti-Christian ideology. The transnational work of IDRF was criticized by CSFH and other such groups for contributing to the politics of hate and communal violence in India. Apart from these dominant trends of transnational political engagement, there are smaller formations that have explicitly defined themselves as South Asian groups such as Forum of Indian Leftists (FOIL), Friends of South Asia (FOSA), Alliance for a Secular and Democratic South Asia, who work on issues of social justice in the region and have campaigned on a range of issues such as human rights, environment, displacement, minority rights, and religious conflicts.

The broader understanding of immigrant transnationalism has often emphasized its radical potential in terms of moving away from an assimilationist framework in the country of settlement and also advancing democratic transformation in countries of emigration.

However, the experience of transnational political engagement among South Asians in the United States underscores the need to cast a more critical lens on transnational political engagement. Alongside expanding the horizon of politics and opening up of political space for immigrant communities, transnational political engagement often brings forth the issue of narrow nationalism and the possibility of fracturing panethnic solidarity. The politics of lobbying for home country governments, as evident in lobbying for the U.S.-India Civil Nuclear Deal, points to the role of narrow nationalism in shaping the transnational political engagements of immigrant communities. The espousal of the politics of religious majoritarianism—as evident in resource mobilization for Hindu right-wing politics among the Indian American community—through transnational means underlines the complex nature of transnational political engagement. The South Asian experience suggests that although the transnational political engagement of immigrant communities opens up the space for political engagements of immigrant communities, the engagement produces a range of political outcomes ranging from increased democratization and egalitarian development to national chauvinism and religious extremism.

Sangay K. Mishra

See also Bangladeshi Americans; Cambodian Americans; Ghadar Party; Indian Americans; Indonesian Americans; Lao Americans; Malaysian Americans; Pakistani Americans; Singaporeans in America; Sri Lankan Americans; Thai Americans; Vietnamese Americans

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South Asian Communities, Little India and

See Little India and South Asian Communities

South Asian Ethnic Identity

Since the late 1980s, the term South Asian has emerged as a panethnic category to refer to immigrants and the children of immigrants from the South Asian subcontinent, generally including the nations of India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, and Bhutan. Increasingly, organizations of all types, especially second-generation organizations define themselves as South Asian, choosing this label over Indian American or other labels that refer to the national origins of their members. “South Asian” is not a racial or ethnic category in the U.S. Census and there are no clear-cut ways of measuring the overall adoption of South Asian ethnic identity. Although the term “South Asian” is commonly used in academic circles and some media accounts, it is not a given that immigrants from the subcontinent will ethnically identify themselves as such. However, South Asian ethnic identity is an emergent phenomenon, especially among second-generation South Asians who choose it as part of a multilayered process of ethnic self-identification. It is also significant in organizational contexts where panethnic mobilization is an effective strategy for combating discrimination and gaining political influence.

The term South Asian as a designation can be read on a number of different levels. The first is that it is the result of a racialization process, where people who originate from the subcontinent are placed in a racial category that distinguishes them from other Asians. Another meaning is around the idea of South Asian ethnic identity as a self-designated panethnic identity that recognizes a set of shared culture and shared experiences as members of a minority group. Sociologist Ann Morning describes the first process using Census data, demonstrating great variation in the self-identification of people from the subcontinent depending on factors such as

social class, education, and national origin. Recent scholarship has addressed the idea that South Asian identity is particularly salient for members of the second generation, in contrast to first generation South Asian immigrants who prefer to identify and socialize with those who share the same national and regional origins. Many second-generation members, who were not exposed to the political and religious antagonisms of the region, are increasingly adopting a South Asian identity in addition to being Indian, Pakistani or Bangladeshi, Sri Lankan, and so forth. The emergence of South Asian identity can be seen by the proliferation of South Asian student organizations on college campuses, second-generation organizations, and in the emergence of South Asian American political organizing. Indeed, many second-generation individuals first encounter the term “South Asian” on college campus, as many groups changed their names from “Indian” to South Asian to be more inclusive mirroring a similar phenomenon in the development of Asian American panethnicity.

As noted, among the first places that “South Asian” emerged, other than just a geopolitical designation, are college campuses and student organizations. The other area is in social movement organizations that formed to address issues of discrimination and social problems faced by the South Asian community, such as South Asian Lesbian and Gay Association (SALGA) and South Asian American Leaders of Tomorrow (SAALT). Scholars have noted that many in the second generation appear to embrace this broader identity based on similar “racial” appearance and common cultural values much in the same way that the Asian American social movement had emerged. The creation of a self-conscious “South Asian American” identity as both a sociocultural phenomenon and as a basis for political mobilization is subject to the complex interplay between external structural pressures and internal conflicts, ambivalence, and inequality within the immigrant and second-generation community. In the context of the racial landscape of the United States, South Asian is for some, a racial category as they are neither black, white, nor what most people view as “Asian.” Racialization and the promotion of panethnic identity are also critical in the mobilization strategies of political and social organizations that serve the larger community.

Although essentializing South Asian as a racial category is problematic, it has been a way for both individuals and organizations to situate themselves in the larger racial context of the United States. However, South Asian, although it may replace “Indian” in the names of organizations, is not a term that even the second generation uses exclusively in their ethnic self-identification. Much in the way that is described by scholars of Asian American panethnicity, it is one of multiple identities that shift and change according to the social and political context of the lives of individuals. Although many hope that widespread adoption of South Asian identity will lead to greater solidarity in the face of racism and discrimination, the actual picture is much more complex. Although some embrace South Asian identity as the basis for activism and political and legal struggles, others may be ambivalent about identifying themselves with groups within the South Asian community, namely Muslims from Pakistan and Bangladesh, who are seen as suspect both by the United States government and by “ordinary Americans.” Some South Asians, especially members of the second generation, may embrace panethnicity in their organizations, whether political or social justice social service, professional, or cultural oriented. South Asian ethnic identity might be attractive in its possibilities for creating a liberating sense of personal identity, divorced from the pressures of history or family.

Conversely, resistance to South Asian ethnic identity may be unsurprising given the experiences of Muslim South Asian immigrants in the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks.

For some, being “South Asian” may not be preferable to just being “Indian American” in a post-September 11 world where looking South Asian or vaguely Middle Eastern subjects one to discrimination, racial profiling, and suspicion in a larger societal context. Being considered “South Asian” may not reap the same rewards as identifying with a clear model minority like “Indian American,” an option that South Asians from Muslim majority Pakistan and Bangladesh do not have. For these individuals, “South Asian” may be an easier identity to adopt when being “Pakistani” results in associations with Islamic terrorism. Indian immigrants and Indian Americans, who

have had model minority status since their arrival to the United States post-1965, feel no such need especially given India's current reputation as an emerging economic power and its cultural cachet. South Asian ethnic identity is problematized when the majority (Indian Americans) may not choose to identify with groups (Muslim South Asians) who are more likely to carry the double burden of suspicion and lower social class status.

The development of South Asian ethnic identity is still in progress as large-scale immigration from South Asia is a recent phenomenon and the population is growing and diversifying. Successive generations and changing political and social contexts may result in greater adoption of panethnic identity both on the individual and in institutional contexts.

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See also Asian American Muslims; Authenticity in Asian American Identity; Bangladeshi Americans; Cambodian Americans; Indian Americans; Indonesian Americans; Lao Americans; Malaysian Americans; Pakistani Americans; Singaporeans in America; Sri Lankan Americans; Thai Americans; Vietnamese Americans

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Southeast Asian Academic Achievement

Southeast Asian Students in American Schools

The region of Southeast Asia includes the nations of Burma, Laos, Vietnam, Cambodia, Thailand, Malaysia, and the Philippines. American students who come from these countries or from families that trace their ancestry to these countries are relative newcomers to American schools. Before the 1970s, only the Philippines, a former U.S. colony, sent significant numbers of immigrants to the United States. However, even Filipino immigrants, and consequently the Filipino American student population, shot up sharply during the 1980s, a time of rapid growth for almost every part of the Asian American population. From 1980 to 1990, the numbers of Filipino Americans grew from about 800,000 to over 1,400,000. By 2000, their numbers had reached over 1,860,000 and increased further to nearly 2.5 million by 2009.

As the older Filipino American population expanded through large-scale immigration, new Southeast Asian groups began to establish themselves in American society and American schools. After 1970, some Thai immigrants began to arrive in this country as a result of loosened American immigration policies and connections between Thailand and the United States resulting from the alliance between these two countries during the Vietnam War. After the fall of Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos to Communist forces in 1975, large numbers of Vietnamese refugees and smaller numbers of refugees from Cambodia and Laos began resettling in the United States. During the 1980s, refugees from Cambodia and Laos increased greatly and more refugees came from Vietnam. Consequently, Southeast Asian students became common in American schools by the end of the twentieth century. The newcomer status of these students and the fact that American-born Southeast Asians only began to make up a large part of their numbers in the late twentieth century are important considerations when looking at Southeast Asian educational achievement.

Growth and Composition of the Southeast Asian Student Population

Between 1980 and 2009, the numbers of Southeast Asian students in American elementary and secondary schools grew from an estimated 330,000 to 883,000 and the numbers in American colleges grew from 102,000 to over 465,000. In 1980, Filipino students made up the majority of Southeast Asian students in this country, because close to 60 percent (or about 254,000) of the Southeast Asians in American schools were of Filipino origin. The newly arrived Vietnamese were the second-largest group of Southeast Asian students, comprising 28 percent (121,000) of the Southeast Asian American school population. By 2009, the total number of Filipino American students had grown to 615,000, but because of the rapid increase in other groups, the proportion of Southeast Asian students who were Filipino had gone down to 46 percent. Vietnamese students by 2009 had grown to one-third of all Southeast Asians enrolled in American educational institutions (438,000 pupils). Filipinos and Vietnamese, then, have made up most of the Southeast Asian students in the United States, and the Vietnamese proportion has been expanding for decades.

Aside from the Vietnamese, the refugee groups from Southeast Asia include the Lao, the Hmong (a minority group from Laos), and the Cambodians (also known as Khmer). Because the resettlement of these groups had only begun in 1980, they constituted only a small proportion (roughly 6 percent) of all Southeast Asian students in 1980. Ten years later in 1990, though, 7 percent of Southeast Asian students were Cambodian, 7 percent were Lao, and 5 percent were Hmong, so that about one-fifth of the Southeast Asian students came from these three groups.

The Image of the Southeast Asian Valedictorian

By the early 1980s, refugee Southeast Asian students were already receiving national publicity for their performance in American schools. The *Christian Science Monitor*, in an article published on June 9, 1983, reported the cases of three Vietnamese young people who had arrived in the United States as refugees speaking no English and had graduated as valedictorians.

The *Monitor* described the case of Dung Nguyen, who had received a congratulatory call from President Ronald Reagan when Nguyen graduated as the top student from Pensacola High School in Florida. A month later, Hieu Pham gave the valedictory address at Red Bank High School in Chattanooga, Tennessee. One day after Pham's graduation, Hoan Binh La gave her valedictory address to Madison Park High School in Boston, Massachusetts. The newspaper predicted that the United States would see more high achievers among the children of Vietnamese refugees.

The *Monitor* article was the beginning of a long series of stories in the media of outstanding achievement by Southeast Asian students, especially among the Vietnamese. In 1985, President Reagan praised Jean Nguyen, the first woman of Vietnamese ancestry to graduate from West Point, calling her one of the heroes of contemporary America. Two years later, Vietnamese refugee Hoang Nhu Tran became West Point's valedictorian.

Reports of Vietnamese valedictorians became commonplace in school districts around the country. Although similar stories about other Southeast Asian groups did not appear as frequently, there were enough news articles about top-ranking Southeast Asian students that the other groups shared in the valedictorian stereotype. For example, on June 6, 1992, in an article on "All-Star Students," the *Toronto Star* praised young Lao refugee Phet Sayo who had received a prestigious 100,000 scholarship to study at the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill. In its November 12, 1998, issue, the *Washington Post* reported that 16 of the valedictorians in the schools of Fresno, California, were Hmong. A piece in the May 29, 1999, issue of the *Dallas Morning News* celebrated David Toung, the son of Cambodian refugees who graduated as valedictorian of Newman Smith High School.

Evidence of School Performance

Evidence from educational research indicates that the news anecdotes reflected an underlying reality. Real differences in educational achievement did exist within and among the Southeast Asian groups. There were underachievers as well as high achievers in each ethnicity. The Vietnamese tended to show higher

achievement levels than people from Laos and Cambodia. Many of the Hmong and Cambodians lived in poverty and many of their children struggled in American schools. Nevertheless, grades and test results indicated remarkable accomplishments among Southeast Asian students in general.

In 1981, researcher Nathan Caplan and several colleagues began a study to assess the economic progress of the newly arrived Southeast Asian refugees. The study led them to note the reports already appearing in U.S. news media of extraordinary academic accomplishments among the children of refugees. These reports inspired Caplan and his colleagues to begin a second study of Southeast Asian educational achievement. They found that the children of refugees in their sample had generally high grade point averages and that school administrators praised the refugee children for excelling in schoolwork. Caplan's team examined California Achievement (CAT) results for 1984. They found that Southeast Asian children did have scores in language and reading that were slightly below general CAT averages. They attributed these scores to the fact that most of the children had been in the United States for only about three-and-a-half years and mostly lived in households in which no one spoke English. However, the refugee children had extraordinarily high scores in mathematics and, surprisingly, in spelling. About half the children scored in the top quartile of all students in mathematics and 45 percent scored in the top quartile in spelling.

The sociologist Alejandro Portes, in a study of the American-born children of immigrants in South Florida and Southern California found that Vietnamese American students in 1992 had higher mathematics test scores than students of other immigrant groups, including Cubans, Haitians, and Mexicans. Portes also found that the Vietnamese students reported spending more time on homework than members of other groups reported, which he suggested was a reason for their superior performance in mathematics.

In a 1995 article published in the February issue of the *American Journal of Education*, researcher Grace Kao found that Asian students in general tend to do better in mathematics than white students do, but that most of the difference could be explained by the

relatively advantageous socioeconomic situations of many Asian families. However, Chinese, Korean, and Southeast Asian students received higher mathematics grades than white students from family backgrounds similar to their own. Kao did not define Filipinos as Southeast Asians, so that her category referred primarily to the refugee groups, and especially to the Vietnamese. She also found that Filipinos, like Japanese, West Asians, and other Asians, earn mathematics grades approximately equal to whites from equivalent backgrounds. However, the higher grades of Chinese and Korean students could be explained by greater family investments in education. Only the Southeast Asians, in Kao's analysis, showed levels of achievement that could not be attributed to any family characteristics.

Educational Attainment

Educational achievement, or how well students do in school, is closely related to educational attainment, or how much schooling they complete. Both Filipinos and Vietnamese, the two largest Southeast Asian groups, show much higher levels of educational attainment than most other segments of the American population. For example, in 2007 one-third of native-born whites, 16 percent of native-born African Americans, and 16 percent of native-born Hispanics aged 25 to 29 had completed at least a bachelor's degree. In that year, though, two-thirds of American-born Filipinos and 57 percent of foreign-born Filipinos in that age group had completed at least a bachelor's degree. Among Vietnamese of these ages, 57 percent of those born in the United States and 38 percent of those born outside the United States were college graduates.

Explanations of Southeast Asian Educational Achievement

The educational achievement of Filipino American children appears to be related to the generally high educational level of their parents and to their parents' professional occupations. Adult Filipino American women, in particular, tend to be heavily concentrated in nursing, an occupation that requires advanced training. Still, culture may also encourage school achievement among young Filipino Americans. Traditional

Filipino culture places a high value on formal education and on respect for teachers. The combined socioeconomic and cultural explanations may also account for the educational performance of some of the smaller nonrefugee Southeast Asian groups, such as the Thai, because adults in these groups often arrive in the United States as professionals and come from cultures that hold teachers in high regard.

The refugee groups are often much more economically disadvantaged than all other Asians and more economically disadvantaged than native-born whites. This has led some researchers to suggest purely cultural explanations for the educational achievement of the children of refugees. Nathan Caplan and his coauthors argued that a cultural ethic of hard work combined with highly cooperative families promoted school performance among these children.

Sociologists Min Zhou and Carl L. Bankston III maintained that purely cultural explanations were insufficient. Using surveys and field work, they argued that many refugees had formed their own communities in the United States. As refugees, the people in these communities focused heavily on adaptation to their homeland and they formed tight social networks that directed and encouraged the upward mobility of children. The educational achievement of refugee Southeast Asian students noted by Grace Kao and others resulted from the closely interconnected social structures of refugee communities, as well as from cultural orientations. Zhou and Bankston found, further, that the refugee children who engaged in delinquency and showed poor school performance were alienated from their own ethnic communities. This type of community-level explanation may help to explain why young people in communities of refugee groups such as the Hmong, who are not only economically underprivileged but also have very limited adult literacy, often show surprisingly high levels of educational achievement.

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Southeast Asian American Press

Newspapers and magazines targeting Southeast Asian communities have sprouted up across the United States anywhere those groups cluster. The publications generally serve one or all of three main functions: First, they resemble alternative media by reporting on events, trends, activities, and people seldom seen in the mainstream press, to the extent those elements reflect the interests of the particular Southeast Asian American audience. Second, they draw on stories that are covered by mainstream outlets but present them with Southeast Asian angles. Third, they relay major news happenings in the Southeast Asian countries from which their readers originate.

An ancillary but critical role of this journalism subgroup is the extent to which it can act as an intermediary between its audience and the government or other agency. This takes place in two directions, top-down or bottom-up. In the first, a Southeast Asian American outlet can convey official information, for instance by telling readers how to register for public services or by urging them to participate in the next U.S. Census. In the other direction, it can advocate as a surrogate for its community by taking an editorial stance on a controversial issue, such as pushing army brass to bury Hmong leader Vang Pao in Arlington National Cemetery.

Vietnamese and Filipino newspapers comprise the largest portion of the Southeast Asian American press,

in keeping with their constituencies. Other media provide news with a Burmese, Cambodian, Hmong, Indonesian, Lao, Malaysian, or Thai angle. The notable outliers are the Hmong, who rely on radio news because they did not have a written language until recently.

These outlets follow in the tradition of other ethnic media among blacks, Native Americans, and Hispanics. However, although those media are rooted in indigenous or settled populations with stronger cleavages to the country, Southeast Asian American media tend to cover fairly recent immigrants and their descendants. By definition, this journalism subgroup is run by and for Southeast Asian Americans, though some have made a reasonable argument that outsiders, either as individuals or as companies, can enter the market on the production side of these publications, while maintaining their identity within the communities. In a related aspect, these newspapers can fall under the umbrella of a media group like Minnesota's Asian American Business & Community Publishing, or they can spring up as a more grassroots product of the local community.

Historically, the biggest wave of print media among these enclaves likely followed the arrival of boat refugees fleeing the Vietnam War. Coming from a highly literate society, the Vietnamese took to desktop publishing in the 1980s, followed by family-run newspapers in the 1990s and early 2000s, particularly in San Jose and Orange County. California boasts the largest number of Viet Kieu, or Vietnamese overseas, which number 580,000 according to the 2010 U.S. Census. In similar examples, a Cambodian stronghold in Long Beach and a Hmong stronghold in St. Paul-Minneapolis have created a market for ethnic media in those cities.

These markets, however, are dwindling for a number of reasons: immigrant languages are declining; technology is advancing online, the news industry as a whole is struggling to find a business model; and the recession that began in 2007 wreaked irreparable damage to revenues.

Seemingly, the demand for Southeast Asian American news should increase because their populations are skyrocketing. Although the overall country grew 9.7 percent from 2000 to 2010, Cambodians

and Filipinos each jumped 39 percent, Hmong 44 percent, Thai 51 percent, and Vietnamese 40 percent, among the most significant increases. However, language acquisition does not keep pace, which is crucial to the survival of these media. Some newspapers print in English and others in their readers' native tongue, the latter being the advantage that these publications hold over the traditional press. That advantage is diminishing because the population boom rests not on immigrants but largely on younger people born in the country who are less likely to retain their parents' language. Fewer foreign language speakers render ethnic papers ever less relevant. Filipino American media is something of an exception because most of its audience knows English, which is an official language in the Philippines in addition to Tagalog.

Still, Filipino American journalists are not immune from other financial constraints hitting nearly all ethnic publications. The Southeast Asian American press initially appeared to provide an attractive strategy for marketers, who could zero in on a dense, often urban consumer base that has similar interests and that concentrates in just a few cities and states. Moreover, Asians bring great purchasing power to journalism because they have a larger median household income than average Americans, according to Pew Research Center's Project for Excellence in Journalism. However, the great recession of the late 2000s devastated this press landscape on several levels, in some cases irreversibly. One factor, the subprime mortgage crisis, did away with the real estate advertising on which so many outlets depended. New American Media, which represents 3,000 ethnic media organizations, noted that one magazine disappeared overnight because it relied heavily on real estate ads: *Nha*, which means "home" in Vietnamese, published a bilingual, bimonthly edition aimed at young adults from 2003 to 2008 in San Jose.

Other publications shed ad revenues as small businesses shut down amid the souring economy. The publications themselves are small businesses, too, meaning they could not tap into the kind of rainy-day funds that larger media conglomerates used to weather the downturn.

The most painful blow to Southeast Asian American news outlets comes from the same culprit for the

budget-slashing across journalism more broadly: the Internet. Craigslist eliminated the need for most classifieds sections, whereas career, dating, and other websites similarly poached from print advertising. More important, the Internet revolutionized how news travels. As newspapers, magazines, and journals migrated online, news consumers acquired exponentially more sources of information, thus crippling the monopoly that so many print dailies had enjoyed in their cities. Although everyone in some way benefited from the online transformation, news organizations have struggled to translate page views into ad dollars. Businesses simply do not pay as much for ads on web pages as they did on gray pages, because they can run figures on just how many (or how few) clicks are being generated for them at news sites.

For ethnic media, this unprecedented challenge means having to determine how to retain audiences online. Internet penetration is higher among Asian American households than most other demographics, but that hasn't equated to a higher readership for news sites catering to them. The Project for Excellence in Journalism speculates that people increasingly prefer to access Asian news via their countries of origin, thus driving down demand for similar information from outlets based in the United States. This is especially easy from the English-speaking Philippines, helping sites like *Inquirer.net* thrive as the self-described "virtual home away from home of the overseas Filipino community." Indeed, many Southeast Asian countries are ramping up their English news portals amid globalization, and therefore posing greater competition to Southeast Asian American media. The *Jakarta Globe* and *Bangkok Post* do especially well, although Indonesians and Thais in the United States have few domestic options.

In the face of these pressures, some newspapers have folded, whereas others have eased their pocketbooks by striking deals to share content. Seattle's *Nguoi Viet Tay Bac*, for instance, started partnering with a Spanish-language paper and another Vietnamese paper in 2009. *Nguoi Viet*, a powerhouse daily in Westminster that now offers news in Minnesota and Utah, shares content with the *Orange County Register*. Publications also are transitioning into different platforms, such as audio and video programming, as in the case of *Nguoi Viet's* online launch of *Nguoi*

Viet TV. The city of Fresno continues to boast strong broadcast numbers among Hmong, both on radio and at two television stations. The role of geography, however, could become less critical to the success of ethnic news. New American Media says it is collaborating with Audionow to help ethnic radio stations expand and reach listeners by telephone. That is, audiences would be able to tune in to broadcasts by dialing in.

None of these strategies alone will guarantee a future for Southeast Asian American media. They could, however, step into greater roles as the mainstream press pare down their staffs. Still, the main challenge for these ethnic media is that demand remains high mostly among older generations. Out of the largest communities, half of Vietnamese adults read an ethnic newspaper regularly, whereas one-fifth of Filipino adults read one at least a few times a month, according to a 2009 survey. Young people are much less likely to pick up a broadsheet or tabloid, or switch on radio news. Yet news organizations will have to build interest among this demographic as it gradually replaces older readers. For example, *Nguoi Viet* looked to draw more youthful consumers by publishing *Nguoi Viet 2* every week in English. To reinforce this pivot, news media are focusing on where young people live, online. For all its challenges, the Internet presents untold opportunities for Southeast Asian Americans to coalesce. In person, too, there will always be a need to bring people together. How well these media outlets connect to their communities, virtually or physically, will play no small part in their survival.

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Southeast Asian American Youth and Crime

Background

The number of immigrant youth has sharply risen to compose one-fifth of the United States school-age

children. In fact, some argue immigrants and children of immigrants are the fastest-growing group among the youth population within the United States.

According to the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Southeast Asians account for approximately 39 percent of the refugee population since 1983. From 1983 to 1999, Vietnamese refugees were 71 percent of the arrivals from Southeast Asia with Cambodian, Lao, Hmong, and Mien refugees also being represented. Southeast Asian refugees mainly resettled in California. In the aftermath of resettlement, according to National Council on Crime and Delinquency, Asian American and Pacific Islander (AAPI) youth crime increased 11.4 percent from 1980 to 2000 although other groups' criminal activity decreased.

This phenomenon can be explained through a structural or cultural approach. The structural approach aligns with the economic condition of a racial or ethnic group in addressing delinquency. Race is highly correlated with social class, so race serves as a proxy for social-class status. The cultural approach identifies the root of deviant behavior in the norms and values of the ethnic group through assimilation or acculturation. Academics have distinguished between assimilation and acculturation. Assimilation implies the subjugation of the minority to the dominant culture. Acculturation signifies an interaction between the cultures of both groups allowing for various pieces of culture to take place beside another. Where crime has been determined as an abnormality of culture by assimilationists, acculturation assesses deviance as a social construct. To examine these trends and issues, this entry will provide a case study of Southeast Asian youth and crime in Oakland, California.

Historical Implications of Immigrant Policy

Immigration to the United States is largely reflected by U.S. policies and binational agreements. Inflow from Asia increased during the mid-twentieth century, and by the year 2000, it represented over a third of the immigrant population. Refugee inflow relies on a binational agreement between the host and receiving country. In the case of Southeast Asia, the Vietnam War was the root cause of refugees.

Initial migration of Southeast Asians was conducted through dispersal policy through resettlement across the nation and transitioned into concentrated resettlement into cities, such as Oakland. The transition to a focused resettlement policy after 1975 met economic disinvestment in education and social services, the criminalization of poor and immigrant groups, and increased police presence in California. This resulted in a concentration of Southeast Asians in poor urban communities. According to U.S. Census, Oakland had a population of 390,724 with significant numbers of Vietnamese (1.6 percent), Cambodians (0.7 percent), and Laotians (0.6 percent) in 2010. Chinese and Filipinos make up 8.7 percent and 1.6 percent, respectively, and they collectively make up the top five Asian American groups in Oakland.

Asian Youth Crime

Delinquency is defined as anti-social and illegal actions of youth, including bullying, cutting class, vandalism, substance abuse, selling drugs, and shoplifting. Asian youth do not follow typical criminal activity. In Oakland, 25.2 percent of all juvenile arrests between 1991 and 2000 were drug related, although there were only 4.3 percent of Asian and Pacific Islander juvenile arrests during the same period. Southeast Asians, particularly Vietnamese, Cambodian, and Lao/Mien, have some of the highest arrest rates in comparison to other racial groups.

Laotian, Thai, Cambodian, and Vietnamese youth are overrepresented in the California juvenile justice system. In the neighboring city of San Jose, four out of five Southeast Asian youths reported being arrested. In the past 20 years, Southeast Asian youth have maintained levels of increased arrest rates in contrast to decreasing arrest numbers of Latino, white, and other Asian groups in Oakland and the surrounding region.

Crime and delinquency are often associated with gang affiliation. Immigrant youth often turn to gangs to find a source of group identity, social support, and security. For Southeast Asian youth, gang relations fill the intergenerational gap left by their parents. According to California Healthy Kids Survey in 2011, Asian seventh- and ninth-graders in Oakland had the greatest proportion of respondents reporting harassment or

being bullied on school grounds as a result of race, ethnicity, or national origin when compared with other racial groups. Southeast Asian youth seek security from gangs in response to harassment by other youth.

Cambodians followed closely by Laotians and Vietnamese, consist of the largest Asian juvenile arrest rates in 2006. In the decade from 1995 to 2006, the overall number of juvenile arrests has fallen. Although Vietnamese and Laotian numbers have similarly decreased, Cambodian juvenile arrests and probations have remained fairly steady. The rise of Cambodian gangs in Oakland and the surrounding area occurred in the early 1990s and has taken root. Simply addressing Southeast Asians collectively does not identify the distinguishing factors facing each ethnic group.

Structural Theory: Acculturation to the Underclass

The “model minority” was first coined by William Petersen in 1966 in a *New York Times Magazine* article based on his observations of Japanese Americans. In the years following, other Asian and Pacific Islander communities were incorporated under the same classification. Despite perceptions of the model minority in the Asian community, Southeast Asian refugees and their families face severe hardships in the United States. As a result, marginalized Asian and Pacific Islander groups have struggled to secure government support. In one case, federal loans allotted for small business owners were withheld from Asian Americans because of perceived success in 1980.

In the case of Southeast Asians, the resettlement of vulnerable families into impoverished and high-crime neighborhoods in the United States is the main factor in increased crime rates among youth. There was a strong correlation between the arrest rate in 2000 and the per capita income in the year prior for youth. Cambodians had the lowest per capita income and Vietnamese fared better, but Chinese were highest in per capita income and lowest arrest rates.

In Oakland, one in two Cambodian residents was living in poverty in 1999. In 1999, 63 percent of Hmong families were living in poverty. In addition, the high school graduation rate for Hmongs was 31 percent. More notably, poverty rates according to the U.S.

Census Bureau were higher in 2007 for Southeast Asians in California, but the disparity between Southeast Asian families and the average American family with children under the age of 18 was greater still. Independently, economic factors do not fully answer delinquency, and cultural factors address the missing elements.

Southeast Asian Youth Crime: A Cultural Response

The cultural framework addresses an individual’s agency. Policy has often reflected a cultural approach. For example, police manuals published in the late 1990s outlined the beliefs of various Asian and Pacific Islander cultures to train officers to interact in culturally acceptable terms. On the one hand, retention of culture resulted in increased delinquency in Cambodian refugees, but on the other hand, it decreased deviance among Vietnamese.

Acculturation factors affecting Southeast Asian youth are visibly evident through stressors, such as the relational conflict between generations because of differing cultural norms. The deconstruction of social networks including family, school, and community relationships has played a major role in delinquency.

Family

The role of family is a significant part of Southeast Asian youth life. Parents are poorly equipped to assist youth adjustment because of intergenerational differences, intercultural conflict, and limited supervision. In Oakland, half of Vietnamese and two-thirds of Lao and Cambodians above the age of 25 have not received a high school degree. Southeast Asian youth reported higher levels of family violence than Chinese youth.

Traumatic experiences from Southeast Asian refugees are well documented. Vietnamese fled their homeland as war refugees and boat people and Cambodians fled genocide in their native state. Hmong and Lao refugees have struggled to adapt to the modernized American society from their isolated rural life. Southeast Asian adults have some of the highest rates of mental health issues including anxiety, posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD), and depression. The

youth are indirectly affected through their family by decreased parental attachment, engagement, and discipline. Disciplinary practices of parents have moderate impacts on youth violence. Southeast Asian youth reported higher incidents of family violence in comparison to Chinese youth. Therefore, refugee communities do not conform to the Asian model minority stereotype.

The refugee experience is distinct from the typical immigrant. The environment of refugee camps, transit stations, and the bureaucratic process underwent to achieve refugee status has a long-term direct effect on the adults and a causal effect on the development of youth and tendencies toward violent behavior. Full incorporation is achieved only through mutual understanding from policy, the community, and family.

School

Southeast Asian youth are faced with various barriers including discrimination, a lack of connection, and poor academic performance. Among Vietnamese youth, there is a strong correlation between school attachment and delinquency. Without a strong family presence in school, Southeast Asian youth look to gangs to fill the family unit void.

Parent involvement in schools is a large factor in the outcomes of their children, but the definition of parent involvement is often misunderstood, and social and economic conditions act as barriers. Typical parent involvement includes school committees and volunteering. However, immigrant children are less likely to be involved in programs when parent participation is mandatory. Immigrant parents value education, but are rarely able to actively volunteer because of language barriers or employment conflicts. Furthermore, Southeast Asian communities see communication with school staff as an infringement of the teacher's expertise.

Anti-Asian sentiments are often expressed by youth through racial taunts and harassment producing isolation and conflict. Vincent Chong and his colleagues recount one male in Oakland who described his difficulties in being understood when he stated, "I hate it when people come up to me and ask me, 'Are you Chinese or Asian?' I hate that. It's because

there is more races than Chinese. So I'm like . . . man! [I'm] Mien. They don't even know what Mien is. I have to explain it. I have to give them the history . . . so I don't want to say I'm Mien. But I would still say it" (2009: 466). Ignorance among youth is often unchecked without awareness by the school administrators and teachers. The Asian model minority stereotype has heightened Southeast Asians as targets for robbery, harassment, and assault— influencing delinquent behavior as a response.

Community

Southeast Asians face struggles for which their communities are not prepared to respond. Vietnamese have the lowest English language proficiency rates among Asian communities. In 1985, the Oakland Police Department incorporated an Asian Advisory Committee on Crime and added a youth component in the early 1990s. More recently, they have agreed to give salary bonuses for bilingual skills. Measures by community-based organizations have also sought to increase awareness and prevent crime through partnerships.

Political representation is low as those able to secure citizenship often opt out from participation because of limited English skills. In Oakland, only one in five Vietnamese adults, representing the largest Southeast Asian ethnic group, is proficient in English.

Conclusion

Southeast Asian youth face a variety of stressors during their development. The structural approach aims to explain delinquency through economic hardship as youth struggle for acceptance into the "underclass." In contrast, cultural theory relies on an existing set of values and norms to determine the root of Southeast Asian youth crime as the individual is forced to negotiate multiple social environments throughout development. The identities of Cambodian, Laotian, and Vietnamese youth are strongly affected by the circumstances of their family's arrival into the United States causing both economic and social instability. Ultimately, the convergence of the two schools of thought is needed to adequately assess Southeast Asian delinquency.

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Southeast Asian Archive at the University of California, Irvine, Libraries

The University of California, Irvine Libraries' Southeast Asian Archive (SEAA) documents the experiences of refugees and immigrants from Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam who resettled in the United States and elsewhere after the end of the Vietnam War. The main focus is 1975 to the present, with the largest part of the collection focusing on the American experience. The SEAA has small collections from and about these refugees and immigrants who resettled in Canada, Australia, France, and other countries outside of Southeast Asia.

Materials concerning the Vietnamese American community are the strongest part of the collection because of UCI's proximity in Orange County to the largest community of Vietnamese outside of Vietnam. However, the Archive has significant collections for the other Southeast Asian American communities, including smaller ethnic groups such as the Cham and the Iu Mien. The Archive does not collect materials about people from other Southeast Asian countries, such as the Philippines, Thailand, and Indonesia.

From its beginnings in 1987, the SEAA has steadily grown to become the most significant collection in the United States to focus on Southeast Asians who have left the former Indochina. More details about the SEAA are on its home page at <http://seaa.lib.uci.edu>.

Since becoming a part of the UCI Libraries' Special Collections & Archives Department in 2001, the SEAA has been able to develop more formal archival practices and to reach a wider audience. The collections are open to all to use—faculty, students, researchers, film makers, journalists, community members—and include books, serials (journals, magazines, newspapers, newsletters, annual business directories, etc.), government reports, program and publicity materials from campus and community groups, news clippings, videos, boxed archival materials, and ephemera. The books, journals, videos, and vertical files are available in Langson Library room 360, and the unique, archival collections are kept in climate-controlled closed stacks in Special Collections & Archives (Langson Library 5th floor). The collection strengths are described in more detail at the SEAA home page: <http://seaa.lib.uci.edu>.

A representative sampling of the collection's texts and images are open to all at SEAAdoc: Documenting the Southeast Asian American Experience (<http://seaadoc.lib.uci.edu/>), a full-text, digital resource funded in 2004 by a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities. The SEAA has also received grant funding from the California State Library to process archival collections, resulting in online finding aids and many digitized images in the Online Archive of California (<http://www.oac.cdlib.org/institutions/UC+Irvine::Southeast+Asian+Archive>).

In addition, the SEAA was highlighted in a book, *Celebrating Research: Rare and Special Collections from the Membership of the Association of Research Libraries* (<http://www.celebratingresearch.org/libraries/irvine/seasian.shtml>). This compendium celebrates ARL's 75th anniversary by describing one special collection from each of its over 100 member libraries.

Founding librarian Anne Frank began collecting materials about the new communities of Southeast Asian immigrants and refugees as part of her responsibilities to collect materials on Orange County. Thus, the SEAA began as a local history collection kept in a file cabinet in her office but soon grew beyond its Orange County boundaries to include materials on the wider diaspora. As the collection grew, she turned to other ethnic studies libraries in the University of California system, Berkeley's Asian American Studies Library (now part of Berkeley's Ethnic Studies Library) and UCLA's Asian American Studies Reading Room. They were the models for the Southeast Asian Archive, and Wei Chi Poon (Berkeley) and Marji Lee (UCLA), the librarians of these collections, provided invaluable advice and information.

Another important factor in the establishment and development of the Archive was UCI's students. A striking feature of UCI's undergraduate population is that roughly 50 percent are of Asian/Pacific Islander descent. The largest group is of Chinese origin, which includes many ethnic Chinese from Southeast Asia. Approximately 10 percent of the UCI students identify themselves as Vietnamese or other Southeast Asian. In the mid-1980s the Vietnamese students at UCI had first-hand experience of being refugees. Either they came over in the first wave in 1975, or they were "boat people" who came later.

At about the time when the SEAA was established in 1987, a student group on campus, Project Ngoc (PN) was organized. It started as a class—initiated by a non-Vietnamese graduate student, Tom Wilson—to increase student awareness of the Vietnamese refugee crisis. The UCI students decided to take it beyond the classroom and formed Project Ngoc to initiate more concrete projects to assist the refugees. PN sponsored activities to raise awareness and funds within the campus and the community, and it provided direct relief by sending volunteers to refugee camps in Hong Kong.

PN's activities also helped to bring attention to the fledging archive. PN disbanded in 1997, when the last refugee camps were dismantled, and its papers—including paintings by Hong Kong refugee camp internees—are part of the SEAA collection (<http://www.oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/kt8z09p8pd/>).

One of the first collecting challenges was the mind-set of many of the people first approached for materials. Their focus was on life in their country of resettlement, such as learning English, enrolling their children in schools, and getting jobs. They did not consider their modest possessions, such as photos, diaries, and correspondence, to be of value in an archive. Refugees involuntarily leave their country; they are forced out to escape political, religious, or ethnic persecution, and they usually leave with only the things they can carry. By contrast, immigrants leave of their own free will. In the mid-1980s it was only a decade after the first refugees had arrived, with many refugees still in survival mode and new refugees still on the way.

Another important element of the refugee experience documented in the Archive is the pathway to the new country. A substantial part of the Archive's collections documents the refugee exodus, including the arrival of the 1975 refugees at reception centers in the United States and, prominently, life in the refugee camps. Over time, more Southeast Asians have arrived as immigrants rather than as refugees through the resettlement of Amerasians, former political detainees, and family reunification programs. Relations with home countries change and develop beyond homesickness and nostalgia, but the ties persist. Transnational studies have become a field of growing academic interest. Documenting the ties between Southeast Asian Americans and their home countries is an important part of the collection.

Decades have passed since the first Southeast Asian refugees settled in the United States in the mid-1970s. A new generation has reached adulthood and has fully integrated into American life and taken leadership roles. The first refugees who arrived as adults are aging and passing away. Although researchers and others using the collection have often asked about oral histories, no funding or staffing was available to collect them until 2011, when an anonymous donor enabled the UCI Libraries to partner with the UCI

Asian American Studies Department to launch the Vietnamese American Oral History Project (VAOHP). The open-access audio and transcript collection, preserved at <http://ucispace.lib.uci.edu/handle/10575/1614>, is available to everyone without registration. Future acquisitions for the SEAA will focus on acquiring collections from Southeast Asian American organizations and individuals who are now fully part of American society.

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Southeast Asian Migration

See Refugee Camps and Southeast Asian Migration

Southeast Asian Refugee Resettlement, Organizational Leadership of

The movement of refugees from Laos, Vietnam, and Cambodia in 1975 was the largest refugee immigration in recent American history, and there was no infrastructure in place to fulfill the goals of quick assimilation as a uniform practice. Organizations that had formed out of Jewish immigration post-World War II were then handed the authority to oversee the domestic resettlement process of these new populations. The unevenness of refugee sponsorship and state programs catalyzed many refugees' desire to reunite with relatives and recreate a sense of ethnic community. In the five years after initial resettlement, refugee secondary and tertiary migration to 10 states obliterated the

government's attempts to mitigate refugee migration and its emotional triggers to "the war America lost." Although the ethnic enclaves that formed from these migrations served to alleviate the issues of resettlement, it also created an ambivalent situation for subsequent cohorts. By 1979 the dispersal practice, spreading refugee families across the 50 states, had been abandoned for clustering practices, whereby small groups of refugees were resettled together—often in a designated set of government housing. Clustering helped fuel a perceived sense of government prioritization for refugee populations over some local communities that led to growing resentment and racial tension.

By the end of the 1970s and into the Reagan era, the economic turn of the country left working-class communities in states of recession or depression. The unprecedented move toward outsourcing manufacturing industries essentially shut down entire communities, and the "trickle-down" economics of this decade expanded the income gap to chip away the middle-class. With the discourse of individual responsibility against Reagan's attempt to rewrite the Vietnam War as a victory for Americans, the second and third cohorts of refugees from Southeast Asia received far less acceptance than the little offered to the first cohort. In 1980, 1982, and 1986, Congress passed reformed Refugee Acts that cut away at refugee assistance funding for programs and individual subsidies from 18 months slowly down to 3 months in 1986. In essence, besides a greater set of social capital that preconditioned the majority of the first cohort's ability to more quickly adapt to life in the United States, the resettlement policies and practices also played a key role in the future lives of refugee youth.

The Asian American Movement (AAM)

Between the late 1960s and late 1970s, the Asian American movement had reached a pinnacle of multifaceted activism and knowledge production. This included the coining of the term "Asian American" by Yuji Ichioka, the development of Serve The People programs similar to that of the Black Panther Party by various groups, and the student movement for educational transformation by Third World Liberation

Fronts for Ethnic Studies. When the Asian American Movement (AAM) was emerging, greatly inspired by the black liberation struggle and the teachings of Mao Tse-tung, a pivotal contribution of the movement was its articulation of American intervention in Vietnam as part of a historical pattern of American capitalist imperialism that was articulated in racist implementation of war crimes. This transformative period of Asian American history served as an ironic backdrop against which the first cohort of Southeast Asian refugees arrived on American shores, setting the stage for the contradictory ideologies of the movement against the very “imagined community” they had supported during the war. For example, in the October 1969 newspaper of the Asian American Political Alliance in Berkeley, California, the organization published a public position on the war in Vietnam. It began with a quote from Mao Tse-Tung and went on to identify the president of South Vietnam, Ngo Dinh Diem, as a U.S. “puppet” and yet conflated all Vietnamese as one people and standing in solidarity with the National Liberation Front:

The Vietnamese people, struggling for independence; democracy, peace, and neutrality, are resolved to drive out any imperialist forces from Vietnam. . . . The Asian American Political Alliance supports the ten demands of the National Liberation Front and recognizes the Vietnamese as people. (Dong 2008: 32–33)

This sentiment was generally shared by the radical Left in the antiwar movement, and it reveals the problematic oxymoron of these groups claiming to support and promote the voice of “those oppressed by American imperialism” without critically accepting the specific complexities of within the national politics of “these people.” In essence, AAM contributed to a highly complex set of emotional and political relations between the AAM and future refugee cohorts, who would be inserted into the very rungs of the socioeconomic ladder that AAM wanted to organize.

During the second and third cohort migrations, the radical facets of the movement began to merge with other nationally based racial groups, such as I Wor Kuen, the Chicano August Twenty-Ninth Movement,

and Revolutionary Communist League merging into the League of Revolutionary Struggle, to form multinational, national organizations. Simultaneously, the strategic evolution of Serve The People programs into social service organizations built an infrastructure of nonprofit organizations that rendered them vulnerable to funding sources, including local, state, and federal governments, and progressively restricted the larger realm of the Asian American movement’s representation and power in the hands of an elite, educated, professional class. The emphasis on knowledge production at the university level and policymaking and electoral inclusion at the “grassroots” level for the most part excluded first generation, working-class immigrants like incoming Southeast Asian refugees. In this process, the strategies of reform being preferred over revolution and the emphasis on symbolic identity politics of Asian American representation blinded many to the real issues affecting Southeast Asians, who were being integrated into urban housing projects and developing a separate track of political power through the wealth accumulation of ethnic enclaves. In essence, on both the landscapes of scholarship and of political activism, the evolution of the Asian American movement and Southeast Asian political power unfolded on two disparate tracks that did not publicly address the contradictions of the movement with the political orientation of this new demographic being labeled, “model minority.”

The Formation of Mutual Assistance Associations

As the Voluntary Agencies (VOLAGs) consisted of predominantly European American staff and the bulk of their experience had been with migration from Europe, they found difficulty in supporting Southeast Asian refugee communities linguistically and culturally. At first, the small number of Southeast Asians in America in 1975 assisted in translation and cultural adaptation although refugees stayed in refugee-processing centers across the country. It became apparent very early on, however, that community leaders were already forming within the centers. Almost immediately, members of the 1975 cohort with the most linguistic and educational expertise began

Mutual Assistance Associations (MAAs) to provide support and refugee resettlement services within their respective communities. By 1981, MAAs cropped up throughout the country. The speed with which these associations formed had everything to do with the founders' long-standing relationships prior to resettlement. Moreover, of 500 Southeast Asians that founded MAAs, 340 were Vietnamese, and thus the agenda setting of these groups was skewed based on class, ethnicity, and resettlement experience from their onset. MAAs did attempt to provide comprehensive services that the VOLAGs did not or could not successfully implement. According to the Indochinese Refugee Action Center, MAAs could be categorized as:

1. religious,
2. social and fraternal,
3. cultural and educational,
4. resettlement services provision,
5. professional,
6. student, or
7. political.

Of the 60 organizations originally created to address refugee resettlement, twenty-six of them were Vietnamese, ten Khmer, ten Laotian, nine Hmong, and five multi-ethnic. They became the "frontlines" of resettlement programs, but these grassroots organizations obtained very little funding initially. Funding usually came in the form of small subcontracting grants from the VOLAGs, which had the infrastructure, legitimacy, and linguistic and social capital to navigate the complicated bureaucratic process of obtaining government monies. Eventually, however, these very organizations became the infrastructure of Southeast Asian community power. Historian Tuyen Tran observes:

In addition to the social services that resettlement MAAs provided, the resettlement MAAs, particularly their leadership, became power brokers and cultural liaisons in the movement for greater inclusion and representation of all refugees, Southeast Asian or otherwise, within the refugee resettlement world. . . . The process of institutionalizing refugees as integral actors in refugee resettlement incited antagonisms that forced the refugees and

their respective associations to protractedly address and challenge private and public assumptions of the means and methods in ethnic incorporation in America. . . . Notwithstanding the trauma of disenfranchisement and dislocation, the development of Vietnamese mutual aid associations proved that they would not remain passive wards of the state. (Tran 2007: 6–7)

Regardless of the attempts to socialize Southeast Asian communities into the model minority mold, these refugee community leaders had a more complex understanding of that "American Dream." It was to be a "dream" on their terms, and the extent to which they participated in acclimating to the stereotypes imposed upon them could be viewed as a syncretic strategy of achieving what they understood to be justifiably their "terrain" within the niche of American political life. An IRAC document states,

While IRAC campaigned for federal fiscal commitments of MAA organizational development and capacity building in Washington, D.C. and networked with local MAAs for policy recommendations and needs, local MAA directors rallied state and local government agencies for refugee representation and consultation with resettlement policy with regards to design, implementation and assessment. Southeast Asian leaders attended and spoke at city hall meetings and sought refugee representation among federally mandated refugee resettlement advisory groups. They essentially availed themselves of all opportunities to educate the public and resettlement authorities of refugee needs and to garner support for refugee delivered services. (IRAC 1988: 24–25)

From the first arrival of Southeast Asian refugees, American policymakers witnessed a new politically viable voting bloc that could turn the tides of public opinion and public policy.

Ironically, the very formative political battles waged in the early arrival of Southeast Asian refugee cohorts dissipated by the mid-1980s with the establishment of ethnic enclaves and MAA that could withstand the onslaught of neo-conservative budget slashes. The claim to an

American identity of incorporative multicultural exhibition in simultaneity with the prevailing model minority discourse and the psychological loss of a “homeland” led many MAAs to set an agenda of integration and cultural preservation that no longer met the needs of the urban realities for many refugee youth. This generational gap created a fissure in which a new generation of leaders and organizations would try to address in the 1990s through Community Based Organizations (CBOs).

The 1990s represented the evolving paths for both AAM and MAAs through the younger generation of refugee children who were children of first generation refugee parents or who came as small children to the United States in one of the cohorts. As AAM became more professionalized and service-oriented, former movement leaders began mentoring Southeast Asian refugee youth professionally, politically, and as activists. Although MAAs were struggling to find relevance within their communities as refugee resettlement dwindled, youth were facing issues of urban life to which MAA programs were responsive. As this vacuum of coethnic leadership became apparent at the end of the decade, a critical mass of Southeast Asian, progressive refugee and second-generation children emerged as new political voices for the communities in media, policy, and in the development of new, youth-based organizations that represented a bicultural sensitivities with more progressive and politically diverse perspectives and agendas. From both strands of political determination, representation, and advocacy, Southeast Asian American youth have steered a new chapter in AAM and its incorporation of refugee communities from the Vietnam War.

Loan Dao

See also Asian American Movement (AAM); I Wor Kuen

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Spickard, Paul Russell (1950–)

Paul Russell Spickard is a professor of history and a prolific author on matters of race, ethnicity, immigration, and religion.

Spickard’s first book, *Mixed Blood: Intermarriage and Ethnic Identity in Twentieth-Century America* (1989), is recognized as a highly influential and original work that contributed greatly to the formation of the field of mixed-race studies. *Mixed Blood* was named Outstanding Book on Human Rights in the United States by the Gustavus Myers Center for the Study of Human Rights. Spickard’s work on intermarriage and multiracial people, starting with *Mixed Blood*, is most recognized for his exploration of the notions of racial multiplicity and plasticity.

Among his other works, Spickard’s books, *Japanese Americans* (1996, 2009) and *Almost All*

Aliens (2007), are noted for his successful attempts to dethrone the traditional, monolithic, assimilation narrative of American immigration. *Race and Nation: Ethnic Systems in the Modern World* (2005), exemplifies Spickard's meaningful attempts to make comparisons among racial and ethnic systems in various parts of the world.

Spickard grew up in and around Seattle, Washington's Chinatown, immersed in the richness of the area's Japanese, Filipino, and African American neighborhoods. He credits his parents, Donald and Mary Alice Adkins Spickard, for their key role in his intellectual formation. He recognizes, especially, the influence of his mother, whom he described as the hungriest intellectual he ever met. She was always interested in and respectful of everyone Spickard brought into her life. Like his mother, Spickard is known among his colleagues and students for his down-to-earth hospitality complemented with his challenging intellectual curiosity.

In addition to his mother, Spickard has acknowledged several mentors as having major influences on his intellectual life. They include Jim Morishima, Kiyu Morimoto, Winthrop Jordan, Lawrence Levine, Roger Daniels, and William Kauaiwiulaokalani Wallace III, among many. The scholars whose methods and ideas framed the intellectual world in which Spickard grew up include E. P. Thompson, Joseph Levenson, Emory Bogardus, Robert E. Park, Franz Boas, E. Franklin Frazier, and W.E.B. Du Bois. These influences are reflected in the goal after which Spickard has strived in his own work, which is the "attention to structure and to culture, to the person and to the class, to social forces and to individual human choices, and especially to hearing the voices of people many other writers have taken to be voiceless."

Spickard graduated from Seattle's James A. Garfield High School, known, historically, for its racial and ethnically diverse student population. He proceeded to study Asian American society and culture and Asian languages at the University of Washington before going on to earn an AB with honors in history from Harvard University in 1973. At Harvard, he specialized in East Asia and American racial minorities. He remained at Harvard as a special graduate student in Asian studies and as a teaching fellow for the departments of history, sociology, and East Asian

studies—notably teaching the first Asian American studies course at Harvard with Kiyu Morimoto. He later earned an MA in American history in 1976, a CPhil in 1979, and a PhD in history in 1983 from the University of California, Berkeley.

Spickard's teaching career began with his position as a teaching fellow at Harvard and continues today in his current position as professor at the University of California, Santa Barbara (UCSB). Institutions where he has taught include Solano Community College, UC Berkeley, San Francisco State University, Bethel College, Nankai University in Tianjin, China (as a Fulbright Senior Lecturer), Capital University, and Brigham Young University-Hawaii. In the late 1990s, he left BYU-Hawaii to become the chair of Asian American Studies at UCSB. At UCSB, Spickard has taught courses on Asian American history, multiracial studies, Pacific Islander American studies, race and migration, United States and world history. Although history is his home department, he is an affiliate faculty member with UCSB's Departments of Asian American Studies, Religious Studies, and East Asian Languages and Cultural Studies. During his tenure at UCSB, Spickard has also been affiliated with the University of Washington's Department of Ethnic Studies (1997–1999) and Oregon State University's Center for the Humanities (2003–2004). He spent 2008–2009 at the University of Muenster in Germany as a Fulbright Specialist. In 2011, he received the Loving Prize, which is an award presented by the Mixed Roots Film and Literary Festival.

Spickard is the father of Naomi and Daniel.

Jeffrey A. S. Moniz

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Sri Lankan Americans

From an island nation of the Indian subcontinent in South Asia, Sri Lankan immigrants began to arrive in the 1950s. When the United States classified Sri Lankans in an independent category in immigration in 1975, it recorded 432 entries. There were 5,576 Sri Lankans in the United States in 1980; 14,022 in 1990; and 25,263 in 2000. In the 2010 Census 45,381 Sri Lankans were recorded. It is a relatively small South Asian American group.

Sri Lankan Americans are highly concentrated in California. Other states that have a relatively large population of the ethnic group include New York, Maryland, Texas, and New Jersey. The Los Angeles metropolitan area has the largest Sri Lankan population, followed by New York and Washington, D.C.

Sri Lankan America is an immigrant majority community. In the decade between 2001 and 2010, 7,999 individuals gained entry as immigrants. In 2010, about 75 percent of the population was foreign-born, of which 43 percent had gained U.S. citizenship. About 72 percent of Sri Lankans aged five and older spoke a language other than English at home, 22 percent of the population aged five and older had limited English proficiency, and 12 percent of the population lived in linguistically isolated households.

Sri Lankan Americans had relatively high educational attainment. In 2010, about 93 percent of the adult population had at least a high school diploma and 56 percent had a bachelor's degree or higher. In comparison, 91 percent of Indian, 87 percent of Pakistani, 81 percent of Bangladeshi, and 86 Asian

Americans had finished high school, and 68 Indian, 56 Pakistanis, 47 Bangladeshi, and 49 Asian Americans had obtained a bachelor's or higher degree.

The per capita income for Sri Lankan Americans was \$32,480 compared to \$28,342 for Asian Americans and \$27,100 of the U.S. total population in 2010. Poverty rate of the population group was at 9 percent, compared to 11 percent for Asian Americans, and 14 percent for the total U.S. population. Only 1 percent of the Sri Lankan household received public cash assistance. The unemployment rate for Sri Lankan Americans was 6 percent, the same as that of Asian Americans but lower than the 8 percent rate for the general American population. Most Sri Lankans in the United States are home owners (61%), compared to 56 percent of Indian, 55 percent of Pakistani, 44 percent of Bangladeshi, and 59 percent of Asian Americans who owned homes. About 6 percent of Sri Lankans in America lived in overcrowded homes.

Xiaojian Zhao

See also Indian Americans

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Suburbanization

Unlike the mass suburbanization of middle-class Anglos after World War II, Asian Americans' flight to the metropolitan fringe occurred in distinct stages, and largely after 1965. Desires to participate in the "American Dream," moved by war and political instability in Asia, or lured by work opportunities, Asian Americans settled in the suburbs in large numbers throughout the mid- and late-twentieth century. By 1970, the majority of Americans called suburbia home, and by the 1980s, the majority of Asian Americans resided in communities outside the city. Generally, economic circumstances, racialized labor,

higher-performing schools, and widespread anti-urban sentiment influenced Asian Americans' shift toward "town and country living." Despite an economic downturn in the last decade, settlement in the hinterland is not slowing down anytime soon. Asian American populations in Southern California's Inland Empire; suburban and exurban Atlanta, Dallas, Houston, Las Vegas, and Phoenix in the Sunbelt; and the outlying communities of Washington, D.C., continue to swell the housing market. Asian American suburbanization is broken down into three temporal and thematic categories: 1840s–1945: rural and urban settlement; 1945–1980: suburbanization as assimilation; 1980–present: mass Asian American suburbanization and global suburbs. Because most Asian American suburbanization occurred after 1945, and certainly after the passage of the Hart-Celler Immigration and Nationality Act, their experiences are largely documented from 1965.

1840s–1945: Rural and Urban Settlement

Between the late 1840s and 1945, most Asians in the United States were of Chinese, Filipino, or Japanese descent. Many lived and worked as recruited farmhands in Northern or Central California towns such as Bakersfield, Delano, Sacramento, Salinas, Stockton, and Watsonville. Others worked in canneries and fisheries throughout Washington State, as plantation laborers in Hawaii, or as farmers in Los Angeles's South Bay and Pomona and San Gabriel Valleys. Though Asian immigrant laborers did not reside in communities we categorize as suburban today, these towns' sparsely dense populations and proximity to major urban industrial hubs are the earliest examples of Asian American suburbanization.

1945–1980: Suburbanization as Assimilation

After World War II and throughout the Cold War, Asians in the United States occupied a precarious position. Controversial American military interventions in Korea, the Philippines, Vietnam, and Southeast Asia along with continuously shifting state relationships between the United States with China and Japan kept Asian Americans straddling the line between domestic

friend and foe. At this moment, thousands of Americans—mostly Anglo—were abandoning downtown areas for the promised serenity and space of suburbia. Reflective of the anti-Communist and conformist politics of the time, middle-class and affluent Americans—including many Asian Americans—longed for the stability of suburban life free from the perceived chaos, danger, and unwelcomed racial and class diversity and tension of the city. For Asian American suburbanites, especially, the practice of suburban living demonstrated their ability to assimilate into a country threatened by their otherness and a society that demanded immigrants let go of their ethnic mores.

Prior to 1945, most Japanese Americans in California, Hawaii, Illinois, and Washington lived in urban Japantowns or in rural environments. Japanese Americans were primarily based in the agricultural industry or worked as grocers, domestics, and low-level professionals. During World War II, Japanese Americans were interned under Executive Order 9066. Japanese enclaves along the West Coast became ghost towns or were inhabited by non-Japanese. When suburban settlement gained traction after the war, a number of lower-middle and middle-class Japanese American Issei, Nisei, and Sansei settled in the outskirts of Bakersfield, Chicago, Fresno, Honolulu, Sacramento, San Jose, Seattle, and especially in the San Francisco Bay Area (Alameda, Berkeley, Fremont, Oakland, Hayward) and Los Angeles's South Bay or San Fernando and San Gabriel Valleys. Forced to rebuild their lives after mass incarceration, Japanese Americans created pockets of suburban Little Tokyos such as Gardena and Torrance, California where cherry blossom festivals and heritage schools became fixtures of everyday life. Other Japanese Americans settled in what would become multiethnic communities across the United States, most notably in Montebello, Monterey Park, and Pasadena, California and throughout the Hawaiian Islands.

Although Chinese Americans chiefly resided in urban neighborhoods and Chinatowns until the 1980s, thousands of Chinese Americans after World War II settled in suburbia. Whether they were World War II veterans or Chinatown business owners, Chinese Americans fought for their "rights to the suburbs" as a marker of cultural citizenship and as a

symbolic gesture toward their pro-democratic/anti-Communist political stance in Cold War America.

Between 1940 and 1950, the Chinese population living in San Francisco's Chinatown dropped from 70.2 percent in 1940 to 40.2 percent in 1950, whereas in New York City's Chinatown, the Chinese population fell from 50.2 percent to 31.0 percent with most migrating away from the metropolitan core. Finding suburban housing, however, was not met without challenges. White realtors, property owners, and bankers barred Chinese Americans from obtaining loans and purchasing homes. The 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act and other strict laws limiting immigration left Chinese Americans in bachelor societies centered in working-class ghettos throughout the West Coast and New York City. Moreover, restrictive job opportunities between Chinese and other struggling non-whites helped create a culture of violence for economic survival. These problematic images and discourses of immigrant vice permeated the American popular imagination, positioning Chinese Americans as sexually and morally deviant, cryptic, and barbaric thus effecting their access to fair housing. Nonetheless, Chinese American suburbanization steadily rose in the immediate Cold War period and later accelerated in the 1970s and well into the 1980s.

Filipino and Korean Americans, who rounded out the majority of Asians in the United States at this moment, were also mainly living in cities and "suburbanized" less dramatically than their Chinese and Japanese counterparts. However, Filipinos began moving to "suburban-in-feel" parts of Los Angeles, New York City, and San Francisco such as the Temple/Beverly/Virgil neighborhoods (Los Angeles), Eagle Rock (Los Angeles), Queens (New York), and SoMa (San Francisco). Filipinos also started to reside in communities adjacent to "global cities" such as Jersey City, New Jersey or South San Francisco; less cosmopolitan cities with primarily mid- or low-rise housing and commerce mirroring traditional suburban aesthetics. Korean American suburbanization was minimal, but was found in Northern California's East Bay and San Jose, Los Angeles's South Bay, and Bergen County, New Jersey.

Asian Americans' gaining a foothold in suburban communities after World War II was tremendous given

the widespread racism, classism, and exclusionary practices of a predominantly middle-class Anglo America occupying and controlling both the metropolis and the hinterland. Their movement to the suburbs was multilayered and rested on overlapping social, political, and economic reasons. On the one hand, postwar Asian American suburbanization was predicated on ubiquitous ideas that noncity life was the key to happiness thus propelling movement from urban ethnic enclaves, "crammed" neighborhoods, and apartment living to town and country suburbs that embodied the "best of both worlds." On the other hand, Asian Americans' urban exodus and suburban settlement signified a practice of U.S. citizenship that relied on the confluence of conformity, consumerism, and heteronormativity to prove their acculturation. By the mid-1970s, Asian American suburbanization took on new meaning with reforms to immigration policy, changes in the global marketplace, and shifting attitudes toward race, housing, and the American city influencing the spatial and ethnic organization of the nation.

1980–Present: Mass Asian American Suburbanization and Global Suburbs

The 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act attracted thousands of medical, technical, engineering, and business professionals from China, India, South Korea, Taiwan, and the Philippines to the United States. Job opportunities and the ease of obtaining H-1 and H-1B temporary work visas played a crucial role in Asian immigration. War, genocide, family reunification, and a political economy catering to an increasingly service and commodity-based First World-dominated marketplace also pulled immigrants from their homelands. Unlike their pre-1965 counterparts, many post-1965 Asian immigrants were moving directly to the suburbs bypassing Chinatown and Little Manila for modest or upscale communities with higher-performing schools, safer neighborhoods, well-manicured thoroughfares, and tony retail options. For this newer immigrant cohort, particularly those arriving in the late 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, cities were considered less desirable places to raise families or build social networks predicated on antiurban rhetoric from media and

word-of-mouth, depleted municipal resources and governmental neglect, and individual experiences with metropolitan crime, violence, and poverty. Although most people of color lived in the city in 1980, thousands of Asian Americans resided in suburbia since a rising majority was educated immigrants recruited to work for established U.S. companies. Their immediate placement into the middle-class ensured their place in home ownership and in living the “American Dream.” Like suburban African American and Latino residents, Asian American suburbanites remain segregated from their white counterparts. However, Asian Americans were and are the most “integrated” into suburbia. This ticket to immigrant “success,” however, was not met without barriers, discrimination, or hardship. Moreover, although a majority of Asian Americans now lived in suburbia, thousands did not and thousands more did not have the financial resources toward suburban upward mobility despite widespread notions that Asian Americans were “model minorities.” Asian American suburbanization skyrocketed in the 1980s and 1990s as global economic restructuring, a liberalizing “racial state” via multiculturalism, and urban neglect consolidated myths of suburbanism as the ideal American lifestyle. For these reasons along with a skewed housing market in favor of single-family housing, the early 1980s through the 2000s witnessed mass Asian American suburbanization. The experiences between Chinese, Filipino, Indian, Korean, and by 1975, Vietnamese and Southeast Asian Americans feature common strands yet vary and are regionally and temporally specific.

Because home ownership was a quintessential symbol of Americana, Japanese Americans were among the earliest Asian Americans to “suburbanize.” The specter of Cold War Communism and the aftermath of World War II anti-Japanese discrimination pushed Japanese Americans to prove their “Americanness” by any means necessary. Key community organizations such as the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) led campaigns to ensure that whites were aware of Japanese American loyalty to the American state. As a result, Japanese Americans are often considered the most “assimilated” since succeeding generations of Japanese Americans were primarily born in the U.S., spoke little or no Japanese,

were more likely to enter interracial marriages, and settled in heterogeneous suburban communities since the end of World War II. Recent Japanese immigration is a result of Japan’s growing prominence in international trade and transnational capital. Immigration from Japan minimally increased in the 1980s and 1990s and remained much lower than their Chinese, Filipino, or Indian counterparts. The majority of native Japanese also tend to live near American-born Japanese in suburbs throughout Hawaii, Seattle, Northern California’s Alameda County, Central California’s Fresno County, and Southern California’s South Bay, West Los Angeles, and San Gabriel Valley regions.

The Vietnam War tested America’s limits in military supremacy and its international control over the Cold War. The war was also a harbinger in domestic trends with a tremendous influence in Asian American suburbanization. After the Communists took over Saigon, approximately 125,000 Vietnamese refugees known as “Boat People” fled to the United States between April and December 1975. A second immigrant wave arrived between 1978 and 1985, and another cohort of Vietnamese arrived from 1989 to the present. Thousands settled in suburban Florida, Louisiana, Northern California, Virginia, and Texas. The majority moved directly to or eventually settled in Orange County, California—most notably in Garden Grove and Westminster—propelled by sympathetic anti-Communist Christian missionaries and activists residing in the politically conservative region. Orange County is home to the largest Vietnamese population outside Vietnam. Unlike their Asian counterparts, most Vietnamese arrived with relatively low levels of education. Vietnamese Americans are frequently relegated to the service economy or are forced to open their own businesses because of discrimination and limited skills needed for the U.S. job force. Their suburbanization process, then, is not necessarily stemming from work opportunities or immediate affluence affording them the opportunity to choose living in suburban areas. Vietnamese Americans were pulled into suburbia because of international forces working in tandem with local actors encouraging their suburbanization. What is also distinct about the Vietnamese American suburban experience is the way in which

their ethnic enclaves have always been suburban compared to Chinese or Japanese Americans whose first enclaves were historically located in the city.

Chinese American settlement patterns shifted dramatically after 1965. Unlike pre-World War II Chinese immigrants who mainly originated from China's Pearl River Delta, more recent immigrants come from diverse places including Hong Kong, Taiwan, Malaysia, Vietnam, and Central and South America. Most post-1965 Chinese immigrants obtained white-collar work and often settled in areas within commuters' distance from downtown Boston, Chicago, Los Angeles, New York, San Francisco, Washington, D.C., and other regional hubs. The most significant change between pre-1965 and post-1965 immigrants was near-universal Chinese suburban settlement. Rather than searching for housing in the city, contemporary Chinese immigrants relied less on the ethnic economy for jobs or services provided in Chinatown. They were less dependent on the enclave's social network as educated or skilled workers, and also found strong Chinese communities in the outskirts of downtown. However, a concomitant phenomenon occurred among post-1965 Chinese and other Asian immigrant settlement: the rise of the "ethnoburb"—a residential and commercial clustering of Asian immigrants in multiethnic suburban geographies.

Los Angeles's San Gabriel Valley is a particularly noteworthy ethnoburb. Chinese and Taiwanese Americans started moving to Monterey Park and San Gabriel in the mid-1970s, and then to adjacent suburbs such as Alhambra, Arcadia, Rosemead, San Marino, and Temple City. Shortly after, the eastern end of the Valley also experienced monumental growth with newly built homes and transnational industries attracting immigrant professionals to Diamond Bar, Hacienda Heights, Rowland Heights, and Walnut. By 2010, over 300,000 Asian Americans lived in these communities with the majority being of Chinese descent. This high concentration happened for a number of reasons. First, when Chinese developer Fred Hsieh moved to Monterey Park in the early 1970s, he purchased land for Chinese-oriented development and declared the community the future "Chinese Beverly Hills." He imagined its slower pace, proximity to downtown LA and Chinatown, and lovely yet reasonably priced

housing situated on hilly landscapes would entice Chinese to the area. He started to advertise in Asia for would-be buyers, and later realtors and other developers joined the bandwagon to turn Monterey Park into "Little Taipei." Second, as with most enclave communities, the movement of Chinese into Monterey Park triggered a snowball effect. With a rising Chinese population, came businesses and community services catering to new immigrants. The trend intensified later as white homeowners sold to wealthy immigrants wanting a piece of the pie. By 1980, the majority of Monterey Park residents were Asian. The drastic demographic change was palpable with commercial signage now donning Chinese characters and homes featuring traditional East Asian aesthetics. The 1980s, however, also ushered in a wave of nativism. In April 1985, the Monterey Park City Council proposed an "English Only" ordinance declaring English the city's official language and was thus required for business and municipal signage. This inspired similar legislation throughout the Valley and in other West Coast communities with growing non-white populations. Ironically, the newly multiethnic Monterey Park earned the title as "All-American City" for its attempts toward "racial harmony" amid demographic transformations.

Mirroring the direct-from-Asia settlement patterns of Monterey Park immigrant residents, communities in Northern California's Santa Clara County witnessed exponential Chinese suburbanization because of the "Dot Com Boom" of the mid- and late 1990s. Fortune 500 Internet and technological companies such as Apple, Google, and Yahoo aggressively recruited IT workers from China, India, Taiwan, and other parts of Asia to the Silicon Valley. In turn, Chinese immigrants' predominance in the flourishing Silicon Valley economy encouraged permanent settlement in the region. Cupertino, Fremont, and Milpitas, for example, are strongholds of Bay Area Chinese American life where exclusively Chinese strip malls cater to both post-1965 and "Dot Com" immigrants. Their growing regional prominence aggravated local Anglos accusing immigrants of creating Taipei-like neon districts and multifamily "McMansions" considered unsuitable to the landscape. In 2007, a controversial Fremont City Council resolution sought to curb future McMansion construction often associated with Asian homebuyers.

The Monterey Park and Silicon Valley examples illuminate the ways in which immediate suburbanization—and particularly ethnourbanization—was commonplace in post-1965 immigrant experiences. However, Asian Americans often struggled to secure a home and build community in spaces that were once reserved for Anglos and the middle-class. Fears based on racial difference and a “foreigner” coup d’état over local governance was not specific to California, but was also found in towns from Gwinnett County, Georgia, to Fairfax County, Virginia, to Hennepin County, Minnesota, to “suburban” Queens, New York.

Similar to experiences of other immigrants, political and economic forces happening in both the United States and the homeland directly influenced Filipino American suburbanization. For instance, the omnipresence of nursing schools in the Philippines established from the U.S. colonial period created a large and steady pool of nurses. By the mid-twentieth century, American hospitals heavily recruited from the Philippines given Filipino nurses’ familiarity with Western medical practices and English proficiency. Along with recruiting nurses, American hospitals and corporations imported thousands of Filipino doctors, care-workers, engineers, and accountants since jobs were few in the Philippines. Moreover, U.S. recruiters sought workers from Global South nations such as the Philippines believing Filipinos were easily exploitable. For instance, between the 1960s and 1980s, Chicagoland hospitals hugely benefited from Filipino nurse and physician immigration as they filled positions and worked overtime. Many immigrants settled in suburbs including Bolingbrook, Glendale Heights, Niles, or Skokie because they were affordable, comfortable, and close to work. California’s Bay Area, Los Angeles, New Jersey, New York, Florida, and Texas were also magnets of Filipino medical workers and white-collar professionals. Although most Filipino Americans who settled in suburbs at this time were from the post-1965 immigrant cohort, a large contingent of Filipino suburbanites had military ties. For instance, Filipinos serving in the U.S. military resided in San Diego and Vallejo, California and the greater Hampton Roads region of Virginia. After active duty, many purchased homes in suburban Chula Vista and National City or Virginia Beach. Las Vegas’s gaming

industry and housing stock exploded in the early 1990s attracting Filipinos to work as casino dealers and hotel concierge staff thus creating pockets of immigrant suburbs in southern Nevada. As with their Asian counterparts, overall, Filipinos typically clustered together creating suburban ethnic enclaves. Especially in California, Filipinos tend to live in suburban communities with sizable Filipino populations such as Carson, Cerritos, Daly City, Fremont, Glendale, Hayward, Milpitas, Panorama City, Union City, Walnut, and West Covina. Between these cities alone, one would find over 200,000 Filipino residents.

The contemporary Korean diaspora to the United States was less dramatic in scale compared to Chinese and Filipino immigration and mainly occurred in the 1980s and 1990s. Moreover, Korean immigrants were less likely to settle directly in suburban communities and still largely depended on urban enclaves for work, retail, and social networking. Koreatowns in Los Angeles and New York City were particularly central to everyday life, and in many ways, are still the epicenters of Korean America. Nevertheless, by the 1990s, Koreans were most concentrated in large metropolitan areas including Los Angeles, New York, Seattle, San Jose, and Baltimore/Washington, D.C. Within these regions, Koreans are visible in suburban towns such as Chino Hills, Diamond Bar, Fullerton, Irvine, Rowland Heights, and Torrance, California; Leonia and Palisades Park, New Jersey; Ellicott City and Gaithersburg, Maryland; Annandale and Centreville, Virginia; and Bellevue and Federal Way, Washington. Many Korean immigrants started such businesses as liquor stores, gas stations, and restaurants often located in working-class areas because land was cheaper and these communities were ignored by major chain stores. Korean suburbanization accelerated across the country particularly after 1992 when the Los Angeles riots marked cities as dangerous battle zones for Asian Americans. Although Korean Americans continue to hold high rates of entrepreneurship and incomes to support suburban homeownership, they also have significant poverty rates and face deep economic hardship like other immigrant households. Despite Koreatown and cities as increasingly en vogue with younger or second-generation Korean Americans, Korean suburbanization continues to rise with thousands migrating

to unlikely Asian destinations such as suburban Atlanta and even rural parts of the Midwest and South.

Prior to the late 1980s, Indian immigration was minimal compared to East Asians and Filipinos. From the mid-1990s through the early 2000s, Indian immigration ballooned as U.S. companies across the country hired students and workers from India to fill positions in the high-tech industry. Cities with the highest percentage or numbers of Indian Americans are all suburban communities including Cupertino, Fremont, and Sunnyvale, California; Hoffman Estates, Oak Brook, and Schaumburg, Illinois; Edison and Iselein, New Jersey; Garden City Park, New York; Millbourne, Pennsylvania; and Sugar Land, Texas.

Asian American suburbanization patterns continue to change, and trends are often specific to particular moments and geographies. A region's reputation as welcoming to immigrants, economic or work opportunities, prestige and municipal resources, and other material or social reasons shape the ways in which Asian Americans are drawn to and participate in U.S. suburbanization. Recent figures and studies show Asian Americans still prefer suburban communities—especially areas with an above-average percentage of residents with the same racial background. For instance, all 10 of LA's San Gabriel Valley suburbs with majority or near-majority Asian American populations in 2000 increased their Asian American populations by 2010. Suburban migration among Asian Americans is also booming in less traditional immigrant gateways such as Atlanta, Denver, and throughout the Southwest indicating a willingness to reside in less visibly Asian communities, areas with cheaper costs of living, and in regions with less job competition. At the same time, Asian Americans from Generations X and Y who grew up in suburbs are more likely to move to cities in adulthood abandoning their attachments to the urban periphery. Asian American suburbanization is multi-layered and is a narrative of struggle, privilege, and desire to succeed and belong. Although Asian Americans are located in all forms of geographic space, the suburb remains a pivotal part of understanding the Asian American experience.

James Zarsadiaz

See also Chinatown, New York; Ethnoburb; Japanese American Citizens League (JACL); Koreatown

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Sue, Stanley

Stanley Sue has been a professor of psychology and director of the Center for Excellence in Diversity at Palo Alto University since 2010. He is nationally recognized for his pioneering role in drawing attention to the mental health needs of Asian Americans and other ethnic minority groups, helping service providers recognize the need for more culturally responsive mental health service delivery, and stimulating research on mental health service delivery to underserved ethnic minority populations. His seminal work in this area helped to establish Asian American mental health as a field of scholarly inquiry. He, along with his brother, Derald Wing Sue, cofounded the Asian American Psychological Association in December 1972, with

Roger Lum, Tina Tong Yee, and Marion Tin-Loy as its founding members. Sue has also been instrumental in securing several major grants and conducting groundbreaking psychiatric epidemiological research on specific Asian American populations in close collaboration with Nolan Zane and David Takeuchi, in particular.

Stanley Sue graduated from University of Oregon with a BS in psychology in 1966 and earned his master's degree and doctorate in clinical psychology from the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) in 1967 and 1971, respectively. He began his academic career at the University of Washington (1971–1981), and was professor of psychology at UCLA from 1981 to 1996. During his time at UCLA, he established the National Research Center on Asian American Mental Health (NRCAAMH), which attracted significant numbers of graduate students interested in psychological research on Asian Americans over many years. He served as director of NRCAAMH from 1988 to 2001, moving the Center to the University of California, Davis in 1996, where he was professor of psychology, psychiatry, and Asian American studies until 2010, attaining the rank of Distinguished Professor in 2004. After retiring from UC Davis as Distinguished Professor Emeritus, he moved to Palo Alto University in 2010.

In the 1970s, Sue and his colleagues began investigating the experience of ethnic minority clients seeking services in the Seattle area mental health system, documenting that Asian Americans were more likely to underutilize services and drop out of treatment prematurely compared to other ethnic groups. This early work initiated a long-term trajectory of scholarship for Sue characterized not only by its ethnic minority focus, but also by its impact on public policy and mental health service delivery to ethnic minority populations. Sue's lifelong commitment to improving human welfare through conducting timely, relevant empirical research arose out of his early realization in the 1960s that his passion for civil rights could be combined with his chosen profession to address ethnic minority experiences and concerns. From 1996 to 1998, for instance, Sue served on an interstate commission, which developed national guidelines and standards for providing culturally competent mental

health care; in 2001, he was asked to serve as science editor of the Surgeon General's Supplementary Report on Mental Health.

Sue has received many awards in recognition of his public service, mentoring, teaching, and scholarship, including several Distinguished Contributions to psychology from various divisions of the American Psychological Association (APA), and a 2009 Presidential Citation from the APA for Contributions to Psychology. In 2003, the Stanley Sue Award was established in his honor by APA's Division on Clinical Psychology to recognize an individual who has made remarkable contributions to the understanding of human diversity. He was the first recipient.

Jennifer S. Abe

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Sui, Anna (1955–)

Anna Sui is a Chinese American New York-based fashion designer. Sui is best known for her bohemian, glamorous rock-and-roll and vintage-inspired designs. She manages to combine rich fabrics and hippie and

mod aesthetics from the 1960s and Goth and glam rock from the 1970s in a way that is bold, funky, and feminine with a youthful spirit. Sui designs under her own label, Anna Sui, and also has cosmetic, shoe, and fragrance lines, and has partnered with other companies for limited edition items.

Anna Sui was born in the suburbs of Detroit, Michigan, on August 4, 1955. Her parents, Paul and Grace Sui, were both born in China, but met and married when studying abroad in Paris, France. Anna grew up in Dearborn, Michigan, where she had wanted to be a fashion designer since the age of four years old.

She moved to New York City in 1973 to study at Parsons School of Design. When at Parsons, she met and became friends with Steven Meisel, who would become a fashion photographer. However, she left Parsons in 1975 and began working at Charlie's Girls, a junior sportswear company, where she was in charge of her own design room. She later worked at other sportswear companies, including Glenora and Simultanee.

In 1981, Sui launched her own fashion line by designing five pieces to show at a shared booth in that year's Boutique Show, a fashion trade show in New York City. At the Boutique Show, she booked orders from Macy's and Bloomingdales. Sui left her full-time job to design for her own line, but struggled in the early years. For several years, Sui ran her business from her apartment. She also made ends meet by styling for photo shoots for Steven Meisel, and turned down a fashion editorship at *Vogue* to focus on her fashion line. In 1987, Sui began showing her line at the Annett B. Showroom and set up a new work space in the Garment District.

Anna Sui's first runway show during New York Fashion Week in 1991 helped to establish her as an up-and-coming designer. Though she lacked funds to pay models, with the help of Meisel, Sui was able to enlist the help of top supermodels such as Linda Evangelista, Christy Turlington, and Naomi Campbell, who walked in her runway show for payment in the form of dresses. Sui's runway show was a theatrical experience in which she showed her clothing line in the form of styled, head-to-toe coordinated runway looks, a backdrop, and music.

In 1992, Sui opened her first boutique at 113 Greene Street in Soho, complete with red floors, that

remains her flagship boutique today, and her brand has continued to grow. In 1993, she received the Perry Ellis Award for new fashion talent from the Council of Fashion Designers of America (CFDA). Sui has license partnerships for shoe, cosmetics, fragrance, eyewear, and other product lines. She also has a distribution deal with Isetan, a Japanese department store that has expanded her brand in Asia by opening free-standing Anna Sui boutiques.

Katie Furuyama

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Sui Sin Far (Edith Maude Eaton) (1865–1914)

The first Chinese woman writer in America, Sui Sin Far was born into a family of an English father and a Chinese mother. She immigrated with her parents to Hudson City, New York in 1871. Her family later resettled in Montreal, Canada.

Among the early Chinese American authors, Sui Sin Far was virtually the only one who engaged in writing imaginative literature rather than social-anthropological works. Owing to her talents in writing and deep insight into the themes she presents, she achieved great success. At a time when there was strong bias against writers of Chinese ancestry in mainstream American literature, her works were carried by major literary journals and newspapers throughout North America, including *Independent*, *New England*, *Overland Monthly*, *Land of Sunshine*, and *New York Evening Post*. Thirty-seven of her previously published stories later were collected in a volume entitled *Mrs. Spring Fragrance* (1913), which won critical and popular acclaim.

Although Sui Sin Far's artistry in writing enables her to achieve a literary success that is beyond the reach of most early Chinese American authors, what

really makes her stories attract critics' attention is her conscientious effort to create an objective image of Chinese Americans. As a freelance journalist covering Chinese communities, Sui Sin Far spent a significant part of her life with Chinese immigrants on the Pacific Coast, particularly in Seattle, where she lived for a decade and worked at a Baptist mission teaching Chinese immigrants English.

Because of her familiarity with the Chinese American experience, Sui Sin Far's portrayal of Chinese immigrants has a feeling of truth that did not exist in the popular American fiction of her time. Probing deeply into America's Chinatown and the complex lives of its inhabitants, she exhibited to her audience a hidden world that was largely ignored or grossly distorted by mainstream American writers. Her stories, especially those in *Mrs. Spring Fragrance*, were composed in an intimate, descriptive tone and, based on what she had learned in her life among Chinese immigrants, present a panoramic view and gives readers a truthful feeling of the daily life in the Chinese American community at the turn of the twentieth century. The issue of Chinese American identity, the contradictions between Westernized and tradition-oriented Chinese immigrants, the self-protective aspect of the Chinese community, the mental torment of Eurasians, and interracial marriage and its consequence are all ably examined in depth with responsiveness to the imperatives of her conscience. The rich diversity of themes and subject matter of her work cuts across lines of color, gender, class, and nationalities, thus satisfying almost all of the segments in the world of literary critics: whereas women scholars like Sui Sin Far's feminist stance, those who advocate writers' social responsibilities praise her consciousness in speaking for Chinese immigrant laborers; others are impressed by her exploration of the cultural conflicts in the Chinese American experience. In this sense, Sui Sin Far seems peerless among her contemporaries and her writing represents an unusual perspective in Chinese American literary history.

More significantly, Sui Sin Far's frequent contacts with Chinese immigrants helped her develop "Chinese instincts" and made her become part of the Chinese American community. Although as a Eurasian, her appearance would allow her to "pass" into mainstream

American society, she chose to identify herself publicly with Chinese who were then treated so contemptuously in American society. Throughout her life, she remained fiercely proud of her Chinese heritage and never let an insult to the Chinese go unchallenged. Her consciousness of her Chinese ethnicity is also subtly underscored by her selection of the Chinese pseudonym "Sui Sin Far"—meaning "narcissus" in Cantonese dialect, and her insistence in using the name in publications as well as in real life. Although adoption of a pseudonym is a frequent phenomenon among writers, the selection of a pseudonym itself often reveals a writer's particular intention or concern. In this case, Sui Sin Far's selection of the pseudonym reflects her affection for the Chinese. The full extent of her intention to select the name comes home when one finds that "narcissus" in Chinese culture, unlike the Western legend, symbolizes dignity, elegance, and love for homeland. This forms a sharp contrast to her sister Winnifred, who, as a best-selling writer of "Japanese culture," adopts a Japanese pseudonym "Onoto Watanna" and trades her birthright for recognition and popularity.

Sui Sin Far's gallant defense of Chinese Americans was widely recognized by Chinese communities and earned their praise in her lifetime. As she recalls in her lengthy, vividly written autobiographic essay, "Leaves from the Mental Portfolio of a Eurasian": "My heart leaps for joy when I read one day an article signed by a New York Chinese in which he declares '(The) Chinese in America owe an everlasting debt of gratitude to Sui Sin Far for the bold stand she has taken in their defense.'" When she died in Montreal in 1914, the Chinese communities of Montreal and Boston placed a memorial at her tomb to express their gratitude and admiration for her dedication to the cause of Chinese immigrants. The tombstone is carved with four big Chinese characters meaning "A righteous person who never forgets Chinese."

As the first Chinese American woman writer, Sui Sin Far's accomplishment is extraordinary. By exploring the life of the humble, law-abiding immigrants who shoulder the burden of daily toil in the new land, she has drawn an original and realistic picture that provides her readers with fresh glimpses into the lives, thoughts, and emotions of Chinese immigrants. It is

such an achievement that closely links her writing with the social reality of Chinese America and represents a major aspect of the early Chinese American literature. The fact that her work is favorably reviewed by both mainstream and Asian American critics today, whereas the writing of most Chinese Americans of her time has faded out, is a testimony to the recognition and success Sui Sin Far has achieved.

Xiao-huang Yin

See also Chinese Americans

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Sumida, Stephen H.

Stephen H. Sumida is a professor of American ethnic studies at the University of Washington in Seattle. His areas of expertise include Asian American literature and interdisciplinary studies, comparative American ethnic literary studies, and interdisciplinary and transnational American studies. Sumida has been the recipient of teaching and community service awards and is regarded as a pioneer in the field of Asian American studies. He has been recognized as an exceptional mentor and advisor to students, staff, and faculty. He has published and edited several academic studies of literature and also guided the development of fields of Asian American studies and American studies as president of the Association for Asian American Studies (AAAS) and the American Studies Association (ASA).

Sumida received his BA in English from Amherst College in 1968 and his PhD in English in 1982 from the University of Washington. In his career he taught in the Department of English Language and Literature and Program in American Culture at the University of Michigan (1990–1998), the Departments of

Comparative American Cultures and English and the American Studies Program at Washington State University (1981–1990), and the English and American Studies Departments of the University of Hawaii (1970–1980).

Upon graduating from college, Sumida was awarded an Amherst College-Doshisha University Teaching Fellowship and lived and taught in Kyoto, Japan for the first time. This experience shaped his interest in transnational studies and Asian and Asian American literature. In 1975 Sumida dedicated his career to the study and teaching of Asian American literature when he became the coordinator of the Pacific Northwest Asian American Writers' Conference. He went on to be a cofounder of Talk Story Inc., a cultural organization for developing research, creativity, and study in Hawaii's literature and arts.

In the 1980s and 1990s Sumida worked to establish the fields of Asian American literature and ethnic American literature. His 1991 book on Hawaii's literature, *And the View from the Shore: Literary Traditions of Hawaii*, (winner of the Cultural Studies Book Award from the Association of Asian American Studies), was the first on native, immigrant, and colonial literature of Hawaii in historical and comparative contexts.

In the 1990s he developed one of the first Asian American Studies undergraduate and graduate programs in the Midwest at the University of Michigan. Sumida worked with literary scholars in the Modern Language Association (MLA) of America as chair of the Committee on the Literatures and Languages of America to develop the study and presence of multicultural American literature. In 2001 he coedited (with Sau-ling Wong) the MLA's *A Resource Guide to Asian American Literature* and his work has been published in numerous scholarly and literary journals.

In his 2003 Presidential Address to the American Studies Association Sumida called for the association to engage with the international scholarship and study of American studies and integrate questions of how American culture and U.S. ethnic studies and international American studies transform and affect each other. In leading by example, he has participated in multiple American studies projects in India, Japan, and Korea and lectures widely around the world about

his interest in American studies in an international context.

In 2007–2008 Sumida was awarded a Fulbright Professorship to teach in Tokyo at Tsuda College and Tokyo Institute of Technology. In 2011 Sumida was honored with the James Dolliver Visiting Professorship in the Humanities at the University of Puget Sound.

Shilpa S. Davé

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Sun Yat-sen (1866–1925)

Sun Yat-Sen was a Chinese revolutionary and the first president and founding father of the Republic of China. He was born on November 12, 1866, in Guangzhou and died on March 12, 1925, in Beijing. Sun married three times, to Lu Muzhen, Kaoru Otsuki, and Soong Ching-ling (Song Qinling). Sun played an instrumental role in the overthrow of the Qing Dynasty or Manchu government during the Xinhai Revolution. He was the first provisional president when the Republic of China was founded in 1912 and later cofounded the Nationalist Party, *Kuomintang* (KMT), serving as its first leader. Sun is referred to as the "Father of the Nation" in the Republic of China (ROC, Taiwan) and the "forerunner of democratic revolution" in the People's Republic of China. He is the only Chinese politician who is widely revered among the people from both mainland China and Taiwan. Sun developed the political philosophy known as the Three Principles of the People: nationalism, democracy, and the people's livelihood.

Like many Chinese in his time, Sun had a few first names. He was born Sun Wen, with the genealogical name being Sun Deming. He used the name Yat-sen (the Cantonese pronunciation of Sun Yixian) when he

was at school in Hong Kong. Sun was also known as Sun Zhongshan, his most commonly known name in China and Taiwan.

Education

Sun was born in Guangdong province in China. In 1879, at the age of 13, he was sent to live with his elder brother in Honolulu. He enrolled in the Iolani School to learn English. After briefly attending Oahu College, the precursor of the present-day Punahou School, an American Congregationalist school, Sun returned to Cuiheng, China. He moved to Hong Kong in 1883 at the age of 17 for further Western studies at the Diocesan School, sponsored by the Church of England. Sun entered Queen's College the following year. In 1884, Sun was baptized as a Christian.

In 1885, the Sino-French War broke out. The Qing government signed the Tianjin Treaty to allow foreign subjugations in Shanghai. Sun entered the Canton



Sun Yat-sen, first president and founding father of the Republic of China. (Library of Congress)

Hospital Medical College in 1886, where he began advocating for political change and reform. In 1887, Sun entered the College of Medicine in Hong Kong and graduated in 1892 and began working as an intern at the Chinghu Hospital in Macao. In December of the same year, Sun opened the China-West Pharmacy in Macao providing free service to the poor and performing surgery at the Kian Wu hospital until he was stopped by the Portuguese authorities, who colonized Macao at the time.

Revolution

In 1894, Sun wrote a letter presenting his reform idea to Li Hongzhang, governor general of Tianjin, who was in charge of foreign affairs. Not receiving any responses from Li, Sun returned to Hawaii in the same year and organized the *Xingzhonghui* (Revive China Society) in November with the goal of overthrowing the Qing dynasty and setting up a republican government. However, the plot to start an uprising in Guangzhou, China in October 1895 failed. As a result, Sun fled to Hong Kong, and began recruiting supporters and raising funds for further revolutionary activities in Japan, Southeast Asia, the United States, and Europe.

Sun was kidnapped and captured by Qing legation officials during his trip to London in 1896. With the help from his British professor from medical school, his capture was publicized in the *London Globe*, which embarrassed the Qing officials and led to his release. Sun then became internationally recognized as a leading revolutionary figure in China. In 1897, Sun went to Yokohama, Japan, and adopted the Japanese name *Nakayama*. When in Japan, Sun established the East-West School, and befriended several influential people, including Inukai Tsuyoshi (1855–1932), who later became Japan's prime minister. Sun returned to China in 1899 and planned a series of uprisings. After all of these revolutionary activities failed, Sun returned to Japan for another three years, gaining support from Chinese students overseas.

From 1903 to 1905, Sun expanded his following in Southeast Asia, the United States, and Europe, unifying different political parties and student groups into a new organization, the *Tongmenghui* (United League,

or Revolutionary Alliance). He also established the journal *Minbao* (People's Journal) in 1905 in which he first discussed his ideological principles—*Sanmin Zhuyi* (Three Principles of the People). Sun later elaborated on his political beliefs and doctrine, *Sanmin Zhuyi* or The Three Principles of the People at a meeting of the Executive Committee of the National People's Party in the southern Chinese city of Guangzhou in 1921. They are *minzhou*—the ethnic nation, emphasizing elimination of all foreign domination and uniting Han Chinese and ethnic minorities; *minchuan*—the people's rights, a republic committed to prevent autocratic and tyrannical leadership and excessive liberty; and *mingsheng*—the people's well-being, a more equitable distribution of wealth and nationalization of large private industries, such as banking, railways, and navigations to prevent private capital from controlling economic life. In Chinese, “*min*” means “people.” The three principles also have been translated as nationalism, democracy, and socialism. Sun had likened his principles to President Abraham Lincoln's ideals of government from the 1863 Gettysburg address “of the people” (*minzhou* or nationalism), “by the people” (*minchuan* or democracy), and “for the people” (*mingsheng* or socialism).

After 10 failed uprisings, Sun finally succeeded on October 10, 1911, at the tricity complex of Wuhan. The Wuchang Uprising triggered revolutionary actions across the country that eventually led to the collapse of the Qing dynasty Manchu government. Sun was elected the provisional president on December 29, and on January 1912, the Republic of China was formally declared.

Sun's presidency was short-lived because of the complicated political struggles following the uprising. On February 12, 1912, Pu Yi, the last emperor of the Qing dynasty, announced his abdication. The next day, Sun relinquished his title to Yuan Shi-kai, who controlled the northern half of China at the time. On August 25, the Tongmenghui was reorganized as Kuomintang or the Nationalist Party with Sun as the chairman. In September 1912, Sun accepted Yuan's appointment to work out a plan on the construction of a national railway.

Unfortunately, internal conflicts, and political and power struggles continued. This resulted in Yuan's

disbandment of the KMT and accepting Japan's "21 Demands," which ceded parts of its territorial, political, military, and financial assets during World War I, and allowed military warlords to divide and control different parts of China. In 1921, a parliament was reformed and Sun was sworn in as the president of the Republic of China, but the Northern Expedition fighting with the warlords in the north continued.

In 1923, in an effort to reorganize and strengthen the KMT parliament in southern China, Sun sought assistance from the Communists, because he was impressed by Communist discipline, organization, and economic development in the Soviet Union. Sun took the titles of the head of government and party and established *Huangpu* Military Academy to prepare army officers. Chiang Kai-shek (1887–1975), trained in the Soviet Union, was made commandant. In 1924, the Central Bank of China was established in Guangzhou. Sun experienced a significant health decline in 1924. When Sun died on March 12, 1925, at the age of 59, China was still divided between KMT in the south, and a northern government ruled by *Duan Chiyu* (Duan Qirui, 1864–1936) in Beijing.

Sun had a vision of China's economic and industrial modernization. His book *The Strategy of Nation Building* lays out development programs that include a network of railways, coastal development with three major ports in the northern, central, and southern regions, mining industry, dams for flood controls, and river transportation. China's Four Modernization programs in agriculture, industry, science, and technology in China proposed by Deng Xiaoping (1904–1997) had been viewed as an echo of Sun's plan.

Family

In 1884, at the age of 18, following Chinese tradition, Sun married Lu Muzhen (1867–1952), a woman from his hometown, Cuiheng, through an arranged marriage. Lu took care of his parents when Sun was traveling and engaging in revolutionary activities. They had a son, Sun Ke (1891–1973), who was educated in the United States and became a political conservative in KMT. In 1895, the family moved to Honolulu to live with Sun's brother Sun Mei. Sun and Lu had two more daughters when Lu lived in Hawaii.

During a stay in Japan, Sun married a young Japanese woman, with whom he had a daughter. His most significant relationship was with Soong Ching-ling (1893–1981), a graduate from Wesleyan College in Macon, Georgia. She was a fervent supporter of Sun's revolution. They were married in 1915, when Sun was still officially married to his first wife, Lu. For the remaining 10 years of Sun's life, he was accompanied everywhere by Soong Ching-ling. After Sun died, Soong's position as his widow made her a significant public figure for the rest of her long life. Even though different political groups competed for her support, Soong herself believed that her primary duty was to remain faithful to Sun's political principles. She opposed Chiang Kai-shek when he assumed leadership of KMT, and became an advocate of civil rights and resistance to the Japanese occupation. Soong was involved in Chinese Communist affairs, and after 1949, became a vice chair of the New People's Republic of China.

Yuying Tsong

See also Soong Mei-ling

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Sung, Betty Lee (1924–)

Betty Lee Sung is a path-breaking Asian American historian, professor, activist and author of seven influential books that have had a major impact on the narrative and portrayals of Chinese immigrants in the United States. Although other historians focused on Chinese immigration to the West Coast in the latter half of the nineteenth century, Sung documented the significant communities and contributions of Chinese on the East Coast beginning in the eighteenth century. She was a founding member of the Organization of Chinese Americans and has been honored by numerous organizations such as the Asian American Higher Education Council and the American Library Association. Her extensive cataloguing of U.S. immigration files are housed in the “Betty Sung Lee Collection” of the Asian American Section of the Library of Congress.

Sung was born in the United States on October 3, 1924, the daughter of immigrant parents from Guangdong, China and grew up in Washington D.C. Her family moved back to Toishan, China during the Great Depression then moved back to the United States prior to the Japanese takeover of Guangdong during World War II.

After completing her BA from the University of Illinois in 1948, she settled in New York City and worked as a scriptwriter for the Voice of America radio program. One of her assignments was to cover the activities of the Chinese in the United States and she realized the lack of accurate information available and began her quest to fill that void.

Her extensive archival and ethnographic research led to the publication of her first book, *Mountains of Gold: The Story of the Chinese in America* in 1967. She directly and meticulously documented that, contrary to the prevailing stereotypes of the time, the Chinese were not “unassimilable aliens” who were content to voluntarily segregate themselves in insular ethnic communities. Rather, the Chinese wanted the opportunity to become productive and fully integrated members of the American mainstream, despite the overwhelming racial discrimination and injustices they experienced.

Mountains of Gold became one of the early classic foundational works for the creation of Asian American

studies in the late 1960s, including the Asian American Studies Program at the City College of New York, where Betty Lee Sung was appointed to teach its first course, eventually serving as the chair of the Asian American Studies Department until her retirement in 1992. She also completed her PhD from the City University of New York in 1983.

Sung authored numerous articles and books, including the award-winning *Survey of Chinese Manpower and Employment* in 1976. During her career, she compiled a comprehensive collection of archival records on the Chinese in the United States and eventually donated her records to the Library of Congress.

Sung was also a community activist and made significant contribution to the civil rights of all Asian Americans. Among her many community activities, she organized a City Hall protest against councilmember Julia Harrison’s derogatory remarks against Asians, which contributed to John Liu replacing Harrison in her Flushing Council seat and becoming the city’s first Asian American councilmember in 2002. In the aftermath of 9/11, Sung served on a Lower Manhattan Development Corporation committee as an advisor to the rebuilding of Manhattan’s Chinatown. Sung is married to Charles Chung and has eight children.

Miliann Kang

See also Chinatown, New York

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Survey of Race Relations on the Pacific Coast

The Survey of Race Relations on the Pacific Coast was a social scientific survey founded by Protestant missionaries who had served the YMCA in Japan in the

early 1900s. The project began in 1922 and was completed in 1925. The Survey took place in five major urban centers including Vancouver, British Columbia; Seattle, Washington; Portland, Oregon; San Francisco and Los Angeles, California; as well as in various agricultural regions in the San Joaquin Valley of California. The Survey received initial funding from the Institute of Social and Religious Research, a New York-based socioreligious reform organization founded by John D. Rockefeller, Jr. In 1923, Protestant organizers seeking to bring an air of scientific objectivity to the Survey commissioned sociologists to carry out interviews with Asian immigrants, North American-born Asian Americans, and white residents in the five focus regions. Seven general categories of interest framed sociologists' interviews. These included population demographics, immigration rates, birth rates, Americanization efforts, immigrant assimilation, agriculture, and social and business relationships in immigrant and white communities. In addition to questionnaires, Asian immigrant and Asian American participants contributed impromptu life histories that explored issues as diverse as racial discrimination, intermarriage, and the experiences of Asian immigrants in a transnational social and economic context. Inevitably, the Survey collected more than 600 interviews with white, Asian immigrant, and Asian American participants.

Disturbed by increasingly hostile anti-Japanese sentiment in California, and impending immigration legislation that would exclude the majority of new Japanese immigrants from entering the United States, Protestant missionaries envisioned the study as one that would send a message to Japan that the United States was serious about resolving anti-Japanese racial discrimination in the country. They also wanted to assure Japan that the United States intended to take measures to protect those immigrants already living in the United States from continued racial, social, and economic persecution. Protestant organizers deeply influenced by social gospel-era theology hoped the Survey would foster "mutual understanding" between white and Japanese communities and help to dismantle existing legislation that forbade Japanese immigrants to own land, form corporations, or attain naturalization rights in the United States. Finally, Protestant

organizers advocated through the study for the Americanization and assimilation of Japanese immigrants and North American-born Japanese Americans. They argued that assimilation would decrease anti-Japanese hostility and touted the central role Christian missions and the Christian church played in these efforts.

A number of challenges stymied the efforts of Protestant organizers. Ideological differences between Protestant organizers and sociologists hired to carry out the Survey created lasting tensions throughout the course of the study. Skepticism among anti-Japanese organizations on the Pacific Coast also made organizing the Survey difficult and financially cumbersome. Ideologically, Protestant organizers applied liberal Protestant theology to their efforts in the Survey of Race Relations and highlighted especially the role direct action on the part of advocacy groups such as the YMCA and the Federal Council of Churches in America could play in decreasing racial hostilities among white and Japanese communities. Sociologists on the other hand applied the theories of University of Chicago sociologist Robert Ezra Park as their methodological foundation. Park's theory of race relations relied on a static economic model that attributed racial discrimination to economic competition. Sociologists did not believe that social advocacy could change or impede what they considered a natural outcome of increased social and economic interaction in the post-World War I modern era.

In addition to ideological differences between organizers and sociologists, the Survey of Race Relations encountered challenges from anti-Japanese groups in the five regional centers where the Survey was to take place. These challenges impeded their efforts to raise funds for the Survey on the Pacific Coast. The Survey relied on an initial grant from the Institute of Social and Religious Research yet these funds were contingent on Protestant organizer's ability to raise matching funds among Pacific Coast donors. A general lack of interest in the Survey in certain regions as well as backlash from anti-Japanese organizations such as the American Legion, the Sons of the Golden West, and the Anti-Japanese League consistently challenged organizer's ability to raise sufficient matching funds. Anti-Japanese organizations accused Protestant

founders of favoring Japanese immigrants over white residents and for their sympathy in promoting racial liberalism in future immigration reform initiatives. To combat such skepticism and bring additional funds to the Survey among Pacific Coast donors, Protestant organizers expanded the geographic focus of the Survey to states outside of California. They also expanded the focus groups to be studied beyond Japanese immigrants and Japanese Americans. Inevitably, the Survey of Race Relations included studies of Japanese, Chinese, Sikh, Korean, and even some Mexican immigrant communities in California, Oregon, Washington, and British Columbia. This expanded model further strained the limited funds Protestant organizers initially received from the Institute of Social and Religious Research and did little to assuage anti-Japanese organizations charges of Protestant bias.

Despite ideological differences and strained financial resources, the Survey collected an astounding number of interviews among Asian immigrant and Asian American communities. Although organizers limited their interviews primarily to educated, English-speaking Asian immigrant and Asian American communities and marginalized the rural, laboring classes of Asian immigrant and Asian American populations, the Survey of Race Relations offered these participants the chance to voice concerns regarding racial discrimination, immigration restrictions, and international affairs shaping U.S.-East Asian policy in the interwar period. Collectively, the interviews provided a window into the lives of first-generation immigrants from East Asia. Their voices demonstrated both the challenges and discrimination immigrants faced as well as the adaptability and tenacity exhibited by the first generation. Interviews among North American-born Asian American youth provided insight into the social and economic challenges faced by the second generation as well as personal struggles Asian Americans faced as they sought to define themselves as both Asian and American amid an often hostile white American mainstream.

In the longer-term, the Survey of Race Relations formed the early conceptualization of the Institute of Pacific Relations founded at the University of Hawaii in 1925. That organization, founded by liberal Protestant organizers and collaborators from the United

States, China, Japan, and a handful of other Pacific Rim nations sought to increase dialogue among Pacific Rim nations in the pre- and post-World War II era.

Sarah Griffith

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Suzuki, Bob H.

Bob H. Suzuki is a former president of the California Polytechnic State University at Pomona. Promoting campus diversity was a hallmark of Suzuki’s 12-year tenure. Under his direction, Cal Poly Pomona added, among other resources, a multicultural center for students and a teaching and learning center for faculty and staff. Suzuki also helped establish the Leadership Development Program for Higher Education, a program targeting the underrepresentation of Asian Americans in leadership positions in higher education. He is an influential civil rights activist, having helped lead a campaign to repeal the 1950 McCarran Internal Security Act (also known as the Emergency Detention Act) in 1971, and another campaign to desegregate public schools in Pasadena, California in 1974.

Born in Portland, Oregon, to immigrant parents from Japan, Suzuki had yet to begin school when World War II broke out. He was interned with the rest of his family in Minidoka, Idaho, where he spent the

first three years of his schooling. Suzuki struggled with his early schoolwork, as he could barely speak English. When the war ended, Suzuki's family relocated to a rural town near Spokane, Washington, where his father had found work as a tenant farmer. Despite his earlier difficulties in the classroom, Suzuki would eventually graduate from high school at the top of his class.

He would go on to study mechanical engineering at the University of California, Berkeley, where he received a bachelor's degree in 1960 and a master's degree in 1962. After working as an engineer for Boeing for several years, Suzuki resumed his studies at the California Institute of Technology, where he received a doctorate in aeronautics in 1967.

Suzuki has taught and held administrative positions at a wide array of institutions. Upon receiving his doctorate from Caltech, he joined the Department of Aerospace Engineering at the University of Southern California, where he taught both undergraduate and graduate engineering courses. It was during this time that Suzuki's interest in the burgeoning civil rights movement was ignited. He decided in 1971 to leave USC to become a faculty member and an assistant dean at the School of Education at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst. In 1977, Suzuki published an influential article, entitled "Education and the socialization of Asian Americans: A revisionist analysis of the 'model minority' thesis," that analyzed the emergence of the "model minority" myth. He would continue to lecture, write, and publish about the subject for the rest of his career.

Suzuki returned to California in 1981, when he became Dean of Graduate Studies and Research at California State University, Los Angeles. He held this position until becoming vice president for Academic Affairs at California State University, Northridge in 1985. In 1991, Suzuki was selected to be the fourth president of Cal Poly Pomona, a position he held until his retirement in 2003.

At Pomona, Suzuki was heavily committed to diversifying the university's faculty, student body, and campus and academic programs. Under his direction, the university established several programs and facilities intended to increase campus diversity, including several student cultural centers, academic workshops for entering undergraduates, and an annual cross-cultural student retreat.

Cal Poly Pomona expanded in several other directions during Suzuki's tenure, adding an instructional technology and computing center, a small on-campus college preparatory high school, and numerous other buildings and facilities. Just prior to Suzuki's retirement, the university began construction on a \$250 million technology and business park intended to improve the university's engagement with the nearby community and to boost the region's overall economic activity. Also during his tenure, Cal Poly Pomona generated more than \$75 million in grants from the federal government, greatly enhancing the university's involvement in research.

Suzuki has held various advisory and leadership positions in addition to his academic roles. He chaired the National Education Commission of the Japanese American Citizens League, the Equal Opportunity Program Advisory Committee at Pasadena City College, as well as the Community Advisory Committee for the desegregation of public schools in Pasadena, California. He has also been a member of the National Science Board.

Suzuki is the recipient of numerous awards and honors. In 1976, he became the inaugural winner of the National Education Association's Human Rights Award for Leadership in Asian and Pacific Island Affairs. In 2001, he received the San Gabriel Valley Economic Partnership's Technology Leadership Award. In 2003, he was presented with the badge of the Order of the Rising Sun, Gold Rays with Neck Ribbon by the Japanese government.

Suzuki retired in 2003, leaving a legacy of promoting diversity, modernizing facilities, and improving research at Cal Poly Pomona. He is married to Agnes Suzuki (formerly Hirano) and has three children and three grandchildren. Suzuki continues to serve as an advisor and director to Leadership Education for Asian Pacifics (LEAP), an Asian American leadership training organization in Los Angeles, and to the Ahmisa Center, an interdisciplinary center for the teaching and study of nonviolence at Cal Poly Pomona.

Winston Chou

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Suzuki, Daisetz Teitarō (D. T.) (1870–1966)

Daisetz Teitarō Suzuki (more popularly known as D. T. Suzuki) was a Japanese scholar of Buddhism, a renowned author, and the most significant proponent of Zen Buddhism in the West during the twentieth century. Suzuki’s introductory books on Zen along with his captivating lectures, most notably at Columbia University in the 1950s, influenced a generation of American artists, musicians, poets, and writers. By the time of his death in 1966, Suzuki was hailed in popular American media as the “foremost authority of Zen,” and through his efforts Zen became a household word.

Born Suzuki Teitarō in Kanazawa, Japan in 1870, Suzuki’s interest in Zen Buddhism was piqued by his high-school mathematics teacher who was a student of the esteemed Rinzai Zen master Imakita Kōsen (1816–1892). Suzuki taught English at a primary school before attending university, and after transferring to Tokyo Imperial University in 1892 he began to study Zen under Kōsen at Engaku-ji, a Rinzai Zen monastery in Kamakura. When Kōsen died later in 1892, Suzuki continued his studies with Kōsen’s teaching heir, Shaku Sōen (1859–1919). Sōen later conferred the honorary name Daisetz (Daisetsu), “Great Simplicity,” upon Suzuki, although Suzuki was to remain a lay practitioner his entire life.

This relationship with Sōen would prove to be pivotal. In 1893, Sōen traveled to the United States to attend the World Parliament of Religions in Chicago and met Paul Carus (1852–1919), a philosopher and writer who was working for Open Court Press in La Salle, Illinois. Afterward, Carus sent Sōen a few of his publications, including his popular 1894 work, *The Gospel of Buddha*. Suzuki was deeply impressed by Carus’s scientific and rational interpretation of Buddhist thought, and translated *The Gospel of Buddha* into Japanese (entitled *Budda no fukuin*).

Furthermore, Suzuki asked Sōen to write a letter on his behalf requesting to study with Carus in America. Carus agreed and Suzuki arrived in America in 1897. He sustained himself by working at Open Court Press and was also exposed to the writings of influential Western philosophers such as William James. The writings of James, especially his *Varieties of Religious Experience*, proved to be formative in Suzuki’s mature views on Zen as an expression of a pure and unmediated mystical experience.

Suzuki returned to Japan in 1909 and two years later he married Beatrice Lane (1878–1939), a graduate of Radcliff College who shared an interest in Theosophy and mysticism with Suzuki. During this period Suzuki was also interested in the writings of the Swedish theologian Emanuel Swedenborg (1688–1772), whom he claimed was “the Buddha of the North.” In 1921 Suzuki took a position at Otani University in Kyoto and founded a journal called the *Eastern Buddhist* devoted to the study of Mahāyāna Buddhism. Although Suzuki would lecture internationally over the years, he would continue to have an association with Otani University until 1960.

Of Suzuki’s English language works published in the 1930s, the three-volume collection entitled *Essays in Zen Buddhism* (1927–1934) and *An Introduction to Zen Buddhism* (1934), were read by a wide range of audiences and were important catalysts in popularizing Zen in the West. The 1939 German edition of his *Introduction* contained a preface by the famed psychoanalyst Carl Jung (1875–1961), which was later translated and added to the 1949 English edition. At the heart of Suzuki’s interpretation of Zen was a nondual and ultimately transformative experience that transcended both history and culture, and thus was not restricted to any particular religion, but was at the core of all religions. Furthermore, Suzuki’s 1938 work *Zen Buddhism and Its Influence on Japanese Culture* (later republished as *Zen and Japanese Culture*) highlighted Zen as the bedrock of Japanese arts and as a quintessential element of Japanese culture.

Suzuki’s continued rise to prominence would culminate in the 1950s when he was in his 80s. Suzuki arrived in Hawaii in 1949 for his second extended lecturing stint outside of Japan, and between 1951 and 1957 he held a series of lectures at Columbia

University that garnered popular media attention in magazines such as *Vogue*, *Time*, and the *New Yorker*. During this period Suzuki's interpretation of Zen was particularly influential with Beat generation writers such as Jack Kerouac (1922–1969), Allen Ginsberg (1926–1997), Gary Snyder (1930–), as well as the psychologist Erich Fromm (1900–1980), composer John Cage (1912–1992), and the Trappist monk and author Thomas Merton (1915–1968). Suzuki's books, lectures, and appealing media persona ultimately ushered in a period of intense interest in Zen Buddhism during the late 1950s and early 1960s in America.

Suzuki died in Tokyo in 1966 at the age of 95. Although Suzuki contributed to the scholarly study of Buddhism, writing prolifically in both Japanese and English, these works are generally overshadowed by his cultural impact in the West as an ambassador of Zen.

Peter M. Romaskiewicz

See also Buddhism in Asian America; Buddhist Churches of America (BCA)

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Suzuki, Shunryū (1904–1971)

Shunryū Suzuki was a Japanese Sōtō Zen priest who helped found the well-known San Francisco Zen Center in 1962 as well as the Tassajara Zen Mountain Center, the first Zen Buddhist monastery in the United States, in 1967. His efforts helped shape and further popularize Zen Buddhism during the Beat Generation and counterculture movement of the 1960s in Northern California. Suzuki's seminal work, *Zen Mind, Beginner's Mind*, published shortly before his death, is a collection of his lectures that has also become influential in spreading Zen philosophy and meditation practice to popular America audiences.

Suzuki was born in Kanagawa Prefecture in 1904 as the son of a Sōtō Zen priest who oversaw a small family temple. Suzuki would go on to take Gyokujun So-on, his father's disciple, as his teacher and moved to Shizuoka Prefecture to train at So-on's temple and to attend school. On his thirteenth birthday he became a novice monk. In 1926 he entered Komazawa University, a school established for training young monks, and was certified by So-on as his teaching heir the same year. After graduating in 1930, Suzuki would continue his training at Eihei-ji and Sōji-ji, the two head temples of the Sōtō Zen sect. It was during this period that Suzuki began studying with the renowned teacher Kishizawa Ian, a scholar of the twelfth century Sōtō Zen master Dōgen, who would continue to shape Suzuki's understanding of Zen and meditation practice for the next two decades. In 1934, So-on died before naming a successor, and Suzuki assumed responsibility over his temple, Rinso-in. A large monastic complex with a long history, Suzuki was determined to rebuild Rinso-in's prestige and develop it as a place where both monks and laypeople could practice meditation. During the 1930s and 1940s Suzuki gave lectures at Rinso-in that questioned the widespread support for Japanese nationalism and military expansion, two areas that were supported by many Japanese priests at the time.

By the end of the 1950s an opportunity arose for Suzuki to go to the United States. In 1959, at the age of 55, Suzuki accepted a three-year position as priest of Soko-ji in San Francisco to serve the Japanese American community. By the time Suzuki arrived a growing number of non-Japanese Americans had become interested in practicing Zen meditation, and a small group began to join Suzuki during his morning meditation sessions. The group soon outnumbered the Japanese American congregation and they formed the San Francisco Zen Center in 1961, officially incorporating it the following year. Suzuki soon realized the need for proper accommodations to suit more intense meditation practice. In 1966 he organized the purchase of a 100-year-old resort nestled in the mountains of Carmel Valley in California and converted it to a meditation center named Tassajara Zen Mountain Center in 1967. Two years later Suzuki left his abbacy at Soko-ji to become the first abbot of the San Francisco Zen

Center. His disciples would come to gather some of his lecture material and publish it in 1970 under the title *Zen Mind, Beginner's Mind*. This work remains a popular introductory text to Zen meditation and bears the clear influence of Dōgen's thought. Suzuki's emphasis on seated meditation practice was often held in distinction to the writings of his older contemporary D. T. Suzuki, who frequently highlighted the importance of the direct realization of enlightenment and *koan* practice. In the fall of 1971, Suzuki fell ill and installed his American disciple Richard Baker as abbot.

In December 1971, Suzuki died in San Francisco. The San Francisco Zen Center and affiliate organizations that Suzuki left behind currently constitute the largest Sōtō Zen group in America.

Peter M. Romaskiewicz

See also Japanese Americans

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Swap Meet

There are two types of swap meet: indoor and outdoor. Outdoor swap meets, also known as flea markets, originally dealt mainly in secondhand goods. They were an extension of garage sales, where the sellers of used goods would come together in one area, such as a drive-in movie theater, to sell their wares. The obvious advantage of a central location was the ability to attract customers. Outdoor swap meets have evolved to include professional salespeople marketing bargain goods. These professionals commingle with the amateurs and are not completely distinguishable from them. Still, they compete with the prices offered by "garage sale" people, and offer very cheap merchandise. To open an outdoor swap meet booth, one must obtain a permit from the Board of Equalization to

cover sales taxes. Some swap meets require a business permit from the city. As with garage sales, an outdoor swap meet operator requires a secondhand article permit from the city.

An outdoor swap meet requires very little investment capital and equipment. In fact, one can start an operation with very little capital depending on the items one chooses to sell. It costs about several hundred dollars to purchase basic equipment such as a tent, table, clothes racks, and so on. In recent years, however, one must pay a premium to lease space because of increasing demands for spaces at outdoor swap meets. Consequently, the start-up costs have gone up. In addition, one may need additional equipment depending on the items one sells. For example, if a vendor sells clothing, he/she will need a van or truck and clothes racks to carry the clothes. Once, anyone could have leased an outdoor swap meet space because spaces were reserved on the basis of first come, first served. However, as competition for good locations has intensified, rental costs have risen to a premium. One may lose a booth space if one does not pay a monthly reservation fee. Still, the start-up costs for entering an outdoor swap meet business do not compare with those for opening a liquor store, grocery market, or laundry business, which are other popular forms of Korean immigrant enterprises. Outdoor swap meets appear to serve several functions for recent immigrants. They provide a unique opportunity to make extra income during the weekends. They allow immigrants to learn how to operate a small business in the United States, without much risk. And they allow immigrants to learn about American culture by dealing with diverse clientele.

The next stage in the evolution of swap meets was to move them indoors. This concept was borrowed from markets in Asia. Outdoor swap meets had several drawbacks. They depended on clement weather. They required that vendors unpack and pack their items each day of the swap meet. And they depended on low real estate values; as the price of land skyrocketed in Southern California during the 1980s it became increasingly difficult to lease or buy land to hold outdoor swap meets. Moreover, outdoor swap meets tended to be weekend affairs. Indoor swap meets could be held all week. Indoor swap meet booths, like

mini-mall stores, do not require secondhand permits, making it easier to obtain a permit from the city.

Indoor swap meets are essentially a new form of retailing, in which individual sellers lease booths in a large building and sell their wares independently. According to the Planning Commission of the City of Los Angeles, the indoor swap meet is “where new or secondhand goods are offered or displayed for sale or exchange by ten or more independent vendors within a completely enclosed building which has a large open assembly area offering, for a fee, rented, or leased spaces for individual vendors.” In other words, the sales personnel are not employees of single retailers, but are, instead, entrepreneurs who buy and sell their own goods. Most indoor swap meet buildings have mini-mall permits from local agencies, enabling them to sell new items. Although indoor swap meets have lost the connotation of amateur salespeople getting rid of their excess secondhand goods, the swap meet name still connotes bargain prices.

The first indoor swap meet was opened in Koreatown in 1982. The idea was transplanted to the surrounding economy, with the opening of the Compton Fashion Indoor Swap Meet in June 1985. The Compton Fashion Indoor Swap Meet was established in a huge building vacated by Sears Roebuck Co. in 1978. The building had been abandoned and stood vacant for seven years before five Korean American investors converted it into an indoor swap meet with the active support of the city of Compton.

An indoor swap meet is a place to buy very cheap goods. Indoor swap meets experienced tremendous growth during the 1980s. The *Southland Swap Meet Directory* listed 48 indoor swap meets in Southern California in 1990; the number grew to 160 in 2003. Although outdoor swap meets have been located in suburban areas, indoor swap meets are typically located in poor and urban neighborhoods. They cater to low-income families, and are usually found in African American and Latino areas. In recent years, however, indoor swap meets have branched out to the greater LA areas, toward the Inland Empire and beyond.

During the 1980s, Korean immigrants were active in developing this new sector of the Los Angeles business community, and they virtually monopolized

indoor swap meet businesses in Southern California, though there are exceptions. The number of Korean indoor swap meet vendors in Southern California is estimated to be more than 10,000 according to the Korean Indoor Swap Meet Association. Ethnic preference among Koreans may help to explain why Korean immigrants dominate the indoor swap meet business. The ethnic solidarity factor may explain why Korean immigrants have dominated the indoor swap meet business in Los Angeles. The number of Korean-owned outdoor and indoor swap meets grew rapidly during the 1980s and 1990s. Clothing is the predominant item being sold. Other items include luggage, sporting goods, jewelry, shoes, and electronic items. Some Korean Americans run more than one booth, especially when they have many family members to help run them. For many recent Korean immigrants, operating an outdoor or indoor swap meet booth represents a path for starting a new life in the United States. Instead of working as janitors, garment workers, restaurant workers, gardeners, painters, or gas station attendants earning minimum wage for several years and hoping to save enough start-up capital for a small business, Korean immigrants have a chance to own businesses themselves with very little initial capital or overhead costs.

In general, though, it is easy for new immigrants to get involved in the swap meet business because it requires no special skills or experience. Of course, experience is always an asset for any kind of business operation, but it is not a necessary condition for starting a swap meet. Location of one’s booth may prove to be a more crucial factor in separating successful from unsuccessful merchants. To enter this line of business, being Korean is an advantage. Building operators often prefer renting the spaces to fellow Korean Americans because they believe Korean American merchants are more reliable in terms of paying rent on time, and tend to cause fewer problems. A third factor is that the suppliers of goods sold in swap meets—the importers and wholesalers—are often Korean immigrants, providing the prospective swap meet operator with ready access to his or her wares. Finally, because Korean immigrants already have a foothold in this business, it is easier for new entrants to learn the business than non-Koreans.

Opening an indoor swap meet booth is more difficult than opening an outdoor one. The capital requirements are much higher, because of higher rent, a premium price for prime locations, utility costs, and other related expenses.

In the past, large department stores were slow to adapt to rapidly changing economic conditions. Many stores left African American and Latino neighborhoods during the 1960s and 1970s because they were unable to cope with the rising costs and risks. The combination of department stores leaving these neighborhoods and their inability to adapt quickly to a changing clientele created a niche for Korean entrepreneurs to establish indoor swap meets in Latino and African American neighborhoods. Compared to liquor stores or grocery markets, indoor swap meets are a good investment. They generate good profits with a relatively small investment. They require shorter hours of operation, typically from 10 a.m. to 7 p.m. They provide a safe environment for conducting business. And they afford the vendors a neighborhood atmosphere, where they converse with fellow Korean American merchants.

The globalization of the economy has also played a part in the proliferation of swap meets in Los Angeles. Swap meets flourished during the years of tremendous Asian imports growth. Large quantities of certain imports, such as garments, shoes, and electronic products, are imported from South Korea, Taiwan, and other Asian nations. Swap meets have become significant retail outlets for these imports. It is important to note that some imported items from Asia are knock-offs or copies of name brand products. Swap meets are not only linked to the rise in imports but also to the burgeoning garment industry in Los Angeles. The fact that Korean immigrants are playing a large and growing role as contractors and wholesalers in the industry provides a useful connection for Korean swap meet operators. Swap meet operators buy cheap garments from Korean garment producers to retail them at swap meets.

During the 1980s, Wal-Mart, K-Mart, Target, and other large chain stores adopted new sales policies of selling relatively good quality goods at low prices. Because indoor swap meet stores are now competing for the same customers by “selling reasonably good

quality products at cheap prices,” it is increasingly difficult for small indoor swap meet vendors to compete with larger chain stores. In recent years, some Korean businessmen have established “Swap Malls.” A swap mall is a combination of a shopping mall and a swap meet. The Swap Mall is clean and equipped with the modern facilities of a shopping mall, such as escalators, elevators, a children’s playground, a food center, and a stage. At the same time, it retains the swap meet characteristics of selling quality goods at low prices.

The evolution of the swap meet business, from outdoor swap meet to indoor swap meet, and now to swap malls, illustrates the creative role that Korean immigrants are playing in altering the retailing landscape of Los Angeles. They are developing innovative ways for providing cheap quality goods to consumers, and thereby building a strong economic base for the Korean immigrant community. Korean American merchants seem to adopt to the consumption patterns of Latino immigrants better than Anglo merchants as Korean American merchants are slowly replacing Anglo businesses in heavily Latino areas in pockets of San Fernando Valley.

Indoor swap meets seem to fill a niche vacated by department stores, enabling inner-city and barrio residents to gain easier access to budget items. Indoor swap meets do appear to afford these neighborhoods alternative forms of retailing service, at affordable prices. The evolution of the swap meet needs to be understood in the context of the restructuring of the Pacific Rim economy. The polarization of Los Angeles along class and race lines has created the need for budget stores in poor neighborhoods of color. At the same time, certain Asian countries have developed as exporters of low cost, manufactured products, many of which are being imported into the United States. Korean swap meet operators help to bring these two trends together, helping to distribute cheap imports to poorer neighborhoods. In the future, however, Korean immigrant merchants must pursue ways to become part of local community rebuilding efforts such as economic joint-venture programs in South Los Angeles. Both the businessmen and inhabitants of these communities must be sensitive and responsive to policy makers. State and local leaders as well as policymakers, must formulate public policies that can adequately

address complex and conflicting issues facing multiracial communities.

Edward Taehan Chang

See also Korean Americans; Koreatown

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Sylvanus, Thomas (1845–1891)

The service record of Thomas Sylvanus (Ah Yee Way) in the American Civil War is unparalleled: Fighting the Union, he persisted despite a battle-related disability, distinguished himself in his regiment's Color Guard, and survived 10 months as a prisoner of war in the notorious Andersonville stockade.

Born in Hong Kong, Ah Yee Way was brought to America as a nine-year-old by a Mrs. McClintock, who inexplicably turned him over to a Dr. Sylvanus Mills, who gave the boy to his sister Mary Duvall in Baltimore, Maryland. Renamed Thomas Sylvanus, he was a servant for the Duvall family when he ran away to Philadelphia and, adding three years to his 16, enlisted in the Eighty-first Pennsylvania Voluntary Infantry, Company D, on August 31, 1861.

In the 1862 Peninsula Campaign, Sylvanus fought in the Battles of Fair Oaks, Orchard Station, Allen's Farm, Peach Orchard, Savage Station, Charles City Cross-roads, and Malvern Hill. When the Army of the Potomac withdrew to Harrison's Landing on the James River, July 1, he seemed unscathed, but within nine days, his eyesight began to fail, and he became completely blind. Medical officers in camp and in later years determined he'd been attacked by a disease of the eyes that was variously attributed to fumes from an exploding shell or excessive heat, hard marching, and smoke from powder. His Certificate of Disability for Discharge dated December 10, 1862, reads:

"incapable of performing the duties of a soldier [due to] partial blindness from cataract of both eyes."

A civilian in Philadelphia during the Battle of Gettysburg, Sylvanus enlisted on the third day of the fighting, July 3, 1863, in the Fifty-first Regiment Infantry, Company B, Pennsylvania Emergency Ninety-Day Militia. That same day, the battle ended in a narrow victory for the Union, but the carnage was so overwhelming that when the Fifty-first Regiment arrived in Gettysburg for provost duty in August, many sickened from the stink of rotting horse carcasses still being buried and the thousands of decaying human corpses in overly shallow graves.

The army constantly needed replacements for its sick and fallen, and Sylvanus, mustering out of the Emergency Militia on September 3, enlisted as a substitute in New York City, on September 11. Sent as a replacement to the Forty-second New York Voluntary Infantry, Sylvanus was promoted to corporal after six months in Company D and made a member of the Color Guard. Soldiers often relied on Colors—the national and regimental flags—for guidance in the heat of battle. Colors also served to rally flagging troops. To be a member of the Color Guard was considered an honor—and made the soldier a particular target for sharpshooters.

On May 12, 1864 at The Salient, a horseshoe-shaped bulge encompassing high ground that the Confederates occupied near the Spotsylvania Court House, the fighting—much of it in pouring rain—was demonic. The upper logs of the breastworks, slick with rain and gore, splintered. Flags shredded into tattered streamers. The Forty-second New York's Color Guard fell wounded or killed one by one. Finally, only Sylvanus remained, and he kept the regiment's flag flying until the Confederates withdrew, ending 20 hours of relentless slaughter. The following month, Sylvanus struck his knee on the snag of a broken tree or limb and cut the skin at the head of the tibia during a charge at Cold Harbor, but kept fighting. Then, when the regiment's capture seemed certain on June 22 at the Jerusalem Plank Road, Sylvanus concentrated on tearing up the Colors with those near him "so that the Johnny Rebs got nothing but the naked staff" (*Indiana Weekly Messenger*).

As one of 1,700 captives, Sylvanus was paraded through Petersburg to Richmond, Virginia, for

registration as a prisoner-of-war. Briefly interred on Belle Isle, he was then among 700 prisoners alternately packed like cattle into freight cars and marched with minimal rations, sometimes none, to Andersonville, an open stockade surrounded by guards, in Georgia. Without treatment, Sylvanus's leg wound became infected and after six months, he became so enfeebled that he was hospitalized for two weeks. Paroled in the final days of the war, he mustered out on May 22, 1865, in New York City. He was not quite 20 years old.

The same dogged perseverance that Sylvanus showed as a soldier served him well as a civilian. Connecting with a Reverend Speer that was almost certainly William Speer, a former missionary to China then living in New York, Sylvanus worked his way back to Hong Kong on a steamer. Neither his intent nor his length of stay is known. But in 1866, he attended a school in New Jersey for training as a missionary—a course from which he was soon dismissed, with no apparent regret, because of poor vision.

Offered work in Indiana, a township in Eastern Pennsylvania's Indiana County, Sylvanus jumped at the opportunity. Because of increasingly poor eyesight and problems from his leg injury, however, he never remained long in any job, but worked wherever and whenever he could, most often as a day laborer or peddler.

His earnings were not enough to support his wife and three children, but securing his due of an invalid pension was problematic: If he admitted his service subsequent to discharge from the Eighty-first Pennsylvania, he could not claim his eye injury was disabling; and his decision to keep fighting at Cold Harbor instead of seeking treatment meant there was no record of his leg injury in the Forty-second New York.

Despite assistance from attorneys devoted to his cause and strong support from Post # 28 of the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR), which he joined in 1885, Sylvanus never did receive his due in over two decades of wrangling with the Bureau of Pensions. Yet his persistence never wavered. Indeed, Sylvanus fought injustice in every sphere, prosecuting anyone who accused him unfairly, cheated him of pay, verbally or physically abused his children—with mixed results. After one failed suit, he even ran for town constable, although by then he could scarcely walk or see.

GAR Post #28 supplemented his inadequate earnings and pension, and when Sylvanus died on June 15, 1891, they arranged the funeral. Sylvanus had been a naturalized American citizen since October 28, 1868, and voted in every election. The respect of his GAR comrades for his service in preserving the Union was both sincere and deep. Nevertheless, they mourned him as “one far from his island home, buried in a strange land among stranger.”

Ruthanne Lum McCunn

See also Chinese in the U.S. Civil War

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Tacoma Anti-Chinese Riot of 1885

On November 3, 1885, the anti-Chinese agitation in the city of Tacoma, in Washington Territory, culminated with the forced expulsion of hundreds of Chinese residents. An estimated 700 Chinese men and women had been living in Tacoma in 1885. After months of anti-Chinese rhetoric, discriminatory city ordinances, boycotts, threats, and warnings, the anti-Chinese organization headed by Mayor Jacob Weisbach issued a deadline of November 1 for all Chinese to leave the city. Approximately 150 left before the deadline, but on the morning of November 3 an organized vigilante group of at least 500 armed men, led by the "Committee of Fifteen," began attacking and ousting Chinese workers and merchants from homes and workplaces. By the afternoon, some 200 Chinese residents had been rounded up and were then marched miles out of the city to a railroad stop where they waited in the cold rain with no cover. Many waited all through the night, and two died of exposure.

Two Chinese settlements including at least 35 Chinese businesses, homes, and boarding houses were burned to the ground three days later. By then, no Chinese remained in the city. The forced eviction of the entire Chinese community by means of boycotts, threats, and force came to be known as the "Tacoma method." The sheriff stood by during the mayhem and rioting, and later claimed that the police feared that more violence would have occurred if they had acted.

The first Chinese resident, Lung Fat, came to Tacoma in 1873 when Tacoma had only several hundred residents. Over the next 12 years the Chinese community of laborers and small business owners grew to an estimated 700, as Tacoma's population

boomed from 1,098 in 1880 to 7,000 in 1885 and 36,000 by 1890. The anti-Chinese movement in Tacoma grew in intensity following the election of Mayor Weisbach in May 1884 and with the clamor of the two city newspapers, which used vehement anti-Chinese rhetoric to boost circulation. Weisbach, a German immigrant and the owner of a small business, became the president of the local Anti-Chinese League. Shortly after hearing about the forced eviction of Chinese from Eureka, California in February 1885, Weisbach called a public meeting to discuss the "Chinese question." Some 900 people attended the meeting at the opera house where they heard a series of impassioned speeches and adopted a resolution calling for the departure of the Chinese and a boycott on their employment.

In September 1885 Weisbach became president of the statewide Anti-Chinese Congress, which met in Seattle. In 1885 labor and business both supported the departure of the Chinese, led by the newly organized Knights of Labor who used "the Chinese must go" as a recruiting slogan. Despite the widespread hostile attitude of most community notables and the newspapers along with the refusal of the governor to aid the Chinese, a few Tacoma leaders spoke out against force and violence, suggesting tolerance toward the Chinese. The most important defenders were the pioneer settler and hops broker Ezra Meeker and several protestant ministers.

After the riot U.S. Attorney William H. White charged 27 of the ringleaders of insurrection and conspiracy to deprive the Chinese of equal protection of the laws. The leaders included Mayor Weisbach, Probate Judge James Wickersham, Fire Department Chief Jacob Ralph, two city councilmen, and the president of

the YMCA. The federal grand jury in Vancouver, Washington promptly issued the indictment and all were arrested and taken to Vancouver. After posting bail, the “Committee of 27” returned to Tacoma, where they were treated as heroes by a cheering crowd and a festive parade. After a delay of many months, the case was transferred to Tacoma. A new grand jury heard 12 witnesses, only one of whom was a Chinese victim, and promptly dismissed the case. The following year another grand jury failed to indict any of the accused.

The organized anti-Chinese violence became an issue between the governments of the United States and China and investigations were required because of treaty violations and requests from Chinese diplomats for reparations. In July 1886, the Territorial Governor, Watson Squires, issued a report to the United States after an investigation of the Tacoma riot and other attacks on Chinese the previous year. The report on the Tacoma riot property listed losses totaling over \$96,000 and presented 40 affidavits including those from six Chinese victims—Lum May, Mow Lung, Kwok Sue, N. K. Gow, Sing Lee, and Tak Nan—who gave detailed descriptions of the terror and of their losses of property, protection, and livelihood. In 1888 Congress passed an act to pay reparations to the Chinese government for treaty violations and losses because of the series of attacks on Chinese residents and their property, including the Tacoma expulsion. The victims never received any compensation for their losses.

For decades Tacoma bore a reputation for lawlessness and continued to be an unwelcoming city for Chinese Americans—the only city on the Pacific Coast with no Chinatown. In 1993 the city passed a resolution expressing regret and apologizing for the treatment of Chinese, and the Chinese Reconciliation Project began to raise support for the Chinese Reconciliation Park, which was dedicated in 2011.

Paul Englesberg

See also Watsonville Riots (1930)

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Taekwondo in America

Taekwondo is the national martial art of South Korea. It is also the most popular martial art in the world today. Estimates show Taekwondo being practiced in 123 countries by over 30 million students. In 2000, Taekwondo became one of only two martial arts to be a competitive Olympic sport in the Sydney Olympic Games. From 1988 to 1992, Taekwondo was a demonstration sport in the games and made its first appearance at the Summer Olympics in Seoul, South Korea. The United States Taekwondo Olympic team has consistently medaled at the games.

Taekwondo can be loosely translated to “The Way of the Hand and Foot.” It has roots in many traditional Korean martial arts, but its current structure originated after the Japanese occupation of Korea ended in 1945 and developed throughout the Korean War. In the 1950s, the teaching of Taekwondo was taking place throughout the nation primarily in the South Korean military as ordered by then President Syngman Rhee, and also in compulsory schools, universities, and other organizations. April 11, 1955, is the official birthday of the art. In the 1960s, Taekwondo was brought outside of South Korea and introduced to the world. It has since gained a strong U.S. and international following. The primary governing body of Taekwondo in the United States is the World Taekwondo Federation.

Taekwondo is a combat sport, but is also a form of self-defense, a combination of rigorous mental and physical discipline, and a practice of etiquette and deference to higher ranks. Taekwondo training emphasizes cardiovascular, strength, and flexibility conditioning. Practice of the art places a significant amount of emphasis on kicks and blocks, but also incorporates various punches, stances, body and foot movements, and board, brick, or block breaking. Sparring is also an integral part of Taekwondo training as it readies students for competition and enables students to combine and apply various techniques at once. Sparring in Taekwondo is full contact. Participants wear headgear and a hogu (body shield) to protect against powerful kicks and/or punches. Winning a Taekwondo competition is done by having a higher number of points at the end of three rounds or by technical knockout or knock-out of one's opponent.

The practice of Taekwondo can be started at a very young age. Children in the United States often begin their training at the age of five or six, sometimes even younger. Introducing children to Taekwondo and the high level of focus, and the respect for authority and regulations that it requires is believed to help instill discipline. In the United States, Taekwondo is often practiced as an extracurricular activity or sport rather than as part of an educational curriculum. Dojang (training spaces) are often privately run.

Although many martial arts in the United States brought over from Asia retain the use of an Asian language, Taekwondo in the United States incorporates a significant amount of English and students often need not know much Korean to adequately follow along in class. Though most martial arts involve bowing as a form of reverence to the training space, the teacher, and fellow students, Taekwondo also requires saluting the Korean and American flags. Advancement in Taekwondo is through promotional tests for belts. There are several belts in various colors that students receive prior to testing for their first black belt. Belt color determines rank in Taekwondo and lower-ranked students must defer to senior students when in the dojang.

The United States Taekwondo team has repeatedly performed very strongly in Olympic competition. Thus far, U.S. teams have earned a total of six medals, two

gold, two silver, and two bronze. Only Chinese Taipei and South Korea have higher medal counts. Olympic Taekwondo teams are made up of two women and two men. The Lopez family from Sugar Land, Texas, is referred to as "Taekwondo's First Family" and each of the three competitive Lopez siblings medaled at past Olympics. Steven Lopez was an Olympic team member in 2000, 2004, and 2008 and won gold in his first two games and bronze in his third. The 2008 Olympic team was comprised of the younger three Lopez siblings; Steven and younger sister Diana took bronze medals, and brother Mark won silver. Steven and Diana were part of the 2012 Olympic team, their oldest brother Jean is their coach. Other members of the 2012 team were Terrance Jennings and Paige McPherson.

Valerie Lo

See also Aikido in America

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Tahir, Saghir

Saghir "Saggy" A. Tahir is a former member of the New Hampshire House of Representatives, where he served from 2001 to 2010. Born in India, he is the first foreign-born Muslim to be elected to a state house of representatives in the United States, and the only elected official foreign-born Muslim who is a member of the Republican Party.

Saghir Tahir was born in New Delhi, India, but considers Sahiwal, Pakistan, where he lived from the age of two, to be his hometown. He immigrated to the United States from Pakistan in 1972. He holds bachelor's degrees in civil engineering, physics, and mathematics. After immigrating, he worked in the construction industry and in real estate investment, and was the president of a consulting firm specializing in roofing and waterproofing.

In 1998, his son encouraged him to run for office to give back to the community. New Hampshire state representatives are paid \$100 a year, so their positions are seen largely as volunteer work. Though he did not win in 1998, he campaigned again for election in 2000. Emphasizing the issues of education, taxes, and senior centers, he was elected as the representative of District 38, Ward 2, a predominantly white community with few other Pakistani Americans. He was reelected four times and served until 2010. When serving in the New Hampshire House of Representatives, Tahir was a member of the Science, Technology and Energy Committee. He also served as the secretary (1999), vice chair (2000), and chair (2001) of the Manchester City Republican Committee and was active in the New Hampshire chapter of the American Muslim Alliance. During his political career, Tahir advocated for political ethics, supporting community homeless shelters, and giving back to the community.

As a Muslim American elected official in the immediate aftermath of the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks, Tahir attempted to play a conciliatory role between Muslims and non-Muslim Americans, Pakistan and the United States, and Muslim Americans and the Republican Party. He cites his religious faith as a Muslim as his primary motivation to fulfill his civic and religious duty through public service by giving back to the entire community, not just other Muslims. He came under fire by other Muslim community representatives concerned with incidences of hate crimes and civil rights violations against Muslims when he made a statement in conjunction with the Overseas Pakistani Foundation that Pakistanis were not the targets of threats, discrimination, or harassment by the general public or law enforcement officials in the United States.

Tahir spearheaded efforts to send American officials on a goodwill delegation to Pakistan. With assistance of the U.S. State Department, but with independent funding, Tahir led the group in 2001 as they visited Islamabad, Lahore, Karachi, and Quetta to promote understanding between people of the two countries. In 2003, Tahir and Representative Robert Giuda (R-Warren) visited Pakistan and toured the Line of Control, the military line between India and Pakistan in the disputed region of Jammu and Kashmir. Following this trip, Representatives Giuda and Tahir sponsored a resolution in the New Hampshire House of Representatives condemning human rights violations in the region, and calling for an increase in diplomacy to bring about a peaceful end to conflict in Kashmir. They also led efforts to have a similar bill introduced in the U.S. Senate, but it died in committee during the 2009–2010 session of Congress and was reintroduced in the following session. Members of the Indian press criticized the introduction of the bill as ignorant and a sign of the United States' lack of regard for India. Saghir and his wife, Nusrat, have three children: Misbah, Adeel, and Sanam.

Katie Furuyama

See also Asian American Muslims; Haley, Nikki Randhawa; Indian Americans; Jindal, Piyush “Bobby”; Political Representation

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Taiwanese Americans

Taiwanese Americans constitute a relatively new group in the Asian American population, which began to grow in the period after the passage of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965. Because the society and culture of Taiwan shares much in common with China, Taiwanese Americans are often categorized with Chinese Americans. However, among Taiwanese Americans there are those who regard Taiwan as an independent country and prefer a political and cultural identity that is set apart from that of China and the Chinese. As a consequence, Taiwanese Americans have lobbied for the U.S. Census to count them as a separate population from Chinese Americans. In the 2010 Census, the number of Taiwanese Americans, alone was 196,691, and alone or in any combination, amounted to 230,382.

Immigration

Early Taiwanese immigration to the United States took place under the shadow of the Cold War. At the end of World War II when Japan was defeated, China was enveloped in a civil war between the Chinese Nationalist government and the Chinese Communists. The Communists prevailed in the struggle and set up the People's Republic of China in 1949, while the Nationalist government retreated to the island of Taiwan. With the onset of the Korean War in 1950, the United States provided military aid to the Nationalists and eventually signed a Mutual Defense Treaty with Taiwan in 1954. This close association between the United States and Taiwan led to a small trickle of migrants to America.

The watershed for increased immigration from Taiwan came with the Hart-Celler Act, also known as the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965. The legislation favored the admission of those who possessed professional skills and technical expertise. It also placed an emphasis on furthering family unification, giving preferential access to people related to

residents in the United States. These two aspects were to help the growth of the Taiwanese population in the years that followed. The additional passage of legislation in 1982 gave Taiwan a quota that permitted the migration of 20,000 persons per year.

Several factors encouraged this migration to the United States. One was that because of a close association with America, many Taiwanese sought to further their university and graduate education in this country. Second, after completing their studies, many believed that economic and professional opportunities in the United States were better than in their native Taiwan. As a result, a large number decided to remain here rather than to return home. Finally, the international position of Taiwan vis-à-vis China led many to seek a new residence in America. In 1979 the United States recognized the People's Republic of China and broke off diplomatic relations with the Republic of China on Taiwan. Uncertainty as to how Beijing might deal with Taiwan only increased the anxiety and concern among many people on the island. Moreover, when Taiwan scheduled its presidential election in 1990, China fired missiles as a warning against any attempt to seek independence or political separation.

Population and Settlement Pattern

Although the Taiwanese community largely took shape after 1965 and is a relatively small population when compared to many Asian American groups, the population has experienced rapid growth. With a population of 144,795 in 2000, it rose 59 percent to 230,382 in 2010 (Asian American Center, Appendix A, 59). For the Taiwanese community as a whole, its median age is 35. The largest component, 59 percent, are between the ages of 18 and 64. About 19 percent are less than a year old to age 17, 9 percent are at the age of 65 and over. Reflecting the importance of migration in the Taiwanese American experience, 68 percent of the Taiwanese are foreign-born. Of this foreign-born population, 67 percent have naturalized.

Substantial numbers of Taiwanese continue to migrate to the United States. From 2001 to 2010, 42,182 immigrant visas were issued for Taiwan. For those who obtain legal permanent residency in 2010, 40 percent or 2,090 entered as the immediate relatives

of U.S. citizens. The next highest category, 31 percent or 2,090, was under employment-based preferences, followed by 26 percent or 1,729 as family-sponsored preferences. H-1B visas are issued to those who can provide specialized expertise, often in a scientific or technical field, required by American employers. For fiscal year 2011, there were 1,705 approved H-1B visas issued for Taiwan. Students from Taiwan continue to value higher education in the United States, and, in 2011, there were 24,818 Taiwanese who came to study in this country. Although the H-1B visa holders and the international students from Taiwan are not United States citizens or permanent residents, their presence does contribute to the life and activities of the Taiwanese American community.

In the past five decades, Taiwan has demonstrated economic success as a country renowned for its educational, scientific, and technical achievements. Touted as one of the four dragons, it was categorized with Hong Kong, South Korea, and Singapore as four countries, who exhibited dynamic economic growth behind Japan in the 1970s. But fearing the loss of talent or a brain drain of those with important skills, Taiwan launched an aggressive campaign to persuade Taiwanese Americans with engineering and scientific expertise to return. In 1980, it set up the Hsinchu Science and Industrial Park, which was modeled on California's Silicon Valley, to lure investment and foster research. The effort was successful and led to the return migration of many Taiwanese American scientists, engineers, and educators. A prime example was Yuan-Tseh Lee, a Nobel laureate in chemistry, who left the University of California at Berkeley in 1994 to head Taiwan's Academia Sinica, its most prestigious academic organization.

Taiwan with its Confucian heritage places a high value upon schooling and higher education. Not surprisingly, this is reflected in the educational attainment of the Taiwanese American community. Thus, 95 percent have a high school degree or higher, and 73 percent have a bachelor's degree or higher in their educational background. This is the highest for all groups of Asian Americans. The Taiwanese also show the highest per capita income among Asian Americans, listed at \$38,312. Their unemployment rate is also relatively low at 5 percent.

Taiwanese Americans in the United States for the most part do not reside in the older urban areas known as Chinatowns. Instead, they prefer to live in the suburbs of California, New York, and elsewhere. In the 1970s and 1980s, many of those in Southern California concentrated in Monterey Park, which led to its being called "Little Taipei." As more Chinese settled in the area, the Taiwanese moved elsewhere around the San Gabriel Valley to sites such as San Gabriel, Rowland Heights, Hacienda Heights, Diamond Bar, and Irvine. Those in Northern California were located in Cupertino, Milpitas, and San Jose. In New York, many moved to the neighborhood of Flushing in the borough of Queens. Others have bought homes in the vicinity of Houston in Texas.

Community Life and Organization

The Taiwanese American community is home to a wide array of organizations. Many of them offer activities and programs that appeal to a particular audience. Simultaneously, they seek to promote awareness of Taiwan as a sovereign country that is separate from China. One example is the Taiwanese American Citizens League (TACL), which has several chapters in California. It has lobbied to have Taiwanese Americans recognized in the U.S. Census as a group separate from Chinese Americans. Another example is the North American Taiwanese Women's Association (NATWA), which holds annual meetings that focus on issues related to women. Taking a more political stance, the Formosan Association for Public Affairs (FAPA) keeps an office in Washington, D.C., and acts as a lobby to gain support for an independent Taiwan.

Aside from these organizations, there are also Taiwan Centers in different parts of the country. Located in cities such as San Jose in Northern California, Rosemead in Southern California, San Diego, Seattle, Flushing in New York, and Houston, the Taiwan Centers offer cultural activities and recreation to its members and the general public. This includes folk dancing, choral singing, karaoke, language instruction, photography, ping pong, concerts, and musical performances. There are also programs for the youth and senior citizens.

Buddhist temples and Christian churches are prominent in the Taiwanese American community, too. The Tzu-Chi (*ziji*) and Fo Guang Shan (*foguangshan*) orders of Taiwanese Buddhism have followers throughout the United States. Both orders emphasize charitable activities as an important facet of their faith. Tzu-Chi is especially prominent in many American locales because of their medical and dental clinics that routinely provide aid to many. They have also dispatched missions to sites of natural disasters, such as New Orleans that suffered from Hurricane Katrina. Fo Guang Shan maintains a large Hsi Lai Temple in Hacienda Heights, California that has drawn large numbers of visitors. In addition, temples devoted to Mazu are present. Mazu is a popular goddess venerated by Buddhists and Daoists in Taiwan and southeastern China. Finally, there are Taiwanese American Christian churches of different denominations throughout the United States.

Complementing the organizations, centers, and churches, festivals and observances throughout the year serve to affirm the presence of Taiwanese Americans in various communities. Chinese New Year, the Dragon Boat festival during the summer, and the Mid-Autumn festival are among the notable events in traditional Taiwanese society. More recent is the commemoration of the February 28 Event of 1947, usually recognized by Taiwanese American communities during that month. Another relatively new observance is Taiwanese American Heritage Week. Proclaimed by President Clinton in 1999, this week takes place in the May of each year during Asian Pacific American Heritage Month. The week is an opportunity for different communities to showcase the culture and heritage of Taiwan and Taiwanese Americans. In recent years, the week has been observed in cities such as San Francisco, Monterey Park, Seattle, Chicago, New York, and Houston. The programs often include songs and dances from aboriginal tribes in Taiwan, folk singers, choirs, and other entertainment.

Taiwanese Americans welcome opportunities to highlight their cultural heritage in several other ways. One is the enactment of Taiwanese-style night markets at activities or at student organization functions. Familiar foods and snacks are served, such as *boba* tea drinks with tapioca balls. Another is the airing of

traditional Taiwanese tunes such as “The Girls of Alishan” (*alishan de guniang*) or “Green Island Serenade” (*lu dao xiao ye qu*). With the popularity of Taiwanese pop songs in the Chinese cultural sphere, it is not uncommon at events to have the voices of a singer such as Wang Leehom, Jay Chou, Jolin Tsai, A-Mei, or the group S.H.E. as background music.

At some functions, songs sung in Hokkien may be seen as associated with the Taiwan independence movement or the Democratic Progressive Party, although they could also be expressions of a love for Taiwan. Examples of this are “Maritime Nation” (*haiyang de guojia*), “Taiwan March” (*taiwan jinxing qu*), “Taiwan’s Green Jade” (*taiwan yuqing*), and “Join Together to Win” (*aipin cai huiying*). Still another way is that at parades or happenings, there may be images of Mazu, the popular goddess of Taiwan, or Nezha (*nazha*), a familiar Daoist deity in Taiwan (*san taizi*), also known as the Third Prince or the Central Altar Marshal.

Like many other ethnic groups, Taiwanese Americans are planning for the future of their community. There is a desire for greater visibility of the youth in the activities of the community and the cultivation of new leadership. As a result, in recent years, various measures have been devised to encourage awareness and participation by the younger generation of Taiwanese Americans. Initiatives for the youth have been developed to offer summer camps, internships in Washington, D.C., and summer trips to Taiwan. This has certainly been on the agenda of several foundations, such as the Taiwanese American Foundation, FAPA, the Formosa Foundation, and others. The Taiwanese American Citizens League has enhanced the chances for young adults to network socially by establishing chapters of Taiwanese American Professionals (TAP) in several cities. Moreover, the Intercollegiate Taiwanese American Students Association (ITASA) links students in higher education through conferences and regional meetings.

The use of social media has not been neglected either. Internet sites, Facebook, twitter, and other venues have been explored as a means to foster Taiwanese American identity and to increase participation in community events. Taiwaneseamerican.org is a prime example of this approach. Started by Ho Chie Tsai,

it draws attention to activities being staged by Taiwanese Americans throughout the country. It promotes artists, singers, film producers, scientists, writers, and others of note in the Taiwanese and Taiwanese American community. The exploits of Taiwanese American and Taiwanese athletes have received considerable coverage here. Thus, basketball guard Jeremy Lin of the Houston Rockets, pitcher Wei-Yin Chen of the Baltimore Orioles, and professional Yani Tseng in golf have all been given extensive exposure. In particular, Lin, who had been with the New York Knickerbockers, generated such excitement and enthusiasm that a word, “Linsanity,” was coined just for him.

Franklin Ng

See also Chinese American Baseball; Chinese Americans; Lin, Jeremy

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Takagi, Dana Yasu

Dana Yasu Takagi is a professor of sociology at the University of California, Santa Cruz. She is also affiliated with the American Studies Department, Latin American & Latino Studies, and East Asian Studies. Takagi received all her degrees from the University of California, Berkeley: BA in math (1976), and MA (1979) and PhD (1986) in sociology. Throughout her career, she has served in numerous important capacities including: the president of the Association for Asian American Studies in 2002 to 2004 and the co-director of the Center for Justice, Tolerance and Community at UC Santa Cruz from 2003 to 2006. She practices soto zen and was lay ordained in 2001.

Takagi notes that her philosophical approach to research is, “to study the world-as-it-is in order to imagine the world-as-it-should-be.” This commitment is reflected in her diversity of her research and publications, which engage in a wide variety of topics including affirmative action, queer studies, Buddhism, and globalization.

Takagi’s first book, *The Retreat From Race: Asian American Admissions and Racial Politics* (1992), remains one of the seminal books examining identity politics, public policy, and race in sociology and Asian American studies. In this book, she examines allegations by Asian Americans that top universities used quotas to limit the enrollment of Asian Americans. The debates that unfolded around Asian American admissions, according to Takagi, were central to a shift in how affirmative action policies were implemented—whereby policies shifted away from racial preferences to

class-based preferences. She argues that this shift is indicative of a broader political shift by policy makers who became increasingly reluctant to identify any social problem as explicitly racial. Her book chronicles this political shift, and the dangers of using class as a “proxy” for race. Twenty years later, this book remains relevant for understanding racial politics in general, and the important role race plays in the politics of higher education admissions, particularly in light of budgetary cutbacks in higher education across the country.

Takagi’s work is particularly influential because of her ability to continually challenge scholars to look past their preconceptions about social issues and rethink the ways that identity politics informs social and political life. Just as important, she challenges to think past “check the box” configurations of identity formation, and look instead at the complexity that exists within and across these categories. Takagi’s *Amerasia* article “Maiden Voyage: Excursion into Sexuality and Identity Politics in Asian America” exposed the silences and absences in both queer studies and Asian American studies by focusing on the ways that homogenous constructions of homosexuality and Asian Americanness inevitably marginalized the experiences of Asians within queer studies and LGBTQ individuals within Asian American studies. She argues that awareness and understanding of the complexities of identity can help reveal the situatedness of knowledge and provide new perspectives and theories that create important conversations and arguments within and among marginalized communities. In her most recent writings on Hawaii and on Buddhism, she demonstrates the important lessons that can be learned by thinking outside the proverbial box and honoring the complex and always changing ways in which identities inform and structure social life.

Belinda Lum

See also Buddhism in Asian America; LGBT Activism

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Takaki, Ronald Toshiyuki (1939–2009)

Ronald Takaki was a pioneering historian and activist who played an important role in the establishment of the field of ethnic studies and Asian American history. Takaki authored and edited more than 20 books that addressed the study of cultural diversity and critical and comparative race studies in the United States in a career that spanned over four decades. In 2009, the Association for Asian American Studies honored Takaki with its Lifetime Achievement Award.

The grandson of Japanese plantation laborers in Hawaii, Takaki attended the College of Wooster and became the first member of his family to graduate from college. He went on to earn an MA in 1962 and PhD in 1967 in history from the University of California, Berkeley. Demonstrating an early interest in analyzing intersections of race and class in American history, Takaki’s dissertation addressed efforts in the American South to reopen the slave trade in the nineteenth century. Takaki joined the faculty of the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) in 1967 and taught its first course in African American history. From UCLA, Takaki joined the faculty of the University of California at Berkeley until his retirement in 2004.

In his early studies, Takaki developed a comparative framework for analyzing racial and ethnic formations that challenged the black/white binary that had dominated prior historical studies. *Iron Cages: Race and Culture in 19th-Century America* examined common patterns of stereotyping that were used to marginalize African Americans, Asian Americans,

Latinos, and Native Americans and to shore up the status and power of whites. *Pau Hana: Plantation Life and Labor in Hawaii, 1835–1920* was a groundbreaking social history of work and life on the plantation fields of Hawaii that challenged Eurocentric grand narratives in U.S. immigration and labor history by highlighting Asian immigration and labor history beyond the continental United States. *Pau Hana* laid the groundwork for studies that broadened the scope of analysis of America's history of racial and ethnic diversity.

Takaki's *Strangers from a Different Shore: A History of Asian Americans* was the first effort to write a history of Asian Americans for a mass general audience. An ambitious, broad, synthetic work, *Strangers* drew praise and national media attention, creating greater visibility for Asian Americans. The study was also met with criticism from scholars within the field of Asian American studies for not adequately crediting primary and secondary sources and for its lack of assessment of gender. In the end, *Strangers* and the debate about the book that ensued also generated discussion and debate about the definition of "Asian America" that would be taken on by the next generation of scholars in the field.

In many respects, *A Different Mirror: A History of Multicultural America* represented the culmination of Takaki's efforts to develop a broad and comparative historical synthesis of American diversity. Published during the "culture wars" of the 1980s and 1990s, *A Different Mirror* sought to challenge neoconservative arguments by scholars who argued for a return to a Western canon of "great books." Where *Strangers* had addressed the diverse history of Asian American ethnic groups, *A Different Mirror* broadened the comparative history of the marginalized to also include those from other racial, ethnic, and religious backgrounds.

Takaki's later works addressed the intersection of race and warfare. *Hiroshima: Why America Dropped the Bomb* contributed to debates about the dropping of the atomic bomb, which emerged in the midst of the 50 year anniversary and commemoration of the event. Takaki argued that, in addition to the U.S. goals of ending the war with Japan and signaling its atomic readiness to the Soviet Union, race, and particularly

the racialization of the Pacific front of the war and the racist views of President Harry Truman, needed to be taken into account to understand why America dropped the bomb. *Double Victory: A Multicultural History of America in World War II* examined the impact of World War II in shaping aspirations, opportunities, and a shift toward the incorporation of ethnic, religious, and racial groups that had previously lived at the margins of American society and culture.

Takaki was also an activist who promoted diversity in higher education. At Berkeley, he played an instrumental role in establishing the university's PhD program in Ethnic Studies. In 1996, Takaki took a public stance against California ballot initiative Proposition 209, which rolled back affirmative action policies in state-funded institutions. Takaki struggled for nearly two decades with multiple sclerosis and took his own life in 2009 at the age of 70.

Michael K. Masatsugu

See also Ethnic Communities in Hawaii; Japanese Americans

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Tan, Amy (1952–)

Amy Tan is one of the most successful, well-known American writers of Asian ancestry. She is the author of *The Joy Luck Club* (1989), *The Kitchen God's Wife* (1991), *The Hundred Secret Senses* (1995), *The Bonesetter's Daughter* (2001), *The Opposite of Fate: A Book of Musings* (2003), *Saving Fish from Drowning* (2005), and *Rules for Virgins* (2011). Tan is also a noteworthy children's literature writer, who, along with illustrator Gretchen Schields, published *The Moon Lady* (1992) and *The Chinese Siamese Cat* (1994), and produced a children's television series for PBS, *Sagwa: The Chinese Siamese Cat* (2001). She has also edited and contributed to several collaborative works, including *Mid-Life Confidential* (1994), *Mother* (1996), and *The Best American Short Stories 1999*.

Tan received her BA and MA in English and linguistics from San José State University and studied in doctoral programs in linguistics at UC Santa Cruz and UC Berkeley. She is the recipient of an honorary doctorate of letters from Simmons College.

Born in Oakland, California, in 1952, Amy Tan was the middle child and only daughter of John and Daisy Tan, who had emigrated from China just a few years prior to her birth. Tan, whose Chinese name "An-mei" means "blessing from America," was raised with two brothers, Peter, born in 1950, and John, born in 1954. The Tan children were brought up in a sheltered home by parents who set high behavioral and intellectual standards of religious devotion and academic excellence. This strict upbringing resulted in undue pressure against which Tan frequently rebelled and escaped by reading fairy tales, Bible stories, and Laura Ingalls Wilder's prairie stories.



Chinese American author Amy Tan. (Joe Tabacca/AP/Corbis)

Tan's love for reading and literature eventually led to a double concentration in English and linguistics during Tan's undergraduate career—a move that directly contradicted her mother's arbitrary decision for Tan to become a neurosurgeon. Instead, Tan chose to start a career in writing—first in journalism, and then in technical speech-writing. Though her career was financially lucrative and extremely successful, it brought Tan little happiness. As a result, Tan began to spend time playing jazz piano and reading fiction by writers such as Alice Walker, Toni Morrison, Louise Erdrich, Jamaica Kincaid, Maxine Hong Kingston, and Flannery O'Connor. Inspired by their work, Tan composed her first story, "Endgame," which was published in *FM Magazine* and later reprinted in *Seventeen*, and gave her entrance into the Squaw Valley Community of Writers. "Endgame" also

began Tan's relationship with literary agent Sandra Dijkstra.

In 1987, with Dijkstra working as her agent, Tan proposed a collection of six short stories under the title *Wind and Water*, a project that eventually became *The Joy Luck Club*. Published by G.P. Putnam's Sons in 1989, *The Joy Luck Club* immediately became a critical and popular success and remained on the *New York Times* bestseller list for nearly a year after publication. It was nominated for and was the winner of a number of prestigious literary awards such as the National Book Award, for which it was a finalist, and was adapted into three plays and a feature-length film. The episodic structure of the novel traces the intergenerational and cross-cultural conflicts that occur in the lives of four pairs of mothers and daughters who represent the immigrant and second generations.

Central to *The Joy Luck Club* is a conflict that can only be resolved when cross-cultural connections are formed through the second generation actively listening to their mothers' talk-stories—a theme derived from Tan's own difficult relationship with her mother. It was only later on in Tan's life that she sought reconciliation with her mother and began to willfully listen to her mother's life stories with interest. The stories her mother recounted provided Tan with rich source material for her second book, *The Kitchen God's Wife*, which pays homage to Tan's parents, older brother Peter, and grandmother Jingmei.

Tan's second novel, *The Kitchen God's Wife*, was an immediate success and became the number one bestseller on the *New York Times* list within four weeks of its release, and remained there for the following 38 weeks. Its success was reflected internationally in Australia, Canada, and Europe, and it won the *Booklist* Editor's Choice award.

Shifting from mother-daughter relations to sisterly bonds, *The Hundred Secret Senses*, in a plot that transgresses time, incorporates Tan's half-sister through a character who can communicate with the spirit world. Unlike Tan's previous works, her third novel was released to mixed reviews; although some found it noteworthy, others criticized Tan for weaknesses in the novel's conclusion and a tendency to employ Orientalist tropes in her writing.

The Bonesetter's Daughter was inspired by her mother, who had passed away from Alzheimer's-related symptoms in 1999, and functions as Tan's literary plea for her mother's forgiveness. Her fourth novel is based on the difficulty of intergenerational and cross-cultural conflict that occurs between immigrants and their American-born children. *Saving Fish from Drowning* was released as Tan's first novel set primarily outside the United States. The novel documents the trials and tribulations of American tourists in Burma. Her sixth novel, *Rules for Virgins*, tells the tale of a courtesan in 1912 Shanghai.

As a children's literature writer, Tan has produced two illustrated storybooks with Gretchen Schields, as well as an animated television show. *The Moon Lady* describes a six-year-old who encounters the Moon Lady, who grants secret wishes. *The Chinese Siamese Cat* details the story of a pearl cat, Sagwa, who alters the fate and appearance of Chinese cats forever.

Tan is the winner of the Academy of Achievement's Golden Plate Award as well as the Writer for Writers Award. Her work has won numerous awards including Bay Area Book Reviewers Award, Commonwealth Gold Award, American Library Association's Notable Books Award, Honorable Mention in Asian Pacific American Awards for Literature, *New York Times* Notable Book award, and many others. She was also selected for the National Endowment for the Arts' Big Read. Tan resides in Sausalito, California with her husband, Louis DeMattei. Her upcoming book, *The Valley of Amazement*, will be released by HarperCollins in 2013.

Krystal Shyun Yang

See also Kingston, Maxine Hong

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Tao, Terence (1975–)

Terence Chi-Shen Tao was born July 17, 1975, in Adelaide, Australia, to migrant parents from Hong Kong, China. Tao's father is a pediatrician, and his mother was a high school math teacher in Hong Kong, with double degrees in math and physics from the University of Hong Kong.

Terence Tao was recognized as a prodigy from an early age. In 1986, at age 10, Tao qualified for the Australian team and won a bronze medal in the International Mathematics Olympiad (IMO). To date, Tao is the youngest competitor in the IMO. In 1987 and 1988, Tao competed again in the IMO, winning a silver and gold medal, respectively. He is still the youngest bronze, silver, and gold medalist in IMO history.

Tao attended Flinders University in Adelaide, earning a BS degree at age 16 and an MS degree at age 17. He received his PhD in mathematics from Princeton University at age 20. Tao joined the faculty of the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA) after his graduate study and was promoted to full professor at age 24.

Tao's research encompasses many areas of mathematics, including harmonic analysis, nonlinear partial differential equations, combinatorics, and compressed sensing. By the end of 2012, Tao had published over 260 research papers. He has made important contributions to a wide range of subjects, including the Horn's and Kakeya conjectures, the solutions of equations of Einstein's general relativity theory that govern gravity, and solutions of the non-linear Schrödinger equation that governs quantum physics. In 2010, Tao and Van H. Vu solved the circular law conjecture.

In 2004, mathematician Emmanuel Candès spoke to Tao about a problem he had been working on: how to reconstruct images from an incomplete and minimum amount of information. Though Tao first thought the problem was unsolvable, he came up with a solution the next day. The work of Candès and Tao helped set up a new research field—compressed sensing. It has wide application in such areas as computational mathematics and signal processing and has been implemented in single-pixel cameras and medical magnetic imaging.

Tao's most well-known research is the Green-Tao theorem, a collaborative work with British mathematician Ben Green, which states that many arithmetic progressions infinitely exist consisting of prime numbers of any length. Prime numbers are integers that can be divided only by 1 and themselves, such as 2, 3, 5, 7, 11, 13, 17, 19. . . . They are the fundamental building blocks of mathematics. An arithmetic progression is a group of numbers that are of equal difference between adjacent numbers. For example, (7, 13, 19) is an arithmetic progression of length 3 with common difference 6 and (5, 11, 17, 24, 29) is an arithmetic progression of length 5, also with a common difference 6; both these arithmetic progressions consist of only prime numbers. For hundreds of years, mathematicians have studied properties and patterns of prime numbers. The conjecture that there are infinite numbers of such arithmetic progressions of any lengths has been proposed but had remained unproven for over two hundred years until Tao and Green made their breakthrough.

Tao was awarded the Fields Medal in 2006, "for his contributions to partial differential equations, combinatorics, harmonic analysis and additive number theory." The Fields Medal citation states:

Terence Tao is a supreme problem-solver whose spectacular work has had an impact across several mathematical areas. He combines sheer technical power, another-worldly ingenuity for hitting upon new ideas, and a startlingly natural point of view that leaves other mathematicians wondering, “Why didn’t anyone see that before?”

In the same year, Tao was also awarded the MacArthur Fellowship, commonly known as the Genius Grant. Tao has received numerous other awards and prizes, including the Salem Prize (2000), Bôcher Memorial Prize (2002), Clay Research Award (2003), Australian Mathematical Society Medal (2005), Ostrowski Prize (2005), SASTRA Ramanujan Prize (2006), Levi L. Conant Prize (2005), Fellow of the Royal Society (2007), Alan T. Waterman Award (2008), Onsager Medal (2008), King Faisal International Prize (2010), Nemmers Prize in Mathematics (2010), Polya Prize (2010), and Crafoord Prize (2012).

Xiaojian Zhao

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Tape v. Hurley (1885)

In the late nineteenth century, legalized racial segregation existed in primary and secondary public schools across the United States. In San Francisco, California, children of Chinese and other Asian ethnic backgrounds, regardless of their U.S. citizenship, were barred from matriculating in the city’s public schools. One family’s decision to challenge the unjust and racist laws and fight for their daughter’s right to free and geographically accessible education resulted in the

Tape v. Hurley (1885) case. Unlike the outcomes of most court cases brought by people of Asian descent in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the courts sided with the Tapes giving Chinese immigrants a rare legal victory over whites. Both the local Superior Court and the Supreme Court of California ruled in favor of Mr. and Mrs. Tape and their young daughter Mamie. In the midst of an era of tremendous racism against Asians, Asian Americans, and other nonwhites, Mamie Tape was told by the highest court of the state that she was entitled to the same rights to education as white children and all other children residing in California.

The facts of *Tape v. Hurley* are fairly straightforward. In the fall of 1884, Joseph and Mary Tape tried to enroll their eight-year-old daughter Mamie in Spring Valley Primary School in San Francisco. The principal of Spring Valley, Jennie Hurley, denied Mamie Tape admission based on her Chinese American ancestry. Principal Hurley seemed to be acting in accordance with the public opinion of the day as racial segregation in the public school system was legal in 1884. In many instances, especially in areas with significant nonwhite populations, there were separate schools established for nonwhite students to attend. Had this been the case in San Francisco, the Tapes would have not had a case against Hurley or the Board of Education. However, in the city of San Francisco, in 1884, there were no Chinese schools where Mamie Tape could enroll. A review of the history of Chinese Americans and the public school system in San Francisco shows that in the late 1850s and early 1860s, Chinese schools did exist for a very short period of time, but were closed because of lack of attendance. However, attending school was more of a burden for Chinese children than white children because the schools they could go to were extremely limited and often far from their neighborhoods. One school was located so far from Chinatown, where most of the Chinese children lived, that the lengthy commute stood in the way of regular attendance. Other schools that existed for short durations often failed because they were theoretically for Chinese children, yet they did not involve the Chinese American community. When attendance rates were low, School Board officials did not take into account the difficulties Chinese students faced in their attempts

to regularly attend school. Instead, they blamed intermittent attendance on the Chinese families' lack of desire to see their children receive a formal public education.

With no other educational options for Mamie after her exclusion from Spring Valley Primary School, Mr. and Mrs. Tape brought a lawsuit against Principal Hurley and the San Francisco Board of Education. Though it was Principal Hurley who barred Mamie from admission, Hurley attempted to include her employer, the Board of Education in the court proceedings. However, later on in the litigation process, the Supreme Court dismissed the action against the Board of Education and held Jennie Hurley solely responsible for violating the law that would have allowed Mamie Tape to enroll in Spring Valley.

As plaintiffs, Joseph and Mary Tape relied on an amended California State Political Code pertaining to school admittance policies. The Amendment to the California Political Code section 1662 of the year 1880 affirmed that unless the law stated otherwise, all schools must admit all children in the district between six years and 21 years old. The only children who could be legally excluded under the code were "children of filthy and vicious habits, or children suffering from contagious or infectious diseases" (CA Pol Code, § 1662 [passed 1880]). Thus, according to state law, Principal Hurley's denial of Mamie Tape's admission should be deemed illegal. In his essay, "The Fight to Go to S.F. Public Schools," attorney and legal scholar Bill Ong Hing discusses how the School Board defended their exclusion of Mamie Tape and refuted the Tape family's argument. Hing (2012) explains that by drawing from the language of the California State Constitution that stated Chinese people were "dangerous to the well-being of the state," the School Board concluded that San Francisco schools did not have a duty to educate Chinese people. Though, the School Board's argument did not prevail, the extreme xenophobia of the day would still continue to keep Mamie Tape from attending Spring Valley Primary School the next year even after the highest court in the state ruled in her favor.

The Tape family easily prevailed in front of the trial court. There, Judge McGuire ruled that denying Mamie Tape admission to public school based on her

Chinese ancestry was a violation of both the California and federal laws. Principal Hurley and the School Board then appealed the lower court's decision to the Supreme Court of California. The Supreme Court affirmed Judge McGuire's ruling. They concluded that the laws indicating who can and cannot be excluded from public schools were simple and straightforward. Thus, no laws were in effect that barred students of any race or national origin from attending the state's public schools. Mamie Tape was again victorious in court.

Members of the San Francisco Board of Education must have known they were unlikely to prevail on their appeal because as the litigation was starting, Superintendent Andrew Jackson Moulder almost immediately proposed Assembly Bill 268 to the state legislature. This "emergency" addition to the California State Political Code section 1662, motivated by the desire to keep schools racially segregated, provided a legal means of keeping Mamie Tape from attending Spring Valley Primary School. Unfortunately for the Tape family and other Chinese children, Assembly Bill 268 was quickly approved and remained in effect for over 60 years. The language of Assembly Bill 268 stated that separate schools for Chinese children and children of "Mongolian descent" would be created and as long as those schools existed, Chinese and Mongolian children would be mandated to attend them and barred from attending all other schools. Thus, although the Tape family was successful in two court proceedings, the Board of Education (and their racist beliefs and behaviors) also triumphed as they were allowed to keep the San Francisco schools racially segregated under new legislation.

After the Supreme Court of California ruled in their favor, Mr. and Mrs. Tape attempted to enroll their daughter in Spring Valley Primary School for the 1885 spring semester. Once again, the Tapes were told that Mamie was not eligible for admission. This time, the school authorities did not indicate that Mamie Tape's Chinese ancestry or race was the reason for her exclusion but claimed that not only was the school at maximum capacity, but that Mamie lacked proof that she had the requisite vaccinations to attend public school. Mary Tape, Mamie's mother, did not quietly accept the school's rejection of her daughter, but continued

to advocate for racial equality for Mamie and all Chinese people. She responded to the denial of Mamie's admission by standing up for her daughter and for all Chinese children by sending an angry and disgusted letter to the school authorities.

Mary Tape's sending her outraged letter to Spring Valley Primary School was a rare and bold move for a woman in 1885. That Mary Tape was an immigrant Chinese woman and able to compose the letter in English, her second language, was exceptional. Mrs. Tape was well aware of the school's rejection of Mamie based on her Chinese ancestry, regardless of how they attempted to justify their exclusion, and she chastised them for their discriminatory actions. Mrs. Tape also rejected their proposal of sending Mamie to a separate school for Chinese children. Additionally, Mrs. Tape informed the school that young Mamie was so Americanized in culture, socialization, behavior, and dress that she had more in common with Caucasian children than with other Chinese children. The only thing that Mrs. Tape conceded that Mamie had in common with other Chinese children was a similar phenotype. She also shamed the school authorities for the way they mistreated a young child.

Because Mamie Tape still needed a means to an education and a Chinese school was established in San Francisco in the spring of 1885, against her mother's earlier wishes, she inevitably ended up being one of the first students of the Oriental Public School. Mamie's brother Frank was also enrolled in the first class at the Oriental Public School. However, the Tape parents, being of upper-middle class financial means and status, also supplemented their children's education with the help of private tutors and music lessons.

Though Chinese and Chinese Americans have suffered racial, immigration, employment, housing, voting, and various other forms of discrimination in the United States since their arrival, very little is remembered about the educational discrimination that they both faced and fought against. American history often centers the sole narrative on educational discrimination around the tumultuous and violent occurrences in the United States during the *Brown v. Board of Education* era of the 1950s and 1960s, especially in the American South. Writing on Asian American exclusion from

American history, Asian American scholar, Joyce Kuo, states that leaving Asian Americans out of the history of school segregation perpetuates an inaccurate picture of how "separate but equal" legislation impacted different racial groups. Unless we continue to write and include Asian Americans and their early advocacy for equal rights to education into the national narrative, their struggles, sacrifices, and achievements could be forgotten.

Today, the events leading up to and surrounding the *Tape v. Hurley* case as well as the lives of the Tape family are finally being included in Asian American historical narratives, legal and social histories, online archives, local museums, and within Asian American studies curricula. Joseph, Mary, and young Mamie Tape were early civil rights activists who fought for equal rights many decades before the major civil rights movements in the United States took place. Their struggle for justice also stands apart from many of the more commonly remembered heroic acts on behalf of attaining civil rights. The Tape family's fight against disparate racial treatment was partially spearheaded by an immigrant Chinese woman and was for the purpose of securing the educational rights and opportunities for a female child at a time when immigrants, women, and especially women of color lacked most of the basic rights and social privileges that American-born men, and especially white men, possessed. Thus, adding *Tape v. Hurley* and the Tape family to the American historical civil rights narrative inserts women, racial minorities, and Asian Americans, and immigrants into the very masculine and African American movement.

Valerie Lo

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Tarak Nath Das (1884–1958)

A pioneering South Asian immigrant, Tarak Nath Das was a prominent scholar of international relations and one of the most well-known leaders of the anti-British movement for Indian independence in North America.

Born in West Bengal, Tarak displayed his brilliance in school at a young age. He went to college at age 16, in 1901, and first arrived in the United States in 1907. In Seattle and Berkeley, Tarak worked briefly, as a farm labor and a laboratory employee, and studied before taking a job as a translator and interpreter at the Department of Immigration in Vancouver, Canada. An advocate for Indian independence from Britain, Tarak was the cofounder of the Indian Independence League and the editor of *Free Hindustan*, the first South Asian publication in Canada. He also founded the Hindustani Association in Vancouver and was recognized as a community spokesman.

Tarak played an important role in the Indian community in Canada. He established the Swadesh Sevak Home, a boarding school for immigrant children, which also offered English and mathematics classes in the evenings and provided a letter-writing service to immigrant laborers.

By the time he returned to the United States in 1908, Tarak had already established himself as one of the most prominent leaders of the anti-British movement. He brought *Free Hindustan* to the United States to be published in New York City. At Norwich University in Northfield, Vermont, Tarak received military training but was suspended by the university in late 1909 for his radical advocacy of Indian independence. In March 1912, he cofounded the Hindi Association of the Pacific Ocean, which later became known as the Ghadar Party. Two years later in 1914 he was admitted

to graduate school at the University of California, Berkeley, where he taught classes while working on his dissertation on international relations. He received his PhD in political science at University of Washington. He gained U.S. citizenship in the same year.

In 1915, Tarak traveled to Berlin to meet several Indian revolutionary leaders and prepared to support the Kabul expedition, a part of the Indo-German efforts to launch a nationalistic revolution in India. He also spent some time doing research in Japan, and published a book, *Is Japan a Menace to Asia?*, in 1917. Before he could embark on another trip to Moscow, however, Tarak was called to appear in the Hindu German Conspiracy Trial. In 1918, he was convicted and sentenced to a 22-month prison term in Leavenworth federal prison. In addition, his U.S. citizenship was taken away.

In 1924, after his release from prison, Tarak married Mary Keatinge Morse, a founding member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the National Woman's Party. The couple traveled to Europe and established the India Institute in Munich, which provided scholarships to Indian students to study in Germany. He later returned to the United States and accepted a professorship in political science at Columbia University. He and his wife founded the Taraknath Das Foundation in 1935.

After 47 years of exile, Tarak revisited his homeland for the first time in 1952 and founded the Vivekananda Society in Calcutta. He passed away in 1958, at age 74.

Xiaojian Zhao

See also Bangladeshi Americans; Ghadar Party

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Tatupu, Mosiula Faasuka (1955–2010)

Mosiula Faasuka Tatupu was a National Football League (NFL) special teamer and running back. Born

in Pago Pago, America Samoa, Tatupu was a high school football star at Punahou High in Honolulu, Hawaii, setting the state's high school career rushing record (3,367 yards), which stood for 17 years. Tatupu was at the University of Southern California from 1974 to 1977 and was a member of the Trojans' 1974 national championship team. He ran for 1,277 yards on 223 carries during his Trojan career and was USC's Offensive Player of the Year and Most Inspirational Player in 1977.

Tatupu was drafted by the New England Patriots in the eighth round of the 1978 NFL draft. Tatupu was a fullback and special teams ace for the New England Patriots from 1978 to 1990. He had 612 carries and 2,415 yards over his NFL career. Tatupu made the 1986 Pro Bowl as a special teamer and was named the NFL Alumni's Special Teams Player of the Year. One of the most popular players to play for the New England Patriots, Tatupu had his own section of fans, "Mosi's Mooses," who all adorned moose heads and continually chanted his name throughout every home game.

Tatupu became the head coach at King Philip High in Wrentham, Massachusetts, where he coached his son Lofa, who is now a Pro Bowl linebacker for the Seattle Seahawks. He also coached running backs at Curry College in Milton, Massachusetts.

Prior to the San Diego Chargers' Junior Seau in the 1990s and the Pittsburgh Steelers' Troy Polamalu in the 2000s, Tatupu was the precursor to the now-prevalent Samoan presence in mainland collegiate and professional football. Tatupu was born on April 26, 1955, in America Samoa, which is an unincorporated territory of the United States located in the South Pacific Ocean, southeast of Independent Samoa. With a total population of approximately 55,000, the total land area of America Samoa is 76.1 square miles, slightly more than Washington, D.C. The per capita income of American Samoa is \$4,357, which is the lowest in the United States and is on an economic tier similar to Botswana. Sixty-one percent of residents live below the United States' poverty line and almost 40 percent of residents do not have adequate indoor plumbing (piped water, a toilet or both). More than 25 Samoans play in the National Football League and every Pac-10 team will have at least one Samoan

player on its roster. It has been estimated that a Samoan male is 40 times more likely to reach the NFL than a young man growing up in the United States. Scholars have critiqued the "Polynesian Male Warrior" stereotype of Samoan players in the NFL. Tatupu died on February 23, 2010.

Kathleen S. Yep

See also Polamalu, Troy; Seau, Junior

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Tenzin Gyatso (14th Dalai Lama) (1935–)

Tenzin Gyatso is the 14th and current Dalai Lama of Tibet, former head of the Tibetan government in exile, a Nobel Peace Prize laureate, and recognized spiritual leader of Tibet. The Dalai Lama has been successful in garnering international sympathy for greater Tibetan autonomy and has emerged in Western consciousness as one of the most recognized and revered teachers of the Buddhist tradition. Since the 1980s he has become a well-known author and is known for his gentle and sometimes humorous disposition.

Born Lhamo Dhondrub in the Amdo region of Tibet in 1935, he was recognized as the 14th incarnation of the Dalai Lama at the age of two and received the name Tenzin Gyatso upon ordination as a monk. After years of intense training he assumed full temporal and religious control of Tibet in 1950, but in the face of encroaching Communist Chinese forces in 1959 he fled with his advisors to India to begin a life in exile.

In 1987, decades after establishing the government of Tibet in Dharamsala, India, the Dalai Lama proposed a new plan for a negotiated settlement with the Chinese government, and although it was rejected, he drew international praise and his efforts led to his selection as the recipient of the Nobel Peace prize in

1989. The following decades saw an increased exposure of the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan cause in American media, and the Dalai Lama has since received numerous honors and rewards for his human rights advocacy and commitment to nonviolence.

In 2011, the Dalai Lama formally submitted his resignation as the temporal ruler of Tibet. Although the Dalai Lama remains the spiritual leader of Tibet and continues to tour and offer public lectures on Buddhism, the Office of His Holiness the Dalai Lama officially stated in 2011 that he is unsure if he will choose to be reincarnated and will need further consultation as to whether the institute of the Dalai Lama will continue in the future.

Peter M. Romaskiewicz

See also Tibetan Americans

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Tết

The lunar new year is arguably the most important holiday for Vietnamese, whether in the homeland or overseas. Known as Tết Nguyên Đán, or simply Tết for short, the holiday can be divided into three periods: Tết Niên (before New Year's Eve), Giao Thừa (New Year's Eve), and Tân Niên (the New Year). The customs and traditions associated with Tết have changed for Vietnamese Americans, as with other cultural forms that have endured international migration.

Historically, Tết was a tradition passed on from Chinese to Vietnamese during the two thousand years of Chinese colonial rule of Vietnam. Despite the contentious relationship between colonizer and colonized, Tết was a cultural tradition that Vietnamese have adopted and kept relatively intact. This vexed colonial history has resulted in the need among many Vietnamese to emphasize that Tết is not synonymous with

Chinese New Year, as often understood in the mainstream. Some key differences in Vietnamese observance of the lunar new year is the difference in three of the 12 animals chosen to represent the lunar-solar calendar used by Chinese and other Asian countries. The lunar-solar calendar is based on both the moon and the sun's cycles. Chinese use 12 different animals to represent the 12 months that are part of one full year's cycle. Vietnamese lunar calendar replaces the Chinese's sheep, rabbit, and ox with the goat, cat, and buffalo, respectively.

Traditionally, customs in the observance of Tết include cleaning and decorating the house, making special delicacies such as bánh chưng (rice cake wrapped in banana leaves), buying new clothes to be worn for the festivities, visiting family and friends, giving children lucky gifts of money in red envelopes (lì xì) and wishing each other prosperity, good health, and good luck in the new year. Tết also provides the occasion for Vietnamese to settle debts and disputes and clear the way for a brighter new year. Some games often played by children and adults during the new year include lô-tô (bingo), bầu cua (dice toss), and cờ tu'ớng (chess). The most common greetings, often found printed in gold on the lucky red envelopes, are "chúc mừng năm mới" (Happy New Year) and "cung chúc tân xuân" (gracious wishes of the new spring).

According to Vietnamese belief, the first visitor to enter a home on the first day of the New Year is considered to signal the family's fortune for that year. Thus, Vietnamese will invite prestigious, successful, and educated persons to enter their home as the inaugural visitor to usher in all those desired qualities in the new year.

On New Year's Eve, many Vietnamese families will make offerings at the family altar, lighting incense and bidding farewell to the kitchen god, Ông Táo, who must ascend to heaven to report on the family's news to the jade emperor. Besides the domestic rituals and social engagements, Tết also signals a time for remembering and paying respect to one's ancestors. Thus, many families visit the graves of their deceased family members to clean, decorate, and provide offerings during Tết. Family altars are cleaned and decorated with flowers and fruit and offerings are made there as signs of respect to the ancestors.



Vietnamese Americans at a Tết parade in Little Saigon, Westminister, California. (Beth Suda/ZUMA Press/Corbis)

After migration, Vietnamese American communities have continued to observe Tết rituals and have established the annual Tết festival wherever there is a large population of Vietnamese. Even as Vietnamese refugees awaited new lives in transitory refugee camps, they organized Tết celebrations as a way to maintain Vietnamese culture, create a sense of community and belonging, and seek pleasure in the midst of abrupt and difficult change. In different regions of the United States, Vietnamese have celebrated Tết with other Southeast Asian communities, primarily Hmong, Cambodian, and Laotian. The largest Tết festival, by far, is put on annually in Westminister, California by the Union of Vietnamese Student Associations (UVSA). The festival includes a variety of food booths, local business and service vendor booths, games and rides for kids of all ages, and a main stage where live music, dance, and martial arts

performances and fashion shows are presented. The UVSA Tết festival currently attracts over 100,000 visitors over the course of one weekend.

Although Tết connotes a joyous occasion among Vietnamese, the term itself is weighted by the legacy of the Vietnam-American War for many non-Vietnamese. For those unfamiliar with Vietnamese history, culture, and community life, the word Tết itself may denote the Tết Offensive of 1968, a moment considered by historians as a major turning point in the Vietnam-American War. North Vietnamese forces attacked strategic hamlets and villages across South Vietnam during the Tết ceasefire, resulting in devastating losses on both sides of the civil war. Militarily, the Tết offensive was considered a failure for the North, but ideologically the Offensive worked to widen the deep divisions over the war in American society. The loss of American morale has often been cited as

one of the major reasons the war was lost in for South Vietnam and its American ally.

Thus, the connotations and denotations of Tết point to major contradictions in Vietnamese American lives as understood by the larger public. Tết signals the negotiation of Vietnamese Americans with their inextricable ties to the most unpopular war in U.S. history to date. Whenever the term “Vietnam” emerged in conversation, it would inevitably be conjoined with the term “war.” Similarly, whenever the term “Tết” emerged, it would also be conjoined with the term “offensive,” conjuring the tumultuous history of Vietnam, Vietnamese refugees, and a dark period of American history as well. In the 1990s Vietnamese American writers and artists resisted the totalizing narrative of the Vietnam War with the refrain, “Vietnam is not a war.” For Vietnamese Americans, Vietnam signifies homeland, community, and family. Tết, like Vietnam, also signifies homeland, community, and family and so Vietnamese Americans continue to redefine its meaning, moving the public memory of Tết away from the bloodshed of 1968 to imbue Tết with new and dynamic meanings over time.

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See also Chinese-Vietnamese Americans; Vietnamese Americans

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Thai American Organizations

Thai organizations in the United States are diverse, ranging from business and professional associations to university student and alumni societies; from cultural academies and Thai boxing associations to health and religious organizations. Most of them are regional. Some have rudimentary websites in Thai or English; others boast state of the art bilingual websites; still others have no web presence at all. The term “Thai” employed in the title often means the organization emphasizes Thai identity, although “Thai American”

is the designation most often used by the second generation for those born and raised in the United States.

Regardless of their differences, these organizations all share a connection with both the United States and Thailand and a commitment to articulate and practice Thai culture and Thai identity. They organize various events, festivals, and performances to raise the visibility of Thai culture and foster Thai identity in the United States. Moreover, these organizations typically maintain close connections with family, friends, colleagues, and associates in Thailand. Many are also simultaneously involved in projects to improve education, health care, technology, and/or economic development in Thailand and the United States.

A few Thai organizations are national. For example, the Thai USA Association explicitly endeavors to unite Thai migrants in the United States and to support nonprofits in Thailand that work to enhance the lives of the poor as well as promote better education and good health. The Thai Cultural and Fine Arts Institute in Chicago aims at the promotion of Thai culture and fine arts throughout the United States, but it also engages with top performing art schools and artists in Thailand. Similarly, the Thai Cultural Art Association based in Las Vegas aims at promoting classical and folk dance from the four regions of Thailand: the north, northeast, central, and south. In addition, they introduce Thai culture, music, and dance, and conduct workshops, or demonstrations of traditional crafts, food carving, or Thai cuisine, providing Americans with a snapshot of life in Thailand.

Thai business associations tend to meet the more specific needs of a particular constituency. The Thai Commerce Association, established in 2004, supports Thai businesses through the development of Thai Americans within the Thai community and beyond. Its main goal is to help the Thai community overcome barriers, while simultaneously forging networks with larger American society. In contrast, the Thai-American Chamber of Commerce serves as a transnational broker and matchmaker between manufacturers in the United States and in Thailand. It is well connected with the Thai government through the Department of Export Promotion within the Thai Ministry of Commerce.

Thai alumni associations can be divided into three categories. The first type are Thai Student Associations that are generally comprised of graduates, students, staff, and faculty at American universities such as California State University, San Bernardino, Harvard, Brown University, UC Berkeley, Columbia University, the University of Florida, the University of Oklahoma, the University of Maryland, the University of Michigan, and so on. Thai *Smakom* or Thai community, founded in 1980 at UCLA, is a multifaceted association. It provides members with social, cultural, and educational assistance; its mission is to serve as a bridge between the Thai community in Southern California and Thais in Thailand, as well as serving the larger Asian American community. It hopes to create greater awareness of issues Thai Americans face in the United States. The second type of alumni association is comprised of former students, faculty, program participants, grant recipients, and friends who have graduated from or attended American universities but now are living in Thailand. This category includes the Thailand Chapter of the Indiana University Alumni Association (founded in 1948). The Wisconsin Alumni Association Thailand engages in philanthropy in the United States and in Thailand. Alumni organizations tend to maintain a link between the graduates and their respective universities. The third type is comprised of graduates and students from universities in Thailand such as the Chulalongkorn University Alumni Association and the Thammasat University Alumni Association. Graduates of these prestigious schools continue to have relationships with their alma mater. Chulalongkorn University Alumni celebrate their “Chula Spirit.” These alumni provide scholarships and financial assistance to students, and foster a sense of community among alumni of Chulalongkorn University. Thammasat University Alumni Association raised money for reconstruction after the December 26, 2004 tsunami devastated portions of Thailand and for victims of Hurricane Katrina. All these alumni associations collaborate with colleagues in Thailand and support educational activities, especially in science, technology, and education. They also raise funds to provide scholarships and financial assistance for needy students and disabled children.

Many new Thai student organizations have been established over the past 10 years as the number of Thai American college students continues to rise. These student organizations share similar goals: to increase awareness on campus about Thai Americans, Thais, and Thai culture. They raise money through cultural events and food fairs, and sponsor panel discussions, and cultural presentations. At Iowa State University, the Thai student organization assists newly arrived Thais to meet the challenge of living in the United States and provides prearrival assistance, information on housing, visas, work and financial opportunities, as well as advising on personal and cross-cultural matters.

Some Thai American college students identify themselves and their organizations as Thai American. These include the Thai-American Association of Illinois, the Princeton Thai-American Student Organization, and the Stanford Thai-American Intercultural Society. At USC, a Thai club for students from Thailand exists side by side with a Thai American Students Association composed of second-generation Thai Americans. On occasion, a non-Thai establishes a Thai American organization. For example, in 1995, an American man married to a Thai woman cofounded the Thai American Association of Milwaukee. This organization provides service not just to Thais and Thai Americans but also to their families.

Thai health-related organizations come in two main forms: nonprofits such as the Thai Health and Information Services (THAIS), and professional associations such as the Thai American Physicians Foundation, Thai Nurses’ Associations, and a Thai Association of Orthodontists. THAIS is a community-based organization incorporated in 1995 that provides service to Thais in Southern California who are low-income and who have been overlooked by other social service providers. In addition, THAIS provides health education, outreach, such as breast cancer screening, job training, as well as assistance for seniors. In contrast, the Thai-American Physicians Foundation, established in 2000, is made up of medical professionals whose goal is to improve medical education, research, and service in Thailand. They hold conferences in Thailand, sponsor Thai medical students to train

in the United States, fund medical research in Thai schools, and provide an exchange program between American doctors and Thai doctors. It is worth pointing out that, in the early 1990s, the Thai Nurses Association was the biggest and most influential Thai organization in Chicago. Another professional medical organization, The Thai Association of Orthodontists, established in 1982, is somewhat smaller. It offers associates continuing education classes, and presents programs that inform the public about the care and prevention of dental abnormalities.

Some Thai professional associations make an effort to help the Thai American community and promote Thai identity. The Thai Association of Conference Interpreters provides expert language professionals (translators and interpreters) in a variety of disciplines including the medical, technical, and legal fields. The Thai American Young Professionals Association in Los Angeles brings Thai immigrants and the second generation together via social activities and claims “No matter how we identify ourselves, we are always Thai first.”

Los Angeles has more Thai organizations than any other city. Among them, the Thai Community Development Center (Thai CDC), founded in East Hollywood in 1994, is one of the most influential. Its mission is to encourage tourism and economic development and provide access to social services to the Southern California Thai community. The Thai CDC played a major role in establishing Thai Town as a cultural destination in Los Angeles. For years, it has collaborated with the city of Los Angeles and private companies, including Singha Beer and Coca Cola, to improve existing facilities in Thai Town and to decorate the surrounding streets in a Thai manner. The Thai CDC pays particular attention to the working class and subjects of human trafficking. It sponsors community development projects including affordable housing and access to health care, as well as promoting small businesses. This organization is also responsible for Thai Cultural Day and the L.A. International Curry Festival.

There are a few Thai sports organizations, mostly tennis, golf, and kickboxing. The Thai Golf Association of Baltimore attempts to help Thais enjoy golf at the lowest cost. At the same time, it strives to build

friendships and field a team to compete in the Thai Interstate Golf Tournament. On the other hand, the Thai Tennis Association of Southern California appears to be more active in the community, and works to help boost tennis participation among Thai children and adults alike. The Thai Boxing Association of the U.S.A., founded in 1968, is the oldest and biggest Muay Thai (kickboxing) organization in the United States. Over the last decade, Western mixed martial arts fighters have been greatly influenced by the fighting style of Muay Thai kickboxers, for example, kicking with the shin instead of the foot. Similarly, many of Thailand’s kickboxing champions have adopted elements of Western-style boxing, which includes throwing hard punches.

The most influential Thai religious organization is the Thai Buddhist temple because Buddhism is Thailand’s official state religion and the vast majority of Thai immigrants self-identify as Buddhist. (See the entry “Thai temples” in this volume.) The Council of Thai Bhikkhus in the United States is an organization for Thai monks who serve at Buddhist temples in the country. The monks get together once a year to exchange ideas and discuss issues that they all confront.

Because Christianity is the unofficial state religion, the number of Thai American Christians, Presbyterians in particular, has rapidly increased. Currently, the Thai Yellow Pages lists 37 Thai Christian churches; they are concentrated in seven states. California has the most churches with 19. The Thai Christian Fellowship Church, established in Los Angeles in 2005, organizes weekly Bible studies, prayer meetings, and youth ministries; it stresses the need for outreach and community development. Other churches, for example, the Barcroft Bible Church Thai and Lao Ministry in Fairfax, Virginia, has members with multicultural backgrounds for it offers the mass in Thai, Lao, English, Spanish, and Korean.

In short, a wide array of national and regional Thai organizations has blossomed like wildflowers following a spring rain. They embody the diversity of Thai Americans. As transnational agents, young and old, professionals and entrepreneurs, monks and kickboxers, they are not only planting roots to improve their circumstances in the United States, but also

giving back what they can to Thailand. Thus, by connecting themselves to the country where they come from and the country where they now dwell, Thai American organizations serve as a bridge between the two.

Jiemin Bao

See also Thai Americans; Thai Temples

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Thai Americans

Thai Americans are among the fastest-growing Asian ethnic groups in the United States, increasing nearly 131 percent over the period 1990 to 2007 (see Table 1). However, the total number remains relatively small compared to that of Chinese Americans and Filipino Americans. Thus, Thai Americans tend to emphasize a collective Thai identity and minimize intragroup differences to promote solidarity in the public discourse.

Nevertheless, the history of Thai immigration is inscribed with ethnic, class, and gender differences.

Table 1. Thai American Population in the United States

Year	1980	1990	2000	2010
Thai Americans	45,279	123,553	150,093	237,583

Many ethnic Chinese with Thai nationality were among the first to immigrate to the United States. Most came from wealthy families in central Thailand. Under the shadow of a Thai nationalist movement in the 1940s and 1950s, rich ethnic Chinese sent their Thailand-born sons and grandsons to college in the United States as a part of a family strategy to gain a foothold abroad. Chinese Thai invested almost exclusively in their sons' but not daughters' education. There were very few female Chinese Thai students at that time. In contrast, in the 1960s and 1970s, a large number of Thai immigrants were women who had married American servicemen. Many were ethnic Lao from northeastern Thailand (ethnic Lao also are called Thai *Isan*, a geographic identity). And the Thai nurses who immigrated to the United States in the 1970s and 1980s were mostly females from all different classes, regions, and ethnic backgrounds.

So it should come as no surprise that Thai American women have outnumbered men by about 20 percent over the past 30 years. This stands in sharp contrast to the "bachelor societies" of the early Asian Indian, Chinese, Filipino, Japanese, and Korean migrant laborers whose wives and children were barred from entering the United States. Thai women have a high labor force participation rate: 61 percent. They also have the second-highest divorce rate among all Asian Americans, 7.5 percent, behind only Japanese Americans at 7.8 percent.

Thai Americans are a young population: the median age was 31.8 in 1990 and 35 in 2000. More important, Thai Americans are well educated: the percentage of Thai Americans age 25 years and older who hold bachelor's degrees or higher is much greater than the percentage of Americans as a whole in that age cohort, 37.50 percent compared to 24.40 percent. Compared to mainland Southeast Asian Americans such as Khmer, Hmong, Lao, and Vietnamese, Thais have higher median earnings, and a greater percentage of Thais hold bachelor's degrees, participate in the labor force, and work in managerial and professional occupations. Unlike many mainland Southeast Asian refugees who are forced to live in cheaper inner-city housing, a large proportion of Thais dwell in suburbs and exurbs. Even though some Thai immigrants purchase houses in the most desirable

areas, send children to pricey private schools, and drive expensive cars, many people in the United States still equate them with refugees. What conceals their middle-class identity is not the type of job they perform, but their immigrant status and skin color, as well as linguistic and cultural differences.

Why Did Middle-Class Thais Immigrate to the United States?

The first Thai immigrants we have records for were the famous conjoined twins Chang and Eng. A British merchant, Robert Hunter, and an American skipper, Abel Coffin, contracted to put the twins, who were joined at the lower part of their chest by a strip of flesh “five to six inches long and eight inches in circumference,” on exhibition. The twins arrived in Boston on August 16, 1829. In Thailand, Chang and Eng were called the “Chinese Twins” because they were born to an immigrant Chinese father and a Chinese Siamese mother. In the United States, however, the twins introduced the term “Siamese Twins,” emphasizing where they came from instead of their ethnicity. Chang and Eng overcame being perceived as biologically and racially “alien” and became enormously popular entertainers, world travelers, successful entrepreneurs, skilled carpenters, slave holders, and gentlemen farmers. They married sisters, Adelaide and Sallie Yates, and raised 21 children after retiring to North Carolina. Their achievements and interracial marriages can be, at least in part, attributed to having arrived in the United States before many of the discriminatory laws aimed at Asian immigrants were implemented.

After Chang and Eng, we know of very few Thais who immigrated to the United States up through the first half of the twentieth century. However, we do know that a student, whose Thai name was Phraya Sarasin Sawamiphakh, and whose Chinese name was Huang Tianxi graduated from New York Medical College in 1871. According to immigration records, from 1951 to 1960, only 458 Thais were registered immigrants. A small number of travelers and visitors became permanent residents or American citizens. Some immigrated to the United States through

connections with American missionaries, and others came through interracial marriages. For example, a Thai military officer came for training, then married a white woman and settled in Texas in the mid-1950s. The majority of early migrants were male students.

From 1960 to 1968, the number of foreign students in the United States nearly doubled. Furthermore, 29.9 percent of students from Thailand received financial support from their family, a rate much higher than students from India (5.1 percent), China (4.6 percent), Japan (1.9 percent), and Korea (10.3 percent). Meanwhile, the number of Thai immigrants increased more than tenfold to 5,256 during the period 1961 to 1970. Over the years, many graduating students did not want to return to live under the Thai military regime, especially after the massacre on October 6, 1976, in Bangkok, so they stayed and found jobs, climbing up the corporate ladder, joining the professional and managerial class. Some opened the first Thai restaurants throughout the United States. Others used capital from Thailand to start import and export businesses, hotels, print shops, gift shops, gas stations, travel agencies, or jewelry stores. A few even opened banks. Thus, white collar professionals and an entrepreneurial class have quietly but steadily emerged from the former student body.

The proportion of professionals among the Thai immigrants grew from the 1960s through the 1980s. In 1967, 29 percent held professional or technical or related occupations, a much higher percentage than immigrants from Korea and Japan. The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 abolished the quota system and established seven preferences for immigrants, including one for professionals, one for skilled or unskilled workers in occupations for which labor was in short supply, and one for family reunification. (The Act did not fully take effect until 1968.) In response, thousands of female Thai nurses seized this opportunity to come to the United States. Whereas the United States was relaxing its restrictions on immigration, Thailand was unable to absorb many of its own highly trained people into nonagricultural jobs, despite a booming economy. High inflation and low salaries in Thailand during the late 1960s and 1970s led many

Table 2. A Comparison between Thai Americans in Las Vegas (Clark County, Nevada) and Thai Americans in Silicon Valley (Alameda, Santa Clara, and San Mateo Counties, California) in 2000

	Clark County (Thai Americans)	Alameda County (Thai Americans)	San Mateo County (Thai Americans)	Santa Clara County (Thai Americans)
Bachelor's degree or higher (%)	17.66	50.23	46.82	51.73
Median household income	\$36,847	\$42,150	\$69,091	\$60,729
Median family income	\$39,034	\$41,908	\$75,849	\$67,000

doctors, scientists, and engineers, in addition to the nurses, to come to the United States. In 1976, the number of Thai immigrants reached its peak of 8,096. By the early 1980s, there were about 1,000 Thai physicians practicing medicine in the United States.

The Vietnam War also provided many Thai women an unexpected opportunity to immigrate. From 1968 to 1977, 14,688 Thai women came to the United States as wives of American servicemen. Most were from peasant families and had only a primary school education. They tended to work at air bases, travel agencies, hotels, bars, dance clubs, or brothels. A significant number were young single mothers who had suffered abusive or unfaithful relationships before they married American men. When they first came to the United States, many lived on or near an air force base, and some continued to move from base to base, not only in the United States but also overseas, following their husbands from assignment to assignment.

The United States has the largest Thai population outside of Thailand. However, the Thai American population is unevenly distributed. California has the greatest concentration of Thais; Los Angeles is sometimes called "Thailand's 77th province." Los Angeles was the first city in the nation to establish a Thai Buddhist temple and to officially designate an ethnic Thai neighborhood, Thai Town. (See the entry "Thai Town" in this volume.) Many Thais have followed the job market according to their education and skills. There is a clear correlation between educational attainment and the distribution of the Thai immigrant population. Those who work in the computer industry or as engineers in Northern California's Silicon Valley are better educated than those who work in the service industry in Las Vegas. The percentage of Thai

Americans in the Silicon Valley age 25 years and older who hold bachelor's degrees or higher is twice the percentage of Thais in Las Vegas; this educational attainment gap corresponds with an income gap (see Table 2).

Thus, we need to comprehend the formation and transformation of Thai Americans in relation to the political and economic conditions in Thailand and the United States. Today, Chang and Eng's independence, striving for liberty and economic success has become part of America's legacy. Like Chang and Eng, Thai immigrants have overcome many obstacles and taken advantage of any possible opportunity to build a new home in the United States.

Relationships with the Ancestral Land

Thai Americans are involved in two separate but intertwined processes. At the local level, they carve out space that otherwise would not exist in American society, for example, the creation of a Thai civic school in a Buddhist temple. At the transnational level, the process is primarily expressed through reterritorializing Buddhism, articulating identities, and the movement of people back and forth across the ocean—those who dwell in the United States and members of the royal family, monks, and teachers from Thailand. Not only do individuals stretch their cultural life and activities across national borders but many nonprofit Thai American professional and business associations and alumni groups work with their counterparts in Thailand via various educational, charitable, and cultural programs. Simultaneously engaging with local and transnational networks have become defining characteristics of Thai American middle-class practices.

Each year many Thai Americans and Thai organizations celebrate the birthdays of Thailand's King Bhumibol Adulyadej and Queen Mom Rajawongse Sirikit. In the official discourse, the king is considered the father of the nation and the queen, the mother of all her subjects. Many Thai Americans celebrate Mother's Day twice: first on the second Sunday in May as is customary in the United States, then again in August on the queen's birthday, as is customary in Thailand. Celebrating the birthdays of the king and queen strengthens the connection between the monarchy and their overseas subjects, helps to raise money for royal charity projects in Thailand, and serves as a form of making merit.

Since the mid-1970s, Thai monks have been sent from Thailand to help reterritorialize Thai Buddhist temples in the United States. In 1979, the Supreme Patriarch of Thailand, who governs approximately 300,000 monks, dedicated Wat Thai, and an estimated 40,000 Thais and Southeast Asians from all over the United States attended the celebration. King Bhumibol Adulyadej, and the Supreme Patriarch each sent a Buddha statue to Wat Dhammaram in Chicago in 1978. Wat Thai Los Angeles, the first Thai Buddhist temple set up in the United States, also received a Buddha statue from the king. Queen Sirikit and other royal family members have visited various Thai American temples numerous times and often participate in ceremonies and rituals. High-ranking Thai officers also participate in temple activities when they are in the United States. The impact of the nation, the monarchy, and Buddhism—long regarded as the three “pillars” of Thai society—has been felt by Thai Americans.

Thai American temples play an important role in connecting Thai Americans to the Thai nation-state. Via these temples, the Thai state invests in teaching American-born youth the Thai language, music, and dance to cultivate “Thainess.” Beginning in 1983, the Thai government, through the Teaching Thai Language and Culture Abroad Program in Bangkok, has sent music, dance, and language teachers to temple schools throughout the United States. The Ministry of Education and the Teaching Thai Language and Culture Abroad Program also provide textbooks specifically designed for use by overseas Thais.

The reified notion of the Thai nation, the monarchy, and Buddhism consistently inform the curriculum and extra-curricular activities. Learning the Thai language, songs, music, dance, martial arts, and meditation are cultural tokens of being middle-class Thai Americans.

Although the Thai authorities understand that the second generation grew up overseas, they remind them that they have “full Thai blood” (*sailuat khuampentai tempiam*). The logic is that it is “natural” for those with Thai blood to learn the Thai language, to be a Buddhist, and to identify as Thai. By associating blood with Thainess, the state reinforces the notion of a shared Thai identity outside Thailand. Young Thai Americans learn songs such as Thailand's national anthem, the temple anthem, and “I am Thai,” all of which emphasize the importance of Thai and Buddhist identities. “I am Thai” (*chan ben khunThai*), in particular, is directly aimed at young Thai Americans:

I am Thai.
 I was born and dwell in a different country.
 When I grow up, people will ask who I am.
 Yellow skin, beautiful face, thin waist, small
 body.
 Neither black nor white.
 Good manners and high spirits.
 They say I am a good person.
 Although I live in a different land, my blood
 is Thai.
 Although I live far away from my homeland,
 I am proud to be a Thai, faithful to the nation,
 my religion, and the monarchy throughout
 my life.
 Cultivate virtue and live up to being a
 Buddhist.

In addition to learning to be Thai in the United States, many youngsters visit Thailand. The Council of Social Welfare invites Thai Americans from a few big temples in the United States to come and participate in ceremonies such as the anniversary of the King's accession to the throne. The stated goals of these visits are to “help these youth understand and take pride in being Thai and develop a passion for

and bond with their homeland,” and to raise money for national charity projects by having the students perform Thai music and dance live on television.

The student performances have received a lot of attention from the Thai media. What made it special was not just the quality of the performances but the performers—Thai Americans born and raised outside of Thailand. For many viewers, these performances were conceived of as a national celebration of Thai-ness. Sometimes a royal princess attends the concert and has her picture taken with the students. Some students said they felt like minic celebrities; some described performing in Thailand as a once-in-a-lifetime experience; others said that it was “really cool” to be a Thai American.

Besides performing, the students and chaperones more often than not meet heads of state, military leaders, and may receive a blessing from the Supreme Patriarch. The prime minister usually gives a speech encouraging the students to serve Thailand as “informal ambassadors” (*tut*) and to come back to help build Thailand after they grow up. The prime minister often poses for pictures, signs autographs, or shares a meal with them. Military officers also find time to meet the group. The commander of the Thai navy encouraged the students to “understand, maintain, and be proud to be Thai and love and connect with the motherland.” Their tours have included an excursion to the King’s Palace, a trip to Ayutaya, the ancient capital, and visits to several famous Buddhist temples, the national and military museums, and a top university.

Equipped with higher education, expertise in different fields, and U.S. citizenship or permanent residency, Thai Americans and their children have become more worthy and valuable than ever before in the eyes of the Thai elite. The Thai state, royal family and monastic leaders regard Thai Americans as a national resource and often embrace them. Ironically, if they still lived in Thailand, it is highly unlikely that they, as ordinary citizens, would have been entitled to the privileges and opportunities that they now enjoy when they visit Thailand. It is their Americanness makes their Thainess more appreciated by the Thai state.

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See also Thai American Organizations; Thai Cuisine in the United States; Thai Temples; Thai Town

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Thai Cuisine in the United States

Thai cuisine stands out for its rich and harmonious flavors. An inexhaustible assortment of dishes—from complicated curries to simple hot sauces—can be created by combining five primary flavors: sweet, sour, salty, pungent, and bitter. If a dish combines equal parts tart and salty, a touch of sweetness can connect the two and bring the dish into balance. Sometimes one flavor is emphasized, ably assisted by other flavors, whereas in another dish the secondary flavor takes the spotlight. Different flavors coexist and are considered equal players; one should not overpower the others. To best use each constituent to create something delicious, the cook has to orchestrate the differences between individual ingredients, flavors, and condiments. Coordinating the entire effect is the test and thrill of cooking Thai fare. Not only is harmony

emphasized in making a dish, it is also emphasized in creating a meal. Such a conception of harmony, to a certain degree, echoes the Buddhist notion of peaceful coexistence.

Furthermore, Thai cooking styles, ingredients, and spices often reveal regional variations influenced by the local weather, agriculture, and foodways in neighboring countries.

Unlike the northern and northeast regions where herbs play a greater role in seasoning and taste, southern dishes are influenced by Indian and Malay cuisine in terms of using spices, coconut milk, and chilies. Indian-style *gaeng massaman kai* (chicken massaman curry) and Malay-style *opor ayam* (chicken sautéed in coconut milk and turmeric) are prime examples. In addition, southern Thais are known for enjoying strong flavors: extremely hot fresh or dried chilies, tamarind, and even sour-to-the-point-of-bitter herbs.

Northern Thai cuisine is well known for its strong spices including turmeric and ginger and chili pastes and for having its fare influenced by neighbors Burma and Laos. It is also known for *namphrik ong* a spicy dipping sauce for steamed and raw vegetables made with tomato, mild chilies, and minced pork. Today, partly as an effect of the tourist industry, *khun toke* has become very popular. *Khun toke* is an entire meal that consists of several northern dishes such as *gaeng hung lay*, a Burmese-inspired pork and ginger curry dish; *gaeng hoa*, a vegetable soup; *namphrik ong*; chicken salad; crispy pork rinds; pork sausages; and steamed vegetables.

Northeastern cuisine is known for *som tam* (shredded papaya salad), barbecue chicken, and *larb*, a signature sour salad dish consisting of minced pork or beef, fresh herbs (often mint and cilantro), chilies, green onion, and lime juice. Another popular dish is *nua dak dio*, which means “meat dried one day.” As the name indicates, the meat is dried for an entire day to give it just the right texture and flavor. Another delicious dish with an evocative name is *numdok*, which means “water drops,” referring to the juice dripping from the barbecued meat; the meat is then ground and mixed with onions, herbs, and hot peppers. Nearly all northeastern dishes go well with white sticky rice.

Central Thai cuisine, especially in Bangkok, has been influenced by so-called palace-style cooking and Chinese cuisine. Bangkok is home to the Thai monarchy and numerous Chinese migrants who at one point made up a majority of the city’s residents. Palace dishes tend to be sweet rather than spicy and make use of much coconut milk. Palace favorites include *mah haw*, minced pork with fresh pineapple; *kanome jeen sao nahm*, a strongly Chinese-influenced rice noodle dish topped with fresh ginger, dried shrimp, garlic, and pineapple chunks served with a coconut sauce.

Thai noodle dishes often reflect a Chinese influence. One of the most popular dishes is *kway teo* (rice flour noodle). *Kway teo*, a mildly sweet slightly salty wide noodle, can be eaten at any time of the day. It can be seasoned with oyster sauce, fish sauce, garlic, lime, palm sugar, chili, and mixed with a wide variety of meat including barbecued pork, beef, and chicken. Whereas wide rice noodles are used to make *kway teo*, *bami* or flour noodles are used for wonton noodles or chow mein. Thai restaurants in the United States often offer *pad Thai* and *pad si ew*. In Thai, “pad” means stir-fried. “Si ew” is Teochiu Chinese for soy sauce. Although both dishes are stir-fried, each contains different ingredients and each has a distinctive taste. *Pad Thai* noodles are flat rice noodles that typically are sautéed in the restaurant’s special sauce and stir-fried with bean sprouts, green onion, meat, and sprinkled with crushed peanuts. *Pad si ew* uses much wider rice noodles and is seasoned with oyster sauce or a sweet dark-colored soy sauce. It often is stir-fried with *gailan cai* or Chinese broccoli. Chinese cuisine in Thailand also is continuously being transformed. For example, soy sauce, a key ingredient in Chinese cooking, often is replaced with fermented fish sauce.

Thai cuisine also makes use of many different kinds of curries including some that are unique to a region. In the United States, the most commonly available Thai curries are yellow curry (certain versions of which go well with potatoes, beef, or chicken and are often thickened with coconut milk or cream); massaman curry (which goes well with red meats); green curry (probably the most popular curry in Thailand and used in pork dishes or with vegetables); red curry (complements roast duck); and panang curry (excellent

with lamb or beef). There also are countless other dishes where curry powder is added to meat, fish, or vegetables to create a spicy sauce.

Thai soup can be classified into two broad categories: *tom yam* and *kaeng jeut*. Tom yam is flavored with lime leaves, lime juice, lemongrass, ginger, fish sauce, shallots (*hom*), tamarind, and hot chilies. This gives the soup its distinctive tangy taste. If one adds prawns, it becomes *tom yam kong* (spicy shrimp soup). This probably is the most popular version but the shrimp can be replaced with squid, chicken, or pork. However, *tom yam pak* (spicy vegetable soup) was created in the United States to meet the demand of vegetarians. *Kaeng jeut* is influenced by Chinese cuisine. It is lightly flavored and not seasoned with ingredients such as coconut milk, hot chilies, or tamarind, but rather with ginger, green onion, cilantro, and salt.

Rice is the major grain that Thais consume. Indeed, in Thai society rice is considered as important as earth and water; there is even a Rice Mother or Rice Goddess (Mae Pra Posop). Thai jasmine rice, known for its distinctive fragrance and subtle nutty flavor, is the most popular rice served at Thai restaurants. White sticky rice, or glutinous rice, is sweeter and heavier than jasmine rice.

Thai restaurant menus in English usually list desserts, but the Western notion that desserts are sweet and the last course of a meal does not really exist in Thai cuisine. The closest word in Thai that can be translated as dessert is *kanom*, which simply means “sweets.” Kanom mostly work their way into the daily Thai diet in the form of between-meal snacks. *Kanom krok*—a silver-dollar sized sugary hotcake prepared from rice flour, salt, sugar, and coconut milk and a wide variety of fillings—is very popular.

Variation and complexity are not only expressed in terms of regional differences, various ingredients and cooking styles, but also by the ways in which utensils are used. In the past Thais ate with their hands, especially in the north and the northeast, in part because their primary food was sticky rice that is eaten with the fingers. They take their fingers and knead glutinous rice to make it chewy. Then they dip the little ball of rice into a sauce or into a dish in which meat, fish, or vegetables are finely ground or chopped. Today in private settings—especially in rural northern

and northeastern Thailand—many still eat with their fingers. However, because of new table manners promoted by the Western-educated Thai elite, Thais have gradually changed to using forks and spoons. Holding the spoon in the right hand and the fork in the left, the fork is used to push the food onto the spoon and then eaten. Thais rarely use knives because the meat is already chopped. Nevertheless, Thais often switch to chopsticks to eat noodles, partly because it often is sold by ethnic Chinese. Fingers, forks, spoons, and chopsticks are all employed in everyday life. The key is to know which implement is considered “proper” according to the circumstances.

Thai American restaurants usually provide forks and spoons, distinguishing themselves from Western and Chinese food culture. However, some customers do ask for chopsticks. This may reflect an assumption they make about chopsticks and Asian foodways. In response, some Thai restaurants in the United States lay out not only forks and spoons, but also Chinese chopsticks. This reminds us of the Thai saying: “When you move to a city of cross-eyed people, you also have to become cross-eyed” (*khaomuang tariu, tong riuta tam*). More recently, however, fewer Thai restaurants lay out chopsticks as many American diners have learned that Thai table manners are different from those of the Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Vietnamese.

Thai restaurants refashion and tinker with flavors and dishes to varying degrees to better suit the taste of American customers. Most Thai restaurant dishes are much less spicy in the United States. (Likewise, Kentucky Fried Chicken modifies its menu in Thailand by offering hot and spicy shrimp sandwiches.) Fish sauce, one of the most important ingredients in Thai cooking, is sometimes replaced with salt or soy sauce. The amount and kinds of herbs also are reduced. Some chefs substitute instant curry for fresh, because instant curry has a much milder flavor and takes less time to prepare. Some use American ingredients and offer “Hawaiian curry,” in addition to Thai red, green, and yellow curries. In Thailand, sliced raw cabbage is rarely served with *larb*. Here it is, because Americans are familiar with eating uncooked cabbage; this also makes the size of the portion seem larger. For shrimp *gapow*, zucchini is added to make the color of the dish

more attractive, the green zucchini contrasting with the red shrimp. Spring rolls usually are made with ground pork, but in the United States tofu sometimes replaces the meat. Similarly, for a spicy basil dish, ground turkey is sometimes used instead of chicken or pork. Cooks have to be creative to make dishes out of the ingredients at hand and find flavors that are popular with new customers. We need to understand Thai food as a subject of adaptation, a subject of change, and a subject of re-creation.

Looking back 40 years ago, Thai cuisine was practically unknown to most Americans. Now it has become one of the favorite styles of cooking in the United States. Indeed, as of 2006, approximately 4,000 of the 9,000 Thai restaurants worldwide were in the United States. Thailand's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Kantathi Suphamongkhon, proudly claimed: "We were once known as the Rice Bowl of Asia. People are now referring to us as the 'Kitchen of the World.'" More important, Thai cuisine serves as a gateway for introducing Americans to Thai culture and history, as many first learn about Thailand not through Buddhism or the arts but through Thai food.

Jiemin Bao

See also Chinese Cuisine in the United States; Filipino Cuisine in the United States; Hawaiian Cuisine; Indian Cuisine in the United States; Korean Cuisine in the United States; Vietnamese Cuisine in the United States

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Thai Temples

The first Thai Theravada Buddhist temple in the United States, Wat Thai Los Angeles, was founded in 1972. Since then over 100 Thai temples have been

established in at least 27 states: from Alaska to Hawaii; from Massachusetts to California. Often, a second temple spins out of the mother temple because of internal conflicts, the need for expansion, or because adherents want to practice a particular form of meditation. Nevertheless, all Thai American temples are nonprofit organizations under the umbrella of the Council of Thai Bhikkhus in the United States.

Thailand currently is home to more than 300,000 monks and approximately 30,000 Buddhist temples including 180 to 200 temples that are under royal patronage. However, in the United States, a Buddhist monk or a Buddhist temple still is a relatively rare sight; for many Americans monks are mysterious beings. Indeed, monks are frequently asked basic questions such as why do you shave your head? Why do you wear a yellow robe? Can you have a girlfriend? Can you watch television or eat meat? Americans might not know that a monk follows 227 precepts; these disciplinary rules define who he is. He shaves his head and his eyebrows to show that he is detached from his family and this worldly life; his saffron-colored robe is the emblem of Buddhism. He lives a celibate life. It is against the rules for him to have any physical contact with a female, even shaking hands. He can watch television, although not for entertainment. He eats meat whenever people offer it to him, but he does not harm or take the life of living beings not even a pesky mosquito.

More important, a monk's position is considered "the most esteemed role" in Thai society and the sangha (community of monks) is highly respected. There, the Thai government provides monks with many free or inexpensive services including transportation and medical care. The nation, the monarchy, and Buddhism are regarded as the three pillars of Thai society. However, in the United States there is a wall of separation between church and state, at least according to the constitution. There, an overwhelming majority is Buddhist; here, a majority is Christian. There, Thais tend to respect and trust monks more than they do government officers. Here, a monk's prestige and his religious and symbolic capital go largely unrecognized; he experiences a dramatic drop in status. There, he is addressed as "Venerable"; here he is addressed as "Mr." Thus, being a Buddhist monk in the United States is a very



Wat Thai Buddhist temple in Los Angeles. (J.G. Hunter/Dreamstime)

different proposition and monks must act differently here compared to monks in Thailand in part as the effect of dislocation.

Monks have to negotiate monastic regulations in response to different social conditions. In Thailand, it would be sensational news if a monk went shopping at a big mall. Here, however, especially when a temple is just getting off the ground, monks may have no choice but to purchase building and maintenance supplies themselves. Accordingly, monks often emphasize that they do not shop for pleasure or go window shopping but rather get the job done as quickly as possible. There, monks are prohibited from driving out of concern over accidentally taking another person's life. Here, at most temples at least, one monk must learn to drive because physical mobility depends upon having a car. Monks who drive often state that it is not done for enjoyment or to look at the scenery but to get from one place to another. Monks who use cell phones often state that it is for the sake of communication and not to

play music or games. In other words, monks redefine the ways in which they act in the United States by redrawing the boundaries between work (*ngang*) and pleasure (*sanuk*).

A new temple may begin with a single monk and then increase to four. A few big temples may have more than 10 monks. In Thailand, a temple usually has a minimum of five fully ordained monks and a large temple may have a few hundred resident monks. Thai monks in the United States rarely go out to convert people but rather open the temple doors, welcoming anyone interested in Buddhism to participate. In other words, the temple provides a cultural window that allows locals to take a look, get to know fellow participants, and even join in but without having to change their faith. If an individual or an institution invites monks to talk about Buddhism or to conduct rituals, the monks say they are happy to do so. These monks not only serve as spiritual leaders, meditation teachers, and social workers, but also as laborers,

who mow the lawn, rake the leaves, sweep the floor, fix mechanical problems, recycle paper, plastic, glass, and aluminum cans, and empty the trash. Many adherents respect the monks for following the monastic code and for providing spiritual guidance and physical labor to make the temple into a place the community can call home.

A Thai temple in the United States usually starts out in a rented house that from the outside looks like an ordinary residence. Once inside, however, there are the Buddha statues and customary temple accoutrements. Building a temple requires considerable economic power and political clout as well as local and international connections. More important, tension and clashes between sacred and secular space make it much more complicated to build a Buddhist-style temple in a predominantly Christian society. Today only a few Thai American temples are built in a modified Thai Buddhist architectural style. And even those temples must combine Thai and American features into the temple space, as they have to negotiate with two distinct codes—U.S. building codes and Theravada Buddhist codes. Thai temple space therefore symbolizes the transplanting of Theravada Buddhism into American territory and serves as an outward marker of the Thai American community.

Temples rarely charge a membership fee and the number of members fluctuates. A casual visitor can turn into a regular member; a regular member may leave for a few years and then return. Some temples may have only 20 or so regular members, whereas others boast several thousand. Some temples have members from many different backgrounds including Laotian, Cambodian, Vietnamese, Chinese, Malaysian, Indian, Sri Lankan, Burmese, whites, and a sprinkling of African Americans and Mexican Americans.

Eighty or even 90 percent of regular temple visitors are women. (In Thailand the percentage of female visitors is even higher.) Thai cultural logics significantly inform gender-specific patterns of practicing Buddhism: men make merit (*thambun*) and pay back their parents by ordaining temporarily as monks; women make merit by taking care of their family, parents, and supporting the temple and its monks. Although it is a rite of passage for a man to ordain as a monk at least once in his life, it is the women who

are expected to take care of monks' daily needs. Most laymen offer alms only on special occasions such as birthdays or important Buddhist holidays. Offering alms and giving birth to a son who later ordains as a monk are the most common gendered practices among women. Thus, childbearing, motherhood, nurturing, and contributing daily necessities to monks are regarded as moral actions that lead to improving a woman's karma. Nevertheless, for some in the United States today, visiting a temple is no longer just a "woman's activity" but rather a social endeavor in which both husband and wife participate. So the proportion of men who visit Thai temples in the United States is higher than it is in Thailand.

Temples often serve as the religious, socioeconomic, educational, and cultural hub of the Thai American community. The religious, spiritual, educational, social, and economic realms are intertwined. Although one facet might stand out more than another in one particular context, all the activities are interconnected and mutually constituted.

After saying this, Thai temples in the United States, first and foremost, are religious centers, where monks and lay people worship Buddha, practice meditation, and conduct rituals. The most common rituals are life cycle ceremonies such as birthdays, weddings, and funerals. And these rituals are usually embellished with offerings, chants, blessings, and sometimes a dharma talk. The following description of a birthday ritual may shed light on some procedures that other rites and rituals share. The person celebrating a birthday, sometimes together with family members and friends, recites a sutra (*sutmon*) in the presence of the monks and pays respect to "the triple gems of Buddhism," that is, the Buddha, the dharma, and the sangha, by genuflecting and chanting. Then he or she asks for and receives "the Five Precepts" from the monks. (The Five Precepts—not to kill, not to steal, not to lie, not to use false or harmful speech, and to abstain from sexual misconduct and intoxicants—constitute the basic moral rules that Buddhists obey.) Then the abbot or a senior monk gives a dharma talk and discusses the meanings of a birthday: why one should perform good deeds, demonstrate generosity, and express gratitude to one's parents for the gift of life. At the end of the ritual, the celebrant would typically

offer alms to the monks. In return, one is blessed by the monks with a wish for good health, happiness, and prosperity. In addition to rituals for individuals, a temple conducts communal rituals on Buddha's Day, Visakha, Buddhist Lent, birthdays of the King and Queen, and for ordinations.

Temples are a popular site for meditation. The monks, temporary novices, and nuns chant and meditate once every morning and once every evening. Laypeople also participate. In the evening after meditation, monks and adherents sometimes discuss the Buddha's teachings, or a monk answers questions that practitioners have raised. Most temples hold daily or weekly meditation sessions and annual retreats. Monks teach different styles of meditation including how to look within oneself by developing a "third" or "inner" eye. Buddhists and people of many other different religious faiths often meditate together at the temple.

Some scholars have concluded that immigrant Buddhists are ritual-oriented and white American converts meditation-oriented because immigrants have been influenced by a Buddhist cosmology and the converts have been influenced by individualistic psychology. However, this might be a bit too simplistic. Many Thais participate both in rituals and meditation. So do some whites, especially those married to Thai women. The practice of meditation takes many different forms in addition to sitting silently. For some, being "mindful" is a form of practicing meditation. Mindfulness can be expressed in every act: talking, cooking, eating, working, chanting, and being kind and loving to people and animals. Gardening, too, can be a form of meditation. A few women even meditate while giving birth.

Festivals and rituals at any Thai American Buddhist temple invariably include making merit. Merit making has long been the most popular practice among Thai Buddhists to accumulate good karma for this life and future lives. Merit-making activities range from big to small actions including building a temple, providing financial support, feeding the monks, or "doing good things" throughout one's life. The ability to raise money is directly connected to a temple's survival and prosperity, as money is required for almost everything in American society. Making merit is meaningful for the practitioners because it combines so many things

—the religious, the survival of the temple, morality, folk beliefs, this life and the next life—together.

Merit making takes place both within and outside the temple. Monks are invited to conduct blessing rituals at a grand opening or a shop's anniversary and at restaurants, travel agencies, grocery stores, hair salons, and so on. In addition to food and a bundle of daily necessities such as toiletry items, bottled water, and laundry detergent, the host usually offers the monks sealed envelopes with cash inside. One envelope goes to the temple, typically from \$40 up to a few hundred dollars in cash, depending on individual circumstances. Each monk who participates in the ritual usually receives his own envelope containing \$10 or \$20 or so to be used as pocket money. Some monks donate their accumulated pocket money to the temple or to charity.

Providing monks with food and daily necessities is the most common merit-making practice. According to monastic codes, monks should not prepare their own food but eat only whatever people offer them. In Thailand, monks go forth at dawn from their temples to receive alms from neighbors. The proffered food is then divided into two meals: breakfast and lunch. However, in the United States, monks' receiving alms on the street can easily be misunderstood, for many locals are not familiar with this practice. In response, individuals and restaurant owners take turns bringing food to the temple to offer to the monks. Locals sometimes attend alms offering rituals regardless of whether they believe that making merit in this life leads to a better rebirth. Some give alms to donate money; others simply because it is fun for their children or grandchildren to participate. After the monks have finished their meal, everyone else at the temple eats the rest of the food like a potluck.

A temple is out of necessity an economic center and must focus on fund raising. To raise money, temples often set up a food court where volunteers prepare and sell food and donate the proceeds to the temple. Others hold garage sales. Some put on cultural performances and donate ticket sales to the temple. Still others organize night markets. At big religious events such as the demarcation ritual, offering-packages presented to the monks will range in price from \$10 to \$100 or \$150. Although the prices of the baskets vary,

the practice is very similar. The cost of a gift basket is much higher than its monetary value, but the items in the basket are imbued with symbolic capital. A \$10 package usually includes a spool of thread, needles, pencils, and gold leaves. The thread indicates a long life; needles symbolize intelligence; a pencil, the ability to learn; and the gold leaf, each about one-inch square, is used to gild Buddha statues or the boundary stones. A \$50 package may also include a robe, canned food, more thread, soap, sugar, paper, and envelopes. The most expensive gift-basket may sell for \$150 and include \$50 in cash along with all the items previously mentioned. After purchasing a basket, adherents offer it to the monks, and, in return, receive a blessing. These baskets, however, are never opened. Instead, they are brought back out to be resold over and over again.

A temple also functions as an educational center. Many Thai temples in the United States have revived a “Thai tradition” that no longer exists in urban Thailand, namely, operating a civic school within a Buddhist temple. These schools typically offer three subjects: Thai language, dance, and music. The purpose is not just to pass on knowledge but to cultivate Thai-ness (*khuam ben Thai*) and promote Thai identity among the second generation. At the same time, some temple schools have adopted certain local practices such as a Parent Teacher Association and a Student Council. Monks and parents tend to view the temple school as a complement to American schools. Many parents want their children to appreciate their cultural heritage and know how to act properly in both societies. The ability to switch between different languages and to appropriately follow the rules of etiquette for social interactions in both Thai and American society are important Thai American cultural practices.

Temple schools also are open to adults. Adults may become interested in Thai music after attending a concert. A few come to the temple school to learn to play Thai musical instruments. However, most adult students want to learn to speak Thai. These students, predominantly white males, can be divided into three groups. The first is men married to Thai women. They aim to develop their oral communication skills. The second group is men who are dating or going to marry a Thai woman. In class, they often compare notes and

seek advice on such things as what kind of visa should one get for a Thai girlfriend? Is it easier to get married in Thailand or the United States? The last group is made up of those who plan to move to Thailand to work or to retire. Often they are motivated to learn both the language and about Thai culture.

For the language classes, students are usually divided into several levels. Along with memorizing, students learn the Thai alphabet by solving puzzles. Younger students often find it more fun to learn dance and music than to study the language. In response, teachers use dance, music, and games to introduce students to Thai culture, history, and Buddhism.

In the dance classes, the teacher often integrates Thai history, literature, gender norms, and the moral order into the ways in which she teaches Thai dance. Thai dance is a source of national pride and considered a cultural treasure that has been handed down from generation to generation. A Thai audience usually understands the story being depicted by the dancers’ hand gestures, finger movements, and stances, just as a typical American-born Thai student would instantly recognize the story of Noah’s Ark when they see a boat and animals being led on board two by two. By learning these dances, Thai American youth also learn about Asia, ethnicity, and the relationship between Thailand and its neighboring countries. For example, in studying *Ramakien* drama, perhaps the best known classical art form in Thailand, students are exposed to a mix of different elements that originated in Southern Thailand, Java, and Indonesia.

What differs from the students’ previous experiences in taking music lessons in an American setting is that the students are now urged to pay respect to their instruments, because “a teacher is located inside the instrument” (*mi khru u nai khruang*). Initially, students often carelessly toss the bamboo mallets used to play the Thai hammer dulcimer (*khim*) on the floor. A good teacher always corrects them, explaining that a student must be “polite” to the teacher within the instrument. Even if a stage is small and crowded, students are forbidden to step over a musical instrument. (Similarly, a classical dancer has to *wai* the headdress and say “*kho khama*,” an extremely polite phrase for “excuse me” before donning it.) In addition, shoes are not allowed when students dance or play instruments. Some say

this is a way to pay respect to the deity that resides within an instrument; others say this is to demonstrate modesty because, in the past, only the King was exalted enough to wear shoes. Over time, through these practices, the students become aware of the similarities and differences between Thai and American culture.

Temples also are community centers. Some newcomers visit a temple to combat homesickness and to find psychological comfort and relief from stress. Some come to seek advice from monks regarding marital conflicts, or trouble between kids and parents, or financial problems. Elderly Thai tend not to talk about their difficulties for many of them believe that performing good deeds will solve their problems. They find peace in visiting the temple and worshipping Buddha. Some come to the temple to seek jobs through connections made there. Some come to seek advice on meditation methods. People often share economic, medical, and job information. Real estate, insurance, and travel agents also look for clients there.

Many people come on Sunday to enjoy Thai food at the temple's food court. The food and cooking smells and the colors of various dishes and desserts remind many transmigrants of home. The food court's informal, open-air seating, clean and convivial environment, and good but inexpensive food make for a pleasant dining experience. Eating together, exchanging news, and joking with one another is considered *sanuk*, or fun. Some non-Thais initially come to the temple for Thai food and then begin to participate in other activities as well. Food plays an important role in breaking down cultural barriers and opens lines of communication.

Temples also serve as cultural centers, teaching locals about Thai culture and Buddhism. Some teachers bring their students to the temple to observe rituals and celebrations. Some come with research projects; others simply to expose students to different cultures and different ways of doing things. Some teachers visit temples in an attempt to understand the multicultural aspects of the community and reach out to students and parents from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Often projects are aimed at learning how to effectively teach a highly diversified student body, and how to teach students to become good citizens

and upstanding members of the community in their own cultural terms. These teachers attempt to break free from the conventional assimilation model that aimed at erasing cultural practices and values immigrants brought with them to the United States.

In short, it is a very different proposition being a monk, or being a Buddhist, or operating a Thai temple in the United States than it is in Thailand because of dislocation. Furthermore, just as Buddhism is as much a way of life as an amalgam of religious and spiritual practices, a temple is as much a socioeconomic, cultural, educational, and community hub. Thai temples become the anchor of the Thai American community, helping to define Thai Americans, showcasing Thai culture, and enriching the fabric of America's diverse society and culture.

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See also Buddhism in Asian America; Thai Americans

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Thai Town

More Thais live in Southern California, especially Los Angeles County (25,094), than anywhere else outside of Thailand. Thai Town is the first and only officially

designated ethnic Thai neighborhood in the United States. Los Angeles City Councilwoman Jackie Goldberg recommended the name Thai Town. Her proposal was unanimously passed by the full council on October 27, 1999, after several years of intense lobbying by the Thai Community Development Center (Thai CDC) and other Thai civic organizations. The dedication ceremony took place on January 29, 2000. In July 2008, First Lady Laura Bush recognized Thai Town as a “Preserve America Community.” This designation, which has been awarded to over 500 communities nationwide, confers eligibility to apply for up to \$250,000 in federal grants and another \$250,000 in matching funds for economic development, community revitalization, and heritage tourism programs.

Thai Town proper consists of a six-block area centered on Hollywood Boulevard from Western Avenue east to Normandie Avenue. Many early residents were Thai college students who arrived in the United States in the mid-1960s. As of 2009, Thai Town is home to approximately 50 Thai businesses and over 10,000 Thai residents. Serving as the cultural and economic heart of the Thai community, the district contains an assortment of restaurants and cafes, grocery stores, two bookstores, hair salons, silk clothing stores, video stores, import shops, and health spas offering Thai massage, along this approximately 1 mile stretch of road, just east of Highway 101.

Although much of the property in Thai Town is not owned by Thais, distinctive Thai cultural symbols are prominently displayed. Two six-foot tall golden Apsonsi statues, a mythical half-human half-lion figure from Thai folklore, welcome visitors at the Thai Town Gateway with hands forming the customary Thai greeting, a *wai*, and serve as guardian angels, bringing good fortune to all. These sculptures, along with a donation for the installation, were a gift from Bangkok, Thailand’s own “City of Angels.”

Since 2004, Thai Town has been the site of the largest Thai New Year or Songkran Festival in the United States. The festival includes a beer garden and more than 200 booths offering a wide variety of regional Thai cuisine, as well as arts and crafts. Many locals and visitors take part in an alms offering to Buddhist monks, a 5K run, and a cultural parade.

A range of events including a Muay Thai boxing exhibition, classical Thai music and folk dance performances, curry cook-off, fashion show, and beauty pageant attract thousands of visitors. Typically, the mayor of Los Angeles, other political figures and local notables participate. ThaiTV, the main Thai language TV station for overseas Thais, broadcasts live and interviews celebrities, mostly actors and musicians, who fly in from Thailand to take part in the fun. The 2008 Songkran Festival attracted over 100,000 celebrants and the 2009 Festival was also a great success. Indeed, Thai Town has become a key North American site for celebrating Thai American culture and accomplishments.

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See also Thai Americans

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Thao, Cy (1972–)

Cy Thao is a Hmong American politician from Minnesota. He is a four-term member of the Minnesota House of Representative (2002–2011) from District 65A, which includes portions of St. Paul and other parts of Ramsey County, Minnesota. He is also one of the few Hmong Americans that has served in an elected public office. Thao is a registered Democrat although he was first elected to office representing the Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party.

Born on March 2, 1972, in a Communist Laos, Thao is one of his parents’ nine children. His family left their native Laos in 1975 in search of a new life. After spending five years in a refugee camp in Thailand, Thao and his family eventually made their way to Minnesota, in the United States in 1980 (Asian American Press 2010). Thao graduated from

Minneapolis North High School and has a teaching credential from the University of St. Thomas. He graduated from the University of Minnesota, Morris with a BA in political science and studio art. When Thao was in college, he worked in the Minnesota Senate as an intern.

After college, Thao worked as the director of the Center of Hmong Arts and Talent. He also worked as an art teacher in the Minneapolis Public School System. Thao has also served on the board of directors of the Women's Association of Hmong and Lao as well as the board for the Hmong Development Corporation. In addition, Thao is a prolific artist, whose work has garnered wide recognition from within and outside of the Hmong community and is exhibited at several prominent venues, including the Minneapolis Institute of Arts.

Thao first ran for a public office in 2000 as a candidate from the Independence Party but was unsuccessful. In 2002, Cy Thao tried again and won the seat left vacant by former Minnesota State Representative Andy Dawkins. During this winning election, Thao ran as a candidate of the Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party and garnered 79.5 percent of the vote.

During his first term in the Minnesota House of Representative, Thao served on the Committee of Health and Human Services as well as the Committee on Judiciary Policy and Finance (Minnesota Legislative Reference Library 2010). As a freshman representative, Thao also earned a reputation for taking on controversial issues. Specifically, he championed the idea of a more proportional board membership composition on the State Council of Asian Pacific Minnesotans and was opposed to the "Hmong marriage solemnization bill," which Thao believes has a negative impact on the Hmong culture by allowing the "mej koob," a go-between person that negotiates marital terms for the families involved, to have the power to legalize marriages and enforce state-sponsored marital laws (Asian American Press 2010). Thao went on to win three reelections and by his fourth term (2007–2009), he was the chairman of the Health and Human Services Subcommittee of Licensing.

Alongside former Senator Mee Moua, Cy Thao strived to serve the local Hmong American population. Many viewed Thao as a trailblazer not only because of

his achievement as the first Hmong American to serve in the Minnesota House of Representative, but also for his dedication to his community.

In early 2010, Thao has been ordered to pay more than \$4,700 in penalties for irregularities in his campaign finances. It was found that Thao had paid friends and relatives excessive amounts for services out of his campaign funds without declaring them as gifts. In response to the penalty decisions, Thao said he may ask for a probe into whether the initial complaint was racially and politically motivated.

In February 2010, Thao announced that he has decided not to seek a fifth term in the Minnesota House of Representatives. He was succeeded by Rena Moran of the Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party.

Jeanette Yih Harvie

See also Hmong of Minnesota and California; Moua, Mee; Political Representation

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Third World Strikes

In the late 1960s, two major student strikes took place on the West Coast: one at San Francisco State College (SF State) and the other at the University of California, Berkeley (UC Berkeley), which sought to radically restructure education and to challenge race inequalities. First, the strikes established the nation's first school of ethnic studies and a new field of academic

study. Second, they advocated a radically alternative view of public education. Third, the strikes, led by Third World Liberation Fronts (TWLF) at each campus, represented leading racial solidarity movements and connected local struggles with worldwide Third World and student movements. Despite the significance of the Third World strikes, however, was that their histories are overshadowed by the Free Speech and antiwar movements that privileged white student movements have in the recounting of San Francisco or Berkeley in the '60s. Even more invisible than the strikes themselves was the Asian American participation in these struggles.

On November 6, 1968, students at SF State began what would become the longest student strike in U.S. history. At its height, 80 percent of classes were closed and the strike endured for five months. The struggle had been brewing for a few years, centering on concerns about the sharp decline in black student enrollment and thwarted efforts to establish a Department of Black Studies. The 1960 California Master Plan for Higher Education, passed by the legislature, coordinated the governance of the state's tripartite system of higher education: the University of California (UC) system, the California State University (CSU) system, and the community or junior college system. The Plan was widely hailed for curtailing the explosion in college enrollment, brought about by the coming of age of the baby boom generation and the GI Bill making college within reach for ordinary Americans. But critics asserted that the Plan was masterfully designed to attract widespread support, while consolidating decision-making power in hands of business and political leaders and catering to corporate interests in the postwar economy. The Master Plan, critics contend, diverted students away from the UCs and CSUs and into the junior colleges by raising admission criteria at top tiers—a strategy that appealed to popular beliefs in meritocracy and an unbiased education. This curbed the problem of overenrollment at the expensive UCs and created a major cost savings to the state, with local taxes providing the majority funding for junior colleges. But, predictably enough, students of color and working-class students were disproportionately diverted to the community colleges. At SF State, the drop in black student enrollment from 11 percent in

1960 to 3 percent in 1968 helped spark the TWLF strike. The Master Plan also benefited the postwar industrial-technological economy. By channeling students to the junior colleges, the Master Plan facilitated the training of technicians, who were needed in much larger numbers than the professionals produced by the UCs.

At SF State, the Black Student Union (BSU) played the leading role in the strike. Strongly influenced by Black Power politics, the BSU, which had been the Negro Students Association until March 1966, promoted ideas of nationalism and self-determination, connected with the Black Panther Party, and developed tutorial and other community-based programs. The BSU's 10 strike demands focused on establishing a Department of Black Studies, authorized to grant bachelor's degrees; the admission of black students; and defense of instructor George Murray, outspoken black militant and Black Panther Minister of Education, who was fired from his part-time teaching position days before the strike began. After the strike victory, the BSU-led Department of Black Studies identified six goals, including "to educate our people to understand that the only culture we have is one that is revolutionary (directed toward our freedom and a complete change in our living conditions), and that this will never be endorsed by our enemy"; "to educate ourselves to the necessity of relating to the collective and not the individual"; and "to redistribute the wealth, the knowledge, the technology, the natural resources, the food, land, housing, and all of the material resources necessary for a society and its people to function."

When promoting black nationalism, the BSU also forged Third World alliances. In spring of 1968, BSU organized the TWLF to involve other ethnic groups in the struggle for minority inclusion and ethnic studies. The Intercollegiate Chinese for Social Action (ICSA), Philippine-American Collegiate Endeavor (PACE), and Asian American Political Alliance (AAPA), as well as the Mexican American Student Confederation, Latin American Student Organization, and BSU comprised the TWLF. Although half of the six TWLF groups, Asian American activism was largely invisible in the strike's historiography until the publication of Karen Umemoto's essay in an

Amerasia Journal special issue commemorating the strike's 20th anniversary. ICSA formed in October 1967 to focus on social, cultural, and community activities, but by the next fall, more militant leadership pushed the organization to join the strike. PACE began in spring of 1968 to struggle for the rights of Pilipino youth to determine their own lives. Formed in late summer 1968 by mostly Japanese American women, the AAPA at SF State was explicitly political from its start and was influenced by the radical politics of UC Berkeley's AAPA.

Three themes underlay the TWLF demands. First, the TWLF promoted education as a human right and demanded open admissions for all non-white students. Second, the TWLF challenged the fundamental purpose of education by defining a "relevant education" as one that prioritized the needs of working-class communities above the job-training needs of corporations. Ethnic studies were designed not only to include the experiences and perspectives of racially marginalized groups, but also to develop a community-based curriculum. Third, the TWLF fought for "self-determination" and the power of students and people of color to develop their own curriculum and to hire and fire faculty.

Three presidents presided over SF State in 1968 and 1969. The first two, white liberals, were fired or resigned. Then in late November 1968, the Trustees appointed S. I. Hayakawa, a semantics professor and future Republican senator, as the college's acting president. Hayakawa's appointment was controversial for numerous reasons, and became even more so when the Trustees bypassed faculty governance in unilaterally appointing him. Hayakawa operated as a law-and-order autocrat who was not afraid to face down student militants. On the first day of an open campus under his administration, Hayakawa, angered that students dared to defy his order banning amplified sound, jumped on top of the sound truck and wildly pulled out the wires of the amplifier. Before the press that evening, Hayakawa glibly stated, "This has been the most exciting day of my life since my tenth birthday, when I rode on a roller coaster for the first time." Hayakawa's impulsive theatrics, his disrespect for faculty governance, his inattention to university procedure, and of course, his unabashed opposition to student demands gained him the ire of the Academic Senate (the main

faculty body), the Associated Students, and activist students. But Hayakawa's approach won him widespread approval from the general public. A Gallup poll selected him as the nation's top educator. The National Council of Churches named him Man of the Year. And California governor Ronald Reagan declared: "I think we have found our man."

Hayakawa had a polarizing effect, but there were internal tensions as well. The students did not necessarily trust the faculty, who initiated their own strike late and ended it early. There were tensions between white students and students of color, as well as within the TWLF. But in the end, the resources of the university, violent police attacks against students, and massive arrests, including 453 on a single day, rendered negotiable the students' "non-negotiable" demands. Although some contend that the TWLF accomplished little, others saw it as a major victory. Significantly, they established the first School of Ethnic Studies in the nation. They gained 22 faculty positions, a Black Studies department, student participation on committees, and a commitment to increase the percentage of special admission slots.

Across the Bay, at UC Berkeley, another TWLF formed, comprised of the Afro-American Student Union, Mexican American Student Confederation, Asian American Political Alliance (AAPA), and United Native Americans. At Berkeley, black students were frustrated by what they viewed as the administration's thwarting for nine months of their proposal for a Department of Black Studies. Chicano students, who had pressured the university to boycott grapes in solidarity with Cesar Chavez's United Farm Workers strike, also wanted more classes focusing on their histories and communities. Through AAPA, students had won Berkeley's first Asian American studies course scheduled for the winter of 1969. Inspired by SF State's strike, Berkeley's strike began on January 22, 1969. By comparison to SF State, Berkeley's TWLF groups shared power more equally, the Black Panther Party exerted a lesser influence, and the largely middle-class campus suffered fewer arrests. Still, police violence was high at Berkeley, with TWLF leaders and bystanders alike being beaten to the point of needing hospitalization. In one case, a white nonstriker tried to stop the police beating of a black reporter, first by shouting and then by

kicking an officer. For his efforts, the police took him to the basement, where they beat him into semiconsciousness and knocked out his front teeth.

By and large, Asian American student organizations supported the TWLF strikes. In fact, when Asian American groups from various campuses met at UC Berkeley in mid-January 1969, they passed a resolution to support the SF State strike and the general movement for ethnic studies. During the first week of winter quarter, students attending Berkeley's first Asian American Studies course met after class to discuss the strike. Although there was some opposition, the AAPA-led group decided to join the strike. The TWLF used a collective model that rotated leadership among the four groups, while also promoting organizational autonomy. AAPA contributed visible leadership; most notably, Richard Aoki, a Japanese American Black Panther Party leader, who became a strike spokesperson and symbol of Asian militancy. Many Asian American women and men developed militant tactics on the picket line and attended lengthy late-night meetings promoting participatory democracy.

The contrast between UC Berkeley's Chancellor Roger Heyns, widely regarded as a liberal, and SF State's President S. I. Hayakawa illustrates the far-reaching goals of the strikes for radical restructuring. In an open letter, printed in the campus newspaper on the first day of the strike, Heyns stated that early on, he initiated the Educational Opportunity Program to increase the number of minority students. In 1966, there were 15 EOP students; by 1968, there were over 800 EOP students. He also claimed to have already promised to work toward a Black Studies program. But to students, the crux of the issue was self-determination and power. Although Heyns found it reasonable and appropriate to work through established university procedures, the TWLF wanted educational transformation. They wanted the curriculum to include not only ethnic studies, but also community-oriented courses. They also wanted to change institutional structures and procedures so that students would have increased power to affect decision making at the university.

After striking for six weeks, on March 4, 1969, UC Berkeley's Academic Senate reversed their earlier position and voted near unanimously to establish a Department of Ethnic Studies. Following the strike

victories at SF State and Berkeley, numerous black, Chicano, Asian American, and/or ethnic studies programs were established nationwide. Inspired by the TWLF strikes, these programs emerged as a result of student protest or were implemented by administrators seeking to avert potential student rebellion. The strong community commitment and student control of many of these departments has long since disappeared, but an emphasis on issues of inequality and social justice has become the tradition of these academic units. Despite ongoing attempts to dismantle ethnic studies, such as Arizona's 2010 ban, ethnic studies is now widely viewed as a legitimate field of academic study and ethnic studies departments or programs have been created in colleges and universities, as well as some high schools, throughout the nation.

Diane Carol Fujino

See also Hayakawa, Samuel Ichiy ; Third World Unity

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Third World Unity

In the 1960s and 1970s, a period in which cross-racial solidarities flourished, Asian Americans were arguably the strongest practitioners of Third World unity. From

the start, the new pan-Asian identity created in the Asian American Movement (AAM) was consciously linked to Third World unity. It was important to Asian American activists, labeled as politically passive model minorities, to assert that their subjugation was intertwined with the oppression of peoples everywhere. In the shadow of Bandung and in the milieu of Black Power, opposition to racism and imperialism formed the basis for Third World unity, domestically and globally.

In *Asian American Panethnicity*, Yen Le Espiritu noted that prior to the late 1960s, “ethnic disidentification” characterized Chinese, Japanese, and other “Oriental” groups. During World War II, Chinese, Korean, and Filipino Americans distanced themselves from Japanese Americans to avoid the fierce anti-Japanese stigmatization and to oppose Japanese expansionism in their homelands. As Espiritu observed, by the late 1960s when the baby boom generation came together on college campuses, the social conditions existed, including a common language and youth culture, that enabled the forging of a shared identity. Moreover, after Bandung, the political conditions existed to create pan-Asian and Third World unity. From the start, pan-Asian formation was a political strategy—rather than an assumption of shared cultures, traditions, or histories—to draw together small numbers of disparate groups to contest racial oppression. Although Asian Americans were a domestic minority, AAM activists understood that by forging cross-racial and international ties, they formed a global majority. AAM activists thus developed their panethnic Third World identity through two interrelated processes—their connectedness with Asia and the global Third World and their connectedness with Black Power and other U.S.-based Third World movements.

Spurred by the fight for democracy espoused during World War II, numerous Third World countries struggled for freedom against colonial rule. In 1955, 29 newly independent countries came together at the Asian-African Conference in Bandung, Indonesia, to work for world peace and against racism, formal colonialism, and neo-colonialism (or the continuing colonial control via international economic arrangements of Third World development). The newly independent countries became known as the Third World

or the Non-Aligned Movement, seeking to avoid being caught in the Cold War conflict between the First World of the capitalist sphere and the Second World of the Communist sphere. For the U.S. New Left, the national liberation struggles in Asia, Africa, and Latin America not only provided revolutionary visions for transforming society, they also inspired Third World solidarity. By demonstrating that a small nation could defeat a powerful one, Vietnamese freedom fighters inspired Cuban revolutionary Che Guevara to call for “Two, Three . . . Many Vietnams.” Cuba itself provided strong support and resources to liberation struggles in Angola and elsewhere. And China became the foremost revolutionary model for U.S. radicals.

The U.S. black militant Robert F. Williams became a leading symbol of Third World radicalism. Williams was an imposing figure who dared in the 1950s U.S. South to arm and organize blacks to defend themselves against the violence of the state and white vigilantes. After being forced to flee death threats by the Ku Klux Klan, Williams resided throughout the 1960s in exile in Cuba, China, North Vietnam, and Tanzania. In an essay in the *Asian Americans for Action* newsletter in New York, Yuri Kochiyama discussed the famed black leader’s relationship to Asians—his eliciting two widely read statements from Mao in support of black liberation, his admiration of Mao and Ho Chi Minh, and his meeting with exiled Thai freedom fighters in Peking. Kochiyama herself had corresponded with Williams during his exile in China and distributed his banned newspaper, *The Crusader*, as had fellow Japanese American Richard Aoki. Aoki joined the Black Panther Party, in part, because of the Party’s promotion of Third World unity. The Panthers studied Mao and Fanon, sold Mao’s Red Book, and connected black oppression to Japanese American concentration camps, the bombing of Hiroshima, the war in Vietnam, and the genocide of Indigenous Peoples. Party leaders Huey Newton and Eldridge Cleaver, on separate delegations, traveled to North Korea, China, and/or North Vietnam, and several Party leaders resided in exile in Cuba and Algeria.

For Asian American activists, the global gaze was particularly important. In 1966, the same year that birthed the Black Power slogan and the Black Panther Party, the model minority image of Asian Americans

was popularized in two widely read, respected mainstream publications—the *New York Times Magazine* in January and *U.S. News and World Report* in December. Both articles were titled “Success Story” and lauded the upward mobility of Asian Americans. The more sophisticated of the two, written by sociologist William Petersen, compared Japanese to “Negroes” as “object[s] of color prejudice,” but quickly turned into a story of Japanese American exceptionalism: “By any criteria of good citizenship . . . the Japanese Americans are better than any group in our society.” Despite decades of discrimination, Japanese Americans had gained higher educational and occupational success—but lower incomes—than whites. The article included a telling quote from a second-generation Japanese American: “I’m not smart, so if I am to go to college, I have to work three times as hard.” The article on Chinese Americans stated that “still being taught in Chinatown is the old fashion idea that people should depend on their own efforts—not a welfare check—to reach America’s ‘promised land.’” The mainstream Japanese and Chinese American communities appreciated their now positive image and embraced the model minorities logic of success through hard work, frugality, and self- and community reliance.

By contrast, AAM activists contested the model minority image—for erasing problems within the community, for promoting apolitical models of individual upward mobility, and for separating them from black and brown protest traditions. Activist Amy Uyematsu wrote an influential article, “The Emergence of Yellow Power in America,” printed in the UCLA student-activist publication *Gidra* (October 1969), that captured the AAM generation’s rejection of their parents’ assimilationist and integrationist aspirations. Though not by design, Uyematsu was writing in conversation with scholars from the famed Chicago School of Sociology, which in the 1920s, argued for assimilation as a solution to the “Oriental Problem.” By the mid-1960s, leading Black Power activist Stokely Carmichael argued that integration meant moving toward whiteness and thus promoted whiteness as superiority. Uyematsu was clearly influenced by Stokely Carmichael when she positioned Black Power, with its bold efforts at self-definition and self-determination, as a model for the nascent AAM. She turned the racial order on its

head by asking Asian Americans to see a shared oppression with black Americans and to challenge the anti-black racism harbored by many Asian Americans.

Many Asian American activists and organizations promoted Third World unity, some well before the onset of the AAM in the late 1960s. In the postwar years, Chinese American Grace Lee Boggs worked with the famed C. L. R. James and Raya Dunayevskaya in the Workers Party and later the Socialist Workers Party to argue that—rather than singularly promoting international workers unity against capitalism—the struggle for socialism also ought to prioritize the fight against racism. They thus supported an autonomous black movement, not subordinated to class struggle. Boggs later worked with black labor activist and organic intellectual James Boggs, her comrade and spouse, to combine Marxism, Black Power, and labor activism in Detroit’s vibrant social movements. In California, Filipino farm workers united with Chicano laborers to start the grape strike and boycott, famously associated with Cesar Chavez and the United Farm Workers of America. Yuri Kochiyama gained prominence for her work with Malcolm X, the Republic of New Africa, and in defense of political prisoners, prior to becoming a leader of the New York AAM. Richard Aoki, the highest-ranking non-Black in the Black Panther Party, brought his Marxist-Leninist ideas and his penchant for self-defense to the Third World strike at UC Berkeley and the Asian American Political Alliance (AAPA).

In the period of Vietnam and Black Power and in the spirit of Bandung, AAM activists developed a Third World unity that contested racism, capitalism, and imperialism and connected with global liberation struggles. In 1968 in Berkeley, one of the first AAM organizations, AAPA, stated: “We Asian Americans support all oppressed peoples and their struggles for Liberation and believe that Third World People must have complete control over the political, economic, and education institutions within their communities.” AAPA member Victoria Wong expressed: “These AAPA founders also consciously and carefully chose ‘Political’ and ‘Alliance’ in the group’s name . . . to forge an openly anti-imperialist *political* organization for *all* Asian nationalities, one that could stand on an

equal basis with the other dominant Third World groups at the time, as part of the *international* Third World liberation movement for self-determination” (Wong 23). In the late 1960s, Asian Americans worked through Third World Liberation Fronts, most famously at San Francisco State College and UC Berkeley, but also at Yale and elsewhere, to struggle to establish ethnic studies and to transform education to serve working-class communities. During the 19-month Native American occupation of Alcatraz island in the San Francisco Bay, Asian American activists, both young and middle-aged, brought crates of food, clothes, and other supplies to demonstrate solidarity with Indigenous Peoples’ efforts to reclaim land and human rights.

The work to forge cross-racial solidarities was not always easy. The differential racialization between Asian American “model minorities” and black “militant minorities” affected activists as well as the general population. In her racial comparative study of Los Angeles activism, Laura Pulido found that many black and Chicano activists viewed Asian Americans as immune from racism and thus not allies in the struggles for justice. Manuel Delgado, Chicano leader of the Third World strike at UC Berkeley, acknowledged: “We didn’t know much about Asian Americans except that they kept to themselves and were non-confrontational.” During the Third World strike at San Francisco State College, tensions existed among Third World groups as the administration’s offering of differential incentives created divisions. But the very act of working together also diminished stereotypes and brought unity in unexpected ways. During the Third World strike at UC Berkeley, a black activist and complete stranger gave his father’s gas card to Richard Aoki to provide unlimited fuel for strike activities. Aoki physically backed up Manuel Delgado against police batons, and for his support, got arrested. Not only did Delgado’s “erroneous perception . . . change during the course of the strike,” but 30 years later, he would state: “The heart and soul of the strike was the AAPA. They were the best organized, hardest working and most committed to the common struggle of the Third World” (TWLF Strike, 1969).

It was not only their relatively small numbers, their relative invisibility, and the model minority image, but more so, their view that their own liberation was intricately linked to the liberation of peoples everywhere that motivated the strong Third World unity embraced by Asian American activists.

Diane Carol Fujino

See also Aoki, Richard; Asian American Movement (AAM); Kochiyama, Yuri; Third World Strikes

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thúy, lê thi diem (1972–)

lê thi diem thúy is a poet, fiction writer, and solo performance artist (lê is the family name, and the lower case inscription of the name is her personal preference). lê and her father escaped their native country of Vietnam and came to the United States by boat in 1978. They settled in Southern California, where lê learned English quickly so that she could translate for her father.

Born in Phan Thiết, the Republic of Vietnam, in 1972, lê received her BA in 1994 from Hampshire College, where she focused her studies on cultural studies and postcolonial literature. In 1993, she went to Paris to conduct research on French colonial photo postcards made in the early 1900s.

lê has written two solo shows, *Red Fiery Summer* and *the bodies between us*, which she has performed at the Whitney Museum of American Art at Philip Morris, the International Playwright's Festival in Galway, Ireland, and the Third New Immigrant's Play Festival at the Vineyard Theater in New York City, among other venues. Her first novel, *The Gangster We Are all Looking For*, was published by Knopf in 2003. Her work has also appeared in *The Massachusetts Review*, *Harper's*, and the anthology *Watermark: Vietnamese American Poetry and Prose*.

lê's writing spotlights individual narratives and histories within larger historical events. In a statement she made as a Lannan Foundation fellow in 2001, lê states that much of her work focuses on the "presence of the dead on the lives of the living." lê's interest in the lingering presence of the dead and the ways in which the past constantly presses upon the present is given shape in *The Gangster We Are All Looking For*, where memories of the narrator's dead brother, the Vietnam War, and the extended family that is left behind, exert an acute, albeit obliquely told, impact on the day-to-day struggles of the narrator and her family.

She was recipient of a United States Artist Fellowship in 2008. lê is currently working on her second novel.

Nan Ma

See also Vietnamese Americans

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Tibetan Americans

Tibetan Diaspora

In 1949, the People's Liberation Army of China marched into Tibet's eastern provinces of Amdo and Kham and subsequently occupied the eastern Tibetan

headquarters of Chamdo. In 1951, the CCP imposed "The 17-Point Agreement for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet." The Chinese army advanced further west and crushed the Tibetan national uprising of Lhasa in 1959. This year saw the consequent flight of the Dalai Lama (spiritual and temporal head of Tibet), and approximately 100,000 Tibetans to northern India. The Tibetan exile government was relocated in the hill station of Mussoorie in North India. In May 1960, the exile government was moved to Dharamsala and the Central Tibetan Administration (CTA) was established. Since then, the Tibetan government-in-exile headed by His Holiness the Dalai Lama, along with the support of the Indian Government, has provided the diaspora community with a sound infrastructure. The bulk of the Tibetan exiles approximating over 130,000 are concentrated in India, Nepal, and Bhutan. A small percentage are scattered in Australia, the Far East, Canada, Britain, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden with the largest concentration in Switzerland. In the last 14 years, the support of the United States government has encouraged more and more Tibetans to immigrate to the United States.

Central Tibetan Administration

Notwithstanding the ambiguous legal standing, the exile government functions with a cabinet (*kashag*) and an assembly elected by members of the exile community worldwide. The diaspora community looks to the CTA as their legitimate government and true representative of the Tibetan people. The principal task of the CTA is the rehabilitation of Tibetan refugees. This program involves promoting education among the exile population, building a culture of democracy, and paving the way for self-reliance. According to the exile government, "the CTA's experiment with modern democracy, in particular, is a preparation for the reconstruction of Tibet when freedom is restored there." On September 2, 1960, the Commission of Tibetan People's Deputies was instituted, maturing in time into a full-fledged legislative body known as the Assembly of Tibetan People's Deputies (ATPD). The Assembly was empowered to elect the Tibetan *Kashag* or the Council of Ministers, which was made answerable to the people's elected representatives. The

Kashag (Cabinet) is the apex executive body. Similarly, the Tibetan judiciary, known as the Supreme Justice Commission, was instituted.

The newly empowered Assembly of the Tibetan People's Deputies issued the exile Tibetan constitution under the title of *The Charter of the Tibetans in Exile*. In 2001 the ATPD, on the advice of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, amended the Charter to provide for direct election of *Kalon Tripa* (the highest executive authority) by the exile populace. The *Kalon Tripa*, in turn, nominates candidates for the post of other *kalons* (cabinet members), and seeks the parliament's approval for their appointment. The candidates winning a simple majority in the parliament are declared appointed. Incidentally, the first directly elected Kalon Tripa was Professor Samdhong Rinpoche, a Gandhian with lifelong commitment to education, nonviolence and local self-rule. He took the oath of office on September 5, 2001. Today, the CTA functions with the departments and attributes of a free democratic government.

Tibetan Pioneers in America

Because of the invasion by China, the understanding of Tibet in the West is tied to the exile situation and Tibetans as refugees. Literature on Tibetans largely ignores Tibetans who are citizens of countries in South Asia. Such domicile Tibetans comprise a sizable number of the Tibetan populace in the Himalayan belt. One such domicile Tibetan was Tenki Tenduf Davis, granddaughter of Sardar Bahadur S. W. Laden La, the Chief of Police in Darjeeling under the British in India. Tenki was the first lay Tibetan to set foot on American soil. She came to the United States in 1951 and studied medicine at Columbia University. Later she became the director of a medical establishment in North California.

On an official level, the first Tibetans to see the "New World" were a small delegation led by Tsepon Shakabpa, representative of the Tibetan Government in Lhasa, to Washington, D.C. in 1948. However, the U.S. President, Harry S. Truman refused to meet the delegation to avoid creating tension with China.

Among the exiled Tibetans who immigrated to the United States, a sizable number were monks. In 1949,

Telopa Rinpoche arrived at Johns Hopkins University to teach Tibetan language. Then, three years later, Thubten Jigme Norbu, the elder brother of the Dalai Lama arrived. Norbu, retired professor of Tibetan history at Indiana University, was also the founder of the Tibetan Cultural Center in Bloomington, Indiana. By 1989 about 500 Tibetans had settled in North America. In 1967, six young Tibetans were employed as woodcutters by the Great Northern Paper Company in Maine. The low cost involved in employing them must have been an advantage, for subsequently 21 more Tibetans were employed. By 1985 approximately 500 Tibetans had settled in North America.

United States-Tibet Policy

Western interest in Tibet and its people received a tremendous boost following His Holiness the Dalai Lama's visit to the United States in 1979. His address to American politicians, scholars, scientists, religious groups, and in particular his meetings with President Bill Clinton and George W. Bush—though as a religious leader—were welcomed as very positive.

On September 21, 1987, in an address to the United States Congressional Human Rights Caucus, the Dalai Lama put forth his Five Point Peace Plan for Tibet. The Plan called for the transformation of Tibet into a zone of peace, an end to China's population transfer policy, respect for the fundamental rights and freedoms of the Tibetan people, protection of Tibet's environment and an end to any nuclear activity in Tibet, and sincere negotiation on the future status of Tibet. This public appeal, popularized as the "Middle Way," was introduced to the Chinese government and the European Parliament in Strasbourg in June 1988. In it, the Dalai Lama elaborated the final point of his peace plan. He said the whole of Tibet—that is U-Tsang, Kham, and Amdo—should become a self-governing entity "in association with the People's Republic of China," and that the PRC could remain responsible for Tibet's foreign policy and could maintain limited military installations for defense purposes. This "Middle Path" represented the exile government's genuine willingness to compromise. Despite its conciliatory position and despite giving up the demand for independence, the PRC rejected the

Strasbourg Proposal as a call for “disguised form of independence.” Since then, all attempts for discussions have ended in rebuffs. In April 1997, during his visit to Washington, the Dalai Lama told reporters he seeks only autonomy and not independence for Tibet.

Despite President Reagan’s 1986 statement that Tibet is part of the People’s Republic of China, the U.S. Congress recognized Tibet as an occupied country. Under section 355 of Public Law 1991, the U.S. Congress declared Tibet, including those areas incorporated into the Chinese provinces of Sichuan, Yunnan, Gansu, and Qinghai, as an occupied country and claimed Tibet’s true representatives to be the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan government in exile.

This recognition of Tibet by the U.S. Congress as an occupied country was celebrated by Tibetans as a triumph in their struggle. However, this statement was not intended to require the U.S. president to make a new national interest determination specific to Tibet. Therefore, critics have argued that this recognition has no effect on U.S. policy toward China. The United States has commended the Dalai Lama’s decision to give up independence, and since November 1997, the U.S. administration has appointed a special coordinator to help facilitate dialogue between the Dalai Lama and Beijing. The United States does not support Tibetan independence but maintains its policy is to preserve Tibet’s unique religious, cultural, and linguistic heritage. The United States has clearly stated that its effort is part of its objective to promote the protection of human rights in China. During his presidency, Jimmy Carter relentlessly emphasized human rights in U.S. foreign policy. Since the late 1980s, the United States has made special efforts to work with the exile government. Under Section 134 of the U.S. 1990 Immigration Act, sponsored by Congressman Barney Frank, Edward Kennedy, and Tom Lantos, 1,000 immigration visas were issued to Tibetan refugees from India and Nepal. According to reports, some 10,000 applications were received. The successful rehabilitation of the 1,000 immigrants in different parts of the United States depended on American sponsors and Tibetan cosponsors.

Initially sponsored by the New York Tibet Fund, the new arrivals were received at the airport and carefully coached to adjust to the new environment.

Lacking proper education, most of them were employed as unskilled laborers. A small percentage was professionals such as nurses, accountants, and teachers and some students. Although falling within the purview of the international definition of refugee as contained in the 1951 United Nations Convention relating to the Status of Refugees and its 1967 Protocol, which has been incorporated into U.S. law, political considerations dictated that Tibetans be categorized as immigrants and not refugees. According to U.S. government agencies, Tibetan immigrants arrive with documents from India, Nepal, and other countries and hence do not qualify for refugee status in the United States. This is indicative of how the refugee is reconceptualized in various institutions. Consequently, this classification made them ineligible for refugee assistance from the government.

The Dalai Lama’s special envoy in the region was Lodi Gyari. On September 30, 2002, under the Foreign Relations Authorization Act of 2002–2003, the Tibetan Policy Act was signed into law by President George W. Bush. Considered to be the most comprehensive legislation passed by the U.S. government on Tibetan affairs, its principal task is to help the Tibetans and encourage efforts to find a negotiated solution for Tibet. Under this Act, the U.S. special coordinator for Tibetan issues is expected to promote substantive dialogue between the government of the People’s Republic of China and the Dalai Lama and his representatives, foster a policy to protect the distinct religious, cultural, linguistic, and national identity of Tibet, press for respect for human rights, and consult Congress on policies relevant to Tibet, its future and the welfare of the Tibetan people. In addition, the Act makes a pledge to support and monitor the economic development of Tibet, to request access to prisons and release of Tibetan prisoners, to urge the PRC to stop religious persecution in Tibet and to require the Tibetan language training for U.S. Foreign Service officers in the PRC responsible for monitoring developments in Tibet. Provisions have been made by the U.S. Congress to provide financial assistance including scholarships to Tibetans in India and Nepal. For the fiscal year 2003, the amount of \$2,000,000 was authorized as humanitarian aid to Tibetan refugees in India and Nepal. The entire U.S. financial aid is allocated

by the exile government to support the continuous inflow of new refugees arriving from Tibet.

Tibetans in the United States

Under the 1990 Immigration Act, the Tibetan-U.S. Resettlement Project identified its beneficiary to be those Tibetans not firmly resettled in India or Nepal. Between April 1992 and June 1993, the 1,000 immigrants were settled in 21 cities. Finally, in 1995, after waiting anxiously, the 1,000 immigrants were able to bring their family members whose number eventually far exceeded the original estimate of 1,480.

The Tibetan community in North America exchanges information with the assistance of the Tibetan Community Assistance Project (TCAP) that was established in October 1993. Wherever more than 15 Tibetans settle, Tibetan Associations are set-up. In the first phase of resettlement in North America, the Association assisted newcomers in finding jobs and securing housing. A prototype of the Tibetan *Kidu* in exile in India, Nepal, and Bhutan, the Associations provide assistance to Tibetan families during periods of crisis such as death or illness. It provides a platform for a broad diversity of events, ranging from commemorating the March 10 uprising in Lhasa, to celebrating his H.H. the Dalai Lama's birthday, to staging protest vigils when Chinese delegates visit the United States and Canada. The Associations also organize visits by monks, artists, cultural specialists, and performance groups, or even weekend prayer gatherings and parties. Some Associations undertake politically neutral events such as weekend Tibetan language classes for younger children and dance and music classes for both youth and adults. In sum, the Tibetan Associations aim both to promote Tibetan culture and to raise awareness of the Tibetan cause. The members of the community are required to pay annual *Rangzen* (Tibetan Freedom) dues to support the Tibetan government in exile. This monetary pledge is a pledge of loyalty, representing one's identity as a Tibetan irrespective of whether one is a "displaced immigrant," a refugee, or citizen of the country of residence. The Tibetans are encouraged to play an active part in the exile administration by participating in elections. Intended to engender values of democracy,

representatives from the three regions of Tibet, the five religious sects, and the two overseas constituencies are elected to the Assembly of the Tibetan People's Deputies.

In 2004, the Tibetan population in North America was estimated to be 8,730. As of 2006 the numbers fluctuate between 10,260 and 10,500 as more continue to arrive through legal and other means. According to the Conservancy for Tibetan Art and Culture (CTAC) findings the majority of Tibetans live in or near cities of 500,000 or more. The largest populations in the United States are on the East and West Coasts and in the Midwest region. They are clustered mostly in urban centers such as Washington, New York City, and Boston in the Northeast; Chicago, Madison, and Minneapolis in the Midwest; Salt Lake City, Santa Fe, and Denver in the Mountain West; Los Angeles and San Francisco in California; and Seattle and Portland in the Northwest. Of these cities, Minneapolis and New York City have the highest numbers because of better employment opportunities. Tibetans in these areas are employed in a variety of professions that range from business, administration, teaching, health and nursing, to housekeepers, nannies, store clerks, construction sites, and a host of unskilled work. A newsletter maintained by the North American *Chitue* (Association) keeps the community informed of all decisions taken by the exile government. In addition the cluster sites maintain their own newsletters. For instance, the Twin Cities (Minneapolis-St. Paul), the largest cluster site, keeps the community connected and informed through their newsletter "Yakkety-Yak."

As with many other immigrants in North America, the pressure to succeed is enormous for Tibetan families. Many Tibetan parents work 40 hours or more in a week often leaving their children to the care of friends and neighbors. They came with a certain mind-set to succeed economically. Most of the Tibetans in North America have extended families living in India and Nepal or Tibet and regularly remit money to help support their families. This support gives strength and cultural continuity in the larger exile communities in India and Nepal.

The trade-off between the imperative to succeed and live cultural constraints seriously challenge parental ability to transfer cultural values to their children.

The United States and Canada are multicultural societies ideal for cross-cultural experience but not the environment in which to foster Tibetan cultural continuity. According to a Tibetan community member it is important to develop a deep appreciation of what it means to be Tibetan; otherwise, it becomes too easy to lose one's Tibetan identity.

Indeed, Tibetans in North America form but a tiny fraction of diverse immigrants. Still, Tibet and the Tibetans appear to capture disproportionately the interest of millions of people. Whether through the popularity of H.H. the Dalai Lama, Western attraction to Tibetan Buddhism, or Hollywood portrayals of Tibet, the influence of Tibetans has grown far beyond their numbers. Tibetan culture and religion continue to influence social change in the United States and elsewhere. Since the 1950s, with the arrival of the first monks to North America, Dharma Centers of all four major traditions of Tibetan Buddhism have been established across North America. There are about 500 Dharma centers in the region. Tibetans in general belong to one of the four major Tibetan Buddhist schools: Gelug, Kagyu, Nyingma, and Sakya. The Centers run primarily by Tibetan monks and aided by Western monks has brought a dynamic aspect of Tibet's spiritualism within the reach of the Westerner. Today, the Dharma Centers in North America continue to captivate Western audiences.

This spate of Tibetans immigrating to the United States has increased the numbers of Tibetans in neighboring Canada from a mere 240 in the 1970s to close to 2,000 today. Of these, adults comprise over 70 percent, youth about 20 percent, and children and elders comprise a comparatively very small number. Clustered in Vancouver, Calgary, Toronto, and Montreal, the Tibetan community actively participates in the activities of the Canada Tibet Committee to promote awareness of the Tibet issue.

Conclusion

Tibetans have so far successfully retained their Tibetanness in a very foreign environment. With the support of the Dalai Lama's Office of Tibet in New York and with Tibet support groups such as Students for Free Tibet, International Campaign for Tibet based in

Washington, D.C., the U.S.-Tibet Committee in New York City, Friends of Tibet, and Hollywood celebrities like Richard Gere, Tibetans continue to actively promote the cause of Tibet. Free Tibet Concerts, hunger strikes, and demonstrations against the Chinese occupation of Tibet are events that draw much media attention. Opera troupes and Tibetan monks from India and Nepal regularly tour North America, familiarizing the Western audience with Tibet's rich cultural heritage and keeping the Tibet issue alive and burning.

Yosay Wangdi

See also Buddhism in Asian America; Tenzin Gyatso (14th Dalai Lama)

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Tien, Chang-Lin (1935–2002)

Chang-Lin Tien was the eighth Chancellor of the University of California, Berkeley. Though his term lasted seven years, from 1990 to 1997, he spent nearly four decades with the university as an assistant professor, full professor, and vice chancellor. An expert in the field of heat transfer, Tien published prolifically and served as a consultant to several governments, including the United States and Hong Kong. From the latter, he received the Grand Bauhinia Medal, Hong Kong's highest award, in 2002. As an educator, he was honored with UC Berkeley's Distinguished Teaching Award, becoming the youngest recipient of that honor in the university's history. As chancellor, he was

known for his commitment to diversity, pledging resources to nearby schools with disadvantaged students, and writing to the *New York Times* in 1996 in defense of affirmative action programs.

Tien was born in mainland China in 1935, but fled with his family to Taiwan following the end of the Chinese Civil War in 1949. He received a bachelor's degree in mechanical engineering from the National Taiwan University in 1955. Shortly after, he immigrated to the United States, where he received a master's degree from the University of Louisville in 1957 and a master's degree and doctorate in mechanical engineering from Princeton University in 1959.

Upon receiving his doctorate, Tien became an assistant professor in the Department of Mechanical Engineering at UC Berkeley. Nine years later, he became a full professor and eventually chaired the department from 1974 to 1981. Tien briefly left the university in 1988 to become executive vice chancellor of another University of California campus, UC Irvine, but returned to become chancellor of UC Berkeley. In doing so, he became the first Asian American to head a major research university in the United States.

Tien's accomplishments as an academic and engineer were prolific. He was a widely published authority on heat transfer processes, having published more than 300 journal articles on the subject. He is credited with establishing a new subfield in thermal science, microscale thermophysical engineering, and with notable contributions to numerous other fields of research, including fluid flow, phase-change energy transfer, heat pipes, reactor safety, cryogenics, and fire phenomena. In the late 1970s, Tien was asked by the United States government to assist with the Space Shuttle program, as well as the Three Mile Island nuclear meltdown in Pennsylvania.

In 1981, Tien was awarded the Max Jakob Memorial Award, considered the highest honor in the field of heat transfer, by the American Institute of Chemical Engineers and the American Society of Mechanical Engineers. In 1999, he became a "University Professor" at Berkeley, a position reserved for the most eminent faculty members in the entire University of California system. Since 1960, only 35 professors have been similarly honored.

As chancellor of UC Berkeley from 1990 to 1997, Tien was known for his commitment to campus diversity. In 1995, the Regents of the University of California voted to eliminate racial preferences in admissions. In response, Tien announced a five-year "Berkeley Pledge" of \$1 million annually to 25 nearby schools as part of an effort to help disadvantaged students meet UC admission standards. The pledge also provided academic guidance to students in grades K-12, professional training to teachers, and college and admissions information to parents. In 1996, Tien wrote a letter to the *New York Times* in which he defended affirmative action policies. He cited earlier brushes with racism at the University of Louisville, where he was a graduate student, as inspiring his dedication to maintaining UC Berkeley's diverse student body.

Tien's chancellorship was also characterized by improvements to undergraduate education at UC Berkeley. As part of his "Smooth Transition" plan for entering undergraduates, he instituted small seminar classes for first-year students, allowing them to interact more closely with faculty. This, among other initiatives, resulted in improvements to the university's undergraduate retention rate. Though the university faced significant budget cuts during his tenure as chancellor, Tien managed to diminish their impact through consistent fundraising efforts, gathering a record \$156 million in 1995. Tien's relationships with private benefactors, several of whom were Asian and Asian American, helped UC Berkeley add a number of significant features, including the Tang Center, a student health center funded by the Tang Foundation; and Tan Hall, a chemistry and chemical engineering building funded by friends of Chinese industrialist Tan Kah Kee.

As chancellor, Tien was beloved on campus for his efforts to connect with students on a person level. He consistently attended university sporting events and was known for his enthusiastic cheering. During the final examination week, Tien was also known to frequent the university's library to support studying students.

Tien stepped down as chancellor in 1997, and retired from the university soon after. He left a career and legacy that had accumulated numerous accolades

and honors. In 1962, only three years after receiving his doctorate and joining the faculty at UC Berkeley, Tien received the university's Distinguished Teaching Award, becoming the youngest professor to do so at age 26. In 1976, Tien joined the National Academy of Engineering, which awarded him its highest prize in 2001. In 1997, Tien became the first recipient of the UC Berkeley Presidential Medal. UC Berkeley's Chang-Lin Tien Center for East Asian Studies, the asteroid Tienchanglin, and the Chevron oil tanker Chang-Lin Tien are all named in his honor.

In 2000, Tien was diagnosed with a brain tumor. Shortly afterward, he suffered a stroke from which he never fully recovered. Just two years after his diagnosis, Tien died at the age of 67. He was survived by his wife, Di-Hwa, three children, and four grandchildren. His son Norman Tien is the dean of Case Western Reserve University's Case School of Engineering. His daughters Phyllis and Christine Tien are, respectively, a physician at the University of California, San Francisco, and a senior program officer at The California Endowment, a philanthropic health foundation.

Winston Chou

See also Chinese Americans

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Ting, Samuel Chao Chung (1936–)

Samuel C. C. Ting is a prominent Chinese American physicist best known for his experimental discoveries in the field of high energy physics, including that of the J/ψ particle for which he shared the Nobel Prize in Physics for 1974. He has also been active in promoting U.S.-China scientific exchange.

Samuel Chao Chung Ting (Ding Zhaozhong in *pinyin*) was born on January 27, 1936, in Ann Arbor to father Ding Guanhai and mother Wang Junying,

two Chinese students who had just received their MAs at the University of Michigan. At the time, Ting's father, a civil engineer, had already returned to China to take up a professorship at the Jiazuo Institute of Technology in Jiaozuo. His mother, an educational psychologist, followed suit with Ting in tow in April of that year. In the next few years, Ting became a young refugee as the family fled the Japanese invasion, eventually to Chongqing, the wartime Chinese capital in southwest China, where Ting's father and mother both found jobs as college professors. Following the Japanese defeat in 1945, they moved to Nanjing after a short detour in Qingdao by Ting and his father. In 1949 the Nationalists lost the civil war to the Communists and Ting moved again with his family to Taiwan, where in 1955 Ting enrolled at Tainan Institute of Technology in Tainan.

In 1956, Ting transferred to the school of engineering at his parents' alma mater at Ann Arbor but switched to physics in 1957. His passion for the new field was soon bolstered even further by the exciting news of Chinese American physicists Chen Ning Yang and Tsung Dao Lee's winning the Nobel Prize in Physics later that year. From Michigan he earned bachelors of science and engineering in physics and in mathematics in 1959, a master's degree in 1960, and a PhD in 1962 in experimental physics.

Choosing challenge over stability, Ting turned down an offer of assistant professorship at the University of Rochester and instead went to the Nevis Laboratory at Columbia University as a research associate in 1962 where he had opportunities to work with the well-known Chinese American experimental physicist Chien Shiung Wu before moving soon to CERN, the European center for nuclear research in Geneva. There Ting worked with Giuseppe Cocconi, an Italian physicist, conducting experiments on a proton synchrotron. In 1965, Ting returned to Columbia as an instructor in physics, promoted to assistant professor a year later.

In 1966, Ting made his first mark in the world of physics: leading an international group at the Deutsches Elektronen-Synchrotron (DESY) in Hamburg, Germany, Ting conducted an experiment that helped establish the validity of quantum electrodynamics (QED), a foundational theory of modern physics, against several earlier purported experimental

challenges. The QED experiment brought Ting international fame in physics as well as an associated professorship at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1967, followed two years later with a full professorship.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, Ting worked on high energy particles of light, or photons. When photons reached a high energy, they sometimes, as a fascinating physical phenomenon, turned into other particles called vector mesons that actually have masses several times that of protons. Because these mesons shared most other qualities with the photons except their masses, Ting called them “heavy photons.” At the time, there were three known heavy photons: the “rho,” “phi,” and “omega.” Theorists believed that these particles, which were very short lived, were, like protons and neutrons, made up of more fundamental particles called “quarks.” The prevailing theories assumed that there were three kinds (“flavors”) of quarks and their antiparticles (antiparticles are the same particles with opposite charges)—“up,” “down,” and “strange”—and they made up the heavy photons: up-antiup (rho), down-antidown (phi), strange-antistrange (omega). Ting, however, followed his intuition and believed that more heavy photons might exist and require a revision of the existing quark theory.

In 1972, Ting led a team of collaborators to conduct a difficult experiment at Brookhaven National Laboratory in Long Island to detect new heavy photons, likening it to “looking for a particular pair of raindrops on a rainy day in Boston.” All the hard and meticulous work by Ting and his team paid off in September 1974 when analysis of the experimental data indicated the appearance of a new particle at the energy level of 3.1 GeV (giga or billion electron volts). It was a sensational discovery but Ting decided to postpone publication for rechecking and for investigating the possibility of the discovery of a second particle. Finally, news that another team of physicists at the Stanford Linear Accelerator Center (SLAC), with collaborators from the University of California, Berkeley, and headed by Burton Richter of SLAC, made an apparently independent discovery of the same particle pushed Ting into making the announcement.

The almost simultaneous discoveries naturally provoked controversies about priority claims. The Nobel committee settled the matter, to some degree, with its awarding the Nobel Prize in Physics for 1976 to both Ting and Richter. (Ting made his Nobel acceptance speech first in Chinese and then in English.) The new particle was named “J” by Ting, “ ψ ” by Richter’s team, and later officially “ J/ψ ” by the physics community. Soon it became clear that “ J/ψ ” revealed the existence of a fourth quark, “charm,” which had been predicted by the Harvard theoretical physicist Sheldon Glashow. Glashow explained the “ J/ψ ” as a meson made up of a charm and an anticharm, thus completing the November Revolution in physics that eventually helped unify electromagnetic and weak interactions, two of the four fundamental forces in nature (the other two are strong and gravitational forces).

The hard-driving Ting continued to be a major force in experimental high energy physics following the J/ψ discovery, leading international experimental groups, often with participation by scientists from China, at DESY, CERN, and elsewhere. In the late 1990s, Ting led the international effort to construct the so-called Alpha Magnetic Spectrometer (AMS) to detect dark matter and antimatter in space. The AMS was flown and tested in space shuttle Discovery in 1998 and a newer version of it was to be put on the International Space Station in 2009 or 2010.

Ever since his first trip back to China in 1975, Ting has made frequent visits there, involving a large number of Chinese scientists in international scientific collaborations, and otherwise promoting science and education in mainland China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong.

Zuoyue Wang

See also Chinese Americans

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Tokyo Rose

Tokyo Rose was a moniker used to describe nearly a dozen female radio personalities working for Radio Tokyo in Japan during World War II. Although Tokyo Rose was actually many different women, the name became a near mythic phenomenon among American soldiers serving in the Pacific who claimed that she tried to demoralize them with stories of Allied defeats, taunts, American music, and tales that made them long for home. Many American servicemen reported that these efforts often had the opposite effect of lifting their spirits. Still others claimed that Tokyo Rose possessed detailed information about the American military's movements in the Pacific Theater. Regardless of the fact that no one person could lay claim to the title of Tokyo Rose, the name is most commonly associated with Iva Ikuko Toguri D'Aquino, a Japanese American citizen who broadcasted for the Radio Tokyo program "Zero Hour" and who was later convicted of treason by a U.S. court for her association with this organization. Although the court convicted her under questionable circumstances, she has, however, erroneously been branded as the face of the Tokyo Rose persona.

D'Aquino's path to infamy was a convoluted one, which began in the United States. She was born Ikuko Toguri in Los Angeles on July 4, 1916, but used the name Iva. Her father, who was a merchant who owned a small business, raised his daughter as an American and did not teach her the Japanese language. After graduating from the University of California, Los Angeles in 1941, she hoped to pursue a medical degree. However, she left for Japan that year without a passport to either study medicine or care for a sick relative. She possessed a letter verifying her citizenship and planned on acquiring the necessary return



Correspondents interview Tokyo Rose (Iva Ikuko Toguri D'Aquino) in September, 1945. (National Archives)

documents at the American consulate in Japan. Those arrangements would not be completed, as later that year the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor. She elected to remain in the country but refused to renounce her citizenship, despite being labeled by the Japanese government as an "enemy alien."

In the following years, Toguri worked as a typist for the Domei News Agency and, by August 1943, for Radio Tokyo. Later that year Toguri was asked to broadcast for the Japanese propaganda show "Zero Hour," which was tasked with lowering American troops' morale. An Australian broadcaster named Charles Cousens, who also worked for Radio Tokyo, had recommended Toguri for the position, hoping to make a mockery of the show due to her deep voice and slight lisp. Japanese troops had captured Cousens in Singapore and coerced him into working for Radio Tokyo in exchange for allowing him to read the names of Allied POWs, which Cousens believed would assist American families. For her part, Toguri went along with Cousens's subtle jests toward the station and its psychological warfare campaign. The Japanese authorities seemed none the wiser regarding the nuance of the

show and considered Toguri highly effective in her propaganda role, which she shared with several other English-speaking female broadcasters, on “Zero Hour.”

During her “Zero Hour” broadcasts, Toguri used the show name “Orphan Ann” or “Orphan Annie” and later stated that her comments supposedly aimed at lowering American morale were meant to be tongue-in-cheek. Rather, she hoped to raise American servicemen’s spirits by playing American music and reading the news. After the war, the army analyzed these broadcasts and confirmed that most troops reported that these broadcasts improved their morale. At the same time, the army expressed concern over Toguri’s reported awareness of American military movements in the Pacific Theater. By the spring of 1945, Toguri married Felipe D’Aquino, a citizen of Portugal of Japanese and Portuguese ancestry. Despite her marriage, Toguri did not renounce her American citizenship and continued performing her “Zero Hour” broadcasts until the war’s conclusion.

Following Allied victory in the Pacific, Mrs. D’Aquino resumed her efforts to secure a passport so she could return to the United States for permanent residence. Throughout the war, the Japanese government had pressured her to renounce her citizenship but she remained stalwartly against this. After the Japanese surrendered, the American military and press began to search Japan for those who may have committed war crimes against the United States. In the fall of 1945, two reporters, Harry Brundidge of *Cosmopolitan* and Clark Lee of the International News Service, located D’Aquino and offered her \$2,000 to admit to being Tokyo Rose and to give an exclusive interview. Foolishly, D’Aquino attempted to capitalize on this notoriety and consented. At the behest of *Cosmopolitan*’s editors, she then gave a press conference confirming she was Tokyo Rose, which led to her eventual arrest by U.S. military authorities in Japan. The magazine’s editors had deceived D’Aquino into her damning public admission and reneged on their financial offer. More than anything else, it was these incidents that led the American public and media to condemn her as the hated propagandist Tokyo Rose.

When imprisoned, D’Aquino received harsh treatment from the guards and limited contact with her

husband. At the same time, the FBI and the Army Counterintelligence Corps investigated her, but after over a year of searching found insufficient evidence to merit prosecution and released her in October 1946. Upon her release, she applied once again for a U.S. passport, but this was met with outrage on behalf of veterans groups and broadcaster Walter Winchell who railed against the notion of the woman reported to be the traitorous Tokyo Rose returning to the United States. In light of the vitriol surrounding the issue, the Justice Department reopened the investigation into D’Aquino’s wartime activities and interviewed former servicemen, and gathered information regarding her broadcasts. Evidence appeared scant, all the more so because many of her recordings had been destroyed after the United States decided not to prosecute D’Aquino in 1946. Even after many of her colleagues at Radio Tokyo, including Cousens, were exonerated, the Justice Department labored to find members of the armed forces who had heard Tokyo Rose’s broadcasts and who could match her voice with D’Aquino’s. Additionally, Harry Brundidge compelled a contact of his to commit perjury to implicate D’Aquino. With these developments, a grand jury in San Francisco convened and she was indicted on eight counts of treason. Consequently, she was detained once again in Japan in September 1948 and sent back to the United States under guard to face trial.

The trial commenced in 1949 and even after hearing all the evidence over a 13-week period, the jury deadlocked over a decision. The judge in the case pressured the jury to come to a decision, which led to D’Aquino’s conviction on one of the eight counts of treason regarding speaking into a microphone concerning the loss of ships on a single occasion. This referred to a statement she made in the wake of Allied victory at Leyte Gulf in which she said “Orphans of the Pacific, you are really orphans now. How will you get home now that your ships are sunk?” D’Aquino was only the seventh person in U.S. history to be convicted of treason. In October 1949, the judge stripped her of U.S. citizenship, sentenced her to 10 years in prison and a \$10,000 fine. Brundidge and his witness did not testify at trial because news of the witness’s perjury and Brundidge’s complicity in the matter came to light. In spite of his illicit conduct, the reporter was never charged with a crime as

the FBI only had the witness's word that Brundidge compelled him to commit perjury.

Having served six years of her sentence, D'Aquino was released from prison in 1956 and moved to Chicago to work for her father in the hopes of paying off her fine. Once she completed her stint in a West Virginia prison, D'Aquino labored to have her name cleared. She gained many supporters particularly as members of the jury spoke to the press regarding the shaky foundations of the charges and the questionable manner in which the court arrived at a conviction. Former colleagues of D'Aquino's at Radio Tokyo who had testified against her reported being bullied into doing so by the government. Some groups started disseminating petitions calling for her exoneration. She eventually received a pardon from President Gerald Ford as one of his last acts in office in 1977.

Because of her dubious conviction and treatment by the American government, many see D'Aquino as a victim of a public looking to rationalize its views about the traitorous nature of its Japanese citizens. Others believe she fell prey to a government witch hunt or conspiracy. Regardless, D'Aquino truly misjudged the impact her claim to the Tokyo Rose title would have. She maintained her assertion that she had hoped to undermine the Japanese propaganda campaign from within, but the American public had been whipped up into such a frenzy that objectivity was impossible. As a result of the anti-Japanese fervor sweeping the United States, D'Aquino's life was torn asunder and her name associated with a personification of Japanese evil.

Brandon P. Seto

See also Japanese Americans

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Tomine, Adrian

See Graphic Novelists.

Tomney, John (d. 1863)

John Tomney (also Tommy) is the only Chinese soldier known to have been killed in action during the American Civil War. He enlisted in New York City on May 15, 1861, in the First Regiment Excelsior Brigade, Company D, making him one of the earliest volunteers. According to his military records, he was Chinese and 18 years old.

A newspaper article published in *New York World* after his death claimed Tomney knew no English at his enlistment. Bright, smart, and honest, he nevertheless fast became a favorite in his regiment, which trained at Camp Scott on Staten Island. The entire brigade mustered into the service of the United States on June 21 and was rushed to duty in Washington a month later when the Confederates routed Union forces in the war's first real fight, the Battle of Bull Run. In December, the brigade was incorporated in the volunteer forces of the State of New York and the official designation of Tomney's regiment became the Seventieth New York Infantry.

All winter, small detachments of the brigade crossed the Potomac River into Virginia in hopes of capturing Confederate pickets, but with no success. Tomney made his own attempt after falling out of ranks on March 17, 1862, during an expedition from Dumfries to Fredericksburg. The rebel doctor that Tomney was trying to take prisoner, however, wrested Tomney's musket from his hands and delivered him to a scouting party from the Texas Brigade. Tomney, as recorded in Private J. C. Barker's diary, was "giving lip." Furious, Barker threw Tomney "across his lap and with his leather belt administered such a chastisement as that 'ruthless invader' had probably not received since childhood" (Davis).

The Texans identified Tomney as a "Celestial." Confederate General John Magruder was confused and asked if he was a mulatto, Indian, or something else. When Tomney said he was from China, Magruder invited him to join the Confederate Army. Tomney assented on condition of promotion to brigadier general. Magruder and his officers, amused by the retort, treated Tomney kindly, but did not release him, and he was delivered to Richmond's newly opened Libby Prison.

Paroled on May 12, Tomney was given the option of terminating his military service or going on paid furlough. Tomney, choosing the latter, devoted himself to his sick and wounded comrades in New York, nursing them and buying them delicacies. Ordered to report to Camp Parole, Maryland, he became a member of Captain Dimmick's Detachment, Second Battalion of Paroled Prisoners on September 23, 1862. Two months later, he returned to the Seventieth New York and was promoted to corporal on February 8, 1863. He finally experienced the full heat of battle in May at Chancellorsville, a humiliating defeat for the Union.

When the Battle of Gettysburg started on July 1, Tomney's regiment was still in Emmitsburg, Maryland. Marching nine hours, they arrived in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, close to midnight, and the next day, July 2, Tomney was among those trapped in a murderous bombardment in the Peach Orchard. A shell tore off both his legs at the thighs, and he bled to death not long after.

Ruthanne Lum McCunn

See also Chinese Americans; Chinese in the U.S. Civil War

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Tongs and Tong War

Tongs (from the Mandarin *tang*, meaning hall) were secret societies formed through oaths of brotherhood. Tongs first emerged in China, most notably following the Qing overthrow of the Ming Dynasty in 1644 when Han Chinese formed the *Zhigongtang* in a failed

attempt to oust the new Manchu rulers. Significantly, the *Zhigongtang* had its base in Guangdong province, which was the home of many early Chinese migrants to America. The tongs formed in America lacked the political aims of their China-based counterparts. First established in San Francisco in 1852 and Hawaii in 1869, tongs in America retained the traditions of secret rituals and brotherhood oaths, and their membership came from similarly disaffected members of society. However, rather than large-scale political movements, tongs in mainland America concentrated on controlling key vice trades and fighting for power within Chinatowns.

Tongs in America drew their membership from migrants whose needs were not being met by the lineage associations or the merchant-dominated district associations (known as *huiquan*). Because tongs were societies based on rituals and oaths of brotherhood rather than family name or place of birth, they exercised greater control in selecting members than *huiquan* or clan associations could. This selectivity allowed tongs to form hierarchical brotherhoods that appealed to Chinese migrants because of the perception that all brothers benefitted from the organization. By the 1870s, this fraternal feeling and strong hierarchy helped tongs pose a real challenge to *huiquan* control of American Chinatowns. Tongs challenged *huiquan* control because they provided resources and opportunities to their members, and also because tongs did not concern themselves with being the face of the Chinese community. Whereas the merchant-led organizations largely shunned violence, tongs became synonymous with "highbinders" and hatchet men who both provided protection and exacted revenge for their sworn brothers.

Initially organized as mutual benefit societies meant to foster community and friendship among strangers in a strange land, tongs eventually became highly organized gangs intent on controlling the major vice trades of western Chinatowns: opium, gambling, and prostitution. Although merchants and their *huiquan* associations had benefitted from these same vices, in the late 1870s, as police extended their patrols into Chinatowns and American laws began to criminalize these previously accepted vices, tongs took almost total control as merchants receded in an attempt



Police examine the body of a Hip Sing Tong member in Chinatown, New York, in 1924. The shooting death was, allegedly, the result of a gang war among rival Tongs. (Bettmann/Corbis)

to maintain their respectable faces. Indeed, despite ostentatiously respectable names, such as the Tong of Peaceful Tranquility (On Leong Tong) or the Tong of Shared Victory (Hip Sing Tong), Chinatown tongs derived their status, power, and income from controlling the vice trades and demanding protection money from businesses within the territories they controlled.

As notable battles, such as the dispute between the Suey Sing Tong and the Wong clan and the war against Little Pete's (Fung Jing Doy) Sanyi Huiguan illustrate, tongs fought other groups for monopolies on vice trades, control of territory, and personal and organizational honor. Indeed, tongs might even fight as a reaction to *huiguan* failures to protect the community, as can be seen in the violence following the passage of the Geary Act (which required all Chinese residents to carry registration cards or face deportation) in 1892. The Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (CCBA), a coalition of the six largest *huiguan* also known as the Chinese Six Companies, lead

the fight to have the Geary Act declared unconstitutional, but their failure lead to both boycotts and violence in California Chinatowns. Still, most often tong violence was aimed against other tongs in what the press often sensationalized as "Tong Wars."

So called "Tong Wars" could start for many reasons. For instance, the early battle between the Suey Sing Tong and the Kwong Dock Tong briefly raged over the affection of a prostitute named Kum Ho. This conflict had the character of a formalized battle. The Suey Sing Tong first posted its "chun hung" declaring a grievance and seeking a fight to resolve it. The Kwong Dock Tong responded with their own "chun hung" accepting the fight. Rather than an all-out war, the two sides sent their fighting men to the agreed-upon place at the decided time and fought until the Kwong Dock fighters retreated and the Suey Sing Tong was declared the victor, based on a comparison of the wounded. As was typical of tong disputes, the fighting was just one stage and the conflict ended only after lengthy negotiations. Tong Wars were not always so formalized. Indeed, the anonymity of tong warriors, as opposed to members of lineage associations who were easily identified by their family names, was a key advantage for tong assassins, especially once tongs adopted guns rather than knives or hatchets as primary weapons.

Though feuds over individual slights or the affection of a woman continued sporadically, there were two main stages to tong violence based on competition over territory and control of vice trades. The era of large-scale and frequent tong violence on the West Coast lasted from roughly the 1870s to the early 1900s when tourism began to replace vice as a key part of the Chinatown economy. Indeed, in 1913 the Chinese Peace Association was formed to mediate tong disputes and bring the groups together as a sort of CCBA for tongs. However, as Chinese migrants spread east, new territories opened up and new tongs began to contend over control of these territories. These East Cost tongs, most notably the On Leong and Hip Sing tongs, did not have to contend with powerful and established *huiguan* or clan associations. So, rather than fighting for territory within Chinatowns, these two tongs fought for the total control of individual Chinatowns into the mid-1900s. The

conflict between the On Leong and Hip Sing tongs took on a national scope after each group established itself as a federation (the On Leong in 1910 and the Hip Sing in 1918), so that a dispute in Cleveland could lead to fighting in Newark, Chicago, or even Mexico. (Although violence could extend outside of the United States, tong tradition held that it would not extend to China.) Though the On Leong and Hip Sing tongs rebranded themselves as “associations” in an attempt to escape the negative connotations of “tong,” they continued to peddle protection and invest in vice for their key sources of income.

Tongs were distinct organizations within the social, political, and economic fabric of American Chinatowns, but they were not wholly exceptional. Following the failed China-U.S. negotiations and the Supreme Court’s *Ju Toy* decision in 1905, tongs joined with lineage associations, the CCBA, and other Chinatown organizations to support the Chinese boycott of American imports. Additionally, like the CCBA, tongs derived much of their legitimacy and their power within the Chinese community from the isolation of Chinese in America.

Jason Stohler

See also Chinatown Gangs in the United States

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Tourist Industries

Tourist industries are significant economic factors in Asian American communities and are also venues for the representation of ethnic culture and heritage to the broader society. They are most evident in more established communities like Chinatown and Little Tokyo, but are increasingly spreading to emerging communities like Koreatown and Little Saigon. Although the

trope of “Orientalism” surrounded touristic representations of Asian American spaces during their initial popularization at the turn of the twentieth century, growing economic and political clout gives Asian Americans new power to control their own cultural representations in the contemporary era. As Asian American communities are increasingly more integrated with urban political and economic interests as well as global dynamics, tourist industries present opportunities and also risks for the livelihood of their small businesses and residential populations.

Chinese American communities have attracted touristic outsiders since the late nineteenth century. An author for the *Harper’s New Monthly Magazine* wrote glowingly about the exotic sights and sounds of the Chinese New Year in San Francisco Chinatown in 1880. In New York City in the 1880s, entrepreneurial white hucksters and impresarios such as George Washington “Chuck” Connors popularized “slumming” tours of Chinatown that drew gawkers and rubberneckers with lurid sights such as mock opium dens. Louis Beck capitalized on the public fascination with a sensationalistic pulp travelogue on New York’s Chinatown in 1898. More genteel observers such as the photographer Arnold Genthe also capitalized on the market for Oriental exotica by doctoring and retouching his photographs of San Francisco Chinatown published in 1906. He removed white pedestrians and English signage to more effectively portray Chinatown as a foreign place.

Although the earliest tours of Chinatown were generally commandeered and exhibited by white outsiders, the Chinese were also beginning to represent themselves to the general public. In 1894, the Chinese American community of Los Angeles participated in the Fiesta de Los Angeles parade with a dragon dance that proved so popular they were invited back for several years following. This was a maneuver of cultural diplomacy at a time that Chinatown was still publicly denigrated as a place of vice, immorality, and a danger to public health. Chinese immigrants were still denied citizenship because of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. Alien Land Acts in the state of California additionally excluded them from property ownership. Negative perceptions of the Chinese continued through the following decades, and in the 1930s, Los Angeles

Chinatown was slated for removal to make way for the Union Station train terminal. A local preservationist and socialite, Christine Sterling, helped create a tourist-oriented development called China City that featured stage sets and costumes previously used in the 1937 film, *The Good Earth*, donated by the studio MGM. China City shamelessly pandered to demeaning ethnic stereotypes, and visitors were encouraged to ride rickshaws and feast on “Chinaburgers.” A second project, “New Chinatown” was led by Peter Soo Hoo, a second-generation Chinese American leader with the Los Angeles Department of Water and Power that had good relations with the city business leadership and the media. Second generation Chinese Americans born on American soil had full rights of citizenship including property rights. The New Chinatown was similarly designed as a tourist attraction, but architects were more concerned to create an authentic replication of a *hutong*, a historic lane or alley typically found in Chinese cities. The development was completed with courtyards and elaborate gateways and opened in 1938 to much celebrity fanfare including an appearance by the actress Anna May Wong.

The year 1938 also witnessed the start of Nisei Week in Los Angeles Little Tokyo as a collaboration of the mainly *Nisei* (or second-generation) Japanese American Citizens League and *Issei* (first-generation) leaders. As such it was a collaboration of the mostly younger American generation and immigrants that were still Japanese nationals, and staged to boost the local economy and foster Japanese identity as well as promote American public understanding of Japanese culture at a time when anti-Japanese action was flaring among Americans who felt threatened by the geopolitical advances of Japan. The festival was halted for six years during wartime, but reorganized afterward. Events in the two-week festival include a grand parade, exhibitions, car show, art show, tofu festival, and a beauty pageant whose winner, the Nisei Week Queen, serves as an official cultural ambassador to the American public. For some years there was a dog show, and the official Nisei Week mascot, Aki the Akita, still survives as a cartoon and costumed character. The spirit of patriotic allegiance to America imbued in the festival generated a sense of ideological consent especially in the wartime and conformist

McCarthy years but the rise of the Civil Rights Movement and arrival of new flows of immigrant labor and capital after the 1960s gave the festival a more cosmopolitan and progressive character.

Chinese Americans launched similar festival celebrations in their communities in the postwar era. Wartime alliance between the United States and China against Japan assisted in bringing an end to the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1943. Leaders in San Francisco Chinatown in 1952 began to stage expansive Chinese New Year celebrations that could encompass and promote the participation of the American public. In 1955, the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce was created and they also began to stage an extended Chinese New Year festival with street parade, car show, food festival, and Miss Chinatown beauty pageant. The Asian American tourist industries during the postwar years married tools of urban boosterism with civic discourses of American patriotism and community spirit.

With the social and economic changes of the 1960s came a new chapter in the growth of Asian America communities and their tourist industries. The Hart-Celler Immigration Act of 1965 lifted decades-long restrictions against foreign immigration into the United States, and higher quotas were designated in a variety of family reunification and manpower categories. Federal and regional banking and foreign investment laws were also liberalized. These neoliberal economic policies were an outcome of America’s growing involvement in the global-economy and military intervention abroad, as well as innovations in global transportation and communications technology. Rising prosperity in the nations of East Asia boosted the flows of immigrant labor and capital to the U.S. There was expansion in the Chinatowns and Little Tokyos of America, and growth in communities of other groups such as Koreans and Vietnamese, especially into immigration gateway cities like New York, Houston, Los Angeles, and San Francisco. Some of the East Asian flows were motivated by political uncertainty surrounding Taiwan and Hong Kong, and the evacuation of Vietnamese following the Communist victory in Vietnam.

The expansion of Asian American communities stimulated the development of diversified ethnic

enclave economies. Ethnic enclave economies are characterized by a sector of unregulated or informal sector work that typically offers low wages, poor working conditions, and little job security but offers recent immigrants with poor English-speaking skills, educational or professional qualifications, and even lack of citizenship papers, a chance for a livelihood in America. The sweatshops of the garment industry are a leading sector in Chinese American enclave economies, generating export income that is subsequently recirculated and multiplied through interindustry and consumption linkages with other coethnic enterprises. Tourist industries are another significant export sector in a variety of Asian American communities, with restaurants being a principal business activity, along with other retail trade enterprises such as jewelry shops, antique and curio shops, gift shops, food markets, and ethnic niche service activities such as Buddhist temples, martial arts schools, massage therapists, herbalists and Chinese medicine centers.

Asian American tourist industries also include a growing arts and heritage sector that promotes cultural preservation, education, and the sustaining of ethnic arts and performance cultures into the future. The Chinese Historical Society of Southern California was founded in 1975 and given a home in 1995 that is now the location of the Chinatown Heritage and Visitors Center. The Chinese American Museum of Los Angeles opened in 2003 with more spacious exhibition space under the support of the Los Angeles Recreation and Arts Commission. The New York Chinatown History Project was founded in 1984 and it became the Museum of the Chinese in the Americas in 1995. In Los Angeles Little Tokyo community opposition blocked the city clearance of historic properties for redevelopment, and subsequently given protection as a National Historic Landmark District. Business leaders obtained support from overseas Japanese investors in the creation of the Japanese American National Museum, now one of the largest ethnic heritage and arts museums in America. Little Tokyo also has a lively performing arts scene that attracts Japanese Americans and the general public, with venues at the Japanese American Cultural and Community Center, and the David Henry Hwang Theater.

In the new Chinatown and Little Tokyo of the contemporary era, the leadership of these Asian American communities has new economic and political power amid an environment of global economic change and the gains of the Civil Rights Movement. Similar transformations can be seen in more recently developed Korean and Vietnamese American communities. Asian American ethnic enclave economies have helped to revitalize the downtown districts of many U.S. cities suffering urban disinvestment with the out-movement of jobs and people to the suburbs and outsourcing to overseas locations. As Asian American communities work increasingly with transnational investors and become integrated with U.S. urban growth coalitions, they are beginning to promote a type of commercial redevelopment and residential gentrification that threatens the vitality of the existing low-income population and small business sector. There have been conflicts between local and overseas circuits of labor and business capital in Los Angeles Little Tokyo and New York's Chinatown. In Los Angeles Chinatown, a fashionable new arts scene has emerged through the entry of white gallery owners and property developers drawn by the presence of undervalued real estate in the midst of an appreciating property market. The Los Angeles Chinatown Business Improvement District was created in 2000 with a white developer with Chinatown investment interests, Kim Benjamin, as its leader. In New York's Chinatown, Chinese American leaders worked with public agencies and private booster interests to create an Explore Chinatown tourist campaign, erect a manned tourist advisory kiosk, and launch a new Chinatown Partnership Local Development Corporation.

Asian American communities have reached a new stage in their economic and political development and have a chance to employ tourism to generate income and expose the American public to ethnic culture in a cosmopolitan and global environment. The spirit of civic boosterism and consent to American patriotism can conflict at times with the progressive legacy of civil rights and political self-determination. There can be slippage back into Orientalist stereotypes, as evident in a logo used by the Los Angeles Business Improvement District that depicts a "Chinaman" with

pointed hat who sports a carrying pole on his shoulders. Unbridled capitalism threatens to lead to crass commercialism and the transformation of Asian American communities into ethnic theme parks. Authenticity and cultural ownership are at stake unless Asian American tourism can be presented in a way that honors the struggles of the past and promotes public education and the interests of the community rather than unmitigated profit and commerce.

In the Vietnamese American communities of Little Saigon in Boston and Southern California's Orange County, lingering anti-Communist sentiment and American patriotism has conflicted with a second-generation discourse of civil rights and progressive politics. Overseas Korean investment capital is threatening the existing community of Los Angeles Koreatown with redevelopment gentrification. There is also evidence of interethnic conflict, with leaders in Los Angeles Koreatown in 2009 disagreeing with Bangladeshi leaders over the siting of tourist signage too close to Koreatown.

Jan Lin

See also Chinatown, New York; Koreatown; Little India and South Asian Communities; Little Saigon and Vietnamese American Communities; Thai Town; Wong, Anna May

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Townsend, Raymond Anthony (1955–)

Raymond Townsend is a former professional basketball player and the first Filipino American to play for the National Basketball Association (NBA). He was also the first Asian American to be selected in the first

round of the NBA draft. Standing at 6 feet 3 inches tall, the talented guard played three seasons professionally in the United States, and several years abroad, before he retired from basketball in 1988.

Townsend was born and raised in San Jose, California. His mother, Virginia Marella, is from Batangas Province, Philippines. His father, also named Raymond, is American. Townsend played point guard for three years at Archbishop Mitty High School, where he had a stellar career and was awarded the league's Most Valuable Player. He would later be inducted into the Archbishop Mitty Athletics Hall of Fame. For his senior year he played at Camden High School, where he averaged an impressive 27.2 points per game. He earned All-American honors and was recruited, among other schools, by athletic powerhouses the University of Southern California (USC) and University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA).

Townsend chose to attend UCLA. As a freshman, he played under the revered coach John Wooden, and that season (1974–1975) was a member of Wooden's tenth and last NCAA National Championship team. For the next three years Townsend was the starting guard for the Bruins. He finished his final season with numerous accolades, including team MVP, PAC-10 All-Conference First Team, and Coaches' All-American. He also made the school's record books with free throw and perimeter shooting percentages that remain among the best in UCLA history.

Though most known for basketball, in college Townsend was an accomplished baseball player as well. He filled UCLA's starting shortstop position, earning three varsity letters and amassing a batting average of more than .300. At one time Townsend considered pursuing a professional baseball career, and as a senior was drafted by both Major League Baseball and the NBA. Ultimately, however, he decided to continue with basketball.

In the 1978 NBA draft, Townsend was selected by the Golden State Warriors. He was the 22nd pick overall, the final spot of the first round. He stayed with the Warriors for two seasons (1978–1980), eventually moving into the starting lineup and playing a total of 140 games. From 1981 to 1982, Townsend briefly signed with the Indiana Pacers and added 14 more games to his NBA tally. He then took his career

abroad. Over the following years Townsend played in Europe, including with the prominent Italian team Banco di Roma. In 1985, he became the second leading scorer in the Italian Serie A, one of Europe's premier leagues.

After retiring from professional basketball, Townsend returned to California and worked as a coach, educator, and public speaker. He is the founder of the RT Basketball Development League, which promotes the establishment of basketball leagues for youth in the San Jose area. Townsend has also sought to develop stronger ties between the NBA and Filipino communities in the United States. In 2009, he was recognized by the UCLA Pilipino Alumni Association as its Distinguished Alumnus of the Year.

Andrea Y. Kwon

See also Filipino Americans

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Toyota v. United States (1925)

In this landmark case, the U.S. Supreme Court denied Hidemitsu Toyota, a Japanese immigrant and a World War I veteran, the right to naturalization, holding that Japanese were not entitled to privileges of the Filipinos because the latter were not aliens. Although this ruling cast another blow to the Japanese, it established an important principle that would allow Filipinos to become naturalized citizens.

Prior to this decision, in *Ozawa v. United States* (260 U.S. 178, 192), the U.S. Supreme Court had categorized Japanese as "alien ineligible for citizenship." Takao Ozawa, a native of Japan who immigrated to

the United States at a young age, petitioned for citizenship based on his moral character and loyalty to the United States. Regardless of his background as a Christian and an educated American who had little connection with Japan, the Court declared that Ozawa was not entitled to naturalization because he was clearly not Caucasian. Nevertheless, the Japanese American community did not take the court decision as their final defeat. Using a different line of argument, one that allowed Filipino American servicemen to gain citizenship, Japanese immigrant made their case to the Supreme Court a second time.

Born in Japan, Hidemitsu Toyota arrived in the United States in 1913. He served in the United State Coast Guard Service, a part of the naval force, throughout World War I and received eight honorable discharges. Toyota filed his petition of naturalization in the United States district court in Massachusetts in 1921. The petition was granted, and he received a certificate of citizenship issued by the court. But the same court later changed its decision and canceled the certificate. At issue was whether a U.S. serviceman of the Japanese race, born in Japan, may legally be naturalized under two laws that allow American servicemen of Filipino descent born outside the United States to become citizens of the United States. As subjects of a U.S. territory, a large number of natives of the Philippines were recruited by the U.S. navy each year. The Act of May 9, 1918 (40 stat. 542) permitted "any alien" who had served in the U.S. military to gain citizenship without the required declaration of intention and proof of five years' residence within the United States. Similarly, the Act of July 19, 1919 (41 stat. 222) allowed "any person" of foreign birth who had served in the U.S. military to petition for naturalization without providing declaration of intention and proof of five years' residence. Both legislations were enacted to facilitate the naturalization of Filipino and Puerto Rican servicemen, but neither specified whether excluded Asian groups were granted the same benefits. An appeal filed on behalf of Toyota argued that if Filipinos who served in the U.S. military were entitled to naturalization rights, regardless of their race and color, then the same should also apply to Japanese. Based on the plain language of the legislation to the above laws, Japanese are included in "any alien" or "any person."

Delivering the opinion of the Supreme Court, however, Justice Butler held that literally, the phrase “any alien” meant “free white persons” and persons of “African nativity.” He argued that until the act of 1918 was passed, it was unclear whether citizens of the Philippines were entitled the privilege of naturalization because they were neither “free white persons” nor persons of “African nativity.” The law was to make Filipinos eligible to naturalization. At the same time, he continued, “it has long been the national policy to maintain the distinction of color and race,” and that “the limitations based on color and race remain.” The intention of Congress was not to reverse this national policy, except in respect of Filipinos qualified by the specified service. The Court declared with its Chief Justice dissenting that Toyota, a person of the Japanese race, born in Japan, may not be legally naturalized under both the 1918 and 1919 laws, regardless of his service in the U.S. military.

Although the ruling of the Supreme Court reaffirmed that individuals born in Japan were “aliens ineligible to citizenship,” *Toyota v. the United States* has been considered as a major victory of the Filipino American community. Until 1918 it was unclear whether Filipinos were eligible to naturalization. Some of them were held eligible for naturalization (*In re Bautista*, 245 Fed. 765 and *In re Mallari*, 239 Fed. 416). But in *In re Alverto* (198 Fed. 688), *In re Lampitoe* (232 Fed. 382), and *In re Rallos* (241 Fed. 686), their petitions were denied by the court because Filipinos were neither “free white persons” nor persons “of African nativity.” Now the Supreme Court declared that there were strong reasons for the government to relax its race and color restrictions in favor of Filipinos because they were not aliens and they owned allegiance to the United States. Such an opinion was most significant. By implication, not only were Filipinos who served in the U.S. military eligible for naturalization, according to the 1918 and 1919 laws, but those who were not were granted the same privilege. Unlike the Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, and Asian Indians, Filipinos could not be categorized as “aliens ineligible to citizenship” simply because they were not aliens. The case cleared the way for Filipinos to gain citizenship in the United States. Until 1943,

alien Filipinos were the only Asians who could gain U.S. citizenship.

Xiaojian Zhao

See also “Aliens Ineligible for Citizenship”; *Ozawa v. United States* (1922)

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Tran, Ham (c. 1974–)

Writer, producer, director, and film editor, Ham Tran dedicates his creative energy to documenting the story of the Vietnamese diaspora. Loyal to the perspective of the Vietnamese people in Vietnam and abroad, Tran’s work presents a history that has thus far been told only through the eye of the American G.I. and the American consciousness. As troubling and difficult as his representations are, Tran’s aesthetic lens also provides a path to healing through remembrance. Tran is best known for a 28-minute short film entitled “The Anniversary” (2004) and a feature-length historical drama, *Journey From the Fall (Vu’ợt Sông)* (2006), the first film to capture the compelling experience of postwar reeducation camps and the plight of Vietnamese boat refugees.

Tran received a BA in English at UCLA before working toward his MFA in directing at UCLA’s School of Film and Television. His short film, “The Anniversary” (2004), focused on the separation of two siblings by civil war in Vietnam and was produced as a master’s thesis. The film received much acclaim internationally and domestically, winning the USA Film Festival Award and being named a semi-finalist for the 2004 Academy Award for Best Live Action Short. Two other films produced by Tran at UCLA, “The Prescription” (2001) and “Pomegranate” (2002), earned the honor of national finalists for the Student Academy Awards.

Born in Saigon, Vietnam, of Chinese descent, Tran was eight years old when he and his family fled Vietnam in 1982. Unlike the boat experience depicted in *Journey*, they immigrated to the United States under the aegis of the Orderly Departure Program. Familiarity with the boat experience, however, surrounded him. Growing up among the Vietnamese community in Little Saigon, Orange County, Tran absorbed stories obliquely, a form of transmission that he felt needed to be rectified.

In making *Journey from the Fall*, Tran retained his artistic vision for the film, turning down financial backing by Hollywood executives who wanted to add more mainstream elements to the film. Production for the film was funded entirely by the Vietnamese community, allowing Tran to choose a Vietnamese cast and retain Vietnamese as the dominant language of the film (with English-language subtitles).

Only two cast members of *Journey* (Kieu Chinh and Long Nguyen) had professional acting experience. Tran recalls, “It was an intentional choice that was made. . . . [I]n order for this film to film right and have that authenticity, we needed people who had gone through that experience personally. So we put an ad in the Vietnamese newspaper.”

“I had to be really careful, too,” Tran continues. “What I was looking for were people who could go back to a very specific emotional point in their lives, but at the same time, people who could make it back afterwards. Cause there were people who went there and could not stop crying; going back to that moment was so traumatizing. I knew that would be detrimental to their own personal well-being” (Asia Pacific Arts 2007).

In a separate interview, Tran observes pointedly that resounding silence surrounding the Vietnamese experience is very much engrained into the generational relationship within the Vietnamese community. “My producer and I interviewed more than a hundred survivors of the re-education camps and boat refugees, and I would say that 7 out of 10 of everyone we spoke to have not told their own children what they revealed to us,” Tran recalls. “[T]hey would carry these important stories to their graves, and never realize that our youth of today need to know why they are here. The so-called generation gap is not one created by age.

It’s created by silence, a deep burrowing kind that hollows the heart” (Nguyen 2006).

Since its debut at the 2006 Sundance Film Festival, *Journey From the Fall* has been showered with accolades from the Vietnamese American community, the professional film circuit, and the international community. The film has garnered 16 international honors, including nomination for Best ASEAN Film at the Bangkok Film Festival and the Best Film Award at the 2007 Vietnamese International Film Festival. It was an Official Selection of the 2006 Sundance Film Festival. Keeping with Tran’s effort to maintain autonomy from commercial investors, the film was released into theaters in March 2007 by ImaginAsian Entertainment.

Several interviews with Tran are available online, including an interview conducted by Asia Pacific Arts in concert with the UCLA Asia Institute from which quotes have been excerpted for this entry. The interview with Charles Nguyen may be found on VietQ News Blog. Among ongoing projects, Tran is currently completing two film projects entitled *Distant Country* and *Breaking Point*.

Linh Hua

See also Hollywood, Asian Americans in; Vietnamese Americans

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Transnational Political Behavior

The transnational political behavior of Asian Americans refers to political acts practiced by Asian Americans that transpire in America but transcend American borders. They involve a range of activities

performed by individuals, groups, organizations, and governmental or nongovernmental units that aim to influence the political process and policies of the country of origin in Asia or those in the host society of the United States, or both, and the communities within each political entity. Examples of the types of political activities include direct participation in home-country political parties, elections, and hometown associations, as well as fund-raising, political donations, lobbying government officials, and participating in meetings, discussions, or events related to home-country politics without actual travel across the borders.

Politics on both sides of the Pacific has played a key role in the formation and maintenance of the Asian diaspora in the United States. Studies of Asian diasporic communities suggest that Asian immigrants often maintain connections to their homelands through involvement in transnational voluntary associations based on shared geography, dialect, religion, alumni association, or political and other interests. These voluntary associations often exist both within the national boundaries and across national borders. In the Chinese diaspora, for example, they comprise a transnational network made up mostly of business leaders interested in transnational investments and in maintaining cultural ties to their ancestral villages or home provinces.

Influenced by the tidal waves of globalization, Asian governments have shown an increasing amount of interest in the potential functions and roles of the overseas communities. Homeland governmental officials are sent to attend the annual conventions of these organizations and many have pressed for policies favorable to the overseas compatriots. Nevertheless, political ideological divides originated in the ethnic homelands, compounded by racial subordination and overt ethnic discrimination in the United States, have created grounds for “dual domination” of Asian Americans by governments on both sides of the Pacific. A notorious example is the “confession program” run by the U.S. State Department and the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) in the 1950s to stop immigration fraud. It was assisted by the operatives of the anti-Communist, Taiwan-based nationalist government in U.S. Chinatowns. U.S. government agents increased surveillance and harassment of (mostly) U.S.-born Chinese leftists, especially those

who were considered supporters of the Beijing-based Communist government in China.

The complexity and dynamics of transnational politics practiced by Chinese and other Asian American communities with a foreign-born dominance hold the potential to unite and divide the multiethnic population. Its ability to both energize and stifle political activism has set apart the brand of political participation of Asian Americans from that practiced by other major U.S. racial and ethnic groups.

Long before the idea of “transnationalism” became a trendy research concept, immigrants from Asia were found to maintain strong connections with their ethnic homelands. For example, Chinese Americans in the second half of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century were found to draw on a complicated network of transnational resources to fight racial injustice in the U.S. immigration, social, legal, and political system, to negotiate their identities between being Chinese and being American, and to help improve the political and economic status of the homeland in the process. The overseas community in the United States, in turn, maintained a prolonged and tenacious but also shifting relationship with the ethnic homeland through various transnational projects such as homeland modernization, defense, liberalization, and democratization.

Because of American racism, which severely limited the flow of goods, capital, and people across the Pacific Ocean, early Chinese immigrants turned their struggle into a trans-Pacific effort by sending money from the United States to help strengthen and modernize their native land of China. The overseas community became a major source of fund-raising for various projects dealing with homeland political change. Particularly significant in volume and frequency were political donations, which started with giving money to political factions that established an extensive presence in Chinese America and peaked in the eight-year long Chinese war against Japanese aggression. Similarly, early Korean and Asian Indian immigrants actively supported the homeland independence movements and attempted to influence U.S. policy toward the empires of Japan and Great Britain, respectively. On the other hand, lacking power and in search of tactical resources, Japanese American

immigrants in the early twentieth century formed a strategic alliance with the homeland government and the social elite in Japan to combat one of California's defining acts of institutional racism: the Alien Land Law of 1913.

With the lifting of restrictive immigration quotas for Asian immigrants and the assurance of equal civil and political rights for minorities in the mid-1960s, the frequency and variety of transnational political activities engaged by Asian Americans only increased in the post-1965 era. Treating the pursuit of democracy in the Asian homeland as an equally important project as the protection of their civil rights in the United States, Filipino Americans organized opposition across the Pacific with Filipino nationals in the 1970s and 1980s to overthrow Philippines President Ferdinand Marcos. Around the same time, Taiwanese Americans lobbied the U.S. Congress and worked in concert with Taiwan's *danwai* (outside of the party) elites to push for political liberalization and a democratic form of government. During the Kwangju democracy movement in South Korea in 1980, Korean American students staged several rallies in Koreatown and sit-in demonstrations in front of the Korean Consulate in Los Angeles to protest against the corrupt homeland government. Following the collapse of the Vietnamese economy in the early 1980s, refugees from Vietnam in the United States built a transnational grassroots movement to counter but also to negotiate with the former adversary of the Communist Party in Vietnam. Prior to the signing of the India-U.S. Civil Nuclear Deal in 2006, Asian Indian American groups actively lobbied U.S. Congress to make an exception for India, a country that refused to sign the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty, from U.S. laws limiting trade in nuclear technology—a deal that promised to forge a closer relationship between the homeland and the host-land governments.

In 2007, U.S. Congressman Mike Honda (D-CA 15), a third-generation Japanese American interned during World War II, introduced U.S. House Resolution (H.R.) 121, calling on Japan's government to offer an official apology for "comfort women" kidnapped in Korea, China, and Southeast Asia by the Imperial Army during World War II. Meanwhile, Korean

American Sam Yoon won a historic victory to be the first Asian American to sit on Boston's city council in 2005 in part because of his ability to respond to the diasporic perspectives and priorities of his Vietnamese and Chinese community-based constituencies. His active involvement and leadership role advocating for the passage of H.R. 121 motivated, in turn, Korean American voter registration, political fundraising, organizational development, coalition building, and mass political mobilization across the nation.

Although most publications in Asian American Studies allude either directly or indirectly to the concept and influence of their transnational linkages, most accounts are historical and/or qualitative in nature. As a result, we know little about the precise scope of transnational politics practiced by Asian Americans and the people who are engaged in these activities. Neither can we be sure if the observed political impacts of transnational political behavior can be attributed directly to a certain type of attitude and behavior of immigrants but not others. To provide a more accurate account of the extent of transnational politics practiced by ordinary Asian Americans in the present day and to help unpack the relationship between transnational ties and political participation on both sides of the Pacific Ocean, we report in the following sections findings from the Pilot National Asian American Political Survey (PNAAPS).

One major research question in studying transnational political behavior at the individual level is the extent of involvement in home country politics, either before or after migration, and the relationship between the two. Research on Latinos finds that the number of immigrants that engage in sustained and regular politics related to the country of origin after migration is relatively small. We find this to be true in the case of Asian Americans who participated in the survey where three-fourths of the respondents are Asian-born and only one-tenth are in the third generation or beyond. Only a tiny percentage (6 percent) of foreign-born Asian Americans in the survey report participating in home country politics after entering the United States. Those in the Vietnamese community report the highest level of participation (10 percent), although those in the Chinese and Korean communities report the lowest

levels (4 percent, respectively). There is no statistically discernible difference across Asian ethnic groups in the rate of direct participation in homeland politics.

The very limited direct participation in home country politics by ordinary Asian Americans is confirmed by the recent experience of Filipino Americans. Although the Filipino government began in 2003 to allow members of the Filipino diaspora to cast absentee votes from overseas, participation has been quite limited—of the 8 million Filipinos living abroad, only about 500,000 had registered to vote by 2006, and a much smaller number actually turned out. Furthermore, registration and turnout among Filipinos in the United States were among the lowest of overseas Filipino communities. The lack of participation may be partly explained by the need to go personally to the Philippine consulate to cast the vote. This requirement was relaxed in 2007 to allow postal voting. Overseas turnout improved from 16 percent in 2007 to 23 percent of the registered in the 2010 election. However, many Filipino citizens abroad were either unaware of the availability of absentee voting or the modification to the Overseas Absentee Voting law or both.

If few ordinary Asian Americans are directly involved in Asian homeland politics, a different picture emerges when we examine their level of participation in transnational politics from the amount of close attention paid to news stories regarding their homeland in Asia. To wit, as many as 56 percent of Asian Americans indicate that they paid either “very close” or “fairly close” attention to news and other information from Asia. The amount of close news attention is particularly high among Korean Americans (80 percent), followed by Chinese Americans (68 percent); it is relatively low among Japanese Americans (38 percent) and Vietnamese Americans (41 percent). Among immigrants born in Japan, the majority also report paying close or “fairly” close attention to news in Asia (54 percent).

As in the case of participation in homeland politics *after* arriving in the States, Asia-born respondents who indicate that they were members in a political party or other political organization or took part in other types of political activities *before* one’s arrival in the United States are also few in number (8 percent in total). Those from the Philippines and China/Taiwan/Hong

Kong report slightly higher levels of activism than those from Vietnam and India or Pakistan. Again, differences across ethnic groups are too small to be statistically meaningful.

Being a member of a political party/organization or participant in other political activities in the homeland prior to one’s immigration increases the incidence of participation in homeland politics after migration. Namely, 21 percent who were active in the homeland report being active in home country politics after arrival, compared to only 4 percent among those who were not politically engaged prior to emigration. Nevertheless, a significant amount of drop-off in participation takes place after immigration, as over 3 in 4 of the formally active do not report participation in home country politics after their U.S. arrival.

Another major research question in analyzing transnational political behavior is the relationship between the involvement in home country politics and participation in host society politics. Pundits on the conservative side have asserted a negative relationship between these two types of political involvement and urged immigrant communities to completely cut off their political ties to the country of origin so as to facilitate their rates of assimilation into the U.S. system. We find this assumption of competition to be mostly unfounded among PNAAPS respondents. First, there is little relationship between being a member of a political party in the Asian homeland and becoming affiliated with a major political party in the United States. Second, a respondent’s level of party or other organizational activism prior to immigration has little to do with his or her degree of major party identification in the United States. Third, those Asian Americans who were politically active prior to emigration are not more or less likely to naturalize, vote, or participate in other political activities related to American mainstream politics after immigration. Fourth, none of the indicators of ethnic attachment such as using non-English language at home, keeping frequent contacts with friends and relatives in the home country, or planning to eventually return to Asia are found to increase their participation in homeland politics.

Instead of an inverse relationship, an individual’s level of premigration activism in Asia has a positive and significant relationship to one’s level of activism

in ethnic organizations and related activities in the United States. Thus, those immigrants who were the most politically active in their countries of origin are also found to be more active in political activities related to the Asian homeland after immigration. In addition, those Asian Americans who are more active in homeland politics after migration or pay a greater attention to homeland news are also more actively involved in ethnic community organizations in the United States and participate more in political activities related to Asian American causes. These patterns further contradict with the fear of unassimilation of Asian Americans because of their transnational linkages. Nevertheless, other conditions being equal, we find that those immigrants who are more active in homeland politics are less likely to become naturalized U.S. citizens, even if they are not less likely to become registered and vote, once they pass the citizenship hurdle.

In sum, few ordinary Asian Americans are directly involved in transnational politics despite its lengthened and colored history in the community. Although political activism can travel across borders, but the scope and influence of prior activism may vary by the spheres of politics in the host society and that the influence is far from being a wholesale import of past activism. Based upon extant survey-based findings, there is some evidence that transnational political activity may deter naturalization, but there is little evidence that it depresses voting in the United States. Rather, transnational political activity is related positively to political activities beyond voting. Thus, Asian Americans' transnational political activities may largely coexist with, and even reinforce, political or civil society activities in the hostland of the United States.

Pei-te Lien

See also Filipino Transnationalism; Honda, Mike; Japanese American Transnational Families; Japanese Transnational Identity; Korean Americans and Transnationalism; Political Representation; South Asian American Transnational Politics

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Transnationalism

See Filipino Transnationalism; Japanese American Transnational Families; Japanese Transnational Identity; Korean Americans and Transnationalism; South Asian American Transnational Politics; Transnational Political Behavior

Trungpa, Chögyam (1939–1987)

Chögyam Trungpa was a Tibetan Buddhist teacher, high-ranking incarnate lama, and influential, if not controversial, popularizer of Tibetan Buddhism in the United States. Before his death in 1987, Trungpa published his seminal work *Cutting Through Spiritual Materialism* in 1973, founded the Naropa Institute (now Naropa University) in 1974, and established an international network of centers offering instruction in secular forms of meditation called Shambala Training.

Born in the Kham region of Tibet in 1939, Trungpa was recognized at a young age as the eleventh incarnation of the Trungpa Kagyu lineage, became a novice monk at nine years old, and was fully ordained in 1958. The following year he escaped advancing Communist Chinese forces and fled to India with a group of refugees. In 1963 he received a scholarship to study comparative religions at Oxford and four

years later he opened the first Tibetan monasteries in the West, Samye-ling, in Scotland. A car accident in 1969 left him partially paralyzed and this event precipitated Trungpa's decision to reinvigorate his attempts to spread Buddhist teachings. Ultimately, this led Trungpa to relinquish his status as a monk to more closely engage Western students who were unfamiliar with, and potentially distracted by, traditional Buddhist monastic code and Tibetan dress.

In 1970, Trungpa moved to the United States and eventually settled in Boulder, Colorado, a mainstay of the counterculture movement. Trungpa's lectures were well attended and he became known for his colloquial and charismatic style of teaching, as well as his eccentric behavior, which included the copious consumption of alcohol and use of psychedelics. His early lectures warning against the egotistical search for spiritual accomplishment formed the basis for his seminal 1973 work, *Cutting Through Spiritual Materialism*. In 1974 he founded an educational center, the Naropa Institute, which eventually became the first accredited Buddhist university in the United States in 1988. Furthermore, inspired by a vision in 1976, Trungpa began to teach methods of secular meditation, called Shambala Training, which ultimately aspired to bring about individual and societal liberation.

Trungpa died in Nova Scotia in 1987 having designated Ösel Tendzin (formerly Thomas Rich, 1943–1990) as his teaching heir in the Kagyu lineage in 1976. Trungpa's eldest son, Sakyong Mipham, became the heir to the Shambala teachings and head of Shambala International, the organization that oversees the operation of a network of worldwide practice centers.

Peter M. Romaskiewicz

See also Buddhism in Asian America; Tibetan Americans

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Truong, Monique (1968–)

Monique Truong is a Brooklyn-based novelist, essayist, and scholar. Born in Saigon in 1968, Truong and her mother came to the United States in April 1975. What began as a precautionary measure against daily bombings of the city became forced migration for Truong and her family when Saigon fell later that month.

Truong is a graduate of Yale University and Columbia University School of Law. After graduating from Columbia, she worked as an attorney specializing in intellectual property in New York City. In 1999, Truong became a contributing coeditor to the anthology *Watermark: Vietnamese American Poetry and Prose*. "Seeds," the short story that she submitted to the anthology, became the beginning of her first novel, *The Book of Salt*. Revising the story for publication also kindled her desire to become a full-time writer.

The Book of Salt has garnered numerous awards, including the New York Public Library Young Lions Fiction Award, the Bard Fiction Prize, the Stonewall Book Award-Barbara Gittings Literature Award, a PEN Oakland/Josephine Miles National Literary Award, an Association for Asian American Studies Poetry/Prose Award, and a Seventh Annual Asian American Literary Award. In 2003, *The Book of Salt* was also selected as a *New York Times* Notable Fiction Book and a *Chicago Tribune* Favorite Fiction Book. The novel explores the relationship between the materiality of the body and the social construction of the body, the connection between language and desire, and the exile's sense of displacement and loss, a theme that is shared by the work of other Vietnamese American writers of Truong's generation, such as Lê thi diem thúy and Dao Strom.

Truong has received numerous awards, including a PEN/Robert Bingham Fellowship, a Princeton University's Hodder Fellowship, and a Guggenheim Foundation fellowship. She has also been in residence at the Lannan Foundation, Yaddo, The MacDowell Colony, Hedgebrook, Ucross Foundation, among other foundations and residence programs.

Truong has contributed to publications such as the *New York Times*, the *Times of London* (*Saturday*

Magazine), *Gourmet*, *Condé Nast Traveler*, *Food & Wine*, *Men's Vogue*, *Real Simple*, *Allure*, and *Time Magazine* (Asia Edition). She also contributed an article on Vietnamese American literature to the anthology *An Interethnic Companion to Asian American Literature*, edited by King-Kok Cheung.

Truong's second novel, *Bitter in the Mouth*, was published by Random House in 2011.

Nan Ma

See also Vietnamese Americans

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Tsao, Chin-Hui (1981–)

Chin-Hui Tsao is the first Taiwanese pitcher to play in Major League Baseball (MLB). He had already been a shining star since high school and made remarkable contributions to the Taiwanese team in international games. In 1999, the Colorado Rockies signed Tsao to a minor league contract and regarded him as one of their top prospects. His contract bonus of \$2.2 million is still the highest among Taiwanese players. Tsao underwent Tommy John surgery to reconstruct his elbow ligament in 2001 when he was still in the minors. After four years in the minors, he debuted in the Major Leagues in 2003 as a starting pitcher. In 2005, he suffered from a torn labrum and torn rotator cuff. After the Rockies decided not to offer Tsao a contract in the end of 2006, Tsao signed with the Los Angeles Dodgers in 2007. Unfortunately, he encountered injuries again and left the Dodgers as a free agent in the end of 2007. Tsao joined the Kansas City Royals in 2008 but was released in June of the same year. He went back to Taiwan and was drafted by the Brother Elephants in Taiwan's Chinese Professional Baseball

League (CPBL). He was a superstar in 2009 and attracted a large fan base.

However, all of his splendid achievements were tainted by his involvement in scandals of gambling and game-fixing. The prosecutor investigated his case at the end of 2009 but did not charge Tsao of any crime. Nevertheless, according to the prosecutor, Tsao did look for chances of fixing games and had a close relationship with one gambler even before he signed with the Brother Elephants. After the 2009 season began, Tsao received sexual services paid by another gambler and did agree to fix two games, one on August 8 and another on August 22. The game on August 8 was cancelled because of a typhoon. On the day before the game of August 22, Tsao told the gambler that he would like to renege because there were not enough players to cooperate to fix the game. Although the prosecutor found that Tsao's performance plummeted after his meetings with the gambler, there was not clear and specific evidence to connect his performance to his meetings with the gamblers. Despite not being charged of any crime, Tsao was expelled from the CPBL after 2009.

Yuchun Kuo

See also Chinese American Baseball; Taiwanese Americans

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Tsiang, H. T. (1899–1971)

H. T. Tsiang was a Chinese American novelist, playwright, poet, and actor. He was born Hsi-Tseng Tsiang in China in 1899 and left for the United States in 1926. His emigration was complicated by American immigration officials who challenged its legality. He was eventually permitted to stay after the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) successfully intervened on his behalf. Tsiang faced such threats of deportation throughout his life, including detainment at Ellis Island

for eight months between 1940 and 1941 because of visa issues.

In 1927, he attended Columbia University for a short period and became active in the Greenwich Village literary scene. Tsiang began to write poetry during this time and his poems were regularly published in Leftist publications such as *New Masses* and *Daily Worker*. His protest poems “Chinaman, Laundryman” (1928), and “Sacco, Vanzetti” (1928) were particularly influential and were set to music three years later by composer Ruth Crawford-Seeger. In 1929, he self-published a collection of his poems entitled *Poems of the Chinese Revolution*, which was received positively.

Tsiang was a staunch Leftist and his membership in the International Communist Party introduced him to a network of activists and writers who shared his political leanings. His writings became increasingly well known within his circles, and he gradually shifted from journalistic propaganda to more sophisticated pieces.

The 1930s were the most prolific years for Tsiang as a novelist; he wrote three leftist-themed novels: *China Red* in 1931, *The Hanging on Union Square* in 1935, and *And China Has Hands* in 1937. Of these, *And China Has Hands* is considered by some scholars to be his most important work, as it portended the institution of Communism in China.

In the 1940s, Tsiang began seriously developing his acting career. He had played a role for Tretiakov’s *Roar China* on Broadway in 1930, but as World War II began, he permanently moved to Hollywood and committed himself to acting. Over the next 30 years, Tsiang played roles in several major films, including: *Behind the Rising Sun* (1943), *Tokyo Rose* (1946), *Black Gold* (1947), *The Babe Ruth Story* (1948), and *Ocean’s Eleven* (1960). He often played traditionally stereotyped roles such as a “Houseboy,” “Japanese Spy,” and a “Cook.” In the 1960s, he played several recurring roles on television shows, including *Bonanza* (1965), *I Spy* (1965), and *Gunsmoke* (1966).

Tsiang died on July 16, 1971, in Los Angeles, California.

Albert J. Lee

See also Chinese Americans; Hollywood, Asian Americans in

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Tsien, Roger Y. (1952–)

Roger Tsien is a Chinese American biochemist, a recipient of the 2008 Nobel Prize in Chemistry, and the scientist whose discoveries broadened the spectrum of fluorescent proteins, which has proven invaluable for studying biological processes.

Roger Tsien’s father, Hsue Chu Tsien, came from a scholarly class of citizens in Hangzhou, China. In 1930, Hsue Chu Tsien won a national scholarship to study in MIT’s Mechanical Engineering Department. There, he obtained a master’s degree for research on aircraft engines but, before he could pursue further studies, he had to return to China to serve in the Kuomintang Air Force. Hsue Chu Tsien courted and later married Yi Ying Li, a nurse trained at Peking Union Medical College and the sister of a fellow engineer and close friend. Their first son, Yongyou (Richard), was born in 1945. Soon afterward, Hsue Chu Tsien became a liaison to the United States on behalf of the Chinese air force to extract funding from allies for their war against the Japanese. In 1945, the Japanese surrendered to the United States, rendering his job unnecessary. Believing there was an impending civil war in China, Hsue Chu Tsien arranged for his family to move to the United States in 1947.

Hsue Chu Tsien was unable to find work as an aircraft engineer in the United States because most employers required security clearance, which he could not obtain as a Chinese citizen. Instead, he started an export-import business in New York City and later an engineering consultancy firm in Westchester County. In 1949, the Tsien family had their second son, Yonglo (Louis) and, in 1952, their third son Yongjian (Roger) was born. In 1959, Hsue Chu closed his consulting firm and began working at RCA in Harrison, New Jersey. The next year, Hsue Chu changed jobs again to work at Esso Research and Engineering where he would work until retirement in 1983.



Roger Tsien, Nobel Laureate in chemistry in 2008. (AP Photo/Lenny Ignelzi)

As a child, Roger Tsien was fascinated with chemistry. In elementary school, Roger played with a Gilbert chemistry set and performed experiments out of a book from his school's library. Early experiments included growing colored silica crystals, changing the color of a solution of potassium permanganate from purple to green. As Tsien grew older, he replicated classical experiments such as generating hydrogen gas and burning it, exploding gunpowder, and generating pure sodium and dropping it in water. Indeed, Tsien was fascinated with flashy and visual chemistry.

In 1967, Roger Tsien entered a National Science Foundation funded summer research program at Ohio University. He worked in Professor Robert Kline's laboratory and studied thiocyanate and its binding properties to other metals. Using this research, he entered the Westinghouse Science Talent Search, a national science fair competition for high school students. Despite believing his own research was imperfect, Tsien won first place.

In 1968, Tsien enrolled in Harvard University. He did not like Harvard's chemistry courses and

developed interests in molecular biology, quantum mechanics, and astrophysics. These new interests drove Tsien away from chemistry. Tsien decided to focus on neurobiology and applied to the Massachusetts Eye and Ear Infirmary where he analyzed signals from the cochlear nucleus.

In 1972, Tsien received a Marshall Scholarship to attend Cambridge University in the UK. Tsien's PhD supervisor was R. H. Adrian, a skeletal muscle electrophysiologist. Tsien found traditional attempts to analyze the central nervous system inefficient. These strategies required an electrical probe to analyze signals in a brain. These experiments were often oversimplified, slow, and did not reflect the true complexity of the brain. Tsien's ideal strategy for neuron analysis involved using dyes that can detect a neuron's action potentials or changes in intracellular ion concentration. In 1975, Tsien was able to synthesize a dye, BAPTA, which could produce a detectable signal in response to changes in intracellular calcium. After earning his PhD, Tsien continued his postdoctoral research at Gonville & Caius College, collaborating with Timothy Rink on developing calcium selective electrodes. In 1976, through Timothy Rink, Tsien met his future wife Wendy.

In late 1981, Tsien's fellowship ended and he searched for independent positions in England. His unique position was between a biologist and chemist, but no English institution could accommodate the interdisciplinary specialty of chemical biology. Luckily, two University of California, Berkeley faculty members, Richard Steinhardt and Robert Zucker, were interested in Tsien's calcium sensing work, and Tsien became an assistant professor of the university. UC Berkeley's financial situation at the time limited the funding of his new lab. Despite these issues, Tsien and his lab remained productive leading to the development of improved calcium and sodium indicating molecules are still use today by researchers. With an image processor and his indicators, Tsien and his lab were able to monitor ions in a cell with unprecedented resolution.

In 1989, Roger Tsien moved to the University of California, San Diego to pursue research on more complex biochemical signals. UCSD's faster growing environment enabled Tsien bargain for a larger lab equipped for his fluorescence microscopy

experiments. By this time, Tsien had moved onto developing a system to monitor the protein cAMP within cells by adding a fluorescent marker that would indicate its presence.

Roger Tsien's work on Green Fluorescent Protein (GFP) began in 1992. The hope was to design a fluorescent protein that could be attached to proteins a researcher is interested in monitoring and extrapolate quantity of product from brightness of fluorescence. GFP was chosen because research conducted by Martin Chalfie, the future cowinner of the 2008 Nobel Prize in Chemistry with Roger Tsien, reported that GFP would fluoresce outside of the source organism, the jellyfish *Aequorea victoria*. To increase the utility of this protein, Tsien's group worked to develop a brighter green version of GFP and variants of the protein that would fluoresce yellow, blue, and cyan.

In 2008, Roger Tsien was awarded the Nobel Prize in Chemistry along with Martin Chalfie and Osamu Shimomura for their combined contributions to the development of GFP. Tsien's contribution to the understanding of how GFP fluoresces and subsequent development of potent variants has proven invaluable as a powerful tool for the scientific community for the simple visualization of complex processes.

Robert O'Dowd

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Tsoi Sim v. the United States (1902)

An important court case during Chinese exclusion, *Tsoi Sim v. the United States* (116 F. 738, 1902) allowed an alien Chinese wife of an American citizen the right to reside with her husband and thus established one of the most important principles for the Chinese to bring in their wives. During the exclusion, Chinese women were largely barred from entry.

Only wives of Chinese treaty merchants could still enter with their husbands. The case arose when police in San Francisco arrested Tsoi Sim because she did not carry an alien registration card required by the Geary Act and immigration authorities. The Chinese challenged the government, and the case was heard by the Circuit Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit. The appellant Tsoi Sim was three when she came to the United States with her father in 1882, before the Chinese Exclusion Act was enacted. She had resided in the United States since then, attended both public and private schools in California, and married Yee Yuk Lum, a U.S.-born Chinese. Delivering the opinion of the court, district judge Thomas Porter Hawley declares that a citizen of the United States should be entitled to greater rights and privileges than an alien merchant. Upon marriage, Tsoi Sim's husband's domicile becomes hers, and she should be entitled to live with her husband. If she were to be deported for violating the Geary Act, the judge reasoned, Tsoi Sim would have the unquestioned right to immediately return, and would be entitled to land, and remain in this country, upon the sole ground that she is the lawful wife of an American citizen.

The principle established in this court case was extremely important to the Chinese American community. Up to this point only wives of Chinese merchants are allowed entry. As the argument shifted from the rights of an immigrant applicant (an alien excludable) to the rights of her sponsor (an American citizen), a small door for female Chinese immigrants opened. Not only did the court decision allow Chinese wives of American citizens to remain in this country, but it also implied that male citizens of Chinese ancestry could bring their alien Chinese wives to the United States regardless of their economic or social status. After the 1906 San Francisco earthquake destroyed many civic documents, some Chinese immigrants claimed U.S. citizenship by birth. They then used their citizenship to bring in their wives. Only 44 Chinese women were admitted to the United States in 1902; in 1924, 938 were admitted. A total of 2,848 Chinese women gained entry as wives of American citizens between 1906 and 1924. This group of women was crucial to the early

development of family life in the Chinese American community.

Tsoi Sim v. the United States became void in 1924, when a new immigration law bars all aliens ineligible to citizenship. Section 13 (c) of the 1924 Immigration Act stipulated that no alien ineligible to citizenship shall be admitted to the United States, providing legal grounds for immigration authorities to turn down any immigrant applicants from China. The number of Chinese women admitted quickly declined. But the Chinese American community refused to give up. To reestablish the principle in *Tsoi Sim v. the United States*, a lobbying campaign was launched. In 1926, 1928, and 1930, Chinese American representatives repeatedly argued in Congress that an American citizen should have the right to his wife's companionship, that his domicile should be hers, and the Chinese American citizens should be entitled to no less protection than alien Chinese merchants. A new law in 1930 amended the 1924 Immigration Act by granting entry to alien Chinese wives of U.S. citizens who had married prior to May 26, 1924 (Act of June 13, 1930).

Xiaojian Zhao

See also Chinese Exclusion Acts (1882–1943); Geary Act (1892); Immigration Act of 1924

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Tsunoda, Joyce S. (1938–)

Joyce Sachiko Tsunoda (née Nishimura) is a college administrator who became the first Asian American woman to serve as the chancellor of a multicampus community college system. She was born on January 1, 1938, in Osaka, Japan. Her father, Yukio Nishimura, was a Japanese professional baseball player. When he was still in college, he twice traveled with his college baseball team to compete in Hawaii. During his first visit, he met Tsunoda's mother, Edith Sueko Higashi, a Hawaiian Nisei who was on the welcoming and

hospitality committee. During his second visit, he proposed to her and she soon left Hawaii to marry him in Japan. The couple had four daughters; Joyce was the oldest. During the 1930s, as Japan created a puppet regime called Manchukuo in northeastern China, the Japanese Telephone and Telegraph Company, Mr. Nishimura's employer, transferred him and his family to Manchuria. He was drafted into the Japanese Army in 1944 and served in the Philippines where he died in action. When Joyce was 10 years old, her widowed mother moved the family back to Hawaii. Mrs. Nishimura's daughters had no problem adjusting to an American school system because she had taught them English and had tried to imbue them with American cultural values and norms. Joyce Nishimura became a naturalized U.S. citizen in 1952.

She graduated as the valedictorian in her high school's class of 1956 and received several scholarships that helped pay for her undergraduate education at the University of Hawaii. Initially she intended to become a science teacher but during her sophomore year she transferred out of the College of Education into the College of Letters and Science. She graduated Phi Beta Kappa and cum laude in chemistry in 1960 and married Peter T. Tsunoda, a public accountant, the same year. A four-year National Science Foundation pre-doctoral fellowship supported her graduate studies, during which she gave birth to two daughters. She received her PhD in biochemistry from the University of Hawaii in 1966.

Tsunoda was working as a researcher in the University of Hawaii's Biochemistry and Biophysics Department when one of her dissertation committee members asked her to help him develop a chemistry program in the newly established Leeward Community College. When teaching there she participated actively in faculty governance and discovered she had a penchant for administrative work. The provost of Leeward Community College and the president of the University of Hawaii nominated her for an American Council on Education Administrative Internship; Tsunoda was the first individual from Hawaii to be selected for this program. That internship gave her a chance to travel to universities on the United States mainland to observe how college and university administrators function.

When the one-year internship ended, Tsunoda returned to Leeward Community College where she became associate dean of Special Programs and Community Services. From 1976 to 1983, she served as provost of Kapiolani Community College. In 1983, she was chosen as chancellor of the University of Hawaii's seven-campus Community College System—the first Asian American woman to serve as chancellor of a multicampus community college system in the United States. Later she served simultaneously as chancellor and as the University of Hawaii's Vice President for International Education. She remained in those two posts until she retired in 2003. She says her success as an administrator came from her willingness to delegate responsibilities—that is, her ability to “not worry about all the details all the time.” She believes that college faculty members and administrators are “here to serve the community, but we are not simply the public's servants but also its educators.” As educators, they need to formulate, articulate, and present the pros and cons of a variety of educational issues so that the public (and state legislators who appropriate funds for the nation's public colleges and universities) can make informed decisions.

During her busy career, Tsunoda served in a wide range of professional associations, including the American Association of Community Colleges Commission on the Future of Community Colleges, the Northwest Association of Schools and Colleges, the American Council on Education's Advisory Committee on Undergraduate Education in Foreign Languages and International Studies, the Pacific Regional Education Program, the Pacific Postsecondary Education Commission, the Western Association of Schools and Colleges Accrediting Commission for Community

and Junior Colleges, the National Center for Higher Education Management Systems, the National Council of Community Services and Continuing Education, and the U.S. Office of Education's Advisory Council on Developing Institutions. She has also served on the boards of directors of dozens of community, local government, and private organizations.

In recognition of her participation in so many endeavors, the Organization of Women Leaders gave her its 1988 Outstanding Award in Public/Private Partnership, the Western Region of the National Council of Community Service Directors honored her as Person of the Year in 1988, the University of Hawaii Alumni Association gave her its 1990 Outstanding Community Service and Distinguished Alumna Award, the Young Women's Christian Association bestowed on her its 1990 Outstanding Individual in Education Award, and upon her retirement a fundraising campaign was launched to establish the Joyce S. Tsunoda University of Hawaii Community Colleges Leadership Development Endowment Fund to offer seminars and fellowships that will enable students, staff, faculty members, and administrators to develop their leadership skills and advance up the professional ladder. However, in an interview that I conducted with her in 1992, she told me, “I am more proud of having raised two girls to be independent and self-sufficient women who also happen to be happily married than of anything else I've done.”

Sucheng Chan

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Ung, Chinary (1942–)

Chinary Ung, a multiple-awards-winning Cambodian American composer, is a professor in the Music Department at the University of California, San Diego. In 2013 the department promoted him from professor to “distinguished professor,” a rare honor. He was born on November 24, 1942, in Takeo, Cambodia. A member of the first graduating class at the École Nacional de Musique in Phnom Penh, Cambodia’s capital, he left for the United States in 1964 to study the clarinet with Charles Russo at the Manhattan School of Music where he received both his BA and MA degrees. Then he enrolled in Columbia University to study music composition with Chinese American composer Chou Wen-chung. He received his PhD in musical arts with distinction from Columbia in 1974. His first two compositions, *Tall Wind* (1970) for soprano, oboe, and cello, and *Mohori* (1974) for soprano and chamber ensemble, were well received.

After the murderous Khmer Rouge established their regime called Democratic Kampuchea in Cambodia on April 17, 1975, Ung, like thousands of other Cambodians who were abroad at the time, waited in vain for information about what was happening in their homeland. The Khmer Rouge had kicked out all foreigners and sealed the country off from the outside world as they carried out a draconian program to root out all manifestations of modern civilization. Out of Cambodia’s total population of a little over 7 million at the time, at least 1.7 million people died from executions, starvation, overwork, untreated disease, and exposure to the elements during the three years and eight months that the Khmer Rouge were in power. The Socialist Republic of Vietnam, along with

thousands of former Khmer Rouge mid-level officers and refugees who had earlier fled across the Cambodian-Vietnamese border, invaded Cambodia on Christmas day, 1978. This army reached Phnom Penh on January 7, 1979, and toppled the Khmer Rouge regime. In 1980 Chinary Ung discovered that four of his siblings and several nephews and nieces had been killed. He did his best to help his remaining family members to get out of Cambodia.

During this period of turmoil and agony (1975–1986), Ung composed only one work, *Khse Buong* (1980) for solo viola. The far more urgent task Ung undertook was to try to preserve Cambodian music that the Khmer Rouge had tried to wipe out along with all other aspects of the country’s centuries-old culture. He compiled and produced two collections of traditional music performed by refugee musicians on Cambodian instruments for the Folkways label in 1977. He himself learned to play the *roneat-ek*, a solo instrument similar to a xylophone that traditionally accompanied court dances, dance dramas, and ritual ceremonies. He was determined to “employ music as an agent of spiritual healing.” He also established the Khmer Studies Institute, headquartered in Connecticut, to help preserve Cambodian culture through various programs and publications.

In 1977, Ung became a professor. He has taught at Northern Illinois University, Connecticut College, the University of Pennsylvania, Arizona State University, and since 1995 at the University of California, San Diego. His composition for chorus and orchestra, *Inner Voices*, commissioned by the Philadelphia Orchestra, premiered in 1986. A piece for cello, piano, and percussion, *Spiral*, came out in 1987, to be followed by *Spiral II* for soprano, tuba, and piano in

1989. The music world took notice of these new works: Ung received the prestigious and coveted Grawemeyer Award in 1989 for *Inner Voices*; he was the first American composer to ever get that honor. The John F. Kennedy Center bestowed the Friedheim Award on him for *Spiral*, also in 1989.

Since then, one work has followed another, the most important of which include *Spiral II* (1989) for mezzo soprano, tuba, and piano; *Grand Spiral* (1990) for symphonic band that he expanded to an orchestral score; *Desert Flowers Bloom* (1991), dedicated to the Cambodian people; *Spiral VI* (1991) for clarinet, violin, cello, and piano; *Antiphonal Spirals* (1995) for orchestra; *Grand Alap* (1996) for a single amplified cello and a one-person percussion; *Seven Mirrors* (1997) for solo piano; *Rising Light* (1998), a tone poem; *Radiant Samadhi* (1999) for a cappella chorus; *Oracle* (2004) for flute, clarinet, violin, cello, and percussion; *Spiral X: In Memoriam* (2007) for an amplified string quartet, each of whose players also had to sing while playing their instruments; and *Spiral XII: Space between Heaven and Earth* (2008) for singers, instrumentalists, and dancers that the Los Angeles Master Chorale premiered at the Walt Disney Concert Hall in Los Angeles in November 2008.

Ung has received awards, honors, and grants from the American Academy of Arts and Letters, the Asian Cultural Council, the Asia Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation, the Ford Foundation, the Guggenheim Foundation, the Koussevitsky Foundation, the Joyce Foundation, the Barlow Foundation, and the National Endowment for the Arts. He has also received numerous commissions from various symphony orchestras, chamber music ensembles, and individual musicians, not only in the United States, but also in Europe and Asia.

In 2002, Ung returned to visit Cambodia for the first time since he left in 1964. He has gone there several times since then to perform and to promote and support various educational and cultural preservation programs. He remains devoted to the preservation of Cambodian culture and is the principal curator of the 2013 “Season of Cambodia Festival” in New York City.

Music critics have noted that Ung’s works meld Asian and Western music. However, he says he does not do this consciously; rather, “I just lump all sounds

together as external influences. It’s the interaction within yourself, between the self and the external elements, that is the main thing.” He has also incorporated poetry by e.e. cummings, the mystic Sufi poet Rumi, and Indian philosopher Rabindranath Tagore into his scores. As for the spiral motif, it is inspired by “the image of a translucent piece of sculpture that is constantly moving and rotating . . . while reflecting sunlight as perhaps a prism would.” As musicologist John Kays has put it, Ung’s work “flows over different tonal centers, where melodies and harmonies cascade continually over each other, ever changing shapes and colors, ever being reinvented.”

Chinary Ung is married to Susan Lee Pounders, a violist, and they have two daughters.

Sucheng Chan

See also Cambodian Americans

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United States v. Gue Lim (1900)

United States v. Gue Lim, 176 U.S. 459 (1900) is a notable United States Supreme Court decision whereby the Supreme Court held that the wives and minor children of Chinese merchants domiciled in the United States could enter the country without the certificates required by an 1884 amendment to the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882.

The situation giving rise to this landmark decision concerned Mrs. Gue Lim, several Chinese minors unrelated to her, and an 1884 law that prohibited Chinese laborers from entering the United States

without certification. Gue Lim was the wife of a Chinese merchant lawfully domiciled in the United States. When she arrived at the port of Tacoma, Washington in May 1897 with her husband, Fook Kee, the Collector of Customs allowed her arrival without requiring her to produce a certificate. However, five months later she was found to be a Chinese laborer unlawfully in the country without a certificate as required by the 1884 law. After she was arrested for this stated violation, she filed suit contesting the finding that she needed a certificate under the 1884 law to enter the United States. The district court hearing the suit agreed with Gue Lim, ruling that she was not a Chinese laborer, but instead the wife of a Chinese merchant lawfully domiciled in the country and, thus, was not excluded by the laws of the United States from coming to or remaining in the country.

In a factually unrelated case elsewhere in the state of Washington, three Chinese minors, Ah Tong, Yee Yuen, and Ah Quong, were initially admitted by the Collector of Customs into Port Townsend, Washington as the children of bona fide Chinese merchants, lawfully residing and doing business within the state. However, the three minors were later found to be Chinese laborers unlawfully within the country and arrested by a United States immigration officer. The Chinese minors appealed the finding, and the applicable district court decided that the three minors were indeed children of Chinese merchants not needing certificates, and that they were lawfully entitled to be and remain in the United States.

In spite of the district courts' respective decisions in favor of Gue Lim and the Chinese minors, the government appealed both rulings and the two controversies reached the United States Supreme Court in 1900 as a single case given the similar legal issues they presented.

Before the Supreme Court was the issue of whether wives and minor children of Chinese merchants domiciled in the United States were privileged to enter the country without the certification required by the 1884 law. In affirming the lower district courts' decisions in favor of Gue Lim and the Chinese minors, the court noted that, although the 1884 law did not specifically exempt the wives or minor children of domiciled Chinese merchants from obtaining the required certificates, they were nevertheless guaranteed the

right to enter the country because of an 1880 treaty between the United States and China. The court further explained that when the facts satisfactorily established that the person claiming to enter the country, either as wife or minor child, was in fact the wife or minor child of a Chinese merchant (one of the members of a class entitled to enter America under the 1880 treaty) then that person was entitled to admission without a certificate. Thus, the court, per Justice Rufus Wheeler Peckham's majority opinion, concluded that Gue Lim and the three Chinese minors were entitled to come into the country without the certificate mentioned in the 1884 law by virtue of their relationship to their merchant husband or father.

Although the wives and minor children of Chinese laborers were still legally barred from entry into the United States, the result in *United States v. Gue Lim* proved encouraging for the Chinese community's survival, as Chinese merchants now had the opportunity to establish or reunite their families in the United States. As Zhao has pointed out, the Supreme Court's decision allowed some Chinese to increase the number of new entries into America by pooling resources together to start businesses or partnerships with the hopes of establishing merchant status. However, because establishing such status usually required resources unavailable to the average Chinese laborer, even when pooled with his peers, the majority of Chinese immigrants were unable to take advantage of the *Gue Lim* court's favorable holding.

Jason Stohler

See also Chinese Exclusion Acts (1882–1943)

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United States v. Thind (1923)

In *Ozawa v. United States*, Sutherland admitted that “Caucasian” was a vague term that would probably require clarification as other cases will “arise from time

to time,” and that the court would get to these when they arose, and not attempt an a priori definition of who is or isn’t Caucasian. Bhagat Singh Thind’s naturalization petition was like a yo-yo, first granted, then rescinded, then granted again after the decision in *Ozawa*, then rescinded again when the federal government appealed. He was an immigrant from India, a “high caste Hindu, of full Indian blood,” and thus Caucasian according to the leading anthropological definitions of the time.

Bhagat Thind was yet another model minority: he graduated from Khalsa College in India with honors, he then immigrated in 1913 to study at the University of California at Berkeley, and he supported himself by working at lumber mills in Oregon during the summers. When the United States entered World War I, Thind served in the army, becoming an acting sergeant before his honorable discharge in 1919. After less than a decade in the United States, Thind petitioned for American citizenship, and while his case was moving back and forth in the federal courts, he sought the help of leading attorneys to sharpen his arguments.

Thind’s lawyers suggested that “whiteness” was more than ancestry or skin color, but also about race-based attitudes. They suggested that their client was himself a white supremacist of sorts: “The high-caste Hindu regards the aboriginal Indian Mongoloid in the same manner as the American regards the Negro, speaking from a matrimonial standpoint.” In other words, their client held a dim view of miscegenation and so was sympathetic to the wide range of miscegenation rules that were common throughout the United States. As the descendant of European conquerors, Thind hinted that he was not really South Asian at all. He was “Caucasian.”

The Supreme Court heard the case in oral argument in January 1923, less than two months after the decision in *Ozawa*. Here again was that vexing question of how to define race, and this time, Justice Sutherland expressed frustration with the experts: “The various authorities are in irreconcilable disagreement as to what constitutes a proper racial division.” “Caucasian” was as indeterminate as “white,” and the scientists couldn’t seem to agree which group belonged where. Instead of science—as if rejecting

scientific definitions altogether—Sutherland proposed a more political definition: “What we now hold is that the words ‘free white persons’ are words of common speech, to be interpreted in accordance with the understanding of the common man, synonymous with the word ‘Caucasian’ only as that word is popularly understood. As so understood and used, whatever may be the speculations of the ethnologist, it does not include the body of people to whom the appellee belongs. It is a matter of familiar observation and knowledge that the physical group characteristics of the Hindus render them readily distinguishable from the various groups of persons in this country commonly recognized as white.”

Sutherland then turned again to the question of assimilability: “The children of English, French, German, Italian, Scandinavian, and other European parentage quickly merge into the mass of our population and lose the distinctive hallmarks of their European origin. On the other hand, it cannot be doubted that the children born in this country of Hindu parents would retain indefinitely the clear evidence of their ancestry.” Men like Sutherland, born in England, could “merge” into American citizenship, but Thind and his descendants couldn’t do that.

And finally, as he had in *Ozawa*, Sutherland reiterated a desire not to offend anyone: “It is very far from our thought to suggest the slightest question of racial superiority or inferiority. What we suggest is merely racial difference, and it is of such character and extent that the great body of our people instinctively recognize it and reject the thought of assimilation.” By referring to the “great body of our people,” Sutherland grounded his decision in a democratic theory in which popular will and common sense were the true foundations for this race-based exclusion. It wasn’t based on scientific learning, and it certainly wasn’t the United States Supreme Court itself that was, again, saying no to men like Thind. Rather, the court was giving the people what they wanted. For many hundreds of South Asian farmers, and for a much smaller group of South Asians who’d acquired American citizenship *prior to* Thind’s case, this decision was a catastrophe.

Unlike Takao Ozawa, Bhagat Thind did not disappear from public life. In fact, he became an even more outspoken figure after his case than before. He wrote

several books based on themes in comparative religion, and he gave dozens of public lectures on these works throughout the United States. He criticized Great Britain and advocated for an independent Indian state after World War II, at a time when such activity was regarded as politically suspicious. Before the war, Thind even married Vivian Davis, a woman who had been attracted to his religious and spiritual teachings, a woman whom Justice Sutherland would certainly have considered white by any one of his own definitions. They had two children. According to his son, David, after India became an independent country, Thind traveled there and was well received by several prominent Indian political leaders, including Radha Krishna and Pandit Nehru.

By then, though, India was no longer his country. Thind had become an American citizen. Congress had passed a new rule in 1935 allowing all veterans of World War I to naturalize. Thind petitioned immediately. The next year, a federal court in New York granted his petition, and he swore allegiance to the United States for the third and final time in 1936. For over 30 years, until his death in 1967, Thind was an American citizen.

John S. W. Park

See also Ozawa v. United States (1922)

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United States v. Wong Kim Ark (1898)

United States v. Wong Kim Ark, 169 U.S. 649 (1898), is a landmark United States Supreme Court case concerning the very definition of United States citizenship. In its decision, the court held that all children born in the United States are American citizens and stated that the Chinese Exclusion Act could not overrule the citizenship of Chinese persons born within the United States to Chinese immigrant parents.

The circumstances surrounding the facts leading up to this Supreme Court decision relate, in large part,

to the implications of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. This law not only barred persons from China from coming to the United States, it also declared Chinese immigrants already in the United States ineligible for naturalization. The Act and its amendments allowed Chinese immigrants already within the United States to stay, but provided that they could generally not return should they leave the country.

Wong Kim Ark was born in the city of San Francisco in 1873. Both his father and mother were persons of Chinese descent and subjects of the emperor of China. Even though they enjoyed permanent domicile and residence in San Francisco at the time of Wong Kim Ark’s birth, they were not classified as United States citizens. In 1890, Wong Kim Ark’s parents returned to live in China, and later that same year Wong Kim Ark departed for China as well. His visit abroad was temporary and upon his return was permitted by the Collector of Customs to enter the United States on grounds that he qualified as a native-born citizen of the United States. Four years later in 1894, Wong Kim Ark again temporarily departed for China with the intention of returning to America. However, when he arrived back in the United States in August 1895, he was detained at the Port of San Francisco and denied permission to land when the Collector of Customs determined he was not a citizen of the United States. The cited reason for his 1895 denial of entry was that, in spite of Wong Kim Ark’s birth within the country, he was not an American citizen by virtue of his parents’ status as Chinese persons who were subjects of the emperor of China.

Wong Kim Ark contended that his native birth in San Francisco entitled him to the full privileges of United States citizenship and filed a writ of habeas corpus. His case eventually reached the United States Supreme Court in 1898. There, the Supreme Court considered the issue of whether the government’s denial of naturalization to persons born within the United States violated the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution. On March 28, 1898, the court decided six-to-two in favor of Wong Kim Ark, embracing the judicial principle of *jus soli*, whereby a person obtained citizenship simply by virtue of being born in America, and held that the fundamental rule of citizenship by birth includes all

children of resident aliens born within the United States. Justice Horace Gray, writing for the majority, expressed that because Wong Kim Ark was born in San Francisco, he was a naturalized citizen and the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882's restrictions could not apply toward him. In a notable dissenting opinion, Chief Justice Melville Weston Fuller turned to the racial principle of *jus sanguinis*, and expressed his opinion that citizenship of a child should be determined by the citizenship of his or her parents. He further insisted that all Chinese persons, whether native or foreign born, remained ineligible for citizenship because of their owed allegiance to the emperor of China.

Although this legal battle proved successful for Wong Kim Ark and the Chinese community, the victory did not necessarily translate into new respect for the Chinese in America as a people. As maintained by Chang, by the turn of the century, numerous anti-Chinese laws, both local and federal, reminded the Chinese that court rulings were meaningless unless local officials abided by and properly carried out its provisions.

United States v. Wong Kim Ark holds a special place in constitutional law history as the first case in which the Supreme Court interpreted Section I of the Fourteenth Amendment to mean that all persons born within the United States are defined as American citizens. It compelled the Supreme Court to decide whether nonwhites born within the United States would be entitled to American citizenship on equal footing as to white Americans.

Jason Stohler

See also Chinese Exclusion Acts (1882–1943)

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University of California (Berkeley) Asian American Studies Collections

The Asian American Studies Library at the University of California at Berkeley was established in 1979 to rescue and to preserve community organization resources for the future generation. Under the pressure of an economic downturn in the early 1990s, the Asian American Studies Library was merged with the Chicano Studies Library and the Native American Studies Library into the Ethnic Studies Library in 1992. Asian Americans include the following groups: Asian Indians, Chinese, Filipinos, Japanese, Korean, South Asians (Bangladeshi, Bhutanese, Indian, Nepalese, Pakistani, and Sri Lankan Americans) and Southeast Asians (Burmese, Cambodian [Kampuchean], Lao, Hmong, Iu Mien, Thai, and Vietnamese Americans). Asian American Studies Collections mainly focus on Chinese, Filipinos, Japanese, Korean, Southeast Asians—Cambodian, Lao, Thai, and Vietnamese Americans with the emphasis on Chinese American research materials. It collects materials on historical and current issues of the cultural, political, and socioeconomic life of Asian Americans and Chinese Overseas. Why the Chinese? The library budget's constraint and the San Francisco Bay Area had been the center of the settlement of the earliest Chinese immigrants. San Francisco Chinatown still is the headquarters of many cultural societies and associations. The University of California (UC) campus-wide Asian American Studies librarians decided that UC Berkeley would focus on Chinese Americans, whereas the UC Los Angeles campus would emphasize Japanese American research materials, and UC Irvine would be the center of the Southeast Asian American sources.

The uniqueness of the Asian American Studies Collections is that it includes the valuable research resources from the Asian Americans' perspectives as recorded by their own community organizations. It contains organization reports, occasional publications and serials, ephemera materials from political activities and community events, and archives from family associations and other community organizations and non-print media. The monograph collection has the most

comprehensive scholarly Asian American publications about Asian Americans and communities from pre-1970 to the present. It also obtains materials from ethnic and small publishers. There are hundreds of dissertation covers from the early 1970s to the 1980s. It includes 184 dissertations on Chinese Americans donated by Iris Chang; the serial collection contains scholarly journals and periodicals published by Asian American community organizations, in China and by Chinese overseas around the world—Europe, Australia, Southeast Asia, and so forth. It provides homeland relationships information, reports of the changing conditions in their home villages, life, and local activities of returned Chinese overseas; Asian American newspaper collections in English and Chinese from the East and West Coasts dating from January 2, 1882, to the present which is the largest and most comprehensive Asian American newspaper collection in the United States. These newspapers are the voices from the heart and soul of Asian Americans and their communities; the subjects' relevant ephemera pamphlet files include organization reports, event fliers, newspaper clippings on major issues and a unique collection of posters made by Asian American artists for community events; nonprint media contain a slide collection on Chinese and Japanese American history, films, video tapes and DVDs.

There are 105 Chinese American archive collections. There are also five Asian American archive collections: materials relating to the Topaz Relocation Center, ca. 1942–1945, InterAction records (1987–1994), also known as American Council of Voluntary International Action to protect refugees, Jitsuo Morikawa's sermons: photocopies, 1973–1987, and materials from Personal Justice Denied: The Legacy Continues National Conference, 1998. For the list and detailed descriptions of each archival collection, please visit UC Berkeley Oskicat under "other call number" AAS ARC 2000 or visit Online Archive of California (OAC).

The Chinese American Archives are divided into the following major categories: Chinatown organizations, history of associations, memberships, by-laws, regulations, publications, occasional publications and convention proceedings and activities; business records from the 1900s to document the type of goods

imported from Asia and their business relationship with different firms, business correspondences, accounting books; political activities, the Vincent Chin case (1981–1990), a racially motivated murder case. The lenient sentencing of the criminals caused the first Pan-Ethnic Asian American outrage and protest. American materials relating to the Henry Liu case (1984–1986); he was a Chinese writer in Taiwan and Chinese American journalist. He was murdered at his home in Daly City, a neighbor city of San Francisco to punish him for writing about Taiwan's ruling family and its history; immigration document files contain affidavits to establish nativity and identity, certificates of entry, residency, departure, coaching papers, and other travel documents. The archives of Asian American newspapers include: *Chinese World*, a San Francisco Chinatown Chinese-language newspaper. It began in 1892 and ceased publication in 1969. It was the organ of the Chinese Empire Reform Association and the leading daily in Chinatown from the 1940s to the 1950s. It documented the activities of the Empire Reform Association and its relationship with other political organizations. *East West*, a bilingual English and Chinese newspaper founded in 1967. Its aim was to document the injustice and discrimination against the community and to portray the positive aspects of Asian Americans through print and photograph and other media. Photograph collections include: thousands of Asian American images from Kem Lee Photo Collections covering the period from the 1940s to the 1980s. Mr. Lee was the photojournalists for San Francisco Chinatown and the official photographer of the Miss Chinatown beauty contests. The images recorded the activities of its family associations and celebrate their ethnic heritage. They also depicted their vibrant communities. They cover local, state, and national politicians interacting with Bay Area Asians to gain political support. There are individual collections such as materials related to Ng Poon Chew, the founder of the *Chung Sai Yat Po* (1901–1964), the first Chinese American daily newspaper; Ray Jones, an active Chinese American anarchist from the 1920s to the 1940s; Yuk Ow, the pioneer amateur historian who was the first to study Chinese American history; and Him Mark Lai known as the dean of Chinese American Studies, and his archival collection, 1778–1995,

which includes his research files, professional activities, his writings and personal papers.

Wei Chi Poon

See also Chang, Iris; Chin, Vincent; Lai, Him Mark; Liu, Henry; Ng, Poon Chew

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U.S.-Korea Treaty of 1882

The U.S.-Korea Treaty of 1882, also known as the Treaty of Chemulpo (Incheon), was the first treaty between Korea and a Western nation. Modeled after the “unequal treaties” between Western powers and East Asian countries during the period of imperial expansion, the U.S.-Korea Treaty of 1882 reflects the complex political circumstances of the Korean nation caught between China, Japan, Russia, and the United States.

The origin of the U.S.-Korea Treaty of 1882 began with the signing of the Korean-Japanese Treaty of 1876 (Ganghwa Treaty). Only 17 years after signing the U.S.-Japan Treaty of 1858, Japan itself imposed an unequal treaty with Korea that shattered centuries of self-imposed isolation and opened the country to Japanese political, economic, and military ambitions. The signing of the Korean-Japanese Treaty was seen as a major insult to China that had maintained suzerainty over Korea: China would provide Korea with protection against foreign enemies in exchange for Korea’s deference to China over foreign affairs. Weakened by external wars and internal strife, China was forced to acknowledge ascendant Japan by accepting the Korean-Japan Treaty, but it decided to aggressively play the intermediary role in the negotiation behind the U.S.-Korea Treaty. In an attempt to regain its influence in Korea, the Chinese government issued an edict in 1881 that paved the way for the U.S.-Korea

Treaty. From the Chinese government’s point of view, the U.S.-Korea Treaty would achieve two goals: first, by leading the negotiations, China would reassert its suzerainty over Korea and have the U.S. government validate this “special relationship”; second, by inviting the United States to establish economic and political interest in Korea, China could use the United States to check Japan’s dominance.

Given these circumstances, the U.S.-Korea Treaty was negotiated in the Chinese port city of Tianjin between the Chinese official Li Hung-Chang who controlled Chinese foreign relations in the last days of the Qing Empire and Commodore Robert W. Shufeldt away from the watchful eyes of the Japanese diplomatic mission in Seoul as well as members of a Korean faction headed by Daewongun—the powerful regent of the Korean court—who rejected all forms of foreign influence. The official negotiations began March 25 and a provisional version of the treaty was signed on April 19, 1882. To ensure security, Li dispatched three warships to Chemulpo to meet Commodore Shufeldt’s U.S.S. *Swatara*. On May 22, 1882, the official treaty was signed aboard a Chinese warship with Shufeldt representing the U.S. government and Shin Chen and Chin Hong-chi representing the Korean government. The Chinese government was represented by Admiral Ting Ju-Ch’ang and Ma Chien-chung in one of the last truly significant acts of Chinese suzerainty over Korea.

Significant provisions of the treaty were as follows: (1) the establishment of trade and diplomatic relations, trading ports, and foreign settlements; (2) protection of American citizens and their rights of extraterritoriality in which American citizens would be subject to arrest and punishment only by the American Consul and other public functionaries of the U.S. government; (3) most favored nation clause for American trade and commerce; (4) freedom of residence and purchase of real estate for citizens of both governments; (5) a ban on import and export of opium; (6) a ban on export of Korean grain and red ginseng; and (7) all possible protection and assistance to the students of both countries.

The treaty paved the way initially for American missionaries to establish a thriving and influential presence in Korea. Missionaries in turn played a crucial role in the development of economic interests

beginning with a monopoly over gold mines in Unsan in 1895. In addition to companies such as the Korean Development Corporation that was established by Americans to take advantage of these new economic opportunities, more established American corporations including the Oriental Consolidated Mining Company, the American Trading Company, the Thomas Edison Company, and others arrived in Korea to profit from activities ranging from logging and mining to laying railroads and telegraph lines. Along with missionaries and economic interests, the U.S.-Korea Treaty of 1882 made possible the first wave of immigration from Korea to the United States and its territories, most notably Hawaii.

The issue of China’s suzerainty over Korea would be resolved with the conclusion of the Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895). The Shimonoseki Treaty of 1895 ended the war and declared Korea independent from China. The Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905 resulted in the withdrawal of the Russian legation and troops from the Korean peninsula, and the Treaty of Portsmouth of 1905 ended the war and affirmed Japan’s paramount interest in Korea. Theodore Roosevelt mediated the negotiations for the treaty between Japan and Russia and his effort won him the Nobel Peace Prize in 1906. However, the U.S. government’s support for Japan’s primacy in Korea would result in peace for neither East Asia nor the world. As Japanese imperial ambitions increasingly clashed with American interests, Japan objected to the American flag flying over Seoul and forced Korea to stand alone with Japan. On August 22, 1910, the Treaty of Annexation would end the Korean American Treaty of 1882 by making Korea a colony of Japan under the rule of a Japanese Governor-General. The United States and Japan would move inextricably toward war as Japan launched military campaigns deep into China. Against this backdrop, Koreans—including Korean Americans—would dive into an existential struggle that would be nothing less than to recover their nation.

Edward J. W. Park

See also Korea, U.S. Punitive Action in (1871)

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Ut, Huynh Cong “Nick” (1951–)

Huynh Cong “Nick” Ut is a Vietnamese American Associated Press photographer known for his iconic photograph of the Vietnam War. On June 8, 1972, while working with other AP photographers, he snapped a photograph of a young Vietnamese girl, Phan Thi Kim Phuc, running from the village of Trang Bang after being severely burned in a South Vietnamese napalm attack. Ut saw Phuc, naked after her clothes had been burned off, running toward him, screaming “Too hot! Too hot!” She was 9. After bringing her water, Ut took her to the Cu Chi hospital where he used his press status to get her immediate attention. Ut and his colleague Christopher Wain helped Phuc and the other villagers receive medical attention. Although the AP prohibited publishing nudity, they made an exception for this image. Ut’s picture appeared on the front page of the *New York Times* the next day.

Although there was a variety of disturbing war images circulating at the time, Ut’s picture is widely considered the defining image of the Vietnam War. Although not initially published as a critique of American intervention, the picture came to be associated deeply with antiwar sentiment. In particular, it brought focus to the dangers of napalm as a weapon against the North Vietnamese. Napalm, manufactured by the American company Dow Industries, was brought to Vietnam by the American military. In the years since the war, Ut’s image has been credited as being a visual catalyst for the antiwar movement and has become emblematic of the Vietnam War’s tragedies. Many scholars within visual culture studies have written about the visceral response this particular picture invoked. Susan Sontag noted in her seminal work, *On Photography* (1977), that Ut’s piece was an indexically rendered slice of time that conjured the horrors of war in a way that suggests how images at times can challenge regimes of power. In 1973, Ut won a Pulitzer Prize for the photo.

Ut and Phuc have remained in touch intermittently over the years and reestablished contact when Phuc

and her husband sought political asylum in Canada in 1992. Recently, in response to the 40th anniversary of the “Accidental Napalm” photo’s publication, news outlets sought out both Phuc and Ut for personal stories on both. In these interviews, Phuc noted she maintains a closeness with Ut, calling him “Uncle Nick.”

Ut still works as a photographer for the Associated Press, covering a variety of different news stories. However, he remains best known for his work in Vietnam during the war but none of his images received the same level of widespread acclaim as he did for “Accidental Napalm.” On June 8, 2007, he took a picture of Paris Hilton crying in the back of a police car. It was exactly 35 years to the day that he took the image of Phuc, and news outlets and opinion pieces contrasted the two images—one of a child in a war-torn conflict, and the other, of a celebrity caught in an embarrassing situation.

Anjali Nath

See also Vietnamese Americans

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V

Vera Cruz, Philip (1904–1994)

Philip Vera Cruz came to the United States from the small rural village of Saoag, in the province of Ilocos Sur, Philippines. He was born on December 25, 1904, to Andriano Sanchez Vera Cruz and Maria Villamin Vera Cruz. He had younger siblings, a sister Leonor and a brother Martin. Philip Vera Cruz passed away on June 12, 1994, at the age of 89 in Bakersfield, California of emphysema according to his life partner, Deborah Vollmer. During the farm worker strikes of the 1960s, Vera Cruz helped unite Filipino and Mexican laborers, which turned the union into a major force in the American labor movement. “I took it as a duty to fight for the union,” he told *The Los Angeles Times* in 1992, then retired and picked grapes only in his garden.

As a young man Vera Cruz arrived in Seattle, Washington in 1926 after pooling money he received from selling some of the family farm and loans from relatives with the intention to go to school. With only \$25 in his pocket he set out to find work. Although he performed a wide variety of jobs, including working in an Alaskan cannery, North Dakota sugar beet farm, Chicago restaurants, and a Spokane box factory, his life journey lead him to become a farm worker labor leader and eventually a vice president and cofounder of the United Farm Workers Union (AFL-CIO).

After learning of his father’s death in 1928, he decided to go back to Spokane, Washington after working in Chicago. Vera Cruz earned his high school diploma in 1932 from Lewis and Clark High School when working as a houseboy and in restaurants as a busboy. He enrolled in Gonzaga University in Spokane, Washington, but he decided to leave after

his mother asked him to send money back home to the Philippines every month so his brother and sister could afford school.

Vera Cruz was drafted during World War II in August 1942, and assigned to the 2nd Filipino Infantry Regiment at Camp Cook, California. However, he was discharged along with others who were over 38 years old and assigned to work in the Vallejo shipyards. Instead he headed to Delano and started his life as an agricultural worker. As part of the migrant farm labor force he moved with the seasons and the crops. Vera Cruz thinned plums, cut cantaloupe, and picked asparagus, but he primarily tended the grapevines and their fruit. He didn’t stop picking grapes until the Great Delano Grape Strike of 1965.

In the late 1950s, Vera Cruz was a member of the National Farm Labor Union (NFLU), AFL-CIO and in fact served as president of their Delano local. In 1959 the AFL-CIO formed the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (AWOC). Larry Itliong, a Filipino, and Delores Huerta, a Chicana, were its early leaders. Vera Cruz joined the AWOC when residing in Richgrove, California, just before the Great Delano Grape Strike of 1965 began on September 8. Vera Cruz attend that historic AWOC meeting held at the Filipino Hall in Delano. He said in his 1992 biography, *Philip Vera Cruz: A Personal History of Filipino Immigrants and the Farmworkers Movement*, “I attended that meeting and that was the start of my career with the farmworkers movement and later on, with the UFW which became the most important part of my life. It became my way of life, as a matter of fact.”

Filipino agricultural workers had been organized as early as in the 1930s by the country’s first Filipino-led union—the Cannery Workers and Farm

Laborers Union Local 18257 (later the Food, Tobacco, Agricultural and Allied Workers, Local 7). An example of industrial organizing, the union was based in Seattle and represented the “Alaskeros”—migrant workers who toiled in the Alaska salmon canneries in the summer and the fields of California during the rest of the year. As union organizers talked to farmworkers about organizing in Stockton, California in 1948, Filipino workers cutting asparagus went on strike. Led by Chris Mensalvas and Ernesto Mangaoang of Local 7, the 1948 walkout involved over 4,000 workers, 90 percent of whom were Filipino. It was a long three-month strike, and one of the largest agricultural actions in American history; it was unsuccessful but included notable participants such as Larry Itliong, Philip Vera Cruz, Carlos Bulosan, and Claro Candellario. There was even a thousand-man march held in downtown Stockton.

The Delano AWOC membership was mainly made up of Filipinos and they initiated the 1965 Great Delano Grape Strike, which was led by Larry Itliong, Philip Vera Cruz, Benjamin Gines, and Pete Velasco. The 1,500 Filipinos were more seasoned with labor actions, and they took the first step by striking nine grape growers during harvest season. The workers voted to launch a strike against the gross disparity in salaries between their pay of \$1.10 per hour and the higher \$1.40 per hour paid to the braceros (temporary workers brought in from Mexico). AWOC had just previously called for a strike in Coachella, California and won the \$1.25 per hour wage increase. Fearing that Mexican workers would be brought in as scabs to break the strike, AWOC leaders approached the National Farm Workers Association (NFWA) led by Cesar Chavez who was reluctant to commit his relatively young organization, which was mainly composed of Mexican immigrants.

On September 16, just 11 days after the Filipinos had started the strike, AWOC was joined by NFWA. This marked the beginning of the Great Delano Grape Strike with their very effective secondary strike—the call for a national boycott of grapes that was not settled until contracts were signed in 1970. In August 1966, AWOC and NFWA merged into the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, AFL-CIO. Cesar Chavez of the NFWA was elected president and Larry

Itliong of AWOC was elected one of the vice presidents.

Vera Cruz served as the highest-ranking Filipino American officer of the UFW as a vice president from 1971 to 1977. One of his responsibilities was the building and management of Agbayani Village, a retirement home mainly planned for the elderly UFW Filipino farmworkers. It was a 60-unit, one-story structure designed by Luis Pena, a Chicano architect and had a central kitchen, dining hall, living room, and recreation room with a donated pool table. It even had air-conditioning, a real luxury for farmworkers who had lived most of their lives in bunkhouses. Agbayani Village was named after Pablo Agbayani, a manong (a Filipino term of endearment and respect for an elder) who died on the picket line during the Grape Strike. It was built mostly by donations from other unions and volunteer brigades of students and community activists from all along the West Coast and beyond. It gave the opportunity for many young Filipinos to meet and learn from the manongs living there.

Over the years Vera Cruz felt that the Filipinos who initiated the Grape Strike were gradually being pushed aside within the UFW. Earlier in 1971 Larry Itliong had left the UFW also feeling Filipinos were losing their voice to affect decision making. In 1977 Cesar Chavez as president of the UFW accepted an invitation to go to the Philippines from the dictator Ferdinand Marcos where he accepted a special Presidential Appreciation Award. Vera Cruz felt this was the last straw and resigned from the UFW during their 1977 UFW Convention where Marcos’s Philippine officials were being honored as guest speakers.

In his years after leaving the union, Vera Cruz was a much sought after speaker for student college events and community conferences, including the annual F/Pilipino People’s Far West Conventions held through the 1970s to the mid-1980s.

In 1987, Vera Cruz was awarded the first Ninoy M. Aquino Awards for lifelong service to the Filipino community in America. Included with the award was a trip to the Philippines in early 1988 to meet with Philippine President Corazon C. Aquino in Malacanang Palace, Manila. It was his first time to return to the Philippines since he left in 1926. He was accompanied by his longtime companion, Debbie Vollmer.

In 1992, the AFL-CIO's Asia Pacific American Labor Committee honored Philip Vera Cruz at its founding convention.

Carey McWilliams, past editor of *The Nation* magazine said of him: "Vera Cruz is thoughtful, reflects critically on his experience, is not tricked by appearances, has a sharp eye for social realities, and is neither bombastic nor egocentric. What he has to say about the union is of particular importance."

Florante Ibanez

See also Bulosan, Carlos; Iltiong, Larry

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Victorino, Shane (1980–)

Shane Victorino is a talented outfielder for the Boston Red Sox of the American League. Born in 1980 on Maui, Victorino possesses Filipino ancestry. Called the "Flyin'Hawaiian," Victorino was originally drafted out of Wailuku High School by the Los Angeles Dodgers of the National League in 1999. He made his Major League debut with the San Diego Padres of the National League in 2003 but gained national attention as a swift, dynamic outfielder carrying a potent bat. His best year in the majors so far has been with the Philadelphia Phillies in 2009 when he hit 13 home runs and batted .292.

Joel S. Franks

See also Filipino American Baseball

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Vietnamese American Anticommunism

Since the end of the Vietnam War in 1975, Vietnamese Americans have utilized their refugee status as a form of political and cultural thread stitching together a sense of identity and community out of displacement and loss. Among those classified as anti-Communist ethnic minorities by social scientists, Vietnamese in the United States are often compared to Cuban Americans who have been able to collectively align with the Republican Party to leverage representation and power in mainstream politics.

With South Vietnam's collapse and the exodus of Vietnamese refugees from the homeland after the Communist takeover, overseas communities that formed in the wake of the war have been staunchly anti-Communist and vigilantly opposed to the new unified Vietnam under a socialist regime. Given the outcome of the Vietnam War, anticommunism has been the dominant community politics for Vietnamese Americans. This political ideology has often erupted in violence and controversy in the last three decades of the twentieth century.

Vietnamese American anticommunism cannot be simply absorbed under the broader umbrella of Cold War McCarthyism that pervaded much of American politics in the 1950s until the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. This form of ethnic politics should be understood as a particular *minority discourse* fraught with tension and irresolution. Vietnamese American anticommunism ideologically opposes socialism in general, but must be historicized as a discourse emerging from the North Vietnam/South Vietnam civil strife, the evacuation of the South's urban elites in 1975, the exodus of the boat people from the late 1970s to mid-1980s, and the reeducation camp experiences of men and women from the former South Vietnam. These particular historical events frame and help to reinvigorate anticommunism as a social movement in the United States.

Normalization and Community Politics

From 1975 until the mid-1990s, the U.S. government enforced sanctions toward their former enemy primarily through a trade embargo with Vietnam. Under

the Clinton Administration in the early 1990s, the United States made a move toward repairing its relationship with Vietnam by lifting the trade embargo in 1994 and extending full diplomacy in 1995. The Vietnamese American community responded to the move toward “normalization” between the United States and Vietnam with mixed emotions. Normalization meant easing communications and travel between homeland and overseas communities that would allow for Vietnamese Americans to keep in touch with family and friends in the old country, send remittances, and travel back to the homeland. However, grievances expressed by this refugee community over human rights abuses and “reeducation” policy under the Communist government continued to go unaddressed, thus the “forgive and forget” gesture of normalization was viewed as an affront to many in the Vietnamese American community.

In 1987, Tap Van Pham, an editor of a Vietnamese-language newspaper in Southern California that ran ads of U.S. companies doing business in Vietnam, was murdered. He was rumored to be a Communist sympathizer. Firebombing, protest, boycotts, and intimidation were all strategies deployed by vocal anti-Communist extremists in the community to draw the boundaries of community and identity for Vietnamese Americans. Pham’s murder was one among a handful of other extreme anti-Communist incidents in Vietnamese America. However, these are by far the more sensationalized incidents in the community that have allowed mainstream media to represent Vietnamese Americans as a fractious group bound by their “homeland politics.” Although anticommunism has certainly created tension and rifts within the community, it has also effectively brought the community together in solidarity against human rights injustices in the homeland and the historical omission of South Vietnamese stories in the U.S. and Vietnam publics.

Flag Controversies

Arguably, the main symbol of Vietnamese American anticommunism is the former South Vietnam flag: bright yellow with three horizontal red stripes. This flag has come to represent a refugee community’s difference from the homeland, now united under a red

flag with one large yellow star at center. The yellow flag has been dubbed the “Freedom and Heritage” flag of the Vietnamese American community. In 2003, Vietnamese American leaders launched a nationwide movement, originating in Little Saigon (Westminster, California), to seek formal recognition of the Freedom and Heritage flag by city and state municipalities. Westminster was the first city to pass a resolution recognizing this flag as a symbol of Vietnamese Americans and since then over 80 cities and 20 states have done the same.

As important icons in contests over political representation, history, and cultural memory, the red flag and the Freedom and Heritage flag have gone head-to-head in public spaces all across the United States, from parks to video stores to universities and colleges. Flag controversies have erupted whenever the red flag has been displayed. Vietnamese American community members and their allies would usually negotiate with or stage a demonstration against the offending institution to replace the red flag with the Freedom and Heritage flag. For example, in 2004, Vietnamese American students at California State University, Fullerton, threatened to walk out of graduation because of the university’s display of the red flag to represent them. They demanded the Freedom and Heritage flag represent them instead. The university responded by removing all national flags from graduation ceremony. In 2008, *Nguoi Viet Daily News*, the most established Vietnamese-language newspaper in the United States, was the target of protests and boycotts because it reprinted a photo of an art installation foot-spa painted as the Freedom and Heritage flag. What these two examples demonstrate is the enduring force of the symbol of anticommunism in the Vietnamese American community.

The Hi-Tek Protest of 1999

Although the anti-Communist movement was said to have lost much of its momentum in the 1990s for Vietnamese Americans, one major event in January 1999 proved to be a historical watershed for the consolidation of anti-Communist politics. In response to Truong Van Tran’s display of the red flag and a portrait of late Ho Chi Minh, Vietnamese Americans protested for

months outside his video store on Bolsa Avenue at the heart of Little Saigon, the commercial and cultural headquarters of America's Vietnamese. Although displaying the red flag and the portrait of Ho Chi Minh may not seem like such a radical move to most Americans who believe in free speech rights, to many Vietnamese Americans these icons serve as cruel and blatant reminders of the reason for their forced exodus from the homeland. Although Tran's intentions were not clear at the beginning, the Vietnamese American community responded in a way that could leave no room for doubt about their feelings on this issue. A 53-day protest ensued as a result of Tran ignoring the demands of community members and refusing to take down the flag and poster. This exhibition of his freedom of speech came at an enormous price, costing him his business as well as his foothold in the Vietnamese American community. The protest proved to be a watershed in the short history of Vietnamese American politics because of the overwhelming participation of Vietnamese Americans from all over the country. The turnout for this event was sometimes over 15,000 protestors, consisting of Vietnamese Americans of first, 1.5, and second generations as well as Vietnam War veterans and other sympathizers.

The Hi-Tek protest can be understood within a discourse of nationalism and community-building. Vietnamese Americans have constructed a nationalist discourse by situating their identities in opposition to the Communist regime in Vietnam. Furthermore the dominant anti-Communist ideology of the community suppressed any deviant political views, thus allowing for a solidarity that is often achieved at the expense of symbolic scapegoats such as Tran.

The Hi-Tek protest, now memorialized by Lindsay Jang and Robert Winn's documentary, *Saigon, U.S.A.*, functioned to unearth the tensions and divisions within the community. The protest served as both a vehicle for the demonstration of conservative, U.S. Cold War politics as well as an outlet for new, critical voices to dissent from the majority view. Thus, Hi-Tek proved to be pivotal in forcing the Vietnamese American community to confront its ideological issues and strategically enact a stance for the sake of mainstream political coherency.

Tran was not the only scapegoat of the Hi-Tek event. Westminster City Council member, Tony Lam, was under attack for his alleged lack of support for the community's cause during Hi-Tek. At that time, Lam was a third-term council member and the first Vietnamese American to be elected to this office in the nation's history. During the months after the Hi-Tek protest, demonstrators gathered outside his restaurant in Garden Grove to chastise him for being disloyal to the community and not hard enough on communism. A group of community organizers attempted to recall Lam from his position.

Although the political consciousness of the Vietnamese American community can be characterized as conservative, underneath the superficial exterior of anti-Communist solidarity lies many different types of affiliations. Even if the only flag allowed to represent Vietnamese Americans is the Freedom and Heritage flag, many Vietnamese Americans may indeed sympathize with the Hanoi regime without an outright display of the Communist flag. Although Tran vocally and visually exhibited his affiliations, there is a silent population who do not choose to be so blatant about displaying their affiliations. One way to read the protest is as a failed effort at reinforcing anti-Communist ideologies because what it actually does is expose the contradictions and cleavages in the community, leaving the space open for new debates and future activism. Furthermore, it is within the nationalist rhetoric of U.S. anti-Communism that Vietnamese American hardline anti-Communists find legitimation and ideological support.

The False Divide: Culture and Politics

Since the 1999 Hi-Tek protest, numerous other national and local protests have occurred in Vietnamese America. In 2007, Vietnam President Nguyen Minh Triet made a landmark visit to the United States to discuss trade relations with former President George W. Bush. He was met with protest in Washington, D.C., as well as in Orange County, California where he also visited.

Yet, the Vietnamese American community is not only interested in political venues. Another significant

indicator of Vietnamese American anti-Communism can be found in a protest against the Bowers Museum of Cultural Arts in Santa Ana, California. In the summer of 1999, two American corporations, Coca Cola and Mobil, cosponsored an art exhibition from Vietnam at the museum. Vietnamese American community members came out to rally against what they deemed a “communist ploy.” What mainstream media focused on in reporting these types of events is the unwillingness of Vietnamese Americans to move beyond anti-Communism to establish stronger relations with Vietnam despite the fact that the United States has been able to accomplish this, as evidenced by the sponsorship of the exhibition. The same message came across in many media representations of the Hi-Tek protest as well.

On a much smaller scale, local protests against performers from Vietnam have erupted all over the United States because they are often viewed as agents of the Communist government. Vietnamese Americans not only make large political statements through events such as the Hi-Tek protest or President Nguyen Minh Triet’s visit, but they also see the important role of culture and cultural production in the dissemination of history and memory. Thus, sites such as art exhibitions and music performances are also cause for concern and demonstrations.

Vietnamese American public expressions of anti-communism must be understood as a performance of rightful belonging to the democratic American nation and a critical engagement with the historical erasure of South Vietnamese stories. Vietnamese Americans’ insertion into American society and “indebted” position toward the U.S. government as political refugees circumscribe a particular intelligible “voice” they have learned to manipulate and claim as a marker of identity and community. Because their entry into the United States was contingent upon their status as victims of communism and therefore freedom-seekers, their expression of anti-Communism may also be understood as a strategic enactment of conformity and assimilation into U.S. democracy while also enabling a writing of a different Vietnamese history from what has been officially sanctioned within the Vietnam and U.S. nations.

Thuy Vo Dang

See also 1.5 Generation Asian Americans; Vietnamese Americans

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Vietnamese American Communities, Little Saigon and

See Little Saigon and Vietnamese American Communities

Vietnamese Americans

Introduction

On or around April 30 of each year for the last 35 years thousands of Vietnamese Americans gather to commemorate the Fall of Saigon on April 30, 1975.

In addition, during the Lunar New Year celebration, thousands of Asian Americans celebrate the coming of the New Year and all the possibilities that it offers. Across the country, from Falls Church, Virginia to San Jose, California, there are hundreds of Têt (New Year) celebrations organized by Vietnamese Americans. Thousands of Vietnamese Americans and others participate in these activities and these are some of the occasions when the media covers this community extensively. There are more than one million Vietnamese Americans living in the United States according to the 2000 Census. The United States is home to the largest Vietnamese community outside of Vietnam. However, the word Vietnam is still largely associated with the Vietnam War that the United States was involved in until 1975. This word itself is controversial and invokes a wide range of emotions. We have finally begun the healing process resulting from this war. This is their immigration history and development of the Vietnamese American community in the United States since 1975.

Immigration History

On January 28, 1973, after having spent years and millions of dollars financing the Vietnam War, the United States' government reluctantly agreed to withdraw its financial and military assistance after signing the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam. The peace agreement was signed by representatives of the United States government, the Government of the Republic of Vietnam (South Vietnam), and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (North Vietnam) in Paris. The main features of the Agreement committed the United States and other signatories to respect the independence, sovereignty, unity, and territorial integrity of Vietnam. It called for prisoners of war to be exchanged, and declared an in-place cease-fire. In addition, the agreement required the United States to "stop all its military activities against the territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam by ground, air, and naval forces wherever they may be based; and end the mining of the territorial waters, ports, harbors, and waterways of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam." Furthermore,

it required the United States to "not continue its military involvement or intervene in the internal affairs of South Vietnam." This historical agreement was enthusiastically approved by the North Vietnamese but reluctantly signed by the United States and South Vietnam's President Nguyen Van Thieu.

However, soon after the withdrawal of the United States military and economic support, the military situation deteriorated rapidly for the government of South Vietnam. The flight of the Vietnamese refugees began within the country, with the North Vietnamese military offensive of mid-March 1975 resulting in the defeats at Pleiku, Kontum, and Ban Me Thuot. As a result of this military offensive, about 1 million refugees poured out of these areas and headed for the capital city, Saigon, and the coast. Most traveled by foot, few were fortunate enough to travel by car, truck, bus, or motorbike. The coastal city of Da Nang was evacuated March 27–28, 1975. This was soon followed by other coastal cities, such as Nha Trang and Cam Ranh. By the end of April 1975, South Vietnam, under the direction of General "Big" Minh surrendered to the North Vietnamese Communist government. On April 30, 1975, Saigon, the capital of South Vietnam, came under the control of the Provisional Revolutionary Government. This resulted in the plight of the newest Asian Pacific immigrant group to the United States at the time.

The Vietnamese Refugee Immigration Experience

Vietnamese emigration is generally divided into two periods, each with several "waves." The first period began in April 1975 and continued through 1977. This period included the first three waves of Vietnamese refugees in the United States.

The first wave of refugees, involving some 10,000 to 15,000 people, began at least a week to 10 days before the collapse of the government. The second wave, and probably the largest in numbers, involved some 80,000 who were evacuated by aircraft during the last days of April. The evacuation of American personnel, their dependents, and Vietnamese affiliated with them was achieved through giant helicopters under "Operation Frequent Wind." According to

Newsweek magazine (May 12, 1975), it was a “logistical success . . . the biggest helicopter lift of its kind in history.”

These individuals were relatively well educated, spoke some English, had some marketable skills, came from urban areas, and were Westernized. Members of these two waves were primarily Vietnamese who worked for the United States’ government, American businesses and corporations, or the Vietnamese government. All were thought to be prepared for life in the United States on the basis of their contact with the U.S. government and their association with Americans.

The final wave during this period involved 40,000 to 60,000 people who left on their own in small boats, ships, or commandeered aircraft during the first two weeks of May 1975. They were later transferred to Subic Bay and Clark Air Force base in the Philippines and Guam Island after having been picked up, in many cases, by the U.S. Navy and cargo ships standing off the coast of Vietnam.

The second period of Vietnamese refugee migration began in 1978 and continues even today, but the numbers are now very small. Since the fall of South Vietnam, many Vietnamese have tried to escape the political oppression, the major social, political, and economic reforms instituted by the authoritarian government of North Vietnam. Although the influx was steady for many years, the numbers are no longer as substantial as they once were. A significant characteristic of this period, especially between the years 1978 to 1980, is the large number of ethnic Chinese migrating out of Vietnam and Cambodia.

In addition to the Vietnamese ethnic Chinese, there were many Vietnamese who also left during this period. These individuals have been called “Vietnamese boat people” because the majority of them escaped in homemade, poorly constructed boats and wooden vessels. Because of the lack of seaworthy vessels that could not withstand the forces of nature, their scant knowledge of navigational skills, the very limited amount of food and water they were able to bring, and finally, numerous attacks by Thai sea pirates, the death rate of the “Vietnamese boat people” was very high. Some verbal testimony from surviving refugees has estimated it to be as high as 50 percent, although

Grant and Wain have placed it much lower at 10 percent to 15 percent. However, the percentage will never be accurately known because there is no systematic way of knowing how many refugees actually left Vietnam, and only survivors are accounted for. Since 1979, many former receiving countries are turning away refugees because of the economic toll, political cost, and social strain that they are putting on their economies.

The exodus of Vietnamese refugees to the United States was a difficult process. Regardless of which wave they arrived in, the journey to America left a long-lasting impression on all those involved. For some, the long journey was made easier because they were able to leave during the earlier period, or when they were younger. For others, the journey was more traumatic because of their circumstances and the uncertain journey across the ocean to a new and unknown destination.

The United States’ Response

The Vietnamese exodus and their resettlement in the United States could not have come at a worse time in that period of American history. The Vietnam War was an extremely unpopular war at home in which 57,692 American men and women died with 2,500 listed as “missing in action” or as prisoners of war. The war deeply divided the nation.

Indeed, the general atmosphere of the American public at the end of the war was hostile toward the Vietnamese refugees. The Gallup Poll taken in May 1975 showed “54 percent of all Americans opposed to admitting Vietnamese refugees to live in the United States and only 36 percent were in favor with 12 percent undecided” (*Time*, May 19, 1975). A common concern of the American public was one of economic self-interest—a fear of having jobs taken away as well as having too much public assistance and welfare given to the refugees. During this time, the United States was in a period of recession with an unemployment rate of 8.3 percent.

The United States’ Government Dispersal Policy

To minimize the social impact of the large influx of Vietnamese refugees on an American public that was

unfavorable to the Vietnam War, the United States government adapted the Refugee Dispersion Policy. This policy served four purposes: (a) to relocate them as quickly as possible so that they could achieve financial independence; (b) to ease the impact of a large group of refugees on a given community, which might otherwise increase the competition for jobs, social services, and housing; (c) to make it easier to find the largest pool of sponsors possible; and (d) to prevent the development of an ethnic ghetto. The logic was that if this policy was carried out successfully, the Vietnamese refugees would quickly assimilate into the American society. The goal was for a rapid and, hopefully, smooth and seamless transition for the refugees into society. The goal was for them to become economically and financially independent as quickly as possible without much consideration of the social impact that might result from this dramatic event.

As a result, nine voluntary agencies (VOLAGs) were contracted by the federal government's Inter-agency Task Force to handle the resettlement of the refugees in the United States. The primary task of these voluntary agencies was to find sponsors that would have the ability to fulfill both financial and moral responsibilities and match them with refugees' families. The responsibilities included providing temporary food, clothing and shelter, assistance in finding employment or job training for the head of the household, enrolling the children in school and finally, providing ordinary medical care. In other words, the sponsors would serve as a resource to introduce the Vietnamese refugees into the society as they became economically self-supporting.

The Resettlement of Vietnamese Refugees

There were four ways for the refugees to leave the four temporary refugee camps (Camp Pendleton, California; Fort Chaffee, Arkansas; Eglin Air Force Base, Florida; and Fort Indiantown Gap, Pennsylvania) and enter American society: (1) resettlement to a third country, (2) obtain repatriation to Vietnam, (3) demonstrate proof of being financially self-supportive, and (4) find a sponsor through one of the nine voluntary agencies.

Although third-country resettlement was encouraged by the United States government, this avenue was hardly chosen by the Vietnamese refugees. Very few other countries offered their assistance unless the refugees fulfilled at least one of the following requirements: (a) be certified professionals in needed areas, (b) had relatives in that country, or (c) could speak that country's language. Because most refugees were not likely to be certified in professional areas as a result of the long war and lack of research and development, it was unlikely that they were qualified for this option.

Only a small number of refugees chose to return to Vietnam. Darrel Montero, an anthropologist, reported "by October 1975, repatriation had been granted to 1,546 refugees by the new government of Viet Nam" (Montero 1979). The majority were military men who were forced to leave their families behind at the time of their evacuation. Upon realizing that they might be not see their loved ones again, they decided to return to see if they could be reunited and were probably aware of the uncertainties that awaited them. There is no record of what happened to those who returned under this repatriation process.

The third method by which the refugees were allowed to leave the camps was to demonstrate their financial independence. Kelly and Montero again documented, the Task Force required a refugee family to show proof of cash reserves totaling at least \$4,000 per household member. However, because of their abrupt plight, only very few refugees were qualified to use this avenue. This was a rather large sum of money and it was unlikely that they were able to bring such a large sum of cash under the conditions they were forced to leave their country. In addition, not many refugees would report to the authorities their financial savings for the fear of the unknown that awaited them in this new country. Thus, the first waves of Vietnamese refugees entered the United States' society primarily through the family sponsorship method.

The sponsors found by voluntary agencies consisted of religious congregations, parishes or affiliates, individual families, corporations, and companies with former Vietnamese employees. In addition, if the refugees had relatives who could fulfill the same requirements, they could qualify as sponsors as well.

However, Skinner, reported only 15,000 Vietnamese living in the United States prior to 1975. Most of these individuals were students staying temporarily on visas or wives of United States soldiers. In essence, the Vietnamese did not have an established ethnic community in the United States and, therefore, this method hardly applied to the first waves of refugees.

Nevertheless, the family sponsorship method was used more frequently at a later time by the Vietnamese from the first waves to sponsor family and relatives who were stranded in Vietnam after 1975. The primary ways this method was used was through the implementation of two federal government sponsored programs that resulted from the Conference on Indochinese Refugees held in Geneva, Switzerland on June 14, 1980: (1) the Orderly Departure Program and (2) the Humanitarian Operation Program.

The goal of these programs was to provide Vietnamese a ‘viable alternative’ to dangerous clandestine departure by boat or over land. However, this viable alternative was not as successful as originally anticipated as many Vietnamese refugees continued to leave by boat. As a result of these avenues, many Vietnamese families who arrived during the first and second period, who now have citizenships or permanent residence status, are using the first category to bring family members to the United States. In summary, as a result of the United States Federal Government Dispersal Policy, Vietnamese refugees were dispersed throughout the United States.

The Vietnamese Adaptation Process

These were the structural conditions in the United States that the first Vietnamese refugees had to face at the time of their arrival. How did this affect their experience? First, as a result of the Refugee Dispersion Policy, the first group of Vietnamese refugees were resettled throughout the United States. Second, the extended family network that existed in their homeland was temporarily broken by the different processes of migration. To find churches, social organizations, families and individuals that were willing to sponsor Vietnamese refugees, extended families were broken up. Only immediate family members were allowed to stay together. Despite the chaotic and abrupt nature of

the Vietnamese refugees’ departure, a substantial number of people came in family groups, accounting for approximately 62 percent of all the immigrants from the first two waves.

In addition, many of the social networks that formed when they were abandoning their homeland as well as in refugee camps were also temporarily disrupted. This forced the Vietnamese refugees to interact with, and depend on, the sponsors and the immediate environment for social and emotional support. In essence, the Vietnamese were deprived of the emotional, social and psychological support generated from the extended family and also the support that was generated from shared culture, language, customs, and experience.

Third, to minimize the strain put on local economies by the refugees, the government encouraged the American sponsors to help the refugees to become financially independent as soon as possible. Therefore, to survive, many Vietnamese accepted jobs of lower status than the ones they had in Vietnam. The majority of these jobs were concentrated in the periphery economy or were service jobs that required no skills and little or no English proficiency.

The consequence of this policy resulted in the relocation of Vietnamese across the United States, which temporarily disrupted their mutual support systems. These systems included extended family members and friendships that were formed during these tumultuous times. Weather conditions that exist in many parts of the country where they were relocated were substantially different from that in their homeland. In only a few states was the weather similar to that of Vietnam (among these California, Texas, and Florida). This fact played a significant role in the formation of a secondary migration initiated by Vietnamese refugees that took place later.

The 1980 U.S. Census Data ranked the states with the highest Vietnamese populations as California with 34.78 percent, Texas with 11.34 percent, Louisiana with 4.43 percent, Washington State with 3.65 percent, Virginia with 3.86 percent, Pennsylvania with 3.31 percent, and, finally, Florida with 2.89 percent. This illustrates that a disproportionate number of Vietnamese immigrants reside in only three states—California (34.78%), Texas (11.34%), and Louisiana

(4.43%)—which constitute 50 percent of the entire Vietnamese population. In addition, almost two-thirds (64.26%) live in only seven states, including the aforementioned three states, plus Virginia (3.86%), Washington State (3.65%), Pennsylvania (3.31%), and Florida (2.89%).

As the harsh winter conditions hit the cities throughout the United States where Vietnamese refugees were initially resettled, the desire to find a location with a warmer climate and a Vietnamese community increased for those who had settled in colder parts of the United States. California's warm climate and its abundance of unskilled jobs, especially in San Jose's "Silicon Valley," Santa Ana, and San Diego along with the existence of small Vietnamese communities in Los Angeles and San Jose, attracted refugees. Baldwin found that 43 percent of Vietnamese who had relocated to Orange County gave "climate" as their primary reason for migrating, whereas 22 percent gave "job/finances/education" as their second reason, followed by "family nearby" with 13 percent. This secondary migration pattern is repeated as many Vietnamese communities have been established throughout the United States, but the largest communities are primarily concentrated in California, Texas, Washington, and Virginia.

The latest Census data on Vietnamese in the United States indicate that those states in which the immigrants concentrated their secondary migration are still those most populated by Vietnamese. The data reveal that California is still the state of preference by Vietnamese immigrants of where to live with 45.36 percent of the population; Texas is still second at 11.27 percent; Washington State with 4.81 percent and Virginia 3.30 percent have moved ahead of Louisiana with 2.85 percent. Florida is still fifth with 2.65 percent, and Pennsylvania is now sixth with 2.57 percent. These seven states together combine for almost 73 percent of the total number of Vietnamese immigrants living in the United States.

The Vietnamese American population is relatively young with a median age of 35.5 years old. The majority are between the ages of 18 and 44 (45.7%) followed by those under 18 (24.8%), people between 45 and 64 make up 22.7 percent, and only 6.5 percent are 65 years or older. The majority of the people reported

as being married (55.8%), whereas 32.4 percent reported "never married," with a very small divorce rate (5.3%). The average Vietnamese American average family size reported in the Census 2000 data is 3.99 or compared to 3.14 for the total United States population. Vietnamese Americans are typically found in large metropolitan areas and in larger cities. There is an important Vietnamese American community in Louisiana that has been in the news recently because of Hurricane Katrina. The community is primarily made up of Vietnamese American Catholics working in the fishing and shrimp industries that were devastated by Hurricane Katrina. Similar to other communities that were devastated by the British Petroleum Oil Spill, the Vietnamese American community is also dealing with the devastations that occurred as a result of this disaster. When Vietnamese enclaves are mentioned, they are usually shopping enclaves, mini-malls and ethnic-specific businesses and services.

Vietnamese Americans report a relatively low level of educational attainment. For the 2000 Census data, 30 percent report having less than a high school education, 70 percent report having high school degrees or better, and 23.5 percent report having bachelor degrees or better. Although Vietnamese Americans are relatively well educated, only 11.8 percent report they only speak English at home. The majority (55.1%) still report that English is not well spoken at home. Because this is a relatively new group to the United States, it seems natural for many of the older people to not feel as comfortable speaking English as it is for the younger people as well as those from the knee-high or second generation. As this is a recent population, it will take some time for the family to be completely bilingual.

The economic attainment of this group is a complex topic because it involves a variety of subgroups as well as different times of arrival to the United States. The 2000 data from the Census Bureau indicate that 29.2 percent are engaged in "management, professional, and related occupations," whereas 24.6 percent classify themselves in "service occupations" with 19 percent reported "sales and office" as their occupations. Although these data are interesting at the macrolevel, it does not provide specific information



Group of Vietnamese American students in traditional dress, *ao dai*. (Visions of America, LLC/StockphotoPro)

regarding what types of occupations within each category Vietnamese Americans are likely to be employed. For example, Linda Vo, a sociologist, found that throughout the country, many Vietnamese American women found work as pedicurists, hairstylists, and manicurists. This is a profession that requires a limited education, minimal English proficiency, relatively easy licensing, and small start-up funds. If one examines the types of businesses that Vietnamese Americans are engaged in, the majority are in small businesses that require only limited English proficiency, modest start-up funds and reasonable licensing requirements. As a result, they are concentrated in small restaurants, gas stations, and car repair shops, “Pho” or noodle shops, ethnic bookstores, gift shops, clothing stores, herbal medicines, entertainment (music, videos, DVDs, soap operas), and those that cater specifically to their own ethnic group, including travel agencies, insurance companies, home repair,

landscaping services, and after school tutoring programs.

Ethnic Identity

Because Vietnamese Americans are very diverse with respect to their time of arrival, their status upon arrival, their family’s social economic class, their level of English proficiency, and so forth, their experiences growing up in the United States has been just as diverse and dependent on a variety of factors. The development of an ethnic identity is dependent on a number of factors, including the strength of the ethnic community, racism, and discrimination, class differences, parents’ relationship to the child, educational institutions, availability of opportunities, and many others. As a result, the identity of Vietnamese Americans ranges from those who only identify with the American culture to those who only identify with

the Vietnamese culture and everything in between. On one end of the spectrum, there are those who see themselves as members of the larger Vietnamese American community and participate in all of the available cultural, social, political, and religious practices and traditions that the local community has to offer because they identify themselves more with their parents' or family's ethnic community. Because there are so many Vietnamese American communities throughout the United States, it is easy for someone to spend the majority of the time interacting only with other Vietnamese. In essence they can conduct all their daily activities in Vietnamese. They can reside in a largely Vietnamese neighborhood. They can obtain employment and work in a Vietnamese-owned business, eat at Vietnamese restaurants, attend social, cultural, and religious activities in the community itself. They can get their news through Vietnamese newspapers and magazines. They can even watch television programming or listen to radio programs that are exclusively Vietnamese. Should they decide to watch soap operas, movies, and other entertainment activities, they can go to their local Vietnamese video store and rent them there. This is especially available after the first group of Vietnamese refugees established Vietnamese American communities and provide many of the needs that were not available at the time. In short, they can live as if they were living in Vietnam and not have any interactions with the larger American society.

At the other end of the spectrum, there are those who see themselves as Americans who "happen" to be of Vietnamese ancestry. There are several factors that might lead to this identity formation. They have not been exposed to their parents' culture or have chosen not to participate in it. As their parents become economically more stable, they may purchase homes and reside in a neighborhood that does not have a large Vietnamese American presence. As a result, they might attend schools that are more diverse and have fewer Vietnamese American students and therefore develop friendships with non-Vietnamese students. In other words, they have forged a new identity growing up and attending American schools that does not include their ethnic identity and cultural heritage. They may occasionally attend Vietnamese churches and

temples but they may just as well attend a church or temple close to their house. Similar to other middle-class children, they may participate in club sports, music lessons, and activities that are more class based and less ethnic based.

The majority of the second generation are probably somewhere in between, forging and creating a new identity that is uniquely theirs by combining elements from both cultures because they are products of both cultures. It will be interesting in the future to see how well they are going to negotiate their identity and create an identity that is uniquely their own.

Educational Attainment

The 2000 U.S. Census Bureau data regarding Vietnamese American educational attainment indicate that they are the lowest group. For individuals under the age of 25 years old, 30 percent have less than a high school education as compared to 16.1 percent for the overall population. They are also the lowest when compared to the other larger Asian American populations (Asian Indian 9.8%, Chinese 19.2%, Filipino 9.2%, Japanese 6.6%, and Korean 9.8%). Although 70 percent report having a high school education or better, this is the lowest percentage when compared to other groups in the United States. This trend continues as only 23.5 percent of Vietnamese Americans report having a bachelor's degree or better as compared to 27 percent for the overall population. For other Asian American groups, the percentages range from a low of 43.7 percent for Japanese Americans to a high of 67.9 percent for Asian Indian. This is also reflected in the reported median household income where Vietnamese Americans are second from the bottom of all larger Asian American groups (Koreans reported the lowest household median income). The final statistic is that 14 percent of all Vietnamese Americans live below the poverty rate as defined by the federal government. These statistics may come as a surprise to those unfamiliar with Vietnamese Americans because they are often reported to be doing well and are thought of as the "model minority." These statistics reveal a much more complex and wide range of educational attainment, household income, and poverty level within this community.

According to the 2010 Census, the Vietnamese American population in the United States was 1,737,433, including mixed-race individuals.

Hien Duc Do

See also Chinese-Vietnamese Americans; Little Saigon and Vietnamese American Communities; Tết; Vietnamese American Anticommunism; Vietnamese Cuisine in the United States; Vietnamese Ethnic Economy; Vietnamese Nail Salons; Vietnamese Women in America

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Vietnamese Americans, Chinese-

See Chinese-Vietnamese Americans

Vietnamese Cuisine in the United States

Bánh mì and *phở* have become a staple in the culinary vocabulary of diners in urban centers with strong Vietnamese populations across America. From the cost-sensitive college student to the fanciful gourmand,

Vietnamese cuisine has made its mark on the palates of a broad spectrum of the U.S. public. Even Anthony Bourdain, the antihero of the new food celebrity caste, former chef, and current television personality, has professed his admiration and near devotion to the Vietnamese *bánh mì* on his highly popular cable television show *No Reservations*. Vietnamese food in the United States has hit the big time.

The rise in the popularity of Vietnamese food in the United States keeps pace with the span of globalization, which has made cosmopolitan dining a sign of the diner's comfort with and knowledge of the world. The relative prominence of Vietnamese food in major cities is taken for granted but that was not the case for the earliest Vietnamese populations in the United States. Upon refugees' first settlement in the United States shortly after 1975, most were unable to cook traditional Vietnamese foods because of a lack of availability of primary Vietnamese ingredients and herbs such as the ubiquitous *nuớc mắm* or other staples such as anise for use in soups. And even as sojourners from Vietnam arrived yearning for the flavors of Vietnam, this would belie the food situation in Vietnam for much of the twentieth century. War, occupation, and drastic economic reforms sent the country into periods of severe food shortages with whole areas reaching near starvation. The ease of enjoyment of Vietnamese cuisine both in the United States and Vietnam has only relatively recently become accessible. Economic restructuring in Vietnam in the late 1980s involved decentralizing market practices and revitalizing the population's experience of self and community. The Vietnamese government crafted new cultural initiatives that included encouraging its citizens to once again embrace the celebratory elements of everyday life, including its food culture. And the establishment of Vietnamese communities in critical mass in the United States have allowed for people to return to Vietnamese food practices, including the important social bonds made through celebratory feasts and more casually, *nhậu*, which is an everyday form of rousing socializing over small plates. In metropolitan areas in the United States, Vietnamese communities have established ethnic enclaves with richly stocked markets, fisheries, and restaurants.

Though popular Vietnamese foods in the United States include the beef noodle soup, *phở*, and the baguette sandwich, *bánh mì*, Vietnamese place a high premium on acknowledging the regional derivation of particular foods. *Phở* originates in northern Vietnam, where colder climates permitted the use of fewer spices and therefore promoted more balanced flavors. The central region, holding the original national capital at Hue and being warmer in climate, produced dishes richer in spice and presentation. From the central region originates the very spicy noodle dish *bún bò Huế* full of heat and red with oils. The southern region, lush with agriculture, bustled with the meeting of various foreign contacts (i.e., French, U.S., Chinese, Indian, Thai). The foods from the south are robust with flavors from the liberal use of garlic, herbs, sugar, and coconut. *Cà ri*, a derivation of the Indian curry using coconut milk, is a popular dish in the south.

Traditional Vietnamese cuisine is rooted in the cultural influences of Chinese, French, and Indian food practices (though other culinary influences can be traced to Thai, Cambodian, and American cuisine). For instance, the use of chopsticks is not indigenous to Southeast Asian eating, but Vietnamese cuisine has borrowed this practice from Chinese influence. The *bánh mì* sandwich, developed after the French introduced French baguette, pate, and mayonnaise to the Vietnamese diet, which melded in complementary balance with the addition of pickled daikon, carrots, cilantro, peppers, and Vietnamese cold cuts. The importance of *cà phê sữa* to the Vietnamese routine has made its way into the U.S. mainstream as well. Vietnam is the world's second-largest exporter of coffee behind Brazil, and in both cases their climate and arid land have allowed for the harvesting of varied and abundant coffee harvests. In the 1800s in Southeast Asia, French and Dutch planters brought coffee into the mountainous highlands where farmers have for over a century produced a variety of coffee beans, with Vietnam becoming the leading national producer. *Cà phê sữa* is brewed strong, it can be drunk hot or on ice, using a single and small tin filter that brews dark espresso that gets mixed with condensed milk—used in the early history of coffee drinking in Vietnam in lieu of the more difficult to attain fresh milk.

Vietnamese cuisine taken abroad has also enjoyed a thorough reinterpretation by Vietnamese and non-Vietnamese chefs alike. The proliferation of Vietnamese restaurants and the appearance of Vietnamese and Vietnamese inflected dishes on menus across the United States reflects the playfulness with which chefs, cooks, and restaurateurs have found in the blending of Vietnamese flavors with the Western palate. Although ethnic enclaves, such as in Westminster, California's Little Saigon abounds with authentic restaurants specializing in regional flavors, further away, in metropolitan cityscapes where food adventurism is part and parcel of city living, diners and chefs alike explore new flavor territories. At the Gorbals Restaurant in downtown Los Angeles, a *bánh mì* poutine appears (that's a mound of fries topped with the traditional components inside a Vietnamese sandwich—daikon, carrots, mayonnaise, pate). And it is now not uncommon to find *nước mắm* as a go-to ingredient for chefs looking to blend a distinct savoriness into their next culinary creation.

But whether the flavors are “elevated” or “stripped down,” Vietnamese food has been a tremendous player in the ethnicizing of the urban palate. The store brand Lee's Sandwich prefigured the craze of food trucks currently found sweeping through metropolises such as Los Angeles and has helped make Vietnamese food a regular staple of urban fare since it first began catering to the San Jose State University population in San Jose in 1983. It has since become a ubiquitous presence in Southern California with stores now branching internationally, even one opening in Ho Chi Minh City in 2008.

Cam Vu

See also Chinese Cuisine in the United States; Filipino Cuisine in the United States; Hawaiian Cuisine; Indian Cuisine in the United States; Korean Cuisine in the United States; Thai Cuisine in the United States

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Vietnamese Ethnic Economy

The Vietnamese ethnic economy (VEE) consists of a variety of businesses with Vietnamese nail salons as one of its most distinct and well-known businesses. The U.S. Census Bureau's Survey of Business Owners (SBO) in 2007 classifies Vietnamese-owned firms as businesses where at least 51 percent of the owners are of Vietnamese descent. Similar to other ethnic economies, some businesses within the VEE cater specifically to a Vietnamese clientele whereas other businesses provide goods and services to the general public. With a high proportion of businesses in the service sector, one unique feature of these businesses is the amount of interaction that occurs between people of different races and classes. Although these interactions may not always be cordial, they are a rare opportunity for people to forge relationships and learn about one another's history and culture. In this section, the VEE will be defined as a sector of businesses owned by an ethnic group and also a sector of businesses that employ a large number of people from a single ethnic group.

In 2007, the SBO reports that Asians owned approximately 1.5 million nonfarm businesses and generated a total of \$507.6 billion in receipts. These Asian-owned businesses represent 5.7 percent of all nonfarm businesses in the United States. In comparison, the survey observes that there were 229,149 Vietnamese-owned businesses accounting for 14.8 percent of all Asian-owned firms in the country. These Vietnamese-owned firms generated \$28.8 billion in receipts representing 5.7 percent of all Asian-owned businesses. The SBO also observes that 59 percent of the 229,149 Vietnamese owned business firms were in the sectors of repair, maintenance, personal, and laundry services. The next largest sector for Vietnamese-owned firms was in the retail industry and represented 7.8 percent of all Vietnamese-owned

firms. These statistics represented businesses owned by Vietnamese; however, they did not include firms in fishing or other agricultural firms. As much as non-farm businesses are substantial to the VEE, fishing and agricultural businesses also play a significant role to this ethnic economy.

Types of Businesses

From Florida to Texas, the VEE surrounding the Gulf Coast revolves around fishing, shrimping, and crabbing industries. Vietnamese refugees originally from fishing and shrimping families easily transitioned to the U.S. industry because of these skills. Initially, commercial fishing firms were in need of workers and provided on-the-job training opportunities for these new workers with the help of volunteer agencies in charge of dispersing Vietnamese refugees throughout the United States. These Vietnamese women and men worked in both seafood-processing plants and the wholesale markets. After learning the trade, many Vietnamese broke off with the help of family members, who pooled money or took on business partners to start their own businesses. Unfortunately, there was racial tension between native fishermen and Vietnamese fisherfolk over the ways fishing had traditionally been done by the local community and the ways Vietnamese fisherfolk ran their businesses. Nevertheless, racial tensions have not prevented first- and second-generation Vietnamese from making a living in this industry.

More recently, there has been a surge of Vietnamese as well as other Asian ethnic groups entering the agricultural industry. A large number of Vietnamese turned to poultry farming where they raise chickens. These Vietnamese poultry farmers can be found in the southeastern part of the United States, where poultry farming is on the rise in South Carolina and Georgia. Vietnamese farmers are raising chickens for large commercial poultry processing plants that own and provide the chickens. Besides raising poultry, these farmers also grow traditional crops such as fruits, vegetables, and other varieties of plants and produce. Venturing into occupations in agriculture is perceived as something natural for many Vietnamese farmers

because it is likely an occupation where they had previous experience. It also provides a stable living as well as some freedom that is not afforded to those who do not own and run their own businesses.

As demonstrated by their continued participation in fishing and agriculture, the VEE includes industries that put to practice skills traditionally used in Vietnam. But the VEE comprises industries that were previously not as common in Vietnam such as in manufacturing and the service industry. Whereas manufacturing contains factory work throughout the United States, the service industry includes work in Vietnamese nail salons, hair salons, and lawn maintenance and/or landscaping.

For instance, Vietnamese were increasingly drawn to manufacturing when they first arrived in the United States. Ethnic networks as well as a need for workers offered these refugees and immigrants an opportunity to easily find jobs. Many found employment in the high-tech industry as factory workers. It should be noted that these Vietnamese were more likely to work as factory workers rather than owning firms in this industry. Similar to Vietnamese refugees in commercial fishing, Vietnamese refugees received on-the-job training for factory work and technician jobs in Silicon Valley. In addition to on-the-job training, community members encouraged middle-class refugees to find jobs as technicians because they believed these jobs were more likely to match their previous status in Vietnam.

In addition to factory work, a large number of Vietnamese are entering businesses in the service industries particularly, the nail salon industry. A number of Vietnamese continue to work in landscaping and lawn care, especially Vietnamese men. But more commonly, Vietnamese women and men are in beauty work and have been in the industry for over 20 years. Nail salons are highly saturated with Vietnamese workers and nail salon owners and are exceedingly visible throughout the United States. More important, they are a unique aspect about this particular ethnic economy. The beauty industry has seen a large growth of nail salons since the Vietnamese arrival to the United States. The proliferation of Vietnamese nail salons provides accessibility and affordability for

a broader population to receive nail salon services, a service that was only afforded by the wealthy in the past. (See Vietnamese nail salons in this volume.)

Entrance and Other Aspects of the Vietnamese Economy

Entry into the VEE depends on the type of business. According to Linda Võ, the first waves of refugees were educated and skilled professionals who established businesses and the foundation for ethnic enclaves like Little Saigon. The latter waves of refugees and immigrants were less educated, were not as skilled and had limited English skills. It was this subsequent wave of refugees and immigrants that have sustained these businesses through their labor and use of these services especially in places like Little Saigon.

A more formal means of entering these businesses was through recruitment by various firms because a lot of industries such as in agriculture and manufacturing were in need of laborers. Another common form of entrance is through ethnic networks. Ethnic networks are more informal and occur when those already in the Vietnamese economy introduce family members and friends. Experienced workers such as those from the first wave of refugees often provide various resources for those attempting to get into these businesses.

Entrance into various businesses in the VEE also provides opportunities for Vietnamese refugees and immigrants to gain experience in various businesses and save enough money to one day open their own business. Workers also received other forms of assistance, which includes apprenticeships, providing loans to get formal training and licensing, and taking on partnerships. Some scholars perceived these relationships as reciprocal obligation, where more experienced owners receive cheap or free labor and refugees and immigrants received valuable training and skills to run their own businesses. Unfortunately, some warn that these relationships can become exploitative leaving workers very vulnerable.

Besides saving to finance one's own business, there are other formal and informal means of financing businesses in the VEE. A common formal means of financing a business is applying for a small business

loan through financial institutions. In poultry farming, lenders and bankers established a system requiring seasoned farmers to sponsor borrowers that are new to poultry farming. More often due to the lack of credit or credit history, Vietnamese utilize informal methods of financing businesses. One strategy is to obtain funds by borrowing capital from multiple family members. Partnerships often allow multiple people to invest in a single business because each partner only needs to invest a small amount of capital. An alternative strategy is the use of a rotating credit system. Rotating credit systems are commonly used among many different Asian ethnic groups. A group of people will come together and each member contributes the same amount. Each member can pull out the money and repay with interest using the system. The system allows members to borrow a larger amount of money than simply borrowing from family members.

The location of the VEE varies and includes businesses in Vietnamese ethnic enclaves and businesses that exist outside of ethnic enclaves. Vietnamese-owned businesses outside of Vietnamese ethnic enclaves typically provide goods and services meeting the needs of the general public. Businesses that are often seen in Vietnamese ethnic enclaves are similar to many other businesses seen throughout the United States. One difference about the VEE in Vietnamese ethnic enclaves is that Vietnamese is more commonly spoken than English. From restaurants, grocery stores, retail shops to everyday services, these businesses specialize in products and services that cater distinctively to Vietnamese tastes and preferences.

According to the Survey of Business Owners in the 2007 Census, 30 percent of all Vietnamese-owned businesses reside in California, which is the largest number of Vietnamese-owned firms of all the states in the country. In California, there are 68,812 Vietnamese-owned businesses and 17,695 of those businesses are located in Los Angeles County. This county has the most Vietnamese-owned firms of any U.S. county. Texas came in second with 36,171 firms and the state of Florida had the third largest number of Vietnamese-owned firms in the United States with a total of 14,780 firms.

Similar to the location of businesses, the size of businesses in the VEE varies. The SBO reports that

199,367 Vietnamese-owned firms do not employ paid workers. Even though these firms did not report any paid laborers, this statistic does not include the number of family members, relatives, and friends who may also “help out” in these businesses. Of the 29,782 Vietnamese-owned firms that the SBO surveyed, a little over 60 percent of Vietnamese-owned firms employ 1 to 4 workers whereas only 1 percent of this population employed 50 people or more. In general, ethnic entrepreneurs are mom and pop businesses and are a lot smaller in terms of business scales. For example, the business scale for nail salons ranges in size from one or two to some as large as 12 to 15 working at one time. This is also similar for lawn maintenance. On the other hand, businesses that hire factory workers are likely to be larger in scale and tend to employ a lot more people.

Conclusion

The VEE is likely to mirror other ethnic economies in the United States. Each ethnic economy may be recognized for one or two businesses but generally consist of a multitude of businesses. Similar to other ethnic groups, some people are more comfortable doing business with coethnics and are looking for specific products and services that are common to an ethnic group; therefore, businesses in ethnic enclaves can thrive and sustain themselves because of this clientele. In addition to catering to a distinct clientele, the VEE has been able to hone a particular business niche. The nail salon industry is highly regarded as an industry dominated by Vietnamese in the United States. Beginning with Vietnamese refugees entering nail work in the 1970s, Vietnamese involved in nail work have deeply rooted networks and have expanded the industry throughout the country. Besides creating new jobs for first- and second-generation Vietnamese, they continue to develop and create new types of services of their clientele.

Le Phan

See also Little Saigon and Vietnamese American Communities; Vietnamese Americans; Vietnamese Cuisine in the United States; Vietnamese Nail Salons

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Vietnamese Nail Salons

Current Situation

Since 1996, consumers have spent over \$6 billion annually on salon services. Furthermore, the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) states that the national mean income of a nail technician was \$22,150 with an hourly wage of \$10.65 (2010). The total number of nail technicians is not entirely clear. The BLS reports a total as low as 53,000 nail technicians in the country. On the other hand, *NAILS Magazine*, a trade magazine based in Southern California, estimates the number of nail technicians to be as high as 375,000 in the United States. These statistics demonstrate a large variation in their approximations because of their methods of collecting data; however, sources have acknowledged this inconsistency in data. Nevertheless, the use of multiple resources attempts to yield a glimpse into multiple aspects of nail work in the United States. Thus, we can safely state that the

number of nail technicians falls somewhere between 53,000 and 375,000.

First- and second-generation Vietnamese nail workers are one of the most highly visible concentrations of an immigrant and ethnic group in a business niche. From a small group of refugees, nail work has grown into a profitable industry that offers many Vietnamese lucrative occupational opportunities in the United States. The Vietnamese dominate the nail industry representing 40 percent of all nail salon workers while Koreans only represent 2 percent. The state of California has more nail technicians and nail salons than any other state in the country ranging from 12,890 to 93,000 nail technicians and 7,700 nail salons. Compared to California, Florida and Texas trail behind with approximately 46,000 nail technicians and 4,100 nail salons, and 25,000 nail technicians and 5,100 nail salons, respectively.

In the past, a visit to a salon was a luxury reserved for wealthy upper-class women. As nail services became more popular, the emergence of Korean and Vietnamese nail technicians transformed nail culture of the past. These nail salons made beauty services significantly more affordable and accessible to the masses by charging services at half the cost of full-service beauty salons and at half the amount of time. Researchers credited Korean women as the pioneers of the nail salon industry in New York. But in more recent years, first- and second-generation Vietnamese have gained notoriety in popularizing the nail boom and creating a new market for nail work rather than taking existing jobs.

Defining the Industry

According to the BLS, the description of the job of manicurists and pedicurists is to “clean and shape customers’ fingernails and toenails,” and it may also include “polish or decorate nails” (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics 2010). The requirements for a nail license usually require 400 hours of schooling and/or apprenticeship and low start-up capital to open a salon. Technical skills require nail technicians to be proficient in many aspects of nails from nail care to aesthetics. Nail technicians specialize on the proper care of artificial and natural nails especially in dealing with

unhealthy or damaged nails as well as maintaining and protecting nails of differing shape, size, and thickness. They also need to be knowledgeable about different chemicals used to remove nail polish, soften and remove dead skin, and apply artificial nails. Finally, nail technicians stay updated on popular trends regarding the aesthetics of nails.

Historical Roots

Multiple sources pinpoint the entrance of Vietnamese into the nail industry after the arrival of Vietnamese refugees because of the fall of Saigon in 1975 (Nguyen 2010, 54). In Jody Hammond’s (2002) documentary *A Hand Up*, she credited Tippi Hedren, an actress best known for her role in Alfred Hitchcock’s film *The Birds*, as largely responsible for introducing Vietnamese women to nail work. In a tent city known as Hope City in Sacramento, California, Hedren visited refugees as part of a humanitarian effort. An idea was sparked when one of the women curiously asked about Hedren’s polished nails, which prompted Hedren to bring her manicurist to the camp to teach the women about nail care. She was able to convince a local beauty school, the Citrus Heights Beauty School, to allow the women to study and obtain their nail licenses. With the help of Tippi Hedren, this small group of 20 refugee women pioneered the entrance of Vietnamese into the nail industry.

Although refugees from the initial wave had difficulty finding jobs that matched their qualifications, second-wave Vietnamese refugees were trapped in unstable, low-skilled, and low-wage work without the possibility for advancement. Because they were in search of more immediate opportunities, many Vietnamese eventually turned to nail work as a solution to their financial responsibilities. It offered them greater income, flexibility, work autonomy, and jobs when many lack formal education and English language skills. Most important, it opened new opportunities for first- and second-generation Vietnamese. It became a pivotal stepping-stone for novice nail technicians to learn how to run their own businesses and provided many with the economic capital to pursue their ideal careers. In general, nail work was a second chance for many Vietnamese.

Pivotal Transformations

Fortuitously, new innovations to nail work coupled with a downturn of the economy and the arrival of Vietnamese refugees paved the way for the growth of the nail industry. Many Vietnamese refugees fled the country after the fall of Saigon in 1975. More groups of Vietnamese refugees came as part of the boat people and through U.S.-sponsored government programs. Low levels of human capital combined with the state of the U.S. economy during the 1980s left many Vietnamese refugees with limited occupational opportunities and dependent on government assistance. Many of these first-generation Vietnamese had young families to support and other pressing financial obligations. Consequently, their responsibilities added a sense of urgency to find work and discouraged them from pursuing an education or investing time in learning skills for higher-paying jobs. Though governmental assistance alleviated financial concerns upon arrival, these refugees needed to secure economic stability for the future. This arrival of Vietnamese refugees and later immigrants to the United States and the need to find work coincided with the transformations in nail work.

Two of the innovations that have had a significant role in the growth and success of the nail industry is the electric drill used for filing and acrylic nail products. Though long-time nail technicians were initially skeptical and resistant to the use of the electric drill, the electric file transformed the industry by reducing the amount of time that nail technicians spent filing and was more efficient in shaping nails. Another innovation significant to the nail industry was the creation of acrylic nail products. Dr. Stuart Nordstrom, a dentist, created an acrylic compound derived from products typically used for dental crowns for artificial nail extensions that looked more natural. The use of acrylic nail products assisted in the growth of the nail industry because it offered customers an alternative that was less expensive, more durable and natural looking compared to previous products used. It also played a role in changing the industry because the care of acrylic nails was more expensive and required customers to return every two weeks to upkeep their nails.

Furthermore, Vietnamese nail salons received the label of “discount salons.” Discount salons were

described a way of doing nails that was quicker and more efficient, but it also lost the quality of pampering and intimate conversations in nail services of the past. “Discount salons” provided more affordable services and allowed more women to obtain a service that were once unavailable to them. In addition to affordable services, they were conveniently located because of numerous salons that opened up throughout the United States. In general, the industry was and continues to be successful because nail salons continuously adapted to the latest trends and innovations and catered services to a broad range of clientele.

Consequences of the Industry

Unfortunately, work opportunities in nail work came with some drawbacks. The idea of the “discount salon” received a negative reputation with critiques that cheaper services meant unsanitary conditions and the use of short cuts when providing services. These salons were heavily criticized in popular media leaving many Vietnamese salons with the responsibility of proving to customers that they were legitimate salons. Moreover, Vietnamese salons were criticized for not speaking enough English in the salons. Customer complaints revolved around the possibility that Vietnamese nail technicians were talking about customers in front of their faces, which made many uncomfortable. Thus, many salons make accommodations to prevent these negative perceptions.

Another consequence is that the work is labor intensive. Nail technicians constantly bend over, scrub, and massage clients’ feet. The work itself is stigmatized because it requires nail technicians to work closely with clients’ hands and feet. Vietnamese men, who worked as nail technicians, felt self-conscious about their participation in nail work because of the perception of nail work as women’s work. Nail technicians also worked long hours from early in the morning until late at night and seven days a week to accommodate clientele. Their long work hours often impact family life and the time they spend raising their children.

The media has also addressed numerous health concerns involving the chemicals used in nail salons.

In 2007, *Time* magazine named nail salon workers as one of the worst jobs in America because of health hazards. Although the attention has mostly focused on the health concerns of clients, a growing movement is concerned about the effects of the chemicals on nail workers. Nail work exposes nail technicians to chemicals that are harmful to workers, thus workers need to be taught of the proper way to handle various nail products and be aware that ample ventilation is needed in the nail salons to prevent inhalation of toxic chemicals. These issues have prompted the formation of the California Healthy Nail Salon Collaborative where community members and organizations work together to protect the health and safety of workers. Other organizations include VIET-AID, a non-profit organization that helps identify the multiple health problems nail salon workers face. Another concern is the exploitation of workers. California organizations educate nail workers about their rights such as having an adequate number of breaks, sufficient wages, and health benefits. Issues involved in nail work have mobilized various organizations across the United States to come together and teach nail technicians about workers' rights and health and safety concerns.

Future Direction

The future of nail work is unknown but as time passes, more organization are raising awareness about the various issues affecting nail technicians. There are salons that are attempting to go green using organic products and less harmful chemical. Although there are no green certifications for nail salons in the United States, these Vietnamese entrepreneurs are trying to reduce use of products that contain chemicals, provide better ventilation, and use more sustainable products in their salons. However, Nguyen brings up a significant point in her research that Vietnamese nail technicians cannot stop working even with the awareness of health issues plaguing nail technicians. Many nail technicians recognize the potential hazards of their job, but they take those risks to provide for their families. The need to provide a living is especially dire when one considers the few options available to Vietnamese immigrants and refugees who have no previous education or skills other than their background as nail salon

owners and nail technicians. Thus, the future of nail work will need to find a middle ground between nail technicians' necessity to work and provide for their families and to reduce and alleviate their exposure to harmful chemicals.

Le Phan

See also Little Saigon and Vietnamese American Communities; Vietnamese Americans; Vietnamese Ethnic Economy

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Vietnamese Women in America

Vietnamese womanhood is traditionally interpreted through its adherence to the "four virtues": Right Occupation (cong), Right Speech (ngon), Right Appearance (dung), and Right Conduct (hanh).

Additionally, traditional cultural expectations state that the Vietnamese woman should align her loyalty first with her father, then her husband, and then to her son. These notions are fully manifested in Vietnam's most celebrated epic poem, *The Tale of Kieu*, in which the protagonist Thuy-Kieu lives a life marked by intense talent, beauty, and unyielding love and loyalty to father and family. This perspective of Kieu exemplifies the title character's ability to stand as cultural bearer of Vietnamese national identity. But this is only one interpretation of Thuy-Kieu's femininity; for in the very same narrative, the protagonist establishes herself as a loyal lover to not one but three men, is seduced and manipulated into prostitution, and then unknowingly causes her husband's death. Through this perspective, Thuy-Kieu fails to live up to ideal femininity and is instead seen as immoral, nonvirtuous, and disloyal. Consequently, she either represents a distorted view of Vietnamese national identity, brashly exposing its morally dubious entanglements throughout its wending past, or that she is decisively incapable, by virtue of her moral shortcomings, to be representative of Vietnam. These multiple readings of Vietnam's most celebrated poem illustrate how persistent claims to ideal Vietnamese womanhood underwrite discourses and texts related to ideas of true Vietnamese cultural identity.

Claims to the proper role for Vietnamese women are tested when put in the context of exile, migration, and diaspora. Sociological studies of Vietnamese family life in the diaspora illustrate that the pressures of post-Vietnam War movement and resettlement has upended the traditional structure of the Vietnamese family largely by enforcing new gender roles in the household. Catalysts for changes in gender roles include the gendered expectations of new labor markets and life in new cultural environments. The first waves of postwar Vietnamese families in the United States encountered a labor market that preferred the low-wage labor of Asian immigrant women, often turning Vietnamese women into primary breadwinners and causing a reconfiguration of men's and women's roles within the family.

Negotiations of what Vietnamese womanhood in the United States can and should be have problematically included ideas of its duty to represent Vietnamese

identity and culture, which since the end of the war has been an especially sensitive topic for refugee communities. Two areas of cultural and social life that both implicitly and overtly illustrate ongoing debates about the meaning of Vietnamese womanhood include the stage performance, such as beauty pageants and variety stage shows and local politics in Vietnamese American communities.

Vietnamese American beauty pageants and the musical variety show epitomized by the *Paris By Night* Thuy Nga series, began as efforts to remember the fallen but never forgotten South Vietnam nation through the presentation of Vietnamese women's bodies. Pageants stressed the ability of young Vietnamese women to bridge the traditional Vietnamese sensibilities and the modern West, to remarkably represent authentic Vietnamese by wearing the *áo dài*, the traditional dress for Vietnamese women, and by speaking proper Vietnamese. These celebrated pageants allowed Vietnamese communities, still adjusting to new locations, to feel at once as a cohesive community with an identity as authentic members of South Vietnam.

The musical variety show similarly allowed Vietnamese Americans to be consumers of traditional and newer expressions of Vietnamese America. Although women performers were often staged in traditional and classical Chinese and Vietnamese garb, Americanized performances allowed Vietnamese performers to try out new identities in the cultural presentation of women's bodies to Vietnamese American communities. The singer Lynda Trang Dai became a household name when she first performed onstage in the mid-1980s. Emerging on the Vietnamese American stage during the height of Madonna's career, Lynda Trang Dai copied the style and sound of one the country's most popular and provocative pop stars. Through her revealing dress, bold makeup, and blending of Vietnamese and English lyrics, her musical persona suggested a new direction for Vietnamese women's representational roles.

Although the beauty pageant and the musical stage performance allow for ongoing cultural representations of Vietnamese womanhood and identity, the arena of electoral politics situates an obvious site for representational politics. Vietnamese Americans have

had a presence in local city and county politics in areas of high Vietnamese American demographics since the early 1990s, but more recently Vietnamese American women elected to office by Vietnamese American constituents have drawn particular criticism for their perceived failures to procure the cultural and nationalist agendas of the community. Madison Nguyen was 30 years old when elected to San Jose's city council in 2005. She was the first Vietnamese American to be elected to that position in the city and her campaign had put her against fellow Vietnamese American Linda Nguyen in a divisive election. Nguyen's win turned her into a "golden child" of the Vietnamese community in San Jose. In 2008, Nguyen was faced with a proposal to name a Vietnamese business district. The Vietnamese American community proposed "Little Saigon," which was the accepted district name for other Vietnamese business districts in the United States. But Nguyen voted against it, preferring "Vietnam Town," that she likened to Chinatown and Japantown already present in the area and that other constituents in her district wanted. This incensed Vietnamese Americans and drew forth protests, a hunger strike, and a special recall election to unseat her. "Little Saigon" was seen as a claim to the lost homeland and any other designation would constitute a rejection of those claims. Nguyen faced accusations of being a Communist sympathizer and a traitor to the Vietnamese American community.

Nguyen's turbulent first term and the issues of civic representation for a Vietnamese American woman, knowledgeable of and sensitive to the desires of the Vietnamese American community and yet obligated to represent the interest of other constituents in the city, places her in a precarious position as representative of national, gendered, and cultural identity. In the same instance, it's important to identify the current moment as one that is marked by cultural and social reconfigurations of Vietnamese identity in the diaspora as the first generation of Vietnamese refugees are raising a second generation that give rise to contested and negotiated as well as traditional and hybridized formations of self and community.

Cam Vu

See also Little Saigon and Vietnamese American Communities; Nguyen, Madison (Phuong); Vietnamese Americans; Vietnamese Nail Salons

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Villa, José García (1908–1997)

José García Villa is considered a pioneer of modern Filipino literature, the first Anglophone Filipino modernist poet, and the most influential and important Filipino literary icon of the twentieth century. He was an award-winning poet, short story writer, artist, and literary critic, as well as the associate editor of New Directions Publishing Corporation (1949–1951), the Poetry Workshop director of the City College of New York, and a lecturer at the New School for Social Research (1964–1973). He also served in the United Nation's Philippine Mission (1954–1963) and became vice-consul in 1965. He is best known as an aesthetic formalist who developed the "reverse consonance" rhyme scheme and "comma poems."

Villa has won multiple awards, including the Poetry Award of the American Academy of Arts and Letters (1942), the Guggenheim Fellowship in Poetry (1943), the Bollingen Foundation Fellowship (1950–1951), the Pro Patria Award (1951), the Heritage Award (1952), the Shelley Memorial Award of the Poetry Society of America (1959), and Rockefeller Fellowships for poetry, as well as the PEN Oakland-Josephine Miles National Literary Award (2000), which was posthumously granted. He has also received many of the Philippines' most prestigious



José García Villa in 1953. (Library of Congress)

literary awards, including honorary doctorates from Far Eastern University (1959) and the University of the Philippines (1973). He was named National Artist in Literature by the Philippines in 1973.

Born in 1908 in Manila, the Philippines, Villa was one of Guia García and Dr. Simeon Villa's six children. His father was the personal physician of General Emilio Aguinaldo and an anti-American revolutionary. At his father's behest, Villa initially took courses at the University of Philippines in medicine and obtained an associate in arts degree in 1925. Against his father's wishes, he later transferred to the School of Law in 1928. Villa helped found the University of Philippines Writers' Club, a group that attracted the attention of the authorities because of their artistic iconoclasm. By 1929, writing as "O. Sevilla," Villa was branded by the authorities as subversive because of his published fiction and poetry in the *Philippines Herald*, and was charged with printing obscene material for

his erotic publications, "Man Songs" (1929), a series of poems published in the *Herald*, and "Apassionata" (1929), a short story published in the *Philippine Collegian*. Because of the charges, Villa was suspended from the university for a year, during which he won the *Philippine Free Press Contest* for his short story "Mir-i-misa." The prize money allowed him to immigrate to the United States in 1930.

Villa completed his BA at the University of New Mexico in 1933 and later took graduate courses in literature at Columbia University in 1941. During his time at the University of New Mexico, Villa founded the literary magazine, *Clay: A Literary Notebook*, which attracted prominent short-story critic Edward J. O'Brien's attention. O'Brien later dedicated *The Best Short Stories of 1932* to Villa and published 12 of Villa's stories in the anthology. In 1933, Villa published his first collection of writing, an anthology of short stories, *Footnote to Youth: Tales of the Philippines and Others*. The anthology featured an introduction by O'Brien, who lauded Villa as one of the most important American short-story writers. Yet despite this adulation, Villa decided to turn from prose to poetry after reading e.e. cummings's *Collected Poems* in 1936.

In 1941, writing as "Doveglion," a moniker that combined dove, eagle, and lion, and "meant to present the poet 'gentle as a dove, free as an eagle, and fierce as a lion'" (Espiritu 2005), Villa published his second work, a collection of poetry, *Poems by Doveglion*. His 1942 publication, *Have Come, Am Here* led critics and prominent poets, which included e.e. cummings, Edith Sitwell, Marianne Moore, and Mark Van Doren to hail him as a major new American poet. Most notable about this work is that it introduces Villa's "reversed consonance," a new rhyme scheme that reversed the last sounded consonants of the last syllable or word for the first letter of the corresponding word. In his 1949 collection of poetry, *Volume Two*, he introduced "comma poems," where he placed a comma after every word in lieu of a space as an aesthetic device that called time and space to readers' attention. He also experimented with poetic adaptation of prose into poetry, playing with movement and shape, taking from sources that included short stories and novels as well as letters, newspaper articles, and book reviews.

Unlike other Asian American writers, with the exception of *Footnote to Youth*, Villa's work does not contain or deal with ethnic or nationalist politics. A self-proclaimed formalist who practiced art for art's sake, Villa eschewed writing "socially significant" literature, which he considered to be propaganda. He focused instead on the formal aspects of poetry, such as poetic diction. According to Villa, "Poetry is—first of all—expertness in language and form, not in meaning; and the true meaning of a poem is its Expressive Force rather than its content—the language of poetry being a mode of action, a transmitter of energy rather than of information" (*Doveglion* flap).

Between the 1940s and 1950s, Villa's poetry was widely included in major anthologies of literature. However, by the 1960s, Villa began to disappear from the American literary scene; with the exception of *Apassionata: Poems in Praise of Love* (1979), his poetry was no longer published or included in anthologies, and eventually his books went out of print in the United States. As Villa had stopped writing poetry in 1953 in favor of focusing on critical and philosophical writing, he fell into obscurity in America. Despite this fact, he continued to be a major literary figure in the Philippines, where his work continued to be anthologized, including: *A Doveglion Book of Philippine Poetry* (1962), *Poems 55: The Best Poems of José García Villa as Chosen by Himself* (1962), *The Essential Villa* (1965), and *Makata 3: Poems in Praise of Love: The Best Love Poems of José García Villa* (1973). *The Parlement of Giraffes: Poems for Children—Eight to Eighty* (1999), a collection translated into Tagalog that also featured Villa's original drawings, was published posthumously.

Villa died in New York City on February 7, 1997. He was previously married to Rosemary Lamb (1946–1960), with whom he had two children, Randall and Lance.

Krystal Shyun Yang

See also Filipino Americans

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Villafuerte, Brandon (1975–)

Born in Hawaii in 1975 and possessing Filipino ancestry, Brandon Villafuerte pitched Major League Baseball in the early years of the twenty-first century. After pitching high school baseball in Morgan Hill, California, Villafuerte was a late round draft choice of the New York Mets in 1994. A right-hander,

Villafuerte hurled his first Major League game in 2000 for the Detroit Tigers of the American League. His most successful season was as a reliever for the San Diego Padres of the National League in 2002, when he recorded an excellent 1.41 ERA in 32 games. He pitched his last Major League game in 2004 but continued to pitch minor league ball through 2008.

Joel S. Franks

See also Filipino American Baseball

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Vivekananda (1863–1902)

Swami (“master”) Vivekananda is one of the most celebrated Hindu missionaries to the West and an acclaimed Indian activist and reformer. A disciple of the spiritual teacher Ramakrishna (1836–1886), he arrived in Chicago in 1893 as a delegate of the World Parliament of Religions. His inspirational speech on opening day garnered him much favor at the proceedings and in the American media, and he is often credited with introducing Hinduism to a mainstream American audience. Vivekananda also founded the Ramakrishna Mission and inspired the formation of Vedanta Societies around the globe before his death in 1902.

Born Narendrath Datta in Kolkata (formerly Calcutta), Vivekananda was raised in a middle class, professional family and eventually undertook the study of law. As a student he showed keen interest in Western philosophy, which he would later draw upon to communicate more clearly to Western audiences. Vivekananda was also influenced by his involvement in the local faction of the Brahma Samaj, a liberal Hindu reform movement, as well as the local chapter

of the Freemasons. He met Ramakrishna in December 1881, but was initially resistant to some aspects of his beliefs, especially Ramakrishna’s deep devotion to the goddess Kali. The death of Vivekananda’s father in 1884, however, spurred him to pursue a religious life, and he became a disciple of Ramakrishna. After Ramakrishna’s death in 1886, Vivekananda became the leader of his small religious community and began an extended period of peregrination around India’s sacred sites. During this time he became familiar with India’s crippling social problems and this experience crystallized his intention for future social reform. It was also during this period that he took on his name, Vivekananda, which means, “he who has the bliss of true spiritual discretion.”

In 1893, Vivekananda set out for the United States to attend the World Parliament of Religions as a representative for Hinduism. His original hope was to raise awareness of famine in India and to gather funding for his humanitarian interests. He opened his first speech by addressing the audience as “sisters and brothers of America.” This seemed to aptly capture the universalistic sentiment of the Parliament and was immediately received with a standing ovation. His eloquence and oratory style was widely acclaimed even by his harshest critics, and by the close of the Parliament Vivekananda emerged as one of the best-known delegates. This exposure brought him to the attention of American metaphysical culture and in particular to groups such as the Theosophists.

Following the Parliament, Vivekananda toured the United States and Europe giving lectures on Hinduism. These mainly focused on the monistic philosophy of Vedanta as interpreted by Ramakrishna, and emphasized the potential divinity of the soul. In 1894 he founded Vedanta Society of New York. Sensing the negative perception of Indian culture in America, Vivekananda also defended traditional Hindu practices and highlighted their more universalistic aspects. In 1896 he published *Raja-Yoga*, a treatise that elaborated on Patañjali’s system of yogic meditation to still the fluctuations of the mind. The book was an immediate success, the first edition selling out in a matter of months. Vivekananda returned to India in 1897 as a national hero and founded the Ramakrishna Mission to coordinate social reform programs, such as the

opening of schools and medical dispensaries. In 1899 he returned to the lecture circuit in the United States and opened a Vedanta Society in San Francisco.

By the time Vivekananda left the United States a year later, his health had deteriorated significantly because of complication with diabetes, and he died in India in 1902. Vivekananda's efforts proved to be instrumental in promoting Vedanta and Asian forms of meditation in the United States and Europe, and he is celebrated in India for his activism and instilling Indian national pride during British colonial rule.

Peter M. Romaskiewicz

See also *Hindus in the United States*; *Indian Americans*

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Voting Patterns

The voting patterns of Asian Americans have been a subject of curiosity for observers of U.S. racial and ethnic politics for many years. A focus on Asian Americans, a relatively affluent, majority immigrant, and multiethnic population that represents one of the nation's fastest-growing nonwhite groups, advances understanding of the American electorate from a unique and increasingly relevant perspective. Yet, until very recently, nobody could describe with any certainty the candidate choice, political party affiliation, political ideology, and issue opinion of this emergent community in American politics. Some even suggested that no one would have the faintest idea how the Asians will vote in any given presidential contest. This sentiment of frustration in predicting the voting orientations of Asian Americans may be attributed to myriad reasons. Chief among them is the dearth of objective scientific data about the political behavior of the community—a fact that is directly related to

the unique sociodemographic characteristics of the population. Another major reason may be the inscrutable, forever-foreigner image of the group, which has prevented major political parties, candidates, and organized groups from considering Asians an equal and valuable voting bloc in their recruitment and mobilization efforts. The lack of data about the former makes it difficult to dismantle the alien myth of the latter. The community's fledgling record of participation in American electoral politics and the lack of infrastructure for sustained engagement are another reason and fact to reckon with.

Although Asian Americans are the fourth-largest racial and ethnic group in the United States, with an estimated 16 million individuals who were solely or partly of Asian descent as of July 2009, they are about one-twentieth of the national population in the present day. Besides the smallness in overall population size, the Asian American population is dispersed and skewed in its geographic distribution, and is heterogeneous in race, ethnicity, nativity, class, home language, religious belief, and other aspects of culture. The demographic limits embodied by this numerically small, unevenly distributed, and extremely diverse population have prevented the Asian American community from being visibly included or fairly represented in a typical national opinion survey based on a random sample of U.S. adults. Even if Asian American respondents may be oversampled to ensure sufficient inclusion in a multiracial survey, the data gathered tend to disregard interethnic differences within the multiethnic community although being biased toward those Asian Americans who are English proficient and more settled into the U.S. system. To help rectify the data problem, a number of Asian American community organizations and scholars have taken the initiative to design and conduct Asian-centered multilingual and multiethnic surveys. These surveys are the bases for analyzing the voting patterns of Asian Americans in this essay.

Candidate Choice

Most research devoted to Asian Americans' candidate choices focuses on their voting patterns in U.S. presidential elections. In the National Asian American

Survey (NAAS), a major preelection survey conducted between August and September 2008, 41 percent of Asian Americans indicated their preference for Barack Obama, whereas 24 percent supported John McCain. The majority of Asian Americans who voted in the 2008 Democratic primary supported Hillary Clinton over Obama by nearly two to one; however, 59 percent of Clinton supporters planned to vote for Obama and 10 percent for McCain in the general election. National exit poll data conducted by the mainstream media found Asian American voters supported Barack Obama over John McCain by roughly a two-to-one margin in the 2008 general elections.

This pattern of a clear edge for Democratic Party candidates among Asian American voters nationwide was first reported in the Pilot National Asian American Political Survey (PNAAPS), which is the nation's first multiethnic, multilingual, and multisite survey on the political attitudes and behavior of Asian Americans. Among Asian American voters in the November 2000 election, 55 percent report casting a vote for Al Gore and 26 percent for George Bush. Eighteen percent of respondents either refused to report their vote choice or were not sure. The percentage of voters favoring Gore ranged from as high as 64 percent among the Chinese to as low as 44 percent among Koreans. Gore received a higher proportion of the presidential vote than Bush in every ethnic group, nevertheless. Although Vietnamese voters gave the highest percentage of support for Bush (35%), it was almost 20 percentage points below the group's support for Gore (54%). The unusual situation in Florida following the election may account for the 18 percent of respondents who either refused to report or are uncertain about the vote they cast.

To gauge their support for candidates of Asian descent, all the PNAAPS respondents, voters or not, are asked this hypothetical question: You have an opportunity to decide on two candidates for political office, one of whom is Asian American. Would you be more likely to vote for the Asian American candidate, if the two are equally qualified? Sixty percent answer affirmatively; support is especially high among the Vietnamese, Chinese, and Korean respondents. When these respondents are asked if they would vote for the Asian candidate even if he or she is less

qualified, only a quarter answer affirmatively; support is particularly low to that question among the Vietnamese. This response pattern suggests that, for Asian Americans, ethnicity may be an important factor but candidate quality may be an even more important consideration.

Limited data from exit polling done by media and community organizations in several states and cities with concentrated Asian American population show that Asian American voters generally cast more votes for Democratic than Republican candidates at the congressional level. However, in the example of the 1998 election in California where Matt Fong, a former California state treasurer and a Republican of Chinese descent, ran for a U.S. Senate seat against incumbent Senator Barbara Boxer, Asian voters gave Fong the edge in the primary election; those in Southern California also cast more votes for Fong than for Boxer in the general election. This pattern seems to suggest that, when a well-qualified candidate of Asian descent is in the running, the candidate's Asian ethnicity may be more important for Asian voters than his or her partisan affiliation.

Political Party Affiliation

Political party identification is traditionally the most reliable and important measure of political behavior. Extensive research done with American voters as a whole has found party ID to be a strong predictor of their candidate choice, political ideology, and issue position. Targeted research of Asian Americans affirms the utility of the party concept in studying their voting behavior—that is, Republican/Democratic identifiers would be more supportive of Republican/Democratic candidates and the respective party platform; voters with a stronger sense of partisanship are more likely to turn out and vote than those with a weaker sense of partisanship. However, these observations are made only among those Asians who identify with a mainstream American party. The challenge in understanding the political behavior of voting-age Asian Americans is that about half of them do not identify with either of the major parties in the United States. In the 2008 NAAS, 32 percent of all Asian Americans identify themselves as Democrats,

14 percent as Republicans, 19 percent as independents, and 35 percent as nonpartisan. Vietnamese Americans identify with the Republican Party over the Democratic Party by nearly a two-to-one ratio, although the opposite is true for other ethnic groups such as Asian Indian Americans and Chinese Americans.

Asian Americans' lack of identification with the two major American political parties is not a phenomenon unique to the 2008 election. In a post-2000 election survey, 36 percent of PNAAPS respondents identified as Democrats, 14 percent as Republicans, 13 percent as Independents, and 38 percent either did not think of themselves in partisan terms or were uncertain or mum about their party identification. Thus, roughly half of Asian Americans in the survey did not identify with a major political party. Among independents, a higher percentage leaned toward the Democratic Party (32%) than the Republican Party (21%); again, close to half refused to think in partisan terms. Several theories have been extended to explain the tenuous relationship between Asian Americans and political parties: Prior to 1965, racial animosity, fears of economic competition, and political calculations drove both the Democratic and Republican parties to actively campaign to exclude or limit Asian immigration. After 1965, reduced organizational resources, changes in the ballot system, rise of candidate-centered politics, and biases in party recruitment strategies limited the major parties' interest in outreach programs to new immigrant voters.

Among those Asian Americans who identify with a major party, group differences exist in patterns of party affiliation. Japanese, Chinese, and South Asians are most likely to affiliate with the Democratic Party over the Republican Party. Filipinos and Koreans favor the Democratic Party over the Republican Party by a smaller but still two-to-one margin. Only Vietnamese identify themselves as Republicans more frequently than as Democrats, but the difference in percentage term is small. The anticommunist, political refugee background of Vietnamese Americans explains their distinctive partisanship from other Asian Americans. The Democratic Party image of being prominority and proimmigrant explains its popularity among most Asian Americans. Still, more than half of the Vietnamese and Chinese respondents either did

not think in terms of a party affiliation or are not sure with which party they would prefer to identify.

Political Ideology

If half of Asian American adults do not identify with the two major parties in the United States, would they have similar trouble locating themselves in the liberal-conservative continuum of American political ideology? Not according to PNAAPS respondents. Only 10 percent are not sure where to place themselves along the ideological scale; 8 percent class themselves as very liberal, 28 percent as somewhat liberal, 32 percent as middle of the road, 18 percent as somewhat conservative, and 4 percent as very conservative. Whereas over 4 in 10 Chinese and Vietnamese respondents classify themselves as moderate, 6 in 10 among South Asians and 4 in 10 among Filipinos classify themselves as very liberal or somewhat liberal.

Interestingly, in a rare aggregation of Asian American opinion by a leading survey house (Gallup) from its daily tracking data conducted for the entire year of 2009, Asian Americans are found to be the only major racial and ethnic group in the survey that has a higher proportion of respondents who identify themselves as more liberal than conservative (31% versus 21%). Asians are proportionally more likely than (non-Latino) whites, African Americans, and Latinos to be moderate in ideology (46%), too. These statistics seem to account for the greater appeal of the Democratic than the Republican Party among those Asians who identify with a party as well as the large number of voting-age Asians who do not identify with either of the major parties.

Issue Opinion

The liberal-leaning, pro-Democratic orientation of Asian Americans is reflected in their policy opinion. The PNAAPS respondents are asked to express their support for or opposition to a number of public policy issues affecting racial and ethnic minorities and immigrants. On language policy, an overwhelming proportion (73%) of Asian Americans support a government provision of social services and public information to immigrant communities in English as well as in the

immigrants' native language. Fifty-four percent strongly support this provision. Japanese and South Asians are least likely to support bilingual materials, but even here, more than two-thirds are supportive. Close to 9 in 10 Vietnamese support such bilingual materials; at least 7 in 10 Koreans, Filipinos, and Chinese also do. On the issue of setting legal immigration quota, a plurality of Asian Americans (45%) support a quota on legal immigration to the United States, but up to three in 10 either hold no preference on the matter or do not have an opinion. There is a great deal of overlap across ethnic groups on this question, with the exception of Korean Americans: a plurality of Koreans (37%) opposed limits on immigration, with only one in four favoring it.

The issue of affirmative action has been controversial for Asian Americans because of the nonwhite group's relative affluent and mostly foreign-born status. PNAAPS respondents are asked three questions about their opinions on this policy: their general views on affirmative action, support for targeted job training and educational assistance programs, and support for race-based hiring and promotion. In the most general formulation, Asian Americans are overwhelmingly supportive of affirmative action. Of respondents who hold an opinion on affirmative action, 72 percent believe it is a "good thing," whereas only 7 percent believe it is a "bad thing," and 22 percent believe that affirmative action does not affect Asian Americans. Comparing across ethnic groups, nearly all Vietnamese, about eight in 10 Koreans and Chinese, and nearly seven in 10 Filipinos are supportive of affirmative action. Although South Asians and Japanese show lower support, the percentages are still above the 50 percent mark.

One of the most consistent findings in public opinion on affirmative action is that support varies wildly depending on how the question is framed. Asians are not different in this regard. Support for special programs in job training and educational assistance mirrors general support for affirmative action: 62 percent of all respondents favor it, 14 percent oppose it, and 18 percent neither favor nor oppose it. Vietnamese (86 percent) are much more favorable toward such programs than other groups (where levels range from 40 percent to 68 percent). Support for race-based

preferences in employment decisions, however, is drastically lower: only 37 percent of all respondents support such "special preferences," whereas 32 percent oppose them, and 22 percent neither favor nor oppose. Here again, with three out of four in favor of the employment-based preference, Vietnamese preferences are starkly different than those of other Asian groups. Japanese and Chinese are least supportive of such targeted affirmative action, whereas Koreans, Filipinos, and South Asians are more moderate on this question. Advanced research finds that the fluctuation and ethnic differences in policy opinion are mostly explained by differences in ideological orientation.

This essay shows that, although the voting preferences of Asian Americans seem to be less of a puzzle now than before, especially regarding the increasing solidification of the Democratic vote at the presidential level, their opinion on voting for other candidates, development of identification with the two major parties, and issue opinions are still very much in flux and are highly sensitive to survey methods. Changes in the political context such as regarding the political campaign strategy, shape of the economy, immigration reform efforts, and relations with governments in Asia may also bring changes to the existing voting patterns.

Pei-te Lien

See also Political Representation

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W

Wang, An (1920–1990)

An Wang was an applied physicist and technology entrepreneur whose main technical achievement involved magnetic core memory and who founded Wang Laboratories, an important player in the personal computing revolution of the 1970s and 1980s.

Born on February 20, 1920, the second child and the eldest son of a Chinese family in Shanghai, Wang spent his earliest years at his mother's family compound in Shanghai. There he began learning English—when his father was home from his job teaching that subject at a private elementary school in Kun San, a town of about 10,000 people some 30 miles inland—and the traditions of Chinese thought and literature from his maternal grandmother. Then, when he was six years old, the family moved to Kun San, where his father's ancestors had lived for hundreds of years. "I grew up," An Wang remembered, "with a sense that my culture and my family had been around for a very long time."

Wang began his formal schooling at the primary school in Kun San where his father taught. Because the school had no first or second grade, he started in the third grade. Rather than being overwhelmed, Wang not only survived, but prospered. He excelled in mathematics and the sciences. At 13 years old, Wang was admitted to the Shanghai Provincial High School, a very prestigious institution that has been compared to the Bronx High School of Science. Because the school was in Shanghai, Wang had to leave home. Little did Wang or his family know that he would never again live with them for any extended period. In high school, Wang displayed an increasing brilliance in science and especially in math.

Upon graduation from high school, Wang matriculated in electrical engineering at Chiao Tung University, his father's alma mater and one of the most prestigious institutions of higher education in China. He flourished in the more specialized atmosphere of the university and excelled at his chosen field. His time at university was not unmarred by the turmoil wracking the rest of China, however. When the Japanese invaded Shanghai in 1937, Chiao Tung was forced to move to the French concession, an area of the city whose French sovereignty the Japanese respected. Wang spent his remaining college years there. During his spare time, when he wasn't playing ping-pong, he translated articles from American technical magazines like *Popular Mechanics* and *Popular Science*. In addition to helping him improve his English language skills, the pastime acquainted him with the electronics marketplace of the United States, knowledge that would one day come in handy.

Wang graduated first in his class in 1940. He stayed on at Chiao Tung as a teaching assistant for a year, and then took a job with the Chinese Central Radio Corporation. He spent the better part of the next three years in Kweilin, designing and building radio transmitters for Chinese troops until the Japanese army overran the area in 1944. Wang heard about an exam that was being held to choose a small group of engineers to go to the United States for advanced training, and he decided to apply. During the 1940s, the United States and China together operated a series of programs that sent thousands of students to America to prepare them for rebuilding China from the wreckage of war and civil war. Not surprisingly, Wang was among those chosen, and in the spring of 1945, he set course of the United States.

Wang later reminisced that: “When I arrived in the United States I did not have any idea what I would be doing during my two-year visit. But although America was different, it did not present the dangers of the China I had left. It was unlikely that I would be bombed in the United States. I also knew that I would be doing something in a technical field, and science is the same the world over—a language,” he emphasized, “I *could* speak” (Wang 1986, 31).

Wang earned an MS and then a PhD in applied physics from Harvard University in 1948. By the time he earned his PhD, it was clear to him and to other Chinese students in America that the Communists under Mao Zedong were winning the civil war against the Nationalists under Chiang Kai-shek. The community of Chinese students in America was individually and collectively faced with a decision: should they return, as they had intended when they set out? Or should they stay in the United States to await a change in leadership in China? Many did not want to live under a Communist government, and Wang was among those who chose to make America their adopted home. Like many others of the Chinese student community who chose to try and stay, he began casting about for more permanent arrangements in America. Luckily, his search took him no farther than across Harvard’s campus.

Wang applied to work for Harvard’s Computation Laboratory. He was hired by the head of the laboratory, Howard Aiken, a pioneer in the field of computer science. Although Wang’s graduate studies had not dealt with computers (indeed, few courses did in those early days of the computer), he had taken courses on digital electronic circuitry. Soon after he started at the Computation Laboratory, Aiken set him the task of finding some way of magnetically storing and accessing information without mechanical motion. Wang struggled with the problem for a few weeks before hitting upon the solution one day as he was walking through Harvard Yard. “I realized in that moment that it did not matter whether or not I destroyed the information while reading it,” he recalled in his autobiography. “With the information gained from reading the magnetic memory, I could simply rewrite the idea immediately afterward” (Wang 1986, 56–57). “This simple, novel, and elegant concept, applied to all the

magnetic core memories that followed,” one of his biographers noted, “was Wang’s greatest technical achievement” (Weiss 1993, 62).

Wang left the Computation Laboratory in 1951 to start his own company. There were many obstacles in Wang’s way, the most significant of which was a pervasive and long standing American ambivalence toward the Chinese and, indeed, toward Asians in general. Although the Chinese Exclusion Acts had been repealed in 1943, the attitudes that had legalized anti-Asian racism in the first place continued to be an important part of the reality faced by Chinese Americans in their day-to-day lives. Upon meeting a potential landlord face-to-face, for example, Wang was told that the apartment he had planned to rent had suddenly become unavailable. Wang, of course, was not without resources: a Harvard PhD and an expert in an emerging and important field, he possessed a substantial amount of confidence in his own abilities. Recognizing that he had something to sell that others would want to buy, he formally incorporated Wang Laboratories in 1951. He became a naturalized U.S. citizen in 1955.

From a one-man shop that manufactured magnetic core memories and sold them for a few dollars, Wang Laboratories eventually grew to a multinational, multi-billion dollar enterprise. After surviving patent troubles with IBM that dragged out over much of the company’s first decade, Wang Labs entered the market that would make its reputation and began manufacturing business calculators in the mid-1960s. These calculators made Wang a recognizable brand name among office equipment manufacturers, as did the company’s entry into the minicomputer market in the early 1970s. The most important office products that Wang Labs manufactured, however, were its word processors, which were responsible for the height of the company’s profitability during the mid-1980s. Wang, like many before him, was mindful of the responsibilities that wealth and success bring, and donated generously to charitable causes.

In 1986, during the festivities celebrating the Statue of Liberty’s centennial, An Wang received the Medal of Liberty from President Ronald Reagan. The medal was awarded to 12 naturalized citizens who by their achievements had demonstrated the promise embodied in the statue’s welcome. Two years later he was inducted into the National Inventors Hall

of Fame. At his death from cancer in 1990, Wang left behind substantial legacies in the form of philanthropic contributions supporting education, technological innovation, and entrepreneurship.

Benjamin C. Zulueta

See also Chinese Americans

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Wang, Chien-Ming (1980–)

Chien-Ming Wang is the most famous Taiwanese player in Major League Baseball (MLB). He was born in Tainan, a city in southern Taiwan. As a pitcher, he began to draw scouts' attention when he was in college because of his outstanding performance in international baseball games. In 2000, he signed a contract with the New York Yankees for a bonus of \$2.01 million. Although the Yankees did not offer the highest bonus money, Wang joined them because Roger Clemens is his hero. In his minor league years, the Yankees trained him to become a starting pitcher. In 2005, he was promoted to the major leagues by the Yankees and became the third Taiwanese player to reach the majors after Chin-Feng Chen and Chin-hui Tsao. On May 10, 2005, the Yankees defeated the Seattle Mariners and helped Wang earn his first win. He ended his first year in the majors with 8 wins, 5 losses, and an earned run average (ERA) of 4.02.

Wang reached the summit of his career in the 2006 season. He pitched 218 innings, won 19 games, had an ERA of 3.63, and was well-known for his two-seam fastball, which contributed to a lot of groundouts. Along with Johan Santana of the Minnesota Twins,

Wang led the league in wins in 2006. Wang's number of wins set a new MLB record for Asian pitchers. At the end of the season, Wang finished second to Johan Santana in the voting for the Cy Young award. In addition to his outstanding regular season, Wang earned his first win in the Division Series playoffs against the Detroit Tigers. This victory is the first win for Asian pitchers in the playoffs.

Although Wang suffered an injury to his right hamstring at the beginning of the 2007 season, he won 19 games again that year. He finished the year by losing two playoff games in the American League Division Series against the Cleveland Indians. With his splendid performances in 2006 and 2007, Wang became a pillar of the Yankees rotation in 2008. Unfortunately, in a game against the Houston Astros on June 15, Wang injured his right foot running the bases. The diagnosis showed that his right foot suffered a torn Lisfranc ligament and a partial tear of the peroneus longus. Because of these injuries, Wang's season ended early, with 8 wins, 2 losses, and an ERA of 4.07.

The 2009 season was a worse nightmare for Wang. In July, he had right shoulder surgery because of a capsule ligament tear. After the end of the season, the Yankees decided not to tender Wang a contract, and he became a free agent. In 2010, Wang joined the Washington Nationals with a one-year contract for \$2 million. After a year of rehabilitation, Wang finally pitched three innings in two games in the Instructional League and allowed no earned runs.

Aside from his baseball career, Chien-Ming Wang established a fund in 2009 to assist vulnerable children.

Yuchun Kuo

See also Chinese American Baseball; Taiwanese Americans

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Wang, Vera (1949–)

Vera Wang is a Chinese American fashion designer. She is best known for her bridal and formal wear,

which features modern, elegant styles in couture and ready-to-wear, and her custom outfits for elite figure skaters.

Vera Wang was born on June 27, 1949, in New York City to father Cheng Ching Wang and mother Florence Wu, who had fled China during the 1940s. Throughout her childhood, Vera would go with her mother to attend fashion shows in Paris. She studied ballet at the School of American Ballet, but her true love was figure skating, which she started at the age of seven. In 1968, she paired with partner James Stuart and they competed together in the 1968 and 1969 U.S. National Championships. They placed fifth in the 1969 championships.

In 1968, Wang began premedical studies at Sarah Lawrence College. However, she left Sarah Lawrence in her sophomore year, gave up skating, and moved to Paris to date French Olympic skater Patrick Pera. Wang realized she was more interested in art history through classes at the University of Paris-Sorbonne. In 1970, she moved back to New York City and later returned to Sarah Lawrence, where she majored in art history.

During college, Wang worked in the Yves Saint Laurent boutique on Madison Avenue as a sales clerk. When at work, her eye for fashion impressed Frances Patiky Stein, editor at *Vogue*. Wang followed through on Stein's request for her to call after graduation and found a position as an editorial assistant. In her 16 years with *Vogue* magazine, Wang was promoted to fashion editor, senior fashion editor, and European editor for *American Vogue* in Paris, but returned to New York City to again serve as senior fashion editor. In 1985, Wang left to work as design director for Ralph Lauren, where she was responsible for accessories, and some sportswear and lingerie.

In 1989, as Wang planned for her June wedding to Arthur Becker, her unsuccessful search for a wedding dress to suit her taste sparked what was to become a multimillion-dollar fashion empire. After months of searching for a dress that was modern, elegant, simple, and mature, but also pretty and romantic, Wang designed her own dress and hired a seamstress to execute her elaborately beaded design. Though she was not completely satisfied with the final design, she had identified a need within the fashion industry. Vera's father, whom she had repeatedly asked for help

in launching her own fashion label, suggested that she design her own line of bridal gowns and offered to lend her money to start a company.

In September 1990, with business partner Chet Hazzard, Wang opened Vera Wang Bridal House Limited. In addition to offering wedding dresses from established designers, the shop also offered style consultations for brides on jewelry, gloves, shoes, and flowers. By 1994, the boutique was making a profit, and Wang decided to launch a collection of her own designs. Offering ready-to-wear and couture, Vera Wang quickly became known for her gowns in high-quality fabrics with simple lines, high-quality details, and intricate beadwork. She was also one of the first to offer wedding gowns in colors other than white. She has dressed many celebrities, including Mariah Carey, Victoria Beckham, Jennifer Lopez, and Sharon Stone.

Over time, Wang has expanded her business from bridal to include a line for bridesmaids, and more general women's wear. She designed a custom figure-skating costume for Nancy Kerrigan to compete in the 1994 Winter Olympics in Lillehammer and has also designed for Michelle Kwan and Evan Lysacek. Wang has several licensing partnerships, including shoes, a beauty cream, fragrances, fine jewelry, flatware, and home décor. In 2001, she wrote a book, titled *Vera Wang on Weddings*. She has also recently partnered with Kohl's for a diffusion line, Simply Vera.

Katie Furuyama

See also Kwan, Michelle

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Wang, Wayne (1949–)

Wayne Wang, born on January 12, 1949, in Hong Kong, is a Chinese American director, who got his big break by directing *The Joy Luck Club* (1993).

Before that, he made smaller but critically acclaimed films such as *Chan Is Missing* (1982) and *Dim Sum* (1989). He then made more mainstream films such as *Maid in Manhattan* (2002), *Because of Winn-Dixie* (2005), and *Last Holiday* (2006). Wang has been nominated for and won many awards, including the BAFTA Best Foreign Language Film Award and the Sundance Film Festival Grand Jury Prize for *Dim Sum* (1989), and the Berlin International Film Festival Silver Berlin Bear Award and the German Film Best Foreign Film Award for *Smoke* (1995). *Snow Flier and the Secret Fan* (2011), a more recent film, is based on Lisa See's novel about the relationship in nineteenth-century China between two *laotongs*—female friends who swore a lifelong commitment to each other.

Wayne Wang, named after his father's favorite movie star, John Wayne, moved to California in the late 1960s for school. His parents being of Christian background arranged for him to stay with a Quaker family, who turned out to be prominent activists who had frequent meetings with Black Panthers and anti-draft protesters. Wang studied painting, filmmaking, and TV production at the California College of Arts and Crafts in Oakland, California. After graduating from film school, Wang went back to Hong Kong and worked on a popular soap opera but was fired after three months. He then returned to the United States and taught English to Chinese immigrants in San Francisco's Chinatown for the next 4 years. Wang credited this experience as the origin of his first movie, *Chan is Missing*, which is now considered an Asian American independent classic. It stands out as the first Asian America independent theatrical feature ever made in the United States. It was screened extensively outside of the Asian American community and, with a budget of \$20,000, employed an all-Asian cast and crew. It offered an insiders' perspective into San Francisco's Chinatown that is multidimensional and diverse. It challenged the stereotypes about the homogeneity of the Asian America community.

Inspired by Japanese director Yasujiro Ozu, Indian director Satyajit Ray, and British filmmaker David Lean, and his own bilingual and bicultural backgrounds, the themes of Wang's films have focused on a sense of community, identity crisis, loss, family,

and mother-daughter relationships. In his interview with *Asian Week* in 2000, he talked about coming from a disjointed family and having a difficult relationship with his own parents. He has a brother who has schizophrenia and relatives who don't talk to each other. Wang's *Dim Sum* is a typical mother-daughter story, focusing on the generation gap between an assimilated daughter and her tradition-bound widowed mother. *The Joy Luck Club* is a fourfold multigenerational version of the mother-daughter saga, adapted by Amy Tan and Ronald Bass from Tan's bestseller. *Anywhere But Here* (1999), which was based on the same-name novel by Mona Simpson, was about a divorced mother and a young reluctant daughter leaving a small Wisconsin town for Beverly Hills.

Wang's critically acclaimed but less financially successful films include *Smoke* (1995) with Harvey Keitel and William Hurt and the follow-up film, *Blue in the Face* (1995), with Michael J. Fox, Lily Tomlin, and Lou Reed, about a Brooklyn smoke shop and the characters that frequent the store. Wang also made a few films that were not well received by critics or by the public. *Chinese Box* (1997), starring Jeremy Irons and Gong Li, deals with the transition of Hong Kong from British rule back to Chinese control. *The Center of the World* (2001), starring Peter Sarsgaard and Molly Parker, addressed the topic of sex and sexual fantasy in a serious feature film. After feeling depressed and angered by the reaction of critics and the public toward *The Center of the World*, Wang returned to make mainstream movies, such as *Maid in Manhattan* (2002), *Because of Winn-Dixie* (2005), and *Last Holiday* (2006).

Wang released two films in 2008, *A Thousand Years and Good Prayers* and *The Princess of Nebraska*, exploring the evolving immigrant experiences. In *A Thousand Years and Good Prayers*, an aging Chinese widower visits his recently divorced 40-year-old daughter in the United States. They share a common language, but cannot communicate. The father went through the Cultural Revolution and suffered a lot of injustice, and the daughter came to the United States to distance herself from her past in China. *The Princess of Nebraska*, released free on YouTube, tells the story of a younger Chinese immigrant who just arrived in the United States to

figure out what to do, which is embedded with themes of globalization and political transformation. The heroine speaks English and is westernized, and knows little about events such as Tiananmen Square, and is now dealing with the issue of freedom and accompanying responsibilities.

bell hooks said Wang's film *Blue in the Face* "raises questions of ethnicity and identity . . . contests all sorts of construction of pure identity and it reminds the viewer that so much is mixed, and that it's in the mixing and sharing that the magic rises" (hooks 1996, 134). In an article Wang wrote for the Huffington Post in 2011, he said that he would never define his films as men's films or women's films, or Chinese films or American films, but rather films that appeal to an international audience, "as a filmmaker straddling different cultures." In his interview with *Asian Week*, Wang shared that he enjoys being displaced, because it gives him an advantage from looking at things on the inside and outside and not stuck in one perspective. Wayne Wang is married to Cora Miao and lives in San Francisco and New York City.

Yuying Tsong

See also Hollywood, Asian Americans in; Tan, Amy

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War Brides Act (1945)

Enacted on December 28, 1945, this law granted entry to alien spouses and children of American World War II veterans. Several million U.S. military personnel were engaged in combat around the globe for nearly four years, facilitating romantic relationships between them and citizens of foreign countries. According to one estimate, between 75,000 and 100,000 American soldiers married abroad during World War II, mostly in Europe. About 50,000 American war brides were from Great Britain. When the soldiers were called home at the war's end, the U.S. government was pressured by European governments, the soldiers, as well as the Immigration and Naturalization Service to simplify the immigration process and make it easier for family unifications of American soldiers.

The law is one of the least restrictive pieces of immigration legislation in U.S. history; it made possible for all Americans serving in the military to bring their spouses and children to the United States outside the quota. Applicants for entry under the law were only required to have certificates of marriage and documentation of military service records. The law is also gender neutral, providing male and female war veterans the equal privilege to sponsor their family members. Because relatively few American women gained war veteran status, not many were eligible. The law admitted a total of 114,691 women, but only 333 men. The number of male adults who gained entry under the legislation was so small that both the INS and popular parlance categorized all of these spouses as "war brides."

To further assist family unification of the veterans, INS officials went to England and France to expedite the admission process. The U.S. government also provided transportation for war brides, bringing thousands of war brides and their babies from Europe, Australia, or other parts of the world to this country on brides' ships. The war brides received very positive publicity as they landed on American soil.

The War Brides Bill (HR 4857) passed both Houses of Congress with little dispute partly because the lawmakers had mainly European women in mind. No one thought about the impact of the law on Asian immigration. A few thousand American soldiers were

stationed in East Asia, but for only a short period of time. Reports of wartime marriages between American military personnel and citizens of Asian countries were relatively few. Stipulating that only “admissible” aliens would be eligible at a time when most Asians were still excluded, the issue of Asian immigration was apparently not a major concern.

It was unclear whether members of Congress were fully aware of the implication of the law on Chinese immigration. After Chinese exclusion laws were repealed, the Chinese became the only Asian group admissible. The number of American soldiers married Chinese women during the war was indeed small, but because the law did not require the marriage to take place during the war, some Chinese American war veterans went to China after the war, got married, and brought their brides back to the United States. Thousands more Chinese American war veterans had been married before the war. Because of exclusion, however, their wives were unable to join them in the United States. The War Brides Act opened the door for the immigration of longtime wives of Chinese Americans. Most of the Chinese war brides were middle-aged women with children. Their arrival changed the sex ratio of the Chinese American community. With thousands of families settling down in the United States, the Chinese began to build a family centered-ethnic community in their adopted country.

The War Brides Act was amended in 1947 to grant admission to all spouses and children of American World War II veterans regardless of their race and ethnicity.

Xiaojian Zhao

See also Chinese War Brides; Filipina War Brides; Japanese War Brides

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Ward, Hines (1976–)

Hines E. Ward, Jr. is best known as a National Football League (NFL) player who played the position of wide

receiver on the Pittsburgh Steelers from 1998 to 2011. Along with Roman Gabriel, he is one of the most widely recognized Asian American to have played in the NFL. In 2006, he was chosen as the Most Valuable Player for his performance in the Steelers’ Super Bowl XL win and used the publicity he garnered to bring attention to issues of discrimination against mixed-race children. Through a widely publicized tour of South Korea, Ward helped generate a public dialogue around issues of racism and discrimination against foreigners and mixed-race people in an increasingly multicultural nation.

Ward was born on March 8, 1976, in Seoul, South Korea, to a Korean woman, Young-hee Kim and an African American G.I., Hines Ward, Sr. When Ward, Jr. was a year old, the family moved to the Atlanta area and soon after his parents divorced. A family court determined that Young Hee Kim was not fit to raise her son given her financial instability and her inability to speak English. After living with his paternal grandmother until the age of seven, he returned to live with his mother. To support herself and her son, Kim held a number of low-wage jobs, including positions as a janitor and high school cafeteria worker. This narrative of a self-sacrificing Korean mother who displayed the qualities of determination, hard work, and dedication to her son played an important role in cementing his popularity within Korean communities.

After playing quarterback at Forest Park High School in Georgia, Ward attended the University of Georgia where he became a key player as wide receiver, tailback, and quarterback for the Bulldogs. He graduated from the university with a bachelor’s degree in consumer economics in 1998. In that same year, he was a third-round draft pick by the Pittsburgh Steelers. Ward is one of the most decorated players in Pittsburgh Steelers’ history and holds several team records, including the most career receptions and the most 100-yard receiving games. He is also considered one of the top wide receivers in the history of the NFL in career receptions and receiving yards. Ward was named to the Pro Bowl four times between 2001 and 2004. As a wide receiver, he was an aggressive blocker, and his reputation for hard hits resulted in his being named “dirtiest player” in the NFL twice in a *Sports Illustrated* poll of NFL players.

Throughout his career, Ward's biography as a biracial NFL player was widely publicized, and he was often asked to discuss his personal history in interviews. Ward recalled incidents of discrimination by African American children who teased him because he was half-Korean. He also detailed moments of being excluded in the Korean American community because he was black. Through the publicity around his difficulties in fitting into either community, he became a multirace icon. Yet even despite the slights he experienced, Hines laid claim to his Koreanness by embracing his Korean mother and the Korean cultural traditions passed on to him by her. This was especially clear in his personal decision to engage with Korea through a publicity tour and charity work on behalf of biracial children living in the country.

Ward's success in the 2006 Superbowl resulted in overnight celebrity in South Korea. Nearly two months after his MVP win, he traveled with his mother to South Korea for the first time since he moved to the United States. There he met President Roh Moo Hyun and received an honorary Seoul citizenship from Mayor Lee Myung-bak. He also met other biracial children who shared their stories in tearful "hope sharing" meetings. He was swarmed by the Korean media who publicized his story as a Korean immigrant narrative of triumph against the odds. Mainstream Korean media tended to emphasize his Korean heritage by highlighting his Korean mother's influence on his life and career, and diminishing the circumstances of his birth as the son of an African American G.I. Yet his message of inclusiveness for other races, especially those of mixed-race Koreans, played a powerful role in inspiring a proposed law banning discrimination against mixed-race Koreans, and perhaps most consequentially, in helping to spur a public dialogue about multiculturalism in Korea. On April 30, 2006, he proclaimed the establishment of the Hines Ward Helping Hand Foundation in partnership with the Pearl S. Buck Foundation, which he pledged to endow with \$1 million dollars as a way to help mixed-race children.

After the 2006 trip, he has returned to visit Korea on a number of occasions. He also sponsored the visits of groups of mixed-race Koreans to the United States.

In 2010, President Barack Obama appointed him to the President's Advisory Commission of Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders, further promoting his reputation as an advocate for Asian Americans. In that same year, Ward established the Hines Ward Helping Hands Foundation in the Pittsburgh area to aid in childhood literacy and also officially established the Hines Ward Foundation in partnership with the Beautiful Foundation in South Korea. In the spring of 2011, Ward won the highest honor, the "mirror ball" trophy, in the popular television dancing competition, *Dancing with the Stars*. His personal story was again featured during biographical vignettes toward the end of the season, thus extending the reach of his story beyond American football fans. He has demonstrated the ability to navigate commercial media contexts as a telegenic on-screen character and as a radio personality. Furthermore, his willingness to openly share his personal story and to actively seek to improve the lives of those who have experienced racism and discrimination has further cemented his reputation as an advocate for social change.

Rachel M. Joo

See also Korean Americans; Wong, Kailee

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Watsonville Riots (1930)

The 1930 Watsonville Riots against Filipinos have been described as one of California's worst incidents of vigilante terror. They erupted in a time of economic struggles, racial bigotry, and jealousy. During this time of heightened tension, signs of "NO FILIPINOS ALLOWED" greeted Filipinos coming to America. This attitude was also the instigator for the 1930 Watsonville Riots that left a young Filipino, Fermin Tobera, dead from a gunshot through his heart and drew much attention in the United States and in the Philippines.

Filipinos have been coming to America since the beginning of the twentieth century following the Philippine-American War and the colonization of the Philippines. Although many came initially as *pensionados*—government-sponsored students tasked to return to the Philippines as trained colonial government workers—many more came to fill the agricultural labor shortages in Hawaii and on the West Coast because of restrictions placed upon Chinese and Japanese alien workers. Classified as "nationals" because of the Philippines colonial status, young Filipino men could easily be contracted in large numbers to work the plantations of Hawaii and farmlands and orchards of the West Coast. These Filipino men had learned English with colonial American teachers, which made them highly desirable as a cheap workforce.

However, the same racism that previously shut off other Asian immigration became refocused on Filipinos as "little brown monkeys," job stealers, and sexual threats to white women.

On the night of October 24, 1929, the day of the Wall Street Crash, Filipinos were harassed as they escorted white girls at a street carnival in Exeter, California, southeast of Fresno. A fight broke out and a white man was stabbed, and a riot ensued in which 300 vigilante whites, led by Chief of Police C. E. Joyner, stormed a Filipino camp and stoned and clubbed about 50 Filipinos. About 200 Filipinos were driven out of the district. This event occurred after white workers were displaced by Filipinos in harvesting Kadota figs and Emperor grapes in Exeter.

The Northern Monterey Chamber of Commerce also adopted anti-Filipino resolutions, proclaiming that Filipinos were undesirable, depressed the wage scale of other nationalities, possessed unhealthy habits, and brought in disease.

To add more fuel to the fire, according to the *Salinas Index-Journal*, early on the morning of December 2, 1929, police raided the room of Perfecto Bandalan, 25, and found in the darkness two scantily attired white girls, Bertha and Esther Schmick, ages 10 and 16. To a shocked public it was announced in court that the father of the girls had wanted to sell Esther to Bandalan for \$500. Subsequently, he charged that his wife had urged the deal so that she could "live on easy street." In the period just prior to the riots this case was a constant topic in the local papers. A photo also appeared on the front page of the *Watsonville Evening Pajaronian* of Bandalan embracing Esther.

Between December 8, 1929 and January 10, 1930, a series of Filipino run-ins with the law were reported in the local press, including violent brawls over women, hit-and-run driving, and sexual assault; in addition, the Schmick/Bandalan case continued to attract notoriety. By themselves all these articles were trivial, but viewed together they added to the heightened tension.

The first riot in Watsonville took place in a pool hall on New Year's Eve 1929 when a group of Filipinos boldly escorted white girls to a dance. The Pinoys were beaten down and stoned. As time went on, the string of riots became more intense and more violent. Men were beaten, shots fired, and farm bunkhouses were burned down.

The *Watsonville Evening Pajaronian* printed a resolution authored by Judge D. W. Rohrbach on January 10, which included the following quotes:

...if the present state of affairs continues ... there will be 40,000 half-breeds in the State of California before ten years have passed. ... We do not advocate violence but ... the United States should send those unwelcome inhabitants from our shores ... I hope that we overcome this menace to our general welfare. ... (cited in Akers Chacon and Davis 2006: 41).

Rohrbach further stated: “The worst part of his being here is [the Filipino’s] mixing with young white girls from 13 to 17. He gives them silk underwear and makes them pregnant and crowds Whites out of jobs in the bargain” (cited in Akers Chacon and Davis 2006: 41).

On January 11, 1930, a small Filipino social club leased the Palm Beach dance hall from William Locke-Paddon. The thought of Filipinos dancing with white women further angered Watsonville citizens. On January 20, 1930, things took a turn for the worse when 200 angry white citizens came to the Filipino club to disrupt the dance and take away nine white women who were inside the tax-dance hall. They came with clubs and weapons and attempted to burn down the dance hall, but were stopped by its white owner, William Locke-Paddon and his brother Edward, who had fired shotguns loaded with salt to repel the mob. Local authorities used tear gas to break up the riot. Two men were hit and severely injured.

On Wednesday, January 22, the riot had reached its peak with mobs of hundreds that dragged Filipinos out of their homes, whipped and beat them, and threw some of the defenseless Filipinos off the Pajaro River Bridge. These mobs attacked Filipinos at the Storm and Detlefsen ranches; the facilities of a Chinese-owned apple-dryer that employed Filipinos was demolished, and volleys of shots were reportedly fired into a Filipino home on Ford Street. At Riberál’s labor camp, 22 Filipinos were dragged out and beaten. The vigilante mob had leaders and moved with “military-like” precision. The police in Watsonville, led by Sheriff Nick Sinnott, rounded up as many Filipinos as they could rescue and guarded them in the City Council’s chamber and Monterey County Sheriff Carl Abbott tried to hold the Pajaro side of the river to prevent the spread of violence.

The violence culminated in the morning of January 23, when Fermin Tobera, a 22-year-old Filipino worker, was shot and killed in his sleep as bullets were fired into the Murphy Ranch bunkhouse on San Juan Road in Watsonville. Eleven other Pinoys in the bunkhouse escaped injury and Tobera was not discovered to be dead until dawn arrived.

As Tobera was laid out at Mehl Undertakers, Judge D. W. Rohrbach deplored the murder, but

maintained his stand that the Filipinos were only 10 years removed from savagery and should not be part of the nation. Sheriff Sinnott arrested seven whites for the murder, one of whom had left his shoe at the scene of the crime. Unexpectedly, they were not unemployed “roughs” or “lettuce tramps”; in fact, several were the sons of respected members of the community. All charges were eventually dropped; the fact that the presiding judge, Rohrbach, had received a threat to free those who faced charges, or that prominent Filipino leaders, anxious to placate the white community, pleaded for leniency may have influenced the court’s decision.

There were protests from the Philippines and the resident commissioner spoke before Congress to deplore the violence against Filipinos. The body of Fermin Tobera, now viewed as a martyr, was sent back to Manila, where it lay in state in the capitol. He had become a symbol for the independence movement of his country.

In the aftermath, although tempers subsided in Watsonville, five days later, on January 28, 1930, another camp of Filipino workers was dynamited in Stockton as the workers slept in their bunks. In August 1930, a bundle of dynamite was also thrown in the camp of Filipinos near Reedley to protest the presence of 500 Filipinos in the region. Minor riots and clashes occurred in Filipino communities in San Jose and San Francisco.

In 2011, the California state government formally apologized to Filipinos and Filipino Americans in an Assembly resolution authored by Assemblyman Luis Alejo, D-Salinas:

Filipino Americans have a proud history of hard work and perseverance, California, however, does not have as proud a history regarding its treatment of Filipino Americans. For these past injustices, it’s time that we recognize the pain and suffering this community has endured. (Jones 2011)

Florante Ibanez

See also Filipino American National Historical Society (FANHS); Filipino Americans; Tacoma Anti-Chinese Riot of 1885

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Wei Min She (WMS)

The Wei Min She (WMS), or "Organization for the People," was an anti-imperialist Marxist-Leninist-Maoist organization founded in 1972 by students, activists, and community members from the Asian Cultural Center (ACC) and Everybody's Bookstore in San Francisco Chinatown. Its political, theoretical, and activist roots were intimately connected to the student activism that gave birth to the ACC and Everybody's Bookstore.

In December 1969, approximately a dozen students and alumni from the Asian American Political Alliance student group at the University of California, Berkeley, founded the Asian Cultural Center and Everybody's Bookstore in the International Hotel in San Francisco Chinatown. These activists were heavily influenced by the multiracial, student-led struggles of the Third World Liberation Front to establish Ethnic Studies at San Francisco State University and the Third World Strike at Berkeley, the radical praxis of the Black Panther Party, and the antiwar movement to end United States imperialism in Southeast Asia. Committed to extending their politics beyond the walls of elitist universities, these students devoted themselves to "serve the people" by building a community-based, anti-imperialist, and anticapitalist revolutionary movement. They created an intergenerational space where young and old Asian Americans could dialogue, play ping pong, discuss politics, read Marxist literature and Chinese-language newspapers, and watch films and documentaries about the revolutionary resistance

occurring in the United States, Asia, Africa, and South America.

Students, activists, working class youth, and community members engaged in numerous dialogues about the most pressing issues facing local residents. Their observations developed into a radical political platform that demanded access to meaningful education, housing, health care, employment, education, and cultural preservation and integrity. In 1972, they formed the WMS as a disciplined revolutionary organization that not only directly addressed these issues but saw them as symptomatic of the ills of capitalism, imperialism, and the exploitation of working people everywhere.

Inspired by the Chinese Cultural Revolution, WMS arose from the conditions and experiences of its membership and their commitment to revolutionary theoretical and practical development. The WMS engaged in a wide range of community organizing and labor campaigns that reflected their belief that monopoly capitalism could be toppled by a revolution led by the multinational working class. Their main areas of focus were labor, education, human rights, improved United States-China relations, and gender justice. They supported workers in the restaurant, electronic, garment, and agricultural industries; bolstered student organizing for ethnic studies; and organized workshops, classes, and forums to raise the collective consciousness around United States foreign policy, educational access, employment, gender discrimination, women's health, and access to health and childcare.

The WMS strongly supported the campaigns of the Jung Sai garment workers and Lee Mah electronic workers for fair wages and working conditions. The organization ran a rigorous campaign of daily picket lines, weekly actions, car caravans, and successfully recruited a multiracial constituency of African American, Latino, and white allies who supported the cause. Critical of the mainstream labor movement, the WMS attempted to offer a more radical alternative to unions by organizing workers into an independent, multinational vanguard organization.

In addition to their activities, the WMS published the *Wei Min Bao*, a bimonthly, bilingual Chinese and English newspaper that articulated their

anti-imperialist critique of U.S. society. The newspaper complemented the polemical discussions about Marxist ideology, women's issues, and class struggle that occurred in regularly held WMS study groups. They distributed the *Wei Min Bao* and other political pamphlets throughout the community, even inserting them into the bags of food that were distributed in their Chinatown Food Program, which served hundreds of families per month.

At each moment, their grassroots work was consciously and explicitly linked to their critiques of monopoly capitalism, and it sharpened their stance on the hotly debated national question. Although they recognized the important role of oppressed nationalities, or people of color, the WMS believed that the international, multinational working class was the vanguard party that would end the oppression caused by global capitalism. This political position brought them in direct conflict with other Marxist-Leninist-Maoist organizations, most notably the I Wor Kuen (IWK), another influential Asian American revolutionary organization.

The WMS was located in the International Hotel, which also housed the IWK and the anti-imperialist Katipunan ng Demokratikng Pilipino (Union of Democratic Filipinos) whose organizers worked closely with the elderly Filipino and Chinese residents to fight the eviction when the city of San Francisco attempted to demolish the low-cost residential hotel for urban renewal. Each organization was heavily involved, albeit in disparate ways, in the Hotel's landmark housing struggle. The steady grassroots organizing, flurry of political and cultural activity, and grueling nine-year anti-eviction struggle rendered the International Hotel a landmark site for Asian American revolutionary politics and praxis. In 1975, the WMS merged with the Revolutionary Union and formed the Revolutionary Communist Party.

May C. Fu

See also I Wor Kuen

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Williams, Sunita L. (1965–)

Sunita L. Williams is a National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) astronaut and captain in the United States Navy. An American of multiethnic ancestry, Williams is the second woman of Indian ancestry and the second astronaut of Slovenian ancestry to fly in space. She is also the first person to run a marathon in space. Williams holds the world record as the woman with the longest space flight.

Williams was born on September 19, 1965, in Euclid, Ohio, to parents Dr. Deepak and Mrs. Bonnie Pandya, who are of Indian and Slovenian ancestry, respectively. She grew up in Needham, Massachusetts. Sunita is married to Michael Williams, a federal police officer.

After earning a BS in physical science from the U.S. Naval Academy in 1987, Williams was commissioned as an ensign in the U.S. Navy. In her naval career, she has primarily worked as an aviator and test pilot. For a brief stint, Williams was designated as basic diving officer. She later served as a naval aviator and in Helicopter Combat Support Squadron 8. In the build-up to and the aftermath of the Persian Gulf War, Williams deployed to the Mediterranean, Red Sea, and the Persian Gulf for Operation Desert Shield and Operation Provide Comfort. In 1992, she was the officer-in-charge of a detachment participating in relief efforts for Hurricane Andrew in Miami, Florida. In 1993, Williams attended the United States Naval Test Pilot School, where following graduation, she flew test flights, and later became an instructor and school safety officer. She was deployed on board the USS *Saipan* as aircraft handler and assistant air boss when she was selected for astronaut training.

Williams reported for astronaut training in 1998. After training and evaluation, she worked in Moscow in collaboration with the Russian Space Agency on the Russian contribution to the International Space Station (ISS) and with the first crew to the ISS. In her NASA career, Williams has been assigned to the Robotics branch and participated on projects with the Robotic Arm and the Special Purpose Dexterous Manipulator, and worked as the deputy chief of the Astronaut Office. Williams was also a crewmember for the NASA Extreme Environment Mission Operations (NEEMO) 2, during which the aquanaut crew lived underwater for nine days as part of simulation that replicated some of the difficult conditions of living in space.

Williams broke several space records during her assignment as flight engineer on board the ISS from 2006 to 2007. On December 9, 2006, she launched as a crewmember of the Space Transportation System (STS)-116, which docked with the ISS on December 11, 2006. As flight engineer for Expedition 14, after a series of spacewalks ending on February 8, 2007, Sunita Williams held the world record as the woman with the most number of spacewalks and with the longest time spent in space walks, with four Extravehicular Activities (EVAs) totaling 29 hours and 17 minutes. These records were broken later in 2007 by Peggy Whitson. Williams returned to earth on STS-117, which landed at Edwards Air Force Base on June 22, 2007, after logging 195 days in space. On September 17, 2012, Williams became the second woman to serve as a commander of the International Space Station.

Katie Furuyama

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Wong, Anna May (1905–1961)

Anna May Wong was the preeminent Chinese American actor of her time with work that spanned silent cinema, sound films, television, and live performances in the United States and in Europe. Wong fashioned a career for herself in entertainment at a time when possibilities for Asian American women were very limited. Many of the roles she played were stereotypical representations of Asian women, which were often critiqued, including by Wong herself, but she insisted upon a distinction between her roles and the realities of Chinese American community life. She was also vocal in her dissatisfaction with Hollywood's images of the Chinese. In her lifetime she achieved an unprecedented level of international fame and celebrity, and today she is recognized as a pioneer in Asian American screen history.

Wong, whose Chinese name was Wong Liu Tsong, which she translated as "Frosted Yellow Willow," was born in Los Angeles, California on January 3, 1905, to Wong Sam Sing and Lee Gon Toy, who was Wong Sam Sing's second wife. Her first acting experience was as an uncredited extra in the film *The Red Lantern* (1919). Wong was given her first starring role in the film *Toll of the Sea* (1922), known within the history of cinema for its early use of Technicolor Process 2. The film's story is a version of the Madame Butterfly narrative, set in China instead of Japan, and featuring Wong as Lotus Flower, a young Chinese woman who falls in love with, and then is abandoned by, a white American man named Allan Carver. *Toll of the Sea* was a financially successful production and Wong's performance in it was well reviewed.

The role that brought Wong to national and international attention was that of a Mongol slave girl in the big-budget spectacle *The Thief of Baghdad*

(1924), starring Douglas Fairbanks. Wong, as a deceptive and manipulative character clad in revealing and exotic costumes, captivated audiences and critics from around the world. The notoriety Wong gained from her turn in *The Thief of Baghdad* led to greater publicity and fame, yet the roles that she was offered remained those of minor supporting characters, often of a stereotypical nature. Frustrated with Hollywood, Wong sailed for Europe in 1928 where she made several films and was warmly received by fans and critics. She spent time in Berlin, Paris, and London, where she made *Piccadilly* (1929), one of her most compelling films. She plays Shosho, a kitchen maid who is spotted dancing by a club owner desperate to find a new act. Shosho's elevation to star attraction at the club, and her troubled affair with the club owner, showcases a complex, engaging, and empowered female character despite her death at the film's conclusion.



Anna May Wong, the first Chinese American movie star. (Library of Congress)

In London, Wong made her theatrical debut in *The Circle of Chalk*, an adaptation of a classical Chinese play, with a young Laurence Olivier in a supporting role. She also made the transition to sound films, most notably playing the lead role in the English, German, and French versions of the same film, for which she learned dialogue in all three languages. Wong's success in Europe elevated her reputation in the United States, and upon her return in the fall of 1930 she played a role in the Broadway production of the play *On the Spot*, and she was offered a long-term deal with Paramount.

Wong returned to Los Angeles in the summer of 1931. Her first role in her new contract with Paramount was as Princess Ling Moy in *Daughter of the Dragon* (1931), a film adaptation of the Sax Rohmer novel *Daughter of Fu Manchu* with Warner Oland in the lead role. Later in 1931 production began on *Shanghai Express*, Wong's most well-known film. Directed by Josef von Sternberg and starring Marlene Dietrich as Shanghai Lily, the film follows the travails of a group of travelers on a train bound for Shanghai from Peking. Wong plays Hui Fei, a mysterious Chinese woman with dubious morals, who travels in the same car as Shanghai Lily. The film was a commercial success, but Chinese officials banned the film for its negative portrayals of the Chinese.

Despite the popularity of *Shanghai Express*, the roles Wong was offered by Hollywood did not improve, and she spent the early 1930s traveling to New York City and to Europe, making films primarily in Britain. Perhaps the biggest professional disappointment of her life came when she was not considered for the role of O-Lan in Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer's cinematic adaptation of Pearl Buck's novel *The Good Earth* (1937). The role was given to Luise Rainer who won an Academy Award for her work in the film.

In 1936, Wong made a highly publicized visit to China, ostensibly to see her father and several of her siblings who had relocated there. "Newsreel" Wong (no relation) recorded her travels on film, she wrote regular dispatches about her experiences, and reporters interviewed her at each stop. She spent most of her time in Shanghai though she also visited Chang On, the small village in Guangdong Province where her

father then resided, as well as other cities in China. Her reception by the Chinese was mixed at best. Although she was fêted as a celebrity, her history of playing stereotypical characters was strongly criticized and government officials as well as journalists did not always treat her with kindness.

After her return from China, her film roles were of a more positive nature. She starred in *Daughter of Shanghai* (1937) with Korean American actor Philip Ahn as the male lead, making them the earliest Asian American onscreen couple. She also became heavily involved in Chinese war relief efforts, auctioning off her gowns to raise money and donating her salary from two films, *Bombs Over Burma* (1942) and *Lady from Chungking* (1942), to United China Relief.

In the 1950s Wong made the transition to television. Most notably, in 1951 she starred in her own television series *The Gallery of Madame Liu-Tsong* about the owner of an art gallery who was also involved in detective work. On the eve of her death in 1961 from a heart attack, she was scheduled to play Auntie Liang in *Flower Drum Song* (1961), a role that was eventually taken by Juanita Hall. The years around the centennial of Anna May Wong's birth occasioned a well-deserved reconsideration of her career in the form of retrospectives of her films, two full-length biographies, as well as a documentary film.

Jeanette Roan

See also Chinese Americans; Hollywood, Asian Americans in

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Wong, Elizabeth (1958–)

Born in Southern California, Elizabeth Wong came from first-generation Chinese working-class roots. Her parents came from mainland China. After obtaining a degree in journalism from the University of Southern California, Los Angeles, Wong worked as a field producer at KNXT-TV Channel Two News and also as a journalist for the *San Diego Tribune* and the *Hartford Courant*. Her need to "express who I am" prompted Wong to turn to playwriting. Her personal experiences shaped her as a playwright. The negative portrayals of Asians in the media influenced Wong to look at herself as a person, a writer, and an Asian American. Theater seemed a logical outlet. She was influenced by Wakako Yamauchi's play *And The Soul Shall Dance* and later by David Henry Hwang's *FOB*.

It was when she was at New York University, Tisch School of the Arts, that she started work on her play *Letters to a Student Revolutionary* (1991).

In 1984 Wong visited China with her parents. Upon returning home, she established a letter writing correspondence with a young Chinese woman. Five years later in 1989 when Tiananmen Square shocked the world, Wong reexamined the old correspondence and began work on *Letters to a Student Revolutionary*. The play examined the concept of freedom as seen through the eyes of these young Chinese women from culturally different backgrounds. The play, staged by the Pan Asian Repertory Theatre, premiered Off Broadway in 1991.

Wong's next play, *Kimchee & Chitlins* (1994), premiered at the Victory Gardens in Chicago and explored the clash of cultures between Korean Americans and African Americans in New York City. It was staged by the West Coast Ensemble Theater in 1994. The play proved timely and relevant and extended its issues far beyond the confines of New York City.

China Doll (An Imagined Life of an American Actress) (1996) premiered at the Northwest Asian American Theatre, Seattle and traced the life of Anna May Wong. She was the first Asian American star in Hollywood and a film personality far ahead of her time. The play questioned the racism inherent in the

film industry. It examined through the characters the cultural and social issues of the time and sought to dispel misconceptions about women in general and women of color in the arts.

Wong has also written several children's plays targeting young audiences:

- *Amazing Adventures of the Marvelous Monkey King* (1991) (Denver Center for the Performing Arts)
- *Prometheus* (1999) (Denver Center for the Performing Arts)
- *The Happy Prince, Musical/Opera* (2003) was commissioned by the Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts and performed at the Prelude Festival, Washington D.C. in 2003.
- *Ibong Adarna: A Fabulous Filipino Folktale* (2006), Mu Performing Arts
- *The Magical Bird: A Fabulous Filipino Folktale, a Musical* (2007), Honolulu Theatre for Youth.
- *Dating and Mating in Modern Times* (2003) premiered at the Theatre Emory in Atlanta. Eleven women with 11 stories form the basis of this play, as it examines the funny and frustrating side of love and sex.
- *Quickdraw Grandma* (2004) and *Love Life of a Chinese Eunuch* (2004)

Currently Wong has adapted *Hans Christian Andersen's Goloshes of Fortune* (2005), which takes a modern look at what makes people happy. This adaptation commemorated the 200th anniversary of Andersen's birth.

Wong is also a part of *The DNA Trail*. Along with Jamil Khoury, Shishir Kurup, Philip Kan Gotanda, Velina Hasu Houston, David Henry Hwang, and Lina Patel, she took a DNA test, following which the playwrights examined ancestry and identity. Wong's contribution was *Finding Your Inner Zulu*. The show premiered in Chicago in March 2010.

She has been commissioned by the Silk Road Theatre Project to work on *Dragon/Sky*, a new play for family audiences dealing with astronomers, legends, and videogames. She also worked as a staff writer for

the ABC television comedy series *All American Girl* featuring Margaret Cho.

Elizabeth Wong's prodigious output of work in the theater has led to her winning the following awards:

- Jane Chambers Playwriting Award, 1998.
- Kennedy Center For The Performing Arts, Lazarus New Play Prize for Young Audiences, 1999.
- The Mark David Cohen National Playwriting Award, 2001.
- Tanne Foundation award for artistic achievement in 2007.
- Outstanding Playwrights Award, 2009, Asian Pacific American Friends of Theatre.

The Elizabeth Wong papers are now housed in the California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives (CEMA) at the University of California, Santa Barbara.

Ambi Harsha

See also Cho, Margaret; Gotanda, Philip Kan; Houston, Velina Hasu; Hwang, David Henry; Wong, Anna May

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Wong, Jade Snow (1922–2006)

Jade Snow Wong is best known for her autobiographical novel *Fifth Chinese Daughter* (1950). First appearing as an autobiographical sketch in the California magazine *Common Ground* in 1945, *Fifth Chinese Daughter* was the most widely read book by a second-generation Chinese until the publication of Maxine Hong Kingston's *The Woman Warrior* in 1976. Recommended by critics as "required reading for all those who are interested in the Sino-American experience," the autobiography was a selection of both the Book-of-the-Month Club and the Christian Herald Family Book Club in 1950 and awarded the Commonwealth Club's Medal for Non-Fiction in 1951. It has

gone through many reprintings since then, has been translated into a dozen foreign languages, and was made into a PBS special for the U.S. Bicentennial. Because of her accomplishments, Wong is often deemed a symbol of the success Asian women have achieved in the United States. Honors such as the Outstanding Art Achievement Award and the Woman Warrior Award for Outstanding Contribution in Literature made her one of the best-known Asian women in America in her lifetime. During the 1976 U.S. Bicentennial, Wong was named the person who best represented the Asian American community.

Wong was the fifth daughter of Hong and Hing Kwai Wong. Her parents were immigrants from Guangdong, China, and they owned a small garment workshop in San Francisco's Chinatown. As a younger daughter growing up in a traditional Chinese family, Wong took care of the housework from the age of 14, cooking, laundering, and buying the groceries for a family of seven. Because her parents were neither able nor willing to support her ambition for higher education, Wong had to work as a housemaid for white American families when attending San Francisco Junior College and then Mills College.

Narrated in the third person, *Fifth Chinese Daughter* vividly captures the life, aspirations, and triumphs of Wong's first 24 years and reveals the lives of second-generation Chinese who came of age around World War II. For the most part, the autobiography concerns the common aspects of the Chinese American community. Wong's lucid and carefully researched account of daily activities in San Francisco's Chinatown deftly outlines a fascinating picture. She examines in detail such varied but typical experiences as mounting a traditional Chinese wedding, treating people with herbal medicine, and staging an annual funeral service.

Wong also devotes a large portion of her autobiography to discussing Chinese food because she finds the topic to be among the most popular aspects of Chinese life. To satisfy the curiosity of readers, Wong describes the details that make Chinese food unique and even includes recipes for such popular dishes as sweet and sour pineapple pork and "Fuyoon (Furong) Eggs." Considering the soaring interest in Chinese food in American society since the World War II era, this

treatment of food has surely made Wong's work more attractive to non-Chinese readers.

More significantly, Wong has demonstrated a strong desire to acquire social prominence in her autobiography. In her family and in the Chinatown community, Wong was repeatedly advised, kindly or contemptuously, to be a modest daughter who would rather stay at home than be ambitious and mix with people in the larger society. However, Wong made up her mind early that she would strive to win respect and honor as a solemn reply to male chauvinism in Chinatown life. In this sense, Wong's pursuit of success is an open identification with mainstream American culture rather than traditional Chinese guidelines.

The vital quality of Wong's literary achievement derives from many aspects. Her ability to appreciate the style of simplicity as an art in writing an autobiography is an important element. The even-tempered, calm, yet lyric narration resembles that of Richard Wright's in *Black Boy*, and it is illustrated in Wong's refreshing, personal approach to Chinese American life throughout the book. Her use of third-person narrative is also a key factor in the book's popularity.

As the first American-born Chinese author who gained international popularity, Wong's greatest accomplishment is her successful portrayal of the life of a second-generation Chinese woman who realized her American dream and achieved it through self-struggle. Despite a tendency to filter her experience to satisfy the reading public, Wong considers issues indigenous to her historical and cultural milieu and has created a new image of Chinese American women. Although modest in tone, the book reveals the inner fire of a determined second-generation Chinese woman who overcame all difficulties, fought prejudice, both within and outside the Chinese community, and achieved ultimate triumph. It is a serious and engaging account of how an American-born Chinese daughter grew up during a transitional period in Asian American history. For this reason, the book has been highly praised by most Asian American readers and critics.

Furthermore, *Fifth Chinese Daughter* paved the way for a new generation of Chinese American writers. Praising Wong as the "Mother of Chinese

American literature,” Maxine Hong Kingston recalls that Wong was the only Chinese American author she had read before writing *The Woman Warrior*. It was *Fifth Chinese Daughter* that inspired Kingston to start a literary career: “I found Jade Snow Wong’s book myself in the library,” she recalls, “and [I] was flabbergasted, helped, inspired, affirmed, made possible as a writer—for the first time I saw a person who looked like me as a heroine of a book, as a maker of a book.”

Wong’s other writing includes “Puritans from the Orient,” a chapter she wrote for *The Immigrant Experience* (1971) and her memoir *No Chinese Stranger* (1975). In addition, she is a celebrated ceramist. Her pottery has won numerous awards, been put into various exhibitions, and is part of the collections of the Metropolitan Museum of Arts and the Smithsonian Institution as well as more than 20 museums throughout America and the world.

Xiao-huang Yin

See also Kingston, Maxine Hong

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Wong, Kailee (1976–)

Kailee Wong was born on May 23, 1976, in Eugene, Oregon. Wong is best known for his nine-year career in the National Football League (NFL) as a member of the Minnesota Vikings and then the Houston Texans from 1998 to 2006. Warner Wong, his father, is half Chinese and half Hawaiian, and his mother, Linda Wong, is Caucasian. In 2000, Kailee and his mother cowrote, *Mom’s Pocketguide to Watching Football*.

During his collegiate football career at Stanford University, Wong was selected First Team All PAC-10 and an Honorable Mention All-American during

his Junior Year in 1996. In 1998, he graduated with a BS in economics and the Minnesota Vikings selected him in the second round (51st overall) of the NFL draft. He played there for four seasons before signing with the expansion franchise Houston Texans in 2002. Wong held the Houston Texans sack record until Mario Williams broke it in 2007. Wong and the Texans reached an impasse when the team decided to go with younger players; however, Wong did not want to take a backup role and decided to retire.

Wong began his post-football career building on his economics degree by completing programs in executive educations at Harvard Business School; The Wharton School of Business, the University of Pennsylvania; and then returned to his alma mater, Stanford. In 2005, he cofounded Cardinal Management, a commercial real estate firm based in Houston. In August 2011, Wong left Cardinal Management to join ION Energy Group, LLC as a derivatives broker.

Terumi Rafferty-Osaki

See also Ward, Hines

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Wong, Sau-ling

Sau-ling Cynthia Wong is a literary critic specializing in Asian American literature and a professor emeritus of Ethnic and Asian American at the University of California, Berkeley. Her areas of expertise include

Anglophone and Sinophone Chinese American literatures; the Chinese diaspora; Asian American literature; autobiography; immigrant writing and film; transnational and comparative reception studies; transnationality, globalization, and mobility; gender and sexuality; and canon formation. Wong has written and edited numerous books on Asian American literature; she is considered one of the field's leading scholars, and is author of *Reading Asian American Literature: From Necessity to Extravagance* (1993). Her other publications include *Language Diversity: Problem or Resource? A Social and Educational Perspective on Language Minorities in the United States* (1988), *Maxine Hong Kingston's The Woman Warrior: A Casebook* (1999), *New Immigrants in the United States: Readings for Second Language Educators* (2000), *A Resource Guide to Asian American Literature* (2001), and *AsianAmerican.net: Ethnicity, Nationalism, and Cyberspace* (2003).

Born and raised in Hong Kong, Wong immigrated to the United States in 1968 to study at Indiana University, where she graduated summa cum laude with her BA in English and American Literature in 1970. She continued on to Stanford University, where she received her PhD in British and American Literature in 1978. She also received an MA in Teaching English as a Second/Foreign Language from San Francisco State University in 1980. In 1981, she joined the faculty at University of California, Berkeley. Her work has been honored by the *Journal of Transnational American Studies*, which released a special issue in 2010 commemorating her retirement. She is also the recipient of the Asian Alumni Association's Distinguished Asian Pacific American Alumni Award from Indiana University (2010).

Reading Asian American Literature: From Necessity to Extravagance (1993) is a groundbreaking work that establishes a coherent Asian American literary tradition by examining the intertextuality of Asian American works that deploy similar motifs. *Reading Asian American Literature* is most invested in "how mutual allusion, qualification, complication, and transmutation can be discovered between texts regarded as Asian American" (11). She identifies "Necessity" and "Extravagance" as two modes of existence and operation through which the four intertextual motifs are

mediated: food and eating; the Doppelgänger; mobility; and artistic play. She demonstrates that a rich interaction occurs between cultures, ethnicities, genders, classes, and generations—and their negotiations of "Asian," "America," and all that falls in between. The book was awarded the 1994 Outstanding Book Award in Cultural Studies by the Association for Asian American Studies.

Wong has also worked to promote transnational modes of exchange and reading, and has become an important figure in biculturalism and bilingual studies; she has also engaged in dialogues that challenge the tradition of limiting Asian American studies to the physical boundaries of the United States, as well as calling for the "denationalization" of Asian American and diasporic subjects.

Krystal Shyun Yang

See also Chinese Americans

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Russell Leong's Phoenix Eyes." *Amerasia Journal*. 37(1): 85–112.

Wong, Shawn (1949–)

Shawn Wong is a pioneer of Asian American studies and literature, an author, and a professor of English at the University of Washington. He previously served as the director of the Creative Writing Program (1995–1997), chair of the English Department (1997–2002), and director of the University Honors Program (2003–2006). Wong is the author of two novels, *Homebase* (1979) and *American Knees* (1995). He has also taught at Universität Tübingen, Jean Moulin Université, and at the University of Washington Rome Center. Wong is best known for his work with the Combined Asian-American Resource Project (CARP), which he cofounded, and the pioneering anthologies, *Aiiieeeee! An Anthology of Asian-American Writers* (1974) and *The Big Aiiieeeee!* (1991). He has edited several anthologies, including *Literature* (1991), *Literary Mosaic: Asian American Literature* (1995), *Asian Diasporas: Cultures, Identities, Representations* (2004), and *Asian American Literature: A Brief Introduction and Anthology* (2006). He is also coeditor of *Before Columbus Foundation Fiction/Poetry Anthology: Selections from the American Book Awards, 1980–1990* (1992). He currently serves as a consulting and contributing editor for *Transtext(e)s/Transcultures*, a transnational French/Chinese journal jointly published by Université Jean Moulin and University of Henan.

Wong completed his BA in English at UC Berkeley in 1971 and his MA in creative writing at San Francisco State University in 1974. He is the recipient of multiple awards, including a Rockefeller Foundation residency in Italy, the National Endowment for the Arts Creative Writing Fellowship, and a first prize from the Society of Professional Journalists in the humor category in 1997. Wong was featured in two PBS documentaries, "Shattering the Silences" (1997) and "Becoming American: The Chinese Experience" (2003).

Born in Oakland, California, in 1949, Wong grew up in Berkeley and spent time in the Sierra Nevada Mountains and the Pacific Islands. From a young age, Wong had a passion and talent for writing. By the time

he was 19, he decided that he would pursue a career as a professional writer. His career choices would eventually lead him to teach the second Asian American literature course offered in the United States at Mills College when he was still working on his coursework for his MA. This part-time faculty position eventually laid the foundation for Wong to become part of the pioneering group of Asian American male writers and academics including Jeffery Paul Chan, Frank Chin, and Lawson Fusao Inada, who would cofound the Combined Asian-American Resources Project (CARP) with the intention of searching for and reviving works of Asian American writers.

CARP not only organized the first Asian American writers' conference in 1975, it also collaborated to publish two landmark anthologies of Asian American literature, *Aiiieeeee!* in 1974 and *The Big Aiiieeeee!* in 1991. In the preface to *Aiiieeeee!*, the editors explain that the anthology emerged because of a collective anger of "Asian America, so long ignored and forcibly excluded from creative participation in American culture" (viii). Working to revivify forgotten and obscure Asian American writers, members of CARP were determined to create an Asian American canon that would legitimate and give Asian American writers visibility. Largely, the anthologies seek true representation of Asian American experience free from stereotype. Because the two volumes feature only works by Chinese American, Japanese American, and Filipino American writers, it has been criticized as not being truly representative of Asian American identity, despite its declaration of authentic representation. Regardless of this criticism, the anthologies have become staples in Asian American literature and ethnic studies courses across the United States. The impact *Aiiieeeee!* had on Asian American studies was significant, as it brought into focus forgotten writers such as John Okada, Hisaye Yamamoto, Carlos Bulosan, and Toshio Mori, who, at present, are some of the most widely read and studied writers of Asian American descent.

Besides his work with CARP, Wong has also published two novels. His first novel, *Homebase*, which was issued in 1979, is about a fourth-generation Chinese American orphan growing up in the 1950s. Desperate to forge an understanding of his ancestral

lineage, Rainsford Chan sets upon a path to uncover the forgotten and buried history of the Chan family men. Moving through dream passages, letters, poetry, journal entries, and scenes that shift between time, place, and point of view, Rainsford uncovers not only the history of his family, but also the Asian American history erased from the public consciousness, including the Chinese Exclusion Acts, detention on Angel Island, the ghettos of Chinatown, and the building of the transnational railroad through the Sierra Nevada Mountains. His journey functions on one hand as an attempt to excavate the past and on the other as a quest to claim his American citizenship.

Wong's second novel, *American Knees*, was published in 1995. The novel, whose title is derived from a childhood taunt, "What are you—Chinese, Japanese, or American Knees?" follows Raymond Ding, who struggles with negotiating his relationships with Asian Americans as he deals with racism in various forms, both internalized and institutionalized. The narrative charts subtle movements between inter- and intraracial prejudices and conflicts, and attempts to navigate the multicultural domain of America. Notably, it features a male protagonist as a multiethnic romantic hero—a role traditionally reserved for non-Asian men. Although the novel does delve into Raymond's misadventures in love, it should not be mistaken as purely a romance. At its very core, Raymond's winding path through his relationships symbolizes his attempt to find a sense of belonging within a larger community although simultaneously laying claim to a space within America—a similar theme as that illustrated in *Homebase*. In 2006, *American Knees* was adapted into a feature-length film, written and directed by Eric Byler.

Outside of his professional writing career, Wong plays a large role in Seattle's art community and serves as chairman of the Seattle Arts Committee, coordinator of Seattle's Bumbershoot Festival Commission, as well as consultant for the National Endowment for the Arts. He is also a professional drag racer and has won national titles such as the National Hot Rod Association Northern Pacific Division finals in 1984.

Krystal Shyun Yang

See also Chan, Jeffery Paul; Chin, Frank; Inada, Lawson Fusao; Mori, Toshio; Okada, John

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Woo, Hong Neok (1834–1919)

Hong Neok Woo was born on August 7, 1834, in An Tow Village near Shanghai. In 1848, Woo's father, a

poor but ambitious farmer, sent him to study and board at a free school attached to the city's American Episcopal Mission, the first step in a journey that would lead to his participation in America's Civil War and outstanding ministry in Shanghai.

A plodding but diligent and patient student, Woo liked the mission's school and made lifelong friends among its teachers and boys. After only five or six years, however, he quit over a new superintendent calling him a dunce. By then baptized and confirmed, Woo continued to attend services at the mission until he secured employment as a "table-boy" on the navy frigate *Susquehana*, which was headed for America. During the eight-month journey, Woo waited on the ship's surgeon, John S. Messersmith, and upon landing at the Philadelphia Navy Yard in March 1855, Woo accompanied the doctor to his home in Lancaster and began an apprenticeship as a printer at the *Lancaster Examiner Herald*.

Woo became a U.S. citizen on September 22, 1860, and when Civil War erupted the following April, he wanted to join the fight because he opposed slavery. But his friends argued against his enlistment, saying his own people and family were in China. So Woo completed his training as a printer and went to work for the *Daily Express*. When oiling a machine, the middle finger of his right hand caught in a cogwheel that stripped it of skin, nail, and flesh down to the bone, a terrifying and painful accident that aroused his interest in medicine.

After the Confederate army invaded Pennsylvania and threatened Lancaster, Woo threw off his friends' counsel that with neither property nor family to defend, he should not risk his life. Volunteering on June 29, 1863, he listed as Neok Ung Hong in the rolls of Company I, Fiftieth Regiment Volunteer Infantry, Emergency Ninety-Day Militia, and was initially sent to Safe Harbor, a key area of defense at the mouth of Conestoga Creek. But on July 2, at news of a great battle in Gettysburg, Woo's company was sent to Harrisburg, where it was equipped, then transported by train through the Cumberland Valley to Chambersburg for a short stay, after which the men marched on to Hagerstown and Williamsport, Maryland, doing picket duty at Dam No. 5 on the Potomac River. The regiment mustered out on August 15.

Since his arrival in Lancaster, Woo had seen only one other Chinese, a schoolmate who had attended Kenyon College in Gambier, Ohio, and who had chosen to return to China upon graduation. Despite the pleas of friends to stay and an offer of higher wages, Woo decided to go back, too. Working his way on the *Kukiang*, he arrived in Shanghai on May 1864.

With both his parents dead and his younger brother and sister virtual strangers, Woo lived with his former schoolmate until establishing a family of his own. Supporting them by working as an interpreter for an English company, Woo prepared for Holy Orders and became deeply involved in medical mission work with Daniel Jerome MacGowen in a one-room dispensary that they opened together with seed money an American benefactor had given the doctor. By the time Woo was ordained a priest in 1880, the dispensary had developed into one of Shanghai's earliest hospitals, St. Luke's, which later became affiliated with the city's renowned St. John's University Medical School.

Woo brought to his ministry a unique combination of practicality, patience, imagination, and a commitment to meeting physical as well as spiritual needs, winning the respect of Christians and non-Christians, Chinese and Westerners. His dedication and energy undiminished by age, he established the Yin Tak Institute in 1908 as a refuge for abused wives and widows regardless of religious affiliation.

When Woo died on August 18, 1919, thousands attended his funeral. He is buried in Shanghai's Westgate Cemetery.

Ruthanne Lum McCunn

See also Chinese Americans; Chinese in the U.S. Civil War

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Woo, Shien Biau (S. B.) (1937–)

Shien Biau Woo, commonly known as S. B. Woo, is a Chinese American educator and politician. He is also a former lieutenant governor of the state of Delaware, serving from 1985 to 1989. Woo's work extends across the academia as well as the political landscape in the United States. His most recent political involvement includes the promotion of the 80/20 Initiative within the Asian American community.

S. B. Woo was born in Shanghai in 1937 in a war-torn China. He came to the United States from Hong Kong with his family when he was 18 years old. Woo later received his Bachelor of Science, *summa cum laude*, in mathematics and physics from Georgetown College, Kentucky. In 1964, he earned a PhD in physics from Washington University in St. Louis. After obtaining his doctorate degree, S. B. Woo joined the faculty of the University of Delaware in the late 1960s and taught physics and astronomy until his retirement in 2002.

During his time at the University of Delaware, Woo was highly involved in his profession and the academia. Not only is he recognized as a long-standing educator of 36 years, Woo is also an important founder of the Faculty Bargaining Unit and a trustee of the University of Delaware. He also served as an institute fellow at the Institute of Politics, the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University. Woo's professional contributions has been widely recognized by his peers in academia.

Woo is also considered one of the most prominent Asian American politicians and a courageous political pioneer. He is still highly esteemed as one of the first Asian Americans to break into mainstream American politics. In his first bid for public office, Woo was able to defeat other candidates in the Democratic primaries to earn a nomination for the office of lieutenant governor of Delaware. Woo later narrowly defeated his Republican opponent by less than 500 votes and became the first Chinese American lieutenant governor and the highest-ranking Asian American office holder at the state level at that time. His tenure as Delaware's 21st lieutenant governor spanned from 1985 to 1989.

After serving one term as lieutenant governor, Woo turned to the prospect of other political offices

and narrowly won the Democratic primary election for U.S. senator in 1988. However, he was later defeated by the Republican incumbent, U.S. Senator William V. Roth, Jr. After another run for public office in March 2000, Woo announced that he would not run for public office again and switched his party affiliation from Democratic to Independent.

Although out of public office, Woo has been active within the Asian American community. He is one of the founders of the 80-20 Initiative, a political action committee that strives to encourage and consolidate Asian Americans as an effective voting bloc during presidential elections. A staunch advocate for the Initiative, Woo believes the concentration of Asian American support for one major party label candidate is a way to attract attention to the Asian American community and raise awareness for Asian American issues among the primary presidential candidates.

Jeanette Yih Harvie

See also Chinese Americans; Political Representation

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Woods, Tiger (1975–)

In contemporary American sports, Tiger Woods is that rare presence: a golfer with exceptional athletic talent, whose on-course accomplishments and off-course decisions are constantly read in the context of the long, complicated history of race in America.

Eldrick "Tiger" Woods was born on December 30, 1975, in Cypress, California, to Earl and Kultida Woods. His father, a Vietnam War veteran, was a



Tiger Woods, 2013. (David Cannon/Getty Images)

mix of African American, Chinese, and Native American, and his mother is Thai, Chinese, and Dutch. Woods has referred to himself as “Cablinasian,” a term he created to reflect this ethnic and racial mix.

The world witnessed Woods’s prodigious golf talent long before he ever won a tournament. At the age of two, he appeared on *The Mike Douglas Show*, demonstrating a putting stroke he would perfect as an adult. Between that first television appearance and his decision to turn pro at the age of 21, Woods had an unprecedented amateur career. He won the Junior World Championships, the U.S. Junior Amateur Championship, and the U.S. Amateur Championship multiple times. In 1994, Woods enrolled at Stanford University, where he was voted Pac-10 Player of the Year and won the NCAA individual golf championship in 1996.

After two years, Woods left Stanford, turned professional, and signed a \$40 million contract with Nike. Nike recognized Woods’s commercial appeal very early on, and Woods’s endorsement of the shoe

company, and various other companies in the years since, has made him both very wealthy and cautious about his public persona.

As a professional, Woods quickly established himself as the most dominant player of his era, and perhaps the most dominant player in the history of the sport. To date, he has won every single major tournament (the Masters, British Open, U.S. Open, PGA Championship) multiple times, and has won over 70 titles on the PGA Tour. In 2000–2001, Woods held all four major titles at the same time. In golf, the number of majors won by a player is one primary measure of success, and Woods’s 14 majors at the end of 2009 is second only to Jack Nicklaus’s 18. For many, it is a foregone conclusion that Woods will replace Nicklaus atop the list in the years to come.

Woods’s on-course achievements are too numerous to name. But two victories—at the 1997 Masters and at the 2008 U.S. Open—symbolize the dimensions of Woods the athlete and oft-debated social figure.

In 1997, Woods played in his second Masters tournament held annually at the Augusta National Golf Club in Georgia. More than any other sport in the United States, golf has embodied the history of racial discrimination and segregation. And Augusta National, which did not accept an African American member until the early 1990s, is the most famous symbol of this history. It did not allow female members until 2012.

Woods won that year by an unheard of 12 strokes, the largest margin of victory in the 60-year history of the tournament. The symbolic nature of the win was not lost on many.

By referring to himself as “Cablinasian,” Woods has distanced himself from an exclusively African American identity. And when he turned pro in 1996, both his parents cast Woods in an equally broad ethnic context. His father saw him as a “bridge between East and West,” with greater power than Nelson Mandela, Gandhi, and the Buddha to bring humanity together. His mother referred to him as the Universal Child.

But when Woods won the Masters, it was clear that there was a difference between how Woods saw himself and how the world saw him. Sportswriter Rick Reilly captured one aspect of Woods’s historic significance well:

Almost 50 years to the day after Jackie Robinson broke major league baseball's color barrier, at Augusta National, a club that no black man was allowed to join until six years ago, at the tournament whose founder, Clifford Roberts, once said, "As long as I'm alive, golfers will be white, and caddies will be black," a 21-year-old black man delivered the greatest performance ever seen in a golf major.

This narrative of racial progress was marred when fellow golfer Fuzzy Zoeller commented, referring to Woods and the Master's Champions Dinner, for which the defending champion selects the menu, "That little boy is driving well and he's putting well . . . and tell him not to serve fried chicken next year . . . or collared greens or whatever the hell they serve."

Woods did not respond angrily to either Zoeller's form of address ("that little boy") or the racial stereotype about the menu. And more recently, Woods kept his distance and said through his agent that the golf commentator Kelly Tilghman meant no harm when she said that young players who wanted to challenge Woods should "lynch him in a back alley."

His silence in such moments has earned him criticism that he does not take enough of a public stance on controversial issues, lest he jeopardize his commercial interests. In this, he has been placed in the apolitical tradition of a Michael Jordan, as opposed to that of Muhammad Ali.

Scholarship on Woods, particularly by the historian Henry Yu, has concentrated on how the complicated intersection of Woods's racial self-identification and the public's perception of him as African American still uses old biological configurations of race, even as there are attempts to move beyond them. Yu notes that in the rush to celebrate Woods's barrier-breaking success in a sport long associated with white racial hierarchy, his mother's Asian roots have been completely elided.

If the 1997 Masters placed Woods squarely within a conversation on race in America, the 2008 U.S. Open reminds us that after all the debate over the nature of his identity, there will be no argument about his skill as a golfer. Playing on a clearly weakened knee that would have sidelined most players, Woods defeated

Rocco Mediate in an 18-hole playoff. Days after the victory, Woods announced that he would undergo reconstructive surgery of his left ACL that would eventually keep him off the golf course for eight months.

Woods referred to the U.S. Open win as his "greatest triumph," which says a lot considering the storied career he has had thus far. A year after this victory, Woods was embroiled in a very public sex scandal that led to a divorce from his wife, with whom he has two children. And to date, he has not moved past 14 major championships. But in a sport where players play well into their 40s, Woods has time yet to pass Jack Nicklaus in the record books.

Sameer Pandya

See also Golf, Asian and Asian American

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Workingmen's Parties

Workingmen's parties had formed in America at least as early as the Jacksonian era as expressions of laborers' political concerns. However, the parties gained their greatest prominence and had their most lasting effects beginning in the 1870s with the push for Chinese exclusion in California. Although the Workingmen's Party of the United States (WPUS) began the protests, but not necessarily the violent rioting, that convulsed San Francisco in July 1877, the Party was originally formed on the East Coast and had strong Marxist leanings. The mostly German-speaking WPUS had limited success organizing labor votes throughout the United States. The WPUS was not particularly anti-Chinese in its sentiments; its original San Francisco sandlot speeches criticized railroad companies and the increasing control of capital over citizens' rights. However, the political space and social context in which the WPUS acted in California gave rise to the significantly less radical and dramatically more nativist Workingmen's Party of California

(WPC). Whereas the WPUS had a large German-speaking contingent, the WPC was led by Irish immigrants, who also formed a significant part of the rank and file of the party. However, the WPC drew its membership from all European-born ethnic groups in San Francisco; the WPC was not simply an Irish party even if its most prominent leaders were Irish immigrants. Still, political aims, style, and accomplishments, not linguistics or ethnic background, distinguished the two Workingmen's parties.

From its outset the WPC was not a single issue party. Though some have argued that the party's slogan—"The Chinese Must Go!"—was also the only plank of its platform, this is not completely true. When the WPC formed in September 1877 in San Francisco, it objected to land monopolies, advocated tax reforms that penalized the superrich, and sought to unite California's workers under a common banner in addition to calling for the deportation and exclusion of all Chinese laborers from California. Indeed, the WPC framed its anti-Chinese message in both nativist and class-conscious terms that decried the Chinese as a foreign menace that served to perpetuate the power of monopoly capitalists over the common workingman.

The multiple classes that formed the WPC help explain this dual anti-monopoly capitalist anti-Chinese message. The WPC drew from the city's ranks of laborers and unemployed, including migrant farm workers contending with statewide drought as well as the statewide depression, for its membership, and it was these men who saw themselves as directly competing with Chinese laborers. However, the leadership of the WPC, as seen most prominently in the drayman Denis Kearney, also had successful businessmen and lawyers who saw their chances of advancement forestalled by the Nob Hill capitalists who enriched themselves through unfair monopolies and by exploiting Chinese labor and using the Chinese as a foil against the labor of European immigrants.

Almost from its inception, internecine struggles characterized the WPC. The most prominent of these struggles, between Denis Kearney and Frank Roney, impacted both the party's message and its organization. Both Kearney and Roney were Irish immigrants, but whereas Kearney had left as an orphan to try to

make a living, Roney fled Ireland under the specter of execution because of his work for an Irish revolution. Although Roney drafted the party platform, he thought the anti-Chinese measures were "brutal" and he preferred to concentrate on the good that trade unionism could do for the workingman. Roney also preferred a more hierarchical style of party in which elected leaders formed a skilled and stable cadre advocating for change. Kearney, on the other hand, emphasized the anti-Chinese planks of the platform because these were most popular with the rank and file. Moreover, Kearney believed that the party's rank and file members were its only legitimate power. Kearney was ultimately successful in his struggle with Roney before the California state constitutional convention began in 1878. Under his leadership, the rank and file would express their will through club elections (whose winners could be recalled at any time), and all party officers were ineligible for nomination to a political office.

In part because of Kearney's message of rank and file empowerment, and his virulent opposition to Chinese in California, along with his electioneering throughout the rural areas of the state, the WPC sent 51 delegates (among them all 30 of San Francisco's delegates) to the state constitutional convention. The Democrats and Republicans in the state had formed a nonpartisan coalition to oppose what they saw as the radicalism of the WPC, and they sent 77 nonpartisan delegates, along with 24 other delegates who represented individual parties but would vote with the nonpartisan bloc, to the convention. The National Labor Party (NLP), which advocated the most discriminatory Chinese legislation, sent no delegates to the convention. At the convention, the WPC accomplished very little beyond support for the Granger program of reform aimed primarily at railroads and the anti-Chinese Article XIX. This article made it illegal to employ Chinese in the state of California. The constitution also barred Chinese suffrage, and, most important, sanctioned the legislature to pursue acts that would prevent Chinese immigration and encourage Chinese emigration from California. Though the lines barring Chinese employment were symbolically important, the federal government was the acknowledged arbiter of both employment and immigration;

therefore, the key anti-Chinese measures in the 1879 constitution were those that allowed and encouraged state action against the Chinese. As scholars have argued, even if anti-Chinese legislation proved unenforceable by the state, its passage would encourage vigilante violence putatively condoned by an unfairly limited state.

The WPC's success in electing delegates to the constitutional convention, where they achieved little of what they championed, was mirrored on the city level in San Francisco with the election of WPC candidate Isaac Kalloch as mayor in 1879. Despite being shot by the editor and publisher of the *San Francisco Chronicle*, Charles De Young, a few days before the election, Kalloch along with other WPC candidates in key city positions swept the elections. The notable exception to WPC success, which has led scholars to speculate about a vote-counting scheme hatched to share power, was the board of supervisors. Thus, when Kalloch tried to push through WPC-backed policy such as the "abatement" of Chinatown, his efforts were blocked by the board of supervisors.

Beyond the WPC's work in advocating for a constitutional convention and spearheading the ratification of the 1879 constitution, their key contribution to California politics, and, as some have argued, by extension national politics, was their virulent anti-Chinese sentiment. Though this sentiment and the positions advocated by WPC leaders and rank and file remained and were realized, especially after the 1882 Exclusion Act, the WPC itself quickly faded from both national and local politics. Scholars debate whether this hasty exit was because of political naiveté, a misguided partnership with the Greenback Party, an agreement with the Democrats that saw most WPC voters return to their Democratic roots, or the accomplishment of its major goals that left no reason for the WPC to remain on the political stage. That its major goals were anti-Chinese underscores David Roedinger's assertion that in California "labor and anti-Chinese movements overlapped so thoroughly as to be indistinguishable."

Jason Stohler

See also Chinese Exclusion Acts (1882–1943)

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Wu, Chien-Shiung (1912–1997)

Chien-Shiung Wu was one of the leading experimental physicists of the twentieth century and a prominent leader of the Chinese American scientific community. As the first female and first Asian American president of the American Physical Society (APS), she fought for equal opportunities for women in science and promoted science and education in the United States and China.

Born in Shanghai, China, on May 31, 1912, Chien-Shiung Wu (Wu Jianxiong in *pinyin*) grew up in a turbulent time in modern Chinese history, but enjoyed a happy childhood primarily because of the encouragement and support of her enlightened father, Wu Zhongyi, who instilled in her a pride in Chinese culture, a love of science, and a belief in herself and in the equality for women. From 1923 to 1929, she attended the Suzhou Women's Normal School in Suzhou where, inspired by stories of Marie Curie, Wu became interested in physics. In 1930, Wu entered the National Central University in Nanjing to study physics and graduated four years later with a senior thesis on X-ray diffraction.

Wu worked as a teaching assistant in the Physics Department at Zhejiang University in Hangzhou for a year before taking up a research assistant position in the Academia Sinica's Institute of Physics in Shanghai in 1934. In 1936, she set sail for the United States and enrolled in the University of California at Berkeley to pursue a PhD in physics. She quickly impressed all her professors, which included Ernest Lawrence, J. Robert Oppenheimer, and Emilio Segré, with her

intellectual acumen, experimental talent, and personal charm. She thrived scientifically at Berkeley. By 1940 Wu had completed two separate experiments in nuclear physics for her PhD thesis, but, frustrated in her search for a tenure-track position, stayed at Lawrence's lab as a researcher for two more years, working on nuclear fission.

World War II brought more opportunities. In 1942, Wu married Luke Chia-Liu Yuan, a fellow Chinese American physicist, and together they moved to the East Coast, he working on radar for RCA at Princeton and she teaching physics first at Smith College and then at Princeton University. In 1944 Wu moved to Columbia University in New York to develop radiation detectors for the Manhattan Project. After the end of the war, she stayed at Columbia as a research scientist and gave birth in 1947 to a son, Vincent Wei-chen Yuan (later a physicist). Political uncertainties in China following the Communist revolution in 1949 led Wu and Yuan, like many others from China, to stay in the United States, and in 1954 they became naturalized American citizens.

Scientifically, Wu focused, from 1946 to 1952, on the problem of beta decay, an important area of nuclear physics, and her experiments gained her a reputation for accuracy and technical sophistication. Her achievements helped overcome resistance to women in Columbia's Physics Department and brought her a promotion to associate professor with tenure in 1952.

The most celebrated experiment of Wu's career started as a result of a conversation she had in the spring of 1956 with her Columbia colleague and fellow Chinese American physicist Tsung-Dao Lee. At the time, Lee and Chen Ning Yang, another Chinese American physicist at Princeton's Institute of Advanced Study, were investigating the possibility that particles involved in weak interactions—beta decay was one example—might not follow the long-established law of parity governing their spinning. Wu decided to test Lee and Yang's theory by lining up the spins of the ^{60}Co nuclei and then detecting the spin directions of the beta particles (electrons) that were emitted from the nuclei. She conducted the difficult experiment in collaboration with scientists at the National Bureau of Standards in Washington, D.C. By late 1956 and early 1957, they found that indeed

the law of parity was violated in beta decay—more beta particles were emitted in the direction opposite that of the nuclear spin than along it—which was soon confirmed by other scientists.

A surprise to most physicists, the breaking of parity led to new advances in many directions in physics and eventually paved the way for the unification of the weak and electromagnetic forces. Yet, when the Nobel Prize in Physics for 1957 was announced, it went only to Lee and Yang, not Wu, who felt happy for her friends but was clearly disappointed by her exclusion, a feeling shared by the laureates and many other physicists. Nevertheless, Wu received, over the years, just about every other award for a scientist, as she continued to conduct influential experiments after her parity triumph. She was promoted to full professor and elected a member of the National Academy of Sciences in 1958. In 1972 she was made the first Michael I. Pupin Professor of Physics at Columbia and elected a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. Three years later she was elected APS president and received the National Medal of Science. Then, in 1978, she received the prestigious Wolf Prize in physics from the Wolf Foundation of Israel.

Taking advantage of her increasing prominence, Wu began to speak out on social and political issues, especially on equality for women in science. At a symposium in 1964, for example, she lamented the lack of women in science because of both cultural biases and professional discrimination. Counting proudly the achievements of women nuclear physicists such as Marie Curie and Lise Meitner, she declared that “never before have so few contributed so much under such trying circumstances!” (Mattfeld and Van Aken 1965: 47). In 1975, from the platform of the APS presidency, she urged the federal government to increase funding for education and basic research.

During the later stage of Wu's life, her Chinese heritage and connections began to take on growing importance for her. She had always maintained contact with the scientific community in Taiwan, urging the Nationalist government that had fled there in 1949 to carry out democratic reforms and to resist temptation to make atomic bombs. The reopening of U.S.-China relations in the early 1970s made possible her first

return to the mainland with her husband in 1973, where they were received by Premier Zhou Enlai. Following retirement from Columbia in 1981, Wu traveled more frequently to both sides of the Taiwan Strait to advise on science policy, to promote education and science, and to receive honors and awards. A household name among Chinese all over the world, Wu, as the “Chinese Curie,” became a role model for many Chinese students, especially girls and women, with scientific aspirations.

When Wu died on February 16, 1997, in New York, her ashes were buried, according to her will, in the courtyard of Mingde school in her hometown that was founded by her father, and were joined several years later by those of her husband.

Zuoyue Wang

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Wu, David (1955–)

David Wu was a Taiwan-born American politician representing the Democratic Party and was the congressional representative for Oregon’s 1st District. An attorney by trade, Wu held his congressional seat between 1999 and 2011. He was the first Chinese American from Taiwan who served as a member of the House of Representatives.

Wu is what one would consider a 1.5-generation American. He was born in Hsinchu, Taiwan and immigrated to the United States in 1961, after President

John F. Kennedy’s executive orders lifted the ban on unfair immigration quotas. Wu was six years old at that time. And upon arrival in the United States, Wu and his family initially settled in the town of Latham, New York for two years where they were the only Asian American family in town.

After graduating from high school, Wu went to Stanford University as an undergraduate and earned a Bachelor of Science degree in biology in 1977. He later went on to pursue medical studies at Harvard Medical School but decided to drop out before completing his degree. Although his family was displeased at Wu’s decision to leave medical school, he left Harvard in pursuit of a law degree. In 1982, Wu graduated with a *Juris Doctor* from the Yale Law School

In the beginning of his legal career, David Wu worked as a clerk for a federal judge in Portland, Oregon. He later joined the Miller Nash law firm and also cofounded the law firm of Cohen & Wu in 1988. For more than a decade, Cohen & Wu served as the legal consultant for many high-technology industries and small businesses in the northwest Oregon area. Wu sees his work at his law firm as one of the most important accomplishments in his life. He believed that Cohen & Wu helped to build new businesses and, in turn, provided many well-paying jobs for his fellow Oregonians. His credentials from working at Cohen & Wu gave Wu many of the qualifications he needed to represent his high-tech, so-called “Silicon Forest” district.

In 1998, when former Democratic Congresswoman Elizabeth Furse declined to seek reelection in Oregon’s 1st District, David Wu stepped in, won the election, and started his first congressional term in January 1999. He won seven reelection bids for his congressional seat until resigning in August 2011 following accusations that he had made unwanted sexual advances on the teenage daughter of a campaign donor and friend.

When in Congress, Wu served on the Committee on Education and Labor and the Committee on Science and Technology. He was the chairman of the Subcommittee on Technology and Innovation. Wu was also a member of the New Democrat Coalition (NDC), a group of moderate House Democrats that supported moderate and pro-growth policies.

As an immigrant and a Democrat, Wu was a staunch supporter of civil liberties and human rights in the United States and abroad. He was a former chairman of the Congressional Asian Pacific American Caucus and chaired the Education Taskforce. Wu was also very much concerned about U.S.-China relations and was a member of the Congressional-Executive Commission on China.

Jeanette Yih Harvie

See also Political Representation; Taiwanese Americans

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Xiong, Joe Bee (1961–2007)

Joe Bee Xiong was a Hmong American politician from Wisconsin. He served on the city council of Eau Claire, Wisconsin from 1996 to 2000. Xiong was the first Hmong American to be elected to a city government in Wisconsin. An advocate for Hmong culture and causes, Xiong passed away on March 31, 2007, at the age of 45 after suffering a massive heart attack.

Xiong was born in 1961 in Xiengkhoung, Laos. Xiong and his father were among the Hmong farmers from the mountains of Laos recruited by the CIA in the 1960s and 1970s to fight a guerilla-style “Secret War” against Communist forces in Vietnam. Like many others, Xiong’s family fled Laos after the Pathet Lao, the Communist regime, took over Laos. Especially because of their associations with the United States in the Secret War, the family feared retaliation from the Communist regime. They escaped to neighboring Thailand and spent eight months at a refugee camp. In the early 1980s, Xiong and his family came to the United States as refugees and settled in Eau Claire, Wisconsin.

In his new home, Xiong quickly learned English and graduated from high school. He also earned a bachelor’s degree from Mount Scenario College. Xiong was always very involved in the Hmong American community. He spent much of his time introducing the Hmong culture to all those who were interested. Xiong was also talented in the *qeej*, a traditional Hmong musical instrument (that resembles a bamboo flute) he picked up as a teenager in Laos.

In 1996, Xiong was elected to the city council of Eau Claire and became the first Hmong American to be elected to a public office in the state of Wisconsin. He was reelected in 1998 for a second term and served until 2000. Aside from his work on the city council, Xiong was renowned for his involvement in the local Hmong community. According to Eric Lindquist, a reporter for the *Eau Claire Leader Telegram*, Xiong was a landlord who rented homes to many Hmong families who were in need. He was also at one time a reserve officer for the Eau Claire Police Department.

Aside from being a leader who served his community, Xiong was also a source of inspiration for many. For other Hmong Americans, the success and dedication of Xiong in the political arena was an inspirational example for many Hmong Americans and showed that with hard work and perseverance, anything is indeed possible.

After Xiong’s retirement from the city council, he ran unsuccessfully against Republican Terry Moulton for the 68th Assembly District seat in 2004. It was also reported that Xiong had been struggling with many health problems; at one point, he suffered a heart attack that almost took his life. In March 2007, Xiong left home with the intention to travel to Thailand for alternative treatment for his heart problems; however, Xiong suffered a heart attack and passed away in Vientiane, Laos when visiting some friends and family en route to Thailand.

His death was deeply mourned by his family and others in the Hmong community.

Jeanette Yih Harvie

See also Hmong American Women; Hmong of Minnesota and California; Political Representation

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Y

Yamaguchi, Kristi (1971–)

Kristi Yamaguchi is an American female figure skater who won the gold medal at the 1992 Winter Olympics. She was born on July 12, 1971, in Hayward and grew up in Fremont, California. Born with clubfeet, Yamaguchi had to wear corrective shoes when she was a kid. Fortunately, this did not influence her later career of skating. Her parents, Jim Yamaguchi and Carole Doi, raised three children: Lori, Kristi, and Brett. Yamaguchi's grandparents on her mother's side were sent to an internment camp in World War II, like most Japanese Americans during that time.

Yamaguchi met her singles coach, Christy Kjarsgaard, in a summer skating camp in Santa Rosa. Yamaguchi liked Kjarsgaard and decided to take lessons with her. The training was quite rigorous. Everyday Yamaguchi had to wake up before dawn and practice for five hours. After practice, she rushed to school. After school in the afternoon, she went to another training session. The reward for this hard training was the gold medal for singles at the 1988 World Junior Championships. But this was not the only gold medal that Yamaguchi won at these Championships. She also placed first in the pairs competition with her skating partner, Rudi Galindo. Yamaguchi met Galindo in 1983 and received the instruction of their pairs coach, Jim Hulick. They won the national junior title in 1986 and the world junior title in 1988. Unfortunately Hulick died of cancer in December 1989, five days before Yamaguchi's grandfather died. Unable to find another pairs coach, Yamaguchi and Galindo could not reach a better standing at the 1990 World Championships than the previous year.

Yamaguchi then made a difficult decision to terminate her pairs career and to concentrate on singles.

With her focus on singles, Yamaguchi took first place at the 1991 World Championships in Munich, Germany. More important, at the 1992 Winter Olympics in Albertville, France, she defeated tough competitors, Tonya Harding and Midori Ito, and earned the championship. This was the first Olympic gold medal for U.S. women's figure skating since Dorothy Hamill won in 1976. The Olympic victory pushed her into the media limelight, and she became a celebrity. Shortly after the Olympics, Yamaguchi won the gold medal again at the 1992 World Championships. She was the first American female skater to win the world championship twice consecutively since Peggy Fleming in 1968.

Yamaguchi started her professional career in September 1992, which was as successful as her earlier career. From 1992 to 2002, she joined Stars on Ice and won several competitions. She placed first at the 1992 and 1993 World Challenge of Champions. She won first place in 1992 and 1994 and second place in 1993 and 2001 at the World Professional Figure Skating Championships.

Yamaguchi has received numerous awards, such as the Great Sports Legends Awards in 2004, the Inspiration Award of Asian Excellence Awards in 2008, and the Thurman Munson Award in 2008. She became a member of the U.S. Figure Skating Hall of Fame in 1998, the World Skating Hall of Fame in 1999, and the U.S. Olympic Committee Olympic Hall of Fame in 2005.

Besides skating, Yamaguchi is involved in social issues as well. She established the Always Dream



Kristi Yamaguchi, 1992. (Junji Kurokawa/AFP/Getty Images)

Foundation in 1996 to help children in the San Francisco Bay Area. According to the website of this foundation (<http://www.alwaysdream.org>), the foundation has raised funds, held events for kids with disabilities, provided computers for an after school mentoring program, and supported summer camps for disabled children.

Yuchun Kuo

See also Zhang, Caroline

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Yamanaka, Lois-Ann (1961–)

Lois-Ann Yamanaka is considered one of the most prolific and influential local Hawaiian writers today. She has published a collection of poetry, *Saturday Night at the Pahala Theatre* (1993), and is the author of *Wild Meat and the Bully Burgers* (1996), *Blu's Hanging* (1997), *Heads by Harry* (1999), *Name Me Nobody* (2000), *Father of the Four Passages* (2001), *The Heart's Language* (2005), and *Behold the Many* (2006). Yamanaka spent 12 years teaching English, drama, and speech, and currently co-owns Na'au, a writing school for all ages. Presently she is working on a forthcoming book, *Snow Angel, Sand Angel*.

Yamanaka was born in 1961 as a third-generation Japanese Hawaiian in Ho'olchua, Molokai, Hawaii to Harry and Jean Yamanaka. Along with her three sisters, she grew up in the plantation town of Pahala on the Big Island, but also lived in the Hilo, Kau, and Kona districts of Hawaii—towns that often serve as the backdrop to her work. Both of her parents had careers in education, and Yamanaka followed them into the profession, earning her BEd in 1983 and MEd in 1987 from the University of Hawaii at Manoa.

Despite the fact that, like many local Hawaiian writers, Yamanaka incorporates pidgin English into her work, it was not until she took a writing course with Faye Kicknosway at the University of Hawaii that she began to write in her first language. Like most Hawaiian children, Yamanaka was discouraged from using pidgin as she was growing up. As such, she now frequently uses pidgin in her writing to promote the decolonization of language and culture within Hawaii. As Yamanaka says, "I write in the pidgin of the contract workers to the sugar plantations . . . Our language has been labeled the language of ignorant people, substandard, and inappropriate in any form of expression—written or oral" (1993a: 544). Creating cultural works in pidgin thus subverts the colonial notion of pidgin as a substandard and inappropriate language.

In 1993, Yamanaka published her first work, *Saturday Night at the Pahala Theatre*, a collection of pidgin poems that are organized as a four-part novella. The characters within the prose-poetry novella are all

working-class Hawaiian teenagers. Upon its release, the book won numerous awards, including the Pushcart Prize, Elliot Cades Award for Literature, and Association for Asian American Studies Literature Award. She also received several grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities and the Carnegie Foundation. Though the book's reception was initially quite positive, members of the Filipino American Caucus of the Association for Asian American Studies protested against the derogatory and stereotypical portrayal of Filipino Americans in her work, which they considered racist.

Wild Meat and the Bully Burgers, which was published in 1996, is about a young Japanese Hawaiian girl growing up in Hilo, Hawaii during the 1970s amid anti-Japanese sentiments. Stylistically, the novel comprises a series of short narratives and prose poems and explores familial relations and intergenerational conflict. The novel also navigates racial and gendered identity struggles, and grapples with the effects of white dominance and conceptions of beauty, sexuality, and claims to national identity. The heroine, Lovey Nariyoshi, desires *haole* (foreign/white) features such as blonde hair and blue eyes, as well as a white husband so that she might have a *haole* last name. Parts of the novel were eventually adapted into an award-winning film, *Fishbowl* (2005).

The following year, in 1997, Yamanaka published *Blu's Hanging*, which tells the story of Ivah, a young girl who must raise her younger siblings Blu and Maisie by herself after her mother dies. The story documents the children's lives as they grieve over the loss of their mother and struggle with the difficult conditions of extreme poverty in which they live, which exposes them to sexual predators and racist *haole* schoolteachers. Upon publication, the novel's reception was extremely polarized: some critics gave it extremely positive reviews, whereas others lambasted Yamanaka for her depiction of Filipinos as sexually deviant and morally corrupt. When the novel initially won the National Book Award from the Association of Asian American Studies (AAAS), it caused outrage and controversy. A major protest resulted, which included the Filipino American Caucus, local university students and professional scholars, and members of the local community. Though high-profile writers

such as Maxine Hong Kingston, Amy Tan, and Jessica Hagedorn stood in solidarity with Yamanaka in support of her artistic freedom, the AAAS ultimately decided to rescind the award and issue an apology to the Filipino community.

Since that time, Yamanaka has published four more novels and one children's book. *Heads by Harry* tells the life story of Toni, who struggles with growing up in Hawaii with a dysfunctional family while trying to establish a coherent identity in the face of racism and the aftermath of Hawaii's plantation society. *Name Me Nobody*, specifically written for young adults, is about the intersections of sexuality and racism in the life of Emi-Lou Kaya, who is a "nobody" in her small town. *Father of the Four Passages* tells a tale of motherly love in the midst of drug addiction. *Behold the Many* resonates with heartbreak, guilt, and loss. Abandoned by her abusive father and weak-willed mother, Anah is haunted by the vengeful spirits of her sisters, who die after the three of them are sent to an orphanage when they contract tuberculosis in 1913. She struggles to find the power to forgive herself and find happiness.

The Heart's Language, Yamanaka's first foray into children's literature, is a picture book about a disabled boy who is incapable of communicating with other people, but possesses the ability to communicate with nature and animals. He learns the "heart's language" to communicate with those he loves.

As a whole, Yamanaka's work features strong female protagonists and unflinching portraits of dysfunctional families in tragic circumstances. Yamanaka strives to deconstruct the notion of Hawaii as an exotic paradise and redefine what it means to be "Japanese American." She offers complex and sometimes brutal representations of marginalized life in Hawaii while struggling to capture the raw authenticity of local cultural politics and family life.

Krystal Shyun Yang

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Yamasaki, Minoru (1912–1986)

Minoru Yamasaki was a Japanese American architect. He is most renowned as the designer of the World Trade Center in New York City, the tallest buildings in the world at the time of their completion in 1976 and were later destroyed as a symbol of American capitalism in the 9/11 terrorist attacks of 2001. Yamasaki melded classical Asian and European forms with modernist, minimalist structures. His signature style included a combination of iconic arches, vertical elements, grand plazas, and fountains. Over his career, though continually battling health problems, Yamasaki designed over 350 residential, commercial, and industrial buildings.

Minoru Yamasaki was born on December 1, 1912, in Seattle, Washington to John Tsunejiro and Hana

Yamasaki. He became interested in architecture when his uncle, Koken Ito, visited en route to a job in Chicago after graduating from the University of California, and showed the family his architecture coursework sketches. Having earned tuition working in Alaskan salmon canneries, Yamasaki pursued studies in architecture at the University of Washington. However, he considered pursuing engineering instead because he struggled creatively and excelled in math and science courses; he was persuaded by a professor who recognized his potential in architecture to stay with it, and he graduated in 1933.

Yamasaki moved to New York to find more opportunities. He hoped there would be less anti-Japanese discrimination on the East Coast, as local racial tensions and international relations between the United States and Japan flared in the 1930s and early 1940s. In doing so, Yamasaki missed the government mandated removal of Japanese Americans from the West Coast and provided refuge for his parents during the war. In New York, he pursued a master's degree in architecture from New York University by taking



Japanese American architect Minoru Yamasaki, designer of the World Trade Center in New York. (AP Photo)

night classes, and worked his way through school wrapping dishes for a Japanese company that was a distributor of Noritake china in the United States.

In 1935, Yamasaki began his professional architectural career with a position at Githens and Keally. From 1936 to 1943, he was in charge of production and checking shop drawings at Shreve, Lam and Harmon, the firm that designed the Empire State Building. He also worked briefly at Harrison, Fouilhoux and Abramowitz, and industrial design firm Raymond Loewy Associates.

In 1941, Minoru Yamasaki married Teruko Hirashiki. They had three children: Carol, Taro, and Kim. The couple divorced in 1961, but reconciled in 1969 after Minoru had been married two more times in the interim.

In 1945, Yamasaki moved to Detroit to join Smith, Hinchman and Grylls as chief designer. He left the firm to establish his own partnership, Yamasaki, Hellmuth and Leinweber, in 1949. Their first major job was the design of the St. Louis Airport, built in 1956. In this period, Yamasaki also designed the American Concrete Institute, the Reynolds Metals Company offices, and the McGregor Memorial Building for Wayne State University, all in Detroit, and the American consulate in Kobe, Japan.

By 1955, Yamasaki had moved to establish his own firm, Yamasaki Associates, in Troy, Michigan. In the 1960s, the firm saw a dramatic increase in business and completed projects that included the Dhahran Air Terminal in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia (1961), the United States Pavilion for the World Agricultural Fair in New Delhi, India (1960), the Queen Emma Gardens in Honolulu, Hawaii, Federal Science Pavilion at the Seattle World's Fair (1962), and the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs at Princeton University (1965). The Science Pavilion in particular established what was to become known as Yamasaki's "gothic modernist" style, which included iconic arches, vertical elements, plazas, and fountains.

Yamasaki's most prominent achievement was winning the commission from the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey for the World Trade Center in Manhattan's financial district in 1962. Yamasaki Associates, together with Emory Roth and Sons, had

won out over much larger and more established firms for the project, which was initially projected to cost around \$280 million. At the time, Yamasaki's office had only 55 people on staff, whereas other offices had over 1,000.

Yamasaki's design for the World Trade Center included two 110-story towers, 1,360 feet tall, with office space, a transportation center for railways, a shopping center, and a large plaza. The height of the Twin Towers, the tallest buildings in the world at the time of completion, required engineering innovations to support the weight of the building and withstand the wind. They also included a series of "express" and "local" elevators to minimize space used by elevator shafts in the towers. The otherwise solid and minimalist rectangular towers featured narrow vertical windows and a façade with pointed gothic arches.

Yamasaki interpreted the location, facing the New York Harbor and the Statue of Liberty, as a symbol of the importance of world trade to the country, and to New York City. He considered the World Trade Center design as a physical manifestation of the connection between world trade and world peace. Though initially built to withstand the impact of a 707 jet, the towers fell on September 11, 2001 in the Al Qaeda terrorist attacks, after the impact of the larger jets and fires weakened their infrastructure. Yamasaki, who had passed away in 1986 of cancer, did not live to see the destruction of the World Trade Center.

After the World Trade Center, Yamasaki designed the Century Plaza Towers in Los Angeles (1975), the Rainier Bank Tower in Seattle, Washington (1977), the Eastern Province Institutional Airport (now known as the King Fahd International Airport) in Saudi Arabia (1977), and the Federal Reserve Bank tower in Richmond, Virginia (1978).

Katie Furuyama

See also Lin, Maya; Pei, I. M.

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Yamashita, Karen Tei (1951–)

Employing magic realism and postmodernist writing strategies and exploring a broad range of issues related to global capitalism, Karen Tei Yamashita stands out as one of the most talented, versatile, and productive Asian American authors. She not only directs Asian American imagination from the traditional East and West division to the increasingly important North and South division, but she also captures the most important social and political problems in the age of globalization—the devastating impact of global capitalism upon the environment and the local communities, migration of human population on a global scale, as well as the widening gap between the First World and the Third World, between the rich and the poor. From *Through the Arch of the Rain Forest* to *Circle K Cycles*, Yamashita engages the different dimensions of global capitalism, experiments with diverse genres and forms, and offers us understandings of our time and globe from a variety of perspectives.

Yamashita was born in Oakland, California, on January 8, 1951, but spent most of her childhood in the Los Angeles metropolitan area. She received her BA in English and Japanese from Carleton College in Minnesota, and studied at Waseda University in Japan as an exchange student during her junior year. As a recipient of the Thomas J. Watson fellowship, Yamashita conducted extensive research on Japanese immigration to Brazil in the city of Sao Paulo and extended her stay in the country from one to nine years. She married Brazilian architect Ronaldo Lopes de Oliveira and started experimenting with creative writing. By the time the family moved to Los Angeles in 1984, Yamashita had tried her hands at diverse genres that include plays, screenplays, poems, and novels.

Yamashita's first novel, *Through the Arch of the Rain Forest*, caught immediate critical attention upon its publication in 1990 and received prestigious awards such as the American Book Award and the Janet Heidinger Kafka Award. Blending magical realism and pop culture, Yamashita creates a cast of strange characters that include a Japanese man with a small ball bouncing around before his forehead, an American executive with three arms, a Brazil man who invented the science of "featherology" to cure diseases and brings them together through global capitalism, which has gradually penetrated Third World countries for natural resources and consumer markets. With the discovery of a plastic landmass that may have extensive usage and application in industry, transnational corporations move in and people start seeing cash rolling in. Before long, they realize that they have destroyed the rain forest and their future livelihood.

In 1992, Yamashita published her second novel, *Brazil-Maru*. Based on her research in Brazil concerning Japanese immigration, this novel offers the perspectives of four main characters and their senses of the rise and fall of the Japanese colony in Brazil in a time span of 70 years. They tell the stories of how the founders of the colony try to blend their Japanese values with those of Christians and experiment with their socialist ideals and communities. The novel ends with the narration of a nephew of a founder of the colony who died when surveying the land for a new colony.

Published in 1997, Yamashita's third novel, *The Tropic of Orange*, deploys magical realism and pop culture and explores diverse characters in the increasingly divided city of Los Angeles. Offering a glimpse of lives across social strata and racial lines in the borderland of Los Angeles, Yamashita not only creates complex characters who vary from the Chinese refugee from Singapore with a Vietnamese name living in Koreatown to the Latin American mythical figure of Archangel, but she also describes the new dimensions of the underworld, which includes organized crime in trafficking in human organs to the homeless conducting music on a highway bridge in the city. She highlights various lines of division between the North and the South, between the First World and the Third World, between the rich and the poor.

In her fourth novel, *Circle K Cycles*, published in 2001, Yamashita changes the setting of her novel from the Americas to East Asia, and explores the issue of how Japanese Brazilians live and work in Japan. In exploring these characters, Yamashita concludes that Japanese Brazilians identify more with the Brazilian culture than with that of their parents' country of origin. Like other Brazilians, they love soccer, music, and leisure.

Working on her new novel concerning the Asian American movement in the late 1960s and early 1970s, Yamashita will continue to redefine Asian American literature and bring our attention to important issues underlying global capitalism. A productive and innovative writer of novels, plays, poems, and essays, Yamashita has already emerged and distinguished herself as one of the most important American authors of the twenty-first century.

Yuan Shu

See also Koreatown

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Yamato Colony of California

Between 1906 and 1917, Japanese immigrants made three separate efforts to establish intentional settlements in the United States: one in Florida (1904), one in California (1906), and another in Texas (1917). All were named the "Yamato Colony." Of the three, only the colony in California survived.

An examination of the history of California's Yamato Colony provides insight into the impact of prejudice and anti-Japanese legislation on one

community. It gives a view of a people whose tenacity, strategic thinking, and ability to cooperate with one another made it possible to establish themselves and thrive.

Founding (1906–1914)

California's Yamato Colony began as 3,214 acres of undeveloped land south of Sacramento between the cities of Modesto and Merced. The community's founder, Kyutaro Abiko, was an idealist and entrepreneur who believed in America as a land of freedom and opportunity—a place where the Japanese could make major contributions and where they should put down roots.

Abiko was born in 1865 in the village of Suibara, Niigata Prefecture. In 1885, he was able to make his way to San Francisco. After trying his hand at a restaurant and a laundry, he founded a major newspaper (the *Nichibei Shinbun*), the Japanese American Bank (the Nichibei Ginko), and the Japanese American Industrial Corporation (the Nichibei Kangyosha labor contracting firm). At its peak, between 1904 and 1907, Abiko's contracting firm supplied Japanese workers to American mines, farms, and railroads in Wyoming, Idaho, Nevada, California, and Utah (where it had a state-wide monopoly on contracts with sugar beet owners).

In 1906 and 1907, using capital from the bank and labor contracting firm, his personal resources, and money from investors, Abiko, with a handful of colleagues, financed the purchase of three contiguous tracts of empty land near the town of Livingston, California. The area offered several advantages. The Southern Pacific Railroad linked it to major markets in San Francisco and Los Angeles, the land was inexpensive, and prior plantings of vegetables and berries testified to the soil's fertility. The first settlers were truly "pioneers"; however, the colony consisted of empty sand, overrun by thousands of jackrabbits and seared by the desert sun.

Between 1906 and 1908 approximately 32 people moved to the Yamato Colony. As has been the case throughout its history, the community's greatest strength lay in its people. Most of the original settlers could speak some English. Two were fluent and played

important roles as intermediaries with the town. Most were older. Several were upper class and highly educated, including a civil engineer, a college professor of agriculture, a writer, a high school teacher, and two graduates of a farming school. Some who bought land were already wealthy and functioned as both settlers and financial backers of the colony project. About 16 were Christian. Three families, including four women and seven children, brought additional stability to the group.

As anti-Japanese prejudice intensified throughout the West Coast, the new community benefited from several advantages. Given their age, class, education, and in many cases their Christianity, the earliest settlers could not be easily demonized or dismissed by the people of the nearby town. Livingston also had a natural interest in the successful establishment of the farms as a potential boon to the local economy. Equally important, the Japanese adopted a cautious approach. There has never been a Japanese store inside or near the community, and community members have always attributed this to a promise of no competition made by their earliest leaders. Friendly relations were quickly cultivated, notably with the editor of the town's newspaper.

On the land, the colonists survived by endurance, hope, and collaboration. They planted grapes and orchards for the long-term future, stubbornly replanting whenever their crops were eaten by rabbits or buried by sandstorms. In 1908, they formed a Colony Association for discussion of community-wide issues. The organization of a purchasing cooperative for bulk foods was followed by the establishment of a cooperative marketing association, popularly called the *kumiai*. The community hired the *kumiai*'s first manager in 1914 and celebrated the building and opening of a community hall that year.

Establishment (1915–1919)

Despite the strength of anti-Japanese forces in California, the passage of the state's Alien Land Laws, and the Gentlemen's Agreement of 1908, the Yamato Colony took shape as a notably successful settlement, benefiting from a period of national prosperity.

The colony's survival depended upon the ability of would-be settlers to circumvent the Alien Land Laws, which prohibited the Japanese from owning or leasing land. Like Japanese throughout California, many early and later colonists bought land and protected their holdings through corporations created in the names of trusted friends or, increasingly, their own American-born children. Even a partial list of the colony's farm companies rings with poetry and hope: Delicious Fruit, Belle Terre, Eagle, Lucky, Mercy, Grace, Paradise, Peace, Sunnyside, Truth.

Marriage became another issue as the colony's crops reached maturity and provided means enough for workers to buy their own land and to marry. Again like many of their countrymen, the colony settlers found a way around government restrictions. In Japan, marriage is accomplished when a woman's name is added to the registry listing of the man's family. Once the men settled on their own farms in the Colony, they found brides, some by returning home and others by *shashin kekkon* (with the help of intermediaries, an exchange of photographs and family information that led to an arranged marriage finalized in Japan).

As Abiko had hoped, the colony gave the Japanese settlers roots. Reconstructing the population growth between 1915 and 1919, old timers later remembered the arrivals of 15 brides and the start of 16 new farms (7 in the contiguous colony of Cressey, which had been bought by Abiko and his associates in 1918).

A more complex community developed as the colony's population expanded and its farms reached full production. In 1916, with more fruits than it could sell in the San Francisco area, the colony's *kumiai* joined the California Fruit Exchange, a statewide cooperative with access to national markets. At about that time, the organization legally incorporated as the Livingston Cooperative Society and built a \$10,000 packing shed by the railroad tracks in town.

New organizations emerged. In 1917, 46 community members officially founded the Livingston Church of Christ. That year, the settlers dragged the old colony hall to 10 acres they purchased in the heart of the colony. Through donations, they built a modern parsonage, expanded the hall, and hired a minister, probably through the Methodist Conference. Church

groups and programs took stronger shape, and in 1918, the Colony Association and church created the area's first kindergarten. A white woman, hired to prepare the Japanese children for grade school, offered English and religious instruction and taught the children the Pledge of Allegiance and patriotic songs.

Maturity (1920–1940)

During the 1920s, anti-Japanese prejudice intensified. California passed two more alien land laws, Japan stopped issuing passports to picture brides, and in 1924 a national exclusion act halted any further immigration from Japan. The colony offered Issei and Nisei a haven, but external prejudice and the stress of the Depression affected every individual, every farm, and the community as a whole.

As recalled by Issei elders, between 1920 and 1922, approximately 23 families and couples moved to the Yamato Colony or to land next door in Cressey. Somewhere around that time, almost 10 men also found brides. Reacting to the population growth and influenced by anti-Japanese agitation in nearby towns, Livingston's Farm Center and Board of Trade endorsed an anti-Japanese resolution drafted by the newly formed California Exclusion League, calling, among other measures, for the removal of citizenship from American-born children. In 1920, for several months, two signs on the highway at either side of town proclaimed "No More Japanese Wanted Here."

Anti-Japanese sentiment among people in the town was far from universal. The colonists still had some allies and friends, but life changed. The vast majority of the colony's children grew up aware of anti-Japanese feelings in the town. Though they participated in high school sports teams and the boys joined the Boy Scouts, interracial dating was unthinkable and visits to the homes of white school friends happened rarely, if ever. The children of the earliest settlers had experienced no apparent barriers to relationships with their high school classmates. They left the community for college, but several returned home after graduation, forced back by prejudice and the bad economy of the Depression.

The mature Yamato Colony was far too complex to be described as "a family," a term often used by

the original settlers to indicate the intimacy of the early settlement. Years later, entering a community known as a Christian one, non-Christian settlers had to adjust. Informal separations emerged as people drew nearer to those who had come to the United States from their own prefectures. Financial pressures intensified the differences between larger, more established settlers and those who had come later, buying smaller plots and facing a bad economy that made it difficult for them to establish themselves. Probably reflecting these strains, in 1927 the *kumiai* divided into two separate organizations: the Livingston Fruit Exchange (dominated by members of the original *kumiai*) and the Livingston Fruit Growers Association.

Like any other community, the colony was no utopia, but it offered a rich life to all its members. The church served as a social center for men and women, young and old. In 1934, the colonists built a church social hall, which was used for Japanese language lessons, classes for *kendo* (a martial art), and occasional Japanese movies. Tennis courts were installed and open land made available for baseball games. Looking back, the Nisei remember growing up in what they describe as a haven.

War (1941–1945)

The bombing of Pearl Harbor and the "evacuation" of all Japanese Americans from the West Coast could have ended the Yamato Colony. Instead, utilizing friendships, business connections, and the strength of their cooperatives, the colonists were able to maintain ownership of all but a few farms, and the community regrouped after the war.

Like all other Japanese Americans throughout the West Coast, those in the Livingston area had little time to prepare for the evacuation. The final order for imprisonment was given on April 30, 1942, setting a deadline of May 13 for incarceration. In less than two weeks, workers put up an "assembly center" on the Merced County Fair Grounds. Intended for approximately 4,500 people—all the Japanese Americans in seven counties—the site was to include the Issei and Nisei of the Yamato Colony, their neighbors in Cressey, and those from nearby Cortez, a third colony opened by Abiko and his colleagues in 1919.

Preparing to leave, the families from all three colonies were confronted with the immediate need to arrange for the harvest of thousands of acres of fruit. They also had to find someone who could be trusted to manage the farms during their absence. The decision to define these as community problems proved critical. Members of the two *kumiai* from the Yamato and Cressey colonies, and the *kumiai* in Cortez, met to discuss options. Because of their fluency in English and their status as citizens, older Nisei took the lead. Ultimately, they made it possible for *kumiai* members to place their lands under the care of a joint trusteeship of three: a local lawyer and one representative each from the California Fruit Exchange and the Pacific Fruit Exchange (statewide marketing groups to which the *kumiais* belonged). The combined acreage and income from the three colonies enabled the group to hire G. A. Momberg, a manager who had handled foreclosed land for the Bank of America. With a legally binding agreement and trusted allies in key positions as advisors, trustees, and, in one case, as an employee, the farmers had done all they could to protect their interests. All but a few of the families in the Yamato, Cressey, and Cortez colonies chose to place their land under the joint trusteeship.

On May 13, 1942, the Issei, Nisei, and a handful of children born to Nisei couples entered the Merced Assembly Center under armed guard. Three months later, they were moved to the Amache Relocation Camp in Granada, Colorado. From there, the young people of the community dispersed. Some found jobs outside the camp. The National Japanese American Student Relocation Council, a group spearheaded by the Quakers, advocated for the Nisei and helped many of them enroll in colleges and universities far from the West Coast. Over two-thirds of the community's draft-age men served in the military, either as members of the 442nd combat team or in the Military Intelligence Service. Three young Nisei from the community lost their lives on battlefields in Europe.

When the exclusion orders were revoked on January 2, 1945, the Japanese Americans whose land had been managed by Momberg had the option to return to California. Care of the ranches varied according to individual renters, but none of the trust's farms were lost. Reentry was not easy, but in spite of open

hostility, shunning, and, in several cases, drive-by shootings, many chose to return.

The Nisei/Sansei Era

The community that reassembled following the war was smaller, but it again grew strong. The elderly Issei retired, and under the care of their Nisei children, the farms flourished. In 1957, the two *kumiai* merged to form the Livingston Farmers Association (LFA). Expansion became possible, and between 1958 and 1959, the group modernized its town packing shed, put up an almond shelling plant, constructed a new office building, and began constructing space for cold storage.

The church again became the center of community life. A new chapel was dedicated in 1950, and the church was renamed Grace Methodist. Though Issei, Nisei, and the Nisei's Sansei children met regularly with their contemporaries and worshipped in their own languages, services and events drew all three generations together. With time, the number of Issei decreased, and in 1968, the colony and town churches merged. Unified worship continued in the colony church.

By the 1960s and 1970s, the Colony had fulfilled its founder's dream. It provided the base for a good life rooted in America, and it served as a springboard for opportunities far beyond its borders, particularly for the community's Sansei children, who entered a world in which all professions were open to them and interracial relationships and marriages were possible.

Afterword (the Colony Today)

Changes in agriculture and the economy have made life challenging for anyone who wants to sustain a family on a small farm. Nonetheless, the community once known as the Yamato Colony still exists with surprising strength today. Though the majority of Nisei have died or moved away, 22 Nisei households may be found in or near the Colony. Eleven Sansei children have returned home, nine of whom are running the family farms (either themselves or through a spouse). The *kumiai* (still the Livingston Farmers Association) handles over \$6 million in business and includes a few of the original Nisei among its members.

The city of Livingston has encroached on the family farms, but the Colony exerts a powerful hold on the hearts of its members, many of whom now live thousands of miles away. In 2007, advised by a small group of Nisei, a committee of Sansei planned a two-day celebration honoring the 100th anniversary of the Colony's founding. This drew more than 500 people, some of whom traveled from the East Coast and Japan. A committee of Nisei and Sansei also created and in 2010 dedicated a memorial on the Merced Fairgrounds to recognize and warn against the kind of hatred that led to the community's imprisonment during the war.

Year in and year out, the church still unifies the community. Nisei and Sansei gather annually for a church fundraiser that has roots in the Japanese celebration of the New Year. Working together, they steam, pound, and form five hundred pounds of sweet rice into the *mochi* that is traditionally eaten on New Year's Day. Sansei parents are also drawn back to the community every summer from far distances for *Tomodachi Gakko*, a one-week program introducing their children to the songs, language, and crafts of Japan.

During its height, the Yamato Colony robustly nurtured three generations of Japanese Americans and, later, the children of the small number of Sansei who returned to the farms. It is a community treasured by those who trace their roots there.

Kesaya E. Noda

See also Japanese Americans

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Yamauchi, Wakako (1924–)

Born in the Imperial Valley of Southern California to Issei parents, the Nakamuras, Wakako Yamauchi could rightly be described as the “matriarch” of Asian American theater. The road to playwriting did not come automatically to her. She started writing prose in her 30s. Her literary background lay in reading *The Book of Knowledge* her father purchased, plus pouring over newspapers and magazines. As a young girl growing up in the vastness of the Imperial Valley, Yamauchi listened to the stories of her mother, which proved to be an invaluable source for her writing. These were pastoral tales of loyalty, tragedy, and love. The other inspiration came from the set of *The Book of Knowledge* that her father had purchased from a traveling salesman. These sources, plus pouring over newspapers and magazines, served to establish a lasting love of writing and literature. However, the alien land laws of that period made it mandatory that the family move on every few years. One can sense the theme of constant shifting and dislocation of family life in the works of Yamauchi. In the wake of World War II, the Nakamuras were interned in Poston, Arizona where Yamauchi got to meet the Japanese American writer Hisaye Yamamoto. Her interest in books plus a talent for painting soon had her working for the camp's *Poston Chronicle*.

The initial attempt at writing by Yamauchi was in the form of prose. It was a short story, *And the Soul Shall Dance* (1966), which was first picked up by the Japanese American periodical, *Los Angeles Rafu Shimpu*. In 1973, the editors of *Aiiieeeee* (Frank Chin, Lawson Inada, Shawn Wong, and Jeffery Paul Chan) published the story in an anthology that came to the attention of Mako Iwamatsu, then artistic director of the East West Players. He encouraged Yamauchi

to adapt the short story into a play. A Rockefeller Foundation grant was awarded Yamauchi, and in 1976 the story was turned into a play. “I was sort of pushed into playwriting” says Yamauchi.

Converting prose to drama was in itself a daunting task. Dialogue had to be added and this meant a creation of a different kind of poetry. Yamauchi is of the opinion that her writing has a sense of the Japanese *enryo* or self-restraint. Say less, be simple. She feels she is more “earthy” in her writings as compared to the intellectual acumen of her friend Hisaye Yamamoto: “Every story reflects its economic and political times. Nothing is in a vacuum.”

And the Soul Shall Dance won the Los Angeles Drama Critics Circle Award for best new play of 1977. The following year it was shown as a television film on PBS and was repeated on the Arts and Entertainment Channel in 1987. Intergenerational bonding and collective action versus individual self-interest form the basis of Yamauchi’s work. She is firmly of the opinion that “Every story reflects its economic and political times. Nothing is in a vacuum. I simply felt the need to put down a few footprints of our sojourn here.”

This play was followed by *12-1-A* (1982), which like *Soul* addressed the issues of economics, power, racism, and the new specter of war. The characters were simple but not of simple minds. The society and politics of the time were vividly captured by the playwright. This is also very evident in *The Music Lessons* (1980) (based on her short story *In Heaven and Earth*), which preceded *12-1-A* and again addressed the issues of being a woman and growing up in the harshness of the Imperial Valley. Yamauchi’s next effort was a departure in theme. *The Chairman’s Wife* (1990) focused on a public figure; in this case the wife of Chairman Mao. But here again the woman in question is faced with the challenges posed by power.

Yamauchi did return to prose with the seminal *Songs My Mother Taught Me* (1994), a looking back at a writing career spanning over four decades. Her simple, lyrical plot structures were a testament to her growing up during the Great Depression. As she herself stated, “We are a tribe of wanderers remembering a garden we’d left or looking for an Eden that waits.”

Yamauchi’s writings seem to follow a timeline of Japanese American history, early immigration and rural settlement, World War II and the camps, and postwar readjustment.

The East West Players and The Mark Taper Forum have staged readings of Yamauchi’s *Shirley Temple*, *Hotcha-Cha* and *Songs That Made the Hit Parade*. The East West Players have also premiered one-act plays, *A Fine Day*, *The Trip*, and *Stereoscope*. Yamauchi has won the American Theater Critics Regional Award for Outstanding Play (1977) and two Rockefeller Foundation playwriting fellowships (1979, 1985).

In October 2010, the University of Hawaii Press published *Rosebud and Other Stories*, a collection of short stories by Yamauchi. Commenting on the book, Professor Paul Spickard of the University of California, Santa Barbara, wrote: “It is not often that we get to hear a voice of an older Asian American woman in fiction, and that voice is richly present here in stories that celebrate change, memory, relationships, things that are lost . . . and kept.”

Ambi Harsha

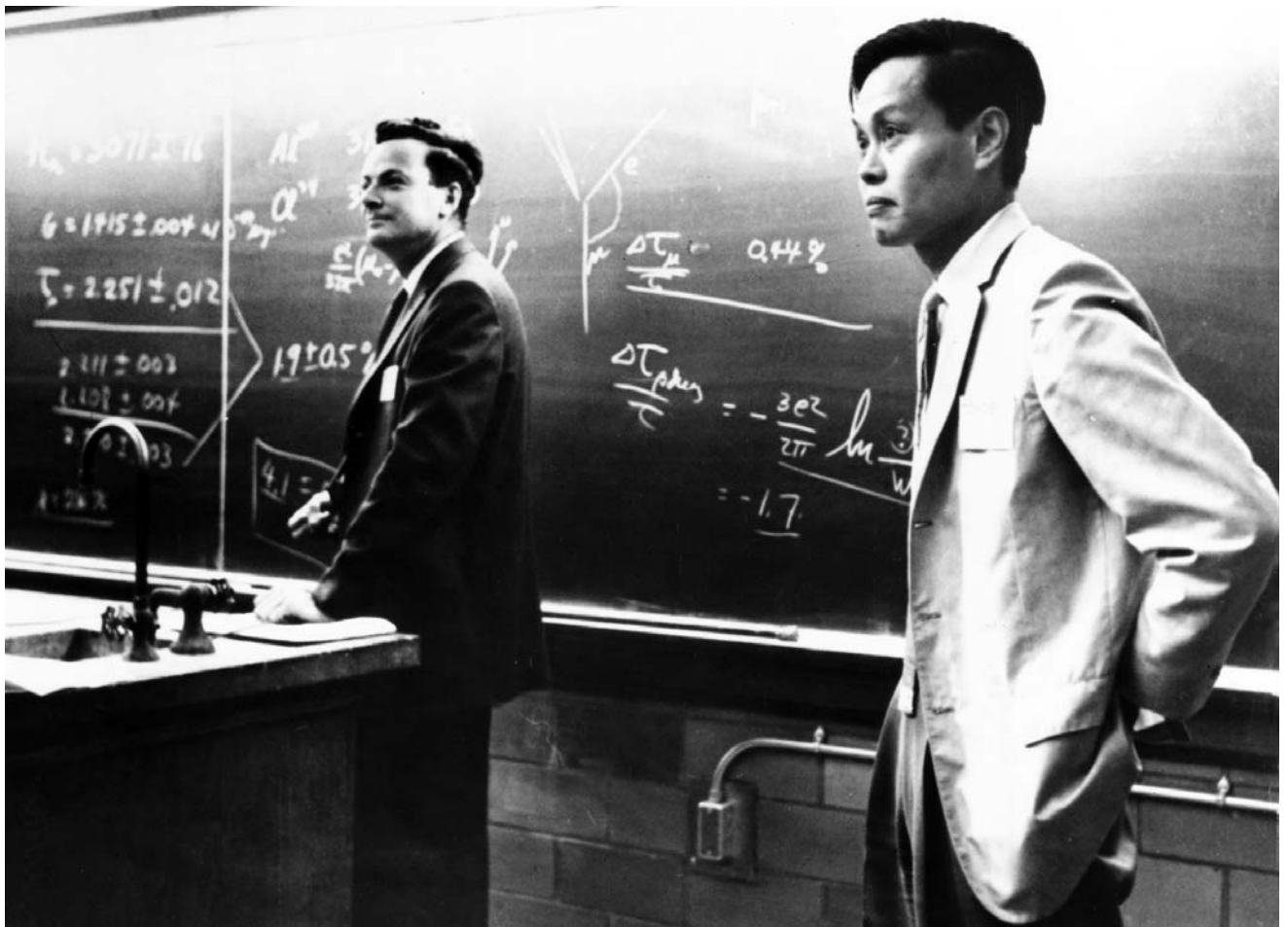
See also Chan, Jeffery Paul; Chin, Frank; Inada, Lawson Fusao; Spickard, Paul Russell; Wong, Shawn

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Yang, Chen Ning (1922–)

Chen Ning Yang is one of the leading theoretical physicists in the world and an influential leader in the Chinese American scientific community. Sharing the Nobel Prize in Physics for 1957, he has played a key role in facilitating U.S.-China scientific and educational exchanges and in promoting basic scientific research and education in mainland China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and the rest of Asia.



Chinese American Nobel Laureate Chen Ning Yang with Richard Feynman in 1955. (SSPL/Getty Images)

Chen Ning Yang was born on October 1, 1922, in Hefei, Anhui, China. His mother, Luo Menghua, taught him to read, and his father, Yang Wuzhi, received a PhD in mathematics from the University of Chicago and became a professor, eventually at the prestigious Qinghua (Tsinghua) University in Beijing, where the family moved in 1929. Yang excelled in school but his sheltered environment collapsed when the Japanese invaded China in the mid-1930s and his family joined the refugees eventually to Kunming in Southwest China.

In 1938, Yang enrolled in the Southwestern Associated University in Kunming, which combined the three most prestigious Chinese universities (Beijing, Qinghua, and Nankai). Yang at first majored in chemistry but soon switched to theoretical physics, finishing with a bachelor's in 1942 and a master's degree in 1944, impressing his professors with his talent in using

mathematics to solve physics problems. After teaching in a middle school in Kunming for a year, Yang won a Boxer fellowship, which enabled him to follow in his father's footsteps to the United States to pursue a PhD at the University of Chicago, where he gave himself the English name "Frank" in honor of Benjamin Franklin. He initially worked on experimental physics under the eminent Italian American physicist Enrico Fermi, but in the end proved to himself and others that it was not his cup of tea. "Where there is a bang, there is Yang," his friends joked. He returned to theoretical physics but remained in close touch with experiments. He collaborated with Tsung-Dao Lee, a fellow student from Southwest, on a paper on the so-called "weak interactions" among subatomic particles. Both of them also took classes with the Indian American astrophysicist Subrahmanyan Chandrasekhar on Chicago's faculty. In 1948, Yang finished a theoretical paper on

nuclear reactions under the supervision of the Hungarian American physicist Edward Teller and received his PhD.

Yang stayed on for another year at Chicago as a physics instructor before moving to the Institute for Advanced Studies at Princeton where he married Du Zhili, one of his former students from Kunming in 1950, and gained the prestigious status of a “Permanent Member” of the institute in 1954. That same year, Yang spent the summer visiting the Brookhaven National Laboratory on Long Island where he devised, with a graduate student Robert Mills, the so-called Yang-Mills gauge field theory to describe patterns of interactions between elementary particles. It has since become one of the most fundamental theories in physics with far-reaching impact even in mathematics. In fact, Yang would later recognize that the mathematical framework of his theory is the so-called theory of connections on fiber bundles, an area pioneered by the Chinese American mathematician Shiing-Shen Chern, Yang’s former teacher and lifelong friend.

Yang’s best-known work on the breakdown of left-right parity in the microcosm derived from his renewed collaboration with T. D. Lee in the 1950s. In 1956, the two studied the problem of theta and tau, two so-called “strange particles” that shared everything except for their decay patterns, which puzzled physicists. There was one solution to the problem, but it would lead to a violation of parity conservation. In physics, when a physical system and its mirror image behave identically and follow the same laws, it is said that parity was conserved. In all of physics up to that point, it was widely believed that all processes in nature obeyed this law of parity conservation.

Yang and Lee, however, decided to check whether parity conservation was ever explicitly tested in a relatively new process in physics—weak interactions that governed how a particle from an atomic nucleus decayed into others. To their surprise, they found that parity conservation had never been experimentally established for weak interactions as for the other three fundamental forces in nature: the electromagnetic, gravitational, and strong interactions. They published a paper entitled “Question of parity nonconservation in weak interactions,” suggesting that parity conservation was violated in weak interactions and proposed

several experiments to test their hypothesis. Against widespread skepticism, Chien Shiung Wu, Lee’s Chinese American colleague at Columbia, conducted an experiment with scientists at the National Bureau of Standards in Washington, D.C., and proved Yang and Lee to be right. The news electrified the world of physics as a fundamental law of physics was overturned. Yang and Lee received the Nobel Prize in Physics in 1957 “for their penetrating investigation of the so-called parity laws which has led to important discoveries regarding the elementary particles.”

Lee and Yang continued their fruitful collaboration when Lee visited Princeton in the early 1960s. In 1962, however, personal friction developed and their collaboration stopped, partly over a dispute about credit for their famous discovery. In 1966, Yang accepted an invitation to become the Albert Einstein Professor and the founding director of an Institute of Theoretical Physics at the new State University of New York at Stony Brook. His work in this period led to the so-called Yang-Baxter equation with widespread applications and growing importance in both physics and mathematics.

In 1971, Yang became one of the first Chinese American scientists to visit the People’s Republic of China. Yang felt strongly about the need to modernize his country of origin and sought to help revitalize Chinese science and technology partly by re-establishing U.S.-China scientific exchanges. He pushed for reforms in science and education policy when he met with Zhou Enlai, the Chinese premier, during his 1971 trip, and with Mao Zedong, the Chinese communist leader, in 1972. In the United States, he became a prominent voice in promoting U.S.-China reopening of relations. In 1977, he became president of the National Association of Chinese Americans and pushed for the reestablishment of U.S.-PRC diplomatic relations, which finally took place in 1979. Traveling frequently to mainland China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong, Yang became an influential advisor to policy-makers and a popular lecturer on science and culture in the greater China. He retired from SUNY in 1999, and in 2003, after the death of his wife, moved to Qinghua in Beijing where he works as a professor and lives in a special residence built for him by the university with his second wife, Weng Fan, whom he married in 2004.

Zuoyue Wang

See also Chandrasekhar, Subrahmanyan; Chern, Shiing-Shen; Chinese Americans; Wu, Chien-Shiung

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Yang, Gene Luen

See Graphic Novelists

Yang, Henry T.

Henry T. Yang is the fifth and current chancellor of the University of California, Santa Barbara. He has held the chancellorship since joining the university in 1994. A professor of mechanical engineering, Yang continues to teach an annual undergraduate engineering course, and guides several graduate students at UC Santa Barbara.

Born in Taiwan, Yang received a BS degree in civil engineering from the National Taiwan University. He received a master's degree in structural engineering from West Virginia University before completing his doctorate in the same field at Cornell University.

Yang formerly held the Neil A. Armstrong Distinguished Professorship of Aeronautics and Astronautics at Purdue University. When at Purdue, Yang also served as dean of engineering, a post he held for 10 years, as well as director of the university's Computer Integrated Design, Manufacturing, and Automation Center.

A widely published authority in the field of structural engineering, Yang has authored or coauthored over 170 articles in scientific journals. He is regarded as an expert in numerous subjects, including aerospace

structures, structural dynamics, transonic aeroelasticity, wind and earthquake structural engineering, intelligent manufacturing systems, and finite elements, having authored a commonly used textbook on the last subject. He has garnered numerous awards and accolades over the course of his academic career, including five honorary doctorates, the Benjamin G. Lamme Medal from the American Institute of Electrical Engineers, as well as the Structures, Structural Dynamics, and Materials Award from the American Institute of Aeronautics and Astronautics.

In addition to his academic career, Yang has also served in a number of advisory capacities, consulting for the United States Department of Defense, the Air Force, the Navy, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA), and the National Science Foundation (NSF). In 2009, he became one of 14 appointees to the President's Committee of the National Medal of Science, an award bestowed by the NSF. Yang is also a member of the board of the Kavli Foundation, which promotes the advancement of science, especially in the fields of astrophysics, nanoscience, and neuroscience. The Kavli Foundation has a close relationship with UC Santa Barbara, having established two professorships as well as the famed Kavli Institute for Theoretical Physics on the campus.

During Yang's tenure as chancellor, UC Santa Barbara has advanced its standing as a major research university. In 1995, shortly after Yang accepted a position at UC Santa Barbara, it was invited to join the Association of American Universities, an organization of 63 leading research universities in the United States and Canada. Five UC Santa Barbara faculty members have won Nobel Prizes during Yang's chancellorship.

In 2007, Yang was awarded an honorary distinguished teaching award by UC Santa Barbara's Academic Senate. In 2009, he succeeded Princeton University president Shirley Tilghman as the chair of the Association of American Universities.

As chancellor, Yang has advocated for keeping UC Santa Barbara accessible and affordable for all students. In 2010, he supported the University of California's Blue and Gold Plan, which ensures that students with annual family incomes below \$70,000 pay no fees or tuition to the university. During the same year, UC Santa Barbara received a record

number of freshman applicants, as well as an increase of nearly 40 percent over two years in the number of transfer applicants. Yang has also been noted for his commitment to improving the overall health and safety of UC Santa Barbara students through drug and alcohol education.

During his chancellorship, Yang has faced significant cuts to the university's funds as part of statewide budget deficits. In 2009, he was criticized by students for his perceived inaction against diminishing budgets and rising student costs. However, during his tenure, UC Santa Barbara has experienced record sums of donations from private sources. In 2010, the amount of charitable contributions to the university exceeded \$40 million, the highest in its history. The overall campaign, launched by Yang in 2000, surpassed the expected target of \$500 million by nearly 10 percent. In 2009, UC Santa Barbara completed construction on a \$101 million facility funded largely by private donations. The building will house the Gevirtz Graduate School of Education, as well as UC Santa Barbara's communication, film and media studies, global studies, and sociology departments.

Yang and his wife, Diling, are fixtures on UC Santa Barbara's campus and often interact with students both on campus and in Isla Vista, California, the adjacent student community. The two are known to tour Isla Vista on Halloween, traditionally a night of extreme revelry in the community. In 2001, both were named honorary alumni of UC Santa Barbara.

Winston Chou

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Yang, Qing (Yong Seen Sarng) (1811–1882)

Yang Qing, an early Chinese sojourner in Virginia and the American South in 1846 and 1847, became the first Chinese Baptist evangelist, ministering in Shanghai from 1847 and Guangzhou from 1851. One of the

earliest portraited Asians in America, a participant of the Southern Baptist Convention meeting in Richmond in June 1846, a missionary supported by the First Baptist Church of Richmond, Virginia, and participant in a fund-raising tour of American southern states, Yang is the best documented of the early Asian American sojourners.

Yang was born in 1811 in Shan Country, Guangdong, China. At an early age he relocated to Macau. Virginians Jehu Lewis Shuck (1812–1863) and Henrietta Hall Shuck (1817–1844), the first Baptist missionaries to China, entered Macau September 17, 1836. In 1838 Shuck engaged Yang as his Chinese language teacher in Macau. The Shucks moved to Hong Kong on March 19, 1842. They started two churches and a small school. By the beginning of 1844, Yang was one three Chinese assistants of the mission. Yang was baptized by Shuck on September 1, 1844. Shuck and Yang were engaged in Guangzhou in early April 1845.

In October 1845, Rev. Shuck left Guangzhou to take three of his children back to the United States, accompanied by Yang and a Chinese nursemaid, Mecha (1832–). The Tonquin arrived in New York, February 17, 1846. In March 1846 Shuck and Qing attended the monthly meeting of Moraticco Baptist Church, Kilmarnock, Virginia, where Shuck's father-in-law was copastor. The Female Missionary Society of the First Baptist Church, Richmond, agreed to pay Yang's salary and expenses, and in the same month Yang was appointed an evangelist by the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention. On April 16, Shuck and Yang began to canvass funds to build a chapel in Guangzhou. They visited Middlesex County, Petersburg and Charlottesville, Virginia; Washington, D.C., and Baltimore, Maryland. In a May 1846 meeting of the Foreign Mission Board along with two others, Yang was appointed as a native missionary at a salary of \$150 per annum. On May 19, 1846, Shuck and Yong attended the meeting of the Boston Foreign Mission Board of the Triennial Baptist Convention, which now represented Northern Baptists only. Both Yang and Shuck then attended the second meeting of the Southern Baptist Convention held in Richmond, Virginia, June 11, 1846. When in Richmond a portrait of Yang in traditional Chinese attire

was executed and still hangs at the Virginia Baptist Historical Society at the University of Richmond.

In June and July 1846 Shuck and Yang then toured Raleigh and Fayetteville, North Carolina; Cheraw, Society Hill, Camden, Columbia and Charleston, South Carolina; Savannah, Georgia; and Marion, Alabama. They then traveled to Columbia, Mississippi and arrived in Nashville, Tennessee on August 21 before visiting Enon and Murfreesboro, Tennessee and St. Louis, Missouri. On October 14, 1846, Shuck was married to Eliza G. Sexton (1824–1851) a teacher at Judson Female Institute, in Marion, Alabama.

Mecha was baptized December 6, 1846 at Indian Creek, Kilmarnock, Virginia. In the December 1846 meeting of the Foreign Mission Board, a decision was made to begin a mission in Shanghai and to reassign Shuck and Yang to this new mission. On December 18, 1846, Yang and four Americans, J. L. Shuck, T. Tobey, M. T. Yates and J. S. James and their wives were designated as missionaries to Shanghai, China at a service held at the First Baptist Church, Richmond. On March 11, 1847 the Rev. and Mrs. Shuck, Shuck's daughter Henrietta, Mecha and Yang, along with the Tobey's and Francis C. Johnson set sail from Boston aboard the *Ashburton*. They arrived in Hong Kong July 25. There they were delayed so that Mrs. Shuck could deliver a son on August 20, and Yang made a brief visit to Guangzhou. The Shucks, Mecha and Yang arrived in Shanghai October 27, 1847. Yang was engaged in preaching and tract translation and distribution.

In March 1851 Yang transferred to Guangzhou, where he served as an agent of the Southern Baptist mission for the remainder of his life. When he was pastor of Dongshijiao Baptist Church, Guangzhou the church grew to a membership of 190 members. He continued to be supported by the Ladies' Missionary Society of First Baptist Church, Richmond, Virginia, until his death, December 26, 1882. His son was executed by the Qing government and became a martyr of the Republican revolutionary cause.

Thomas G. Oey

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Yao Ming (1980–)

At 7' 6" tall, Yao Ming, who signed to play with the Houston Rockets basketball team as a rookie in 2002, towered over most professional players in the National Basketball Association (NBA) of the United States and played for the Chinese Basketball Association (CBA); he was also an international basketball sensation and a transnational basketball athlete.

Born on September 12, 1980, in Shanghai, China, Yao is the only child of Yao Zhiyuan and Fang Fengdi, both basketball players in Shanghai. Significantly taller than his peers, playing basketball seemed a destiny and a gift for Yao; however, as a child he had other dreams. He was initially coached by his parents when he was nine. At the age of 12, Yao entered Shanghai Sports School to be trained as a professional basketball player. In 1994 when he was 14 years old, Yao emerged as the center of the Shanghai Youth Basketball Team. During the 1997–1998 season of the Chinese Basketball Association (CBA), the 17-years-old Yao played for the Shanghai Sharks, a club team sponsored by private enterprises. His unusual height and popularity in China was quickly noticed by the Nike Company of America.

Invited by Nike to attend a summer basketball camp in Paris in 1997, Yao impressed NBA players and executives. Later he attended the Nike All-American camp in the United States along with 200 other NBA prospects and became one of the camp's top centers. In 1999, Yao was added to the Chinese National Men's Basketball Team. Yao and his

teammates beat other Asian men's basketball teams to qualify for the 2000 Summer Olympics in Sydney, Australia. Yao's outstanding performance in domestic and international championships between 2000 and 2002 gained him tremendous fame in China. His Chinese fans nicknamed Yao "Little Giant."

When Yao reached 22, the legal age to play in NBA, he was immediately considered as a top pro prospect. In the 2002 NBA draft, Yao created an international media sensation as the number one overall draft pick by the Houston Rockets and signed a four-year contract with them for \$17.8 million. During the 2002–2003 season, Yao helped the Rockets to win some significant games against the top NBA teams. His high level of performance won him a large number of fans in both the United States and Asia. He was voted by the fans as the starting center for the NBA All-Star Game. Meanwhile, Yao played for China during the off-season and led the China Men's Basketball Team to the 2004 Summer Olympics in Athens, Greece.

With his global fame, a good sense of humor, and a very likable personality, Yao quickly became a favorite of the media. In 2004 he was the subject of a documentary film, *The Year of the Yao*, and he cowrote an autobiography titled *Yao: A Life in Two Worlds*. He was a global marketing poster man for the NBA and business corporations, and starred in commercials for Nike, Apple Computer, VISA Card, Pepsi, McDonald's, and many other large enterprises. Incomes from the NBA and endorsements made him one of the richest Chinese in the world.

After 2005, because of frequent foot injuries, Yao Ming missed many games during the NBA season, but he remained a favorite athlete among NBA fans. The voters selected him to attend the 2006 All-Star Game. In his six seasons in the NBA, Yao was voted by the fans into the All-Star Team six times and the All-NBA Team four times. With the 2008 Olympics taking place in Beijing, Yao returned to China as expected by Chinese fans to represent the Chinese national basketball team in the event.

Off the basketball court, Yao was involved in many charity activities in both China and the United States. He has been in the NBA's Basketball without Border program since he joined in the NBA. In 2003

he hosted a multinational telethon to raise money for battling SARS. In June 2008 Yao created "The Yao Ming Foundation" to raise funds supporting children's wellness and welfare courses; its initial effort was to raise funds for rebuilding schools destroyed by a massive earthquake that happened on May 12, 2008, in China's Sichuan and Gansu provinces. Yao pledged \$2 million to this fund. When areas of Galveston and Houston, Texas, were hit by Hurricane Ike in the fall of 2008, the foundation supported nonprofit organizations in their reconstruction efforts. Yao and his NBA teammates also launched several charity basketball games in China.

In the summer of 2007, Yao was married to Ye Li, a female basketball player in Shanghai, China. They had a baby girl on May 22, 2010.

In his final six seasons, however, Yao missed 250 regular games due to injuries. On July 20, 2011, Yao announced his retirement from Basketball.

Biyu Li

See also Lin, Jeremy

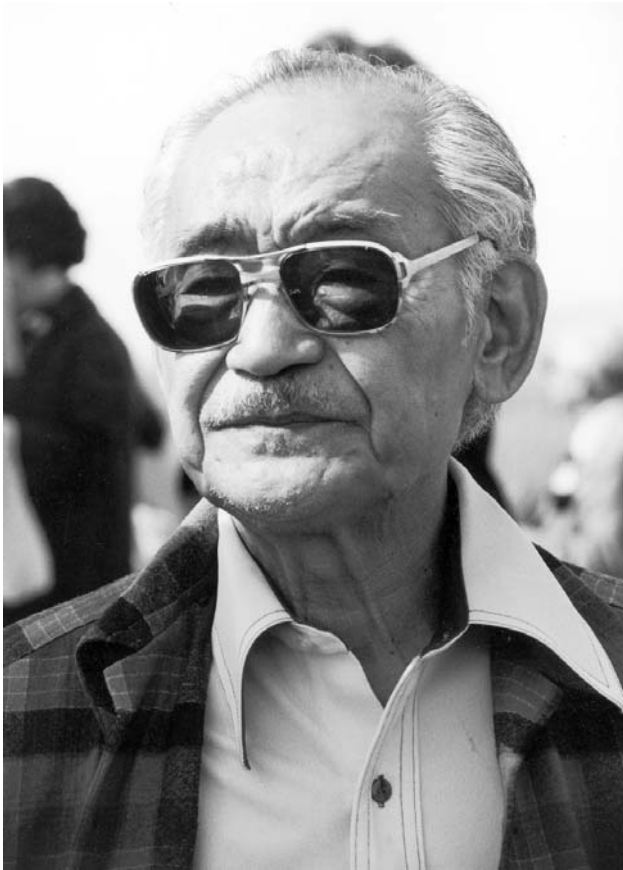
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Yasui v. United States (1943)

The appeal of Minoru Yasui, a Nisei attorney convicted after challenging discriminatory race-based government orders against Japanese Americans, was one of the Japanese internment cases heard by the U.S. Supreme Court during World War II.

Minoru Yasui was born in 1916, the eldest son of a prosperous farmer in Hood River, Oregon. Yasui received his law degree at the University of Oregon (where he also underwent military training and received a lieutenant's commission in the Army Reserve). After being accepted to the bar, he was



Japanese American lawyer Minoru Yasui at the detention camp in Topaz, Utah, where he was held during World War II. (Carl Iwasaki/Time Life Pictures/Getty Images)

unable to secure work in Oregon, and instead took a job as an attaché with the Japanese consulate in Chicago. He meanwhile organized a Boy Scout troop among local Nisei. In days following the Pearl Harbor attack, the Japanese consulate closed its doors. Yasui rejoined the Army, but was discharged on racial grounds within a few days. Meanwhile, his father was arrested as a potentially dangerous enemy alien and interned in Missoula, Montana (where he remained until 1945). Yasui was outraged by Executive Order 9066. On March 28, 1942, when a special curfew imposed on all people of Japanese ancestry by West Coast Defense commander General John DeWitt went into effect, Yasui decided to bring a test case to challenge its constitutionality. After arranging with a local attorney, Earl Bernard, to defend him, he ostentatiously walked the streets after curfew to draw an arrest. When nobody stopped him, he went to a police

station and demanded to be charged so that he could bring his test case.

Because Yasui and his attorney sought to challenge the constitutionality of Executive Order 9066 and its enforcing statutes broadly, they were denied assistance by the American Civil Liberties Union, whose national board declared the order constitutional and sanctioned only challenges to its exclusive application to Japanese Americans. Furthermore, once Yasui's case was brought, the plaintiff and his attorney became enmeshed in legal and strategic disputes with the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL). Although Yasui had been associated with the JACL before the war, the organization had resolved on a policy of full cooperation with the government. As a result, the national JACL announced its opposition to test cases to determine the constitutionality of military regulations and refused Yasui its moral or financial support, denouncing him publicly as a "self-styled martyr." (The JACL's policy of nonassistance persisted until early 1943, when the Yasui case, and that of his fellow Nisei Gordon Hirabayashi, went before the Supreme Court.)

Yasui's case was argued before Judge James A. Fee at the federal courthouse in Portland, Oregon on June 12, 1942. Fee had recruited a set of the city's leading lawyers as "friends of the court" to advise whether General DeWitt's curfew against Nisei violated the rights of American citizens, but also if Yasui had forfeited his American citizenship through his employment with the Japanese consulate. The federal government's legal team, led by U.S. Attorney Carl Donaugh, was handicapped by the fact that it could produce no evidence of disloyal conduct by Yasui (or any other Nisei). Instead, the government's brief argued that on the basis of their racial characteristics, all people of Japanese ancestry could be assumed to pose a threat to national security. Donaugh also attempted to introduce witnesses at trial to testify to the allegedly hostile and dangerous nature of ethnic Japanese, but Judge Fee sustained Bernard's objection that such an argument was irrelevant. Conversely, Fee himself interrogated Yasui in court about his supposed attachment to Japan.

Judge Fee did not release his ruling in the case until November 1942. Most of his opinion was

devoted to his finding that the application of a curfew to Nisei violated their citizenship rights as Americans. However, Fee ruled that Yasui had given up his American citizenship through his prewar employment with the Japanese consulate and found that the curfew was thus enforceable against him as an enemy alien. One possible inference for this curious ruling is that it provided Judge Fee a way to express his opposition to the government's arbitrary conduct without actually providing a precedent for interfering with military orders. In any case, Fee sentenced Yasui to a year in prison, a \$5,000 fine, and loss of his U.S. citizenship. (Yasui ultimately spent nine months in prison at the Multnomah County jail.)

The case was quickly brought up for appeal to the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals, alongside those of Gordon Hirabayashi and Fred Korematsu. The Yasui case was argued in February 1943. Earl Bernard argued in support of Judge Fee's position that the curfew violated the citizenship rights of Nisei and only contested the assertion that Yasui had forfeited his citizenship by working for the Japanese consulate. Edward Ennis, representing the government, conceded that Yasui had not renounced his American citizenship, but argued again that the curfew was constitutional under the government's war powers. In view of the importance of the questions involved, the 9th Circuit declined to rule on the cases of Yasui and his fellow defendants and instead certified for the Supreme Court the essential question of whether DeWitt's curfew and registration orders represented a constitutional exercise of the war powers of the president. In late March 1943, the United States Supreme Court agreed to hear the Yasui and Hirabayashi cases.

As the two sides prepared their briefs, government officials engaged in widespread manipulation of evidence, particularly in regard to the justification for Executive Order 9066. Although General DeWitt had ordered mass removal because it was allegedly impossible to determine or trust the loyalty of individuals of Japanese ancestry, in their court arguments Justice Department lawyers adopted the more defensible stance that there was simply not sufficient time to make any such determination in the emergency situation on the West Coast during the spring of 1942. In April 1943, General DeWitt sent Assistant Secretary

of War John J. McCloy, the chief official on mass removal, a copy of the Final Report he had prepared on "Japanese evacuation." There DeWitt repeated that ethnic Japanese were untrustworthy on racial grounds and that lack of time had not been a factor in his decision. McCloy ordered DeWitt to recall and destroy all copies of the Final Report and then to rewrite it to match the new line the government had adopted in court. McCloy concealed both the existence of the Final Report and the information it contained from the Justice Department lawyers arguing the case.

Meanwhile, in addition to Yasui's attorney, two new players joined his defense. The ACLU, represented by attorney A. L. Wirin, presented the case that the discriminatory curfew imposed on citizens of Japanese ancestry alone violated their constitutional right to equal protection. In addition, the JACL issued an *amicus curiae* brief, which, though nominally directed to the Hirabayashi case, in fact covered Yasui as well. The JACL brief (secretly drafted, ironically, by anthropologist Morris Opler, who worked for the government as a "community analyst" at the Manzanar WRA camp) drew attention to the long history of West Coast anti-Japanese American prejudice that preceded and informed the campaign for mass removal, and to the fraudulent nature of the arguments about Japanese "racial characteristics" that underlay the government's defense of its policy.

The Yasui case was argued before the Supreme Court on May 11, 1943. Six weeks later, on June 21, the court issued its decision. As in the *Hirabayashi* case, decided simultaneously, the court unanimously upheld DeWitt's race-based curfew order as an emergency war measure, finding the curfew reasonably related to the purposes for which it was intended—the army's broad and unsubstantiated claim of military necessity. At the same time, the justices overturned Judge Fee's ruling that Yasui had forfeited all his citizenship rights by working for the Japanese consulate. On remand, Judge Fee restored Yasui's citizenship, resented him to time served, and sent him for confinement at the Minidoka WRA camp.

After the war, Minoru Yasui settled in Denver, Colorado, where he became a lawyer, newspaper columnist, and civic leader. In 1983, lawyer/scholar Peter Irons, who had discovered archival evidence of

government manipulation of evidence in the Japanese internment cases, offered to bring a challenge to Yasui and his fellow wartime defendants' convictions by means of a *coram nobis* petition. Yasui consented, and a legal team headed by Oregon attorney Peggy Nagae took up his case. Unlike in the case of Fred Korematsu, however, Yasui's petition failed to bring about a reconsideration of the official malfeasance involved in his prosecution. In 1984, district judge Robert C. Belloni issued an order vacating Yasui's conviction, in accordance with a motion by Justice Department officials anxious to dispose of the case, but declined to either grant Yasui's *coram nobis* petition or to make findings of fact regarding the record of official misconduct. Yasui and his lawyers appealed the ruling, but he died in November 1986, thereby mooting the case before the appeal could be decided.

Greg Robinson

See also Hirabayashi v. United States (1943); Japanese American Citizens League (JACL); *Korematsu v. United States* (1943); *Korematsu, Hirabayashi, and Yasui Coram Nobis Cases*

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Yasui v. United States. 320 U.S. 115 (1943)

Yau, Shing-Tong (1949–)

Shing-Tung Yau is a leading mathematician in the world in the late-twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, especially in the area of differential geometry and partial differential equations, and, as a prominent Chinese American scientist, has played an active role in promoting U.S.-China scientific exchange and science and education in mainland China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan.

Shing-tung Yau (Qiu Chengtong in *pinyin*) was born in 1949 in Shantou, Guangdong, China, but grew up in Hong Kong where his father, Qiu Zhenying, was a college philosophy teacher. In the early 1960s, Yau attended the renowned Pei Ching (Peizheng) Middle School in Hong Kong and became intensely interested in plane geometry. His passion for mathematics was further reinforced when he read an autobiographical

article by the eminent Chinese American mathematician Shiing-Shen Chern. In 1966, Yau entered the Chinese University of Hong Kong to study mathematics but moved three years later to the University of California at Berkeley to pursue graduate studies under Chern. At Berkeley, besides working with Chern in differential geometry, Yau also studied differential equations with other professors, believing that cross-fertilization was key to the future of mathematics. In-depth knowledge of both fields indeed proved to be crucial to his success as it helped lay the foundation for Yau's research in integrating the two. Yau received his PhD in 1971, after spending less than two years at Berkeley.

After graduation from Berkeley, Yau went to the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton where he ventured into yet another new field, topology, and did research on a number of important mathematical problems. A year later, he moved to the State University of New York, Stony Brook, to become an assistant professor of mathematics. There he came to know some of the well-known figures in differential geometry and learned much from them. Nevertheless he decided to leave Stony Brook after one year because he did not want to be influenced too much by their established views. He wanted rather to develop his own ideas, so he moved next to Stanford University, which offered him a professorship in 1973.

At Stanford Yau enjoyed a period of intense thinking and research on mathematical problems, especially on the relationship between differential geometry and differential equations. To Yau, Stanford offered an environment of relative isolation that allowed him to develop his own ideas. He was, however, able to find stimulation from young mathematicians there, such as Leon Simon and Richard Schoen, and keep in touch with his friends at Berkeley. Combining his expertise in both differential equations and differential geometry, Yau in 1976 solved the famous Calabi conjecture, a study that involved Chern classes. It was perhaps the most influential and most important work of Yau's mathematical career and gave rise to the so-called "Calabi-Yau spaces" that lie at the foundation of string theory, the "theory of everything" that physicists are trying to devise. At the same time Yau proved the positive mass conjecture, which was a major contribution

to both mathematics and Einstein's general theory of relativity in physics. He continued his phenomenal mathematical creative work after he moved back to Princeton to take up a professorship in mathematics at the Institute for Advanced Study in 1979.

Honors poured in for Yau following his Calabi work: In 1981 he won the Oswald Veblen prize of the American Mathematical Society as well as the John J. Carty Award for the Advancement of Science from the U.S. National Academy of Sciences. The next year, 1982, brought Yau the highest honor for a mathematician: The Fields Medal, named after Canadian mathematician J. C. Fields and awarded by the International Congress of Mathematicians every four years to as many as four mathematicians less than 40 years of age. It has been regarded by many as the equivalent of the Nobel Prize for Mathematics. The citation reads: "Made contributions in differential equations, also to the Calabi conjecture in algebraic geometry, to the positive mass conjecture of general relativity theory, and to real and complex Monge-Ampère equations." In 1994 Yau won the Crafoord Prize of the Royal Swedish Academy "for his development of non-linear techniques in differential geometry leading to the solution of several outstanding problems." Finally, in 1997, Yau was awarded the U.S. National Medal of Science, the highest honor from the federal government presented by President Bill Clinton.

In 1984 Yau crossed the continent again by coming to the University of California, San Diego, where he became professor and chair of the mathematics department. A year later, he was awarded the MacArthur Grant, popularly known as the "genius award," from the MacArthur Foundation. When at San Diego he also took up visiting positions at University of Texas, Austin; Caltech; and SUNY Stony Brook. During this period he collaborated with another mathematician, Karen Uhlenbeck, and made a major contribution to the study of the Yang-Mills field theory, named after the Chinese American physicist Chen Ning Yang and Robert Mills. Then in 1987, Yau moved yet again, this time to Harvard University as a professor in mathematics while also holding visiting appointments at the National Tsinghua University in Taiwan and the Chinese University of Hong Kong.

Yau was actively involved in U.S.-China political activism for a brief period in his Berkeley days in the early 1970s when he and many other Chinese students in the United States protested the American decision to turn over the Diaoyutai islets near Taiwan to Japan. Since the 1980s, Yau has participated actively in Chinese mathematics, founding three institutions: the Morningside Mathematics Center of the Chinese Academy of Sciences in Beijing, the Center of Mathematical Science at Zhejiang University in Hangzhou, and the Institute of Mathematical Sciences of the Chinese University of Hong Kong. He has trained a number of Chinese students, promoted U.S.-China scientific exchange, served as editor-in-chief of the *Asian Journal of Mathematics*, frequently visited mathematical institutions on mainland China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong, and, never shying from controversy, often spoken out on science and education policy in those places.

Zuoyue Wang

See also Chern, Shiing-Shen; Chinese Americans

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Yee Chiang (1903–1977)

When *The Silent Traveller in New York* was released in 1950, it won rave reviews. Readers in postwar America were fascinated with its refreshing style,

entertaining approaches, and fascinating cultural comments on the East and West. Chiang Yee, the author of the book who offered cultural interpretation and attempted to bring about cultural understandings between the East and West, became one of the most successful and productive Chinese American writers in the English language before the late 1970s.

Chiang Yee was born in Jiujiang, China, on May 19, 1903. He studied Chinese art with his father in childhood. After completing high school, he enrolled in the National Southeastern University in Nanjing with a major in chemistry. In 1927, he joined the Northern Expedition to fight warlords and then served as magistrate in three different counties, including his own hometown of Jiujiang. As he became increasingly frustrated and disappointed with the Kuomintang government, he resigned from his post and left for England in 1933 to study political science at the University of London.

In 1935, the Royal Academy of Arts in London hosted an international exhibition of Chinese art. At the request of Methuen & Company, Chiang wrote a book, titled *The Chinese Eye*, to accompany the exhibition. The book, with engaging anecdotes and humorous comments, offered readers in the West a remarkable introduction to the subject of Chinese art and its aesthetic principles. It was an instant success, which, as Chiang stated, launched him on his writing career outside of China.

In the summer of 1936, Chiang visited the Lake District in northern England, an experience that led to his subsequent publication of *The Silent Traveller in Lakeland*. The term “Silent Traveller” was the English version of his pen name *Yaxingzhe*, meaning literally “Dumb-Walking-Man.” In this book, Chiang writes about nature, which is shown to be void of geographical boundaries and very friendly to human beings. Rather than a simple record of his trip to the home of English nature poets, the book is really a collection of myriad observations of seemingly different cultural behavior and values between the East and West to illustrate the commonalities behind them. The 13 plates of monochromic Chinese ink paintings included in the book are both exotic and intriguing to readers in the West. The artistic presentation of the English landscape in Chinese manners helps to eliminate the

boundaries between the East and West and to show the universality of all true modes of human feelings.

In the next 10 years, Chiang published five more Silent Traveller books, all on English scenes: London, the Yorkshire Dales, Oxford, and Edinburgh. His writings were consistently humorous, witty, friendly, and refreshing, and his reputation as a travel writer was firmly established. As always, he brought his readers to a better appreciation of various cultural values in the world. His purpose of writing travel books was to dispel stereotypes and prejudices and to show the common elements and similarities between the legends, habits, beliefs, and values of his own native country and those of other lands. In addition to travel writing, he also published children’s books, fiction, and a memoir.

In 1947, Chiang visited the United States for six months in preparation of a new Silent Traveller book about New York. For him, this project was a new challenge or venture into a previously unexplored territory because the metropolitan New York formed a sharp contrast to the countryside landscape of the English scenes he was familiar with. There were skyscrapers and automobiles rather than mountains and rivers. There were neon lights and steel bridges of the vigorous modern city rather than soft green and natural settings of the countryside. However, Chiang once again succeeded. He wrote about Time Square, Broadway, Wall Street, Harlem, the George Washington Bridge, as well as parks and gardens, and his insightful observations and comments delighted and enlightened readers. Even New Yorkers were surprised, as Van Wyck Brooks noted, to discover some fascinating aspects of the city they had previously overlooked.

In 1955, Chiang came to teach Chinese studies at Columbia University, where he stayed until his retirement in 1971. On June 11, 1956, he was invited to deliver Phi Beta Kappa Oration at Harvard University. His speech, titled “The Chinese Painter,” deliberately evoked Emerson’s 1837 speech “The American Scholar.” Chiang discussed his role as a Chinese painter in bringing about a harmonious world order through dialogues and exchanges in the modern world. He expounded the interdependence of all cultures and emphasized the need for mutual understanding. The goal of the modern man, as he asserted, was different

from that of the nineteenth century. It was civilization, rather than national culture, that needed recognition.

During the next two decades, Chiang published four more travel books on Boston, Paris, San Francisco, and Japan, respectively. It is important to note that all these publications and the New York volume were published during the Cold War era. Circumventing political and ideological discussion, Chiang chose to focus on cultural aspects, a strategy that allowed him to advocate mutual appreciation and understanding. In the San Francisco book, for example, after praising flowers for bringing colors and beauty to people's lives, he quickly pointed out that many of these flowers originated in China. In the same book, he gave a detailed introduction of some major contributions Chinese immigrants had made in the cultural and economic history of the country.

Even though Chiang traveled extensively all over the world, he was not able to return to China until 1975. During the two-month trip, he visited many cities and met with friends and family members. He was impressed with the general prosperity and happiness of the Chinese as compared with the social reality half a century earlier. The socioeconomic and political changes in China were truly overwhelming. After coming back to the United States, he started working on *China Revisited: After Forty-two Years*, which was posthumously published.

During his second trip to China, Chiang died in Beijing on October 17, 1977. As a cultural interpreter, he will be long remembered, not only for his travel writing but also for his contributions to a better understanding between the East and West.

Da Zheng

See also Chinese Americans

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Yellow Brotherhood (YB)

Founded in 1970, Yellow Brotherhood (YB) was a grassroots antidrug abuse organization that emerged in direct response to the drug epidemic affecting third-generation Japanese American, or Sansei, youth. Comprised of former members of the Ministers, a Japanese American street gang in the Crenshaw area of Los Angeles, YB addressed the roots of the drug abuse in their community through direct action and organizing. Neither middle-class nor college-educated, the YB organizers possessed a street savvy and situated knowledge that allowed them to relate to and connect with young males in the community.

Inspired by the Black Panther Party and other movements for self-determination occurring in the United States and abroad, YB adopted Mao Tse-tung's call to "serve the people" as a philosophy of personal, community, and social transformation. YB "served the people" by creating programs that were run for and by local people, thus strengthening relationships and developing concrete skills while building local movement capacity. They encouraged people to see themselves as historical actors engaged in the making of their history rather than as disempowered or passive individuals. They also helped young people see that their struggles not as isolated incidents but as racialized and classed experiences impacted by political, economic, and ideological structures.

YB organizers understood that the disproportionate levels of drug abuse and drug-related deaths stemmed from the legacies of racialized trauma experienced by Japanese American and Asian American communities, especially forced internment, model minority stereotypes, anti-Asian violence, and discrimination. More than a reflection of ordinary teenage

angst, the drug epidemic was symptomatic of youth of color struggles with racial identity, self-worth, state-sanctioned racism, and intercultural and intergenerational communication.

Within six months, YB was able to reduce drug trafficking and gang activity in their neighborhood and establish a YB self-help house near Pico and Crenshaw Boulevards. Several conditions, including a gang-related fatality, contributed to the temporary closing of the house, but it was soon reopened by former drug abusers, ex-gang members, and Vietnam veterans. With permission from the original founders, they created a drug abuse prevention program that actively engaged, and even confronted, the Japanese American community about the drug problem.

Organizers engaged in various forms of community outreach. They visited schools, held informal rap sessions and support groups, offered academic tutoring, met youths' parents and families, and hosted social gatherings and concerts. The YB network also included collaborations with other antidrug community organizations, including Go For Broke in East Los Angeles, Come Together in Gardena, LOVE in Hollywood, and Asian Sisters in Little Tokyo, which specifically addressed the drug overdoses of Sansei women.

In 1971, these organizations, YB, members of *Gidra* newspaper, Amerasia Bookstore, Japanese American Community Services, and Senshin Temple united to form the Community Drug Offensive, a coalition of youth and antidrug groups who addressed the epidemic through educational campaigns and policy reform. Their well-attended teach-ins were held in churches and temples, and their audience consisted mostly of concerned parents and older folks. They addressed topics that included Japanese American internment, ideological racism, the overproduction of barbiturates, government and corporate investments in the Vietnam War, and mental health. These latter critiques were powerfully articulated by veterans active in YB. They also mounted an extensive petition campaign that demanded the regulation of drug production, penalties for corporate violations, and federal and state funding of community-based drug abuse programs.

To the chagrin of those Japanese Americans who preferred to ignore the drug problem, the Community Drug Offensive mounted its first public action in the middle of the 1971 Nisei Week Parade held every August in Little Tokyo. Organizers dressed in traditional Japanese kimonos surprised bystanders by dramatically eating red candies meant to represent red barbiturates, even tossing handfuls to the crowd. They swayed and tumbled their way down the street. Other organizers followed behind with a giant political puppet and passed out educational leaflets.

The following year, the YB and Community Drug Offensive participated in the Nisei Week Brigade by supporting nationwide efforts to withdraw from Vietnam. They organized the Van Troi Anti-Imperialist Youth Brigade and Thai Binh Brigade. The Van Troi Brigade marched, chanted, and burned a huge Japanese flag in opposition to military aggression and imperialism everywhere. The Thai Binh Brigade unfurled an anti-imperialist banner, set off firecrackers, and distributed "Is That Right!" a satirical pamphlet authored by YB, Asian Movement for Military Outreach, and allies from the Community Drug Offensive. The pamphlet connected the Eli Lilly pharmaceutical company and its overproduction of barbiturates to their military presence in Southeast Asia. In doing so, it connected local struggles for community health and self-determination in the United States with struggles for national liberation in Asia.

The YB house closed in 1975 and the group subsequently disbanded. Ten years later, the values and principles of the organization continued through the YB youth basketball and sports teams in Los Angeles that was staffed and supported by former YB members.

May C. Fu

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Yep, Laurence (1948–)

Laurence Michael Yep is the acclaimed author of more than 70 novels and a winner of the American Library Association's Laura Ingalls Wilder Award. Transforming the young adult literary world for over 40 years, Yep writes historical and realistic fiction, science fiction, and fantasy for children, young adults, and adults. His wide range of novels include the Newberry Honor books "Dragonwings" and "Dragon's Gate"; "The Earth Dragon Awakes: The San Francisco Earthquake of 1906," a Texas Bluebonnet Award nominee; and "The Dragon's Child: A Story of Angel Island," which was named a New York Public Library's "One Hundred Titles for Reading and Sharing" and a Bank Street College of Education Best Children's Book. In addition to a collection of Asian folk stories and editing an anthology of Asian American short stories, Yep has written plays such as "Pay the Chinaman," "Dragonwings," and "Fairy Bones," which have been produced at the Kennedy Center, Lincoln Center, and the Berkeley Repertory Theater. With publications ranging from an adult science fiction *Star Trek* novel featuring Sulu and two books in the popular American Girl franchise, Yep has written several articles reflecting on writing fantasy and science fiction and historical fiction in publications such as "Reading Teacher," the "Horn Book," "CMLE," and the "ALAN Review."

Background

Born June 14, 1948, in San Francisco, California, Yep is the youngest son of Thomas Gim Yep and Franche Lee Yep. Franche Lee was born in Ohio and raised in

West Virginia where her family ran a Chinese laundry. Yep's father, Thomas, was born in Toishan, China and came to San Francisco at the age of 10. After World War II, Yep's parents opened a grocery store in the Fillmore district in San Francisco, a predominantly African American neighborhood where Yep spent most of his childhood. Dr. Yep was part of the first generation in his family to attend college. He attended Marquette University, graduated from the University of California at Santa Cruz, and received his PhD in English from the State University of New York at Buffalo. His dissertation was titled "Self-Communion: The Early Novels of William Faulkner." He has taught writing and Asian American studies at the University of California, Berkeley and Santa Barbara. He lives in Northern California with his wife, the award-winning author Joanne Ryder.

Work

Although known for his young adult novels related to Asian and Asian American history, Yep's writing career as a published author began with science fiction short stories such as "Selchey Kids," published in *World's Best Science Fiction 1969*.

Engaging with themes of diaspora, flexible citizenship, and transnationalism, Yep has written many novels that explore Asian and Chinese American experiences. Aside from *Spring Pearl: The Last Flower*, part of the *Girls of Many Lands* series, and *Lady of Ch'iao Kuo: Warrior of the South, Southern China, A.D. 531*, part of *The Royal Diaries* series, one group of his texts emphasizes Chinese in China during the mid-1800s, such as *Serpent's Children* and *Mountain Light*.

A second group of novels, such as *Dragonwings* and *When The Circus Came to Town*, focuses on how the first wave of Chinese immigrants during the late 1800s navigated institutional, ideological, and individual discrimination. In a third grouping, Yep examines Asian and Chinese Americans in the mid-twentieth century such as *Hiroshima*, which provides a harrowing account of the bombing from the perspective of a 12-year-old girl, a Chinese American basketball team in *Dragon Road*, and Chinese Americans in the Midwest in *Star Fisher* and *Dream Soul*.

His fourth group of novels explores the Chinese American experience after the 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act, which changed the racial landscape of the United States and ended over 80 years of Chinese immigration restrictions. Novels set after the 1960s such as *Child of the Owl* and *Ribbons* examine cultural alienation, multiraciality, and the need for compassion. Although Yep's novels provide insights into different historical periods of Chinese and Chinese American history, he also regularly features strong female characters in his works. Moreover, his novels touch upon universal themes such as being an outsider, the necessity of compassion, and seeing the world from multiple points of view.

Yep also is well known for his mystery and fantasy novels. In some of his mystery novels, Yep uses a young Mark Twain as a detective or a Chinese American female detective. Several of his fantasy series use Chinese legends as the backdrop (Dragon series, Tiger's trilogy) and/or weaves reincarnations of legendary Chinese warriors, Japanese folk creatures, and goddesses in disguise (City series).

Kathleen S. Yep

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Yick Wo v. Hopkins (1886)

Yick Wo v. Hopkins, 118 U.S. 256 (1886), marked the first time that the United States Supreme Court held that racially discriminatory application of a facially neutral statute is an infringement of the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution. It is a landmark constitutional case that has been cited by over 150 United States Supreme Court cases, and is widely understood to stand for the proposition that all legal residents of the United States are entitled to the Fourteenth Amendment's protections.

The San Francisco Chinese America during the nineteenth century served as the historic backdrop to this classic equal protection case. During this period,

legal, cultural, and economic barriers forced many Chinese immigrants in California into the laundry business as a means to earn a livelihood, and most laundry businesses in San Francisco were owned by Chinese persons. Between 1873 and 1884, the San Francisco Board of Supervisors passed 14 laundry ordinances targeting Chinese persons. These 14 anti-Chinese laundry ordinances included ordinance No. 156, passed on May 26, 1880, and ordinance No. 1587, passed on July 28, 1880, which prohibited operation of a laundry business in a wooden building within the city or county of San Francisco without a permit from the Board of Supervisors. Failure to secure such a permit could result in a misdemeanor conviction, a \$1,000 fine, as well as imprisonment for up to six months. The ordinances also vested in the Board of Supervisors the discretion to grant or withhold such permits and offered no standards by which determinations would be made. This new requirement for a permit was in addition to health and fire inspections already required by other law. At the time these new ordinances came into effect, 310 of 320 total laundry businesses were subject to the new permit requirement, and 240 of these businesses were owned and operated by Chinese persons. Because all of the Chinese-owned laundries within San Francisco at the time were housed in wooden buildings, the Chinese community viewed the ordinances as a blatant attempt to destroy their livelihood and discourage Chinese settlements within San Francisco.

Upon application for permits by the laundry business owners affected by the new ordinances, the Board of Supervisors proceeded to deny licenses to all Chinese applicants seeking permits but denied only one of out of 80 total non-Chinese applicants seeking the same permits. The affected Chinese laundry business owners protested this discrimination by refusing to comply with the ordinances and kept their businesses open without permits. As a result, more than 150 Chinese laundry owners were arrested on the charge of carrying on a laundry business without having the requisite permit, whereas non-Chinese persons operating laundry businesses under similar conditions were left free to enjoy their property interest in earning a living.

Yick Wo and Wo Lee were among the many Chinese immigrants who owned a laundry business in



Yick Wo laundry house in San Francisco, ca. 1886. (National Archives and Records Administration, Pacific Region)

San Francisco when ordinances No. 156 and No. 1587 became effective. Yick Wo, a Chinese immigrant who had lived in California since 1861, who had operated a laundry business in the same wooden building for 22 years and held both a valid license from the Board of Fire Wardens as well as a valid certificate from the health officer, continued to operate his laundry business after the Board of Supervisors denied his application for a permit in 1885. As a result of laundering without the requisite permit, he was criminally prosecuted under the ordinances, subsequently convicted, and subjected to a \$10 fine for his violation. He was then imprisoned for refusing to pay the fine. In a separate case arising from facts similar to that of Yick Wo, Wo Lee was also convicted for violation of the ordinances and imprisoned. Yick Wo petitioned for a writ of habeas corpus in the Supreme Court of California and Wo Lee petitioned for a writ of habeas corpus in

the federal circuit court. After both were denied their respective petitions, they appealed to the United States Supreme Court, with Yick Wo naming Hopkins, a sheriff, as defendant to the suit. The United States Supreme Court granted certiorari and heard the two cases as one given their similar facts and issues.

The Supreme Court issued its decision on May 10, 1886, and, per a unanimous opinion written by Justice T. Stanley Matthews, found that the ordinances at issue, although facially neutral, were applied in a racially discriminatory manner. The Court stated that the petitioners had been arbitrarily deprived of their property interest in earning a living. Additionally, the Court asserted that although the Chinese laundry business owners were not necessarily United States citizens, they were still entitled to equal protection under the Fourteenth Amendment. As a result, the court struck down the racially discriminatory ordinances that

intended to exclude Chinese persons from the laundry business in San Francisco and ordered dismissal of all charges against other laundry owners who had been imprisoned.

Although the court's holding was potentially sweeping, *Yick Wo v. Hopkins* saw little application as legal precedent after its decision. A mere 10 years later in 1896, the United States Supreme Court developed the "separate but equal" doctrine in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, which permitted the discriminatory treatment of African Americans.

Today, *Yick Wo v. Hopkins* is a staple case in constitutional law textbooks and is understood to hold that discriminatory application of a facially neutral statute may violate the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment of the United States Constitution. On the whole, it is celebrated as a classic equal protection case because it established the rule against discriminatory prosecution, but it is also lamented as the first and last case in which the United States Supreme Court invalidated a prosecution as racially motivated.

Jason Stohler

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Yoneda, Karl G. (1906–1999)

Karl G. Yoneda was a labor activist, political activist, longshoreman, and language specialist in the United States Military Intelligence Service (MIS). Yoneda was born in 1906 in Glendale, California. He was the third child of Hideo and Kazu Yoneda, Japanese immigrants from Hiroshima prefecture. His parents had worked on the Makaweli Sugar Plantation in Hawaii but later migrated to California in hopes of earning higher wages as vegetable farmers. At the age of seven in 1913, Yoneda traveled with his father and cousin to Japan to receive a "proper Japanese education."

When living in Japan, Yoneda developed an interest in political and labor activism. As an avid reader, he was influenced by the political writings of European and Japanese anarchists, Communists, and socialists, especially Russian anarchist, folklorist, and linguist Vasil Eroshenko. In 1922, Yoneda traveled to Beijing, China on a six-month journey to find Eroshenko and became his student. After Yoneda returned to Japan, he decided to quit school and participate in labor movements. He was involved in printers' strikes in Osaka and Tokyo and later helped to organize the Hiroshima Printers Union in the mid-1920s. Because Yoneda held dual U.S. and Japanese citizenship, he was called to join the Japanese Imperial Army in 1926. To evade mandatory military service, he boarded the S.S. *Shunyo Maru* to return to California. Upon reentry, he was detained at the Angel Island Immigration Station for two months despite having a copy of his Los Angeles County birth certificate. After his release, Yoneda traveled to Los Angeles where he worked as a domestic worker.

Within a few months, Yoneda continued to participate in political and labor organizations such as the Los Angeles Communist Party (CP), Japanese Workers' Association (JWA), Trade Union Unity League (TUUL), and International Labor Defense (ILD). Yoneda was especially interested in the Los Angeles CP because he believed in the organization's objectives, which supported the working class and opposed United States and Japanese imperialism in Asia and South America. In 1927, Yoneda began to use the name Karl Hama (adopting his first name in honor of Karl Marx) in his political work to protect the identity of his family members. As a member of the CP, JWA, and TUUL, Yoneda helped organize strikes that lobbied for improved working conditions, higher wages, eight-hour working days, and increased compensation for working overtime.

During the Great Depression, Yoneda participated in hunger marches, demonstrations, and petition campaigns that lobbied for aid to the unemployed. At times, these protests led to violent confrontations between protestors and the Los Angeles Police Department. During the National Unemployment Insurance Day demonstration in 1931, Yoneda was badly beaten by the police, arrested for disturbing the peace, and

sent to jail because of his involvement in the march. Police Captain William F. Hynes contacted the ILD to send someone to post Yoneda's bail so he could receive medical attention. The ILD sent their secretary, Elaine Black, who was a Jewish American known for bailing out labor activists from jail to help Yoneda. After this meeting, Black and Yoneda developed a friendship, fell in love, and eventually married in 1935. The two could not marry in California because of the state's anti-miscegenation laws so they traveled to Seattle, Washington to legally wed.

In 1934, Yoneda accepted a position in San Francisco as editor of a Japanese American Communist newspaper called *Rodo Shimbun*. During his editorship, Yoneda published articles against U.S. and Japanese imperialism in Asia, interviewed farm workers, and reported on labor strikes. In 1934, Yoneda also ran on behalf of the CP as a representative for San Francisco's Assembly District seat. Although Yoneda lost the election, 1,017 Fillmore District voters supported his candidacy. He also became involved in organizing the Alaskan salmon cannery unions and was instrumental in organizing the AFL Alaska Cannery Workers Union Local 20195. In 1936, Yoneda decided to join the International Longshoremen's Association and became one of the first Asian American longshoremen.

After Japan declared war on China in 1937, Yoneda participated in antiwar demonstrations protesting Japan's military expansion in Asia and encouraged Americans and Japanese Americans to boycott Japanese goods. Despite Yoneda's anti-Axis stance, he and his family were incarcerated at the Manzanar War Relocation Center following President Franklin D. Roosevelt's issuance of Executive Order 9066. Yoneda along with other Japanese Americans volunteered to clean up and construct the Manzanar internment camp to show their loyalty to the United States. During internment, Yoneda helped form the Manzanar Citizens Federation, which was created to increase camp morale. To further support the war effort, Yoneda joined the U.S. MIS as a translator and was stationed in Burma and South China. After World War II, Yoneda and his family moved to Sonoma County to start a chicken farm. By 1959, Yoneda sold the farm and returned to working as a longshoreman in

San Francisco. From the 1960s to the 1980s, Yoneda actively participated in international antinuclear efforts and protests against the Vietnam War. He was also active in the redress movement to Japanese Americans interned during World War II, joined the Angel Island Immigration Station Historical Advisory Committee, and lectured at various universities on U.S. labor history.

Grace Chieh Wu

See also Japanese Americans

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Yoon, Sam (1970–)

Sam Yoon is a former at-large member of the Boston City Council. He was the first Asian American ever to run and hold elected office in Boston and the first person in Boston to win an at-large council seat on the first try. He served on the city council from 2006 to 2010. In 2009, Yoon ran for mayor of Boston. He currently serves as a senior policy advisor for the U.S. Department of Labor, Employment and Training Administration. He is also the cofounder of the Asian Political Leadership Fund, which promotes political leadership and civic engagement among Asian Americans.

Sam (Sang-hyun) Yoon was born on January 10, 1970, in Seoul, South Korea. He and his parents immigrated when he was 10 months old, and he grew up in Lebanon, Pennsylvania. He became a naturalized

citizen at the age of 10 years old. Yoon received a Bachelor of Arts in Philosophy of Science and Logic from Princeton University in 1992. After graduation, he taught math at a high school in urban New Jersey, before returning to school to earn a master of public policy degree in Housing, Urban Development, and Transportation from the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University in 1995.

After working as an analyst at Abt Associates, a public policy think tank, Yoon worked as a community organizer and focused on issues of affordable housing for seniors and those with disabilities. He was the director of Housing at Cascap, Inc. and the Asian Community Development Corporation, where he oversaw the construction of community housing and mixed-use developments.

In November 2005, Yoon ran and was elected as a Boston City Councilor At-Large. He served as the chairman of the Post Audit and Oversight Committee and the Youth Affairs Committee. Yoon wrote a proposal to establish funding for youth violence prevention programs, which gained support among the community, the “Nickel for Public Safety” legislation ultimately did not pass. He was reelected in November 2007. In 2008, Yoon sponsored legislation to have fully bilingual ballots in Boston elections to protect the voting rights of Chinese and Vietnamese American voters.

In 2009, Yoon ran for mayor of Boston. Emphasizing the need for transparency and accountability, Yoon proposed to eliminate the Boston Redevelopment Authority in favor of a more community-focused agency. He also promised to make improvements to the transportation infrastructure by increasing public transit and bike accessibility in Boston. Only the top two vote-getters moved on from the primaries to the general election, and Yoon finished third. Michael Flaherty, who had received the second-highest amount of votes, made Yoon his unofficial running mate. Though Boston does not have an official deputy mayor position, Flaherty promised that he would appoint Yoon as deputy mayor. The unofficial Flaherty-Yoon ticket lost to incumbent Mayor Thomas Menino.

Citing frustration with difficulty finding employment at community-based organizations that rely on

working relationships with local officials, Sam Yoon left Boston for Washington, D.C. in 2010. He was the executive director of the National Alliance of Community Economic Development Associations before being appointed senior policy advisor for the U.S. Department of Labor by the Obama Administration. Yoon lives in Falls Church, Virginia with his wife, Tina, and two children, Nathan and Naomi.

Katie Furuyama

See also Political Representation

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Yu Lihua (Helen Yu) (1931–)

Yu Lihua came to the United States in 1953 for graduate studies after attending Taiwan University in Taipei. A prolific and popular writer, Yu Lihua is best known as precursor to the literature of “Chinese student immigrants.” (The term refers to those who enter the United States on student or scholar visa but later adjusts to immigrant status.)

Ironically, Yu’s career as a writer of Chinese in America began with the publication of a prize-winning story in English, titled “Sorrow at the End of the Yangtze River” (1957). The story is a romance about a young woman’s journey to find her “lost”

father along the river. Shortly before her mother's death, the daughter sets out to look for her father, who left home years before. When she finally finds her father, however, he does not recognize her until the daughter plays a touching piano tune he taught her in childhood. The familiar and moving music awakens her father's memory and conscience, and he and the daughter reconcile. The Hollywood-style sentimental story helped Yu win the prestigious Samuel Goldwyn Creative Writing Award and raised her confidence about pursuing a career as a professional writer of English in the United States.

Yu Lihua's subsequent writing in English, which included three novels and several short stories written during the late 1950s and early 1960s about the Chinese experience in America, were all rejected by various publishers, however. Convinced that only by conforming to the stereotypes of Chinese would she fit the "ethnic niche" of the mainstream publishing market, Yu decided to engage primarily in Chinese writing. To her, writing in Chinese represents a vindication of artistic integrity. Since then, Yu has published more than 20 volumes, novels as well as collections of short stories and travelogues, in Chinese. In these works, she employs a wide range of narrative strategies and techniques to trace the lives of Chinese students and faculty on campuses across America and offer glimpses into the world of Chinese student immigrants, which is little known to the general public. *Kao Yan* [*The Ordeal* 1974], a popular and critically acclaimed novel by Yu, is an outstanding example.

The novel centers around the agony caused by the tenure review of Zhong Leping, a physics professor at a state university on the East Coast, and his struggle to find the will to challenge the unfair tenure review process. An accomplished scientist and conscientious teacher, Zhong never doubts the fairness of the tenure review process in American academia. Yet despite his strong record in research and teaching, he is denied tenure because of the racial prejudice of his department chair, a mainstream scholar. Outraged and deeply hurt, Zhong decides to take control of his fate. He hires a Jewish American lawyer to appeal his case and finally wins the lawsuit.

By depicting the racial discrimination inflicted on Zhong during his tenure review, Yu Lihua provides

an authentic account of the suffering of Chinese American academics and transforms the novel into an anguished, compassionate statement about the need for racial justice in academia. Zhong's victory also demonstrates Chinese immigrants today are determined to fight for their rights. It is for this reason that the novel is considered an effective and striking social commentary and has resonated with Chinese readers. The bitter fight, however, exacts an enormous price: Zhong's health is ruined, his wife is alienated, and his dream is doomed. In this sense, Zhong's experience of tenure review lives up to the novel's title, *The Ordeal*, and symbolically suggests the painful cost Chinese immigrants may have to pay to gain acceptance by the mainstream society.

Yu Lihua's other works in Chinese, especially *Youjian Zonlu*, *Youjian Zonlu* [*Seeing the Palm Tress Again* 1967] and *Fujia de Ernumen* [*Sons and Daughters of the Fu Family* 1976], also enjoyed enormous popularity among Chinese readers in America and throughout the world. Both novels focus on the struggle of Chinese student immigrants in America. The former won a major literary prize in Taiwan whereas the latter was a hit when it first appeared in serial form in *Singtao Ribao* [*Sing Tao Daily*] in New York in 1976. In addition to writing, Yu taught Chinese at the University of New York, Albany, until her retirement in 1996. She currently lives in San Francisco.

Xiao-huang Yin

See also Chinese Americans

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Yung, Judy (1946–)

Judy Yung is best known for her groundbreaking work in documenting the history of the Angel Island Immigration Station and the life stories of Chinese

American women. She has also worked as a librarian, newspaper editor, and university professor in Asian American studies. Her accomplishments in each career are noteworthy and evident in all is her deep commitment to her Chinese heritage and the community in which she was born.

The fifth daughter of a working-class, immigrant couple from Guangdong Province, Yung was born on January 25, 1946, in San Francisco's Chinatown, where she grew up circumscribed by the city's racial segregation and her parents' traditional Chinese values, limited education, and incomes. Attending public school during the day and Chinese school in the evenings, she became biliterate as well as bilingual. Yung graduated from San Francisco State College in 1967 with a BA in English literature and Chinese studies, and she earned an MA in library science from the University of California at Berkeley in 1968.

As a librarian for the San Francisco Public Library, Yung was assigned to the Chinatown Branch. Utilizing her bilingual skills and sensitivity to better serve the community, she organized cultural events at the branch and did outreach to publicize the library's services. Challenged by a patron regarding the paucity of material on Chinese Americans on the shelves, she also began building the collection, which ignited her interest in Chinese American history and her recognition of the dire need for more books on the subject.

Consumed during the 1960s by the demands of working her way through college, Yung had scarcely noticed the nation's social and political ferment. Now she found herself in ferment as, questioning the values she'd been taught, she moved out of her childhood home and began to forge her own identity. Excited by the sea changes in society, Yung resigned her position as head of the Chinatown Branch in 1973 and became associate editor of the bilingual weekly *East West: Chinese American Journal*.

During her two years at the paper, Yung honed her writing skills, developed a deeper understanding of Chinatown, and visited the People's Republic of China for the first time in 1974. She then returned to librarianship in Oakland, California, creating the country's first Asian Branch Library with a grant from the California State Library. The library collection, which included reading materials in six Asian languages and

in English on Asia and Asian Americans, had to be moved three times to larger quarters during the six-year period that Yung headed the library. Yet the inadequate documentation of the Asian American experience remained obvious, and Yung, invited by poet Genny Lim and historian Him Mark Lai, seized the opportunity to collaborate with them on *Island: Poetry and History of Chinese Immigrants on Angel Island, 1910–1940* (1980). The book won the 1982 Before Columbus Foundation American Book Award.

By then, Yung had again left librarianship. With a 1981 grant from the U.S. Department of Education's Women's Educational Equity Act Program, she and Lim embarked on a two-year research project to reclaim the history of Chinese women in America through photographs, written accounts, and oral histories gathered from around the country. The pictorial exhibit, depicting women of different generational and class backgrounds, opened at the Chinese Culture Center in San Francisco in 1983 then traveled to Honolulu, Seattle, Los Angeles, Houston, Chicago, New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and Washington, D.C. Expanding on the scope of the exhibit, Yung wrote *Chinese Women of America: A Pictorial History* (1986).

Eager to delve deeper, Yung had enrolled in 1984 in the new ethnic studies PhD program at the University of California at Berkeley. In addition to her course work, she worked for Asian Women United of California as the project director of *Making Waves: An Anthology of Writings by and about Asian American Women* (1989). She also served on the Board of Directors of the Chinese Historical Society of America, helping to inaugurate its annual journal, *Chinese America: History & Perspectives* in 1987, which she coedited for the next decade. For her doctoral dissertation, Yung researched and wrote about the history of Chinese women in San Francisco, which she subsequently turned into two books: *Unbound Feet: A Social History of Chinese Women in San Francisco* (1995), which won three book awards, and *Unbound Voices: A Documentary History of Chinese Women in San Francisco* (1999).

Yung began her academic career in the American Studies Department at University of California Santa Cruz in 1990. Rapidly rising from assistant professor

to full professor, she served as chair of the department and ad-hoc coordinator of Asian American studies before her retirement in 2004. Her dedication and popularity as a teacher and advocate of affirmative action is reflected in her honors: four times a commencement speaker, an Excellence in Teaching Award, and an Excellence Through Diversity Award. Nor did her commitment to her home community flag: Yung served on the Board of Directors for Kearny Street Workshop and explored the community's evolution in *San Francisco's Chinatown* (2006).

Together with Him Mark Lai and Gordon H. Chang, Yung coedited *Chinese American Voices: From the Gold Rush to the Present* (2006), an anthology of primary source material that illustrates the mosaic of Chinese America. Yung, especially riveted by the voice of Eddie Fung in the volume, interviewed him at length for *The Adventures of Eddie Fung: Chinatown Kid, Texas Cowboy, Prisoner of War* (2007). Then, returning to her seminal work about the Angel Island Immigration Station, Yung collaborated with Erika Lee to tell the history of the diverse groups who passed through it in *Angel Island: Immigrant Gateway to America* (2010).

Clearly Yung's numerous awards—which include the Chinese American Librarians Association President's Recognition Award, Organization of American Historians' Distinguished Lectureship Program, and the Association for Asian American Studies Lifetime Achievement Award—are richly deserved.

Ruthanne Lum McCunn

See also Angel Island Immigration Station; Lai, Him Mark; Lim, Genny

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Yung Wing (1828–1912)

Yung Wing was a Chinese immigrant who played key roles in both the history of modern China and early Chinese American history. Born in 1828, he attended a series of American missionary schools in Macao and Hong Kong, receiving mainly an American education, primarily in English. In 1846, he and two of his classmates followed their teacher to the United States where they became students at the Monson Academy in Massachusetts. When at the Academy, Yung converted to Christianity. After completing his education there, he enrolled at Yale University. During this time, he became a naturalized American citizen in 1852 and became the first Chinese to graduate from an American university in 1854.

Soon after graduating from Yale, he returned to China. Because of his American education, he gained the attention of government officials who were involved in China's modernization movement. He was summoned for an audience with Zeng Guofan (1811–1872), viceroy of Liangjiang (Jiangsu and Jiangxi provinces). Zeng soon commissioned Yung to travel to the United States to purchase machinery to equip the Jiangnan Arsenal in Shanghai. When Yung returned to China with the machinery in 1865, Zeng recommended that Yung be granted a low-level official rank.

Now that Yung had an official government title, he was eventually invited to submit recommendations for China's modernization. One of his proposals was to send students abroad to be educated in Western schools to aid in China's modernization. Not long after, Yung and another official, Chen Lanbin, were sent to head the Chinese Educational Mission to the United States. The Mission was to send 30 students between the ages of 12 and 16 to the United States each year for four years. These 120 students would study in America for 15 years and would be allowed to travel for another two years before returning to China. They would then return to China to assume positions that would further China's modernization.

Yung established the Mission in Hartford, Connecticut, but the endeavor was never able to fully succeed. Yung Wing, Chen Lanbin, and other officials

clashed over the direction, operation, and goals of the Mission as well as over the behavior of the students. At the core of the official concern over the attitudes and behavior of the students was the fear that the students' experiences in America would undermine the original purpose of the Mission. Those officials who did not share Yung's attraction to American culture worried that the students would become deracinated by adopting Western ideas and practices that contradicted fundamental aspects of Chinese culture. Although some students did go to attend American universities and return to China to aid in the modernization movement, the Chinese government decided to recall the Mission in 1881.

Although still administering the Chinese Educational Mission, Yung Wing and Chen Lanbin were commissioned by the Chinese government to investigate the conditions of the infamous "coolie trade." Chen Lanbin headed the investigating team to Cuba whereas Yung was sent to assess the situation in Peru. Both investigating teams reported that Chinese laborers were being severely mistreated. These conditions and the resulting reports finally led the Chinese government to pay more attention to Chinese living abroad and Chen and Yung were officially appointed ministers to the United States, Spain, and Peru.

In addition to Yung's service to China, he became immersed in American life. He married an American woman, Mary Kellog, with whom he raised two sons, Morrison Brown Yung and Bartlett Golden Yung. Although Yung had his American citizenship taken away because of the enforcement of the clause in the Chinese Exclusion Act that prohibited Chinese immigrants from attaining American citizenship, he

remained devoted to American ideals of democracy and modernization. He passed away in Hartford, CT in 1912, where his remains are buried.

Because Yung Wing's career was primarily in the service of the Chinese government, he is often neglected in the study of Chinese Americans. He was, however, an important figure in the development of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Chinese American history, representing the transition from a primarily China-oriented life to an America-oriented life. Yung straddled two worlds, one of a Chinese reformer dedicated to bringing China into the modern family of nations and the other of a Chinese American husband and father, concerned with the affairs of his family. These roles do not appear to have been contradictory for Yung. He saw no contradiction in serving the land of his birth and fully embracing the values of his adopted country.

K. Scott Wong

See also Chinese Americans

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Zenimura, Kenichi (1900–1968)

During his lifetime, Kenichi Zenimura was known as “The Dean of the Diamond” and with his passing he has come to be recognized as “The Father of Japanese American Baseball.” Many baseball historians believe he earned this title for his remarkable career as a player (excelled at all positions), manager (of Japanese American league teams and Caucasian teams in the Twilight Leagues), and international ambassador of the game.

Born in Hiroshima, Japan, in 1900, Zenimura moved to Hawaii just before his seventh birthday. He was introduced to the game of baseball in the Islands and began competitive play at the age of 12. He attended Mills High School (now Mid-Pacific University) and played with the semi-pro Hawaiian Asahi between 1915 and 1920. He mastered the sport and served as a player and captain of the Mills High team that won back-to-back Island championships in 1918 and 1919. In early 1920, Zenimura moved to Fresno, California where he worked at a small restaurant and as a mechanic. He immediately joined the newly founded Fresno Athletic Club Japanese American baseball team and would eventually establish a 10-team Nisei league. He managed, coached, and played competitively until he was 55 years old.

Zenimura crossed the chalk lines of discrimination and played for the semipro Fresno Twilight Leagues. Later his all-star team, the Fresno Athletic Club, became so dominant that when Ruth and Gehrig arrived in town on a barnstorming tour in 1927, several Nikkei players, including Zenimura, the “Nisei Babe Ruth” Johnny Nakagawa, the “Nisei Rogers Hornsby”

Harvey Iwata, and Fred Yoshikawa, were invited to play.

Zenimura’s teams dominated such college clubs as Stanford, St. Mary’s, the University of Southern California, and Fresno State during exhibition play. Internationally, he organized six-month tours in 1924, 1927, and 1937 to Japan, Korea, and Manchuria. These goodwill all-stars compiled a 40-8-2 record over the “Big Six” universities in Japan.

In addition to organizing barnstorming tours to Japan, Zenimura was instrumental in the negotiations that led to Babe Ruth’s visit to Japan in 1934. Several years earlier (in 1927) Zenimura also helped arrange a barnstorming tour to Japan for the Negro-league All-Star Philadelphia Royal Giants, led by Hall of Famers Biz Mackey and Andy Cooper. Japanese baseball historian Kazuo Sayama argues that it was the Royal Giants tour in 1927 and not Ruth’s visit in 1934 that inspired the formation of the Japanese Professional Baseball League in 1936.

During World War II, the Zenimura family was sent to two internment camps, one in the horse stalls at the Fresno fairgrounds, and later the desert wastelands in Gila River, Arizona. In both locations, baseball stadiums were constructed under the guidance of Kenichi’s baseball vision. He organized a 32-team league and also coached and played on the team that won the camp championship. Zenimura field was much more than a ballpark, it was a sacred location that bonded the thousands of wartime internees and gave Japanese Americans a sense of pride, hope, and normalcy, making life bearable during their unjust incarceration. With the closing of Butte Camp at Gila River, Zenimura field officially closed on November 10, 1945.

Following the war, the Zenimura family returned to Fresno. He organized and coached the Fresno Nisei baseball team that won two state Nisei Championships and climaxed their performance in 1950 by winning the national Nisei championship in Fresno.

Zenimura's sons, Kenshi and Kenso, as well as Fibber Hirayama benefited from the solid fundamentals taught to them by coach Zenimura. The trio starred at Fresno State College and all went on to play professionally in Japan for the Hiroshima Carp.

Kenichi Zenimura was the chief organizer, manager, coach, and captain of one of California's most fierce and competitive ball clubs in the Central Valley. He became the first Japanese American elected to the Fresno Athletic Hall of Fame in 1979. Zenimura continued to scout players and arrange goodwill tours to Hawaii and Japan until his death on November 13, 1968.

During the 18th Annual Cooperstown Symposium on Baseball and American Culture (2006), a campaign was launched to establish a permanent exhibit for Japanese American Baseball in the National Baseball Hall of Fame, as well as the enshrinement of the first Japanese American player.

The campaign proposes that the first Japanese American player enshrined with a plaque in Cooperstown is Kenichi Zenimura, "the Father of Japanese American Baseball." In 2006, Zenimura was honored in the Baseball Reliquary, a nonprofit, educational organization "dedicated to fostering an appreciation of American art and culture through the context of baseball history," funded in part by a grant from the Los Angeles County Arts Commission. The war-time experience of Kenichi Zenimura inspired the character of "Kaz Nomura," the patriarch in the major motion picture "American Pastime" released in 2007.

Bill Staples, Jr. and Kerry Yo Nakagawa

See also Japanese American Baseball

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Zhang, Caroline (1993–)

Caroline (Yuan-Yuan) Zhang was born on May 20, 1993, in Boston, Massachusetts. She is a Chinese American figure skater who trains in Artesia, California. Her parents emigrated from Wuhan, China for her father to complete his doctoral training at Harvard University. Caroline has an older sister, Yang-Yang, who graduated from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) and the family currently resides in Brea, California.

Zhang began training in figure skating at five years of age. In the 2002–2003 season, she won silver in the Juvenile level competition, qualifying her for the U.S. Junior Championship later that year where she finished fourth. By 2005, she was elevated to the Novice level, the lowest level that competes at the U.S. Figure Skating Championships. Zhang won silver at the regional championship and placed fourth in the nation at the Novice level.

By 2005–2006, Zhang was competing at the Junior level, winning silver at the regionals, bronze at sectionals, and placing eighth at the U.S. Championships. The next year, at the tender age of 13, she began competing on the international stage. In 2007, Zhang began competing in the Senior division, the highest level, on both the national and international stage. At Skate America, Zhang successfully executed a move she invented; her mother coined it, the "pearl" spin (a hybrid of the catch foot layback and Biellmann spins). She took third at this event and later finished first at the World Junior Figure Skating Championship. This was the first time that Zhang and U.S. teammates Mirai Nagasu and Ashley Wagner swept the podium in this event.

The next season, Zhang placed third at the 2008 Trophée Eric Bompard, Grand Prix, and also the United States Figure Skating Championship. She also

won silver at the Junior World Champions. In the 2009–2010 season, Zhang faced a number of issues. First, she changed coaches four times in one year, firing Li Mingzhu twice in the process. She also grew in height from 4'11" to 5'3". Zhang fell out of medal contention and members of the media questioned whether she would continue to compete.

Zhang committed herself to one year of intensive training under the direction of Peter Oppergard and Karen Wong. She returned to Skate America 2011 finishing sixth overall. At the 2011 Ice Challenge, Zhang won gold and shortly thereafter finished fourth at the 2012 U.S. Nationals. In February 2012, competing at the Four Continents Championship title in Colorado Springs, Colorado, Caroline won the bronze medal and her teammate, Ashley Wagner, took gold. It was the first time Zhang was on the podium for an international event since 2010.

Zhang deferred her plans for higher education to continue competitive skating. She is currently on tour with Skate America and continues to compete in preparation for the 2014 Olympic games in Sochi, Russia.

Terumi Rafferty-Osaki

See also Yamaguchi, Kristi

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Zhang, Yitang (1955–)

Yitang Zhang is a Chinese American mathematician who catapulted from obscurity into professional and public prominence in 2013 with the publication of his research related to the famous “twin primes conjecture” in number theory.

Yitang Zhang was born in 1955 in Beijing, China, and went to the prestigious Peking University in 1978 shortly after Chinese universities started admitting students based on entrance examinations, rather than on political connections as had been done during the Cultural Revolution. Following graduation in 1982, he continued graduate studies in number theory at Peking University, earning a Master’s degree in 1985 before moving to the United States to begin PhD work at Purdue University. Under the supervision of Tzuong-Tsieng Moh, a Chinese American mathematician originally from Taiwan, Zhang completed his thesis on the difficult Jacobian conjecture and received his PhD in 1991. However, in part because a theory he relied on in his work turned out to be faulty, Zhang failed to publish his thesis and secure a position in academia for many years. Instead, he took any job he could find, including working at a Subway sandwich store. “It wasn’t bad,” he later told a journalist, “but whenever I was doing it I was thinking about maths.”

In 1999, with the assistance of two fellow mathematics graduates from Peking University—an engineer at Intel and a professor at the University of New Hampshire—Zhang returned to mathematical research and to academia with an adjunct teaching position at the latter institution. As a lecturer, Zhang had no access to many of the resources that a regular tenure-track faculty member would enjoy; however, the position freed him from the pressure to publish and allowed him to focus on important but difficult problem, such as the “twin primes conjecture.” Simply put, the conjecture is that there exists an infinite number of prime numbers (numbers that can be divided only by one and themselves) separated by the number 2 (e.g., 3 and 5, 11 and 13).

When visiting a friend in Colorado in the summer of 2012, Zhang, after working on the “twin primes” problem for several years, suddenly had an insight that

proved key to tackling it. When he submitted his paper to the *Annals of Mathematics* in April 2013, it was immediately recognized by the mathematical community as a major breakthrough that might lead to the eventual proof of the conjecture. Based on the recent advances of several other mathematicians, Zhang has proved that there exist an infinite number of pairs of prime numbers separated by at most 70 million. So Zhang's paper was not quite the final proof of the "twin primes" conjecture, which requires that the pair of prime numbers in question to be separated by only two units, but it is widely believed to be a turning point toward that goal. The significance of Zhang's discovery and his dramatic personal journey helped make him the subject of international media attention in 2013 both within and without the scientific community.

Zhang's story demonstrates the emergence into professional distinction of a new generation of Chinese American scientists and engineers who came to the United States from mainland China at the end of the Cultural Revolution and who often had to overcome numerous obstacles on their way to success.

Zuoyue Wang

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Zia, Helen (1952–)

Helen Zia is an award-winning American author, journalist, scholar, and activist. Born in Newark, New



Chinese American writer and activist Helen Zia. (AP Photo/Farrar, Straus and Giroux, Paul Kuroda)

Jersey, in 1952, she is the daughter of Chinese immigrants. Her father, Yee Chen Zia, from Suzhou, China, was a poet and scholar. Her mother, Belin Woo, was raised in Shanghai.

Zia graduated with Princeton University's first graduating class of women in 1973, where she studied at the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs and was a Woodrow Wilson Scholar. A member of the Asian American Students Association, she was involved in campus political and social movements. From civil rights to Third World liberation and women's liberation, Zia found her voice as a college student. In the summer of 1972, she visited China with a small group of students as a goodwill gesture from the United States.

After college, Zia moved to Boston and enrolled in the Tufts University School of Medicine in 1974. She quit medical school a year later to pursue graduate studies in industrial relations at Wayne State University in Detroit. She worked as a factory worker for

Chrysler Corporation from 1977 to 1979. During this time, she began her career in journalism and became a full-time journalist in 1983. Between 1989 and 1992, Zia lived in New York and served as the executive editor of *Ms.* magazine. Her articles, essays, and reviews have appeared in *Ms.*, *The Nation*, *Essence*, *The New York Times*, *aMagazine*, *The Advocate*, *Bridge Magazine*, *OUT!*, *Curve (Deneuve)*, *Social Policy*, *Sojourner*, *The Washington Post*, *The Detroit News*, *Arizona Republic*, and *The San Francisco Chronicle*.

Zia first garnered media attention for her role as a founding member of American Citizens for Justice, a group formed after the beating death of Vincent Chin in June 1982 and the injustice of the criminal justice system. Her work on this landmark civil rights case of anti-Asian violence is documented in the Academy Award nominated film, *Who Killed Vincent Chin?* (1987) and *Vincent Who?* (2009).

Zia is an outspoken community leader on social justice issues ranging from feminism, gay/lesbian rights, to human rights and civil rights. When she served as the president of the New York Chapter of the Asian American Journalist Association, she helped secure national media attention during the protests of the Broadway musical, *Miss Saigon*, over the casting of Caucasian actors in Asian roles. She is a founding sister of the National Asian Pacific American Women's Forum and has served as a board member of the New York Asian Women's Center. She is a trustee of the Asian-Pacific-American Leadership Institute. She is also on the board of the San Francisco Bay Area chapter of the Asian-American Journalists Association, and the Media Diversity Circle to advocate for diversity issues in the media. She serves on the advisory boards of the API Wellness Center; the Horizons Foundation; and the Media project of the Family Violence Prevention Fund of San Francisco. She was profiled in Bill Moyers's PBS documentary, *Becoming American: The Chinese Experience*.

In 1995, Zia traveled to Beijing to attend the United Nations Fourth World Congress on Women as part of a "journalists of color" delegation. In 1997, she testified before the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights on the impact of inaccurate and biased news coverage of the campaign finance hearings that depicted Asian American political participation as

foreign influence peddling and helped author a complaint to the Commission against U.S. Congress, the Democratic and Republican National Committees, and the news media. In 2008 she was one of two Americans to be an eternal flame torch-bearer in North America prior to the 2008 Summer Olympics in Beijing. In 2010, Zia testified for the plaintiffs on the constitutionality of California Proposition 8—which banned same-sex marriage in the state after the California Supreme Court approved it.

In 1998, the Organization of Chinese Americans recognized Helen as the Chinese American Journalist of the Year. In 1999, *A Magazine* named her one of the most influential Asians in America. Zia received an honorary Doctor of Laws degree from the Law School of the City University of New York. She is the first recipient of the Suzanne Ahn Journalism Award for Civil Rights and Social Justice, which recognizes excellence in the coverage of civil rights and social justice issues facing Asian American and Pacific Islanders. She is an Expert Fellow on Racial Justice with University of Southern California's Institute for Justice and Journalism at the Annenberg School of Journalism, and was a Writer/Scholar-in-Residence at New York University's Asian/Pacific/Institute in 2004–2005. She was the host of the prestigious Gracie Allen Award winning radio pilot, *As I Am: Asians in America*, a joint effort between the Institute for Asian American Studies at the University of Massachusetts, Boston and WUMB Public Radio in Boston. From August 2007—March 2008, she was a Fulbright Scholar in Shanghai, China for a project on mass migration from Shanghai in 1949.

Zia served as executive editor of *Who's Who Among Asian Americans* (1994) and *Notable Asian Americans* (1995). She is the author of *Asian American Dreams: The Emergence of an American People* (2000). She is coauthor, with Wen Ho Lee of, *My Country Versus Me: The First Hand Account by the Los Alamos Scientist Who Was Falsely Accused* (2002). She is currently working on a new book on the mass exodus from Shanghai during the Communist Revolution.

Zia lives in Oakland with her partner, Lia Shigemura. The couple has been married since 2004.

Cynya Michelle Ko

See also Chin, Vincent

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Primary Documents*

1. Excerpts from Naturalization Laws (1790, 1870)
 - A. Naturalization Law (1790)
 - B. Naturalization Law (1870)
2. Excerpts from the Foreign Miners Tax (1850)
3. *An Analysis of the Chinese Question* (1852)
4. Excerpt from *People v. Hall* (1854)
5. Excerpt from Derivative Citizenship and Married Women Law (1855)
6. Excerpt from the Burlingame Treaty (1868)
7. Excerpt from the Page Law (1875)
8. Excerpts from the Chinese Exclusion Act (1882) and Amendments (1888, 1892, 1902, 1904)
 - A. The 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act
 - B. The 1888 Amendment (Scott Act)
 - C. The 1892 Amendment (Geary Act)
 - D. The 1902 Amendment
 - E. The 1904 Amendment
9. Excerpt from the Case of the Chinese Wife: *In re Ah Moy* (1884)
10. Excerpt from *Yick Wo v. Hopkins* (1886)
11. Excerpt from *United States v. Wong Kim Ark* (1898)
12. Excerpt from *Tsoi Sim v. United States* (1902)
13. Excerpt from the Expatriate Act of 1907
14. Excerpt from the Gentlemen's Agreement (1907)
15. Poems from Angel Island (1910–1940)
16. Excerpt from the Alien Land Law (1913)
17. Excerpt from the Immigration Act (1917)
18. Excerpt from *Takao Ozawa v. United States* (1922)
19. Excerpt from the Cable Act (1922)
20. Excerpt from the *United States v. Thind* (1923)
21. Excerpt from the Immigration Act (1924)
22. Excerpt from *Toyota v. United States* (1925)
23. A Plea for Relief (1926)
24. Chinese Wives of American Citizens Act (1930)
25. Excerpt from Tydings-McDuffie Act (1934)
26. Executive Order No. 9066 (1942)
27. Excerpt from *Hirabayashi v. United States* (1943)
28. Excerpt from the Repeal Act of Chinese Exclusion (1943)
29. My Silver Wings, the Story of a Chinese American Woman (Margaret “Maggie” Gee)
30. Excerpt from *Ex parte Mitsuye Endo* (1944)
31. Excerpt from *Korematsu v. United States* (1944)
32. Excerpts from the War Brides Act (1945) and Amendment (1947)
 - A. War Brides Act (1945)
 - B. 1947 War Brides Act Amendment
33. Excerpts from *America Is in the Heart* by Carlos Bulosan (1946)

*Note: Document introductions have been written by Xiaojian Zhao.

34. Excerpt from the Luce-Celler Act (1946)
35. Excerpt from Alien Fiancées or Fiancés Act (1946)
36. Chinese Wives of American Citizens Act (1946)
37. Excerpt from Japanese Evacuation Claims (1948)
38. Excerpt from McCarran-Walter Act (1952)
39. Excerpt from the Drumright Report (1955)
40. Protest Letter Against Grand Jury Investigation of Alleged Illegal Entry of Chinese (1956)
41. Excerpt of Chinese Confession Program of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (1960)
42. Excerpt from the Immigration Act (1965)
43. Accounts by Yuri Kochiyama (1965)
44. Excerpt from Refugee Act of 1980
45. Amerasian Immigration Act (1982)
46. Excerpt from Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) (1986)
47. Amerasian Homecoming Act (1987)
48. Indochinese Refugee Resettlement and Protection Act of 1987
49. Japanese American Redress (1988)
 - A. Remarks by President Ronald Reagan on Signing the Civil Liberties Act (the Redress Bill), August 10, 1988
 - B. Excerpt from the Civil Liberties Act (1988)
50. The Story of a “Survivor” (1990)
51. Excerpt from the Immigration Act of 1990
52. Excerpt from the Chinese Student Protection Act of 1992
53. An Apology to Native Hawaiians (1993)
54. President Barack Obama’s Executive Order 13515 (2009)
55. Apologies to Chinese Americans Regarding Exclusion (2011, 2012)
 - A. Senate Resolution (October 6, 2011)
 - B. House of Representative Resolutions (June 8, 2012)

1. Excerpts from Naturalization Laws (1790, 1870)

These two laws established principles for naturalization from the late eighteenth century to mid-twentieth century. The 1790 act defined eligibility for naturalization in terms of both race and class, granting the right to only “free” and “white” persons. The 1870 amendment, enacted shortly after the Civil War, extended such right to individuals of African origins. Although the amendment made both white and black individuals eligible to naturalization, it did not address the issue concerning Asians, as the Asian population in the United States was relatively small at the time.

A. Naturalization Law (1790)

Chap. III—*An Act to establish an uniform Rule of Naturalization.* (a)

Section 1. *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That any alien, being a free white person, who shall have resided within the limits and under the jurisdiction of the United States for the term of two years, may be admitted to become a citizen thereof, on application to any common law court of record, in any one of the states where in he shall have resided for the term of one year at least, and making proof to the satisfaction of such court, that he is a person of good character, and taking the oath or affirmation prescribed by law, to support the constitution of the United States, which oath or affirmation such court shall administer; and the clerk of such court shall record such application, and the proceedings thereon; and thereupon such person shall be considered as a citizen of the United States. And the children of such persons so naturalized, dwelling within the United States, being under the age of twenty-one years at the time of such naturalization, shall also be considered as citizens of the United States. And the children of citizens of the United States, that may be born beyond sea, or out of the limits of the United States, shall be considered as natural born citizens: *Provided,* That the right of citizenship shall not descend to persons whose fathers have never been resident in the United States: *Provided also,* That no person heretofore

proscribed by any state, shall be admitted a citizen as a foresaid, except by an act of the legislature of the state in which such person was proscribed. (a)

Source: 1 Stat. 103, Act of March 26, 1790.

B. Naturalization Law (1870)

An Act to amend the Naturalization Laws and to punish Crimes against the same, and for other Purpose.

Sec. 7. *And be it further enacted,* That the naturalization laws are hereby extended to aliens of African nativity and to persons of African descent.

Source: 16 Stat. 254, Act of July 14, 1870.

2. Excerpts from the Foreign Miners Tax (1850)

The California gold rush triggered an emigration around the world. The number of miners from China and Mexico were especially large. The Foreign Miner’s Tax, passed by the California legislature in 1850 and amended in 1852, was to cut into their earnings. The law levied a monthly \$20 tax on each foreign miner. Tax collectors went after the Chinese and Mexican miners aggressively, forcing them to pay more than once in some cases. Enforcement of the law encouraged attacks and robbery of Chinese in the gold fields. As a result many Chinese were driven off good claims.

1850 California Foreign Miners Tax
Passed April 13, 1850

S1. No person who is not a native or natural born citizen of the United States, or who may not have become a citizen under the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (all native California Indians excepted), shall be permitted to mine in any part of this State, without having first obtained a license so to do according to the provisions of this Act . . .

S6. Every person required by the first section of this Act to obtain a license to mine, shall apply to the Collector of Licenses to foreign miners, and take out a licenses to mine, for which he shall pay the sum of twenty dollars per month . . .

Source: Act of Apr. 13, 1850, ch. 97, 1, 5, 1850 Cal. Stat. 221.

3. *An Analysis of the Chinese Question* (1852)

In 1852, anti-Chinese agitation arouse in mining camps. The Chinese were initially welcomed by the state of California. In 1851, Governor John McDougall proclaimed the Chinese as “one of the most worthy classes of our newly adopted citizens.” But in April 1852, new Governor John Bigler sent a special message to the state legislature, proposing discriminatory measures to impose economic hardship on the Chinese and to check the tide of immigration. The following is a response of the Chinese to the Governor.

Sir: The Chinamen have learned with sorrow that you have published a message against them. Although we are Asiatics, some of us have been educated in American schools and have learned your language, which has enabled us to read your message in the newspapers for ourselves, and to explain it to the rest of our countrymen. We have all thought a great deal about, and after consultation with one another, we have determined to write you as decent and respectful a letter as we could, pointing out to your Excellency some of the errors you have fallen into about us.

You speak of the Chinamen as “Coolies,” and, in some sense, the word is applicable . . . but not in that in which you seem to use it. “Cooly” is not a Chinese word: it has been imported into China from foreign parts, as it has been into this country. What its original signification was, we do not know; but with us it means a common laborer, and nothing more. We have never known it used among us as a designation of a class, such as you have in view—persons bound to labor under contracts which they can be forcibly compelled to comply with . . . If you mean by “Coolies,” laborers, many of our countrymen in the mines are “Coolies,” and many again are not. There are among them tradesmen, mechanics, gentry, and school masters . . . None are “Coolies,” if by that you mean bound men or contract slaves.

The Chinamen are indeed remarkable for their love of their country. . . . They honor their parents and age generally with a respect like religion, and have the deepest anxiety to provide for their descendants . . . With such feelings as these, many return home with their

money. . . . But not all; others—full as many as of other nations—invest their gains in merchandise and bring it into the country and sell it at your markets. It is possible, sir, that you may not be aware how great this trade is, and how rapidly it is increasing, and how many are now returning to California as merchants who came over originally as miners.

Every five years there is a curious sort of mule caravan seen meandering up and down the mining streams of California, where Chinamen are to be found. It is a quiet train. . . . In this train or caravan the drivers do not shout or scream. The mules, it always seemed to me, do not even bray. This caravan travels almost always at night, and it is driven and managed almost together by Chinamen. . . . These mules, both in coming in and going out of a camp, are loaded with little beech-wood boxes of about three feet in length and one foot square. . . . This is the caravan of the dead.

May 16, 1852

Wa, Hab and Tong K. Achick.

Source: An Analysis of the Chinese Question. San Francisco: Office of the San Francisco Herald, 1852.

4. Excerpt from *People v. Hall* (1854)

Although George Hall was convicted for the murder of a Chinese in 1853, the following court ruling from the California Supreme Court reversed the conviction, arguing that the conviction was based on evidence given by Chinese witnesses. This ruling barred Chinese testimony against white people in criminal court. As a result violence against the Chinese escalated.

Mr. Ch. J. Murray delivered the opinion of the Court. Mr. J. Heydenfeldt concurred.

The appellant, a free white citizen of this State, was convicted of murder upon the testimony of Chinese witnesses.

The point involved in this case is the admissibility of such evidence.

The 394th section of the Act Concerning Civil Cases provides that no Indian or Negro shall be allowed to testify as a witness in any action or proceeding in which a white person is a party.

The 14th section of the Act of April 16th, 1850, regulating Criminal Proceedings, provides that “No black or mulatto person, or Indian, shall be allowed to give evidence in favor of, or against a white man.”

The true point at which we are anxious to arrive is, the legal signification of the words, “black, mulatto, Indian, and white person,” and whether the Legislature adopted them as generic terms, or intended to limit their application to specific types of the human species. . . .

The Act of Congress, in defining that description of aliens may become naturalized citizens, provides that every “free white citizen,” etc. . . .

If the term “white,” as used in the Constitution, was not understood in its generic sense as including the Caucasian race, and necessarily excluding all others, where was the necessary of providing for the admission of Indians to the privilege of voting, by special legislation?

We are of the opinion that the words “white,” “Negro,” “mulatto,” “Indian,” and “black person,” wherever they occur in our Constitution and laws, must be taken in their generic sense, and that, even admitting the Indian of this continent is not of the Mongolian type, that the words “black person,” in the 14th section, must be taken as contradistinguished from white, and necessary excludes all races other than the Caucasian.

We have carefully considered all the consequences resulting from a different rule of construction, and are satisfied that even in a doubtful case, we would be impelled to this decision on ground of public policy.

The same rule which would admit them to testify, would admit them to all the equal rights of citizenship, and we might soon see them at the polls, in the jury box, upon the bench, and in our legislative halls.

This is not a speculation which exists in the excited and overheated imagination of the patriot and statesman, but it is an actual and present danger.

The anomalous spectacle of a distinct people, living in our community, recognizing no laws of this State, except through necessity, bringing with them their prejudices and national feuds, in which they indulge in open violation of law; whose mendacity is proverbial; a race of people whom nature has marked as inferior, and who are incapable of progress or

intellectual development beyond a certain point, as their history has shown; differing in language, opinions, color, and physical conformation; between whom and ourselves nature has placed an impassable difference, is now presented, and for them is claims, not only the right to swear away the life of a citizen, but the further privilege of participating with us in administering the affairs of our Government.

These facts were before the Legislature that framed this Act, and have been known as matters of public history to every subsequent Legislature.

There can be no doubt as to the intention of Legislature, and that if it had ever been anticipated that this class of people were not embraced in the prohibition, then such specific words would have been employed as would have put the matter beyond any possible controversy.

For these reasons, we are of opinion that the testimony was inadmissible.

The judgment is reversed and the cause remanded.

Source: 4 Cal. 399 (1854).

See also People v. Hall (1854)

5. Excerpt from Derivative Citizenship and Married Women Law (1855)

This nationality law established the principle of derivative citizenship. Accordingly, a child born abroad of an American father could gain both admission to and citizenship of the United States, but the law prevented children from deriving citizenship from their mothers. The law also granted foreign women the right to naturalization upon marriage to an American citizen. Both provisions had significant impact on the immigration of Asians to the United States.

Chapter LXXI—An Act to secure the Right of Citizenship to Children of Citizens of the United States born out of the Limits thereof.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That persons heretofore born, or hereafter to born, out of the limits and jurisdiction of the United States, whose fathers were or shall be at the time of their birth citizens of the United States,

shall be deemed and considered and are hereby declared to be citizens of the United States: *Provided, however,* That the rights of citizenship shall not descend to persons whose fathers never resided in the United States.

Sec. 2. *And be it further enacted,* That any woman who might lawfully be naturalized under the existing laws, married, or who shall be married to a citizen of the United States, shall be deemed and taken to be a citizen.

Source: 10 Stat. 604, February 10, 1855.

6. Excerpt from the Burlingame Treaty (1868)

In 1868, the United States and China reached a mutual agreement known as the Burlingame Treaty. In addition to many provisions that secured privileges for Americans in China, the treaty established mutual obligations between China and the United States for migration. Both countries were to recognize the inalienable human right to change domiciles and allegiance, as well as the mutual advantage of free migration. It also granted Chinese people residing in the United States the same privileges, immunities, and exemptions enjoyed by the citizens or subjects of the most favored nations. These provisions were renegotiated in 1880, paving the way for Chinese exclusion.

Article V. The United States of America and the Emperor of China cordially recognize the inherent and inalienable right of man to change his home and allegiance, and also the mutual advantage of the free migration and emigration of their citizens and subjects respectively from the one country to the other, for purposes of curiosity, of trade, or as permanent residents. The high contracting parties, therefore, join in reprobating any other than an entirely voluntary emigration for these purposes. They consequently agree to pass laws making it a penal offence for a citizen of the United States or Chinese subjects to take Chinese subjects either to the United States or to any other foreign country, or for a Chinese subject or citizen of the United States to take citizens of the United States to

China or to any other foreign country, without their free and voluntary consent respectively.

Article VI. Citizens of the United States visiting or residing in China shall enjoy the same privileges, immunities, or exemptions in respect to travel or residence as may there be enjoyed by the citizens or subjects of the most favored nation. And, reciprocally, Chinese subjects visiting or residing in the United States, shall enjoy the same privileges, immunities, and exemptions in respect to travel or residence, as may there be enjoyed by the citizens or subjects of the most favored nation. But nothing herein contained shall be held to confer naturalization upon citizens of the United States in China, nor upon the subjects of China in the United States.

Article VII. Citizens of the United States shall enjoy all the privileges of the public education institutions under the control of the government of China, and, reciprocally, Chinese subjects shall enjoy all the privileges of the public education institutions under the control of the government of the United States, which are enjoyed in the respective countries by the citizen or subjects of the most favored nation. The citizens of the United States may freely establish and maintain schools within the Empire of China at those places where foreigners are by treaty permitted to reside, and reciprocally, Chinese subjects may enjoy the same privileges and immunities in the United States.

Source: 16 Stat. 739, Act of July 28, 1868.

See also Burlingame Treaty of 1868

7. Excerpt from the Page Law (1875)

Enacted in 1875, the Page Law forbade the entry of Chinese, Japanese, and Mongolian contract laborers, prostitutes, and felons. With the collaboration of American consuls in Hong Kong, the law was strictly enforced. The law not only put end to the traffic of contract laborers and prostitutes, but it also made it extremely difficult for the wives of Chinese immigrants to come to the United States.

Chap. 141. That in determining whether the immigration of any subject of China, Japan, or any Oriental

country, in the United States, is free and voluntary, . . . it shall be the duty of the consolingeneral or consul of the United States . . . to ascertain whether such immigrant has entered into a contract or agreement for a term of service within the United States, for lewd and immoral purposes . . .

Sec. 3. That the importation into the United States of women for the purposes of prostitution is hereby forbidden . . .

Sec. 5. That it shall be unlawful for aliens of the following classes to immigrate into the United States, namely, persons who are undergoing a sentence for conviction in their own country of felonious crimes other than political or growing out of or the result of such political offenses, or whose sentence has been remitted on condition of their emigration, and women “imported for the purposes of prostitution.” . . .

Source: 18 Stat. 477, Act of March 3, 1875.

See also Page Law (1875)

8. Excerpts from the Chinese Exclusion Act (1882) and Amendments (1888, 1892, 1902, 1904)

Enacted on May 6, 1882, the Chinese Exclusion Act suspended the immigration of Chinese laborers for 10 years, signifying the beginning of a 61-year-long exclusion era. For the first time in the history of the United States, the federal government barred the entry of a group of people on the basis of race. The law also officially categorized Chinese as “aliens ineligible to citizenship.” Under the 1880 treaty obligations, Chinese teachers, students, merchants, tourists, and their servants, as well as diplomats were exempted from the restriction. The Chinese Exclusion Act was amended several times to add more restrictions and close loopholes. An 1884 amendment required certificates for Chinese to re-enter; the 1888 amendment voided all such certificates; an 1892 amendment extended the exclusion for another 10 years and required Chinese immigrants to carry certificates of residence; a 1902 amendment extended exclusion for another 10 years; a 1904 amendment made Chinese exclusion permanent. All Chinese exclusion acts will be repealed in 1943.

A. The 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act

Chap. 126.—*An act to execute certain treaty stipulations relating to Chinese*

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That from and after the expiration of ninety days next after the passage of this act, and until the expiration of ten years next after the passage of this act, the coming of Chinese laborers to the United States be, and the same is hereby, suspended; and during such suspension it shall not be lawful for any Chinese laborer to come, or, having so come after the expiration of said ninety days, to remain within the United States.

Sec. 6. That in order to the faithful execution of articles one and two of the treaty in this act before mentioned, every Chinese person other than a laborer who may be entitled by said treaty and this act to come within the United States, and who shall be about to come to the United States, shall be identified as so entitled by the Chinese Government in each case, such identity to be evidenced by a certificate issued under the authority of said government, which certificate shall be in the English language or (if not in English language) accompanied by a translation into English, stating such right to come, and which certificate shall state the name, title, or official rank, if any, the age, height, and all physical peculiarities, former and present occupation or profession, and place of residence in China of the person to whom the certificate is issued and that such person is entitled conformably to the treaty in this act mentioned to come within the United States. Such certificate shall be prima-facie evidence of the fact set forth therein, and shall be produced to the collector of customs, or his deputy, of the port in the district in the United States at which the person named therein shall arrive.

Sec. 13. That this act shall not apply to diplomatic and other officers of the Chinese Government traveling upon the business of that government, whose credentials shall be taken as equivalent to the certificate in this act mentioned, and shall exempt them and their body and household servants from the provisions of this act as to other Chinese persons.

Sec. 14. That hereafter no State court or court of the United States shall admit Chinese to citizenship; and all laws in conflict with this act are hereby repealed.

Source: 22 Stat. 58, Act of May 6, 1882.

B. The 1888 Amendment (Scott Act)

Chap. 1064—*An act of supplement to an act entitled “An act to execute certain treaty stipulations relating to Chinese,” approved the sixth day of May eighteen hundred and eighty-two.*

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That from and after the passage of this act, it shall be unlawful for any Chinese laborer who shall at any time heretofore have been, or who may now or hereafter be, a resident within the United States, and shall not have returned before the passage of this act, to return to, or remain in, the United States.

Sec. 2. That no certificates of identity provided for in the fourth and fifth sections of the act to which this is a supplement shall hereafter be issued; and every certificate heretofore issued in pursuance thereof, is hereby declared void and of no effect, and the Chinese laborer claiming admission by virtue thereof shall not be permitted to enter the United States.

Source: 25 Stat. 504, Act of October 1, 1888

C. The 1892 Amendment (Geary Act)

Chap. 60.—*An act to prohibit the coming of Chinese persons into the United States*

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representative of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That all laws now in force prohibiting and regulating the coming into this country of Chinese persons and persons of Chinese descent are hereby continued in force for a period of ten years from the passage of this act.

Sec. 6. And it shall be the duty of all Chinese laborers within the limits of the United States, at the time of the passage of this act, and who are entitled to remain in the United States, to apply to the collector

of internal revenue of their respective districts, within one year after the passage of this act, for a certificate of residence, and any Chinese laborer, within the limits of the United States, who shall neglect, fail, or refuse to comply with the provisions of this act, or who, after one year from the passage hereof, shall be found within the jurisdiction of the United States without such certificate of residence, shall be deemed and adjudged to be unlawfully within the United States, and may be arrested, by any United States customs official, collector of internal revenue or his deputies, United States marshal or his deputies, and taken before a United States judge, whose duty it shall be to order that he be deported from the United States as hereinbefore provided, unless he shall establish clearly to the satisfaction of said judge, that by reason of accident, sickness or other unavoidable cause, he has been unable to procure his certificate, and to the satisfaction of said judge, that by reason of accident, sickness or other unavoidable cause, he has been unable to procure his certificate, and to the satisfaction of the court, and by at least one credible white witness, that he was a resident of the United States at the time of the passage of this act; and if upon the hearing it shall appear that he is so entitled to a certificate, it shall be granted upon his paying the cost. Should it appear that said Chinaman had procured a certificate which has been lost or destroyed, he shall be detained and judgment suspended a reasonable time to enable him to produce a duplicate from the officer granting it, and in such cases, the cost of said arrest and trial shall be in the discretion of the court. And any Chinese person other than a Chinese laborer, having a right to be and remain in the United States, desiring such certificate as evidence of such right may apply for and receive the same without charge.

Source: 27 Stat. 25, Act of May 5, 1892.

D. The 1902 Amendment

Chap. 641.—*An Act To prohibit the coming into and to regulate the residence within the United States, its Territories, and all territory under its jurisdiction, and the District of Columbia, of Chinese persons of Chinese descent.*

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That all laws now in force prohibiting and regulating the coming of Chinese persons, and persons of Chinese descent . . . be, and the same are hereby, re-enacted, extended, and continued so far as the same are inconsistent with treaty obligations, until otherwise provided by law, and said laws shall also apply to the island territory under the jurisdiction of the United States, and prohibit the immigration of Chinese laborers, not citizens of the United States, from such island territory to the mainland territory of the United States. . . .

Source: 32 Stat. 176, Act of April 29, 1902.

E. The 1904 Amendment

Sec. 5. That section one of the Act of Congress approved April twenty-ninth, nineteen hundred and two, entitled “An Act to prohibit the coming into and to regulate the residence within the United States, its Territories, and all territory under its jurisdiction, and the District of Columbia, of Chinese and persons of Chinese descent” is hereby amended so as to read as follows:

“All laws in force on the twenty-ninth day of April, nineteen hundred and two, regulating, suspending, or prohibiting the coming of Chinese persons or persons of Chinese descent into the United States . . . are hereby, reenacted, extended, and continued, without modification, limitation, or condition: and said laws shall also apply to the island territory under the jurisdiction of the United States, and prohibit the immigration of Chinese laborers, not citizens of the United States, from such island territory to the mainland territory of the United States . . .

Source: 33 Stat. 248, Act of 1904

See also Chinese Exclusion Acts (1882–1943); Geary Act (1892); Scott Act (1888)

9. Excerpt from the Case of the Chinese Wife: *In re Ah Moy* (1884)

This was one of the two early court cases that denied the entry of labor’s wife during the exclusion. Ah Moy’s husband, Too Cheong, visited China in 1883

and married Ah Moy during the trip. When the couple came to the United States, Too Cheong presented his certificate for reentry by the collector of the port and was admitted, but Ah Moy’s entry was denied. The Federal Circuit Court for the District of California decided that a woman should be accorded laborer’s status upon her marriage to a laborer even if she had never worked outside the home.

SAWYER, J. In my judgment, this case presents one of the most important questions that can arise under the Chinese restriction act. It is, whether a Chinese laborer, who was residing in the United States on November 17, 1880, or who subsequently came to the country before August 4, 1882, and who has since returned to China under such conditions as entitle him to re-enter the United States, is entitled to bring into the United States with him, on his return, his wife, who has never before been in the country, and who, therefore, has no other right to enter than that derived from her *status* as wife of a Chinese laborer entitled to enter; that is to say, a right to enter by virtue of a right pertaining to the husband alone, and not as an independent, individual, personal right of her own. If such Chinese laborer has a right to bring into the country with him a wife who has never been here before, he must, upon similar grounds, be entitled to bring with him all his minor children; and, under this right, the number of Chinese laborers who are entitled to come to the United States will be greatly extended beyond the number who can enter by virtue of their own individual rights. The question is also presented whether the wife of a Chinese laborer, who was not herself a Chinese laborer *in fact* before and down to the time of her marriage, by the act of marriage takes the *status* of the husband, and becomes, in contemplation of law, one of the class intended to be excluded, and as such is excluded, unless she can enter by virtue of the right pertaining to her husband. The construction of the statute upon the points stated is more doubtful, to my mind, than that of any other point raised under the act upon which I have been called to pass. As there is no appeal from the decision of this court, and as the question is one of the greatest importance, both to the Chinese laborers entitled to be in the United States and to the people of this country, the case was also

reserved and ordered to be reargued before the circuit justice. Upon the first argument, the conclusion I reached, after considerable reflection, was that the husband is not entitled to bring his wife into the country, she being in fact a Chinese laborer, and never having been here before; and that, upon the marriage of the petitioner in this case with a Chinese laborer, she took upon herself the *status* of the husband as one of the *class* who are not now permitted to enter the United States, without reference to her former *status*. Upon further argument and consideration, the view before taken is confirmed. . . .

Source: 21 F. 785 (1884)

10. Excerpt from *Yick Wo v. Hopkins* (1886)

In this landmark case, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that a law that divided businesses (laundries) into two classes was a denial of equal protection under the law as guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment. It held that the Fourteenth Amendment provided protections to not only all citizens, but all aliens. In the court's view, a law that could be applied in a discriminatory manner, even though it might be neutral on its face, was a violation of the equal protection clause in the Fourteenth Amendment.

MR. JUSTICE MATTHEWS delivered the opinion of the court.

In the case of the petitioner, brought here by writ of error to the Supreme Court of California, our jurisdiction is limited to the question, whether the plaintiff in error has been denied a right in violation of the Constitution, laws, or treaties of the United States. The question whether his imprisonment is illegal, under the constitution and laws of the State, is not open to us. And although that question might have been considered in the Circuit Court in the application made to it, and by this court on appeal from its order, yet judicial propriety is best consulted by accepting the judgment of the State court upon the points involved in that inquiry.

That, however, does not preclude this court from putting upon the ordinances of the supervisors of the

county and city of San Francisco an independent construction; for the determination of the question whether the proceedings under these ordinances and in enforcement of them are in conflict with the Constitution and laws of the United States, necessarily involves the meaning of the ordinances, which, for that purpose, we are required to ascertain and adjudge.

The ordinance drawn in question in the present case is of a very different character. It does not prescribe a rule and conditions for the regulation of the use of property for laundry purposes, to which all similarly situated may conform. It allows without restriction the use for such purposes of buildings of brick or stone; but, as to wooden buildings, constituting nearly all those in previous use, it divides the owners or occupiers into two classes, not having respect to their personal character and qualifications for the business, nor the situation and nature and adaptation of the buildings themselves, but merely by an arbitrary line, on one side of which are those who are permitted to pursue their industry by the mere will and consent of the supervisors, and on the other those from whom that consent is withheld, at their mere will and pleasure. And both classes are alike only in this, that they are tenants at will, under the supervisors, of their means of living. The ordinance, therefore, also differs from the not unusual case, where discretion is lodged by law in public officers or bodies to grant or withhold licenses to keep taverns, or places for the sale of spirituous liquors, and the like, when one of the conditions is that the applicant shall be a fit person for the exercise of the privilege, because in such cases the fact of fitness is submitted to the judgment of the officer, and calls for the exercise of a discretion of a judicial nature.

The rights of the petitioners, as affected by the proceedings of which they complain, are not less, because they are aliens and subjects of the Emperor of China. By the third article of the treaty between this Government and that of China, concluded November 17, 1880, 22 Stat. 827, it is stipulated: "If Chinese laborers, or Chinese of any other class, now either permanently or temporarily residing in the territory of the United States, meet with ill treatment at the hands any other persons, the Government of the United States will exert all its powers to devise measures for their protection, and to secure to them the same rights,

privileges, immunities and exemptions as may be enjoyed by the citizens or subjects of the most favored nation, and to which they are entitled by treaty.”

The Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution is not confined to the protection of citizens. It says: “Nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.” These provisions are universal in their application, to all persons within the territorial jurisdiction, without regard to any differences of race, of color, or of nationality; and the equal protection of the laws is a pledge of the protection of equal laws. It is accordingly enacted by 1977 of the Revised Statutes, that “all persons within the jurisdiction of the United States shall have the same right in every State and Territory to make and enforce contracts, to sue, be parties, give evidence, and to the full and equal benefit of all laws and proceedings for the security of persons and property as is enjoyed by white citizens and shall be subject to like punishment, pains, penalties, taxes, licenses, and exactions of every kind, and to no other.” The questions we have to consider and decide in these cases, therefore, are to be treated as involving the rights of every citizen of the United States equally with those of the strangers and aliens who now invoke the jurisdiction of the court.

It is contended on the part of the petitioners, that the ordinances for violations of which they are severally sentenced to imprisonment, are void on their face, as being within the prohibitions of the Fourteenth Amendment; and, in the alternative, if not so, that they are void by reason of their administration, operating unequally, so as to punish in the present petitioners what is permitted to others as lawful, without any distinction of circumstances—an unjust and illegal discrimination, it is claimed, which, though not made expressly by the ordinances is made possible by them.

When we consider the nature and the theory of our institutions of government, the principles upon which they are supposed to rest, and review the history of their development, we are constrained to conclude that they do not mean to leave room for the play and action of purely personal and arbitrary power. Sovereignty itself is, of course, not subject to law, for it is the author and source of law; but in our system, while

sovereign powers are delegated to the agencies of government, sovereignty itself remains with the people, by whom and for whom all government exists and acts. And the law is the definition and limitation of power. It is, indeed, quite true, that there must always be lodged somewhere, and in some person or body, the authority of final decision; and in many cases of mere administration the responsibility is purely political, no appeal lying except to the ultimate tribunal of the public judgment, exercised either in the pressure of opinion or by means of the suffrage. But the fundamental rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, considered as individual possessions, are secured by those maxims of constitutional law which are the monuments showing the victorious progress of the race in securing to men the blessings of civilization under the reign of just and equal laws, so that, in the famous language of the Massachusetts Bill of Rights, the government of the commonwealth “may be a government of laws and not of men.” For, the very idea that one man may be compelled to hold his life, or the means of living, or any material right essential to the enjoyment of life, at the mere will of another, seems to be intolerable in any country where freedom prevails, as being the essence of slavery itself.

There are many illustrations that might be given of this truth, which would make manifest that it was self-evident in the light of our system of jurisprudence. The case of the political franchise of voting is one. Though not regarded strictly as a natural right, but as a privilege merely conceded by society according to its will, under certain conditions, nevertheless it is regarded as a fundamental political right, because preservative of all rights.

This conclusion, and the reasoning on which it is based, are deductions from the face of the ordinance, as to its necessary tendency and ultimate actual operation. In the present cases we are not obliged to reason from the probable to the actual, and pass upon the validity of the ordinances complained of, as tried merely by the opportunities which their terms afford, of unequal and unjust discrimination in their administration. For the cases present the ordinances in actual operation, and the facts shown establish an administration directed so exclusively against a particular class of persons as to warrant and require the

conclusion, that, whatever may have been the intent of the ordinances as adopted, they are applied by the public authorities charged with their administration, and thus representing the State itself, with a mind so unequal and oppressive as to amount to a practical denial by the State of that equal protection of the laws which is secured to the petitioners, as to all other persons, by the broad and benign provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. Though the law itself be fair on its face and impartial in appearance, yet, if it is applied and administered by public authority with an evil eye and an unequal hand, so as practically to make unjust and illegal discriminations between persons in similar circumstances, material to their rights, the denial of equal justice is still within the prohibition of the Constitution.

The present cases, as shown by the facts disclosed in the record, are within this class. It appears that both petitioners have complied with every requisite, deemed by the law or by the public officers charged with its administration, necessary for the protection of neighboring property from fire, or as a precaution against injury to the public health. No reason whatever, except the will of the supervisors, is assigned why they should not be permitted to carry on, in the accustomed manner, their harmless and useful occupation, on which they depend for a livelihood. And while this consent of the supervisors is withheld from them and from two hundred others who have also petitioned, all of whom happen to be Chinese subjects, eighty others, not Chinese subjects, are permitted to carry on the same business under similar conditions. The fact of this discrimination is admitted. No reason for it is shown, and the conclusion cannot be resisted, that no reason for it exists except hostility to the race and nationality to which the petitioners belong, and which in the eye of the law is not justified. The discrimination is, therefore, illegal, and the public administration which enforces it is a denial of the equal protection of the laws and a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution . . .

Source: 118 U.S. 356 (1886)

See also Yick Wo v. Hopkins (1886)

11. Excerpt from *United States v. Wong Kim Ark (1898)*

In this landmark case, the Chinese immigrant community won a major victory, gaining entry right for U.S.-born Chinese. After the enactment of the Scott Act in 1888, immigration authorities canceled all re-entry certificates previously issued by the government. Immigrants who had left could no longer return to the United States. Wong was born in San Francisco in 1871. When immigration officials blocked his entry after his trip to China, he took his case to court. The Supreme Court ruled in his favor, holding that the U.S. citizenship, entitled by anyone born in the United States, was protected by the Fourteenth Amendment. This decision established an important principle of the U.S. Constitution. It allowed many Chinese to gain entry as U.S. citizens or children of the citizens during the Chinese exclusion.

Appeal from the District Court of the United States for the Northern District of California.

Mr. Justice Gray, after stating the case, delivered the opinion of the court.

The facts of this case, as agreed by the parties, are as follows: Wong Kim Ark was born in 1873 in the city of San Francisco, in the State of California and United States of America, and was and is a laborer. His father and mother were persons of Chinese descent, and subjects of the Emperor of China; they were at the time of his birth domiciled residents of the United States, having previously established and still enjoying a permanent domicile and residence therein at San Francisco; they continued to reside and remain in the United States until 1890, when they departed for China; and during all the time of their residence in the United States they were engaged in business, and were never employed in any diplomatic or official capacity under the Emperor of China. Wong Kim Ark, ever since his birth, has had but one residence, to wit, in California, within the United States, and has there resided, claiming to be a citizen of the United States, and has never lost or changed that residence, or gained or acquired another residence; and neither he, nor his parents acting for him, ever

renounced his allegiance to the United States, or did or committed any act of thing to exclude him therefrom. In 1890 (when he must have been about seventeen years of age) he departed for China on a temporary visit and with the intention of returning to the United States, and did return thereto by sea in the same year, and was permitted by the collector of customs to enter the United States, upon the sole ground that he was a native-born citizen of the United States. After such return, he remained in the United States, claiming to be a citizen thereof, until 1894, when he (being about twenty-one years of age, but whether a little above or a little under that age does not appear) again departed for China on a temporary visit and with the intention of returning to the United States; and he did return thereto by sea in August, 1895, and applied to the collector of customs for permission to land; and was denied such permission, upon the sole ground that he was not a citizen of the United States.

It is conceded that if he is a citizen of the United States, the acts of Congress, known as the Chinese Exclusion Acts, prohibiting persons of the Chinese race, and especially Chinese laborers, from coming into the United States, do not and cannot apply to him.

The question presented by the record is whether a child born in the United States, of parents of Chinese descent, who, at the time of his birth, are subjects of the Emperor of China, but have a permanent domicile and residence in the United States, and are there carrying on business, and are not employed in any diplomatic or official capacity under the Emperor of China, becomes at the time of his birth a citizen of the United States, by virtue of the first clause of the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution, "All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside."

VI. . . . The fact, therefore, that acts of Congress or treaties have not permitted Chinese persons born out of this country to become citizens by naturalization, cannot exclude Chinese persons born in this country from the operation of the broad and clear words of the Constitution, "All persons born in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States."

VII. Upon the facts agreed in this case, the American citizenship which Wong Kim Ark acquired by birth within the United States has not been lost or taken away by anything happening since his birth. . . .

Source: 169 U.S. 649, Act of March 28, 1898.

See also United States v. Wong Kim Ark (1898)

12. Excerpt from *Tsoi Sim v. United States* (1902)

In this case, the Circuit Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit ruled in favor of the Chinese appellant, holding that an alien Chinese wife of an American citizen was entitled to reside with her husband, because her husband, a citizen of the United States, should be entitled to greater rights and privileges than an alien merchant.

HAWLEY, District Judge delivered the opinion of the court.

Appellant was arrested upon a complaint charging her with being "a Chinese manual laborer now within the limits of the Northern district of California aforesaid, without the certificate of residence required by the act of congress entitled 'An act to prohibit the coming of Chinese persons into the United States,' approved May 5, 1892, and the act amendatory thereof, approved November 3, 1893."

The case was heard before United States Commissioner Heacock, who found "that the said Tsoi Sim is a Chinese manual laborer, and was born in, and is a subject of, the empire of China; that she was found within the limits of the United States, to wit, in the city and county of San Francisco, in the Northern district of California, on the 20th day of April, A.D. 1901; and that when she was so found, as aforesaid, she was without the certificate of residence required by said acts; and she has not clearly established that by reason of accident, sickness, or other unavoidable cause she has been unable to procure such certificate"; and ordered her to be deported from the United States to the country from whence she came, to wit, China. The district court affirmed the judgment of deportation, and from this judgment an appeal is taken to this

court. The case was heard upon a stipulation as to the facts, which, together with the statute under which the order of deportation was made, is set forth in the foregoing statement of facts.

It will, for the purposes of this opinion, be conceded that, if the arrest of appellant had been made and hearing had prior to the time of her marriage to a citizen of the United States, she would not have been entitled to remain in this country. Does the fact that appellant was lawfully married to a citizen of the United States, prior to her arrest, change her status so as to make her residence here, thereafter, lawful? . . .

Appellant did not come to this country fraudulently, or in violation of any law. She did not get married in order to evade deportation. Her marriage was not fraudulent, but lawful, and in accordance with the usages and customs of our law. Whatever effect her error of omission in failing, during a few years of her infancy, to obtain a certificate of registration, if any she was entitled to, it certainly did not deprive her of the right to marry an American citizen lawfully domiciled in this country. This she did. By this act, her status was changed from that of a Chinese laborer to that of a wife of a native born American. Her husband is not before the court, but his rights, as well as hers, are involved. The law is well settled that one born in the United States of Chinese parents who were permanently domiciled here, though an alien, is a citizen of the United States, and cannot be excluded therefrom, or denied the right of entry. It being the law that the wife and children of a Chinese merchant are permitted to remain in this country because the domicile of the wife and children is that of the husband and father, as was expressly held in *Re Chung Toy Ho*, and approved by the supreme court in *U.S. v. Gue Lim*, supra, upon what method of legal reasoning can it be held that the wife of an American citizen is not entitled to the same "rights, privileges, and immunities" under the law? The Chinese merchant does not stand upon a higher plane than the Chinaman who is born of parents, of Chinese descent, having a permanent domicile and residence in the United States. On the contrary, the native born, by virtue of his birth, becomes a citizen of the United States, and is entitled to greater rights and privileges than the alien merchant. The wife has the right to live with her husband; enjoy his society; receive his

support and maintenance and all the comforts and privileges of the marriage relations. These are her, as well as his, natural rights. By virtue of her marriage, her husband's domicile became her domicile, and thereafter she was entitled to live with her husband, and remain in this country . . .

Source: 116 F. 920 (1902).

See also Tsoi Sim v. United States (1902)

13. Excerpt from the Expatriate Act of 1907

This law stipulates that American women's nationality should accord to that of her husband, which became the basis for the 1922 Cable Act.

An Act In reference to the expatriation of citizens and their protection abroad

Sec. 2. That any American citizen shall be deemed to have expatriated himself when he has been naturalized in any foreign state in conformity with its laws, or when he has taken an oath of allegiance to any foreign state.

Sec. 3. That any American woman who marries a foreigner shall take the nationality of her husband. At the termination of the marital relation she may resume her American citizenship, if abroad, by registering as an American citizen within one year with a consul of the United States, or by returning to reside in the United States, or, if residing in the United States at the termination of the marital relation, by continuing to reside therein.

Source: 34 Stat. 1228, Act of March 2, 1907.

14. Excerpt from the Gentlemen's Agreement (1907)

The Gentlemen's Agreement was a series of notes exchanged between the United States and Japan in 1907. It was responding to the anti-Japanese agitation in San Francisco, which demanded to end Japanese immigration. The incident began in 1906, when the San Francisco school board tried to send children of Japanese immigrants to the segregated school for Chinese. Because Japan had emerged as a military

power in Asia and the Pacific, the United States did not exclude Japanese legislatively. Under agreement with the Japanese government, Japanese entry routes from Mexico, Canada, and Hawaii into the U.S. mainland were shut down, and Tokyo limited the issuance of passports to the United States to only specific classes of individuals. President Theodore Roosevelt agreed to urge the city of San Francisco to allow children of Japanese parents to attend regular public schools. The agreement effectively prevented Japanese from migrating to the United States.

Gentleman's Agreement (14 March 1907)

Whereas, by the act entitled "An Act to regulate the immigration of aliens into the United States," approved February 20, 1907, whenever the President is satisfied that passports issued by any foreign government to its citizens to go to any country other than the United States or to any insular possession of the United States or to the Canal Zone, are being used for the purpose of enabling the holders to come to the continental territory of the United States to the detriment of labor conditions therein, it is made the duty of the President to refuse to permit such citizens of the country issuing such passports to enter the continental territory of the United States from such country or from such insular possession or from the Canal Zone;

And Whereas, upon sufficient evidence produced before me by the Department of Commerce and Labor, I am satisfied that passports issued by the Government of Japan to citizens of that country or Korea and who are laborers, skilled or unskilled, to go to Mexico, to Canada and to Hawaii, are being used for the purpose of enabling the holders thereof to come to the continental territory of the United States to the detriment of labor conditions therein;

I hereby order that such citizens of Japan or Korean, to-wit: Japanese or Korean laborers, skilled and unskilled, who have received passports to go to Mexico, Canada or Hawaii, and come therefrom, be refused permission to enter the continental territory of the United States.

It is further ordered that the Secretary of Commerce and Labor be, and he hereby is, directed to take, thru Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization, such

measures and to make and enforce such rules and regulations as may be necessary to carry this order into effect.

Theodore Roosevelt
The White House
March 14, 1907
No. 589

Source: Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration, 1908.

15. Poems from Angel Island (1910–1940)

During the Chinese exclusion, the U.S. government established a system of detaining and interrogating Chinese immigration applicants. Between 1910 and 1940, an immigration facility on Angel Island in the San Francisco Bay served as a detention center for immigrants from the other side of the Pacific, most of them came from China. As many as 175,000 Chinese were detained at Angel Island during this time period, where the interrogation and screening process for each individual could take several months or longer. Isolated in prisonlike barracks in a foreign land, the several thousand poems carved on the walls of the detention center, like the three selected ones below, reflected the stress, anguish, and frustrations of the detainees.

1.
I am distressed that we Chinese are detained
in this wooden building.
It is actually racial barriers which cause
difficulties on Yingtai Island.
Even while they are tyrannical, they still
claim to be humanitarian.
I should regret my taking the risks of coming
in the first place.

2.
In the quiet of night, I heard, faintly, the
whistling of wind.
The forms and shadows saddened me; upon
seeing the landscape, I composed a poem.
The floating clouds, the fog, darken the sky.
The moon shines faintly as the insects chirp.

Grief and bitterness entwined are heaven sent.

The sad person sits alone, leaning by a window.

3.

Alas, yellow souls suffer under the brute force of the white race!

Like shouting at a dog which has lost its home, we are forced into jail.

Like a pig chased into a basket, we are sternly locked in.

Our souls languish in a snowy vault; we are really not even the equal of cattle and horses.

Source: Him Mark Lai, Geny Lim, and Judy Yung, *Island Poetry and History of Chinese Immigrants on Angel Island, 1910–1940*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1991.

16. Excerpt from the Alien Land Law (1913)

First enacted in California in 1913, the Alien Land Law deprived Asians the right to purchase land or lease land for more than three years. The law was amended in 1920, prohibiting Asian aliens to lease land or purchase land through corporations. A 1923 amendment made cropping contracts illegal. Arizona, Washington, Louisiana, New Mexico, Idaho, Montana, Oregon, and Kansas all passed similar laws. These legislations made it difficult for Asian immigrants to make a living in agriculture and had an especially big impact on Japanese Americans.

Chap. 112. Section 1. All aliens eligible to citizenship under the laws of the United States may acquire, possess, enjoy, transmit and inherit real property, or any interest therein, in this state, in the same manner and to the same extent as citizens of the United States, except as otherwise provided by the laws of this state.

Sec. 2. All aliens other than those mentioned in section one of this act may acquire, possess, enjoy and transfer real property, or any interest therein, in this state, in the manner and to the extent and for the purposes prescribed by any treaty now existing

between the government of the United States and the nation or country of which such alien is a citizen or subject, and not otherwise, and may in addition thereto lease lands in this state for agricultural purposes for a term not exceeding three years . . .

Source: 206 Cal. Stat. 1913

See also Alien Land Laws

17. Excerpt from the Immigration Act (1917)

Also known as the Asiatic Barred Zone Act, this law listed a few dozens of classes of aliens that would be excluded from admission into the United States. The list included “idiots” and “insane” persons, alcoholics, paupers, beggars, persons with contagious disease, prostitutes, and others. Using a geographic criterion, described by degrees of latitude and longitude, this legislation created a so-called barred zone to ban all Asian immigrants. The Chinese were officially excluded after 1882; the Japanese were exempt because of the Gentlemen’s Agreement; the Filipinos were not applicable because they were American nationals. The new law was, therefore, to stop the influx of immigrants from the Indian subcontinent and those from Pacific islands adjacent to Asia.

An Act To regulate the Immigration of aliens to, and the residence of aliens in, the United States.

Sec. 3. That the following classes of aliens shall be excluded from admission into the United States: All idiots, imbeciles, feeble-minded persons, epileptics, insane persons; persons who have had one or more attacks of insanity at any time previously; persons of constitutional psychopathic inferiority; persons with chronic alcoholism; paupers; professional beggars; vagrants; persons afflicted with tuberculosis in any form or with a loathsome or dangerous contagious disease; . . . Prostitutes, or persons coming into the United States for the purpose of protection or for any other immoral purposes . . . persons who are natives of islands not possessed by the United States adjacent to the Continent of Asia, situate south of the twentieth parallel latitude south, or who are natives of any west

of the one hundred and tenth meridian of longitude east from Greenwich and east of the fiftieth meridian of longitude east from Greenwich and south of the fiftieth parallel of latitude north, except that portion of said territory situate between the fiftieth and the sixty-fourth and thirty-eighth parallels of latitude north, and no alien now in any way excluded from, or prevented from entering, the United States shall be admitted to the United States.

Source: 39 Stat. 874, Act of February 5, 1917.

See also Immigration Act of 1917 and the “Barred Zone”

18. Excerpt from *Takao Ozawa v. United States* (1922)

In this case, U.S. Supreme Court ruled that Takao Ozawa, a Japanese immigrant, ineligible for naturalization, because he was neither white nor black. The case denied Japanese immigrants the right to naturalization and officially classified them as “alien ineligible to citizenship.”

MR. JUSTICE SUTHERLAND delivered the opinion of the Court.

The appellant is a person of the Japanese race born in Japan. He applied, on October 16, 1914, to the United States District Court for the Territory of Hawaii to be admitted as a citizen of the United States. His petition was opposed by the United States District Attorney for the District of Hawaii. Including the period of his residence in Hawaii, appellant had continuously resided in the United States for twenty years. He was a graduate of the Berkeley, California, High School, had been nearly three years a student in the University of California, had educated his children in American schools, his family had attended American churches and he had maintained the use of the English language in his home. That he was well qualified by character and education for citizenship is conceded.

The District Court of Hawaii, however, held that, having been born in Japan and being of the Japanese race, he was not eligible to naturalization under 2169 of the Revised Statutes, and denied the petition. Thereupon the appellant brought the cause to the Circuit

Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit and that court has certified the following questions, upon which it desires to be instructed:

“1. Is the Act of June 29, 1906 (34 Stats. at Large, Part I, Page 596), providing ‘for a uniform rule for the naturalization of aliens’ complete in itself, or is it limited by Section 2169 of the Revised Statutes of the United States?

“2. Is one who is of the Japanese race and born in Japan eligible to citizenship under the Naturalization laws?

“3. If said Act of June 29, 1906, is limited by said Section 2169 and naturalization is limited to aliens being free white persons and to aliens of African nativity and to persons of African descent, is one of the Japanese race, born in Japan, under any circumstances eligible to naturalization?”

These questions for purposes of discussion may be briefly restated:

1. Is the Naturalization Act of June 29, 1906, limited by the provisions of § 2169 of the Revised Statutes of the United States?

2. If so limited, is the appellant eligible to naturalization under that section?

... In 1790 the first Naturalization Act provided that, “Any alien, being a free white person, ... may be admitted to become a citizen, ...” C. 3, 1 Stat. 103. This was subsequently enlarged to include aliens of African nativity and persons of African descent. These provisions were restated in the Revised Statutes, so that 2165 included only the procedural portion, while the substantive parts were carried into a separate section (2169) and the words “An alien” substituted for the words “Any alien.”

In all of the Naturalization Acts from 1790 to 1906 the privilege of naturalization was confined to white persons (with the addition in 1870 of those of African nativity and descent), although the exact wording of the various statutes was not always the same. If Congress in 1906 desired to alter a rule so well and so long established, it may be assumed that its purpose would have been definitely disclosed and its legislation to that end put in unmistakable terms.

... Is appellant, therefore, a “free white person,” within the meaning of that phrase as found in the statute?

On behalf of the appellant it is urged that we should give to this phrase the meaning which it had in the minds of its original framers in 1790 and that it was employed by them for the sole purpose of excluding the black or African race and the Indians then inhabiting this country. It may be true that these two races were alone thought of as being excluded, but to say that they were the only ones within the intent of the statute would be to ignore the affirmative form of the legislation. The provision is not that Negroes and Indians shall be excluded but it is, in effect, that only free white persons shall be included. The intention was to confer the privilege of citizenship upon that class of persons whom the fathers knew as white, and to deny it to all who could not be so classified.

The question then is, Who are comprehended within the phrase “free white persons?” Undoubtedly the word “free” was originally used in recognition of the fact that slavery then existed and that some white persons occupied that status. The word, however, has long since ceased to have any practical significance and may now be disregarded.

We have been furnished with elaborate briefs in which the meaning of the words “white person” is discussed with ability and at length, both from the standpoint of judicial decision and from that of the science of ethnology. It does not seem to us necessary, however, to follow counsel in their extensive researches in these fields. It is sufficient to note the fact that these decisions are, in substance, to the effect that the words import a racial and not an individual test, and with this conclusion, fortified as it is by reason and authority, we entirely agree. Manifestly, the test afforded by the mere color of the skin of each individual is impracticable as that differs greatly among persons of the same race, even among Anglo-Saxons, ranging by imperceptible gradations from the fair blond to the swarthy brunette, the latter being darker than many of the lighter hued persons of the brown or yellow races. Hence to adopt the color test alone would result in a confused overlapping of races and a gradual merging of one into the other, without any practical line of separation. Beginning with the decision of Circuit Judge Sawyer, in *In re Ah Yup*, 5 Sawy. 155 (1878), the federal and state courts, in an almost unbroken line, have held that the words “white person” were meant

to indicate only a person of what is popularly known as the Caucasian race. Among these decisions, see for example: *In re Camille*, 6 Fed. 256; *In re Saito*, 62 Fed. 126; *In re Nian*, 6 Utah, 259; *In re Kumagai*, 163 Fed. 922; *In re Yamashita*, 30 Wash. 234, 237; *In re Ellis*, 179 Fed. 1002; *In re Mozumdar*, 207 Fed. 115, 117; *In re Singh*, 257 Fed. 209, 211–212; and *Petition of Charr*, 273 Fed. 207. With the conclusion reached in these several decisions we see no reason to differ. Moreover, that conclusion has become so well established by judicial and executive concurrence and legislative acquiescence that we should not at this late day feel at liberty to disturb it, in the absence of reasons far more cogent than any that have been suggested.

The determination that the words “white person” are synonymous with the words “a person of the Caucasian race” simplifies the problem, although it does not entirely dispose of it. Controversies have arisen and will no doubt arise again in respect of the proper classification of individuals in border line cases. The effect of the conclusion that the words “white person” mean a Caucasian is not to establish a sharp line of demarcation between those who are entitled and those who are not entitled to naturalization, but rather a zone of more or less debatable ground outside of which, upon the one hand, are those clearly eligible, and outside of which, upon the other hand, are those clearly ineligible for citizenship. Individual cases falling within this zone must be determined as they arise from time to time by what this Court has called, in another connection “the gradual process of judicial inclusion and exclusion.”

The appellant, in the case now under consideration, however, is clearly of a race which is not Caucasian and therefore belongs entirely outside the zone on the negative side. A large number of the federal and state courts have so decided and we find no reported case definitely to the contrary. These decisions are sustained by numerous scientific authorities, which we do not deem it necessary to review. We think these decisions are right and so hold.

The briefs filed on behalf of appellant refer in complimentary terms to the culture and enlightenment of the Japanese people, and with this estimate we have no reason to disagree; but these are matters which

cannot enter into our consideration of the questions here at issue. We have no function in the matter other than to ascertain the will of Congress and declare it. Of course there is not implied—either in the legislation or in our interpretation of it—any suggestion of individual unworthiness or racial inferiority. These considerations are in no manner involved.

Source: 260 U.S. 178 (1922).

See also Ozawa v. United States (1922)

19. Excerpt from the Cable Act (1922)

An important reform measure, the Cable Act made American women's nationality right a right of their own regardless of citizenship status of their husbands. This reform measure, however, is limited. Although section 3 of the new law provided that "any woman citizen who married an alien ineligible to citizenship shall cease to be a citizen of the United States," it made women's nationality contingent to the racial status of their husbands. By the time this law was enacted, an "alien ineligible to citizenship" literally meant an alien of Asia origin.

Chap. 411.—*An Act Relative to the naturalization and citizenship of married women.*

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the right of any woman to become a naturalized citizen of the United States shall not be denied or abridged because of her sex or because she is a married woman.

Sec. 3. That a woman citizen of the United States shall not cease to be a citizen of the United States by reason of her marriage after the passage of this Act, unless she makes a formal renunciation of her citizenship before a court having jurisdiction over naturalization of aliens: *Provided*, That any woman citizen who marries an alien ineligible to citizenship shall cease to be a citizen of the United States. If at the termination of the marital status she is a citizen of the United States she shall retain her citizenship regardless of her residence. If during the continuance of the marital status she resides continuously for two years in a foreign State of which her husband is a citizen or subject,

or for five years continuously outside the United States, she shall thereafter be subject to the same presumption as is a naturalized citizen of the United States under the second paragraph of section 2 of the Act entitled "An Act in reference to the expatriation of citizens and their protection abroad," approved March 2, 1907. Nothing herein shall be construed to repeal or amend the provisions of Revised Statutes 1999 or of section 2 of the Expatriation Act of 1907 with reference to expatriation.

Source: 42 Stat. 1021, Act of September 22, 1922.

20. Excerpt from the *United States v. Thind* (1923)

In this important case, the U.S. Supreme Court decided that Bhagat Singh Thind, a Sikh immigrant from India, had no right to naturalization. Although as a member of the Aryan family, Thind belonged to the Caucasian race, the court held that he was not white as required in the 1790 naturalization statute. Thind was denaturalized. The ruling thus classified Asian Indians as "alien ineligible to citizenship."

Mr. Justice SUTHERLAND delivered the opinion of the Court.

"1. Is a high caste Hindu of full Indian blood, born at AmritSar, Punjab, India, a white person within the meaning of section 2169, Revised Statutes?" "2. Does the act of February 5, 1917 (39 Stat. L. 875, section 3) disqualify from naturalization as citizens those Hindus, now barred by that act, who had lawfully entered the United States prior to the passage of said act?"

The appellee was granted a certificate of citizenship by the District Court of the United States for the District of Oregon, over the objection of the Naturalization Examiner for the United States. A bill in equity was then filed by the United States, seeking a cancellation of the certificate on the ground that the appellee was not a white person and therefore not lawfully entitled to naturalization. The District Court, on motion, dismissed the bill, and an appeal was taken to the Circuit Court of Appeals. No question is made in respect

of the individual qualifications of the appellee. The sole question is whether he falls within the class designated by Congress as eligible.

Section 2169, Revised Statutes, provides that the provisions of the Naturalization Act 'shall apply to aliens being free white persons and to aliens of African nativity and to persons of African descent.'

If the applicant is a white person, within the meaning of this section, he is entitled to naturalization; otherwise not. In *Ozawa v. United States*, decided November 13, 1922, we had occasion to consider the application of these words to the case of a cultivated Japanese and were constrained to hold that he was not within their meaning. As there pointed out, the provision is not that any particular class of persons shall be excluded, but it is, in effect, that only white persons shall be included within the privilege of the statute. 'The intention was to confer the privilege of citizenship upon that class of persons whom the fathers knew as white, and to deny it to all who could not be so classified. It is not enough to say that the framers did not have in mind the brown or yellow races of Asia. It is necessary to go farther and be able to say that had these particular races been suggested the language of the act would have been so varied as to include them within its privileges.' Following a long line of decisions of the lower Federal courts, we held that the words imported a racial and not an individual test and were meant to indicate only persons of what is popularly known as the Caucasian race. But, as there pointed out, the conclusion that the phrase 'white persons' and the word 'Caucasian' are synonymous does not end the matter. It enabled us to dispose of the problem as it was there presented, since the applicant for citizenship clearly fell outside the zone of debatable ground on the negative side; but the decision still left the question to be dealt with, in doubtful and different cases, by the 'process of judicial inclusion and exclusion.' Mere ability on the part of an applicant for naturalization to establish a line of descent from a Caucasian ancestor will not ipso facto to and necessarily conclude the inquiry. 'Caucasian' is a conventional word of much flexibility, as a study of the literature dealing with racial questions will disclose, and while it and the words 'white persons' are treated

as synonymous for the purposes of that case, they are not of identical meaning—idem per idem.

In the endeavor to ascertain the meaning of the statute we must not fail to keep in mind that it does not employ the word 'Caucasian,' but the words 'white persons,' and these are words of common speech and not of scientific origin . . . When we employ it, we do so as an aid to the ascertainment of the legislative intent and not as an invariable substitute for the statutory words. Indeed, as used in the science of ethnology, the connotation of the word is by no means clear, and the use of it in its scientific sense as an equivalent for the words of the statute, other considerations aside, would simply mean the substitution of one perplexity for another. But in this country, during the last half century especially, the word by common usage has acquired a popular meaning, not clearly defined to be sure, but sufficiently so to enable us to say that its popular as distinguished from its scientific application is of appreciably narrower scope. It is in the popular sense of the word, therefore, that we employ it as an aid to the construction of the statute, for it would be obviously illogical to convert words of common speech used in a statute into words of scientific terminology when neither the latter nor the science for whose purposes they were coined was within the contemplation of the framers of the statute or of the people for whom it was framed. The words of the statute are to be interpreted in accordance with the understanding of the common man from whose vocabulary they were taken.

They imply, as we have said, a racial test; but the term 'race' is one which, for the practical purposes of the statute, must be applied to a group of living persons now possessing in common the requisite characteristics, not to groups of persons who are supposed to be or really are descended from some remote, common ancestor, but who, whether they both resemble him to a greater or less extent, have, at any rate, ceased altogether to resemble one another. It may be true that the blond Scandinavian and the brown Hindu have a common ancestor in the dim reaches of antiquity, but the average man knows perfectly well that there are unmistakable and profound differences between them to-day; and it is not impossible, if that common

ancestor could be materialized in the flesh, we should discover that he was himself sufficiently differentiated from both of his descendants to preclude his racial classification with either. The question for determination is not, therefore, whether by the speculative processes of ethnological reasoning we may present a probability to the scientific mind that they have the same origin, but whether we can satisfy the common understanding that they are now the same or sufficiently the same to justify the interpreters of a statute-written in the words of common speech, for common understanding, by unscientific men-in classifying them together in the statutory category as white persons. In 1790 the Adamite theory of creation-which gave a common ancestor to all mankind-was generally accepted, and it is not at all probable that it was intended by the legislators of that day to submit the question of the application of the words 'white persons' to the mere test of an indefinitely remote common ancestry, without regard to the extent of the subsequent divergence of the various branches from such common ancestry or from one another.

The eligibility of this applicant for citizenship is based on the sole fact that he is of high-caste Hindu stock, born in Punjab, one of the extreme northwestern districts of India, and classified by certain scientific authorities as of the Caucasian or Aryan race. The Aryan theory as a racial basis seems to be discredited by most, if not all, modern writers on the subject of ethnology. A review of their contentions would serve no useful purpose.

The term 'Aryan' has to do with linguistic, and not at all with physical, characteristics, and it would seem reasonably clear that mere resemblance in language, indicating a common linguistic root buried in remotely ancient soil, is altogether inadequate to prove common racial origin. There is, and can be, no assurance that the so-called Aryan language was not spoken by a variety of races living in proximity to one another. Our own history has witnessed the adoption of the English tongue by millions of negroes, whose descendants can never be classified racially with the descendants of white persons, notwithstanding both may speak a common root language.

The word 'Caucasian' is in scarcely better repute. It is at best a conventional term, with an altogether

fortuitous origin, which under scientific manipulation, has come to include far more than the unscientific mind suspects. According to Keane, for example (*The World's Peoples*), it includes not only the Hindu, but some of the Polynesians, the Hamites of Africa, upon the ground of the Caucasian cast of their features, though in color they range from brown to black. We venture to think that the average well informed white American would learn with some degree of astonishment that the race to which he belongs is made up of such heterogeneous elements . . .

It may be, therefore, that a given group cannot be properly assigned to any of the enumerated grand racial divisions. The type may have been so changed by intermixture of blood as to justify an intermediate classification. Something very like this has actually taken place in India. Thus, in Hindustan and Berar there was such an intermixture of the 'Aryan' invader with the dark skinned Dravidian.

It does not seem necessary to pursue the matter of scientific classification further. We are unable to agree with the District Court, or with other lower federal courts, in the conclusion that a native Hindu is eligible for naturalization under section 2169. The words of familiar speech, which were used by the original framers of the law, were intended to include only the type of man whom they knew as white. The immigration of that day was almost exclusively from the British Isles and Northwestern Europe, whence they and their forebears had come. When they extended the privilege of American citizenship to 'any alien being a free white person' it was these immigrants—bone of their bone and flesh of their flesh-and their kind whom they must have had affirmatively in mind. The succeeding years brought immigrants from Eastern, Southern and Middle Europe, among them the Slavs and the dark-eyed, swarthy people of Alpine and Mediterranean stock, and these were received as unquestionably akin to those already here and readily amalgamated with them. It was the descendants of these, and other immigrants of like origin, who constituted the white population of the country when section 2169, re-enacting the naturalization test of 1790, was adopted, and, there is no reason to doubt, with like intent and meaning.

What, if any, people of Primarily Asiatic stock come within the words of the section we do not deem

it necessary now to decide. There is much in the origin and historic development of the statute to suggest that no Asiatic whatever was included. The debates in Congress, during the consideration of the subject in 1870 and 1875, are persuasively of this character. In 1873, for example, the words ‘free white persons’ were unintentionally omitted from the compilation of the Revised Statutes. This omission was supplied in 1875 by the act to correct errors and supply omissions. When this act was under consideration by Congress efforts were made to strike out the words quoted, and it was insisted upon the one hand and conceded upon the other, that the effect of their retention was to exclude Asiatics generally from citizenship. While what was said upon that occasion, to be sure, furnishes no basis for judicial construction of the statute, it is, nevertheless, an important historic incident, which may not be altogether ignored in the search for the true meaning of words which are themselves historic. That question, however, may well be left for final determination until the details have been more completely disclosed by the consideration of particular cases, as they from time to time arise. The words of the statute, it must be conceded, do not readily yield to exact interpretation, and it is probably better to leave them as they are than to risk undue extension or undue limitation of their meaning by any general paraphrase at this time.

What we now hold is that the words ‘free white persons’ are words of common speech, to be interpreted in accordance with the understanding of the common man, synonymous with the word ‘Caucasian’ only as that word is popularly understood. As so understood and used, whatever may be the speculations of the ethnologist, it does not include the body of people to whom the appellee belongs. It is a matter of familiar observation and knowledge that the physical group characteristics of the Hindus render them readily distinguishable from the various groups of persons in this country commonly recognized as white. The children of English, French, German, Italian, Scandinavian, and other European parentage, quickly merge into the mass of our population and lose the distinctive hallmarks of their European origin. On the other hand, it cannot be doubted that the children born in this country of Hindu parents would retain

indefinitely the clear evidence of their ancestry. It is very far from our thought to suggest the slightest question of racial superiority or inferiority. What we suggest is merely racial difference, and it is of such character and extent that the great body of our people instinctively recognize it and reject the thought of assimilation.

It is not without significance in this connection that Congress, by the Act of February 5, 1917, 39 Stat. 874, c. 29, 3 (Comp. St. 1918, Comp. St. Ann. Supp. 1919, 4289 1/4b), has now excluded from admission into this country all natives of Asia within designated limits of latitude and longitude, including the whole of India. This not only constitutes conclusive evidence of the congressional attitude of opposition to Asiatic immigration generally, but is persuasive of a similar attitude toward Asiatic naturalization as well, since it is not likely that Congress would be willing to accept as citizens a class of persons whom it rejects as immigrants. It follows that a negative answer must be given to the first question, which disposes of the case and renders an answer to the second question unnecessary, and it will be so certified.

Source: 261 U.S. 204 (1923).

See also United States v. Thind (1923)

21. Excerpt from the Immigration Act (1924)

The 1924 Immigration Act was known as a measure to restrict immigration by creating a discriminatory national original quota system. The idea of quota was first introduced in an immigration policy in 1921. The 1924 law established a quota system that limited the influx of immigrants from certain parts of the world. It set the annual number of immigrants and divided that number into national quotas. Each country’s quota was based on the number of persons of that national origin who were in the United States at a certain year. Aiming at restricting the Southern and Eastern European immigrants, the law used the same language as the 1913 Alien Land Law, barring from entry as an immigrant any person who was “ineligible to citizenship.” As a result, this legislation denied entry to virtually all Asians.

An Act To limit the immigration of aliens into the United States, and for other purposes.

Sec. 11. (a) The annual quota of any nationality shall be 2 per centum of the number of foreign-born individuals of such nationality resident in continental United States as determined by the United States census of 1890, but the minimum quota of any nationality shall be 100. . . .

Sec. 13. (c) No alien ineligible to citizenship shall be admitted to the United States unless such alien (1) is admissible as a non-quota immigrant under the provisions of subdivision (b), (d), or (e) of section 4, or (2) is the wife, or the unmarried child under 18 years of age, of an immigrant admissible under such subdivision (d), and is accompanying or following to join him, or (3) is not an immigrant as defined in section 3. . . .

Source: 43 Stat. 153, Act of May 26, 1924.

See also Immigration Act of 1924

22. Excerpt from *Toyota v. United States* (1925)

In Ozawa v. United States, the Supreme Court denied Japanese immigrants the right to naturalization. But the fact that Congress granted naturalization rights to Filipino American war veterans provided legal grounds for Japanese, as some of them had also served in the military. In Hidemitsu Toyota v. the United States, however, the U.S. Supreme Court once again ruled against the Japanese, using the same line of argument in the Ozawa case. The court ruling, however, turned out to be an unexpected victory for Filipino Americans. Because Filipinos were not aliens, the court argued, they could not be classified as “alien ineligible to citizenship.” By implication, Filipinos in the United States regardless of whether they had served in the U.S. military, were eligible to naturalization.

MR. JUSTICE BUTLER delivered the opinion of the Court.

Hidemitsu Toyota, a person of the Japanese race, born in Japan, entered the United States in 1913. He served substantially all the time between November of that year and May, 1923, in the United States Coast

Guard Service. This was a part of the naval force of the United States nearly all of the time the United States was engaged in the recent war. He received eight or more honorable discharges, and some of them were for service during the war. May 14, 1921, he filed his petition for naturalization in the United States district court for the district of Massachusetts. The petition was granted, and a certificate of naturalization was issued to him. This case arises on a petition to cancel the certificate on the ground that it was illegally procured . . . An appeal was taken to the Circuit Court of Appeals, and that court under § 239, Judicial Code, certified to this court the following questions: (1) Whether a person of the Japanese race, born in Japan, may legally be naturalized under the seventh subdivision of § 4 of the Act of June 29, 1906, as amended by the Act of May 9, 1918, and (2) whether such subject may legally be naturalized under the Act of July 19, 1919.

Until 1870, only aliens being free white persons were eligible to citizenship. In that year, aliens of African nativity and persons of African descent were made eligible. See *Ozawa v. United States*, 260 U.S. 178, 192. The substance of prior legislation is expressed in § 2169, Revised Statutes, which is: “The provisions of this Title [Naturalization] shall apply to aliens being free white persons, and to aliens of African nativity and to persons of African descent.” A person of the Japanese race, born in Japan, is not eligible under that section.

It has long been the rule that in order to be admitted to citizenship, an alien is required, at least two years prior to his admission, to declare his intention to become a citizen, and to show that he has resided continuously in the United States for at least five years immediately preceding his admission. But at different times, as to specially designated aliens serving in the armed forces of the United States, Congress modified and lessened these requirements. § 2166, Revised Statutes (Act of July 17, 1862, § 21, c. 200, 12 Stat. 594, 597); Act of July 26, 1894, c. 165, 28 Stat. 123, 124; Act of June 30, 1914, c. 130, 38 Stat. 392, 395. In each of the first two of these acts, the phrase “any alien” is used as a part of the description of the person for whose benefit the act was passed. In the last, the language is “any alien . . . who may, under existing law,

become a citizen of the United States.” Prior to this act, it had been held that the phrase “any alien,” used in the earlier acts, did not enlarge the classes defined in § 2169, *In re Buntaro Kumagai*, (1908) 163 Fed. 922; *In re Knight*, (1909) 171 Fed. 299; *Bessho v. United States*, (1910) 178 Fed. 245; *In re Alverto*, (1912) 198 Fed. 688. The language used in the Act of 1914 merely expresses what was implied in the earlier provisions.

The seventh subdivision of § 4, of the Act of 1918, permits “any native-born Filipino” or “any alien, or any Porto Rican not a citizen of the United States” belonging respectively to the classes there described, on presentation of the required declaration of intention, to petition for naturalization without proof of five years’ residence within the United States; and the act permits “any alien” serving in the forces of the United States “during the time this country is engaged in the present war” to file his petition for naturalization without making the preliminary declaration of intention and without proof of five years’ residence in the United States. The act of 1919 gave “any person of foreign birth” there mentioned, the benefits of the seventh subdivision of § 4. Evidently, a principal purpose of these acts was to facilitate the naturalization of service men of the classes specified. There is nothing to show an intention to eliminate from the definition of eligibility in § 2169 the distinction based on color or race. Nor is there anything to indicate that, if the seventh subdivision stood alone, the words “any alien” should be taken to mean more than did the same words when used in the acts of 1862 and 1894. But § 2 of the Act of 1918 provides that nothing in the act shall repeal or in any way enlarge § 2169 “except as specified in the seventh subdivision of this Act and under the limitation therein defined.” This implies some enlargement of § 2169 in respect of color and race; but it also indicates a purpose not to eliminate all distinction based on color and race so long continued in the naturalization laws. If it was intended to make such change and to extend the privilege of naturalization to all races, the provision of § 2 so limiting the enlargement of § 2169 would be inappropriate. And if the phrase “any alien” in the seventh subdivision is read literally, the qualifying words “being free white persons” and “of African nativity” in § 2169 are without significance.

See *In re Para*, 269 Fed. 643, 646; *Petition of Charr*, 273 Fed. 207, 213.

When the act of 1918 was passed, it was doubtful whether § 30 of the act of 1906 extended the privilege of naturalization to all citizens of the Philippine Islands. They were held eligible for naturalization in *In re Bautista*, 245 Fed. 765, and in *In re Mallari*, 239 Fed. 416. And see 27 Op. Atty. Gen. 12. They were held not eligible in *In re Alverto*, 198 Fed. 688, in *In re Lampitoe*, 232 Fed. 382, and in *In re Rallos*, 241 Fed. 686. But we hold that until the passage of that act, Filipinos not being “free white persons” or “of African nativity” were not eligible, and that the effect of the act of 1918 was to make eligible, and to authorize the naturalization of, native-born Filipinos of whatever color or race having the qualifications specified in the seventh subdivision of § 4.

Under the treaty of peace between the United States and Spain, December 10, 1898, 30 Stat. 1754, Congress was authorized to determine the civil rights and political status of the native inhabitants of the Philippine Islands. And by the act of July 1, 1902, § 4, c. 1369, 32 Stat. 691, 692, it was declared that all inhabitants continuing to reside therein who were Spanish subjects on April 11, 1899, and then resided in the Islands, and their children born subsequent thereto, “shall be deemed and held to be citizens of the Philippine Islands and as such entitled to the protection of the United States, except such as shall have elected to preserve their allegiance to the Crown of Spain,” according to the treaty. The citizens of the Philippine Islands are not aliens. See *Gonzales v. Williams*, 192 U.S. 1, 13. They owe no allegiance to any foreign government. They were not eligible for naturalization under § 2169 because not aliens and so not within its terms. By § 30 of the Act of 1906, it is provided: “That all the applicable provisions of the naturalization laws of the United States shall apply to and be held to authorize the admission to citizenship of all persons not citizens who owe permanent allegiance to the United States, and who may become residents of any State or organized Territory of the United States, with the following modifications: The applicant shall not be required to renounce allegiance to any foreign sovereignty; he shall make his declaration of intention to become a citizen of the United States at least two years

prior to his admission; and residence within the jurisdiction of the United States, owing such permanent allegiance, shall be regarded as residence within the United States within the meaning of the five years' residence clause of the existing law." (34 Stat. 606.)

Section 26 of that act repeals certain sections of Title XXX of the Revised Statutes, but leaves § 2169 in force. It is to be applied as if it were included in the act of 1906. Plainly, the element of alienage included in § 2169 did not apply to the class made eligible by § 30 of the act of 1906. The element of color and race included in that section is not specifically dealt with by § 30, and, as it has long been the national policy to maintain the distinction of color and race, radical change is not lightly to be deemed to have been intended. "Persons not citizens who owe permanent allegiance to the United States, and who may become residents of any State" may include Malays, Japanese and Chinese and others not eligible under the distinction as to color and race. As under § 30 all the applicable provisions of the naturalization laws apply, the limitations based on color and race remain; and the class made eligible by § 30 must be limited to those of the color and race included by § 2169. As Filipinos are not aliens and owe allegiance to the United States, there are strong reasons for relaxing as to them the restrictions which do not exist in favor of aliens who are barred because of their color and race. And in view of the policy of Congress to limit the naturalization of aliens to white persons and to those of African nativity or descent the implied enlargement of § 2169 should be taken at the minimum. The legislative history of the act indicates that the intention of Congress was not to enlarge § 2169, except in respect of Filipinos qualified by the specified service. Senate Report No. 388, pp. 2, 3, 8. House Report No. 502, pp. 1, 4, Sixty-fifth Congress, Second Session. See also Congressional Record, vol. 56, part 6, pp. 6000–6003. And we hold that the words "any alien" in the seventh subdivision are limited by § 2169 to aliens of the color and race there specified. We also hold that the phrase "any person of foreign birth" in the act of 1919 is not more comprehensive than the words "any alien" in the act of 1918. It follows that the questions certified must be answered in the negative.

The answer to the first question is: *No*.

The answer to the second question is: *No*.

The CHIEF JUSTICE dissents.

Source: 268 U.S. 402 (1925)

See also *Toyota v. United States* (1925)

23. A Plea for Relief (1926)

After the enactment of the 1924 Immigration Act, immigration authorities quickly moved to turn down immigrant applicants from China. Wives of merchants and wives of citizens were all denied entry. In Cheung Sum Shee et al. v. Nagle in 1925, the United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit ruled that wives of Chinese merchants should be admitted with their husbands under treaty obligations of the United States. The same court, however, turned down appeals by citizens' wives. In Chang Chan et al. v. John Nagle, the court denied the spousal privilege that was granted to the merchants. Under the leadership of Chinese American Citizens Alliance (CACA), an organization of American-born Chinese who had the right to vote, the Chinese American community launched a lobby campaign to repeal the law that last for five years. The following is a pamphlet issued by the CACA during the campaign.

This is a plea for relief from a hardship imposed upon a certain class of citizens of the United States by the immigration act of 1924.

The Supreme Court of the United States has recently decided that section 13 of the act excludes from admission to the United States the alien Chinese wives of American citizens. There are in the United States many American citizens of the Chinese race who are married to alien Chinese women, resident in China. Under the decision of the Supreme Court these American citizens are permanently separated from their wives, unless they abandon the country of their citizenship and take up their residence abroad in a country which will permit their wives to reside with them. The hardship of this situation is so apparent that it is felt that a mere-statement of the case is all that

is required to show the necessity for an amendment to the act which will permit the admission of these women.

Until the passage of the act alien Chinese wives of American citizens of the Chinese race were eligible to admission to the United States. The courts had repeatedly held that they were admissible and the immigration department admitted them upon proof of their status.

It is a well-known fact that the Chinese male population of this country far outnumbers the Chinese female population and that the Chinese male resident here, desiring to marry, must in most cases go to China to seek a wife of his own race, the number of Chinese females resident here being too restricted to supply the demand. Such being the conditions obtaining, under the law as it now stands, most of our Chinese-American citizens must of necessity remain unmarried, or if electing to go to China, there to marry, must either give up their residence and virtually give up their citizenship here or live separate and apart from their wives, who are debarred from admission to the United States under section 13 of the immigration act of 1924.

The only solution of the problem, the immigration act remaining unamended, would be the marriage of the Chinese-American citizen resident here to a woman not of his own race, and this is not only undesirable and inadvisable from the viewpoint of both white and Chinese, but contrary to the laws of persons of the Mongolian race being prohibited in the States of Arizona, California, Idaho, Missouri, Utah, Wyoming, Mississippi, Oregon, Nebraska, Texas, and Virginia.

Marriage is an institution sanctioned, encouraged and fostered by civilized society and by the state. Civilized society has always recognized the right of a man to marry, and when married his right to the society and companionship of his wife. Civilized society recognizes the fact that "it is not good for man to be alone," and that marriage and the association of a man with his wife constitute the greatest safeguard of public morals.

In all probability, when the immigration act of 1924 was being considered by Congress, the fact that section 13 of the act would prohibit the admission of the alien Chinese wives of American citizens was not called to its attention, and it is felt that had it been,

there would have been added to section 13 a proviso allowing their admission.

It is not presumed that the unnatural condition in the respect herein pointed out in which the American citizen of the Chinese race finds himself as a result of section 13 will be allowed to stand. The Supreme Court could only interpret the law as it was written by Congress. It could not disregard the literal and plain language of the law in an effort, by strained construction, to avoid its hardships upon a worthy class of American citizens which has done its duty to its country both in time of peace and in time of war.

Therefore it is from Congress that the relief must come and it is to Congress that the American citizen of the Chinese race confidently looks for an amendment to section 13 which will give him that legal right to the companionship of his wife which is in consonance both with natural law and with the customs and usages of civilized society.

It is not deemed necessary to argue the matter further for as was intimated at the outset of these observations a mere statement of the case is all that is believed necessary in the presentation of this matter.

Alien Chinese Wives of Chinese Merchant Admissible

It might not be out of the way, however, to call attention to the fact that while the immigration act of 1924 prohibits the admission of the alien Chinese wife of an American citizen, the Supreme Court of the United States has recently held that the act permits the admission of the alien Chinese wife of an alien Chinese merchant, who is resident in the United States. In other words, the act gives greater rights to the alien Chinese resident here than it accords to our own citizens of the Chinese race. It is submitted that an American citizen in his own country should certainly be accorded rights at least equal to those given to an alien resident here.

Assimilability

It has been suggested that in allowing these alien wives, ineligible to citizenship, a home with their husbands in this country; we are permitting a

multiplication in this country of Orientals not assimilable with Americans, as are other races. Is this true? This brings us to the question of assimilability. Does the child of the Chinese race, born and reared in this country assimilate American thoughts and customs and ideas? In other words, does he become and is he a real American, speaking our language, following our customs, living as we live, and, thinking as we think, and true to his duty as an American citizen?

The mere answering of these questions abstractly in the affirmative—and the facts of the case not only admit of, but require such an answer—can hardly convey to those who have not come in contact with the American born child of Chinese parentage as true and clear as impression of the situation as a few concrete typical illustrations would afford. Therefore, there are submitted in the pages which follow, a few cuts, showing typical groups of Chinese American families, that is, families whose alien Chinese parents emigrated to this country from China, and have here given birth to and here reared their families. These illustrations could be multiplied indefinitely, but a few typical illustrations it is believed will suffice. These children, born and reared here, speak of English language, were educated or are being educated in our public schools and colleges, were the American dress, follow American customs, live in homes, as typically American as do Caucasian children, and being surrounded by the same environment as Caucasian children, grow up with the same ideas and follow the same pursuits as Caucasians, and are in every respect true Americans, loyal to their country and an asset to the State.

Source: U.S. House. *Admission of Wives of American Citizens of Oriental Ancestry: Hearings before the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization on H.R. 6544.* 69th Cong., 1st sess., 1926.

24. Chinese Wives of American Citizens Act (1930)

The Immigration Act of 1924 provided legal grounds for immigration authorities to turn down any immigrant applicants from China, among them were wives of merchants and citizens. In Cheung Sum Shee et al. v. Nagle in 1925, the United States Circuit Court

of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit ruled that wives of Chinese merchants should be admitted with their husbands under treaty obligations of the United States. The same court, however, turned down appeals by citizens' wives. In Chang Chan et al. v. John Nagle, the court ruled denied the spousal privilege that was granted to the merchants. The new law and the court decision closed down an extremely important avenue for the entry of Chinese women. The Chinese American community would not give in, however. Led by the Chinese American Citizens Alliance, an organization of American-born Chinese who had the right to vote, the community launched a lobby campaign to repeal the law that last for five years. The 1930 law amended the 1924 Immigration Act by granting entry to alien Chinese wives for U.S. citizens who had married prior to May 26, 1924.

An Act To admit to the United States Chinese wives of certain American citizens.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That subdivision (c) of section 13 of the Immigration Act of 1924, approved May 26, 1924, as amended, is amended by striking out "or" before "(3)," and by inserting after "section 3" the following: "or (4) is the Chinese wife of an American citizen who was married prior to the approval of the Immigration Act of 1924, approved May 26, 1924."

Source: 46 Stat. 581, Act of June 13, 1930.

25. Excerpt from Tydings-McDuffie Act (1934)

Officially the Philippine Independence Act, this legislation provided for the independence of the Philippines from the United States after a period of 10 years. The law stipulated the conditions and procedures under which the Philippines would receive its independence. The law also changed the status of Filipinos from nationals to aliens. Although a quota of 50 immigrants per year was established for the islands, the law was often seen as a measure to exclude the Filipinos.

Philippine Independence Act

Sec. 1. The Philippine Legislature is hereby authorized to provide for the election of delegates to a constitutional convention . . . to formulate and draft a constitution for the government of the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands, subject to the conditions and qualifications prescribed in this Act, which shall exercise jurisdiction over all the territory ceded to the United States by the treaty of peace concluded between the United States and Spain on the 10th day of December, 1898. . . .

Sec. 8. (1) For the purposes of the Immigration Act of 1917, the Immigration Act of 1924 . . . this section, and all other laws of the United States relating to the immigration, exclusion, or expulsion of aliens, citizens of the Philippine Islands who are not citizens of the United States shall be considered as if they were aliens. For such purposes the Philippine Islands shall be considered as a separate country and shall have for each fiscal year a quota of fifty. . . .

(2) Citizens of the Philippine Islands who are not citizens of the United States shall not be admitted to the continental United States from the Territory of Hawaii. . . .

(4) For the purposes of sections 18 and 20 of the Immigration Act of 1917, as amended, the Philippine Islands shall be considered to be a foreign country. . . .

Sec. 10. (a) On the 4th day of July immediately following the expiration of a period of ten years from the date of the inauguration of the new government under the constitution provided for in this Act the President of the United States shall by proclamation withdraw and surrender all right of possession, supervision, jurisdiction, control, or sovereignty then existing and exercised by the United States in and over the territory and people of the Philippine Islands. . . .

Sec. 14. Upon the final and complete withdrawal of American sovereignty over the Philippine Islands the immigration laws of the United States (including all the provisions thereof relating to persons ineligible to citizenship) shall apply to persons who were born in the Philippine Islands to the same extent as in the case of other foreign countries. . . .

Source: 48 Stat. 456, Act of March 22, 24, 1934.

26. Executive Order No. 9066 (1942)

This executive order issued by President Franklin D. Roosevelt authorizing the secretary of war to prescribe certain areas as military zones. The order paved the way for the internment of Japanese Americans during World War II.

The President Executive Order

Authorizing the Secretary of War to Prescribe Military Areas

Whereas the successful prosecution of the war requires every possible protection against espionage and against sabotage to national-defense material, national-defense premises, and national-defense utilities as defined in Section 4, Act of April 20, 1918, 40 Stat. 533, as amended by the Act of November 30, 1940, 54 Stat. 1220, and the Act of August 21, 1941, 55 Stat. 655 (U.S.C., Title 50, Sec. 104);

Now, therefore, by virtue of the authority vested in me as President of the United States, and Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, I hereby authorize and direct the Secretary of War, and the Military Commanders whom he may from time to time designate, whenever he or any designated Commander deems such action necessary or desirable, to prescribe military areas in such places and of such extent as he or the appropriate Military Commander may determine, from which any or all persons may be excluded, and with respect to which, the right of any person to enter, remain in, or leave shall be subject to whatever restrictions the Secretary of War or the appropriate Military Commander may impose in his discretion. The Secretary of War is hereby authorized to provide for residents of any such area who are excluded therefrom, such transportation, food, shelter, and other accommodations as may be necessary, in the judgment of the Secretary of War or the said Military Commander, and until other arrangements are made, to accomplish the purpose of this order. The designation of military areas in any region or locality shall supersede designations of prohibited and restricted areas by the Attorney General under the Proclamations of December 7 and 8, 1941, and shall supersede the responsibility and authority of the Attorney General

under the said Proclamations in respect of such prohibited and restricted areas.

I hereby further authorize and direct the Secretary of War and the said Military Commanders to take such other steps as he or the appropriate Military Commander may deem advisable to enforce compliance with the restrictions applicable to each Military area hereinabove authorized to be designated, including the use of Federal troops and other Federal Agencies, with authority to accept assistance of state and local agencies.

I hereby further authorize and direct all Executive Departments, independent establishments and other Federal Agencies, to assist the Secretary of War or the said Military Commanders in carrying out this Executive Order, including the furnishing of medical aid, hospitalization, food, clothing, transportation, use of land, shelter, and other supplies, equipment, utilities, facilities, and services.

This order shall not be construed as modifying or limiting in any way the authority heretofore granted under Executive Order No. 8972, dated December 12, 1941, nor shall it be construed as limiting or modifying the duty and responsibility of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, with respect to the investigation of alleged acts of sabotage or the duty and responsibility of the Attorney General and the Department of Justice under the Proclamations of December 7 and 8, 1941, prescribing regulations for the conduct and control of alien enemies, except as such duty and responsibility is superseded by the designation of military areas hereunder.

Franklin D. Roosevelt
The White House,
February 19, 1942.

Source: OurDocuments.gov. <http://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=true&doc=74>.

27. Excerpt from *Hirabayashi v. United States* (1943)

In this case, the U.S. Supreme Court held that curfews against Japanese Americans were constitutional when the nation was at war with Japan. The court decided

on a similar case against Japanese Americans in the same day.

MR. CHIEF JUSTICE STONE delivered the opinion of the Court.

Appellant, an American citizen of Japanese ancestry, was convicted in the district court of violating the Act of Congress of March 21, 1942, 56 Stat. 173, which makes it a misdemeanor knowingly to disregard restrictions made applicable by a military commander to persons in a military area prescribed by him as such, all as authorized by an Executive Order of the President.

The questions for our decision are whether the particular restriction violated, namely that all persons of Japanese ancestry residing in such an area be within their place of residence daily between the hours of 8:00 p.m. and 6:00 a.m., was adopted by the military commander in the exercise of an unconstitutional delegation by Congress of its legislative power, and whether the restriction unconstitutionally discriminated between citizens of Japanese ancestry and those of other ancestries in violation of the Fifth Amendment.

The indictment is in two counts. The second charges that appellant, being a person of Japanese ancestry, had on a specified date, contrary to a restriction promulgated by the military commander of the Western Defense Command, Fourth Army, failed to remain in his place of residence 84*84 in the designated military area between the hours of 8:00 o'clock p.m. and 6:00 a.m. The first count charges that appellant, on May 11 and 12, 1942, had, contrary to a Civilian Exclusion Order issued by the military commander, failed to report to the Civil Control Station within the designated area, it appearing that appellant's required presence there was a preliminary step to the exclusion from that area of persons of Japanese ancestry.

By demurrer and plea in abatement, which the court overruled (46 F. Supp. 657), appellant asserted that the indictment should be dismissed because he was an American citizen who had never been a subject of and had never borne allegiance to the Empire of Japan, and also because the Act of March 21, 1942, was an unconstitutional delegation of Congressional

power. On the trial to a jury it appeared that appellant was born in Seattle in 1918, of Japanese parents who had come from Japan to the United States, and who had never afterward returned to Japan; that he was educated in the Washington public schools and at the time of his arrest was a senior in the University of Washington; that he had never been in Japan or had any association with Japanese residing there.

The evidence showed that appellant had failed to report to the Civil Control Station on May 11 or May 12, 1942, as directed, to register for evacuation from the military area. He admitted failure to do so, and stated it had at all times been his belief that he would be waiving his rights as an American citizen by so doing. The evidence also showed that for like reason he was away from his place of residence after 8:00 p.m. on May 9, 1942. The jury returned a verdict of guilty on both counts and appellant was sentenced to imprisonment for a term of three months on each, the sentences to run concurrently.

On appeal the Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit certified to us questions of law upon which it desired instructions for the decision of the case. Acting under the authority conferred upon us by that section we ordered that the entire record be certified to this Court so that we might proceed to a decision of the matter in controversy in the same manner as if it had been brought here by appeal. Since the sentences of three months each imposed by the district court on the two counts were ordered to run concurrently, it will be unnecessary to consider questions raised with respect to the first count if we find that the conviction on the second count, for violation of the curfew order, must be sustained.

The curfew order which appellant violated, and to which the sanction prescribed by the Act of Congress has been deemed to attach, purported to be issued pursuant to an Executive Order of the President. In passing upon the authority of the military commander to make and execute the order, it becomes necessary to consider in some detail the official action which preceded or accompanied the order and from which it derives its purported authority.

On December 8, 1941, one day after the bombing of Pearl Harbor by a Japanese air force, Congress declared war against Japan. On February 19, 1942,

the President promulgated Executive Order No. 9066. By virtue of the authority vested in him as President and as Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, the President purported to “authorize and direct the Secretary of War, and the Military Commanders whom he may from time to time designate, whenever he or any designated Commander deems such action necessary or desirable, to prescribe military areas in such places and of such extent as he or the appropriate Military Commander may determine, from which any or all persons may be excluded, and with respect to which, the right of any person to enter, remain in, or leave shall be subject to whatever restrictions the Secretary of War or the appropriate Military Commander may impose in his discretion.”

On February 20, 1942, the Secretary of War designated Lt. General J. L. DeWitt as Military Commander of the Western Defense Command, comprising the Pacific Coast states and some others, to carry out there the duties prescribed by Executive Order No. 9066. On March 2, 1942, General DeWitt promulgated Public Proclamation No. 1. 7 Federal Register 2320. The proclamation recited that the entire Pacific Coast “by its geographical location is particularly subject to attack, to attempted invasion by the armed forces of nations with which the United States is now at war, and, in connection therewith, is subject to espionage and acts of sabotage, thereby requiring the adoption of military measures necessary to establish safeguards against such enemy operations.” It stated that “the present situation requires as a matter of military necessity the establishment in the territory embraced by the Western Defense Command of Military Areas and Zones thereof”; it specified and designated as military areas certain areas within the Western Defense Command; and it declared that “such persons or classes of persons as the situation may require” would, by subsequent proclamation, be excluded from certain of these areas, but might be permitted to enter or remain in certain others, under regulations and restrictions to be later prescribed. Among the military areas so designated by Public Proclamation No. 1 was Military Area No. 1, which embraced, besides the southern part of Arizona, all the coastal region of the three Pacific Coast states, including the City of Seattle, Washington, where appellant resided. Military Area No. 2,

designated by the same proclamation, included those parts of the coastal states and of Arizona not placed within Military Area No. 1.

Public Proclamation No. 2 of March 16, 1942, issued by General DeWitt, made like recitals and designated further military areas and zones. It contained like provisions concerning the exclusion, by subsequent proclamation, of certain persons or classes of persons from these areas, and the future promulgation of regulations and restrictions applicable to persons remaining within them.

An Executive Order of the President, No. 9102, of March 18, 1942, established the War Relocation Authority, in the Office for Emergency Management of the Executive Office of the President; it authorized the Director of War Relocation Authority to formulate and effectuate a program for the removal, relocation, maintenance and supervision of persons designated under Executive Order No. 9066, already referred to; and it conferred on the Director authority to prescribe regulations necessary or desirable to promote the effective execution of the program.

Congress, by the Act of March 21, 1942, provided: "That whoever shall enter, remain in, leave, or commit any act in any military area or military zone prescribed, under the authority of an Executive order of the President, by the Secretary of War, or by any military commander designated by the Secretary of War, contrary to the restrictions applicable to any such area or zone or contrary to the order of the Secretary of War or any such military commander, shall, if it appears that he knew or should have known of the existence and extent of the restrictions or order and that his act was in violation thereof, be guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction shall be liable" to fine or imprisonment, or both.

Three days later, on March 24, 1942, General DeWitt issued Public Proclamation No. 3. 7 Federal Register 2543. After referring to the previous designation of military areas by Public Proclamations Nos. 1 and 2, it recited that ". . . the present situation within these Military Areas and Zones requires as a matter of military necessity the establishment of certain regulations pertaining to all enemy aliens and all persons of Japanese ancestry within said Military Areas and Zones . . ." It accordingly declared and established that from and after March 27, 1942, "all alien Japanese, all

alien Germans, all alien Italians, and all persons of Japanese ancestry residing or being within the geographical limits of Military Area No. 1 . . . shall be within their place of residence between the hours of 8:00 P.M. and 6:00 A.M., which period is hereinafter referred to as the hours of curfew." It also imposed certain other restrictions on persons of Japanese ancestry, and provided that any person violating the regulations would be subject to the criminal penalties provided by the Act of Congress of March 21, 1942.

Beginning on March 24, 1942, the military commander issued a series of Civilian Exclusion Orders pursuant to the provisions of Public Proclamation No. 1. Each such order related to a specified area within the territory of his command. The order applicable to appellant was Civilian Exclusion Order No. 57 of May 10, 1942. It directed that from and after 12:00 noon, May 16, 1942, all persons of Japanese ancestry, both alien and non-alien, be excluded from a specified portion of Military Area No. 1 in Seattle, including appellant's place of residence, and it required a member of each family, and each individual living alone, affected by the order to report on May 11 or May 12 to a designated Civil Control Station in Seattle. Meanwhile the military commander had issued Public Proclamation No. 4 of March 27, 1942, which recited the necessity of providing for the orderly evacuation and resettlement of Japanese within the area, and prohibited all alien Japanese and all persons of Japanese ancestry from leaving the military area until future orders should permit.

Appellant does not deny that he knowingly failed to obey the curfew order as charged in the second count of the indictment, or that the order was authorized by the terms of Executive Order No. 9066, or that the challenged Act of Congress purports to punish with criminal penalties disobedience of such an order. His contentions are only that Congress unconstitutionally delegated its legislative power to the military commander by authorizing him to impose the challenged regulation, and that, even if the regulation were in other respects lawfully authorized, the Fifth Amendment prohibits the discrimination made between citizens of Japanese descent and those of other ancestry.

It will be evident from the legislative history that the Act of March 21, 1942, contemplated and

authorized the curfew order which we have before us. The bill which became the Act of March 21, 1942, was introduced in the Senate on March 9th and in the House on March 10th at the request of the Secretary of War who, in letters to the Chairman of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs and to the Speaker of the House, stated explicitly that its purpose was to provide means for the enforcement of orders issued under Executive Order No. 9066. This appears in the committee reports on the bill, which set out in full the Executive Order and the Secretary's letter. And each of the committee reports expressly mentions curfew orders as one of the types of restrictions which it was deemed desirable to enforce by criminal sanctions.

When the bill was under consideration, General DeWitt had published his Proclamation No. 1 of March 2, 1942, establishing Military Areas Nos. 1 and 2, and that Proclamation was before Congress. A letter of the Secretary to the Chairman of the House Military Affairs Committee, of March 14, 1942, informed Congress that "General DeWitt is strongly of the opinion that the bill, when enacted, should be broad enough to enable the Secretary of War or the appropriate military commander to enforce curfews and other restrictions within military areas and zones"; and that General DeWitt had "indicated that he was prepared to enforce certain restrictions at once for the purpose of protecting certain vital national defense interests but did not desire to proceed until enforcement machinery had been set up."

The Chairman of the Senate Military Affairs Committee explained on the floor of the Senate that the purpose of the proposed legislation was to provide means of enforcement of curfew orders and other military orders made pursuant to Executive Order No. 9066. He read General DeWitt's Public Proclamation No. 1, and statements from newspaper reports that "evacuation of the first Japanese aliens and American-born Japanese" was about to begin. He also stated to the Senate that "reasons for suspected widespread fifth-column activity among Japanese" were to be found in the system of dual citizenship which Japan deemed applicable to American-born Japanese, and in the propaganda disseminated by Japanese consuls, Buddhist priests and other leaders, among American-born children of Japanese. Such was stated to be the

explanation of the contemplated evacuation from the Pacific Coast area of persons of Japanese ancestry, citizens as well as aliens. Congress also had before it the Preliminary Report of a House Committee investigating national defense migration, of March 19, 1942, which approved the provisions of Executive Order No. 9066, and which recommended the evacuation, from military areas established under the Order, of all persons of Japanese ancestry, including citizens. The proposed legislation provided criminal sanctions for violation of orders, in terms broad enough to include the curfew order now before us, and the legislative history demonstrates that Congress was advised that curfew orders were among those intended, and was advised also that regulation of citizen and alien Japanese alike was contemplated.

The conclusion is inescapable that Congress, by the Act of March 21, 1942, ratified and confirmed Executive Order No. 9066. And so far as it lawfully could, Congress authorized and implemented such curfew orders as the commanding officer should promulgate pursuant to the Executive Order of the President. The question then is not one of Congressional power to delegate to the President the promulgation of the Executive Order, but whether, acting in cooperation, Congress and the Executive have constitutional authority to impose the curfew restriction here complained of. We must consider also whether, acting together, Congress and the Executive could leave it to the designated military commander to appraise the relevant conditions and on the basis of that appraisal to say whether, under the circumstances, the time and place were appropriate for the promulgation of the curfew order and whether the order itself was an appropriate means of carrying out the Executive Order for the "protection against espionage and against sabotage" to national defense materials, premises and utilities. For reasons presently to be stated, we conclude that it was within the constitutional power of Congress and the executive arm of the Government to prescribe this curfew order for the period under consideration and that its promulgation by the military commander involved no unlawful delegation of legislative power.

Executive Order No. 9066, promulgated in time of war for the declared purpose of prosecuting the war by protecting national defense resources from sabotage

and espionage, and the Act of March 21, 1942, ratifying and confirming the Executive Order, were each an exercise of the power to wage war conferred on the Congress and on the President, as Commander in Chief of the armed forces, by Articles I and II of the Constitution. We have no occasion to consider whether the President, acting alone, could lawfully have made the curfew order in question, or have authorized others to make it. For the President's action has the support of the Act of Congress, and we are immediately concerned with the question whether it is within the constitutional power of the national government, through the joint action of Congress and the Executive, to impose this restriction as an emergency war measure. The exercise of that power here involves no question of martial law or trial by military tribunal. Appellant has been tried and convicted in the civil courts and has been subjected to penalties prescribed by Congress for the acts committed.

The war power of the national government is "the power to wage war successfully." It extends to every matter and activity so related to war as substantially to affect its conduct and progress. The power is not restricted to the winning of victories in the field and the repulse of enemy forces. It embraces every phase of the national defense, including the protection of war materials and the members of the armed forces from injury and from the dangers which attend the rise, prosecution and progress of war. Since the Constitution commits to the Executive and to Congress the exercise of the war power in all the vicissitudes and conditions of warfare, it has necessarily given them wide scope for the exercise of judgment and discretion in determining the nature and extent of the threatened injury or danger and in the selection of the means for resisting it. Where, as they did here, the conditions call for the exercise of judgment and discretion and for the choice of means by those branches of the Government on which the Constitution has placed the responsibility of war-making, it is not for any court to sit in review of the wisdom of their action or substitute its judgment for theirs.

The actions taken must be appraised in the light of the conditions with which the President and Congress were confronted in the early months of 1942, many of which, since disclosed, were then peculiarly within

the knowledge of the military authorities. On December 7, 1941, the Japanese air forces had attacked the United States Naval Base at Pearl Harbor without warning, at the very hour when Japanese diplomatic representatives were conducting negotiations with our State Department ostensibly for the peaceful settlement of differences between the two countries. Simultaneously or nearly so, the Japanese attacked Malaysia, Hong Kong, the Philippines, and Wake and Midway Islands. On the following day their army invaded Thailand. Shortly afterwards they sank two British battleships. On December 13th, Guam was taken. On December 24th and 25th they captured Wake Island and occupied Hong Kong. On January 2, 1942, Manila fell, and on February 10th Singapore, Britain's great naval base in the East, was taken. On February 27th the battle of the Java Sea resulted in a disastrous naval defeat to the United Nations. By the 9th of March Japanese forces had established control over the Netherlands East Indies; Rangoon and Burma were occupied; Bataan and Corregidor were under attack.

Although the results of the attack on Pearl Harbor were not fully disclosed until much later, it was known that the damage was extensive, and that the Japanese by their successes had gained a naval superiority over our forces in the Pacific which might enable them to seize Pearl Harbor, our largest naval base and the last stronghold of defense lying between Japan and the west coast. That reasonably prudent men charged with the responsibility of our national defense had ample ground for concluding that they must face the danger of invasion, take measures against it, and in making the choice of measures consider our internal situation, cannot be doubted.

The challenged orders were defense measures for the avowed purpose of safeguarding the military area in question, at a time of threatened air raids and invasion by the Japanese forces, from the danger of sabotage and espionage. As the curfew was made applicable to citizens residing in the area only if they were of Japanese ancestry, our inquiry must be whether in the light of all the facts and circumstances there was any substantial basis for the conclusion, in which Congress and the military commander united, that the curfew as applied was a protective measure necessary to meet the threat of sabotage and espionage

which would substantially affect the war effort and which might reasonably be expected to aid a threatened enemy invasion. The alternative which appellant insists must be accepted is for the military authorities to impose the curfew on all citizens within the military area, or on none. In a case of threatened danger requiring prompt action, it is a choice between inflicting obviously needless hardship on the many, or sitting passive and unresisting in the presence of the threat. We think that constitutional government, in time of war, is not so powerless and does not compel so hard a choice if those charged with the responsibility of our national defense have reasonable ground for believing that the threat is real.

When the orders were promulgated there was a vast concentration, within Military Areas Nos. 1 and 2, of installations and facilities for the production of military equipment, especially ships and airplanes. Important Army and Navy bases were located in California and Washington. Approximately one-fourth of the total value of the major aircraft contracts then let by Government procurement officers were to be performed in the State of California. California ranked second, and Washington fifth, of all the states of the Union with respect to the value of shipbuilding contracts to be performed.

In the critical days of March 1942, the danger to our war production by sabotage and espionage in this area seems obvious. The German invasion of the Western European countries had given ample warning to the world of the menace of the "fifth column." Espionage by persons in sympathy with the Japanese Government had been found to have been particularly effective in the surprise attack on Pearl Harbor. At a time of threatened Japanese attack upon this country, the nature of our inhabitants' attachments to the Japanese enemy was consequently a matter of grave concern. Of the 126,000 persons of Japanese descent in the United States, citizens and non-citizens, approximately 112,000 resided in California, Oregon and Washington at the time of the adoption of the military regulations. Of these approximately two-thirds are citizens because born in the United States. Not only did the great majority of such persons reside within the Pacific Coast states but they were concentrated in or

near three of the large cities, Seattle, Portland and Los Angeles, all in Military Area No. 1.

There is support for the view that social, economic and political conditions which have prevailed since the close of the last century, when the Japanese began to come to this country in substantial numbers, have intensified their solidarity and have in large measure prevented their assimilation as an integral part of the white population. In addition, large numbers of children of Japanese parentage are sent to Japanese language schools outside the regular hours of public schools in the locality. Some of these schools are generally believed to be sources of Japanese nationalistic propaganda, cultivating allegiance to Japan. Considerable numbers, estimated to be approximately 10,000, of American-born children of Japanese parentage have been sent to Japan for all or a part of their education.

Congress and the Executive, including the military commander, could have attributed special significance, in its bearing on the loyalties of persons of Japanese descent, to the maintenance by Japan of its system of dual citizenship. Children born in the United States of Japanese alien parents, and especially those children born before December 1, 1924, are under many circumstances deemed, by Japanese law, to be citizens of Japan. No official census of those whom Japan regards as having thus retained Japanese citizenship is available, but there is ground for the belief that the number is large.

The large number of resident alien Japanese, approximately one-third of all Japanese inhabitants of the country, are of mature years and occupy positions of influence in Japanese communities. The association of influential Japanese residents with Japanese Consulates has been deemed a ready means for the dissemination of propaganda and for the maintenance of the influence of the Japanese Government with the Japanese population in this country.

As a result of all these conditions affecting the life of the Japanese, both aliens and citizens, in the Pacific Coast area, there has been relatively little social intercourse between them and the white population. The restrictions, both practical and legal, affecting the privileges and opportunities afforded to persons of Japanese extraction residing in the United States, have

been sources of irritation and may well have tended to increase their isolation, and in many instances their attachments to Japan and its institutions.

Viewing these data in all their aspects, Congress and the Executive could reasonably have concluded that these conditions have encouraged the continued attachment of members of this group to Japan and Japanese institutions. These are only some of the many considerations which those charged with the responsibility for the national defense could take into account in determining the nature and extent of the danger of espionage and sabotage, in the event of invasion or air raid attack. The extent of that danger could be definitely known only after the event and after it was too late to meet it. Whatever views we may entertain regarding the loyalty to this country of the citizens of Japanese ancestry, we cannot reject as unfounded the judgment of the military authorities and of Congress that there were disloyal members of that population, whose number and strength could not be precisely and quickly ascertained. We cannot say that the war-making branches of the Government did not have ground for believing that in a critical hour such persons could not readily be isolated and separately dealt with, and constituted a menace to the national defense and safety, which demanded that prompt and adequate measures be taken to guard against it.

Appellant does not deny that, given the danger, a curfew was an appropriate measure against sabotage. It is an obvious protection against the perpetration of sabotage most readily committed during the hours of darkness. If it was an appropriate exercise of the war power its validity is not impaired because it has restricted the citizen's liberty. Like every military control of the population of a dangerous zone in war time, it necessarily involves some infringement of individual liberty, just as does the police establishment of fire lines during a fire, or the confinement of people to their houses during an air raid alarm—neither of which could be thought to be an infringement of constitutional right. Like them, the validity of the restraints of the curfew order depends on all the conditions which obtain at the time the curfew is imposed and which support the order imposing it.

But appellant insists that the exercise of the power is inappropriate and unconstitutional because it

discriminates against citizens of Japanese ancestry, in violation of the Fifth Amendment. The Fifth Amendment contains no equal protection clause and it restrains only such discriminatory legislation by Congress as amounts to a denial of due process. Congress may hit at a particular danger where it is seen, without providing for others which are not so evident or so urgent.

Distinctions between citizens solely because of their ancestry are by their very nature odious to a free people whose institutions are founded upon the doctrine of equality. For that reason, legislative classification or discrimination based on race alone has often been held to be a denial of equal protection. We may assume that these considerations would be controlling here were it not for the fact that the danger of espionage and sabotage, in time of war and of threatened invasion, calls upon the military authorities to scrutinize every relevant fact bearing on the loyalty of populations in the danger areas. Because racial discriminations are in most circumstances irrelevant and therefore prohibited, it by no means follows that, in dealing with the perils of war, Congress and the Executive are wholly precluded from taking into account those facts and circumstances which are relevant to measures for our national defense and for the successful prosecution of the war, and which may in fact place citizens of one ancestry in a different category from others. "We must never forget, that it is *a constitution* we are expounding," "a constitution intended to endure for ages to come, and, consequently, to be adapted to the various *crises* of human affairs." The adoption by Government, in the crisis of war and of threatened invasion, of measures for the public safety, based upon the recognition of facts and circumstances which indicate that a group of one national extraction may menace that safety more than others, is not wholly beyond the limits of the Constitution and is not to be condemned merely because in other and in most circumstances racial distinctions are irrelevant.

Here the aim of Congress and the Executive was the protection against sabotage of war materials and utilities in areas thought to be in danger of Japanese invasion and air attack. We have stated in detail facts and circumstances with respect to the American citizens of Japanese ancestry residing on the Pacific Coast

which support the judgment of the war-waging branches of the Government that some restrictive measure was urgent. We cannot say that these facts and circumstances, considered in the particular war setting, could afford no ground for differentiating citizens of Japanese ancestry from other groups in the United States. The fact alone that attack on our shores was threatened by Japan rather than another enemy power set these citizens apart from others who have no particular associations with Japan.

Our investigation here does not go beyond the inquiry whether, in the light of all the relevant circumstances preceding and attending their promulgation, the challenged orders and statute afforded a reasonable basis for the action taken in imposing the curfew. We cannot close our eyes to the fact, demonstrated by experience, that in time of war residents having ethnic affiliations with an invading enemy may be a greater source of danger than those of a different ancestry. Nor can we deny that Congress, and the military authorities acting with its authorization, have constitutional power to appraise the danger in the light of facts of public notoriety. We need not now attempt to define the ultimate boundaries of the war power. We decide only the issue as we have defined it—we decide only that the curfew order as applied, and at the time it was applied, was within the boundaries of the war power. In this case it is enough that circumstances within the knowledge of those charged with the responsibility for maintaining the national defense afforded a rational basis for the decision which they made. Whether we would have made it is irrelevant.

What we have said also disposes of the contention that the curfew order involved an unlawful delegation by Congress of its legislative power. The mandate of the Constitution that all legislative power granted “shall be vested in Congress” has never been thought, even in the administration of civil affairs, to preclude Congress from resorting to the aid of executive or administrative officers in determining by findings whether the facts are such as to call for the application of previously adopted legislative standards or definitions of Congressional policy.

The purpose of Executive Order No. 9066, and the standard which the President approved for the orders authorized to be promulgated by the military

commander—as disclosed by the preamble of the Executive Order—was the protection of our war resources against espionage and sabotage. Public Proclamations Nos. 1 and 2 by General DeWitt, contain findings that the military areas created and the measures to be prescribed for them were required to establish safeguards against espionage and sabotage. Both the Executive Order and the Proclamations were before Congress when the Act of March 21, 1942, was under consideration. To the extent that the Executive Order authorized orders to be promulgated by the military commander to accomplish the declared purpose of the Order, and to the extent that the findings in the Proclamations establish that such was their purpose, both have been approved by Congress.

It is true that the Act does not in terms establish a particular standard to which orders of the military commander are to conform, or require findings to be made as a prerequisite to any order. But the Executive Order, the Proclamations and the statute are not to be read in isolation from each other. They were parts of a single program and must be judged as such. The Act of March 21, 1942, was an adoption by Congress of the Executive Order and of the Proclamations. The Proclamations themselves followed a standard authorized by the Executive Order—the necessity of protecting military resources in the designated areas against espionage and sabotage. And by the Act, Congress gave its approval to that standard. We have no need to consider now the validity of action if taken by the military commander without conforming to this standard approved by Congress, or the validity of orders made without the support of findings showing that they do so conform. Here the findings of danger from espionage and sabotage, and of the necessity of the curfew order to protect against them, have been duly made. General DeWitt’s Public Proclamation No. 3, which established the curfew, merely prescribed regulations of the type and in the manner which Public Proclamations Nos. 1 and 2 had announced would be prescribed at a future date, and was thus founded on the findings of Proclamations Nos. 1 and 2.

The military commander’s appraisal of facts in the light of the authorized standard, and the inferences which he drew from those facts, involved the exercise of his informed judgment. But as we have seen, those

facts, and the inferences which could be rationally drawn from them, support the judgment of the military commander, that 104*104 the danger of espionage and sabotage to our military resources was imminent, and that the curfew order was an appropriate measure to meet it.

Where, as in the present case, the standard set up for the guidance of the military commander, and the action taken and the reasons for it, are in fact recorded in the military orders, so that Congress, the courts and the public are assured that the orders, in the judgment of the commander, conform to the standards approved by the President and Congress, there is no failure in the performance of the legislative function. The essentials of that function are the determination by Congress of the legislative policy and its approval of a rule of conduct to carry that policy into execution. The very necessities which attend the conduct of military operations in time of war in this instance as in many others preclude Congress from holding committee meetings to determine whether there is danger, before it enacts legislation to combat the danger.

The Constitution as a continuously operating charter of government does not demand the impossible or the impractical. The essentials of the legislative function are preserved when Congress authorizes a statutory command to become operative, upon ascertainment of a basic conclusion of fact by a designated representative of the Government. The present statute, which authorized curfew orders to be made pursuant to Executive Order No. 9066 for the protection of war resources from espionage and sabotage, satisfies those requirements. Under the Executive Order the basic facts, determined by the military commander in the light of knowledge then available, were whether that danger existed and whether a curfew order was an appropriate means of minimizing the danger. Since his findings to that effect were, as we have said, not without adequate support, the legislative function was performed and the sanction of the statute attached to violations of the curfew order. It is unnecessary to consider whether or to what extent such findings would support orders differing from the curfew order.

The conviction under the second count is without constitutional infirmity. Hence we have no occasion to review the conviction on the first count since, as

already stated, the sentences on the two counts are to run concurrently and conviction on the second is sufficient to sustain the sentence. For this reason also it is unnecessary to consider the Government's argument that compliance with the order to report at the Civilian Control Station did not necessarily entail confinement in a relocation center.

Source: 320 U.S. 81 (1943)

See also Hirabayashi v. United States (1943); Korematsu, Hirabayashi, and Yasui Coram Nobis Cases; Yasui v. United States (1943)

28. Excerpt from the Repeal Act of Chinese Exclusion (1943)

In 1943, in the midst of World War II, the U.S. government repealed all Chinese exclusion laws, ending the exclusion era for the Chinese. The repeal set an annual quota of 105 for Chinese immigration, which would apply to Chinese from all parts of the world. The repeal made Chinese admissible and Chinese immigrants eligible for naturalization.

An Act to repeal the Chinese Exclusion Acts, to establish quotas, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the following Acts or parts of Acts relating to the exclusion or deportation of persons of the Chinese race are hereby repealed: May 6, 1882 (22 Stat. L. 58); July 5, 1884 (23 Stat. L. 115); September 13, 1888 (25 Stat. L. 476); October 1, 1888 (25 Stat. L. 504); May 5, 1892 (27 Stat. L. 25); November 3, 1893 (28 Stat. L. 7). . . .

Sec. 2. With the exception of those coming under subsections (b), (d), (e), and (f) of section 4, Immigration Act of 1924 . . . all Chinese persons entering the United States annually as immigrants shall be allocated to the quota for the Chinese computed under the provision of section 11 of the said Act. A preference up to 75 per centum of the quota shall be given to Chinese born and resident in China.

Sec. 3. Section 303 of the Nationality Act of 1940, as amended (54 Stat. 1140; 8 U.S.C. 703), is hereby

amended by striking out the word “and” before the word “descendants”, changing the colon after the word “Hemisphere” to a comma, and adding the following: “and Chinese persons or persons of Chinese descent.”

Source: 57 Stat. 600, Act of December 17, 1943.

See also Chinese Exclusion, Repeal of (1943)

29. My Silver Wings, the Story of a Chinese American Woman (Margaret “Maggie” Gee)

World War II profoundly changed the lives of Chinese American women. For the first time, the larger American society welcomed the contributions of most ethnic and gender minorities. Chinese American women entered the armed forces and were hired by industries previously dominated by white males; they worked side by side with men and women of different ethnic backgrounds. In this oral history interview conducted by Xiaojian Zhao, Maggie Gee, one of the only two Chinese women who served in the Women’s Airforce Service Pilots, recollected how World War II had forever changed her life.

I was born in 1923 in Berkeley. There were about twenty Chinese families in Berkeley at that time, most of them came from San Francisco after the earthquake in 1906. We were the only Chinese in the neighborhood. On Sundays we would go to the church to play with other Chinese children in town.

My father was a merchant from Hong Kong. My mother was born in the United States. Her parents—my grandparents—came from China in the 1870s. They settled in a fishing community in Monterey Bay, California. My parents had an arranged marriage. Although my mother was an American citizen by birth, her citizenship was taken away when she married my father. They lived in San Francisco for a few years. Later on my father build a house in Berkeley and the family moved to the east bay. My father had a warehouse in San Francisco’s Chinatown. He imported rice and other food products from China and exported things like soap and toothpaste. I was only a seven-year-old when my father passed away. My uncle told me that my father invested heavily in the stock market.

When the market crashed during the Great Depression, he lost all the money and had a heart attack.

My parents had six children, and I was the third from the top. I have one older brother, one older sister, two younger sisters, and one younger brother. We were well off up to the time my father’s death. We had a car, and my mother learned to drive very early. When my father died, my mother was thirty-four. To support her six children, she took in sewing. Sometimes I woke up two o’clock in the morning and could still hear her sewing.

I began to work while I was in high school. I delivered newspaper and did domestic work for other families. I helped take care of the babies and cooked a little bit. I was not very good at doing housework or cooking. At home my mother did everything herself. I learned a lot from working at these families, such as the proper way to set the table in Western style. At that time I didn’t like chopsticks at all; I do now, of course. I just didn’t want to be that way as a kid. I would say, “Let’s eat with forks, do the way other people would do.” We ate Chinese food at home. My mother was an excellent cook. I liked my mother, but I really didn’t appreciate her that much until I was older. I think that’s true with every generation. When you’re young, you think you are smarter than your mother. During the summer when there was no school, I worked in a cannery. I also worked in a dime store for a while. I did pretty much what other children of my age would do at the time. A lot of us high school kids had jobs.

Berkeley High was an integrated school and I associated with both white and black kids. I remember that as a Chinese, I could not go swimming in community pools and could not join clubs organized by white students. But I didn’t care—I am not a sensitive person and I was not good at swimming anyway. Although I joined the Chinese student club, I was too busy to spend time there. After school I had to work and to go to Chinese language school.

When I was in fourth grade, my uncle was going to take my sister and me to China to study. We had a going-away party. Then came the news that the Japanese had invaded Manchuria in China. So my mother decided that we had to cancel the trip. I felt terrible because we had to go back to school after having said goodbye to our friends. My mother was very involved

in the war effort in China, especially after 1937. She took us to many fund-raising activities and rallies in San Francisco. I felt so bad when I heard about the “Rape of Nanjing.” I mentioned it to my American friends, but they didn’t seem to know what had happened. My mother was very unhappy when one of my sisters dated a Japanese boy. We wouldn’t buy anything Japanese. If there was something made in Japan in the house, my mother would be sure to break it. I also didn’t like the Japanese because of the war, but I had Japanese friends, they were different.

After high school, I attended college at the University of California, Berkeley. Going to college was not a big financial burden for my family since we lived in a little town. To my mother, it was just putting a bowl of rice on the table a little longer. The fee was only twenty-eight dollars each quarter, which I could earn myself. My brother was thinking about going to medical school. That’s different and he couldn’t make it financially. So he chose to be an accountant. I had no idea what I would do with a college degree. I went to college because in a college town, everyone went to college after high school. On Sunday, 7 December 1941, I went to Doe Library on campus to study. I was surprised to see that people were talking and no one was studying. That’s how I heard about Pearl Harbor. This incident really changed everything. Suddenly everyone wanted to be involved and everyone wanted to do something. My mother was one of the first women to join defense industrial work. She got a job at one of the Richmond shipyards. She loved that job that she enjoyed meeting people. This was the first time she worked outside the home [her sewing job was mostly done at home]. My older brother joined the Army. I was eager to do something too, and my mother must have suggested I find a job in the shipyard. I took a graveyard-shift job welding in a Richmond shipyard while still a student at Berkeley. Working at night was boring because you had no one to talk to. You worked outdoors in the dark by yourself, and you were sleepy because you were taking classes during the day and didn’t get much sleep. Sometimes when the job was slow I would fall asleep, but it was so cold out there at night you couldn’t sleep for very long. Welding was not very difficult. You basically repeat the

same job again and again—just like my mother sewing the sleeves in those years.

A few months later, I found a new job as a draftsman at Mare Island Naval Shipyard. It was a daytime job, and we had about thirty people working in the department. There I met two friends of my age. Jean is white, and Mary is a Filipino girl. WE worked in the same room. The three of us used to meet every day at ten o’clock at the ladies’ room. The ladies’ room had this nice little sitting area, and we would sit there and have a cup of coffee. Here, we were in a war industry, but we all wanted to do more. We used to say, “We can’t stay here and do this; we must get involved directly in the war effort.” Mary had been flying since she was fifteen, and she said that we could all become pilots. I was so excited about the idea because that was the most glamorous thing to do. Everyone liked to fly. My father used to drive us to Oakland Airport to watch airplanes taking off. I also read about women flying from the magazines, but I didn’t dream to fly myself. I learned that there was this aviation school in Nevada and that all you needed was \$800 to enroll, including room and board. I had saved a little bit of money while working in the Richmond shipyard. As a draftsman, my salary was \$1,444 a year, a little over a \$100 a month. And I saved every penny I could. That day when we finally cashed all of our war bonds, \$800 apiece, the three of us tossed the money in the air and laughed and laughed—we were overjoyed.

We took a temporary leave from our jobs and boarded a bus to Nevada in 1943. There were about fifteen students in the flying class, including quite a few women. It didn’t make any difference if you were a man or a woman in training. I was the only Asian woman learning to fly. A lot of people in town thought I was an American Indian. WE graduated in about two months. Before we went home, someone from the WASP—Women’s Airforce Service Pilots—interviewed us. The men were interviewed separately by the Army recruiting people. While our files were under review, we all went back to our old jobs at Mare Island. I was ready to go to the war, but it was also nice to go back to work. I used up all my savings and I needed the money. A lot of our coworkers came to ask us about what we had done in Nevada. They asked

many questions about flying. Some people I guess were envious of us. We were able to do something different from building and repairing the ships.

Shortly after, I received a call from the WASP. Mary did not make it because of her problems. Jean joined but washed out. I couldn't believe that I made it! Everyone in my family was happy for me. The whole family, except for my older brother who was already in the Army, went to the train station in Berkeley to see me off. My mother was a little concerned about my safety, but she said, "If I were young I would like to fly too." She was very proud of me.

In February 1944, I boarded a train to west Texas. The train was so crowded that I had to sit on my suitcase near a restroom most of the way. I didn't even have a seat. I don't know how I did it. I was only twenty at the time. I arrived at Sweetwater, Texas, and reported to the Blue Bonnet Hotel in town. Next morning, they came to pick up us. There were 107 women in my class. All of us were very young and were very excited. We lived in the barracks, six women to each bay. We each had a cot and a locker. I didn't bring much stuff. One suitcase was all that I had, so that was fine. Located between the bays were two big shower heads, two toilets, and two washbasins to be shared by twelve of us. We had to shower together. Some of us were very shy because we had never been in gym before.

Our class was divided into two flights and the trainees spent half of each day on ground training and another half on cockpit. We would get up early in the morning, get dressed, make the beds, line up, and march to the mess hall for breakfast. We marched to the mess hall, we marched to the gym, we marched to classes. You had to line up and march everywhere you went. We used to sing when we marched, just like in the movies. We had very little free time; every minute was taken. We took a lot of classes: physics, math, aerodynamics, and PE. We also had night flying. On Sundays I would go to town with friends. Pretty girls got dates. I and some friends used to hang around with a bunch of guys. We established good friendships. Each time after you passed a test, you would wait and hope your friends pass too. We really cared about each other. So many people were washed out.

We cried with them and they were sent home. And you always wondered: "Am I going to be the next?"

The WASP was under the Army. We flew army airplanes and we had to follow all the rules and regulations. If you broke the rules, you would be sent home. We had our passes, and we were all considered officers. But there was this big debate on whether women pilots should be given military status, and not until 1979 did we receive our veteran status. Our uniforms were Santiago ground, but our instructors were mostly men. If you put it in the context of today, the male instructors really resented us. They would say, "You ought to go home to have babies. What are you doing here flying?" I just had to ignore them. It was [that way] at that time; things are very different today.

I was the only Chinese American woman in my class. Hazel Ah Ying Lee and I are the only two Chinese American WASPs. She was in one of the earlier classes; I never met her. She was later killed in action. All of my classmates were white. The fact that I was a Chinese didn't make a difference; we were all very nice to each other. The WASP accepted two Chinese American women but not a single black. I heard that eight black women pilots applied for the job, but none of them were accepted. There was a lot of resistance to women flying. Jacqueline Cochran did not want to take in black women pilots because she had enough problems to deal with. This was before the civil rights movement. The South was segregated and our training field was in Texas. We flew over a lot of southern states.

While in training, I got to fly different types of military airplanes and did cross-country flying. Once I got in very late. When I came in I said, "I am going to show these people how good I am." I made a nice landing, but then I lost my concentration. So the airplane ground looped. I did not go straight, as it should, but drifted into a circle. That was a small accident; no one was hurt. I was so ashamed of myself and would not get out. Because of that, I got checked out. The civilians checked you out, and the Army checked you out. But I did complete all the training and pass all the tests. The day when I finally graduated and got my silver wings, but only 1,074 graduated. I had seen so many people washed out, and some lost their lives. I guess I was very lucky indeed.

Before graduation, we were asked where we would like to work and whom we would like to work with. WE had a few choices. My baymate and best friend Elaine Harman, who was from Baltimore, and I decided to come to the West Coast. WE both began our active duty at the Las Vegas Army Air Force Base in September 1944. There were about thirty WASPs working on the base. I was an instrument instructor, giving flying instructions to male pilots. I also did some copiloting. I flew mostly single-engine airplanes. Then one day in October 1944, we were notified that the WASP would be disbanded. By then, there were many men around and women pilots were no longer needed. On 20 December 1944, WASP was officially deactivated and our WASP squadron at the Las Vegas Army Air Force Base was shut down. We were all sent home. I felt terrible because the war was not over yet.

My experience at the WASP definitely had a great impact on my life. It was a very short time in my life but I got to spend time together with the people I worked with. We had such a small, closely knit group. We did something unique and we all liked what we were doing. Since we lived, trained, and worked together, we developed a good friendship. I feel I know these people well regardless of their social background. Many of them were from well-to-do families. People like me, Mary and Jean had to earn money to learn how to fly. I would have been impossible if I didn't have the chance to work in defense industries. Most of the women in the WASP were older than I was, and many of them are now in their eighties. Some had commercial licenses already when they joined the program. They had been flying before the war, and some of them did that for their own pleasure. But that didn't matter, the war brought us together to the military service.

I have attended many of our reunions. A lot of us were there for the big reunion of 1979, when we finally got veteran status. I still see other WASPs. I talk to Elaine Harman often. I feel I can drive across the country with the little book that has our names and addresses in it and when I come to any town, I can call up a WASP and go to her house, even if I have never met her. After all, I am one of them. Some of them have come to see me in Berkeley. I feel very

comfortable with them. Having worked and lived with these women, I had no problem moving into any social circle later on. People of my generation from my background would not find it easy, but my experience as a WASP did make a difference. It gave me a lot of confidence. I felt comfortable and confident about myself.

When I returned home, I felt that there were a lot of things that I could do. After the war I returned to Berkeley to study physics. In those days, Chinese parents taught their children to be quiet and gentle, especially the girls; you were supposed to develop your potential. My mother was not a strict person. Two of my sisters were active in junior high school. They were leaders of Chinese student clubs at that stage. But I was never that way; I was shy. I got to do one more thing to make the change, to take one more step. It was my service at the WASP during the war that made the difference. Returning to Berkeley campus after the war, I saw many young Chinese students, a lot of them came from the Army. I said, "I want to be the president of the Chinese Students Association." So I did that.

When I was in graduate school, my sister and I looked for an apartment. That's how I found out what it was like to be a Chinese. We talked to a landlady on the phone and told us she had an apartment available for rent. So we went to see the apartment. When she realized that we were Chinese, she said the place was taken. My sister said, "We should just say that we are Chinese on the telephone then. Don't bother." It took us a little while before we finally got a place. When I talk to people, I often say that I had an advantage of being a Chinese who grew up in Berkeley. But not in this case, though.

I worked at Berkeley Radiation Laboratory while attending graduate school. Later, I worked in Washington, D.C., at the Bureau of Standards and then lived in Europe for three years. In late 1950s, I came back to California and began working at the Lawrence Livermore Laboratory as a physicist. I was the only woman in my department for many years.

Source: Oral history interview with Maggie Gee conducted by Xiaojian Zhao.

See also Gee, Margaret (Maggie)

30. Excerpt from *Ex part Mitsuye Endo* (1944)

This U.S. Supreme Court decision ruled that regardless of whether the United States Government had a right to remove certain classes of citizens from the West Coast during the war, it could not subject citizens who are concededly loyal to the United States to detention. The decision was handed down in late 1944, when the government could no longer argue that interning Japanese was a military necessity.

Mr. Justice DOUGLAS delivered the opinion of the Court.

This case comes here on a certificate of the Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit, certifying to us questions of law upon which it desires instructions for the decision of the case.

Mitsuye Endo, hereinafter designated as the appellant, is an American citizen of Japanese ancestry. She was evacuated from Sacramento, California, in 1942, pursuant to certain military orders which we will presently discuss, and was removed to the Tule Lake War Relocation Center located at Newell, Modoc County, California. In July, 1942, she filed a petition for a writ of habeas corpus in the District Court of the United States for the Northern District of California, asking that she be discharged and restored to liberty. That petition was denied by the District Court in July, 1943, and an appeal was perfected to the Circuit Court of Appeals in August, 1943. Shortly thereafter appellant was transferred from the Tule Lake Relocation Center to the Central Utah Relocation Center located at Topaz, Utah, where she is presently detained. The certificate of questions of law was filed here on April 22, 1944, and on May 8, 1944, we ordered the entire record to be certified to this Court. It does not appear that any respondent was ever served with process or appeared in the proceedings. But the United States Attorney for the Northern District of California argued before the District Court that the petition should not be granted. And the Solicitor General argued the case here.

The history of the evacuation of Japanese aliens and citizens of Japanese ancestry from the Pacific

coastal regions, following the Japanese attack on our Naval Base at Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, and the declaration of war against Japan on December 8, 1941, has been reviewed in *Kiyoshi Hirabayashi v. United States*. It need be only briefly recapitulated here. On February 19, 1942, the President promulgated Executive Order No. 9066. It recited that 'the successful prosecution of the war requires every possible protection against espionage and against sabotage to national defense material, national-defense premises, and national-defense utilities. . . And it authorized and directed 'the Secretary of War, and the Military Commanders whom he may from time to time designate, whenever he or any designated Commander deems such action necessary or desirable, to prescribe military areas in such places and of such extent as he or the appropriate Military Commander may determine, from which any or all persons may be excluded, and with respect to which, the right of any person to enter, remain in, or leave shall be subject to whatever restrictions the Secretary of War or the appropriate Military Commander may impose in his discretion. The Secretary of War is hereby authorized to provide for residents of any such area who are excluded therefrom, such transportation, food, shelter, and other accommodations as may be necessary, in the judgment of the Secretary of War or the said Military Commander, and until other arrangements are made, to accomplish the purpose of this order.'

Lt. General J. L. De Witt, Military Commander of the Western Defense Command, was designated to carry out the duties prescribed by that Executive Order. On March 2, 1942, he promulgated Public Proclamation No. 1. which recited that the entire Pacific Coast of the United States 'by its geographical location is particularly subject to attack, to attempted invasion by the armed forces of nations with which the United States is now at war, and, in connection therewith, is subject to espionage and acts of sabotage, thereby requiring the adoption of military measures necessary to establish safeguards against such enemy operations.' It designated certain Military Areas and Zones in the Western Defense Command and announced that certain persons might subsequently be excluded from these areas. On March 16, 1942,

General De Witt promulgated Public Proclamation No. 2 which contained similar recitals and designated further Military Areas and Zones.

On March 18, 1942, the President promulgated Executive Order No. 9102 which established in the Office for Emergency Management of the Executive Office of the President the War Relocation Authority. It recited that it was made 'in order to provide for the removal from designated areas of persons whose removal is necessary in the interests of national security.' It provided for a Director and authorized and directed him to 'formulate and effectuate a program for the removal, from the areas designated from time to time by the Secretary of War or appropriate military commander under the authority of Executive Order No. 9066 of February 19, 1942, of the persons or classes of persons designated under such Executive Order, and for their relocation, maintenance, and supervision.' The Director was given the authority, among other things, to prescribe regulations necessary or desirable to promote effective execution of the program.

Congress shortly enacted legislation which, as we pointed out in *Kiyoshi Hirabayashi v. United States*, supra, ratified and confirmed Executive Order No. 9066. It did so by the Act of March 21, 1942, which provided: 'That whoever shall enter, remain in, leave, or commit any act in any military area or military zone prescribed, under the authority of an Executive order of the President, by the Secretary of War, or by any military commander designated by the Secretary of War, contrary to the restrictions applicable to any such area or zone or contrary to the order of the Secretary of War or any such military commander, shall, if it appears that he knew or should have known of the existence and extent of the restrictions or order and that his act was in violation thereof, be guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction shall be liable to a fine of not to exceed \$5,000 or to imprisonment for not more than one year, or both, for each offense.'

Beginning on March 24, 1942, a series of 108 Civilian Exclusion Orders were issued by General De Witt pursuant to Public Proclamation Nos. 1 and 2. Appellant's exclusion was effected by Civilian Exclusion Order No. 52, dated May 7, 1942. It ordered that 'all persons of Japanese ancestry, both alien and non-

alien' be excluded from Sacramento, California, beginning at noon on May 16, 1942. Appellant was evacuated to the Sacramento Assembly Center on May 15, 1942, and was transferred from there to the Tule Lake Relocation Center on June 19, 1942. On May 19, 1942, General De Witt promulgated Civilian Restrictive Order No. 1 and on June 27, 1942, Public Proclamation No. 8. These prohibited evacuees from leaving Assembly Centers or Relocation Centers except pursuant to an authorization from General De Witt's headquarters. Public Proclamation No. 8 recited that 'the present situation within these military areas requires as a matter of military necessity' that the evacuees be removed to 'Relocation Centers for their relocation, maintenance and supervision', that those Relocation Centers be designated as War Relocation Project Areas, and that restrictions on the rights of the evacuees to enter, remain in, or leave such areas be promulgated. These restrictions were applicable to the Relocation Centers within the Western Defense Command and included both of those in which appellant has been confined-Tule Lake Relocation Center at Newell, California, and Central Utah Relocation Center at Topaz, Utah. And Public Proclamation No. 8 purported to make any person who was subject to its provisions and who failed to conform to it liable to the penalties prescribed by the Act of March 21, 1942. By letter of August 11, 1942, General De Witt authorized the War Relocation Authority to issue permits for persons to leave these areas. By virtue of that delegation⁵ and the authority conferred by Executive Order No. 9102, the War Relocation Authority was given control over the ingress and egress of evacuees from the Relocation Centers where Mitsuye Endo was confined. The program of the War Relocation Authority is said to have three main features: (1) the maintenance of Relocation Centers as interim places of residence for evacuees; (2) the segregation of loyal from disloyal evacuees; (3) the continued detention of the disloyal and so far as possible the relocation of the loyal in selected communities. In connection with the latter phase of its work the War Relocation Authority established a procedure for obtaining leave from Relocation Centers. That procedure, so far as indefinite leave⁸ is concerned, presently provides as follows: Application for leave clearance is required.

An investigation of the applicant is made for the purpose of ascertaining 'the probable effect upon the war program and upon the public peace and security of issuing indefinite leave' to the applicant. The grant of leave clearance does not authorize departure from the Relocation Center. Application for indefinite leave must also be made. Indefinite leave may be granted under specified conditions. For example, it may be granted (1) where the applicant proposes to accept an employment offer or an offer of support that has been investigated and approved by the Authority; or (2) where the applicant does not intend to work but has 'adequate financial resources to take care of himself' and a Relocation Officer has investigated and approved 'public sentiment at his proposed destination', or (3) where the applicant has made arrangements to live at a hotel or in a private home approved by a Relocation Officer while arranging for employment; or (4) where the applicant proposes to accept employment by a federal or local governmental agency; or (5) where the applicant is going to live with designated classes of relatives.

But even if an applicant meets those requirements, no leave will issue when the proposed place of residence or employment is within a locality where it has been ascertained that 'community sentiment is unfavorable' or when the applicant plans to go to an area which has been closed by the Authority to the issuance of indefinite leave. Nor will such leave issue if the area where the applicant plans to reside or work is one which has not been cleared for relocation. Moreover, the applicant agrees to give the Authority prompt notice of any change of employment or residence. And the indefinite leave which is granted does not permit entry into a prohibited military area, including those from which these people were evacuated.

Mitsuye Endo made application for leave clearance on February 19, 1943, after the petition was filed in the District Court. Leave clearance was granted her on August 16, 1943. But she made no application for indefinite leave.

Her petition for a writ of habeas corpus alleges that she is a loyal and law-abiding citizen of the United States, that no charge has been made against her, that she is being unlawfully detained, and that she is

confined in the Relocation Center under armed guard and held there against her will.

It is conceded by the Department of Justice and by the War Relocation Authority that appellant is a loyal and law-abiding citizen. They make no claim that she is detained on any charge or that she is even suspected of disloyalty. Moreover, they do not contend that she may be held any longer in the Relocation Center. They concede that it is beyond the power of the War Relocation Authority to detain citizens against whom no charges of disloyalty or subversiveness have been made for a period longer than that necessary to separate the loyal from the disloyal and to provide the necessary guidance for relocation. But they maintain that detention for an additional period after leave clearance has been granted is an essential step in the evacuation program. Reliance for that conclusion is placed on the following circumstances.

When compulsory evacuation from the West Coast was decided upon, plans for taking care of the evacuees after their detention in the Assembly Centers, to which they were initially removed, remained to be determined. On April 7, 1942, the Director of the Authority held a conference in Salt Lake City with various state and federal officials including the Governors of the inter-mountain states. 'Strong opposition was expressed to any type of unsupervised relocation and some of the Governors refused to be responsible for maintenance of law and order unless evacuees brought into their States were kept under constant military surveillance.' As stated by General De Witt in his report to the Chief of Staff: 'Essentially, military necessity required only that the Japanese population be removed from the coastal area and dispersed in the interior, where the danger of action in concert during any attempted enemy raids along the coast, or in advance thereof as preparation for a full scale attack, would be eliminated. That the evacuation program necessarily and ultimately developed into one of complete Federal supervision, was due primarily to the fact that the interior states would not accept an uncontrolled Japanese migration.' The Authority thereupon abandoned plans for assisting groups of evacuees in private colonization and temporarily put to one side plans for aiding the evacuees in obtaining private

employment. As an alternative the Authority 'concentrated on establishment of Government-operated centers with sufficient capacity and facilities to accommodate the entire evacuee population.' Accordingly, it undertook to care for the basic needs of these people in the Relocation Centers, to promote as rapidly as possible the permanent resettlement of as many as possible in normal communities, and to provide indefinitely for those left at the Relocation Centers. An effort was made to segregate the loyal evacuees from the others. The leave program which we have discussed was put into operation and the resettlement program commenced.

It is argued that such a planned and orderly relocation was essential to the success of the evacuation program; that but for such supervision there might have been a dangerously disorderly migration of unwanted people to unprepared communities; that unsupervised evacuation might have resulted in hardship and disorder; that the success of the evacuation program was thought to require the knowledge that the federal government was maintaining control over the evacuated population except as the release of individuals could be effected consistently with their own peace and well-being and that of the nation; that although community hostility towards the evacuees has diminished, it has not disappeared and the continuing control of the Authority over the relocation process is essential to the success of the evacuation program. It is argued that supervised relocation, as the chosen method of terminating the evacuation, is the final step in the entire process and is a consequence of the first step taken. It is conceded that appellant's detention pending compliance with the leave regulations is not directly connected with the prevention of espionage and sabotage at the present time. But it is argued that Executive Order No. 9102 confers power to make regulations necessary and proper for controlling situations created by the exercise of the powers expressly conferred for protection against espionage and sabotage. The leave regulations are said to fall within that category.

First. We are of the view that Mitsuye Endo should be given her liberty. In reaching that conclusion we do not come to the underlying constitutional issues which have been argued. For we conclude that, whatever power the War Relocation Authority may have to

detain other classes of citizens, it has no authority to subject citizens who are concededly loyal to its leave procedure.

It should be noted at the outset that we do not have here a question such as was presented in *Ex parte Milligan*, or in *Ex parte Quirin*, where the jurisdiction of military tribunals to try persons according to the law of war was challenged in habeas corpus proceedings. Mitsuye Endo is detained by a civilian agency, the War Relocation Authority, not by the military. Moreover, the evacuation program was not left exclusively to the military; the Authority was given a large measure of responsibility for its execution and Congress made its enforcement subject to civil penalties by the Act of March 21, 1942. Accordingly, no questions of military law are involved.

Such power of detention as the Authority has stems from Executive Order No. 9066. That order is the source of the authority delegated by General De Witt in his letter of August 11, 1942. And Executive Order No. 9102 which created the War Relocation Authority purported to do no more than to implement the program authorized by Executive Order No. 9066.

We approach the construction of Executive Order No. 9066 as we would approach the construction of legislation in this field. That Executive Order must indeed be considered along with the Act of March 21, 1942, which ratified and confirmed it as the Order and the statute together laid such basis as there is for participation by civil agencies of the federal government in the evacuation program. Broad powers frequently granted to the President or other executive officers by Congress so that they may deal with the exigencies of war time problems have been sustained. And the Constitution when it committed to the Executive and to Congress the exercise of the war power necessarily gave them wide scope for the exercise of judgment and discretion so that war might be waged effectively and successfully. At the same time, however, the Constitution is as specific in its enumeration of many of the civil rights of the individual as it is in its enumeration of the powers of his government. Thus it has prescribed procedural safeguards surrounding the arrest, detention and conviction of individuals. Some of these are contained in the Sixth Amendment, compliance with which is essential if convictions are

to be sustained. And the Fifth Amendment provides that no person shall be deprived of liberty (as well as life or property) without due process of law. Moreover, as a further safeguard against invasion of the basic civil rights of the individual it is provided in Art. I, Sec. 9 of the Constitution that ‘The Privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in Cases of Rebellion or Invasion the public Safety may require it.’

We mention these constitutional provisions not to stir the constitutional issues which have been argued at the bar but to indicate the approach which we think should be made to an Act of Congress or an order of the Chief Executive that touches the sensitive area of rights specifically guaranteed by the Constitution. This Court has quite consistently given a narrower scope for the operation of the presumption of constitutionality when legislation appeared on its face to violate a specific prohibition of the Constitution. We have likewise favored that interpretation of legislation which gives it the greater chance of surviving the test of constitutionality. Those analogies are suggestive here. We must assume that the Chief Executive and members of Congress, as well as the courts, are sensitive to and respectful of the liberties of the citizen. In interpreting a war-time measure we must assume that their purpose was to allow for the greatest possible accommodation between those liberties and the exigencies of war. We must assume, when asked to find implied powers in a grant of legislative or executive authority, that the law makers intended to place no greater restraint on the citizen than was clearly and unmistakably indicated by the language they used.

The Act of March 21, 1942, was a war measure. The House Report (H. Rep. No. 1906, 77th Cong., 2d Sess., p. 2) stated, ‘The necessity for this legislation arose from the fact that the safe conduct of the war requires the fullest possible protection against either espionage or sabotage to national defense material, national defense premises, and national defense utilities.’ That was the precise purpose of Executive Order No. 9066, for, as we have seen, it gave as the reason for the exclusion of persons from prescribed military areas the protection of such property ‘against espionage and against sabotage.’ And Executive Order No. 9102 which established the War Relocation Authority

did so, as we have noted, ‘in order to provide for the removal from designated areas of persons whose removal is necessary in the interests of national security.’ The purpose and objective of the Act and of these orders are plain. Their single aim was the protection of the war effort against espionage and sabotage. It is in light of that one objective that the powers conferred by the orders must be construed.

Neither the Act nor the orders use the language of detention. The Act says that no one shall ‘enter, remain in leave, or commit any act’ in the prescribed military areas contrary to the applicable restrictions. Executive Order No. 9066 subjects the right of any person ‘to enter, remain in, or leave’ those prescribed areas to such restrictions as the military may impose. And apart from those restrictions the Secretary of War is only given authority to afford the evacuees ‘transportation, food, shelter, and other accommodations.’ Executive Order No. 9102 authorizes and directs the War Relocation Authority ‘to formulate and effectuate a program for the removal’ of the persons covered by Executive Order No. 9066 from the prescribed military areas and ‘for their relocation, maintenance, and supervision.’ And power is given the Authority to make regulations ‘necessary or desirable to promote effective execution of such program.’ Moreover, unlike the case of curfew regulations (*Kiyoshi Hirabayashi v. United States*, *supra*), the legislative history of the Act of March 21, 1942, is silent on detention. And that silence may have special significance in view of the fact that detention in Relocation Centers was no part of the original program of evacuation but developed later to meet what seemed to the officials in charge to be mounting hostility to the evacuees on the part of the communities where they sought to go.

We do not mean to imply that detention in connection with no phase of the evacuation program would be lawful. The fact that the Act and the orders are silent on detention does not of course mean that any power to detain is lacking. Some such power might indeed be necessary to the successful operation of the evacuation program. At least we may so assume. Moreover, we may assume for the purposes of this case that initial detention in Relocation Centers was authorized. But we stress the silence of the legislative history and of the Act and the Executive Orders on the power to

detain to emphasize that any such authority which exists must be implied. If there is to be the greatest possible accommodation of the liberties of the citizen with this war measure, any such implied power must be narrowly confined to the precise purpose of the evacuation program.

A citizen who is concededly loyal presents no problem of espionage or sabotage. Loyalty is a matter of the heart and mind not of race, creed, or color. He who is loyal is by definition not a spy or a saboteur. When the power to detain is derived from the power to protect the war effort against espionage and sabotage, detention which has no relationship to that objective is unauthorized.

Nor may the power to detain an admittedly loyal citizen or to grant him a conditional release be implied as a useful or convenient step in the evacuation program, whatever authority might be implied in case of those whose loyalty was not conceded or established. If we assume (as we do) that the original evacuation was justified, its lawful character was derived from the fact that it was an espionage and sabotage measure, not that there was community hostility to this group of American citizens. The evacuation program rested explicitly on the former ground not on the latter as the underlying legislation shows. The authority to detain a citizen or to grant him a conditional release as protection against espionage or sabotage is exhausted at least when his loyalty is conceded. If we held that the authority to detain continued thereafter, we would transform an espionage or sabotage measure into something else. That was not done by Executive Order No. 9066 or by the Act of March 21, 1942, which ratified it. What they did not do we cannot do. Detention which furthered the campaign against espionage and sabotage would be one thing. But detention which has no relationship to that campaign is of a distinct character. Community hostility even to loyal evacuees may have been (and perhaps still is) a serious problem. But if authority for their custody and supervision is to be sought on that ground, the Act of March 21, 1942, Executive Order No. 9066, and Executive Order No. 9102, offer no support. And none other is advanced. To read them that broadly would be to assume that the Congress and the President intended that this discriminatory action should be

taken against these people wholly on account of their ancestry even though the government conceded their loyalty to this country. We cannot make such an assumption. As the President has said of these loyal citizens: 'Americans of Japanese ancestry, like those of many other ancestries, have shown that they can, and want to, accept our institutions and work loyally with the rest of us, making their own valuable contribution to the national wealth and well-being. In vindication of the very ideals for which we are fighting this war it is important to us to maintain a high standard of fair, considerate, and equal treatment for the people of this minority as of all other minorities.'

Mitsuye Endo is entitled to an unconditional release by the War Relocation Authority.

Second. The question remains whether the District Court has jurisdiction to grant the writ of habeas corpus because of the fact that while the case was pending in the Circuit Court of Appeals appellant was moved from the Tule Lake Relocation Center in the Northern District of California where she was originally detained to the Central Utah Relocation Center in a different district and circuit.

That question is not colored by any purpose to effectuate a removal in evasion of the habeas corpus proceedings. It appears that appellant's removal to Utah was part of a general segregation program involving many of these people and was in no way related to this pending case. Moreover, there is no suggestion that there is no one within the jurisdiction of the District Court who is responsible for the detention of appellant and who would be an appropriate respondent. We are indeed advised by the Acting Secretary of the Interior²⁵ that if the writ issues and is directed to the Secretary of the Interior or any official of the War Relocation Authority (including an assistant director whose office is at San Francisco, which is in the jurisdiction of the District Court), the corpus of appellant will be produced and the court's order complied with in all respects. Thus it would seem that the case is not moot.

In *United States ex rel. Innes v. Crystal*, the relator challenged a judgment of court martial by habeas corpus. The District Court denied his petition and the Circuit Court of Appeals affirmed that order. After that decision and before his petition for certiorari was filed

here, he was removed from the custody of the Army to a federal penitentiary in a different district and circuit. The sole respondent was the commanding officer. Only an order directed to the warden of the penitentiary could effectuate his discharge and the warden as well as the prisoner was outside the territorial jurisdiction of the District Court. We therefore held the cause moot. There is no comparable situation here.

The fact that no respondent was ever served with process or appeared in the proceedings is not important. The United States resists the issuance of a writ. A cause exists in that state of the proceedings and an appeal lies from denial of a writ without the appearance of a respondent.

Hence, so far as presently appears, the cause is not moot and the District Court has jurisdiction to act unless the physical presence of appellant in that district is essential.

We need not decide whether the presence of the person detained within the territorial jurisdiction of the District Court is prerequisite to filing a petition for a writ of habeas corpus. We only hold that the District Court acquired jurisdiction in this case and that the removal of Mitsuye Endo did not cause it to lose jurisdiction where a person in whose custody she is remains within the district.

There are expressions in some of the cases which indicate that the place of confinement must be within the court's territorial jurisdiction in order to enable it to issue the writ. But we are of the view that the court may act if there is a respondent within reach of its process who has custody of the petitioner. As Judge Cooley stated in *Matter of Jackson*, 15 Mich. 417, 439, 440: 'The important fact to be observed in regard to the mode of procedure upon this writ is, that it is directed to, and served upon, not the person confined, but his jailer. It does not reach the former except through the latter. The officer or person who serves it does not unbar the prison doors, and set the prisoner free, but the court relieves him by compelling the oppressor to release his constraint. The whole force of the writ is spent upon the respondent.' The statute upon which the jurisdiction of the District Court in habeas corpus proceedings rests gives it power 'to grant writs of habeas corpus for the purpose of an inquiry into the cause of restraint of liberty.' That

objective may be in no way impaired or defeated by the removal of the prisoner from the territorial jurisdiction of the District Court. That end may be served and the decree of the court made effective if a respondent who has custody of the prisoner is within reach of the court's process even though the prisoner has been removed from the district since the suit was begun.

The judgment is reversed and the cause is remanded to the District Court for proceedings in conformity with this opinion.

Source: Ex parte Mitsuye Endo, 323 U.S. 283 (1944).

See also Ex Parte Mitsuye Endo

31. Excerpt from *Korematsu v. United States* (1944)

One of Supreme Court landmark cases regarding the constitutionality of the internment decision against Japanese Americans during the war. In this 6–3 decision, the court ruled that the Executive Order 9066 was constitutional, and that the need to protect against espionage outweighed Fred Korematsu's individual right.

MR. JUSTICE BLACK delivered the opinion of the Court.

The petitioner, an American citizen of Japanese descent, was convicted in a federal district court for remaining in San Leandro, California, a "Military Area," contrary to Civilian Exclusion Order No. 34 of the Commanding General of the Western Command, U.S. Army, which directed that, after May 9, 1942, all persons of Japanese ancestry should be excluded from that area. No question was raised as to petitioner's loyalty to the United States. The Circuit Court of Appeals affirmed, and the importance of the constitutional question involved caused us to grant certiorari.

It should be noted, to begin with, that all legal restrictions which curtail the civil rights of a single racial group are immediately suspect. That is not to say that all such restrictions are unconstitutional. It is to say that courts must subject them to the most rigid scrutiny. Pressing public necessity may sometimes justify the existence of such restrictions; racial antagonism never can.

In the instant case, prosecution of the petitioner was begun by information charging violation of an Act of Congress, of March 21, 1942, 56 Stat. 173, which provides that . . . whoever shall enter, remain in, leave, or commit any act in any military area or military zone prescribed, under the authority of an Executive order of the President, by the Secretary of War, or by any military commander designated by the Secretary of War, contrary to the restrictions applicable to any such area or zone or contrary to the order of the Secretary of War or any such military commander, shall, if it appears that he knew or should have known of the existence and extent of the restrictions or order and that his act was in violation thereof, be guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction shall be liable to a fine of not to exceed \$5,000 or to imprisonment for not more than one year, or both, for each offense.

Exclusion Order No. 34, which the petitioner knowingly and admittedly violated, was one of a number of military orders and proclamations, all of which were substantially based upon Executive Order No. 9066. That order, issued after we were at war with Japan, declared that the successful prosecution of the war requires every possible protection against espionage and against sabotage to national defense material, national defense premises, and national defense utilities. . . .

One of the series of orders and proclamations, a curfew order, which, like the exclusion order here, was promulgated pursuant to Executive Order 9066, subjected all persons of Japanese ancestry in prescribed West Coast military areas to remain in their residences from 8 p.m. to 6 a.m. As is the case with the exclusion order here, that prior curfew order was designed as a "protection against espionage and against sabotage." In *Hirabayashi v. United States*, we sustained a conviction obtained for violation of the curfew order. The *Hirabayashi* conviction and this one thus rest on the same 1942 Congressional Act and the same basic executive and military orders, all of which orders were aimed at the twin dangers of espionage and sabotage.

In this case, the petitioner challenges the assumptions upon which we rested our conclusions in the *Hirabayashi* case. He also urges that, by May, 1942, when Order No. 34 was promulgated, all danger of

Japanese invasion of the West Coast had disappeared. After careful consideration of these contentions, we are compelled to reject them.

Like curfew, exclusion of those of Japanese origin was deemed necessary because of the presence of an unascertained number of disloyal members of the group, most of whom we have no doubt were loyal to this country. It was because we could not reject the finding of the military authorities that it was impossible to bring about an immediate segregation of the disloyal from the loyal that we sustained the validity of the curfew order as applying to the whole group. In the instant case, temporary exclusion of the entire group was rested by the military on the same ground. The judgment that exclusion of the whole group was, for the same reason, a military imperative answers the contention that the exclusion was in the nature of group punishment based on antagonism to those of Japanese origin. That there were members of the group who retained loyalties to Japan has been confirmed by investigations made subsequent to the exclusion. Approximately five thousand American citizens of Japanese ancestry refused to swear unqualified allegiance to the United States and to renounce allegiance to the Japanese Emperor, and several thousand evacuees requested repatriation to Japan.

We uphold the exclusion order as of the time it was made and when the petitioner violated it. In doing so, we are not unmindful of the hardships imposed by it upon a large group of American citizens. But hardships are part of war, and war is an aggregation of hardships. All citizens alike, both in and out of uniform, feel the impact of war in greater or lesser measure. Citizenship has its responsibilities, as well as its privileges, and, in time of war, the burden is always heavier. Compulsory exclusion of large groups of citizens from their homes, except under circumstances of direst emergency and peril, is inconsistent with our basic governmental institutions. But when, under conditions of modern warfare, our shores are threatened by hostile forces, the power to protect must be commensurate with the threatened danger.

It is argued that, on May 30, 1942, the date the petitioner was charged with remaining in the prohibited area, there were conflicting orders outstanding, forbidding him both to leave the area and to remain

there. Of course, a person cannot be convicted for doing the very thing which it is a crime to fail to do. But the outstanding orders here contained no such contradictory commands.

There was an order issued March 27, 1942, which prohibited petitioner and others of Japanese ancestry from leaving the area, but its effect was specifically limited in time “until and to the extent that a future proclamation or order should so permit or direct.” That “future order,” the one for violation of which petitioner was convicted, was issued May 3, 1942, and it did “direct” exclusion from the area of all persons of Japanese ancestry before 12 o’clock noon, May 9; furthermore, it contained a warning that all such persons found in the prohibited area would be liable to punishment under the March 21, 1942, Act of Congress. Consequently, the only order in effect touching the petitioner’s being in the area on May 30, 1942, the date specified in the information against him, was the May 3 order which prohibited his remaining there, and it was that same order which he stipulated in his trial that he had violated, knowing of its existence. There is therefore no basis for the argument that, on May 30, 1942, he was subject to punishment, under the March 27 and May 3 orders, whether he remained in or left the area.

It does appear, however, that, on May 9, the effective date of the exclusion order, the military authorities had already determined that the evacuation should be effected by assembling together and placing under guard all those of Japanese ancestry at central points, designated as “assembly centers,” in order to insure the orderly evacuation and resettlement of Japanese voluntarily migrating from Military Area No. 1, to restrict and regulate such migration.

Public Proclamation No. 4, 7 Fed.Reg. 2601. And on May 19, 1942, eleven days before the time petitioner was charged with unlawfully remaining in the area, Civilian Restrictive Order No. 1 provided for detention of those of Japanese ancestry in assembly or relocation centers. It is now argued that the validity of the exclusion order cannot be considered apart from the orders requiring him, after departure from the area, to report and to remain in an assembly or relocation center. The contention is that we must treat these separate orders as one and inseparable; that, for this reason,

if detention in the assembly or relocation center would have illegally deprived the petitioner of his liberty, the exclusion order and his conviction under it cannot stand.

We are thus being asked to pass at this time upon the whole subsequent detention program in both assembly and relocation centers, although the only issues framed at the trial related to petitioner’s remaining in the prohibited area in violation of the exclusion order. Had petitioner here left the prohibited area and gone to an assembly center, we cannot say, either as a matter of fact or law, that his presence in that center would have resulted in his detention in a relocation center. Some who did report to the assembly center were not sent to relocation centers, but were released upon condition that they remain outside the prohibited zone until the military orders were modified or lifted. This illustrates that they pose different problems, and may be governed by different principles. The lawfulness of one does not necessarily determine the lawfulness of the others. This is made clear when we analyze the requirements of the separate provisions of the separate orders. These separate requirements were that those of Japanese ancestry (1) depart from the area; (2) report to and temporarily remain in an assembly center; (3) go under military control to a relocation center, there to remain for an indeterminate period until released conditionally or unconditionally by the military authorities. Each of these requirements, it will be noted, imposed distinct duties in connection with the separate steps in a complete evacuation program. Had Congress directly incorporated into one Act the language of these separate orders, and provided sanctions for their violations, disobedience of any one would have constituted a separate offense. There is no reason why violations of these orders, insofar as they were promulgated pursuant to Congressional enactment, should not be treated as separate offenses.

The *Endo* case, *post*, p. 283, graphically illustrates the difference between the validity of an order to exclude and the validity of a detention order after exclusion has been effected.

Since the petitioner has not been convicted of failing to report or to remain in an assembly or relocation center, we cannot in this case determine the validity

of those separate provisions of the order. It is sufficient here for us to pass upon the order which petitioner violated. To do more would be to go beyond the issues raised, and to decide momentous questions not contained within the framework of the pleadings or the evidence in this case. It will be time enough to decide the serious constitutional issues which petitioner seeks to raise when an assembly or relocation order is applied or is certain to be applied to him, and we have its terms before us.

Some of the members of the Court are of the view that evacuation and detention in an Assembly Center were inseparable. After May 3, 1942, the date of Exclusion Order No. 34, Korematsu was under compulsion to leave the area not as he would choose, but via an Assembly Center. The Assembly Center was conceived as a part of the machinery for group evacuation. The power to exclude includes the power to do it by force if necessary. And any forcible measure must necessarily entail some degree of detention or restraint, whatever method of removal is selected. But whichever view is taken, it results in holding that the order under which petitioner was convicted was valid.

It is said that we are dealing here with the case of imprisonment of a citizen in a concentration camp solely because of his ancestry, without evidence or inquiry concerning his loyalty and good disposition towards the United States. Our task would be simple, our duty clear, were this a case involving the imprisonment of a loyal citizen in a concentration camp because of racial prejudice. Regardless of the true nature of the assembly and relocation centers—and we deem it unjustifiable to call them concentration camps, with all the ugly connotations that term implies—we are dealing specifically with nothing but an exclusion order. To cast this case into outlines of racial prejudice, without reference to the real military dangers which were presented, merely confuses the issue. Korematsu was not excluded from the Military Area because of hostility to him or his race. He was excluded because we are at war with the Japanese Empire, because the properly constituted military authorities feared an invasion of our West Coast and felt constrained to take proper security measures, because they decided that the military urgency of the situation demanded that

all citizens of Japanese ancestry be segregated from the West Coast temporarily, and, finally, because Congress, reposing its confidence in this time of war in our military leaders—as inevitably it must—determined that they should have the power to do just this. There was evidence of disloyalty on the part of some, the military authorities considered that the need for action was great, and time was short. We cannot—by availing ourselves of the calm perspective of hindsight—now say that, at that time, these actions were unjustified.

Source: Korematsu v. United States (323 U.S. 214, Dec. 18, 1944).

See also *Ex Parte Mitsuye Endo; Hirabayashi v. United States* (1943); *Korematsu v. United States* (1945); *Korematsu, Hirabayashi, and Yasui Coram Nobis* Cases

32. Excerpts from the War Brides Act (1945) and Amendment (1947)

Although this was a gender natural legislation, it was known as the War Brides Act because the vast majority of the individuals who gained the entry under the law were wives of U.S. soldiers. During World War II several million U.S. men and women (mostly men) were engaged in combat around the globe for nearly four years. Heavy casualty aside, the war facilitated romantic relations between American soldiers and citizens of foreign countries. Almost 100,000 Americans married abroad, and the majority of these marriages took place in Europe. The War Brides Act, enacted shortly after the war, was to facilitate these spouses' entry into the United States. Because all Chinese Exclusion Acts were repealed by then, Chinese war veterans became the first Asian group qualified to send for their spouses. Several thousand of Chinese women immigrated to the United States under the law; most of them were married before the war but unable to come during the exclusion. Filipino and Asian Indian American war veterans became eligible after 1946. A 1947 amendment extended the privilege to all war veterans regardless of existing exclusion laws.

A. War Brides Act (1945)

An Act To expedite the admission to the United States of alien spouses and alien minor children of citizen members of the United States armed forces.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That notwithstanding any of the several clauses of section 3 of the Act of February 5, 1917, excluding physically and mentally defective aliens, and notwithstanding the documentary requirements of any of the immigration laws and regulations, Executive orders, or Presidential proclamations issued thereunder, alien spouses or alien children of United States citizens serving in, or having an honorable discharge certificate from the armed forces of the United States during the Second World War shall, if otherwise admissible under the immigration laws and if application for admission is made within three years of the effective date of this Act, be admitted to the United States: *Provided,* That every alien of the foregoing description shall be medically examined at the time of arrival in accordance with the provisions of section 16 of the Act of February 5, 1917, and if found suffering from any disability which would be the basis for a ground of exclusion except for the provision of this Act, the Immigration and Naturalization Service shall forthwith notify the appropriate public medical officer of the local community to which the alien is destined: *Provided further,* That the provisions of this Act shall not affect the duties of the United States Public Health Service so far as they relate to quarantinable diseases.

Source: 59 Stat. 659, Act of December 28, 1945.

B. 1947 War Brides Act Amendment

To Amend the Act approved December 28, 1945

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Act approved December 28, 1945, is amended by adding a new section thereto, to be known as section 6, and to read as follows:

“Sec. 6. The alien spouse of an American citizen by a marriage occurring before thirty days after the enactment of this Act, shall not be considered as

inadmissible because of race, if otherwise admissible under this Act.

Source: 61 Stat. 401, Act of July 22, 1947.

See also War Brides Act (1945)

33. Excerpts from *America Is in the Heart* by Carlos Bulosan (1946)

In the early decades of the twentieth century, due to legal restrictions against Asian immigrants to own land, most Asian immigrants worked as migratory workers in California and the Pacific Northwest. Carlos Bulosan was a self-taught Filipino immigrant writer. Coming to America in 1930 at age 17, he worked in the fields in California and was active in labor organization. In his highly acclaimed novel, America Is in the Heart, Bulosan described a common entertainment in dance halls for lonely Filipino agriculture workers in America.

I was already in American, and I felt good and safe. I did not understand why. The gamblers, prostitutes and Chinese opium smokers did not excite me, but they aroused in me a feeling of flight. I knew that I must run away from them, but it was not that I was afraid of contamination. I wanted to see other aspects of American life, for surely these destitute and vicious people were merely a small part of it. Where would I begin this pilgrimage, this search for a door into America?

I went outside and walked around looking into the faces of my countrymen, wondering if I would see someone I had known in the Philippines. I came to a building which brightly dressed white women were entering, lifting their diaphanous gowns as they climbed the stairs. I looked up and saw the huge sign:

MANILA DANCE HALL

The orchestra upstairs was playing; Filipinos were entering. I put my hands in my pockets and followed them, beginning to feel lonely for the sound of home.

The dance hall was crowded with Filipino cannery workers and domestic servants. But the girls were very few, and the Filipinos fought over them. When a boy liked a girl he bought a roll of tickets from the hawker on the floor and kept dancing with her. But the other

boys who also liked the same girl shouted at him to stop, cursing him in the dialects and sometimes throwing rolled wet papers at him. At the bar the glasses were tinkling, the bottles popping loudly, and the girls in the back room were smoking marijuana. It was almost impossible to breathe.

Then I saw Marcelo's familiar back. He was dancing with a tall blonde in a green dress, a girl so tall that Marcelo looked like a dwarf climbing a tree. But the girl was pretty and her body was nicely curved and graceful, and she had a way of swaying that arouses confused sensations in me. It was evident that many of the boys wanted to dance with her; they were shouting maliciously at Marcelo. The way the blonde waved to them made me think that she knew most of them. They were nearly all oldtimers and strangers to Marcelo. They were probably gamblers and pimps, because they had fat rolls of money and expensive clothing.

Source: Bulosan, Carlos. *America Is in the Heart*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1946, 1973, pp. 104–105.

34. Excerpt from the Luce-Celler Act (1946)

Also known as the Filipino and Indian Naturalization Act, this legislation granted naturalization right to immigrants from the Philippines and India. It also ended the exclusion of Asian Indians.

An Act to authorize the admission into the United States of persons of races indigenous to India, and persons of races indigenous to the Philippine Islands, to make them racially eligible for naturalization, and for other purposes.

That section 303 of the Nationality of 1940 . . . be amended to read as follows:

“Sec. 303 (a) The right to become a naturalized citizen under the provisions of this Act shall extend only to—

“(1) white persons, persons of African nativity or descent, and persons who are descendants of races indigenous to the continents of North America or adjacent islands and Filipino persons or persons of Filipino descent. . . .”

“(3) Chinese persons and persons of Chinese descent, and persons of races indigenous to India. . . .”

Sec. 4. With the exception of those covered by subsections (b), (d), (e), and (f) of section 4, Immigration Act of 1924 . . . all persons of races indigenous to India entering the United States annually as immigrants shall be allocated to the quota for India computed under the provisions of section 11 of the said Act. A preference up to 75 per centum of the quota shall be given to Indians and other aliens racially eligible to naturalization, born and resident in India or its dependencies.

Source: 60 Stat. 416, Act of July 2, 1946.

See also Luce-Celler Act of 1946

35. Excerpt from Alien Fiancées or Fiancés Act (1946)

Enacted after the War Brides Act, this law allowed American veterans of World War II to bring in their fiancée or fiancé to the United States. The temporary visa could be adjusted after their marriage.

An Act To facilitate the admission into the United States of the alien fiancées or fiancés of members of the armed forces of the United States.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That on or before July 1, 1947, the alien fiancée or fiancé of a citizen of the United States who is serving in, or who has been honorably discharged from, the armed forces of the United States during World War II may be admitted into the United States with a passport visa as a nonimmigrant temporary visitor for a period of three months. . . .

Source: 60 Stat. 339, Act of June 29, 1946.

See also War Brides Act (1945)

36. Chinese Wives of American Citizens Act (1946)

This amendment, passed after the War Brides Act, removed previous restrictions on the admission of Chinese wives of American citizens. The 1930 amendment

provided admission for only wives married before 1924. That restriction was amended in the new law, granting non-quota status to Chinese wives of American citizens.

An Act to place Chinese wives of American citizens on a nonquota basis.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That subsection (c) of section 13 of the Immigration Act of 1924, approved May 26, 1924, as amended by the Act of June 13, 1930 (43 Stat. 162; 46 Stat. 581; 8 U.S.C. 213 (c)), is amended by adding the word “or” at the end of clause (2), substituting a period for the comma at the end of clause (3), and striking out the rest of the subsection, which reads, “or (4) is the Chinese wife of an American citizen who was married prior to the approval of the Immigration Act of 1924, approved May 26, 1924”.

SEC. 2. The first sentence of section 2 of the Act entitled “An Act to repeal the Chinese Exclusion Acts, to establish quotas, and for other purposes”, approved December 17, 1943 (57 Stat. 600; 8 U.S.C. 212 (a)), is amended to read as follows: “With the exception of Chinese alien wives of American citizens and those Chinese aliens coming under subsections (b), (d), (e), and (f) of section 4, Immigration Act of 1924 (43 Stat. 155; 44 Stat. 812; 45 Stat. 1009; 46 Stat. 854; 47 Stat. 656; 8 U.S.C. 204), all Chinese persons entering the United States annually as immigrants shall be allocated to the quota for the Chinese computed under the provisions of section 11 of the said Act.”

Source: 60 Stat. 975, Act of August 9, 1946.

See also War Brides Act (1945)

37. Excerpt from Japanese Evacuation Claims (1948)

Enacted after the Japanese internment after World War II, this legislation authorized the settlement of property loss claims by people of Japanese descent who were removed from the Pacific Coast area during World War II. Congress eventually appropriated \$38 million to settle 23,000 claims.

An Act To authorize the Attorney General to adjudicate certain claims resulting from evacuation of certain persons of Japanese ancestry under military orders.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Attorney General shall have jurisdiction to determine according to law any claim by a person of Japanese ancestry against the United States arising on or after December 17, 1941, when such claim is not compensated for by insurance or otherwise, for damage to or loss of real or personal property (including without limitation as to amount damage to or loss of personal property bailed to or in the custody of the Government or any agent thereof), that is a reasonable and natural consequence of the evacuation or exclusion of such person by the appropriate military commander from a military area in Arizona, California, Oregon, or Washington; or from the Territory of Alaska, or the Territory of Hawaii, under authority of Executive Order Numbered 9066, dated February 19, 1942 (3 CFR, Cum. Supp., 1092), section 67 of the Act of April 20, 1900 (48 U.S.C. 532), or Executive Order Numbered 9489, dated October 18, 1944 (3 CFR, 1944 Supp., 45). As used herein “evacuation” shall include voluntary departure from a military area prior to but in anticipation of an order of exclusion therefrom.

LIMITATIONS; CLAIMS NOT TO BE CONSIDERED

Sec. 2. (a) The Attorney General shall receive claims for a period of eighteen months from the date of enactment of this Act. All claims not presented within that time shall be forever barred.

Source: Public Law 886, 62 Stat. 1231, Act of July 2, 1948

38. Excerpt from McCarran-Walter Act (1952)

Officially the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, the McCarran-Walter Act abolished the Asiatic exclusion. It established a ceiling of 2,000 immigration quota annually from the “Asia Pacific Triangle.” The

law retained the national origins quota system, which allotted annual quotas to countries outside the Western Hemisphere equal to one-sixth of 1 percent of the persons of that national origin in the United States in 1920. New nations were to be allotted annual quotas of 100. The nonquota status would be applied to all persons born in the Western Hemisphere, to the spouses and minor unmarried children of U.S. citizens; to ministers, former foreign employees of the U.S. government; and former citizens. The statutory Anti-Asian discriminatory provisions were removed in this immigration and nationality law, as each Asian nation was granted a token quota. Racially discriminatory principles that denied naturalization to Asians were also removed.

To revise the laws relating to immigration, naturalization, and nationality; and for other purposes.

Sec. 201. (a) The annual quota of any quota area shall be one-sixth of 1 per centum of the number of inhabitants in the continental United States in 1920, which number, except for the purpose of computing quotas for quota areas within the Asia-Pacific triangle, shall be the same number heretofore determined under the provisions of section 11 of the Immigration Act of 1924, attributable by national origin to such quota area: Provided, That the quota existing for Chinese persons prior to the date of enactment of this Act shall be continued, and, except as otherwise provided in section 202 (e), the minimum quota for any quota area shall be one hundred.

Sec. 202. (a) Each independent country, self-governing dominion, mandated territory, and territory under the international trusteeship system of the United Nations, other than the United States and its outlying possessions and the countries specified in section 101(a)(27)(C), shall be treated as a separate quota area such approved by the Secretary of State. . . .

(5) notwithstanding the provisions of paragraphs (2), (3), and (4) of this subsection, any alien who is attributable by as much as one-half of this ancestry to a people or peoples indigenous to the Asia-Pacific triangle defined in subsection (b) of this section, unless such alien is entitled to a nonquota immigrant status . . . shall be chargeable to a quota as specified in subsection (b). . . .

(b) With reference to determination of the quota to which shall be chargeable an immigrant who is attributable by as much as one-half of his ancestry to a people or peoples indigenous to the Asia-Pacific triangle comprising all quota areas and all colonies and other dependent areas situate wholly east of the meridian sixty degrees east of Greenwich, wholly west of the meridian one hundred and sixty-five degrees west, and wholly north of the parallel twenty-five degrees south latitude—

(1) there is hereby established, in addition to quotas for separate quota areas comprising independent countries, self-governing dominions, and territories under the international trusteeship system of the United Nations situate wholly within said Asia-Pacific triangle, an Asian-Pacific quota of one hundred annually, which quota shall be subject to the provisions of subsection (e). . . .

(6) such immigrant born outside the Asia-Pacific triangle who is attributable by as much as one-half of his ancestry to peoples indigenous to two or more separate quota areas situate wholly within the Asia-Pacific triangle, or to a quota area or areas and one or more colonies and other dependent areas situate wholly therein, shall be chargeable to the Asia-Pacific quota. . . .

(e) After the determination of quotas has been made as provided in section 201, revision of the quotas shall be made by the Secretary of State, Secretary of Commerce, and the Attorney General, jointly, whenever necessary, to provide for any change of boundaries resulting in transfer of territory from one sovereignty to another, a change of administrative arrangements of a colony or other dependent areas, or any other political change, requiring a change in the list of quota areas or of the territorial limits thereof, but any increase in the number of minimum quota areas above twenty within the Asia-Pacific triangle shall result in a proportionate decrease in each minimum quota of such area in order that the sum total of all minimum quotas within the Asia-Pacific triangle shall not exceed two thousand. . . .

Source: Public Law 414, 66 Stat. 163, Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952.

39. Excerpt from the Drumright Report (1955)

Officially the Report of the Problem of Fraud at Hong Kong, this document was drafted by Everett F. Drumwright, the U.S. consul general in Hong Kong. In the report the consul imagined “a fantastic system of passport and visa fraud,” through which the Chinese Communists infiltrated agents into the United States. Well circulated during the McCarthy era, this report provided some of the basic languages for the INS in an effort to investigate document fraud and destroy the Chinese immigration networks developed during the exclusion.

A criminal conspiracy to evade the laws of the United States has developed into so well organized a system at Hong Kong that:

1. Almost any Chinese with the proper resources may enter the United States even if ineligible under our immigration laws,
2. Adequate security persecutions can hardly be taken to exclude Chinese Communist agents or criminal elements,
3. An alien Chinese can purchase American citizenship for (US) \$3,000. Terms \$50 down, balance after arrival in the U.S., and
4. Thousands of dollars in American pensions have been collected annually by persons not entitled to them.

All of these problems are in turn based upon a single problem: identity.

The major consular problem facing the American Consulate General at Hong Kong has been the ease and frequency with which identities are bought and sold in the area. Most of the identities, moreover, represent “persons” who never actually existed.

How and why would such a situation come into existence?

An answer to this question requires a short look at the history of Chinese immigration to the United States.

This immigration began during the 1850’s when Chinese coolies were first imported to work in the gold mines of California and on the construction of the transcontinental railroads. When the proportions of this immigration became alarming, the inhabitants of the West began to fear that their part of the U.S. would become a predominantly Chinese area. Agitation led to the first of the Exclusion Acts of 1882. The Chinese greatly resented the Exclusion Acts and at first destroyed their effect by crossing the American borders illegally. If later questioned about how they entered the United States, these persons would claim that they had been born there.

If all the Chinese claiming birth in San Francisco prior to the earthquake and fire (which destroyed birth records) had in fact been born there, every Chinese female then in the United States (reliable census figures) would necessarily have given birth to more than 800 children. The government, however, being unable to prove on an individual basis that the persons concerned had not been born in the U.S., eventually had to concede their citizenship.

When border control was tightened, a system for the creation of derivative citizenship claims was substituted. Every Chinese whose American citizenship had been conceded claimed sons after each subsequent visit to China. These non-existent sons were “paper citizens” and their identity could later be sold to still other Chinese desiring to enter the United States. The “immigration families” created by these claims were characterized by large numbers of “sons” and few daughters, by a negligible rate of infant mortality, and by immediate application for entry to the United States as soon as the “son” was old enough to be a productive laborer.

This system has not yet been destroyed . . . When blood testing of the families of Chinese applicants for American passports was begun at Hong Kong in 1951, it could be estimated scientifically from the results that about 80 percent of the applicants then appearing were not related to their alleged parents as claimed.

When the Exclusion Acts were repealed in 1943, and when the wives and minor alien children of American-Chinese later became eligible for

immigration to the U.S. regardless of quota limitations, many of these identities also went on sale between the 1940 census and the 1950 census the Chinese population of the United States increased by over 50 percent, by far its largest increase since the decade just prior to the passage of the Exclusion Acts.

A brisk trade in fraudulent passport and visa identities continues in Hong Kong involving over one hundred shops acting as “citizenship brokers”. These brokerage firms act much as a real estate broker might in the U.S. taking listings of identities that have been created and matching them with persons who wish to gain entry to the U.S. These shops and their clients in Hong Kong and the U.S. have no respect for American immigration, tax, Selective Service, tariff, narcotics, or other laws. For a period of almost three generations these persons have made a profitable business out of buying and selling rights that exist under American law and by flouting all concomitant responsibilities.

The American Consulate General at Hong Kong has done everything in its power to combat this system of fraud. During the last several years a total of 84 percent of all passport cases fully investigated at Hong Kong were proven fraudulent on one ground or another in order to control the system whereby these identities are so commonly assumed the Consulate General has required that applicants for entry into the United States and for American pensions and allotments present some objective evidence that they are the persons they support [sic] to be. It has been the experience of the Consulate General that bona fide applicants seldom have serious trouble in establishing their identities.

The continuance of this system of illegal immigration under the present political situation possesses a serious problem of national security. . .

Source: Everett F. Drumright, “Report on the Problem of Fraud.” Foreign Service Dispatch 931, 1–3. National Archives, College Park, Md., files of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Central Office, 1949–1958, “Document Fraud,” file 56364/51.6. December 9, 1955.

See also Chinese Confession Program

40. Protest Letter Against Grand Jury Investigation of Alleged Illegal Entry of Chinese (1956)

During the grand jury investigation of document fraud in early 1950s, it soon became clear the entire Chinese American community was the target. In the following letter to Warren Magnuson, the Senate who introduced the bill to repeal Chinese exclusion in 1943, the President of the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association in New York registered the protest against INS’s discrimination actions.

9 March 1956

Hon. Warren G. Magnuson
U.S. Senate
Washington, D.C.

Hon Warren G. Magnuson:

The New York Chinese community is deeply concerned over reports that twenty-six Chinese-American civic organizations in San Francisco, including the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association there, have been summarily summoned for hearing before a special Federal Grand Jury investigating alleged illegal entry of Chinese nationals into the United States.

Blanket summoning of law-abiding civic organizations is considered both unnecessary and unjust since such organizations are not even remotely related to the purpose of the investigation. Law-abiding Chinese here and in other cities are disturbed over short-noticed, discriminatory and sweeping summonses which are interrupting normal commerce, community well-being and lawful activities of individuals.

We shall greatly appreciate your kind assistance in upholding justice and preventing discrimination. The Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association has no intention of obstructing proper law enforcement and investigation and will wholeheartedly cooperate with proper authorities in safeguarding the welfare of law-abiding members of our community. We are, however,

opposed to ill-advised, blanket action which is disturbing social order of our community.

Sincerely yours,
Shing-tai Liang
President

Source: Shing-tai Liang, President of the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (New York) to Warren G. Magnuson, U.S. Senate, March 9, 1956. National Archives, College Park, Md., files of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Central Office, 1949–1958, “Document Fraud,” file 56364/51.6.

41. Excerpt of Chinese Confession Program of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (1960)

Launched in 1956 by the Department of Justice through the Immigration and Naturalization Service, the so-called Chinese Confession Program was established to weed out Chinese Americans who were sympathetic to the People’s Republic of Chinese and terminate the immigration networks developed during the exclusion era. Individual Chinese Americans were pushed to confess. Because the program was not legislated, the INS was able to decide arbitrarily who it would deport.

Purpose of Program

When in early 1957 the Immigration and Naturalization Service announced the institution of the so-called “Chinese confession program”, it invited Chinese of the above described categories to appear before the Service to purge themselves of the misstatements made at the time of their entry and to apply for the benefit of the administrative remedy given them under Section 244(a)(1).

The Purpose of the program was twofold. The humanitarian aspect was to free these otherwise law-abiding persons from the constant pressure of living with a lie. At the time, the Service wanted to terminate permanently the machinery which facilitated a steady influx of illegal aliens. To achieve this, it is, of course, necessary not only to have the individual appear before the Service and disclose his true identity, origin and

nationality, but to have him willing to divulge a complete background story of his entry, including the names of persons who facilitated it. Many of these persons could benefit from the program, although, of course, others would become involved by having their names revealed.

While Section 244(a)(1) expired in December 1957, the Chinese confession program is continuing. Presently, lawful entry may be established in accordance with Section 249 of the Immigration and Nationality Act, as amended by P.L.85-616. Thus Chinese who entered the United States illegally prior to June 28, 1940 and who are otherwise eligible will be permitted to benefit from that provision, even though previous documentation had been obtained by fraud. It should be understood that most applicants have committed perjury or some fraud in connection with immigration and passport procedure and that forgiveness for this criminal offense, while not promised by the Service, is a prerequisite for applicability of the discretionary relief.

Families of Chinese Confession Cases: It is evident that some of the Chinese who may benefit from the program, brought to the United States their wives and their children and in many cases small children not their own, but of tender years. Where any of these persons arrived with a visa, administrative procedures are available to help them adjust. Even in those cases where the child arrived as a “paper citizen” ultimate lawful status may be acquired following the adjustment and naturalization of either of their parents. In the interim a compassionate policy is followed and where deportation would create family separation and great hardship to innocent persons, the case will not be pursued.

Unadjustable Cases: A number of cases will remain which cannot be adjusted through any administrative means at the present time. Among them are “paper citizens” who first entered the United States subsequent to June 28, 1940 and who have no close family ties in the United States; “paper citizens” who are excludable from the United States under Section 212(a) of the Immigration and Nationality Act insofar as it relates to criminals, procurers and other immoral persons, subversives, violators of the narcotic laws or smugglers of aliens, unless by reason of their

reformation and relationship to United States citizens or lawful resident aliens, they are eligible for relief under Section 5 of P.L. 85-316.

The aforementioned provisions of law are remedial and Chinese persons illegally in the United States are encouraged to apply for the benefits thereof. Every consideration and assistance will be accorded them, consistent with the spirit of the law. This applies also to individuals, coming within the scope of the "confession program", who left the United States after 1940. Such absences, unless under an order of deportation, are not fatal to creating a record of lawful entry, provided the applicants can clearly establish that they did not abandon their residence in the United States.

The Immigration and Naturalization Service Reports

In his year-end report for 1959 to Attorney General William P. Rogers, J.M. Swing, Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization, described the procedure utilized in the program as follows:

"Through publicity disseminated in proper quarters, Chinese persons illegally in the United States for many years who had previously feared deportation or prosecution came forward and told the truth. This cut off at the roots 'paper' family trees bearing possible untold numbers of future generations of fraudulent and fictitious United States citizens. The most beneficial aspect of the entire program is the closing of the 'slots' by the Service."

Conclusion

According to Commissioner Swing, 2,433 Chinese have admitted being in the United States unlawfully, as a result of the "Confession Program" resulting in the closing of 2,077 "slots". Commissioner Swing stated that the program will continue to be pressed with full force and vigor, so that this means of illegal entry into the United States will be closed off once and for all.

Source: "Chinese Confession Program of the Immigration and Naturalization Service," *Interpreter Releases*, American Council for Nationalities Service, Vol. 37, No. 2, January 15, 1960, 6–10. National Archives, College Park.

42. Excerpt from the Immigration Act (1965)

This law abolished the racially biased national origins quota system that had structured American immigration policy since 1924, bringing profound changes to the pattern of Asian immigration. The law created a preference system that favored family unification. Numerical restrictions on visas were set at 170,000 per year, with a maximum of 20,000 per country. Immediate family members of U.S. citizens were granted nonquota admission privileges.

An Act To amend the Immigration and Nationality Act, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 201 of the Immigration and Nationality Act (66 Stat. 175; 8 U.S.C. 1151) be amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 201. (a) Exclusive of special immigrants defined in section 101(a)(27), and of the immediate relatives of United States citizens specified in subsection (b) of this section, the number of aliens who may be issued immigrant visas or who may otherwise acquire the status of an alien lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence, or who may, pursuant to section 203(a)(7) enter conditionally, (i) shall not in any of the first three quarters of any fiscal year exceed a total of 45,000 and (ii) shall not in any fiscal year exceed a total of 170,000.

"(b) The 'immediate relatives' referred to in subsection (a) of this section shall mean the children, spouses, and parents of a citizen of the United States: *Provided*, That in the case of parents, such citizen must be at least twenty-one years of age. The immediate relatives specified in this subsection who are otherwise qualified for admission as immigrants shall be admitted as such, without regard to the numerical limitations in this Act.

"(c) During the period from July 1, 1965, through June 30, 1968, the annual quota of any quota area shall be the same as that which existed for that area on June 30, 1965. The Secretary of State shall, not later than on the sixtieth day immediately following date

of enactment of this subsection and again on or before September 1, 1966, and September 1, 1967, determine and proclaim the amount of quota numbers which remain unused at the end of the fiscal year ending on June 30, 1965, June 30, 1966, and June 30, 1967, respectively, and are available for distribution pursuant to subsection (d) of this section.

“(d) Quota numbers not issued or otherwise used during the previous fiscal year, as determined in accordance with subsection (c) hereof, shall be transferred to an immigration pool. Allocation of numbers from the pool and from national quotas shall not together exceed in any fiscal year the numerical limitations in subsection (a) of this section. The immigration pool shall be made available to immigrants otherwise admissible under the provisions of this Act who are unable to obtain prompt issuance of a preference visa due to oversubscription of their quotas, or subquotas as determined by the Secretary of State. Visas and conditional entries shall be allocated from the immigration pool within the percentage limitations and in the order of priority specified in section 203 without regard to the quota to which the alien is chargeable.

“(e) The immigration pool and the quotas of quota areas shall terminate June 30, 1968. Thereafter immigrants admissible under the provisions of this Act who are subject to the numerical limitations of subsection (a) of this section shall be admitted in accordance with the percentage limitations and in the order of priority specified in section 203.”

SEC. 2. Section 202 of the Immigration and Nationality Act (66 Stat. 175; 8 U.S.C. 1152) is amended to read as follows:

“(a) No person shall receive any preference or priority or be discriminated against in the issuance of an immigrant visa because of his race, sex, nationality, place of birth, or place of residence, except as specifically provided in section 101(a)(27), section 201(b), and section 203: *Provided*, That the total number of immigrant visas and the number of conditional entries made available to natives of any single foreign state under paragraphs (1) through (8) of section 203(a) shall not exceed 20,000 in any fiscal year: *Provided further*, That the foregoing proviso shall not operate to reduce the number of immigrants who may be

admitted under the quota of any quota area before June 30, 1968.

“(b) Each independent country, self-governing dominion, mandated territory, and territory under the international trusteeship system of the United Nations, other than the United States and its outlying possessions shall be treated as a separate foreign state for the purposes of the numerical limitation set forth in the proviso to subsection (a) of this section when approved by the Secretary of State. All other inhabited lands shall be attributed to a foreign state specified by the Secretary of State. For the purposes of this Act of the foreign state to which an immigrant is chargeable shall be determined by birth within such foreign state except that (1) an alien child, when accompanied by his alien parent or parents, may be charged to the same foreign state as the accompanying parent or of either accompanying parent if such parent has received or would be qualified for an immigrant visa, if necessary to prevent the separation of the child from the accompanying parent or parents, and if the foreign state to which such parent has been or would be chargeable has not exceeded the numerical limitation set forth in the proviso to subsection (a) of this section for that fiscal year; (2) if an alien is chargeable to a different foreign state from that of his accompanying spouse, the foreign state to which such alien is chargeable may, if necessary to prevent the separation of husband and wife, be determined by the foreign state of the accompanying spouse, if such spouse has received or would be qualified for an immigrant visa and if the foreign state to which such spouse has been or would be chargeable has not exceeded the numerical limitation set forth in the proviso to subsection (a) of this section for that fiscal year; (3) an alien born in the United States shall be considered as having been born in the country of which he is a citizen or subject, or if he is not a citizen or subject of any country then in the last foreign country in which he had his residence as determined by the consular officer; (4) an alien born within any foreign state in which neither of his parents was born and in which neither of his parents had a residence at the time of such alien’s birth may be charged to the foreign state of either parent.

“(c) Any immigrant born in a colony or other component or dependent area of a foreign state unless a special immigrant as provided in section 101(a)(27) or an immediate relative of a United States citizen as specified in section 201(b), shall be chargeable, for the purpose of limitation set forth in section 202(a), to the foreign state, except that the number of persons born in any such colony or other component or dependent area overseas from the foreign state chargeable to the foreign state in any one fiscal year shall not exceed 1 per centum of the maximum number of immigrant visas available to such foreign state.

“(d) In the case of any change in the territorial limits of foreign states, the Secretary of State shall, upon recognition of such change, issue appropriate instructions to all diplomatic and consular offices.”

SEC. 3. Section 203 of the immigration and Nationality Act (66 Stat. 175; 8 U.S.C. 1153) is amended to read as follows:

“SEC. 203. (a) Aliens who are subject to the numerical limitations specified in section 201(a) shall be allotted visas or their conditional entry authorized, as the case may be as follows:

“(1) Visas shall be first made available, in a number not to exceed 20 per centum of the number specified in section 201(a)(ii), to qualified immigrants who are the unmarried sons and daughters of citizens of the United States.

“(2) Visas shall next be made available, in a number not to exceed 20 per centum of the number specified in section 201(a)(ii), plus any visas not required for the classes specified in paragraph (1), to qualified immigrants who are the spouses, unmarried sons or unmarried daughters of an alien lawfully admitted for permanent residence.

“(3) Visas shall next be made available, in a number not to exceed 10 per centum of the number specified in section 201(a)(ii), to qualified immigrants who are members of the professions, or who because of their exceptional ability in the sciences or the arts will substantially benefit prospectively the national economy, cultural interests, or welfare of the United States.

“(4) Visas shall next be made available, in a number not to exceed 10 per centum of the number specified in section 201(a)(ii), plus any visas not required

for the classes specified in paragraphs (1) through (3), to qualified immigrants who are the married sons or the married daughters of citizens of the United States.

“(5) Visas shall next be made available, in a number not to exceed 24 per centum of the number specified in section 201(a)(ii), plus any visas not required for the classes specified in paragraphs (1) through (4), to qualified immigrants who are the brothers or sisters of citizens of the United States.

“(6) Visas shall next be made available, in a number not to exceed 10 per centum of the number specified in section 201(a)(ii), to qualified immigrants who are capable of performing specified skilled or unskilled labor, not of a temporary or seasonal nature, for which a shortage of employable and willing persons exists in the United States.

“(7) Conditional entries shall next be made in available by the Attorney General, pursuant to such regulations as he may prescribe and in a number not to exceed 6 per centum of the number specified in section 201(a)(II), to aliens who satisfy an Immigration and Naturalization Service officer at an examination in any non-Communist or non-Communist-dominated country, (A) that (i) because of persecution or fear of persecution on account of race, religion, or political opinion they have fled (I) from any Communist or Communist-dominated country or area, or (II) from any country within the general area of the Middle East, and (ii) are unable or unwilling to return to such country or area on account of race, religion, or political opinion, and (iii) are not nationals of the countries or areas in which their application for conditional entry is made; or (B) that they are persons uprooted by catastrophic natural calamity as defined by the President who are unable to return to their usual place of abode. For the purpose of the foregoing the term ‘general area of the Middle East’ means the area between and including (1) Libya on the west, (2) Turkey on the north, (3) Pakistan on the east, and (4) Saudi Arabia and Ethiopia on the south: *Provided*, That immigrant visas in a number not exceeding one-half the number specified in this paragraph may be made available, in lieu of conditional entries of a like number, to such aliens who have been continuously physically present in the United States for a period of at least two years prior to application for adjustment of status.

“(8) Visas authorized in any fiscal year, less those required for issuance to the classes specified in paragraph (1) through (6) and less the number of conditional entries and visas made available pursuant to paragraph (7), shall be made available to other qualified immigrants strictly in the chronological order in which they qualify. Waiting lists of applications shall be maintained in accordance with regulations prescribed by the Secretary of State. No immigrant visa shall be issued to a nonpreference immigrant under this paragraph, or to an immigrant with a preference under paragraph (3) or (6) of this subsection, until the consular officer is in receipt of a determination made by the Secretary of Labor pursuant to the provision of section 212(a)(14)

Source: 79 Stat. 911, Act of October 3, 1965.

43. Accounts by Yuri Kochiyama (1965)

In 1960, Japanese American Yuri Kochiyama joined the Organization of Afro-American Unity in Harlem, New York, and became acquainted with Malcolm X. In this interview, she talked about the lessons she learned from Malcolm X over the years, and recalled the moment when he was assassinated in 1965.

One of the greatest lessons Malcolm taught people was to learn their own history. Know your history. Know the world. Be proud of who you are. He would say, “If you don’t know who you are and where you came from, how can you know what direction to go in the future?” Through the process of discovering our own histories, many peoples—Africans, Asians, Puerto Ricans living in the United States—learned to throw off our internalized racism and develop pride in our heritage. But don’t stop there. Learn about the histories of other people. And learn about the history of social movements because this is how you learn to create social change.

Now, as I recall that date, February twenty-first, 1965, I was sitting in the same booth as Herman Ferguson, which was, I think about the seventh or eighth row. I was with my sixteen-year-old son, Billy. I was taking notes of Brother Benjamin’s [Karim’s] message. He had just finish saying, just before introducing him, “Malcolm is a kind man who would die for you.” The distraction, a man yelling, “Get your hand out of

my pocket,” took place across from where we were sitting. All eyes were turned to the distraction. Malcolm tried to calm the people, saying, “Cool it, brothers, cool it.” Then shots rang out from the front. Malcolm fell straight backwards, and it was right then, all hell broke loose. Chairs crashing to the floor. People hitting the floor. People chasing the killers. And few more gunshots, and something like a smoke bomb was thrown. It was utter chaos.

Source: Fujino, Diane. *Heartbeat of Struggle: The Revolutionary Life of Yuri Kochiyama*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005, pp. 158–159.

44. Excerpt from Refugee Act of 1980

Responding to the refugee crisis that began in the late 1970s, this is the first comprehensive legislative measure that specifically dealt with refugee issues. The law adopted the U.N. definition of “refugees” and provided systematic procedure for the admission and settlement of the refugees. The law also established an annual quota for refugees and made Congress responsible for refugee policy.

An Act

To amend the Immigration and Nationality Act to revise the procedures for the admission of refugees, to amend the Migration and Refugee Assistance Act of 1962 to establish a more uniform basis for the provision of assistance to refugees, and for other purposes.

TITLE I—PURPOSE

SEC. 101. (a) The Congress declares that it is the historic policy of the United States to respond to the urgent needs of persons subject to persecution in their homelands, including, where appropriate, humanitarian assistance for their care and maintenance in asylum areas, efforts to promote opportunities for resettlement or voluntary repatriation, aid for necessary transportation and processing, admission to this country of refugees of special humanitarian concern to the United States, and transitional assistance to refugees in the United States. The Congress further declares that it is the policy of the United States to encourage all nations to provide assistance and resettlement opportunities to refugees to the fullest extent possible.

(b) The objectives of this Act are to provide a permanent and systematic procedure for the admission to this country of refugees of special humanitarian concern to the United States, and to provide comprehensive and uniform provisions for the effective resettlement and absorption of those refugees who are admitted.

TITLE II—ADMISSION OF REFUGEES

SEC. 201. (a) Section 101(a) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1101(a)) is amended by adding after paragraph (41) the following new paragraph:

“(42) The term ‘refugee’ means (A) any person who is outside any country of such person’s nationality or, in the case of a person having no nationality, is outside any country in which such person last habitually resided, and who is unable or unwilling to return to, and is unable or unwilling to avail himself or herself of the protection of, that country because of persecution or a well-founded fear of persecution on account of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion, or (B) in such special circumstances as the President after appropriate consultation (as defined in section 207(e) of this Act) may specify, any person who is within the country of such person’s nationality or, in the case of a person having no nationality, within the country in which such person is habitually residing, and who is persecuted or who has a well-founded fear of persecution on account of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion. The term ‘refugee’ does not include any person who ordered, incited, assisted, or otherwise participated in the persecution of any person on account of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion.”

(b) Chapter 1 of title II of such Act is amended by adding after section 206 (8 U.S.C. 1156) the following new sections:

“ANNUAL ADMISSION OF REFUGEES AND ADMISSION OF EMERGENCY SITUATION REFUGEES”

“SEC. 207. (a)(1) Except as provided in subsection (b), the number of refugees who may be admitted under this section in fiscal year 1980, 1981, or 1982,

may not exceed fifty thousand unless the President determines, before the beginning of the fiscal year and after appropriate consultation (as defined in subsection (e)), that admission of a specific number of refugees in excess of such number is justified by humanitarian concerns or is otherwise in the national interest.

“(2) Except as provided in subsection (b), the number of refugees who may be admitted under this section in any fiscal year after fiscal year 1982 shall be such number as the President determines, before the beginning of the fiscal year and after appropriate consultation, is justified by humanitarian concerns or is otherwise in the national interest.

“(3) Admissions under this subsection shall be allocated among refugees of special humanitarian concern to the United States in accordance with a determination made by the President after appropriate consultation.

“(b) If the President determines, after appropriate consultation, that (1) an unforeseen emergency refugee situation exists, (2) the admission of certain refugees in response to the emergency refugee situation is justified by grave humanitarian concerns or is otherwise in the national interest, and (3) the admission to the United States of these refugees cannot be accomplished under subsection (a), the President may fix a number of refugees to be admitted to the United States during the succeeding period (not to exceed twelve months) in response to the emergency refugee situation and such admissions shall be allocated among refugees of special humanitarian concern to the United States in accordance with a determination made by the President after the appropriate consultation provided under this subsection.

“(c)(1) Subject to the numerical limitations established pursuant to subsections (a) and (b), the Attorney General may, in the Attorney General’s discretion and pursuant to such regulations as the Attorney General may prescribe, admit any refugee who is not firmly resettled in any foreign country, is determined to be of special humanitarian concern to the United States, and is admissible (except as otherwise provided under paragraph (3)) as an immigrant under this Act.

“(2) A spouse or child (as defined in section 101 (b)(1)(A), (B), (C), (D), or (E)) of any refugee who

qualifies for admission under paragraph (1) shall, if not otherwise entitled to admission under paragraph (1) and if not a person described in the second sentence of section 101(a)(42), be entitled to the same admission status as such refugee if accompanying, or following to join, such refugee and if the spouse or child is admissible (except as otherwise provided under paragraph (3)) as an immigrant under this Act. Upon the spouse's or child's admission to the United States, such admission shall be charged against the numerical limitation established in accordance with the appropriate subsection under which the refugee's admission is charged.

“ASYLUM PROCEDURE

“SEC. 208. (a) The Attorney General shall establish a procedure for an alien physically present in the United States or at a land border or port of entry, irrespective of such alien's status, to apply for asylum, and the alien may be granted asylum in the discretion of the Attorney General if the Attorney General determines that such alien is a refugee within the meaning of section 101(a)(42)(A).

“(b) Asylum granted under the subsection (a) may be terminated if the Attorney General, pursuant to such regulation as the Attorney General may prescribe, determines that the alien is no longer a refugee within the meaning of section 101(a)(42)(A) owing to a change in circumstances in the alien's country of nationality or, in the case of an alien having no nationality, in the country in which the alien last habitually resided.

“(c) A spouse or child (as defined in section 101(b)(1)(A), (B), (C), (D), or (E)) of an alien who is granted asylum under subsection (a) may, if not otherwise eligible for asylum under such subsection, be granted the same status as the alien if accompanying, or following to join, such alien.

“ADJUSTMENT OF STATUS OF REFUGEES

“SEC. 209. (a)(1) Any alien who has been admitted to the United States under section 207—

“(A) whose admission has not been terminated by the Attorney General pursuant to such regulations as the Attorney General may prescribe,

“(B) who has been physically present in the United States for at least one year, and

“(C) who has not acquired permanent resident status, shall at the end of such year period, return or be returned to the custody of the Service for inspection and examination for admission to the United States as an immigrant in accordance with the provisions of sections 235, 236, and 237.

“(2) Any alien who is found upon inspection and examination by an immigration officer pursuant to paragraph (1) or after a hearing before a special inquiry officer to be admissible (except as otherwise provided under subsection (c)) as an immigrant under this Act at the time of the alien's inspection and examination shall, notwithstanding any numerical limitation specified in this Act, be regarded as lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence as of the date of such alien's arrival into the United States.

“(b) Not more than five thousand of the refugee admissions authorized under section 207(a) in any fiscal year may be made available by the Attorney General. . . .

SEC. 203. (a) Subsection (a) of section 201 of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1151) is amended to read as follows:

“(a) Exclusive of special immigrants defined in section 101(a)(27), immediate relatives specified in subsection (b) of this section, and aliens who are admitted or granted asylum under section 207 or 208, the number of aliens born in any foreign state or dependent area who may be issued immigrant visas or who may otherwise acquire the status of an alien lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence, shall not in any of the first three quarters of any fiscal year exceed a total of seventy-two thousand and shall not in any fiscal year exceed two hundred and seventy thousand.”

“TITLE IV—MISCELLANEOUS AND REFUGEE ASSISTANCE

“CHAPTER 1—MISCELLANEOUS”; and

(2) by adding at the end thereof the following new chapter:

“CHAPTER 2—REFUGEE ASSISTANCE “OFFICE OF REFUGEE RESETTLEMENT

“SEC. 411. (a) There is established, within the Department of Health and Human Services, an office to be known as the Office of Refugee Resettlement

(hereinafter in this chapter referred to as the ‘Office’). The head of the Office shall be a Director (hereinafter in this chapter referred to as the ‘Director’), to be appointed by the Secretary of Health and Human Services (hereinafter in this chapter referred to as the ‘Secretary’).

“(b) The function of the Office and its Director is to fund and administer (directly or through arrangements with other Federal agencies), in consultation with and under the general policy guidance of the United States Coordinator for Refugee Affairs (hereinafter in this chapter referred to as the ‘Coordinator’), programs of the Federal Government under this chapter.

“AUTHORIZATION FOR PROGRAMS FOR
DOMESTIC RESETTLEMENT OF AND
ASSISTANCE TO REFUGEES

“SEC. 412. (a) CONDITIONS AND CONSIDERATIONS.—(1) In providing assistance under this section, the Director shall, to the extent of available appropriations, (A) make available sufficient resources for employment training and placement in order to achieve economic self-sufficiency among refugees as quickly as possible, (B) provide refugees with the opportunity to acquire sufficient English language training to enable them to become effectively resettled as quickly as possible, (C) insure that cash assistance is made available to refugees in such a manner as not to discourage their economic self-sufficiency, in accordance with subsection (e)(2), and (D) insure that women have the same opportunities as men to participate in training and instruction.

“(2) The Director, together with the Coordinator, shall consult regularly with State and local governments and private nonprofit voluntary agencies concerning the sponsorship process and the intended distribution of refugees among the States and localities.

“(3) In the provision of domestic assistance under this section, the Director shall make a periodic assessment, based on refugee population and other relevant factors, of the relative needs of refugees for assistance and services under this chapter and the resources available to meet such needs. In allocating resources, the Director shall avoid duplication of services and provide for maximum coordination between agencies providing related services.

“(4) No grant or contract may be awarded under this section unless an appropriate proposal and application (including a description of the agency’s ability to perform the services specified in the proposal) are submitted to, and approved by, the appropriate administering official. Grants and contracts under this section shall be made to those agencies which the appropriate administering official determines can best perform the services. Payments may be made for activities authorized under this chapter in advance or by way of reimbursement. In carrying out this section, the Director, the Secretary of State, and any such other appropriate administering official are authorized—

“(A) to make loans, and

“(B) to accept and use money, funds, property, and services of any kind made available by gift, devise, bequest, grant, or otherwise for the purpose of carrying out this section.

“(5) Assistance and services funded under this section shall be provided to refugees without regard to race, religion, nationality, sex, or political opinion.

“(10) For purposes of this chapter, the term ‘refugee’ includes any alien described in section 207(c)(2).

“(b) PROGRAM OF INITIAL RESETTLEMENT

“(3) The Secretary is authorized, in consultation with the Coordinator, to make arrangements (including cooperative arrangements with other Federal agencies) for the temporary care of refugees in the United States in emergency circumstances, including the establishment of processing centers, if necessary, without regard to such provisions of law (other than the Renegotiation Act of 1951 and section 414(b) of this chapter) regulating the making, performance, amendment, or modification of contracts and the expenditure of funds of the United States Government as the Secretary may specify.

“(4) The Secretary, in consultation with the Coordinator, shall—

“(A) assure that an adequate number of trained staff are available at the location at which the refugees enter the United States to assure that all necessary medical records are available and in proper order;

“(B) provide for the identification of refugees who have been determined to have medical conditions affecting the public health and requiring treatment;

“(C) assure that State or local health officials at the resettlement destination within the United States of each refugee are promptly notified of the refugee’s arrival and provided with all applicable medical records; and

“(D) provide for such monitoring of refugees identified under subparagraph (B) as will insure that they receive appropriate and timely treatment.

The Secretary shall develop and implement methods of monitoring and assessing the quality of medical screening and related health services provided to refugees awaiting resettlement in the United States.

“(c) PROJECT GRANTS AND CONTRACTS FOR SERVICES FOR REFUGEES.—The Director is authorized to make grants to, and enter into contracts with, public or private nonprofit agencies for projects specifically designed—

“(1) to assist refugees in obtaining the skills which are necessary for economic self-sufficiency, including projects for job training, employment services, day care, professional refresher training, and other recertification services;

“(2) to provide training in English where necessary (regardless of whether the refugees are employed or receiving cash or other assistance); and

“(3) to provide where specific needs have been shown and recognized by the Director, health (including mental health) services, social services, educational and other services.

“(d) ASSISTANCE FOR REFUGEE CHILDREN.—(1) The Director is authorized to make grants, and enter into contracts, for payments for projects to provide special educational services (including English language training) to refugee children in elementary and secondary schools where a demonstrated need has been shown.

“(2)(A) The Director is authorized to provide assistance, in reimbursement to States, and grants to and contracts with public and private nonprofit agencies, for the provision of child welfare services, including foster care maintenance payments and services and health care, furnished to any refugee child (except as provided in subparagraph (B)) during the thirty-six month period beginning with the first month in which such refugee child is in the United States.

“(B)(i) In the case of a refugee child who is unaccompanied by a parent or other close adult relative (as defined by the Director), the services described in subparagraph (A) may be furnished until the month after the child attains eighteen years of age (or such higher age as the State’s child welfare services plan under part B of title IV of the Social Security Act prescribes for the availability of such services to any other child in that State).

“(ii) The Director shall attempt to arrange for the placement under the laws of the States of such unaccompanied refugee children, who have been accepted for admission to the United States, before (or as soon as possible after) their arrival in the United States. During any interim period while such a child is in the United States or in transit to the United States but before the child is so placed, the Director shall assume legal responsibility (including financial responsibility) for the child, if necessary, and is authorized to make necessary decisions to provide for the child’s immediate care.

“(iii) In carrying out the Director’s responsibilities under clause (ii), the Director is authorized to enter into contracts with appropriate public or private nonprofit agencies under such conditions as the Director determines to be appropriate.

“(iv) The Director shall prepare and maintain a list of (I) all such unaccompanied children who have entered the United States after April 1, 1975, (II) the names and last known residences of their parents (if living) at the time of arrival, and (III) the children’s location, status, and progress.

“(e) CASH ASSISTANCE AND MEDICAL ASSISTANCE TO REFUGEES.—(1) The Director is authorized to provide assistance, reimbursement to States, and grants to, and contracts with, public or private nonprofit agencies for up to 100 per centum of the cash assistance and medical assistance provided to any refugee during the thirty-six month period beginning with the first month in which such refugee has entered the United States and for the identifiable and reasonable administrative costs of providing this assistance.

“(2) Cash assistance provided under this subsection to an employable refugee is conditioned, except for good cause shown—

“(A) on the refugee’s registration with an appropriate agency providing employment services described in subsection (c)(1), or, if there is no such agency available, with an appropriate State or local employment service; and

“(B) on the refugee’s acceptance of appropriate offers of employment;

except that subparagraph (A) does not apply during the first sixty days after the date of the refugee’s entry.

“(3) The Director shall develop plans to provide English training and other appropriate services and training to refugees receiving cash assistance.

“(4) If a refugee is eligible for aid or assistance under a State plan approved under part A of title IV or under title XIX of the Social Security Act, or for supplemental security income benefits (including State supplementary payments) under the program established under title XVI of that Act, funds authorized under this subsection shall only be used for the non-Federal share of such aid or assistance, or for such supplementary payments, with respect to cash and medical assistance provided with respect to such refugee under this paragraph.

“(5) The Director is authorized to allow for the provision of medical assistance under paragraph (1) to any refugee, during the one-year period after entry, who does not qualify for assistance under a State plan approved under Title XIX of the Social Security Act on account of any resources or income requirement of such plan, but only if the Director determines that—

“(A) this will (i) encourage economic self-sufficiency, or (ii) avoid a significant burden on State and local governments; and

“(B) the refugee meets such alternative financial resources and income requirements as the Director shall establish.

Approved March 17, 1980

Source: 94 Stat. 118, Act of March 17, 1980.

See also Refugee Act of 1980

45. Amerasian Immigration Act (1982)

This immigration law was enacted to permit admission mixed-race children of American military personnel and women in Southeast Asia, especially Vietnam. The law applied to children not only in Vietnam but also in

Korea, Thailand, the Philippines, and elsewhere. Under the legislation Amerasian children under age 18 could enter the United States if they could prove they were fathered by United States citizens.

An Act—To amend the Immigration and Nationality Act to provide preferential treatment in the admission of certain children of United States citizens.

“(2) The Attorney General may approve a petition for an alien under paragraph (1) if—

“(A) he has reason to believe that the alien (i) was born in Korea, Vietnam, Laos, Kampuchea, or Thailand after 1950 and before the date of the enactment of this subsection, and (ii) was fathered by a United States citizen;

“(B) he has received an acceptable guarantee of legal custody and financial responsibility described in paragraph (4); and

“(C) in the case of an alien under eighteen years of age, (i) the alien’s replacement with a sponsor in the United States has been arranged by an appropriate public, private, or State child welfare agency licensed in the United States and actively involved in the inter-country placement of children and (ii) the alien’s mother or guardian has in writing irrevocably released the alien for emigration.

Source: 96 Stat. 1716, Act of October 22, 1982

46. Excerpt from Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) (1986)

Also known as Simpson-Mazzoli Act, this law granted amnesty to illegal immigrants who entered the United States before January 1, 1982 and who had lived in the United States continuously. The law also granted amnesty to certain seasonal agricultural workers who were in the United States without legal documents. The law, however, criminalized the act of knowingly hiring illegal aliens and established punitive measures for those employing illegal immigrants.

Comprehensive immigration legislation:

- a. Authorized legalization (i.e., temporary and then permanent resident status) for aliens who had resided in the United States in an unlawful

status since January 1, 1982 (entering illegally or as temporary visitors with authorized stay expiring before that date or with the Government's knowledge of their unlawful status before that date) and are not excludable.

- b. Created sanctions prohibiting employers from knowingly hiring, recruiting, or referring for a fee aliens not authorized to work in the United States.
- c. Increased enforcement at U.S. borders.
- d. Created a new classification of seasonal agricultural worker and provisions for the legalization of certain such workers.
- e. Extended the registry date (i.e., the date from which an alien has resided illegally and continuously in the United States and thus qualifies for adjustment to permanent resident status) from June 30, 1948 to January 1, 1972.
- f. Authorized adjustment to permanent resident status for Cubans and Haitians who entered the United States without inspection and had continuously resided in country since January 1, 1982.
- g. Increased the numerical limitation for immigrants admitted under the preference system for dependent areas from 600 to 5,000 beginning in fiscal year 1988.
- h. Created a new special immigrant category for certain retired employees of international organizations and their families and a new nonimmigrant status for parents and children of such immigrants.
- i. Created a nonimmigrant Visa Waiver Pilot program allowing certain aliens to visit the United States without applying for a nonimmigrant visa.
- j. Allocated 5,000 nonpreference visas in each of fiscal years 1987 and 1988 for aliens born in countries from which immigration was adversely affected by the 1965 act.

Source: 100 Stat. 3359, Act of November 6, 1986.

47. Amerasian Homecoming Act (1987)

An appropriations law, part of the Indochinese Refugee Resettlement and Protection Act of 1987, provided

for admission of children born in Vietnam by Vietnamese mothers and American fathers. In addition to these children, as provided in Amerasian Immigration Act passed in 1982, this law allowed entry for these children's immediate relatives, including parents, siblings, etc. The individuals were admitted as nonquota immigrants and receive refugee program benefits.

SEC. 804. FINDINGS AND DECLARATIONS.—The Congress makes the following findings and declarations:

- (a) Thousands of children in the Socialist Republic of Vietnam were fathered by American civilians and military personnel.
- (b) It has been reported that many of these Amerasian children are ineligible for ration cards and often beg in the streets, peddle black market wares, or prostitute themselves.
- (c) The mothers of Amerasian children in Vietnam are not eligible for government jobs or employment in government enterprises and many are estranged from their families and are destitute.
- (d) Amerasian children and their families have undisputed ties to the United States and are of particular humanitarian concern to the United States.
- (e) The United States has a longstanding and very strong commitment to receive the Amerasian children in Vietnam, if they desire to come to the United States.

Source: 101 Stat. 1329, Act of December 22, 1987.

48. Indochinese Refugee Resettlement and Protection Act of 1987

As the influx of Southeast Asians expanded in late 1980s, this law stipulated continued commitment of the U.S. government to the international refugee crisis and provided additional measures to facilitate admission and settlement of the refugees.

SEC. 802. (a) FINDINGS.—It is the sense of the Congress that—

- (1) the continued occupation of Cambodia by Vietnam and the oppressive conditions within Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos have led to a steady flight of persons from those countries, and the likelihood for the safe repatriation of the hundreds of thousands of refugees in the region's camps is negligible for the foreseeable future;
 - (2) the United States has already played a major role in responding to the Indochinese refugee problem by accepting approximately 850,000 Indochinese refugees into the United States since 1975 and has a continued interest in persons who have fled and continue to flee the countries of Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam;
 - (3) Hong Kong, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, the Philippines, and Thailand have been the front line countries bearing tremendous burdens caused by the flight of these persons;
 - (4) all members of the international community bear a share of the responsibility for the deterioration in the refugee first asylum situation in Southeast Asia because of slow and limited procedures, failure to implement effective policies for the region's "long-stayer" populations, failure to monitor adequately refugee protection and screening programs, particularly along the Thai–Cambodian and Thai–Laotian borders, and the instability of the Orderly Departure Program (ODP) from Vietnam which has served as the only safe, legal means of departure from Vietnam for refugees, including Amerasians and long-held "reeducation camp" prisoners;
 - (5) the Government of Thailand should be complimented for allowing the United States to process ration card holders in Khao I Dang and potentially qualified immigrants in Site 2 and in Khao I Dang;
 - (6) given the serious protection problem in Southeast Asian first asylum countries and the need to preserve first asylum in the region, the United States should continue its commitment to an ongoing, generous admission and protection program for Indochinese refugees, including urgently educational programs for refugees along the Thai–Cambodian and Thai–Laotian borders, until the underlying causes of refugee flight are addressed and resolved;
 - (7) the executive branch should seek adequate funding levels to meet United States policy objectives to ensure the well-being of Indochinese refugees in first asylum, and to process 29,500 Indochinese refugees within the overall refugee admissions level of 68,000 as determined by the President; and
 - (8) the Government of Thailand should be complimented for the progress that has been made in implementing an effective antipiracy program.
- (b) **RECOMMENDATIONS.**—The Congress finds and recommends the following with respect to Indochinese refugees:
- (1) The Secretary of State should urge the Government of Thailand to allow full access by highland refugees to the Lao Screening Program, regardless of the method of their arrival or the circumstances of their apprehension, and should intensify its efforts to persuade the Government of Laos to accept the safe return of persons rejected under the Lao Screening Program.
 - (2) Refugee protection and monitoring activities should be expanded along the Thai–Laotian border in an effort to identify and report on incidents of refugees forcibly repatriated into Laos.
 - (3) The Secretary of State should urge the Government of Thailand to address immediately the problems of protection associated with the Khmer along the Thai–Cambodian border. The Government of Thailand, along with appropriate international relief agencies, should develop and implement a plan to provide for greater security and protection for the Khmer at the Thai border.
 - (4) The international community should increase its efforts to assure that Indochinese refugee camps are protected, that refugees have access to a free market at Site 2, and that international observers and relief personnel are present on a 24-hour-a-day basis at Site 2 and any other camp where it is deemed necessary.

- (5) The Secretary of State should make every effort to identify each person at Site 2 who may qualify for admission to the United States as an immigrant and for humanitarian parole.
- (6) The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees should be pressed to upgrade staff presence and the level of advocacy to revive the international commitment with regard to the problems facing Indochinese refugees in the region, and to pursue voluntary repatriation possibilities in cases where monitoring is available and the safety of the refugees is assured.

(c) **ALLOCATIONS OF REFUGEE ADMISSIONS.**—Given the existing connection between ongoing resettlement and the preservation of first asylum, the United States and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees should redouble efforts to assure a stable and secure environment for refugees while dialog is pursued on other long-range solutions, it is the sense of the Senate that—

- (1) within the worldwide refugee admissions ceiling determined by the President, the President should allocate—
 - (A) at least 28,000 admissions from East Asia, first-asylum camps,
 - (B) at least 8,500 admissions for the Orderly Departure Program, for each of the fiscal years 1988, 1989, and 1990; and
- (2) within the allocation made by the President for the Orderly Departure Program from Vietnam pursuant to paragraph (1)(B), admissions allocated in a fiscal year under priorities II and III of the program (as defined in the Department of State Bureau of Refugee Programs worldwide processing priorities) and the number of admissions allocated for Amerasians and their immediate family members under priority I, should be generous.

(d) **INTERNATIONAL SOLUTIONS TO REFUGEE PROBLEMS.**—It is the sense of the Congress that—

- (1) renewed international efforts must be taken to address the problem of Indochinese refugees

who have lived in camps for 3 years or longer; and

- (2) the Secretary of State should urge the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to organize immediately an international conference to address the problems of Indochinese refugees.

SEC. 803. REPORTING REQUIREMENT.—The President shall submit a report to Congress within 180 days after the date of the enactment of this Act on the respective roles of the Immigration and Naturalization Service and the Department of State in the refugee program with recommendations for improving the effectiveness and efficiency of the program.

This Act may be cited as the “Departments of Commerce, Justice, and State, the Judiciary, and Related Agencies Appropriation Act, 1988”.

(b) Such amounts as may be necessary for programs, projects or activities provided for in the Department of Defense Appropriations Act, 1988, at a rate of operations and to the extent and in the manner provided for, the provisions of such Act to be effective as if it had been enacted into law as the regular appropriations Act, as follows:

An Act making appropriations for the Department of Defense for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1988, and for other purposes.

Source: 101 Stat. 1329, Act of December 22, 1987.

49. Japanese American Redress (1988)

Beginning in the 1960s and early 1970s, the Japanese American community was mobilized to seek a formal apology and compensation from the government for its discriminatory treatment of Japanese Americans in World War II. The result was the Civil Liberties Act of 1988, signed into law by President Ronald Reagan on August 10, 1988.

A. Remarks by President Ronald Reagan on Signing the Civil Liberties Act (the Redress Bill), August 10, 1988

The Members of Congress and distinguished guests, my fellow Americans, we gather here today to right a grave wrong. More than 40 years ago, shortly after

the bombing of Pearl Harbor, 120,000 persons of Japanese ancestry living in the United States were forcibly removed from their homes and placed in makeshift internment camps. This action was taken without trial, without jury. It was based solely on race, for these 120,000 were Americans of Japanese descent.

Yes, the Nation was then at war, struggling for its survival and it's not for us today to pass judgment upon those who may have made mistakes while engaged in that great struggle. Yet we must recognize that the internment of Japanese-Americans was just that: a mistake. For throughout the war, Japanese-Americans in the tens of thousands remained utterly loyal to the United States. Indeed, scores of Japanese-Americans volunteered for our Armed Forces, many stepping forward in the internment camps themselves. The 442d Regimental Combat Team, made up entirely of Japanese-Americans, served with immense distinction to defend this nation, their nation. Yet back at home, the soldier's families were being denied the very freedom for which so many of the soldiers themselves were laying down their lives.

Congressman Norman Mineta, with us today, was 10 years old when his family was interned. In the Congressman's words:

"My own family was sent first to Santa Anita Racetrack. We showered in the horse paddocks. Some families lived in converted stables, others in hastily thrown together barracks. We were then moved to Heart Mountain, Wyoming, where our entire family lived in one small room of a rude tar paper barrack." Like so many tens of thousands of others, the members of the Mineta family lived in those conditions not for a matter of weeks or months but for 3 long years.

The legislation that I am about to sign provides for a restitution payment to each of the 60,000 surviving Japanese-Americans of the 120,000 who were relocated or detained. Yet no payment can make up for those lost years. So, what is most important in this bill has less to do with property than with honor. For here we admit a wrong; here we reaffirm our commitment as a nation to equal justice under the law.

I'd like to note that the bill I'm about to sign also provides funds for members of the Aleut community who were evacuated from the Aleutian and Pribilof Islands after a Japanese attack in 1942. This action

was taken for the Aleuts' own protection, but property was lost or damaged that has never been replaced.

And now in closing, I wonder whether you'd permit me one personal reminiscence, one prompted by an old newspaper report sent to me by Rose Ochi, a former internee. The clipping comes from the *Pacific Citizen* and is dated December 1945.

"Arriving by plane from Washington," the article begins, "General Joseph W. Stilwell pinned the Distinguished Service Cross on Mary Masuda in a simple ceremony on the porch of her small frame shack near Talbert, Orange County. She was one of the first Americans of Japanese ancestry to return from relocation centers to California's farmlands." "Vinegar Joe" Stilwell was there that day to honor Kazuo Masuda, Mary's brother. You see, while Mary and her parents were in an internment camp, Kazuo served as staff sergeant to the 442d Regimental Combat Team.

In one action, Kazuo ordered his men back and advanced through heavy fire, hauling a mortar. For 12 hours, he engaged in a singlehanded barrage of Nazi positions. Several weeks later at Cassino, Kazuo staged another lone advance. This time it cost him his life.

The newspaper clipping notes that her two surviving brothers were with Mary and her parents on the little porch that morning. These two brothers, like the heroic Kazuo, had served in the United States Army. After General Stilwell made the award, the motion picture actress Louise Allbritton, a Texas girl, told how a Texas battalion had been saved by the 442d. Other show business personalities paid tribute—Robert Young, Will Rogers, Jr. And one young actor said: "Blood that has soaked into the sands of a beach is all of one color. America stands unique in the world: the only country not founded on race but on a way, an ideal. Not in spite of but because of our polyglot background, we have had all the strength in the world. That is the American way." The name of that young actor—I hope I pronounce this right—was Ronald Reagan. And, yes, the ideal of liberty and justice for all—that is still the American way.

Thank you, and God bless you. And now let me sign H.R. 442, so fittingly named in honor of the 442d. Thank you all again, and God bless you all. I think this is a fine day.

White House, August 10, 1988.

Source: <http://faculty.history.wisc.edu/archdeacon/404tja/redress.html>. Accessed December 20, 2012.

B. Excerpt from the Civil Liberties Act (1988)

Through this legislation, Congress for the first time authorized a presidential apology to an entire group of Americans: Japanese Americans who were interned during World War II. Congress also mandated \$1.2 billion as payments to compensate for damages to the former internees, providing \$20,000 to each of them.

“The Congress recognizes that, as described in the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, a grave injustice was done to both citizens and permanent residents of Japanese ancestry by the evacuation, relocation, and internment of civilians during World War II.

As the Commission documents, these actions were carried out without adequate security reasons and without any acts of espionage or sabotage documented by the Commission, and were motivated largely by racial prejudice, wartime hysteria, and a failure of political leadership.

The excluded individuals of Japanese ancestry suffered enormous damages, both material and intangible, and there were incalculable losses in education and job training, all of which resulted in significant human suffering for which appropriate compensation has not been made.

For these fundamental violations of the basic civil liberties and constitutional rights of these individuals of Japanese ancestry, the Congress apologizes on behalf of the Nation.”

Based on the findings of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians (CWRIC), the purposes of the Civil Liberties Act of 1988 with respect to persons of Japanese ancestry included the following:

- (1) To acknowledge the fundamental injustice of the evacuation, relocation and internment of citizens and permanent resident aliens of Japanese ancestry during World War II;
- (2) To apologize on behalf of the people of the United States for the evacuation, internment,

and relocations of such citizens and permanent residing aliens;

- (3) To provide for a public education fund to finance efforts to inform the public about the internment so as to prevent the recurrence of any similar event;
- (4) To make restitution to those individuals of Japanese ancestry who were interned;
- (5) To make more credible and sincere any declaration of concern by the United States over violations of human rights committed by other nations.

Source: *102 Stat. 904*, Act of 10, 1988 (Public Law No. 100-383).

50. The Story of a “Survivor” (1990)

Building new lives in the United States for Southeast Asian refugees meant constant economic struggles. The following is a recollection of a Cambodian American refugee.

“The money that welfare gave us was not enough for all eight of us . . . I remember that every time the supermarket had a sale on items such as chicken all eight of us went together to buy it. Because there were limits on . . . [how many of the sale] items you could purchase in these sales . . . each of us [took] . . . turns going to the cashier . . . For clothes, we bought them from second hand store. I have never had a brand new set of clothes . . . Every time I saw cans and bottles I picked them up and took them home so that where there got to be a lot, I took them to the supermarket [to get a refund] . . . every weekend, my sisters and cousins and I went out walking in the streets looking for cans . . . In the summer, my family and I picked strawberries. Every morning we woke up at 3 o’clock, got ready, and drove our car . . . to the fields . . . It was cold and chilly. With my body shaking, I was knelt down on my knees and . . . was like a turtle which moves at a very slow pace . . . Each pound of strawberries, I received 8 to 10 cents. By the time I went home, around 5 or 6 o’clock, my back was all bent and I couldn’t stand up straight. My back ached and my legs were numb. On a rainy day, my clothes were

all soaked. My feet were clogged with mud . . . After the strawberry season was over, I picked blackberries. Picking blackberries does not require back work but it requires a lot of standing and thorn-touching. My fingers were all cut by scratches. It hurt very much, especially when the juice . . . got into the cuts. It felt like dipping my cut fingers into lemon juice, very painful . . . When the summer was over, I want back to school. Going to school was great. (Duong 1990: 24–27)”

Source: Chan, Sucheng. *Survivors: Cambodian Refugees in the United States*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004, p.154.

See also Boat People

51. Excerpt from the Immigration Act of 1990

This immigration law raised the ceiling for legal immigrants. In addition to continued commitment to family members of U.S. citizens and permanent residents, the new law created 50,000 visas under Diversity Immigrant Program. Provisions to strengthen border patrol were also created.

An Act

To amend the Immigration and Nationality Act to change the level, and preference system for admission, of immigrants to the United States, and to provide for administrative naturalization, and for other purposes.

Subtitle A—Worldwide and Per Country Levels

TITLE I—IMMIGRANTS

SEC. 104. ASYLEE ADJUSTMENTS.

(a) INCREASE IN NUMBERCAL LIMITATION ON ADJUSTMENT OF ASYLEES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 209(b) (8 U.S.C. 1159(b)) is amended by striking “five thousand” and inserting “10,000”.

(2) EFFECTIVE DATE AND TRANSITION.—The amendment made by paragraph (1) shall apply to fiscal years beginning with fiscal year 1991 and the President is authorized, without the need for appropriate consultation, to increase the refugee determination previously made under section 207 of the Immigration

and Nationality Act for fiscal year 1991 in order to make such amendment effective for such fiscal year.

(b) ANNUAL ASYLEE ENUMERATION.—Section 207(a) (8 U.S.C 1157(a)) is amended by adding at the end of the following new paragraph:

“(4) In the determination made under this subsection for each fiscal year (beginning with fiscal year 1992), the President shall enumerate, with the respective number of refugees so determined, the number of aliens who were granted asylum in the previous year.”

(c) WAIVER OF NUMERICAL LIMITATION FOR CERTAIN CURRENT ASYLEES.—The numerical limitation on the number of aliens whose status may be adjusted under section 209(b) of the Immigration and Nationality Act shall not apply to an alien described in subsection

(d) or to an alien who has applied for adjustment of status under such section on or before June 1, 1990.

Subtitle B—Preference System

PART 1—FAMILY-SPONSORED IMMIGRANTS

SEC. 111. FAMILY-SPONSORED IMMIGRANTS.

Section 203 (8 U.S.C. 1153) is amended—

(1) by redesignating subsections (b) through (e) as subsections (d) through (g), respectively, and

(2) by striking subsection (a) and inserting the following:

“(a) PREFERENCE ALLOCATION FOR FAMILY-SPONSORED IMMIGRANTS.—Aliens subject to the worldwide level specified in section 201(c) for family-sponsored immigrants shall be allotted visas as follows:

“(1) UNMARRIED SONS AND DAUGHTERS OF CITIZENS.—Qualified immigrants who are the unmarried sons or daughters of citizens of the United States shall be allocated visas in a number not to exceed 23,400, plus any visas not required for the class specified in paragraph (4).

“(2) SPOUSES AND UNMARRIED SONS AND UNMARRIED DAUGHTERS OF PERMANENT RESIDENT ALINES.—Qualified immigrants—

“(A) who are the spouses or children of an alien lawfully admitted for permanent residence, or

“(B) who are the unmarried sons or unmarried daughters (but are not the children) of an alien lawfully admitted for permanent residence,

shall be allocated visas in a number not to exceed 114,200, plus the number (if any) by which such worldwide level exceeds 226,000, plus any visas not required for the class specified in paragraph (1); except that not less than 77 percent of such visa numbers shall be allocated to aliens described in subparagraph (A).

“(3) MARRIED SONS AND MARREID DAUGHTERS OF CITIZENS.—Qualified immigrants who are the married sons or married daughters of citizens of the United States shall be allocated visas in a number not to exceed 23,400, plus any visas not required for the classes specified in paragraphs (1) and (2).

“(4) BROTHERS AND SISTERS OF CITIZENS.—Qualified immigrants who are the brothers or sisters of citizens of the United States, if such citizens are at least 21 years of age, shall be allocated visas in a number not to exceed 65,000, plus any visas not required for the classes specified in paragraphs (1) through (3).”.

SEC. 112. TRANSITION FOR SPOURSE AND MINOR CHILDREN OF LEGALIZED ALIENS.

(a) ADDITIONAL VISA NUMBERS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—In addition to any immigrant visas otherwise available, immigrant visa numbers shall be available in each of fiscal years 1992, 1993, and 1994 for spouses and children of eligible, legalized aliens (as defined in subsection (c)) in a number equal to 55,000 minus the number (if any) computed under paragraph (2) for the fiscal year.

(2) OFFSET.—The number computed under this paragraph for a fiscal year is the number (if any) by which—

(A) the sum of the number of aliens described in subparagraphs (A) and (B) of section 201(b)(2) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (or, for fiscal year 1992, section 201(b) of such Act) who were issued immigrant visas or otherwise acquired the status of aliens lawfully admitted to the Unites for permanent residence in the previous fiscal year, exceeds

(B) 239,000.

(b) ORDER.—Visa numbers under this section shall be made available in the order in which a petition,

in behalf of each such immigrant for classification under section 203(a)(2) of the Immigration and Nationality Act, is filed with the Attorney General under section 204 of such Act.

(c) LEGALIZED ALIEN DEFINED.—In this section, the term “legalized alien” means an alien lawfully admitted for temporary or permanent residence who was provided—

(1) temporary or permanent residence status under section 210 of the Immigration and Nationality Act,

(2) temporary or permanent residence status under section 245A of the Immigration and Nationality Act, or

(3) permanent residence status under section 202 of the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986.

Source: Public Law 101-649, 104 Stat. 4978, Act of November 29, 1990.

See also Immigration Act of 1990

52. Excerpt from the Chinese Student Protection Act of 1992

Enacted in 1992 as a response to the Tiananmen Square incident in China in 1988, this law granted permanent residency to all Chinese nationals who arrived in the United States on or before April 1990. Between 60,000 to 80,000 Chinese were in the country temporarily; most of them were student/scholar visa holders.

An Act To provide for the adjustment of status under the Immigration and Nationality Act of certain nationals of the People’s Republic of China. . .

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the “Chinese Student Protection Act of 1992”.

SEC. 2. ADJUSTMENT TO LAWFUL PERMANENT RESIDENT STATUS OF . . . CERTAIN NATIONALS OF THE PEOPLE’S REPUBLIC OF CHINA.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Subject to subsection (c)(1), whenever an alien described in subsection (b) applies

for adjustment of status under section 245 of the Immigration and Nationality Act during the application period (as defined in subsection (e)) the following

rules shall apply with respect to such adjustment:

(1) The alien shall be deemed to have had a petition approved under section 204(a) of such Act for classification under section 203(b)(3)(A)(i) of such Act.

(2) The application shall be considered without regard to whether an immigrant visa number is immediately available at the time the application is filed.

(3) In determining the alien's admissibility as an immigrant, and the alien's eligibility for an immigrant visa-(A) paragraphs (5) and (7)(A) of section 212(a) and section 212(e) of such Act shall not apply ; and (B) the Attorney General may waive any other provision of section 212(a) other than paragraph (2)(C) and subparagraph (A), (B), (C), or (E) of paragraph (3) of such Act with respect to such adjustment for humanitarian purposes, for purposes of assuring family unity, or if otherwise in the public interest.

(4) The numerical level of section 202(a)(2) of such Act shall not apply.

(5) Section 245(c) of such Act shall not apply.

(b) ALIENS COVERED.—For purposes of this section, an alien described in this subsection is an alien who—(1) is a national of the People's Republic of China described

in section 1 of Executive Order No. 12711 as in effect on April 11, 1990; (2) has resided continuously in the United States since April 11, 1990 (other than brief, casual, and innocent absences); and (3) was not physically present in the People's Republic

of China for longer than 90 days after such date and before the date of the enactment of this Act.

Source: 106 Stat. 1969, Act of Oct. 9, 1992.

53. An Apology to Native Hawaiians (1993)

The year 1998 marked the 100th anniversary of the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands by the United States. To recognize the impact of the acquisition on the indigenous people of the islands, the U.S. government offered a formal apology.

To acknowledge the 100th anniversary of the January 17, 1893 overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawaii, and to offer an apology to Native Hawaiians on behalf of the United States for the overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawaii.

Whereas, prior to the arrival of the first Europeans in 1778, the Native Hawaiian people lived in a highly organized, self-sufficient, subsistent social system based on communal land tenure with a sophisticated language, culture, and religion;

Whereas, a unified monarchical government of the Hawaiian Islands was established in 1810 under Kamehameha I, the first King of Hawaii;

Whereas, from 1826 until 1893, the United States recognized the independence of the Kingdom of Hawaii, extended full and complete diplomatic recognition to the Hawaiian Government, and entered into treaties and conventions with the Hawaiian monarchs to govern commerce and navigation in 1826, 1842, 1849, 1875, and 1887;

Whereas, the Congregational Church (now known as the United Church of Christ), through its American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, sponsored and sent more than 100 missionaries to the Kingdom of Hawaii between 1820 and 1850;

Whereas, on January 14, 1893, John L. Stevens (hereafter referred to in this Resolution as the "United States Minister"), the United States Minister assigned to the sovereign and independent Kingdom of Hawaii conspired with a small group of non-Hawaiian residents of the Kingdom of Hawaii, including citizens of the United States, to overthrow the indigenous and lawful Government of Hawaii;

Whereas, in pursuance of the conspiracy to overthrow the Government of Hawaii, the United States Minister and the naval representatives of the United States caused armed naval forces of the United States to invade the sovereign Hawaiian nation on January 16, 1893, and to position themselves near the Hawaiian

Government buildings and the Iolani Palace to intimidate Queen Liliuokalani and her Government;

Whereas, on the afternoon of January 17, 1893, a Committee of Safety that represented the American and European sugar planters, descendants of missionaries and financiers deposed the Hawaiian monarchy and proclaimed the establishment of a Provisional Government;

Whereas, the United States Minister thereupon extended diplomatic recognition to the Provisional Government that was formed by the conspirators without the consent of the Native Hawaiian people or the lawful Government of Hawaii and in violation of treaties between the two nations and of international law;

Whereas, soon thereafter, when informed of the risk of bloodshed with resistance, Queen Liliuokalani issued the following statement yielding her authority to the United States Government rather than to the Provisional Government:

“I Liliuokalani, by the Grace of God and under the Constitution of the Hawaiian Kingdom, Queen, do hereby solemnly protest against any and all acts done against myself and the Constitutional Government of the Hawaiian Kingdom by certain persons claiming to have established a Provisional Government of and for this Kingdom.

“That I yield to the superior force of the United States of America whose Minister Plenipotentiary, His Excellency John L. Stevens, has caused United States troops to be landed a Honolulu and declared that he would support the Provisional Government.

“Now to avoid any collision of armed forces, and perhaps the loss of life, I do this under protest and impelled by said force yield my authority until such time as the Government of the United States shall, upon facts being presented to it, undo the action of its representatives and reinstate me in the authority which I claim as the Constitutional Sovereign of the Hawaiian Islands.”

Done at Honolulu this 17th day of January, A.D. 1893;

Whereas, without the active support and intervention by the United States diplomatic and military representatives, the insurrection against the Government of Queen Liliuokalani would have failed for lack of popular support and insufficient arms;

Whereas, on February 1, 1893, the United States Minister raised the American flag and proclaimed Hawaii to be a protectorate of the United States;

Whereas, the report of a Presidentially established investigation conducted by former Congressman James Blount into the events surrounding the insurrection and overthrow of January 17, 1893, concluded that the United States diplomatic and military representatives had abused their authority and were responsible for the change in government;

Whereas, as a result of this investigation, the United States Minister to Hawaii was recalled from his diplomatic post and the military commander of the United States armed forces stationed in Hawaii was disciplined and forced to resign his commission;

Whereas, in a message to Congress on December 18, 1893, President Grover Cleveland reported fully and accurately on the illegal acts of the conspirators, described such acts as an “act of war, committed with the participation of a diplomatic representative of the United States and without authority of Congress”, and acknowledged that by such acts the government of a peaceful and friendly people was overthrown;

Whereas, President Cleveland further concluded that a “substantial wrong has thus been done which a due regard for our national character as well as the rights of the injured people requires we should endeavor to repair” and called for the restoration of the Hawaiian monarchy;

Whereas, the Provisional Government protested President Cleveland’s call for the restoration of the monarchy and continued to hold state power and pursue annexation to the United States;

Whereas, the Provisional Government successfully lobbied the Committee on Foreign Relations of the

Senate (hereafter referred to in this Resolution as the “Committee”) to conduct a new investigation into the events surrounding the overthrow of the monarchy;

Whereas, the Committee and its chairman, Senator John Morgan, conducted hearings in Washington, D.C., from December 27, 1893, through February 26, 1894, in which members of the Provisional Government justified and condoned the actions of the United States Minister and recommended annexation of Hawaii;

Whereas, although the Provisional Government was able to obscure the role of the United States in the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy, it was unable to rally the support from two-thirds of the Senate needed to ratify a treaty of annexation;

Whereas, on July 4, 1894, the Provisional Government declared itself to be the Republic of Hawaii;

Whereas, on January 24, 1895, while imprisoned in Iolani Palace, Queen Liliuokalani was forced by representatives of the Republic of Hawaii to officially abdicate her throne;

Whereas, in the 1896 United States Presidential election, William McKinley replaced Grover Cleveland;

Whereas, on July 7, 1898, as a consequence of the Spanish-American War, President McKinley signed the Newlands Joint Resolution that provided for the annexation of Hawaii;

Whereas, through the Newlands Resolution, the self-declared Republic of Hawaii ceded sovereignty over the Hawaiian Islands to the United States;

Whereas, the Republic of Hawaii also ceded 1,800,000 acres of crown, government and public lands of the Kingdom of Hawaii, without the consent of or compensation to the Native Hawaiian people of Hawaii or their sovereign government;

Whereas, the Congress, through the Newlands Resolution, ratified the cession, annexed Hawaii as part of the

United States, and vested title to the lands in Hawaii in the United States;

Whereas, the Newlands Resolution also specified that treaties existing between Hawaii and foreign nations were to immediately cease and be replaced by United States treaties with such nations;

Whereas, the Newlands Resolution effected the transaction between the Republic of Hawaii and the United States Government;

Whereas, the indigenous Hawaiian people never directly relinquished their claims to their inherent sovereignty as a people or over their national lands to the United States, either through their monarchy or through a plebiscite or referendum;

Whereas, on April 30, 1900, President McKinley signed the Organic Act that provided a government for the territory of Hawaii and defined the political structure and powers of the newly established Territorial Government and its relationship to the United States;

Whereas, on August 21, 1959, Hawaii became the 50th State of the United States;

Whereas, the health and well-being of the Native Hawaiian people is intrinsically tied to their deep feelings and attachment to the land;

Whereas, the long-range economic and social changes in Hawaii over the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries have been devastating to the population and to the health and well-being of the Hawaiian people;

Whereas, the Native Hawaiian people are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territory, and their cultural identity in accordance with their own spiritual and traditional beliefs, customs, practices, language, and social institutions;

Whereas, in order to promote racial harmony and cultural understanding, the Legislature of the State of

Hawaii has determined that the year 1993, should serve Hawaii as a year of special reflection on the rights and dignities of the Native Hawaiians in the Hawaiian and the American societies;

Whereas, the Eighteenth General Synod of the United Church of Christ in recognition of the denomination's historical complicity in the illegal overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawaii in 1893 directed the Office of the President of the United Church of Christ to offer a public apology to the Native Hawaiian people and to initiate the process of reconciliation between the United Church of Christ and the Native Hawaiians; and

Whereas, it is proper and timely for the Congress on the occasion of the impending one hundredth anniversary of the event, to acknowledge the historic significance of the illegal overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawaii, to express its deep regret to the Native Hawaiian people, and to support the reconciliation efforts of the State of Hawaii and the United Church of Christ with Native Hawaiians;

Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. ACKNOWLEDGMENT AND APOLOGY.

The Congress—

- (1) on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the illegal overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawaii on January 17, 1893, acknowledges the historical significance of this event which resulted in the suppression of the inherent sovereignty of the Native Hawaiian people;
- (2) recognizes and commends efforts of reconciliation initiated by the State of Hawaii and the United Church of Christ with Native Hawaiians;
- (3) apologizes to Native Hawaiians on behalf of the people of the United States for the overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawaii on January 17, 1893 with the participation of agents and citizens of the United States, and the deprivation

of the rights of Native Hawaiians to self-determination;

- (4) expresses its commitment to acknowledge the ramifications of the overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawaii, in order to provide a proper foundation for reconciliation between the United States and the Native Hawaiian people; and
- (5) urges the President of the United States to also acknowledge the ramifications of the overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawaii and to support reconciliation efforts between the United States and the Native Hawaiian people.

SEC. 2. DEFINITIONS.

As used in this Joint Resolution, the term "Native Hawaiians" means any individual who is a descendent of the aboriginal people who, prior to 1778, occupied and exercised sovereignty in the area that now constitutes the State of Hawaii.

SEC. 3. DISCLAIMER.

Nothing in this Joint Resolution is intended to serve as a settlement of any claims against the United States.

Approved November 23, 1993

Source: United States Public Law 103-150, 103d Congress Joint Resolution 19.

54. President Barack Obama's Executive Order 13515 (2009)

On October 14, 2009, President Barack Obama signed executive order 13515 to reestablish the White House initiative and President's Advisory Commission on Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders (AAPI). First signed in June 1999 by President Bill Clinton (Executive Order 13125) the AAPI White House Initiative was designed to improve the quality of life of Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders through increased participation in federal programs. Formed in 2000 and chaired by former Congressman Norman Mineta, the first President's Advisory Commission on Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders worked to identify underprivileged and marginalized AAPIs as well as inequalities and discriminations experienced by them. The Committee fostered partnerships between the federal government and the Asian American and

Pacific Islander communities to maximize resources and sought greater commitment and investment by the federal government to address issues concerning health, education, housing and economic disparities that experienced by AAPIs. The President's initiative was continued under President George W. Bush (Executive Order 13334, 2004; Executive order 13403, 2006). President Obama's Advisory Committee is housed under the Department of Education, with commitments of a wide range of government agencies.

Increasing Participation of Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders in Federal Programs

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America, it is hereby ordered as follows:

Section 1. Policy. The more than 16 million Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders (AAPIs) across our country have helped build a strong and vibrant America. The AAPI communities represent many ethnicities and languages that span generations, and their shared achievements are an important part of the American experience. They have started businesses and generated jobs, including founding some of our Nation's most successful and innovative enterprises. The AAPI communities have made important contributions to science and technology, culture and the arts, and the professions, including business, law, medicine, education, and politics.

While we acknowledge the many contributions of the AAPI communities to our Nation, we also recognize the challenges still faced by many AAPIs. Of the more than a million AAPI-owned businesses, many firms are small sole-proprietorships that continue to need assistance to access available resources such as business development counseling and small business loans. The AAPI community also continues to face barriers to employment and workplace advancement. Specific challenges experienced by AAPI subgroups include lower college-enrollment rates by Pacific Islanders than other ethnic groups and high poverty rates among Hmong Americans, Cambodian Americans, Malaysian Americans, and other individual AAPI communities. Additionally, one in five non-elderly AAPIs lacks health insurance.

The purpose of this order is to establish a President's Advisory Commission on Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders and a White House Initiative on Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders. Each will work to improve the quality of life and opportunities for Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders through increased access to, and participation in, Federal programs in which they may be underserved. In addition, each will work to advance relevant evidence-based research, data collection, and analysis for AAPI populations and subpopulations.

Sec. 2. President's Advisory Commission on Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders.

There is established in the Department of Education the President's Advisory Commission on Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders (Commission).

(a) **Mission and Function of the Commission.** The Commission shall provide advice to the President, through the Secretaries of Education and Commerce, as Co-Chairs of the Initiative described in section 3 of this order, on: (i) the development, monitoring, and coordination of executive branch efforts to improve the quality of life of AAPIs through increased participation in Federal programs in which such persons may be underserved; (ii) the compilation of research and data related to AAPI populations and subpopulations; (iii) the development, monitoring, and coordination of Federal efforts to improve the economic and community development of AAPI businesses; and (iv) strategies to increase public and private-sector collaboration, and community involvement in improving the health, education, environment, and well-being of AAPIs.

(b) **Membership of the Commission.** The Commission shall consist of not more than 20 members appointed by the President. The Commission shall include members who: (i) have a history of involvement with the AAPI communities; (ii) are from the fields of education, commerce, business, health, human services, housing, environment, arts, agriculture, labor and employment, transportation, justice, veterans affairs, and economic and community development; (iii) are from civic associations representing one or more of the diverse AAPI communities;

or (iv) have such other experience as the President deems appropriate. The President shall designate one member of the Commission to serve as Chair, who shall convene regular meetings of the Commission, determine its agenda, and direct its work.

(c) Administration of the Commission. The Secretary of Education, in consultation with the Secretary of Commerce, shall designate an Executive Director for the Commission. The Department of Education shall provide funding and administrative support for the Commission to the extent permitted by law and within existing appropriations. Members of the Commission shall serve without compensation, but shall be allowed travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of subsistence, as authorized by law for persons serving intermittently in the Government service (5 U.S.C. 5701-5707). Insofar as the Federal Advisory Committee Act, as amended (5 U.S.C. App.) (the “Act”), may apply to the administration of the Commission, any functions of the President under the Act, except that of reporting to the Congress, shall be performed by the Secretary of Education, in accordance with the guidelines issued by the Administrator of General Services.

(d) Termination Date. The Commission shall terminate 2 years from the date of this order, unless renewed by the President.

Sec. 3. White House Initiative on Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders. There is established the White House Initiative on Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders (Initiative), a Federal interagency working group whose members shall be selected by their respective agencies. The Secretary of Commerce and the Secretary of Education shall serve as the Co-Chairs of the Initiative. The Executive Director of the Commission established in section 2 of this order shall also serve as the Executive Director of the Initiative and shall report to the Secretaries on Initiative matters.

(a) Mission and Function of the Initiative. The Initiative shall work to improve the quality of life of AAPIs through increased participation in Federal programs in which AAPIs may be underserved. The Initiative shall advise the Co-Chairs on the implementation and coordination of Federal programs as they relate to AAPIs across executive departments and agencies.

(b) Membership of the Initiative. In addition to the Co-Chairs, the Initiative shall consist of senior officials from the following executive branch departments, agencies, and offices:

- (i) the Department of State;
- (ii) the Department of the Treasury;
- (iii) the Department of Defense;
- (iv) the Department of Justice;
- (v) the Department of the Interior;
- (vi) the Department of Agriculture;
- (vii) the Department of Labor;
- (viii) the Department of Housing and Urban Development;
- (ix) the Department of Transportation;
- (x) the Department of Energy;
- (xi) the Department of Health and Human Services;
- (xii) the Department of Veterans Affairs;
- (xiii) the Department of Homeland Security;
- (xiv) the Office of Management and Budget;
- (xv) the Environmental Protection Agency;
- (xvi) the Small Business Administration;
- (xvii) the Office of Personnel Management;
- (xviii) the Social Security Administration;
- (xix) the White House Office of Cabinet Affairs;
- (xx) the White House Office of Intergovernmental Affairs and Public Engagement;
- (xxi) the National Economic Council;
- (xxii) the Domestic Policy Council;
- (xxiii) the Office of Science and Technology Policy; and
- (xxiv) other executive branch departments, agencies, and offices as the President may, from time to time, designate.

At the direction of the Co-Chairs, the Initiative may establish subgroups consisting exclusively of Initiative members or their designees under this section, as appropriate.

(c) Administration of the Initiative. The Department of Education shall provide funding and administrative support for the Initiative to the extent permitted by law and within existing appropriations. The Co-Chairs shall convene regular meetings of the Initiative, determine its agenda, and direct its work.

(d) Federal Agency Plans and Interagency Plan.

Each executive department and agency designated by the Initiative shall prepare a plan (agency plan) for, and shall document, its efforts to improve the quality of life of Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders through increased participation in Federal programs in which Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders may be underserved. Where appropriate, this agency plan shall address, among other things, the agency's efforts to:

- (i) identify Federal programs in which AAPIs may be underserved and improve the quality of life for AAPIs through increased participation in these programs;
- (ii) identify ways to foster the recruitment, career development, and advancement of AAPIs in the Federal Government;
- (iii) identify high-priority action items for which measurable progress may be achieved within 2 years to improve the health, environment, opportunity, and well-being of AAPIs, and implement those action items;
- (iv) increase public-sector, private-sector, and community involvement in improving the health, environment, opportunity, and well-being of AAPIs;
- (v) foster evidence-based research, data-collection, and analysis on AAPI populations and subpopulations, including research and data on public health, environment, education, housing, employment, and other economic indicators of AAPI community well-being; and
- (vi) solicit public input from AAPI communities on ways to increase and improve opportunities for public participation in Federal programs considering a number of factors, including language barriers.

Each agency, in its plan, shall provide appropriate measurable objectives and, after the first year, shall provide for the assessment of that agency's performance on the goals set in the previous year's plan. Each agency plan shall be submitted to the Co-Chairs by a date to be established by the Co-Chairs. The Co-Chairs shall review the agency plans and develop for

submission to the President a Federal interagency plan to improve the quality of life of AAPIs through increased participation in Federal programs in which such persons may be underserved. Actions described in the Federal interagency plan shall address improving access by AAPIs to Federal programs and fostering advances in relevant research and data.

Sec. 4. General Provisions.

(a) This order supersedes Executive Order 13125 of June 7, 1999, and Executive Order 13339 of May 13, 2004.

(b) The heads of executive departments and agencies shall assist and provide information to the Commission, consistent with applicable law, as may be necessary to carry out the functions of the Commission. Each executive department and agency shall bear its own expenses of participating in the Commission.

(c) Nothing in this order shall be construed to impair or otherwise affect:

- (i) authority granted by law to an executive department, agency, or the head thereof; or
- (ii) functions of the Director of the Office of Management and Budget relating to budgetary, administrative, or legislative proposals.

(d) This order shall be implemented consistent with applicable law and subject to the availability of appropriations.

(e) For purposes of this order, the term "Asian American and Pacific Islander" includes persons within the jurisdiction of the United States having ancestry of any of the original peoples of East Asia, Southeast Asia, or South Asia, or any of the aboriginal, indigenous, or native peoples of Hawaii and other Pacific Islands.

(f) This order is not intended to, and does not, create any right or benefit, substantive or procedural, enforceable at law or in equity by any party against the United States, its departments, agencies, or entities, its officers, employees, or agents, or any other person.

BARACK OBAMA
THE WHITE HOUSE,
October 14, 2009

Source: <http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/executive-order-asian-american-and-pacific-islander-community>. Accessed August 30, 2013.

55. Apologies to Chinese Americans Regarding Exclusion (2011, 2012)

In 2011 and 2012, 130 years after the enactment of the Chinese Exclusion Act, the U.S. government finally offered formal apologies to Chinese Americans.

A. Senate Resolution (October 6, 2011)

Expressing the regret of the Senate for the passage of discriminatory laws against the Chinese in America, including the Chinese Exclusion Act.

Whereas many Chinese came to the United States in the 19th and 20th centuries, as did people from other countries, in search of the opportunity to create a better life for themselves and their families;

Whereas the contributions of persons of Chinese descent in the agriculture, mining, manufacturing, construction, fishing, and canning industries were critical to establishing the foundations for economic growth in the Nation, particularly in the western United States;

Whereas United States industrialists recruited thousands of Chinese workers to assist in the construction of the Nation's first major national transportation infrastructure, the Transcontinental Railroad;

Whereas Chinese laborers, who made up the majority of the western portion of the railroad workforce, faced grueling hours and extremely harsh conditions in order to lay hundreds of miles of track and were paid substandard wages;

Whereas without the tremendous efforts and technical contributions of these Chinese immigrants, the completion of this vital national infrastructure would have been seriously impeded;

Whereas from the middle of the 19th century through the early 20th century, Chinese immigrants faced racial ostracism and violent assaults, including—

(1) the 1887 Snake River Massacre in Oregon, at which 31 Chinese miners were killed; and

(2) numerous other incidents, including attacks on Chinese immigrants in Rock Springs, San Francisco, Tacoma, and Los Angeles;

Whereas the United States instigated the negotiation of the Burlingame Treaty, ratified by the Senate on October 19, 1868, which permitted the free movement of the Chinese people to, from, and within the United States and accorded to China the status of 'most favored nation';

Whereas before consenting to the ratification of the Burlingame Treaty, the Senate required that the Treaty would not permit Chinese immigrants in the United States to be naturalized United States citizens;

Whereas on July 14, 1870, Congress approved An Act to Amend the Naturalization Laws and to Punish Crimes against the Same, and for other Purposes, and during consideration of such Act, the Senate expressly rejected an amendment to allow Chinese immigrants to naturalize;

Whereas Chinese immigrants were subject to the overzealous implementation of the Page Act of 1875 (18 Stat. 477), which—

(1) ostensibly barred the importation of women from 'China, Japan, or any Oriental country' for purposes of prostitution;

(2) was disproportionately enforced against Chinese women, effectively preventing the formation of Chinese families in the United States and limiting the number of native-born Chinese citizens;

Whereas, on February 15, 1879, the Senate passed 'the Fifteen Passenger Bill,' which would have limited the number of Chinese passengers permitted on any ship coming to the United States to 15, with proponents of the bill expressing that the Chinese were 'an indigestible element in our midst . . . without any adaptability to become citizens';

Whereas, on March 1, 1879, President Hayes vetoed the Fifteen Passenger Bill as being incompatible with the Burlingame Treaty, which declared that 'Chinese

subjects visiting or residing in the United States, shall enjoy the same privileges . . . in respect to travel or residence, as may there be enjoyed by the citizens and subjects of the most favored nation’;

Whereas in the aftermath of the veto of the Fifteen Passenger Bill, President Hayes initiated the renegotiation of the Burlingame Treaty, requesting that the Chinese government consent to restrictions on the immigration of Chinese persons to the United States;

Whereas these negotiations culminated in the Angell Treaty, ratified by the Senate on May 9, 1881, which—

- (1) allowed the United States to suspend, but not to prohibit, the immigration of Chinese laborers;
- (2) declared that ‘Chinese laborers who are now in the United States shall be allowed to go and come of their own free will’; and
- (3) reaffirmed that Chinese persons possessed ‘all the rights, privileges, immunities, and exemptions which are accorded to the citizens and subjects of the most favored nation’;

Whereas, on March 9, 1882, the Senate passed the first Chinese Exclusion Act, which purported to implement the Angell Treaty but instead excluded for 20 years both skilled and unskilled Chinese laborers, rejected an amendment that would have permitted the naturalization of Chinese persons, and instead expressly denied Chinese persons the right to be naturalized as American citizens;

Whereas, on April 4, 1882, President Chester A. Arthur vetoed the first Chinese Exclusion Act as being incompatible with the terms and spirit of the Angell Treaty;

Whereas, on May 6, 1882, Congress passed the second Chinese Exclusion Act, which—

- (1) prohibited skilled and unskilled Chinese laborers from entering the United States for 10 years;
- (2) was the first Federal law that excluded a single group of people on the basis of race; and
- (3) required certain Chinese laborers already legally present in the United States who later wished to reenter to obtain ‘certificates of return’, an

unprecedented requirement that applied only to Chinese residents;

Whereas in response to reports that courts were bestowing United States citizenship on persons of Chinese descent, the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 explicitly prohibited all State and Federal courts from naturalizing Chinese persons;

Whereas the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 underscored the belief of some Senators at that time that—

- (1) the Chinese people were unfit to be naturalized;
- (2) the social characteristics of the Chinese were ‘revolting’;
- (3) Chinese immigrants were ‘like parasites’; and
- (4) the United States ‘is under God a country of Caucasians, a country of white men, a country to be governed by white men’;

Whereas, on July 3, 1884, notwithstanding United States treaty obligations with China and other nations, Congress broadened the scope of the Chinese Exclusion Act—

- (1) to apply to all persons of Chinese descent, ‘whether subjects of China or any other foreign power’; and
- (2) to provide more stringent requirements restricting Chinese immigration;

Whereas, on October 1, 1888, the Scott Act was enacted into law, which—

- (1) prohibited all Chinese laborers who would choose or had chosen to leave the United States from reentering;
- (2) cancelled all previously issued ‘certificates of return’, which prevented approximately 20,000 Chinese laborers abroad, including 600 individuals who were en route to the United States, from returning to their families or their homes; and
- (3) was later determined by the Supreme Court to have abrogated the Angell Treaty;

Whereas, on May 5, 1892, the Geary Act was enacted into law, which—

- (1) extended the Chinese Exclusion Act for 10 years;

(2) required all Chinese persons in the United States, but no other race of people, to register with the Federal Government in order to obtain ‘certificates of residence’; and

(3) denied Chinese immigrants the right to be released on bail upon application for a writ of habeas corpus;

Whereas on an explicitly racial basis, the Geary Act deemed the testimony of Chinese persons, including American citizens of Chinese descent, per se insufficient to establish the residency of a Chinese person subject to deportation, mandating that such residence be established through the testimony of ‘at least one credible white witness’;

Whereas in the 1894 Gresham-Yang Treaty, the Chinese government consented to a prohibition of Chinese immigration and the enforcement of the Geary Act in exchange for the readmission of previous Chinese residents;

Whereas in 1898, the United States—

(1) annexed Hawaii;

(2) took control of the Philippines; and

(3) excluded thousands of racially Chinese residents of Hawaii and of the Philippines from entering the United States mainland;

Whereas on April 29, 1902, Congress—

(1) indefinitely extended all laws regulating and restricting Chinese immigration and residence; and

(2) expressly applied such laws to United States insular territories, including the Philippines;

Whereas in 1904, after the Chinese government exercised its unilateral right to withdraw from the Gresham-Yang Treaty, Congress permanently extended, ‘without modification, limitation, or condition’, all restrictions on Chinese immigration and naturalization, making the Chinese the only racial group explicitly singled out for immigration exclusion and permanently ineligible for American citizenship;

Whereas between 1910 and 1940, the Angel Island Immigration Station implemented the Chinese exclusion laws by—

(1) confining Chinese persons for up to nearly 2 years;

(2) interrogating Chinese persons; and

(3) providing a model for similar immigration stations at other locations on the Pacific coast and in Hawaii;

Whereas each of the congressional debates concerning issues of Chinese civil rights, naturalization, and immigration involved intensely racial rhetoric, with many Members of Congress claiming that all persons of Chinese descent were—

(1) unworthy of American citizenship;

(2) incapable of assimilation into American society; and

(3) dangerous to the political and social integrity of the United States;

Whereas the express discrimination in these Federal statutes politically and racially stigmatized Chinese immigration into the United States, enshrining in law the exclusion of the Chinese from the political process and the promise of American freedom;

Whereas wartime enemy forces used the anti-Chinese legislation passed in Congress as evidence of American racism against the Chinese, attempting to undermine the Chinese-American alliance and allied military efforts;

Whereas, in 1943, at the urging of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, and over 60 years after the enactment of the first discriminatory laws against Chinese immigrants, Congress—

(1) repealed previously enacted anti-Chinese legislation; and

(2) permitted Chinese immigrants to become naturalized United States citizens;

Whereas despite facing decades of systematic, pervasive, and sustained discrimination, Chinese immigrants and Chinese-Americans persevered and have continued to play a significant role in the growth and success of the United States;

Whereas 6 decades of Federal legislation deliberately targeting Chinese by race—

(1) restricted the capacity of generations of individuals and families to openly pursue the American dream without fear; and

(2) fostered an atmosphere of racial discrimination that deeply prejudiced the civil rights of Chinese immigrants;

Whereas diversity is one of our Nation's greatest strengths, and, while this Nation was founded on the principle that all persons are created equal, the laws enacted by Congress in the late 19th and early 20th centuries that restricted the political and civil rights of persons of Chinese descent violated that principle;

Whereas although an acknowledgment of the Senate's actions that contributed to discrimination against persons of Chinese descent will not erase the past, such an expression will acknowledge and illuminate the injustices in our national experience and help to build a better and stronger Nation;

Whereas the Senate recognizes the importance of addressing this unique framework of discriminatory laws in order to educate the public and future generations regarding the impact of these laws on Chinese and other Asian persons and their implications to all Americans; and

Whereas the Senate deeply regrets the enactment of the Chinese Exclusion Act and related discriminatory laws that—

(1) resulted in the persecution and political alienation of persons of Chinese descent;
 (2) unfairly limited their civil rights;
 (3) legitimized racial discrimination; and
 (4) induced trauma that persists within the Chinese community: Now, therefore, be it *Resolved*,

SECTION 1. Acknowledgement and Expression of Regret

The Senate—

(1) acknowledges that this framework of anti-Chinese legislation, including the Chinese Exclusion Act, is incompatible with the basic founding principles recognized in the Declaration of Independence that all persons are created equal;

(2) deeply regrets passing 6 decades of legislation directly targeting the Chinese people for physical and political exclusion and the wrongs committed against Chinese and American citizens of Chinese descent who suffered under these discriminatory laws; and

(3) reaffirms its commitment to preserving the same civil rights and constitutional protections for people of Chinese or other Asian descent in the United States accorded to all others, regardless of their race or ethnicity.

SEC. 2. Disclaimer

Nothing in this resolution may be construed—

(1) to authorize or support any claim against the United States; or

(2) to serve as a settlement of any claim against the United States.

Source: S.RES. 201 ATS, 112 Congress, 1st Session, October 6, 2011.

B. House of Representative Resolutions (June 8, 2012)

Expressing the regret of the House of Representatives for the passage of laws that adversely affected the Chinese in the United States, including the Chinese Exclusion Act.

Whereas many Chinese came to the United States in the 19th and 20th centuries, as did people from other countries, in search of the opportunity to create a better life;

Whereas the United States ratified the Burlingame Treaty on October 19, 1868, which permitted the free movement of the Chinese people to, from, and within the United States and made China a 'most favored nation';

Whereas in 1878, the House of Representatives passed a resolution requesting that President Rutherford B. Hayes renegotiate the Burlingame Treaty so Congress could limit Chinese immigration to the United States;

Whereas, on February 22, 1879, the House of Representatives passed the Fifteen Passenger Bill, which only permitted 15 Chinese passengers on any ship coming to the United States;

Whereas, on March 1, 1879, President Hayes vetoed the Fifteen Passenger Bill as being incompatible with the Burlingame Treaty;

Whereas, on May 9, 1881, the United States ratified the Angell Treaty, which allowed the United States to suspend, but not prohibit, immigration of Chinese laborers, declared that “Chinese laborers who are now in the United States shall be allowed to go and come of their own free will,” and reaffirmed that Chinese persons possessed “all the rights, privileges, immunities, and exemptions which are accorded to the citizens and subjects of the most favored nation”;

Whereas the House of Representatives passed legislation that adversely affected Chinese persons in the United States and limited their civil rights, including—

(1) on March 23, 1882, the first Chinese Exclusion bill, which excluded for 20 years skilled and unskilled Chinese laborers and expressly denied Chinese persons alone the right to be naturalized as American citizens, and which was opposed by President Chester A. Arthur as incompatible with the terms and spirit of the Angell Treaty;

(2) on April 17, 1882, intending to address President Arthur’s concerns, the House passed a new Chinese Exclusion bill, which prohibited Chinese workers from entering the United States for 10 years instead of 20, required certain Chinese laborers already legally present in the United States who later wished to reenter the United States to obtain “certificates of return,” and prohibited courts from naturalizing Chinese individuals;

(3) on May 3, 1884, an expansion of the Chinese Exclusion Act, which applied it to all persons of Chinese descent, “whether subjects of China or any other foreign power”;

(4) on September 3, 1888, the Scott Act, which prohibited legal Chinese laborers from reentering the United States and cancelled all previously issued “certificates of return,” and which was later determined by the Supreme Court to have abrogated the Angell Treaty; and

(5) on April 4, 1892, the Geary Act, which reauthorized the Chinese Exclusion Act for another ten years, denied Chinese immigrants the right to be

released on bail upon application for a writ of habeas corpus, and contrary to customary legal standards regarding the presumption of innocence, authorized the deportation of Chinese persons who could not produce a certificate of residence unless they could establish residence through the testimony of “at least one credible white witness”;

Whereas in the 1894 Gresham-Yang Treaty, the Chinese government consented to a prohibition of Chinese immigration and the enforcement of the Geary Act in exchange for readmission to the United States of Chinese persons who were United States residents;

Whereas in 1898, the United States annexed Hawaii, took control of the Philippines, and excluded only the residents of Chinese ancestry of these territories from entering the United States mainland;

Whereas, on April 29, 1902, as the Geary Act was expiring, Congress indefinitely extended all laws regulating and restricting Chinese immigration and residence, to the extent consistent with Treaty commitments;

Whereas in 1904, after the Chinese government withdrew from the Gresham-Yang Treaty, Congress permanently extended, “without modification, limitation, or condition,” the prohibition on Chinese naturalization and immigration;

Whereas these Federal statutes enshrined in law the exclusion of the Chinese from the democratic process and the promise of American freedom;

Whereas in an attempt to undermine the American-Chinese alliance during World War II, enemy forces used the Chinese exclusion legislation passed in Congress as evidence of anti-Chinese attitudes in the United States;

Whereas in 1943, in furtherance of American war objectives, at the urging of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, Congress repealed previously enacted legislation and permitted

Chinese persons to become United States citizens;

Whereas Chinese-Americans continue to play a significant role in the success of the United States; and

Whereas the United States was founded on the principle that all persons are created equal: Now, therefore, be it resolved,

SEC. 1. Acknowledgement

That the House of Representatives regrets the passage of legislation that adversely affected people of Chinese origin in the United States because of their ethnicity.

SEC. 2. Disclaimer

Nothing in this resolution may be construed or relied on to authorize or support any claim, including

but not limited to constitutionally based claims, claims for monetary compensation or claims for equitable relief against the United States or any other party, or serve as a settlement of any claim against the United States.

Source: H. Res. 683, June 18, 2012.

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Index

Note: **Bold** page numbers refer to main entries.

- A Hand Up*, 1169
Abbott, Carl, 1190
Abe, Shinzo, 332
Abercrombie, Neil, 112
Abiko, Kyutaro, 883–84, 1219, 1220
“Accidental Napalm” (photograph), 1147–48
Acculturation, 1026, 1027. *See also* Assimilation
Achi, William, 224
Adams, Romanzo, 854
Adler, Mike, 371
Adopted Asian Americans, **1–5**, 700–701, 710–11, 994
The Adventures of Eddie Fung (Fung and Yung), 439
Affirmative action, 913, 1112, 1180
African Americans: in Asian American art, 76; Chinese American youth identification with, 235–36; Chinese immigrants in Chicago and, 277; deindustrialization and, 806–7; Korean Americans and, 694, 698, 715–19, 805–6; Los Angeles riots, 805–6; naturalization laws, 38; racialization of, 1106; Third World unity/strikes, 1101–2, 1104–5; in the U.S. Civil War, 279
After the War (Gotanda), 466
Agbayani, Benny, **5**, 381
Agbayani, Paulo, 379, 1150
Agbayani Village, 379, 578, 1150
Agricultural workers, 577–78. *See also* Filipino agricultural workers; Japanese farm workers in America
Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (AWOC), 379, 410–11, 578
Aguila, Chris, **5–6**, 381
Aguilar-San Juan, Karin, 801
Aguinaldo, Emilio, 1174
Ah Joan, 943
Ah Lum, 359
Ah Moy, 243
Ah Quan, 243
Ah Quin Diary, **6–8**
Ah Sue, 6
Ah Toy, 68, 943
Ah Yup, In Re, **8–10**, 19–20, 38
Ah-Fong, C. K., 273
Ahmad, Mirza Ghulam, 93
Ahmadis among South Asian Muslims, 93
Ahn, Philip, **10–11**, 515
Ahn Chang Ho, 10, **12–13**, 682, 689–90, 704, 713–15
Ahu’ena Heiau, 868
AIDS/HIV, 511–13
Aiiieeee! An Anthology of Asian American Writers, 130, 183, 209
Aiken, Howard, 1182
Aikido in America, **13–14**
Ainadamar (Hwang), 202
Ainsworth, Frank, 563
Akak Bill, 872
Akaka, Daniel K., **14–15**, 42, 500, 828
Akana, Lang, 225
Akomb, John, 279
Alejo, Luis, 1190
Alexander, Meena, **15–16**
Ali, Agha Shahid, **16–18**, 553
Ali, Saqib, **18–19**
Alien Fiancées and Fiancés Act, 300, 407, 427, 814
Alien Land Law of 1913, 483–84, 1128
Alien land laws, **19–37**; “aliens ineligible for citizenship,” 19–37, 39; anti-Japanese movement, 19, 610–11, 627–28; in California, 22–27, 28–37, 39, 593, 610–11, 623, 627–28, 904, 1220; challenges to, 904; Chinese Americans, 30, 240–41; Harada House, 483; Indian Americans, 30, 557; Japanese Americans, 19–36, 593, 599, 623, 627–28, 903, 956; naturalization laws, 19–22; in Oregon and Washington, 27–28, 36–37, 37; Saund and, 972; Supreme Court, 33–37
Alien Souls, 488
“Aliens ineligible for citizenship,” 9, **37–40**, 199, 261, 610–11, 618, 903, 1125, 1136
All Aboard (Mori), 842
All-American Girl, 312
All I Asking for Is My Body (Murayama), 857

- “All Is Love” (Orzolek), 711
- All the Conspirators* (Bulosan), 157
- Allen, George, 447
- Allen, Horace Newton, **40–41**, 686, 687, 958
- Almeda, Celestino, 43
- Aloft* (C. Lee), 763
- Alquizola, Marilyn, 157
- Alsaybar, Bangele, 395
- Alta California*, 943
- Alumkal, Anthony, 369
- Alzona, Encarnacion, 426
- Amar Chitra Katha* comic book series, 493
- “Amasian!” (*New York Post*), 790
- America Is in the Heart* (Bulosan), 88, 156–57, 384, 400–401, 945
- American Born Chinese* (Yang), 469
- American Citizens for Justice (ACJ), 212–14, 1253
- American Coalition for Filipino Veterans (ACFV) Incorporated, **41–43**
- American Community Survey*, 415, 750–51
- American Dream mythology: campaign strategy, 174, 175; Frank Chin and, 209–10; Goyal and, 467; Jen on, 641; Korean Americans, 714, 807; Min Jin Lee on, 768; obstacles to, 277; refugees and, 1034; suburbanization and, 1037, 1040; Vincent Chin case and, 212
- American Girl* magazine, 663
- American Idol*, 116, 568
- American Knees* (Shawn Wong), 1200, 1201
- American Loyalty League, 591, 601
- American missionaries in postwar Japan, **43–47**. *See also* Missionaries
- American Recovery and Reinvestment Act, 42, 431
- The American Revolution* (J. Boggs), 150
- American Samoa, 870–71
- American Woman* (Choi), 313
- Americanization, 65–66, 321, 358, 359, 393, 425–26, 471, 599, 870
- American-style concentration camps, **47–50**
- Amino, Leo, 76
- Among the White Moon Face* (S. Lim), 787
- An, Rasy, 172
- And Justice for All* (Tateishi), 373
- And the Soul Shall Dance* (Yamauchi), 1223–24
- And the View from the Shore* (Sumida), 1047
- And There Are Stories, There Are Stories* (Iko), 533–34
- Andrew, Georgia J. O., 177
- Ang Sandata*, 818
- Angel Island Immigration Station, **50–54**, 173, 581, 786, 1241, 1244–46
- Annapolis, 519
- “The Anniversary” (Tran), 1125
- Anti-Asian miscegenation laws, **54–57**, 379, 384, 593, 846
- Anti-Asian violence, history of, **57–60**
- Anti-Chinese hostility, 8–9, 54–55, 57–59, 141, 241–42, 490, 1205–7, 1239–41
- Anti-Chinese riot and expulsion in Seattle. *See* Seattle Anti-Chinese riot and expulsion of 1886
- Anti-communism, Vietnamese Americans and, 1151–54
- Anti-Communist League, 292
- Anti-drug abuse organizations, 1236–38
- Anti-Filipino hostility, 59–60, 378–79, 384, 410, 418
- Anti-hate crime laws, **60–64**, 214
- “Anti-Hindu riot.” *See* Bellingham “Anti-Hindu Riot”
- Anti-Indian American sentiments, 550, 560–61
- Anti-Japanese movement: alien land laws, 19–36, 610–11, 623, 627–28, 903, 956; “aliens ineligible for citizenship,” 610–11; in California, 22–27; Korean Americans and, 689–90; naturalization laws, 20–22; prior to the bombing of Pearl Harbor, 48; religion and, 956; Survey of Race Relations on the Pacific Coast, 1052–53; violence, 58–59; Yamato Colony of California, 1219–23
- Anti-Japanese movement in Hawaii, **64–68**
- Anti-Korean sentiments, 723
- Anti-trafficking movement, **68–70**
- Anything Goes*, 10
- Aoki, Gunjiro*, 57
- Aoki, Richard, **70–72**, 86, 946, 1104
- Apassionata: Poems in Praise of Love* (Villa), 1175
- API Equality (Asian and Pacific Islanders for LGBT Equality), 782
- Apricots of Andujar*, 466
- Araki, George, 786
- Architects, 760–62, 791–92, 922–26, 1216–18
- Are You Chinese or Charlie Chan?* (Jang), 581
- Ariyoshi, George R., 15, **72–73**, 618
- Armstrong, Muriel, 580
- Arnold, Hap, 450
- Arranged marriage, 564–65
- Arranged Marriage* (Divakaruni), 346
- Arthur, Chester A., 261
- Articulate Silences* (Cheung), 208
- Artists in New York, **73–77**
- As If He Hears* (Yew), 202
- Asian American campaign finance scandal of 1996, **77–79**
- Asian American Comparative Collection (AACC), **80**, 97
- Asian American, creation of term, 94, 96, 102, 531
- Asian American identity. *See* Authenticity in Asian American identity; Identity
- Asian American labor in Alaska, **81–83**
- Asian American Legal Defense and Education Fund (AALDEF), **83–85**
- Asian American Movement (AAM), **85–89**, 384, 531, 946, 1035, 1104, 1105
- Asian American Muslims, **89–94**; Ahmadis among South Asian Muslims, 93; demographics, 91–92;

- discrimination, 93; history, 90–91; other Asian American Muslims, 93–94; South Asian Muslims, 92–93
- Asian American Panethnicity* (Espiritu), 699, 1104
- Asian American Political Alliance (AAPA), 72, 85, **94–96**, 531
- Asian American Sexualities*, 780
- Asian American Sites and Museum Exhibits (Pacific Northwest and Great Basin), **96–98**
- Asian American studies, 101, 328, 404–5, 531, 572, 635–36, 679, 1100–1101, 1103
- Asian American Theater Company, 140, 209
- Asian Americans: An Interpretive History* (S. Chan), 185
- Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders (APIs) in Higher Education, **98–102**
- Asian Americans for Action (AAA), **102–3**, 666
- Asian ethnic banks, **103–8**
- Asian Exclusion Act, 151, 399
- Asian Immigrant Women Advocates (AIWA), 89, **108–11**
- Asian Law Caucus, 83, 89, **111–13**
- Asian music in America, **113–17**. *See also* Music/musicians
- Asian Pacific American Labor Alliance (APALA), 734–36
- Asian Pacific Heritage Month, **118–19**
- Asian religions and religious practices in America, **119–27**;
anti-Japanese movement and, 956; Asian American Muslims, 89–94; assimilation and, 120, 153–54; Bangladeshi Americans, 139; Buddhism in Asian America, 151–54; Buddhist Churches of America (BCA), 153, 154–56, 600, 956; in Cambodian community in Lowell, Massachusetts, 169–71; Cham in America, 182; churches and ethnic identity, 320–22; community and diversity, 122–23; conservatism, 122; effects of milieu and expanding immigrant populations, 122; Evangelicals and Korean American community formation, 363–68; existing research, 119–20; Hindus in the United States, 182, 345, 491–95, 552, 1176–77; Indian Americans, 546, 551–53, 796–97; issues and findings, 120–21; Japanese Americans, 610, 955–58; Korean American churches, 674–77, 688, 692–93; Lao Americans, 752–53; Native Hawaiians, 865–69; Pakistani Americans, 90–91, 911; present and future research issues, 124–25; Sikhism in the United States, 554, 998–1001; sugar plantation workers and, 358; Taiwanese Americans, 1069; younger generation, 123–24. *See also* Churches and ethnic identity; *specific religions*
- Asian Women*, 88
- “Asians in the Civil War” (Foenander), 278
- Asiatic Barred Zone. *See* Immigration Act of 1917 and the “Barred Zone”
- Asiatic Exclusion League, 58, 143
- Assembly of Tibetan People’s Deputies (ATPD), 1107–8, 1110
- Assimilation: with acculturation, 679; Buddhism and, 153–54; Chamorro, 471; Chinese language schools and, 282; definition of, 1026; ethnic economies and, 679–80; ethnoburbs and, 720; Herberg on, 120; Japanese Americans and religion, 958; Lao Americans, 751; Lowe and, 810–11; marriage and, 751; McClatchy on, 65; religion and, 120, 153–54; suburbanization as, 1038–39
- Association of Asian American Studies (AAAS), 99, 101, 130–31
- Astronauts, 195–96, 201–2, 811–12, 898–99, 1192–93
- Athletes and Christianity, **127–29**
- The Atlantic*, 756
- Atwal, Arjun, 462
- Audience Distant Relative* (Cha), 181
- Augusta National Golf Club, 1204, 1205
- Authenticity in Asian American identity, **129–31**. *See also* Identity
- Autumn in New York*, 204
- Avatar: The Last Airbender*, 519
- Avery, Oswald, 654
- The Avocado Kid or Zen in the Art of Guacamole* (Gotanda), 465
- Ayyar, Chandrasekhara Subrahmanya, 186
- Azuma, Eiichiro, 620, 635–36
- Babri Masjid, 554
- “Bachelor society,” 55, 226, 243
- Bacho, Peter, **133–34**
- Baci* ritual, 753
- Backus, Samuel, 563
- Baek, Cha Seung, **134–35**
- Baise, Clark, 844
- Balcena, Bobby, **135**, 381
- Baldoz, Rick, 399
- Ballad of Yachiyo* (Gotanda), 466
- Bam Bam and Celeste*, 313
- Bambara, Toni Cade, 150
- Bamboo Among the Oaks* (Moua), 508
- The Bamboo Dancers* (Gonzalez), 465
- Bamboo that Snaps Back*, 513
- Banga, Ajay Singh, 1000
- Bangladeshi Americans, **135–40**, 1016–17
- Bangon! (Arise!)*, 650
- Banks. *See* Asian ethnic banks
- Bankston, Carl L., III, 1023
- Banyan* (Barroga), 141
- Baraka, Amiri, 948–49
- Barker, J. C., 1117
- Barnet, Art, 496
- Barnum, P. T., 279
- “Barred Zone.” *See* Immigration Act of 1917 and the “Barred Zone”
- Barroga, Jeannie, **140–41**
- Bartlett, Jason, **141**, 381
- Baruso, Tony, 83
- Barve, Kumar P., 18

- Baseball: Chinese Americans, 203, 224–26, 882–83, 1132; discrimination in, 224; Filipino Americans, 380–82; in Hawaii, 224, 380–81, 584; Japanese Americans, 482, 499, 583–87, 1249. *See also specific players*
- Bass, Ronald, 518
- “Battle for Brainpower,” 978
- Battle on Shangganling Mountain*, 743
- A Beautiful Country* (Yew), 202
- Beauty pageants, 395–96, 1172–73
- Becerra, Xavier, 42
- Beck, Louis, 260
- Becoming American: The Chinese Experience*, 334
- Beer, Roger J. S., 653
- Behold the Many* (Yamanaka), 1215
- Bellingham “Anti-Hindu Riot,” **141–43**, 997
- Bellingham Herald*, 142, 143
- Bello, Walden, 650
- Belloni, Robert, 726, 1233
- Bemis, Charlie, 144–47, 274
- Bemis, Polly (Lalu Nathoy) 97, **143–46**
- Benevolent assimilation, 471
- Benitez, Francisco, 416
- Benjamin, Kim, 1122
- Berg, Travis Vande, 124
- Berlin India Committee, 456
- Bermant, Gordon, 156
- Bernard, Earl, 1231–32
- Besig, Ernest, 727
- Bessho v. United States*, 20, 21
- Better Luck Tomorrow*, 519, 918
- Between Silences* (Ha Jin), 478
- “Beyond the Ethnic Enclave” (Light), 679
- Bhaktivedanta, A. C., 552
- Bhutanese Americans, **146–47**
- The Big Aiiiiieee!* 130, 183, 209
- Biggers, Earl Derr, 516
- Bilingualism, 544, 754–55, 896
- A Biography of Chiang Ching-kuo* (Liu), 802
- Bioluminescence* (Shimomura), 993
- The Birth of a Nation*, 515
- “Birthmates” (Jen), 642
- Bitter, Bruno, 44–45
- Bitter Cane* (G. Lim), 786
- Bitter in the Mouth* (Truong), 1132
- The Bittersweet Soil* (S. Chan), 185
- Bixia, Liang, 302, 303
- Black, Hugo, 34, 727
- Black Panther Party, 71–72, 85, 513, 529, 1102, 1104–5
- The Black Panther Suite*, 514
- Black Power, 102, 114, 533, 1105
- The Black Woman*, 150
- Blade Runner*, 518
- A Ble Wail* (Cha), 181
- Blood Hina* (Hirahara), 498
- Blue in the Face*, 1186
- Blu’s Hanging* (Yamanaka), 130–31, 1215
- Bo Sin Seer tong, 311
- Boat people, **147–49**, 306, 953, 1040, 1156
- Bochasanwasi Akshar Purushottam Sanstha (BAPS), 494–95
- The bodies between us* (Thúy), 1107
- Boggs, Grace Lee, **149–51**, 946
- Boggs, James, 150, 946
- Bo-hui, Park, 674
- Bollywood, 565, 797
- Bonacich, Edna, 205, 679–80
- The Bonesetter’s Daughter* (Tan), 1074
- The Book of Salt* (Truong), 1131
- Boone, Phillip, 524
- Boone, Sarah Amelia deSaussure, 524
- Boone, William James, 524
- Borax mining, 287–88
- Boublil, Alain, 116
- Boun Pha Vet*, 753
- Boundaries* (M. Lin), 792
- Boutique Living and Disposable Icons* (Iko), 533–34
- Boxing, 133–34, 395
- Boxing in Black and White* (Bacho), 134
- Boy (Son), 1010
- Brain drain, 298, 299
- Bramadat, Paul A., 369
- Brancusi, Constantin, 75
- Brandstad, Terry, 337
- Brazil-Marú* (Yamashita), 1218
- Breakfast at Tiffany’s*, 517
- Breaking the Surface* (Louganis), 809–10
- Bride and Prejudice*, 565
- The Bridge on the River Kwai*, 438, 487, 488, 517
- Bridgeport Americans, 234–35, 276
- Brokeback Mountain*, 758
- Brooks Van Wyck, 1235
- The Brotherhood of the Conch* (Divakaruni), 347
- Brown, Edmund G. “Pat,” 36
- Brown, Willie, 645
- Brundidge, Harry, 1116–17
- Bryan, William Jennings, 23, 28, 690, 714
- Bryan Clay Foundation, 324
- Bryant, Kobe, 791
- Buck, Pearl S., 252, 262, 516
- Buckley, Christopher, 310, 311
- Buddhism: assimilation and, 153–54; in Cambodia, 161, 169–70; in Japan, 47; Japanese Americans, 600, 610; Lao Americans, 748, 752–53; Taiwanese Americans, 1069; Thai Americans, 1085, 1088–89; Thai temples, 1093–98;

- Tibetan Americans, 571. *See also* “American Buddhism”; Tibetan Buddhism
- Buddhism in Asian America, **151–54**
- Buddhist Churches of America (BCA), 153, **154–56**
- Buddhist monks, 151, 154–55, 522–23, 752, 882, 1093–96
- Buddhist Society of America, 970
- Bugs Bunny Nips the Nips*, 516
- Bui, Timothy Linh, 799
- Bulletproof Buddhists and Other Essays* (F. Chin), 210
- Bulosan, Carlos, 88, **156–57**, 384, 400–402, 945
- Bunker, Christopher Wren and Bunker, Stephen Decatur, **157–58**
- Bunny Hop* (Chan), 183
- Buntaro Kumagai, In re*, 20, 21
- Burbank, Stephen, 438
- Burden of Dreams* (Ong), 898
- Burling, John L., 725
- Burlingame, Anson, 158–59
- Burlingame, Fanny, 463
- Burlingame Treaty of 1868, **158–59**, 242
- Burns, John A., 72, 179
- Burton, Dan, 78
- Burton, Harold H., 35
- Bush, George H. W., 484, 538
- Bush, George W., 196, 198, 355, 939, 980, 1000, 1009
- Business ownership: ethnic Chinese in Vietnam, 147; Indian ethnic economy, 558–62; Korean Americans, 693, 716–17, 805, 807–8; Koreatowns, 720, 722–23; Pakistani Americans, 911; Sikhs, 999–1000; Vietnamese Americans, 798–99, 1160, 1165–66, 1167. *See also* Self-employment
- Butler, Pierce, 28–29, 30
- “Buy American” campaigns, 582
- Byler, Eric, 332
- Caballeros de Dimas Alang*, 387
- Caberwal, Sandeep “Sonny,” 1000
- Cable Act, 39
- Cable Act of 1922, 56, 591
- Cage, John, 906
- Cahill, Edward, 419
- California: anti-Chinese hostility, 8–9; Anti-Japanese movement in, 22–27; anti-miscegenation laws, 55; Chinese fisheries in, 263–66; Hmong of, 509–10; Korean American farmers, 681–82; Shin-Issei/Shin-Sisei identity formation in, 996; Vietnamese Americans in, 1167; Yamato Colony of California, 1219–23. *See also* Alien land laws; *specific communities*
- California Alien Land Law of 1913, 483–84, 1128. *See also* Alien land laws
- California Central Railroad, 293
- California State Relief Administration, 377–78
- Cambodian American League of Lowell, Inc., 171
- Cambodian Americans, **161–67**; Cambodian history to the mid-twentieth century, 161; in-country demographics, 161; education, 1021, 1022; educational concerns, 165–66; immigration and deportation concerns, 163–64; indigenous groups in, 570–71; juvenile crime, 1026–27; Khmer Rouge era, 161–62, 164–65, 877, 967, 1006–8, 1139; mental and physical health concerns, 164–65; ongoing challenges for, 163–66; religion, ethnicity, and linguistics, 161; search for justice, 166; in the United States, 162–63
- Cambodian community in Lowell, Massachusetts, **167–72**
- Cameron, Donaldina, 173, 944
- Cameron House, **172–73**
- Caminetti, Anthony, 563
- “Campaign Against Genocide,” 553
- Campaign contributions, 658–59, 673–74. *See also* Koreagate
- Campaign finance scandal of 1996, 77–79
- Campaign strategy, **173–75**
- Campbell, Ned, 823
- Campomanes, Oscar V., 969
- Campus Crusade for Christ, 371
- Canada, 909
- Candès, Emmanuel, 1075
- Cannery industry, 81–83
- Cannery Workers’ and Farm Laborers’ Union (CWFLU), 82
- Cantonese cuisine, 259
- Cantonese opera, 113
- Cao, Lan, **175–76**
- Cao Zishi, **176–78**, 278
- Caplan, Nathan, 1022, 1023
- Cardozo, Benjamin N., 31
- CARE (Cooperative for American Relief Everywhere), 1007–8
- Carnes, Duane J., 33
- Carroll, Frank, 731
- Carter, Jimmy, 450, 838, 952
- Cartwright, Alexander Joy, 584
- Case, Ed, 500
- Castañeda v. Pickard*, 755
- Catholic Church, 44–47, 254. *See also* Christianity
- Cat’s Yawn*, 970
- Caughlan, John, 82
- Cayetano, Benjamin, **178–80**, 383, 500
- CBS Evening News*, 319
- CBS News, 319
- CCBA. *See* Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (CCBA)
- Cebu (Bacho), 133
- Celebrating Research: Rare and Special Collections from the Membership of the Association of Research Libraries*, 1031

- Celler, Emanuel, 812, 829
 Cellists, 815–16
 Cemeteries, Chinese immigrants and, 274–75
 Central Intelligence Agency (CIA),
 505, 571, 748
 Central Pacific Railroad Company, 240, 293
 Central Tibetan Administration (CTA), 1107–8
 Cha, Theresa Hak Kyung, **180–81**, 711–12
 Chae Chan Ping, 981
Chae Chan Ping v. United States, 981–82
 Chain migration, 573–74
The Chairman's Wife (Yamauchi), 1224
 Challenger space shuttle explosion, 898, 899
 Cham in America, **181–82**, 570–71, 572
 Chambers, John S., 25
 Chamorro, 471–73, 871
 Chan, Jackie, 759
 Chan, Jeffery Paul, **182–83**, 892
 Chan, Kenyon, **183–84**
 Chan, Sucheng, **184–85**
 Chan, Wilma, 939
Chan Is Missing, 518
 Chandra, Gurinder, 565
 Chandrasekhar, Subrahmanyan, **186–87**
 Chang, C. T., 778
 Chang, Carsun, 304, 764
 Chang, David, 708
 Chang, Diana, **187–88**
 Chang, Iris, **188–89**
 Chang, Jae Ku, 672
 Chang, Jae Min, 672
 Chang, Key-Young, 672
 Chang, Michael, 127–28, **189–91**
 Chang, Ray, 225
 Chang, Sarah, **191–92**
 Chang, Yee, 503
 Chang and Eng (The Siamese Twins), 157–58,
 192–95, 1087
 “Chang Er Flying to the Moon,” 840
 Chang Family Foundation, 191
 Chang Hsueh-liang, 1013–14
 Chang-Díaz, Franklin Ramón, **195–96**
 Changjiang Scholars, 299
 Chao, Elaine L., **196–98**, 939
 Charlie Chan (fictional character), 516, 760
Charlie Chan Is Dead, 481
 Charr, Easurk Emsen, **198–200**
 Chaudhary, Satveer, **200–201**
 Chavez, Cesar, 379, 411, 945
 Chawla, Amrik Singh, 1000
 Chawla, Kalpana, **201–2**
 Chay Yew, **202–3**
 Chea Po, 490
The Cheat, 487, 488
 Chen, Carolyn, 120
 Chen, Chin-Feng, **203**
 Chen, Joan, **203–4**
 Chen Lanbin, 1246–47
 Chen Shuibian, 779
 Cheng, Albert, 740
 Cheng, Lucie, **204–6**
 Chern, Shiing-Shen, **206–7**
 Cherng, Andrew, 296
 Cherng, Peggy, 296
 Cheung, King-Kok, **207–9**
 Chew Kee Herb Shop, 272
 Chi, Liu Pei, 272–73
 Chi Alpha Delta, 606
 Chiang, Philip, 296
 Chiang, S. Leo, 801
 Chiang Kai-shek, 216, 218, 250, 270, 304, 1012–14, 1050
 Chiang Kai-shek, Madame. *See* Soong Mei-ling
 Chiang Nan. *See* Liu, Henry
 Chicago, 234–37, 275–78
The Chicago Defender, 486
Chicago Tribune, 325
The Chickencoop Chinaman (Chin), 209
Child of War, Woman of Peace (Hayslip), 489
 Childhood, Chinese Americans, 226–29
Children of a Fireland (Pak), 908
 Children's plays, 1196
 Chin, David Bing Hing, 211
 Chin, Denny, 880
 Chin, Frank, 130, **209–10**
 Chin, Lily, 211–12, 214–15
 Chin, Tsai, 527
 Chin, Vincent, 60–61, **210–15**, 583, 913, 1253
 Chin, Wing Fong, 885
 Chin Gee Hee, 983
 China, 158–59, 220, 242, 297–300, 477,
 515–16, 1146–47
China Daily News, The (CDN), **215–16**, 270, 543–44
China Doll (E. Wong), 1195–96
 China Lobby, **216–17**
China Men (Kingston), 663, 664
China Revisited: After Forty-Two Years (Yee), 1236
China Weekly (Jinmen qiaobao), 544
 “Chinaman, Laundryman” (Tsiang), 1133
The Chinaman Pacific and Frisco R.R. Co. (F. Chin), 210
A Chinaman's Chance, 513
Chinatown, 517
 Chinatown, 1982 ILGWU strike, 884–85
 Chinatown, Chicago, 234–35, 275–76
 Chinatown, Los Angeles, 290, 307, 360
 Chinatown, New York, **217–22**, 290, 291
 Chinatown, San Francisco, 281, 291, 292, 307

- Chinatown gangs in the United States, **222–24**. *See also* Tongs and Tong War
- Chinatowns, in film, 517
- China-U.S. Physics Examination and Application (CUSPEA) program, 774
- Chinda Sutemi, 23
- Chinese Alien Wives of American Citizens Act, 291, 300–301
- Chinese America: History & Perspectives*, 832
- Chinese American baseball, **224–26**
- Chinese American childhood, **226–29**
- Chinese American Citizens Alliance (CACA), 230, 244, 542–43
- Chinese American community organizations, **229–32**. *See also specific organizations*
- Chinese American funerary rituals, **233–34**
- Chinese American Portraits* (McCunn), 831
- Chinese American Weekly* (*Zhong Mei zhoubao*), 543, 545
- Chinese American youth in multiethnic Chicago, **234–37**
- Chinese Americans, **237–50**; alien land laws, 30, 240–41; “aliens ineligible for citizenship,” 38–39, 40; anti-Chinese hostility, 8–9, 54–55, 57–59, 141, 241–42, 490, 1205–7; anti-miscegenation laws, 54–55; Asian American sites and museum exhibits, 96–97; community organizations, 243–44; community transformation and the Cold War, 245–46; contemporary Chinese Americans, 247–49; discrimination, 228, 235–36, 241–42, 282, 292, 303; early economic contributions, 240–41; early history of Chinese diaspora, 237–38; economic development of the Far West, 288; film portrayals of, 517–18; to Hawaii, 357–59, 932–34; immigration to the United States, 238–40, 246–47; music, 113; parachute kids, 297–98; religion, 94, 121, 253–57; Scott Act, 243, 981–82; suburbanization, 1038–39, 1041; transnational political behavior, 1127, 1129; World War II, 244–45, 250–53; writings at Angel Island Immigration Station, 53–54. *See also* Chinese Exclusion Acts
- Chinese Americans and World War II, 244–45, **250–53**
- Chinese Chamber of Commerce, 290–91
- Chinese Christian churches, 253
- Chinese Christian Mission, 256
- Chinese Christians in America, **253–57**
- Chinese civil war, 216, 270–71, 298, 1012, 1014, 1182
- Chinese Club House, 100
- Chinese Community Party, 270
- Chinese Confession Program, 218, 246, **257–59**, 340–41, 1127
- Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (CCBA): anti-Communism, 292; in Chinatown, New York, 217; Chinese Hand Laundry Alliance of New York and, 268; Chinese language schools, 281; Chinese New Year parade, 289, 291; Chinese Six Companies, 230, 244, 310, 436–37, 448–49, 1119–20; claim to represent Chinese community, 218; Geary Act, 436, 448; overview of, 230; in social hierarchy, 231–32, 244
- Chinese Constitutionalist Party, 304
- Chinese cuisine in the United States, **259–61**
- Chinese Democratic Youth League, 231, 244
- Chinese exclusion, 242–43
- Chinese Exclusion Acts, **261–62**; Ah Quin Diary, 7; Angel Island Immigration Station, 51; anti-Chinese violence, 58; anti-miscegenation laws, 55; Buddhism and, 151; children and, 226–27, 1143–44; Chinatown, New York and, 217; Chinese laborers in Alaska, 81; compared to Japanese exclusion, 623; effect of in Hawaii, 41; effect on Japanese immigrants, 609, 626; *Fong Yue Ting v. United States*, 436; Gong and, 463; H-1B Visa and, 475; legacy of, 301–3; National Maritime Union on, 865; naturalization and, 20; paper families and, 340; prostitution, 944; *United States v. Gue Lim*, 1140. *See also* Geary Act; Scott Act
- Chinese Exclusion, repeal of, 9, 245, 252, **262–63**, 282, 291
- The Chinese Eye* (Yee), 1235
- Chinese Fifth Generation films, 519
- Chinese fisheries in California, 241, **263–66**
- Chinese garment workers in San Francisco, **266–68**
- Chinese Hand Laundry Alliance of New York (CHLA), 215, 218, 231, 244, **268–71**, 303
- Chinese herbal medicine, **271–74**
- Chinese immigrant cemeteries, **274–75**
- Chinese immigrant workers in multiethnic Chicago, **275–78**
- The Chinese in America* (I. Chang), 189
- The Chinese in the United States of America* (R. H. Lee), 770–71
- Chinese in the U.S. Civil War, **278–80**
- Chinese Ladies’ Garment Workers Union, 267
- Chinese language schools in the United States, **280–84**
- The Chinese Laundryman* (Siu), 275
- Chinese lion dance in the United States, **284–85**
- Chinese mining in America, **285–89**
- Chinese Mission Home, 172–73
- “The Chinese Must Stay” (Y. P. Lee), 777
- Chinese Nationalist Party, 232
- Chinese New Year parade, **289–93**
- Chinese Pacific Weekly* (*Taipin-gyang zhoubao*), 543, 544, 545
- “The Chinese Painter” (Yee), 1235
- Chinese Patriotic Youth Club (CPYC), 231, 244, 269
- Chinese Professional Baseball League (CPBL), 882–83, 1132
- Chinese railroad workers, **293–94**
- Chinese restaurants in the United States, 259–61, **294–97**
- The Chinese Siamese Cat* (Tan), 1074
- Chinese Six Companies, 230, 244, 310, 436–37, 448–49, 1119
- Chinese Staff and Workers Association, 220

- Chinese Staff and Workers Association v. City of New York*, 84
- Chinese students in the United States since 1960, **297–300**
- Chinese Times*, 230, 244
- Chinese Times (Jinshan shibao)*, 542–43, 545
- Chinese war brides, **300–303**
- Chinese War Brides Act. *See* War Brides Act
- Chinese War Veterans Association, 303
- Chinese Workers' Mutual Aid Association (CWMAA), 231, 244
- Chinese World (Sai Gai Yat Po)*, **303–5**, 543, 544–45, 763–64, 1145
- Chinese Yankee* (McCunn), 832
- Chinese Youth Club, 270
- Chinese-Vietnamese Americans, **305–10**
- Ching, Fong, **310–11**
- Chinglish* (Hwang), 527
- Chinn, Geraldine, 341
- Cho, John, 519
- Cho, Margaret, **311–13**
- Cho, Wonil, 678
- Cho Kwei Fong, 304
- The Cho Show*, 313
- Choi, Dan, 782
- Choi, Hyun. *See* Conger, Hank
- Choi, K. J., 127, 461
- Choi, Kelly, 709
- Choi, Roy, 708
- Choi, Susan, **313–14**
- Chon, Katherine, 70
- Chong, Vincent, 1028
- Chon-go Ma-bi/High Sky and Horse Fattening* (Pak), 908
- Chop suey houses, 294–95
- Chopra, Daniel, 462
- Chou En-lai, 1013–14
- Chouinard, Bobby, **314**
- Chow, Amy, **314–15**
- Choy, Bong Yoon, 121
- Choy, Cathy Ceniza, 404
- Choy, Curtis, 403
- Christian Science Monitor*, 133
- Christianity: athletes, 127–29; Chinese Americans, 121, 253–57; J. Lin and, 790; Japanese Americans, 587–91, 599–600, 955–56; in Korea, 686; Korean Americans, 674–77, 682, 688, 719; Lao Americans, 752; preference for, 121–22; Taiwanese Americans, 1069; Thai Americans, 1085
- Chu, Judy, **315–16**, 362, 734, 937, 939
- Chu, Louis, 518
- Chu, Steven, **316–18**, 941
- Chubachi, Nobuko, 995
- Chuck, Maurice, 740
- Chun, Jennifer, 736
- Chun Doo-hwan, 706
- Chun King Corp., 260
- Chun Quon, 304
- Chung, Connie, **318–20**
- Chung, Eugene Yon, **320**
- Chung, William Ling, 318
- Churches and ethnic identity, **320–22**
- Cinema. *See* Hollywood, Asian Americans in
- Circle K Cycles* (Yamashita), 1219
- The Circle of Chalk*, 1194
- Citizen 13660* (Okubo), 468–69
- Citizens Committee to Repeal Chinese Exclusion (CCRCE), 252, 262–63
- Citizenship. *See* Naturalization
- City Daily Union*, 273
- Civil Liberties Act of 1988, 49, 594, 826, 827, 836, 862, 966
- Civil Rights Act of 1964, 61
- Civil Rights Movement, 118, 210, 248, 271, 388, 601, 665, 835
- Civil War. *See* Chinese civil war; U.S. Civil War
- Clan and family associations, 229, 243–44
- Clark, Lenard, 235, 276
- Class. *See* Gender, race, and class in political participation
- Classical music, 115, 117, 191–92
- Clay, Bryan, **323–25**
- Clay Walls* (Ronyoung Kim), 660–61
- Clemente, Rufina, 375
- Cleveland, Grover, 981
- Cleveland Spiders, 584
- Clinton, Bill, 78, 79, 334, 363, 508, 729, 824, 836, 862
- Clinton, Hillary, 356, 804, 1178
- CNN, 319, 330
- Coast* magazine, 841
- Cochran, Jacqueline, 766
- Cochrane, George, 588
- Cockrill, W. A., 30
- Cockrill v. People*, 30–31
- Coffin, Abel, 193–94, 1087
- Cohen, Warren, 217
- Cohen-Tannoudji, Claude, 317
- Cohota, Edward Day, 280, **325–26**
- Cold War, 216, 218, 245–46, 542–45, 700–702, 977–78
- College students, 297–98, 299, 300, **326–30**, 368–71, 1019. *See also* Evangelicals on the college campus
- Columbia University, 962
- Colwell, Racine, 213, 214
- “Come All Ye Asian American Writers” (Chin), 130
- Come See the Paradise*, 517
- Comfort women, **330–33**, 652, 763, 1128
- Comfort Women* (Keller), 652
- Commission on Self-Determination, 871–72

- Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, 577
- Committee Against Nihonmachi Evictions (CANE), 595
- Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born, 865
- Committee for the Protection of Filipino Rights (CPFR), 384
- Committee of 100 (C-100), **333–35**, 512, 922–23, 925
- Communist Party USA, 532, 945–46, 948
- Community Based Organizations (CBOs), 1035
- Community newspapers, 392
- Community organizations, 86–87, 218, 229–32, 243–44, 386–89, 545–48, 597–602, 797
- Community Transformational Organizing Strategy (CTOS), 108, 110, 111
- Composition* (Dow), 74
- Concentration camps. *See* American-style concentration camps
- Confession Program, 218, 246, 257–59, 340–41, 1127
- Conger, Hank, **335**
- Congregationalists, 868
- Congressional Medal of Honor, 451, 576
- Congressional Space Medal of Honor, 899
- Conservatism, 122
- Contemplacion, Flor, 390
- Contemporary Filipino American communities. *See* Filipino American communities (contemporary)
- Contemporary Japanese American communities. *See* Japanese American communities (contemporary)
- Coolidge, Calvin, 535, 536, 625
- Cooper, Andy, 1249
- Cooper, Astley, 194
- Cooper, Isabel “Dimples,” 427
- Cooper, Robert, 501
- Cooperative for American Relief Everywhere (CARE), 1007–8
- Cordova, Dorothy Laigo, 391
- Cordova, Fred, 387, 391
- Council for Teaching Filipino Language and Culture (CTFLC), 414
- The Country of Dreams and Dust* (Leong), 779
- Country of Origin* (Don Lee), 765
- The Country Without a Post Office* (Ali), 17–18
- Cousens, Charles, 1115, 1116
- Craig, Hugh, 483
- Cressey, Paul, 396
- Crime, Southeast Asian American youth and, 1025–30
- The Crimson Kimono*, 517
- Crocker, E. B., 293
- Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon*, 519, 758
- The Crusader*, 1104
- The Cry and the Dedication* (Bulosan), 157
- Cuisine: authenticity and, 129; Cantonese, 259; Chinese cuisine in the United States, 259–61; Chinese restaurants in the United States, 294–97; Filipino, 408–10; Hawaiian, 485–86; Indian, 555–56; Korean, 706–9; Lao, 746, 754; Native Hawaiian, 485; Thai, 1090–93; Vietnamese, 1163–65
- Cultural ambassadors, 334
- Cultural Revolution, 299
- Cummins, Eugene, 317
- Cutting Through Spiritual Materialism* (Trungpa), 1130, 1131
- Da Qing Shu Yuan*, 281
- Da-An Public Housing project, 761
- Dai, Lynda Trang, 1172
- Daily Bruin*, 928
- Dalai Lama. *See* Tenzin Gyatso (14th Dalai Lama)
- Dalena, Pete, 894
- Daley, William M., 939
- DAMAYAN Migrant Workers Association, 390
- Dance, 524–26
- The Dance and The Railroad* (Hwang), 527
- Dancing with the Stars*, 313, 891, 1188
- Dandekar, Swati, **337–38**
- Dang, Minh, 69
- Daniels, Jerry, 506, 509
- Danji restaurant, 708
- Dao, Yang, 508–9
- D’Aquino, Iva Ikuko Toguri, 1115–17
- Dardelle, Antonio, 279, 280, **338–39**
- Dari Project, 684
- Dark Blue Suit* (Bacho), 133–34
- Darling, Ron, 225
- Dat: Tackling Life and the NFL* (Nguyen), 879
- Daub, Hal, 803
- Daughter of Shanghai*, 11, 515, 1195
- Daughter of the Dragon*, 1194
- Davis, Gray, 880
- Davis, Tenki Tenduf, 1108
- Davis, Vivian, 1143
- Dawson, Toby, **339–40**
- Day, Sargent S., 325
- Day Standing on Head* (Gotanda), 466
- Dayal, Har, 454
- De Las Alas, Antonio, 416
- De Laurentiis, Dino, 204
- De Mai Tinh (Fool for Love)*, 879
- De Motte, Marshall, 25
- De Vera, Arleen, 395–96
- De Young, Charles, 1207
- Dean, Howard, 18
- Dear, Emmy, 341
- Dear Bing Quong, 340
- Dear Nay Ting, 340

- Dear Wing Jung v. United States of America* (1962), **340–42**
- Death* (*Lynched Figure*) (Noguchi), 76
- Death* (Noguchi), 886
- “The Death of Anna May Wong” (Hagedorn), 480
- Debut* (S. Chang), 191
- Decathlon, 323–24
- “The Decline of Chinatowns in the United States” (R. H. Lee), 770
- Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA), 782
- Deindustrialization, 806–7
- Del Mundo, Fé, 426
- Delano Grape Strike, 379, 411, 578, 1149–50
- Delgado, Manuel, 1106
- “Democracy and the Japanese Americans” (Thomas), 592
- Democratic Kampuchea, 162
- Democratic Party, 78–79, 444, 1178, 1179. *See also specific political figures*
- Demonstration Project, 391
- Denman, William, 372
- Deracialization, 174
- Desai, Anoop, 568
- Descriptive representation, 936
- Deshler, David W., 40, 41, 686–87
- DeSoto, Hisaye Yamamoto, 208, **342–43**, 606–7, 842
- Detroit, Michigan, 150–51, 210–15
- Detroit Chinese Welfare Council, 212
- Detroit Free Press*, 211
- Detroit News*, 213
- Detroit Press Club, 213
- Detroit Summer, 151
- Deutch, John, 776
- Developmental work in South Asia, 1017
- DeWitt, John L., 48, 496, 725–26, 727, 1231–32
- Dhanvantari, Sri, 346
- Dharma Centers, 1111
- Dictée* (Cha), 180–81, 712
- Diepenbrock, Peter, 788
- A Different Mirror* (Takaki), 1072
- Dill, David, 200
- D’Ille, Margaret, 821
- Dillingham-Burnett Act. *See* Immigration Act of 1917 and the “Barred Zone”
- Dim Sum: A Little Bit of Heart*, 518
- Din Tai Fung dumpling house, 296
- Dinh, Linh, **343–45**
- Diokno, Jose, 422
- Dīpāvālī, **345–46**
- Directory of Principal Chinese Business Firms, 294
- Discovery* space shuttle, 899
- Discrimination: anticolonial consciousness, 455; Asian American adoptees, 2, 3–4, 711; Asian American Muslims, 93; Bangladeshi Americans, 139; in banking, 105; in baseball, 224, 583; Boggs and, 150; Buddhism, 152; Chinese Americans, 228, 235–36, 241–42, 282, 292, 303; college students, 327–28; Communist Party and, 532; Filipino Americans, 406, 410, 421, 422–23, 430; glass ceiling debate, 457, 459; in housing, 361, 594; Indian Americans, 546, 550–51; Indian ethnic economy, 559; Japanese Americans, 348–49, 605–6, 625, 631, 636; Kahanamoku and, 647–48; LGBT population, 683–85; Mink and, 838; Pan-Asian American coalitions, 914; political participation, 452–53; political representation, 443; Sammy Lee and, 771; *Tape v. Hurley*, 1076–78; wage discrimination, 616–17; Ward and, 1188; women and, 56, 146; *Yick Wo v. Hopkins*, 1239–41. *See also* Alien land laws; “Aliens ineligible for citizenship”; Anti-Chinese hostility; Anti-Filipino hostility; Anti-Japanese movement; San Francisco School Board; Violence; *specific immigration laws*
- The Disinherited* (Ong), 898
- A Distant Shore* (Yew), 202
- Divakaruni, Chitra Banerjee, **346–48**, 553
- Divers, 350–52, 771–73, 809–10
- Diversity in colleges and universities, 327–28, 370–71
- Diversity Visa Lottery Program, 539
- Diving* (S. Lee), 773
- Diwali, 492
- DJ Qbert, 394
- “Do Not Ask Me for that Love Again” (Faiz), 17
- The Dogeaters* (Hagedorn), 479–80
- Doi, H., 31
- Dole, Sanford E., 41
- DOMA (Defense of Marriage Act), 782
- Domestic abuse, 565–66
- Domestic Workers Bill of Rights, 390
- Domingo, Selmi, 650
- Donald, W. H., 1013
- Donald Duk* (F. Chin), 210
- Donaldina Cameron Mission Home, 6, 68
- Donaugh, Carl, 1231
- “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” (DADT) policy, 782
- Doraiswamy, Lalitha, 187
- Dosan Ahn Chang Ho. *See* Ahn Chang Ho
- Double Victory* (Takaki), 1072
- Douglas, William O., 34, 373, 755
- Dow, Arthur Wesley, 74
- Dr. Haing S. Ngor Foundation, 877
- Draft resistance in internment camps, **348–50**
- Dragon Seed*, 516–17
- Draves, Lyle, 351
- Draves, Victoria “Vicki” Taylor Manalo, **350–52**
- Drawing the Line* (Inada), 541
- Dream Jungle* (Hagedorn), 480
- Dreams and Reality* exhibit, 889
- Dreams of Kitamura* (Gotanda), 465

- Drop Dead Diva*, 313
 Drumwright, Everett F., 245
The Drunken Boat, 343
 Du, Miranda, **352–53**
 “Du Tai” (“Abortion”) (Y. Li), 785
 DuBose, Hampden, 178
 Dun, Tan, 117, 743
 Dunham, Donald, 262
 Duong, Wendy N., **353**
 Duykers, John, 466
 Duykers, Max Gitech, 466
Dying in a Strange Land (Murayama), 857, 858

 Earl, James, 280
 Earl, John, 279
East to America (E. Kim and Yu), 657
East West, 1145
 East Wind Collective, 530, 949
East/West (Dong xi bao), 544
 East-West Federal Savings, 106
Eat a Bowl of Tea, 518
Eat Man Drink Woman, 758
 Eaton, Edith Maude. *See* Sui Sin Far (Edith Maude Eaton)
 EB visa, 476–77
 Ebens, Ronald, 61, 210–11, 213, 214, 583
 Ecklund, Elaine, 693
 Economic adaptation, Chinese-Vietnamese Americans and, 308
 Economic status, naturalization laws and, 38
 Eddington, Arthur Stanley, 186–87
 Edison, Thomas, 566
 Edmonds, Douglas L., 33
 Edralin, Agrafino, 395
 Education: Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders, 98–102;
 Cambodian Americans, 1021, 1022; Chinese Americans,
 248–49, 297–300; Chinese-Vietnamese Americans, 307;
 college students, 326–30; Hmong Americans, 502–3,
 509; importance of, 227, 248; Japanese Americans, 604;
 Japanese expatriate families, 604; juvenile crime, 1028;
 Lao Americans, 752; Native Hawaiians and Pacific
 Islanders, 875; Pakistani Americans, 910–11; parachute
 kids, 916–18; segregation, 227; Southeast Asian aca-
 demic achievement, 1020–23; Sri Lankan Americans,
 1037; Vietnamese Americans, 1159, 1161–62
 “Education and the socialization of Asian Americans”
 (B. Suzuki), 1054
 Educational attainment, 326–27, 875, 1022–23, 1159,
 1161–62
 80/20, 175, **355–56**
 Elbaum, Max, 946, 948
 Ellerman, Derek, 70
 Elliott, Phoebe, 524
 Elliott, Stephen, 524
 Elsensohn, M. Alfreda, 144
 Ely, Walter, 755
 “The Emergence of Yellow Power in America”
 (Uyematsu), 1105
 Emergency Detention Act, 245, 827
 Emerson, Ralph Waldo, 551
 Emerson, William, 923
 Emery, Helen, 57
 Emmons, Delos, 617
 Employment in the public sector, 39
 Employment migrants, 539
 Employment sanctions, 541
 Employment-based immigration, 538–39
 “Endgame” (Tan), 1073–74
Endo, Ex Parte, 612
 Endo, Kenny, 621
 Endo, Mitsuye, 372–74, 592, 612
Ends of Empire (Kim), 928
 Eng, Michael, 315, 734
 Engelman, Don, 951
 Ennis, Edward, 725, 726, 1232
 Ensign, John, 937
 Entrepreneurship, 986–87, 999–1000. *See also* Business
 ownership
Entrys (Bacho), 134
 “Epithalamium” (DeSoto), 343
 Equal Protection Clause, 1239, 1241
 Eroshenko, Vasil, 1241
 Esclamado, Alex, 42
 Espineli, Geno, **356–57**
 Espionage, 775–76
 Espiritu, Augusto Fauni, 963, 969, 1104
 Espiritu, Yen Le, 699
Essays in Zen Buddhism (D. Suzuki), 1055
Estate of Tetsubumi Yano, 26
Etc., 487
The Eternal Smile (Kim and Yang), 470
 Ethnic and tribal minorities. *See* Indigenous groups and the
 Asian American experience
 Ethnic churches, 321–22, 363–65
 Ethnic communities in Hawaii, **357–60**
 Ethnic economies, 361–62, 558–62, 678–81, 719–21,
 744–47, 1121–22, 1165–68
 Ethnic enclave economy, 799
 Ethnic entrepreneurs, 366
 Ethnic identity, and churches, 320–22
 Ethnic return migrants, 637
 Ethnic studies. *See* Asian American studies
 Ethnic Studies Library, 1144
 Ethnoburb, **360–62**, 382, 400, 680, 720, 723, 1041
 Eu, March Fong, **362–63**, 939
 Evangelical Protestants, Chinese Americans as, 253–56

- Evangelicals and Korean American community formation, **363–68**
- Evangelicals on the college campus, **368–71**
- Evans, Dan, 994
- Everything You Need to Know about Asian American History* (Cao), 176
- Evora, Amanda, **371–72**
- Ex Parte Mitsuye Endo* (1944), **372–74**
- Executive branch, Asian Americans in, 939, 941
- Exit Saigon, Enter Little Saigon: Vietnamese America since 1975* exhibit, 800, 889
- Eye of the Coconut* (Barroga), 140
- Eye to Eye with Connie Chung*, 319
- Fables: 1001 Nights of Snowfall* (Willingham), 470
- “Fabric” (Ong), 69
- Facing Shadows* (Ha Jin), 478
- Fahy, Charles, 725
- Fair Labor Standards Act, 69, 390
- Faiz, Faiz Ahmed, 16–17
- Fake House* (Dinh), 344
- The Fall of the I-Hotel*, 403
- Family, 56–57, 226–27, 602–6, 1027–28. *See also* Paper families
- Family Devotions* (Hwang), 527
- Family-based immigration, 538
- Far East Movement, 116–17
- The Far Pavilions*, 567
- “Farewell” (Ali), 17
- Farmers’ Anti-Oriental Society, 59
- Farrington, Wallace, 65
- Fashion design, 1044–45, 1183–84
- Fassett, Solat J., 41
- Father and Glorious Descendant* (Lowe), 810–11
- Father of the Four Passages* (Yamanaka), 1215
- Fault Lines* (Alexander), 16
- Faydang, Lo, 504–5
- Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), 245–46, 270–71, 775
- Federal Council of Churches, 1052
- Federated Agricultural Laborers Association, 410
- Federated States of Micronesia, 873
- Federation of Bangladeshi Associations in North America (FOBANA), 139
- Federation of Indian American Associations (FIA), 551
- Federation of Japanese Labor (FJL), 433
- Fee, Ben, 945
- Fee, James A., 1231–32
- Fengshui*, 233–34, 274
- Fenollosa, Ernst, 74
- Feynman, Richard, 1225
- Fifth Chinese Daughter* (J. Wong), 1196–98
- Figuroa, Aleks, 395
- Figure skating. *See* Skaters
- Filipina nurses, 420, 427–28, 650
- Filipina war brides, **375–77**
- Filipino Advocates for Justice, 382
- Filipino Agricultural Laborer’s Association, 378, 413
- Filipino agricultural workers, **377–80**, 416, 431–34. *See also* Filipino Farm Labor Union
- Filipino All-Stars, 381
- Filipino American Association of Philadelphia, 387
- Filipino American baseball, **380–82**
- Filipino American communities (contemporary), **382–83**
- Filipino American communities (historical), **383–86**
- Filipino American community organizations, **386–89**
- Filipino American domestic workers, **389–91**. *See also* Filipino women and global migration, history of
- Filipino American National Historical Society (FANHS), 382, 388, **391–92**
- Filipino American newspapers, **392–93**
- Filipino American youth cultures, **393–98**
- Filipino Americans, **398–406**; airport screeners, 734; anti-miscegenation laws, 55–56; Bulosan on, 400–401; Christianity and, 121; conclusion, 405; discrimination, 406, 410, 421, 422–23, 430; education, 1020, 1021, 1022–23; in Hawaii, 358, 933; historical sketch, 399–400; introduction to, 398–99; laborers in Alaska, 81–82; Manongs of the International Hotel, 402–3; new communities and their reproduction, 403–5; newspapers, 1023–24; Pilipino Cultural Night (PCN), 394, 405, 930–32; pre- and post-Bulosan, 401–2; radical organizations, 948; suburbanization, 1039, 1042; *Toyota v. United States*, 1125; transnational political behavior, 1128, 1129; Watsonville Riots, 378, 384, 410, 418, 1189–90. *See also* Luce-Celler Act of 1946
- Filipino Americans: Discovering Their Past for the Future*, 391
- Filipino Americans in World War II, **406–8**
- Filipino cuisine in the United States, **408–10**
- Filipino Farm Labor Union (FFLU), 379, **410–11**
- Filipino Federation of America (FFA), **411–13**
- A Filipino in America*, 401–2
- Filipino Insurrection, 870
- Filipino Labor Union (FLU), 378, 433
- Filipino Language Movement (FiLM), **413–15**
- The Filipino Nation*, 412–13
- Filipino Naturalization Act, 408
- Filipino *pensionados*, 384, 401, **415–16**, 424, 425–27, 962, 968, 1189
- Filipino Piecemeal Sugar Strike, **416–18**
- Filipino Repatriation Act, **418–19**
- Filipino transnationalism, **419–24**
- Filipino veterans, 15, 39, 384–85. *See also* American Coalition for Filipino Veterans (ACFV) Incorporated
- Filipino Veterans Equity Compensation Act, 42, 385, 431
- Filipino Veterans Equity Movement, 431

- Filipino women and global migration, history of, **424–28**
 Filipino World War II veterans, **428–31**
 Filipino Youth Activities, 383
Filipinos: Forgotten Asian Americans (F. Cordova), 391
 Filipinos in Hawaii, **431–34**
Filipinos in Puget Sound (D. Cordova), 391
Filipinos in Stockton (Mabalon and Reyes), 391
 Film directors, 757–59, 1125–26, 1184–86
 Films. *See* Hollywood, Asian Americans in
 Filner, Bob, 42, 430
Fine Line, 757–58
 “A Fire in Fontana” (DeSoto), 342
Fires of the Dragon (Kaplan), 802
The First Emperor, 117
 First Korean Methodist Church, 321
First Person Plural, 711
 First Women’s Bank of California, 106–7
 1st Filipino Infantry Regiment, 407–8
Fish Head Soup and Other Plays (Gotanda), 465
Fishbowl, 1215
 Fisheries. *See* Chinese fisheries in California
Fishes (Son), 1010
 Fishing and shrimping industry, 1166
 Fitzgerald, Larry, 935
 The Five Precepts, 1095
Five Years on a Rock (Murayama), 857–58
 Flag of South Vietnam, 1152
 Fleming, Paul, 296
Flight (Kibuishi), 470
 Florida, Alien land laws, 37
Flower Drum Song (film), 517
Flower Drum Song (Lee), 114
Flower Drum Song (play), 114, 116, 527
Flowers and Household Gods (Iko), 533
 Flying Tigers, 251
 Fo Guang Shan (Buddha’s Light Mountain)
 Monastery, 154
FOB (Fresh off the Boat) (Hwang), 130, 526
 Foenander, Terry, 278
 Fong, Hiram, **434–36**
 Fong, Matt, 79
Fong Yue Ting v. United States, **436–37**, 448–49
 Foo, Wong Chin, 260
Fool for Love (De Mai Tinh), 879
 Football, 871. *See also* specific players
 Foote, Lucius H., 41
Footnote to Youth (Villa), 1175
 Ford, Gerald, 572, 594
 Foreign Miner’s Tax, 8, 240, 241, 242, 288, 926
The Foreign Student (Choi), 313
Formosa Betrayed, 802
 Forrest, Nathan Bedford, 177
 Fouenty, John, 278–79
 Foug, Ly, 504
 442nd Regimental Combat Team, 67, 575,
 613–14, 617–18, 661
 Fourteenth Amendment, 19, 28, 31, 36, 244, 280, 1143,
 1239, 1241
 Fowler, Ralph H., 186–87
Fox Girl (Keller), 652
 Fox.com, 790
 Franklin, Benjamin, 38
 Franks, Joel, 395
 Fraser, Donald, 673–74, 706
 Fraternal organizations. *See* Tongs and Tong War
 Fratianne, Virginia, 731
 Fred Korematsu Day of Civil Liberties and
 the Constitution, 112
 Fred T. Korematsu Institute for Civil Rights and
 Education, 112
 “Free, Indentured, and Enslaved” (Cheng), 205
Free Food for Millionaires (M. Lee), 768–69
A Free Life (Ha Jin), 479
 Free Lunch Program, 529
 “Free white person,” 21, 27, 556, 1125, 1142
 Freedom and Heritage flag, 1152, 1153
 Freeman, James, 954
 Fresno Nisei, 894
 Freyssinet, Eugene, 793
 Frick, Raymond, 29
Frick v. Webb, 27, 29
The Frontiers of Love (D. Chang), 188
 Fu Manchu (fictional character), 516, 759–60
 Fujii, George, 349
 Fujii, Sei, 35–36
Fujii v. California, 36
 Fujikane, Candace, 934
 Fujita, Nagao and Lillie, 437
 Fujita, Rodney and Helen, 437
 Fujita, Scott, **437–38**
 Fukuda, Keiko, 644–45
 Fukuinkai, or Gospel Society, 598, 955–56
 Fukuinkai, Tyler, 588
 Fuller, Melville Weston, 437, 1144
 Fuller Theological Seminary, 365
 Funerary rituals, Chinese American, 233–34, 274–75
 Fung, Edward, **438–39**
 Fung, Eugene, 30
 Furse, Elizabeth, 1209
 Furutani, Warren, 734
 Future prospects of Asian Americans, **439–45**
 Fu-yuan, Tan, 273
 Fuzhounese church, 255
 G. W. Samples, 289
 Gabriel, Roman, **447**

- Gandhi*, 567
 Gandhi, Indira, 798
 Gandhi, Mohandas, 551
 Gang affiliation, 1026–27
The Gangster of Love (Hagedorn), 480
The Gangster We Are All Looking For (Thúy), 1107
 Gardner, Booth, 994
 Garment industry, 220–21, 266–68
 Garment Workers' Clinic, 110
 Garment Workers Education Fund, 109
Gasa-Gasa Girl (Hirahara), 498
Gatherings in Diaspora (Warner and Wittner), 119
 Gay Activist Alliance, 780
 "Gay Awareness" (Tsang), 781
 Gay Liberation Front, 780
 Gay marriage, 18
 Geary, Thomas, 436, 447
 Geary Act, 232, 243, 265, 280, 436–37, **447–49**, 929, 1119, 1135
 Gee, Emma, 94–95, 531
 Gee, Margaret (Maggie), **449–51**
 Gee, Yun, 74, 76
Gee Hop, In re, 20
 Gender, race, and class in political participation, **451–54**
 Gender roles, 606–7
General Sherman merchant ship, 671
 Geneva Conference, 306, 748
 Genthe, Arnold, 1120
 Gentlemen's Agreement: alien land laws, 24; in congressional debate over Immigration Act of 1924, 624; effect of on Japanese American community, 956; effect on ethnic communities in Hawaii, 358; effect on Filipino migrant farm workers, 417, 431; Immigration Act of 1924 and, 536; Japanese exclusion, 622–23, 627; Japanese immigration to Hawaii, 609; miscegenation laws and, 55; negotiation of, 610; Nisei and, 601, 605; picture marriage, 634, 943; political and social organizations, 598–99; T. Roosevelt and, 22, 81, 633
 Gentrification of Chinatown, New York, 221
 Gerth, Jeff, 775
A Gesture of Life (C. Lee), 763
Getting Together, 530, 947
Ghadar, **454–55**, 549
 Ghadar Party, 136, 454, **455–57**, 549, 563, 1016
 "The Ghat of the Only World" (Ghosh), 17
Ghazal format, 16–17
 Ghosh, Amitav, 17
 "The Ghost of Ha Tay" (Duong), 353
 Gibson, Otis, 588
 Gibson, Phil S., 36
Gidra, 102, 1105, 1236
 Gillespie, Charles, 239
 Gillett, James, 22
 Gilmour, Isamu. *See* Noguchi, Isamu
 Gilmour, Leonie, 886
 Gin Fook Bin, 30
 Gin Lin, 96
 Gin See Seer tong, 311
 Gingrich, Newt, 79
 Girl Scouts USA, 605, 606
 "GI's and Asian Women," 87
 Gish, Lillian, 641
 Giuda, Robert, 1066
 Gizycka, Eleanor, 146
 Glass ceiling debate, 442, **457–59**
 Glenn, Evelyn Nakano, 607
 Glick, Philip, 372
 Global migration, Filipino women and, 424–28
God of Luck (McCunn), 831
 Goddell, Roger, 438
The Gold Mountain (Charr), 198
 Gold Rush, 239, 266, 285–86, 845, 926
Gold Watch (Iko), 533
 Goldberg, Jackie, 1099
Golden Bones (Siv), 1009
The Golden Gate (Seth), 553
The Golden Palace, 312
Golden Venture, 220
Goldfinger, 966, 967
Goldsea Asian American Daily, 204
 Golf, Asian and Asian Americans, **459–63**, 702–4. *See also* Woods, Tiger
 Gong, Lue Gim, **463–64**
 Gong, Lum, 227
 Gonzalez, N.V.M., **464–65**, 969
 Gonzalez, Vernadette, 395
The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly, 815
Good as Lily (Kim), 470
The Good Earth (film), 516, 1121
A Good Fall (Ha Jin), 479
The Good Wife, 568
 Goodman, Louis E., 349
 Goodwin, Barbara, 200
 Gore, Al, 78, 79, 355
The Gospel of Buddha (Carus), 1055
 Gospel Society, 598
 Gotanda, Philip Kan, **465–66**, 835
 Goto, James, 823
 Gouthro, Laura, 381
 Goyal, Jay, **466–67**
 Goyle, Raj, **467–68**
A Grain of Sand (Yellow Pearl), 114
 Gramsci, Antonio, 400
Gran Oriente Filipino, 387
Grand Crossing (Saxton), 973
 Graphic novelists, **468–70**

- Gratianne, Linda, 731
 Graves, Danny, **470–71**
 Graves, Jesse F., 158
 Gray, Horace, 436–37, 1144
 Great Depression, 377–78, 605–8
 Great Kanto Earthquake, 537
Great Pinoy Boxing Era, 395
 Great Strike of 1909, 417
 Green, Ben, 1075
Green Dragon, 799
The Green Hornet, 518
Green Makers (Hirahara), 498
 Greenwald, Michelle, 678
 Gregoire, Christine, 804
 Greif, Michael, 1010
 Grew, Joseph, 46
 Guam, U.S. presence in, **471–73**, 871–72
 Guard, Thomas, 588
 Gue Lim, 1140–41
 Guest, Kenneth, 124
 Guloy, Pompeyo Benito, Jr., 83
Gunga Din, 567
Gunga Din Highway (F. Chin), 210
 Guthrie, Jeremy, **473–74**
 Gyari, Lodi, 1109
 Gymnastics, 314–15

 H-1B Visa, **475–78**, 539, 550, 1004, 1068
 Ha Jin, **478–79**
 Haddad, Yvonne, 93
 Hagedorn, Jessica, **479–81**
 Hahn, Gloria. *See* Kim, Ronyoung
 Hahn, Richard, 660
Haing Ngor: A Cambodian Odyssey
 (Ngor and Warner), 877
 Haley, Nikki Randhawa, **481–82**
Half Lives (Yew), 202
Half-Inch Himalayas (Ali), 17
 Hall, George, 8, 242, 926–27
 Hall, Martyn, 823
 Hall, Phillip Baker, 533
 Hama, Karl. *See* Yoneda, Karl G.
 Hamby, William, 407
 Hamm, Jesse, 470
 Hammond, Jody, 1169
 Han, Judy, 684
 Han, Si Dae, 682
 Hanapepe Massacre, 434
 Hancock, Herbie, 743
 Hang, William, 280
 “Hanging in the Carabao’s Tail” (Robles), 961
 Hanihara, Masanao, 624
 Hanna, Richard, 920

 “Hapas.” *See* Multiracial Asian Americans
 Harada, Harold, 484
 Harada, Jukichi and Ken, 483
 Harada, Sumi, 484
 Harada, Tsuneo “Cappy,” **482–83**, 586
 Harada House, **483–85**
 Harbor Village, 295–96
 Harby, Samuel, 942
 Hare Krishnas, 124, 552
 Harisu, 685
 Harnett, Bill, 466
Harold & Kumar Go to White Castle, 519, 568
 Harrington, John, 843
 Harris, Charles, 194
 Harris, Merriman Colbert, 589
 Harrison, Benjamin, 6
 Hart-Celler Act. *See* Immigration and
 Nationality Act of 1965
 Hartmann, Sadakichi, 74
 Harvard University, 326, 1182
 Hashimura, Roy, 483
 Hassler, John F., 36
 Hate crime laws, 60–64, 214
Have Come, Am Here (Villa), 1174
 Hawaii: Aikido dojos, 14; annexation of, 869–70;
 anti-Chinese hostility, 242; anti-Japanese movement in,
 64–68; baseball in, 224, 380–81, 584; Chinese arrival in,
 238, 239; ethnic churches in, 321; ethnic communities in,
 357–60; Filipinos in, 380–81, 431–34; hula, 524–26;
 Japanese Americans in, 584, 615–19; Japanese
 immigrant press, 630–31; Japanese immigrant women in,
 632–33; Japanese immigration to, 608, 615–16; Korean
 Americans in, 41, 363, 698–700; Korean immigration to,
 687–88; multiracial/multiethnic experience in, 853–55;
 Organic Act, 21–22; overview of U.S. control, 872–73;
 plantation workers in, 932–34; same-sex marriage, 782;
 settlement of, 357
 Hawaii Baseball League, 224
 Hawaii Federation of Labor, 819
 Hawaii Sugar Planters Association, 681
 Hawaiian cuisine, **485–86**
 Hawaiian Islanders, 381
 Hawaiian Japanese Civic Association, 601
 Hawaiian Plantation Association, 41
 Hawaiian religion. *See* Native Hawaiian religion
 Hawaiian Sugar Plantation Association (HSPA), 407, 416,
 425, 431, 433–34, 686–87, 818–19
 Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders. *See* Native Hawaiians and
 Pacific Islanders
 “Hawaii’s Japanese Problem” (Farrington), 65
 Haworth Pictures Corporation, 488
 Hayakawa, Samuel Ichiyé, **486–87**, 1102
 Hayakawa, Sessue (Kintaro), **487–89**, 515–16, 517

- Hayslip, Le Ly, **489–90**
 Hazzard, Chet, 1184
Heads by Harry (Yamanaka), 1215
 Heart Mountain Fair Play Committee, 348–49
The Heart's Language (Yamanaka), 1215
 Hedren, Tippi, 1169
 Hekking, Henri, 439
 Heller, Dean, 352
 Hells Canyon Massacre, **490–91**
Hema and Kaushik (Lahiri), 738
 Herbal medicine, Chinese, 271–74
 Herberg, Will, 120, 124
 Herbert, Will, 91
 HERE (Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees Union), 733–34
Here and Now (Yew), 202
 Heritage Foundation, 197, 198
 Herman, Alexis, 824
Heroes, 568
 Herzig-Yoshinaga, Aiko, 725, 729
 Hichborn, Franklin, 22
 Higashi, Edith Sueko, 1136
 High Class Cho, 313
 “The High Heeled Shoes, a Memoir” (DeSoto), 342–43
 Higher Wage Movement (HWM), 416, 433, 818
 Hill, Irving, 755
 Hin, Li Min, 263
Hindoo Fakir, 566
 Hindus in the United States, 182, 345, **491–95**, 551, 552, 1176–77
 Hindustan Association of America, 972
 Hindustani Association, 136
 Hinkle, Jay, 21
 Hip Sing Tong, 290, 1119–20
 Hip-hop music, 115–17, 394–95
 Hirabayashi, Gordon, 495–96, 592, 612, 725–26
Hirabayashi v. United States, **495–97**, 725–26, 727–29, 1232
 Hirahara, Naomi, **497–98**
 Hirata, Yoshimasa, 992–93
 Hirayama, Satoshi “Fibber,” **498–99**
 Hirono, Mazie K., **499–500**
 Hiroshima (band), 465
Hiroshima: Why America Dropped the Bomb (Takaki), 1072
 Hirsch, Martin, 512
A History of the Chinese in California: A Syllabus, 740
 Hi-Tek protest of 1999, 1152–53, 1154
 HIV/AIDS, 540, 781
 Hmong American women, **500–504**
 Hmong indigenous group, 570–71
 Hmong marriage solemnization bill, 1100
 Hmong of Minnesota and California, **504–11**;
 in California, 509–10; challenges of, 510–11;
 education, 1021; in Minnesota, 505–9; newspapers
 and radio news, 507, 1024; origin and
 immigration to the United States, 504–5;
 as part of Lao population, 745
 Hmong Veteran’s Naturalization Act, 508
 Ho, David, **511–13**
 Ho, Fred (Fred Wei-han Houn), **513–14**, 949
 Ho, George, 225
 Hockey players, 919
 Hohri, Sohei, 821–22
 Hollenback, J. W., 580
 Holley, Robert W., 654
 Hollingsworth, Levi, 239
 Hollywood, Asian Americans in, **514–20**, 566–69
 Holt, Harry, 701
 Holtzman, Liz, 573
 Home ownership, 1040
Homebase (Shawn Wong), 1200–1201
 Homophobia, 782
Hon Sing (radio program), 741
 Honda, Harry, 593
 Honda, Mike, 280, 332, **520–21**, 937, 1128
 Hong, Chan, 715
 Hong, Lee Gum, 224, 225
 Hong, Myung Ki “Mike,” 715
 Hong Kong, 149, 247, 297, 298–99, 954–55
Hong Yen Chang, In re, 20
 Hongisto, Richard, 403
 Hongwanji, Nishi, 155
Honolulu Advertiser, 179
Honolulu Star-Bulletin, 179
 Hontiveros-Baraquel, Risa, 650
 Hoover, J. Edgar, 270
Hopeless: Barack Obama and the Politics of Illusion, 344
 Horton, Shirley, 414
Hoshuko, 604
Hot Summer Winds, 342
 Houckgeest, Van Braan, 239
House, 568
The House Song Stories, 204
 House Un-American Activities
 Committee, 593
 Housing discrimination, 360–61, 594
 Houston, Velina Hasu, **521–22**, 640
 Houston Rockets, 127
 Howe, James B., 27
 Howe, James Wong, 516
 Hsia, Maria, 79
 Hsieh, Fred, 1041
 Hsinchu Science and Industrial Park, 299, 1068
 Hsüan Hua, **522–23**

- Hsue-shen, Tsien, 189
 Hu, Chin-Lung, **523**
 Hua Xia Chinese School, 282–83
 Huang, Emperor, 271–72
 Huang, Guangcai (Wong Kong Chai or Chae), **523–24**
 Huang, John, 79
 Hufstедler, Shirley, 755
 Hughes, Charles Evans, 536, 624
 Hughes, Jimmy, 351
 Hugo, Chad, 394
 Hui people, 94
 Huiguan, 229–30, 231, 243–44, 1118–19
 Hula, **524–26**
 Hula ‘auana, 525–26
 Human trafficking, 220. *See also* Anti-trafficking movement
 Humanity Buddhism, 154
 Humphrey-Lehman Bill, 829–30
The Hundred Secret Senses (Tan), 1074
 Hune, Shirley, 184
 Hung, Chi-kan Richard, 914
 Hung, William, 116
 Hunger strike, 303
 Hunt, Leigh S. J., 41
 Hunter, C. H., 311
 Hunter, Robert, 193, 1087
 Hur, Won Moo, 895
 Hwang, David Henry, 116, 130, **526–27**
 Hyde, C. M., 589
 Hydrauliccking, 286–87
 Hypergamy, 847
- “I Am an American” (Kingston), 663
 “I Cho Am a Woman” (Cho), 313
I Have Chosen to Fight (Cho), 313
 I Wor Kuen (IWK), 95, 103, 513, **529–30**,
 947, 948, 1192
 Ice skaters, 730–31
 Ichihashi, Yamato, 883
 Ichimada, Hisato, 46
 Ichioka, Yuji, 24, 85, 94–95, **530–32**, 884, 902, 1032
 Identity, 129–31, 152, 367, 637–39, 780–81, 852–53,
 1018–20, 1160–61. *See also* Churches and ethnic identity
 Identity formation, 63, 308, 328–29
 Ignacio, Emily, 396
 Igorot ethnic group, 570, 572
 Iijima, Chris, 102–3
 Iijima, Kazu Ikeda, 102–3, **532–33**, 946
 Iijima, Tak, 103, 532
 Ikada, S., 30
 Iko, Momoko, **533–34**
 ILGWU (International Ladies Garment Workers Union),
 884–85
 Illegal immigrants in Chinatown, New York, 220–21
Illiterate Heart (Alexander), 16
The Illustrated History of the Chinese in America
 (McCunn), 831
I’m the One I Want, 312
 Immigration Act of 1903, 534, 535
 Immigration Act of 1917 and the “Barred Zone,” **534–35**;
 “aliens ineligible for citizenship,” 39; Angel Island
 Immigration Station, 51; compared to other exclusions,
 623; Indian Americans and, 549, 796, 909; Indian
 denaturalization cases, 557; Indian exclusion, 562–64;
 Luce-Celler Act of 1946 and, 812; miscegenation
 laws, 57
 Immigration Act of 1924, **535–38**; Angel Island Immigra-
 tion Station, 51; Asian American Muslims, 91; compared
 to Immigration Act of 1917, 534; debate and passage of,
 623–25; Japanese Americans and, 611, 634; Japanese
 war brides, 639; *Tsoi Sim v. United States* and, 1136
 Immigration Act of 1952, 475
 Immigration Act of 1990, 42, 163, 430, **538–40**, 1109, 1110
 Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952. *See* McCarran-
 Walter Act of 1952
 Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965: abolition of quota
 system, 82; bilingual Chinese American press, 544;
 Chinatown, New York and, 219; Chinese American
 childhood, 228; Chinese immigration after, 246–47, 259;
 ethnic churches and, 321; Filipino immigrants and, 382,
 385, 387–88, 393, 430; Immigration Act of 1990 as a
 revision of, 538; increase in immigration from South
 Asia, 91, 92; Indian Americans, 550, 566, 796; Indone-
 sian Americans, 574; interracial marriage, 846; Japanese
 immigrant women, 635; Korean American churches,
 675–76; Korean Americans, 692, 698, 701; Korean
 immigrant women, 711; Koreatowns and, 719, 722; labor
 movement and, 733; origins of Chinatown gangs, 222;
 preference for highly educated immigrants, 978; prefer-
 ences for family reunification and skilled labor, 106;
 suburbanization and, 1039–43; Taiwanese Americans,
 1067; Thai Americans, 1087; tourism in Asian American
 areas, 1121; as watershed in Asian immigration, 114
 Immigration and Nationality Act of 1990, 909
 Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), 245–46,
 257–59, 301–3, 341, 418–19, 669–70, 1127
 Immigration and Naturalization Services Act
 of 1965, 90–91
 Immigration Reform Act of 1965, 435
 Immigration Reform and Control Act
 of 1986, **540–41**
 “In Search of Roots” program, 740
In the Dominion of Night (Gotanda), 465–66
 Inada, Lawson Fusao, **541–42**
 Incarceration of Japanese Americans: American-style con-
 centration camps, 47–50; baseball and, 586; Communist
 Party and, 532; DeSoto and, 342; draft resistance in

- internment camps, 348–50; effects of, 613; *Ex Parte Mitsuye Endo* (1944), 372–74; Fujita family, 437–38; graphic novels and, 468–69; Harada family, 484; in Hawaii, 67, 617; Hirabayashi, 496–97; Hirayama, 498–99; influence of, 628; Kibei, 656; Kooskia Internment Camp, 669–70; Korematsu, 727; legal challenges to, 612; Manzanar Children’s Village, 819–23; Manzanar Riot, 823–24; Mori, 842; motivations for, 66–67; Noguchi, 886; in *Obasan*, 667; Okada, 891–92; Otsuka on, 900; overview of, 611–12; redress for, 594; relocation, resettlement, and redress, 614–15; sites and museum exhibits, 97; Sone, 1011; Yamato Colony of California, 1221–22; *Yasui v. United States*, 1230–33; Yoneda, 1242; Zenimura, 1249
- Ince, Thomas H., 487
- Independent Chinese language newspapers during the Cold War, **542–45**
- India, 456, 461–62, 477
- Indian American community organizations, **545–48**
- Indian Americans, **548–55**; alien land laws, 30, 557; demography, professional life, and political participation, 550–51; Dīpāvali, 345; discrimination, 546, 550–51; Islam, 90–91; political history to 1965, 549–50; politics, literature, and intellectuals, 553; politics, the homeland, and the future of, 553–54; religion and culture, 546, 551–53, 796–97; suburbanization, 1043; tension with other South Asian groups, 554; transnational political behavior, 1128; transnational politics, 1015–18. *See also* Immigration Act of 1917 and the “Barred Zone”; Luce-Celler Act of 1946
- Indian Chinese cuisine, 556
- Indian cuisine in the United States, **555–56**
- Indian denaturalization cases, **556–58**
- Indian ethnic economy, **558–62**
- Indian exclusion, **562–64**, 909. *See also* Immigration Act of 1917 and the “Barred Zone”
- Indian Independence League, 136
- Indian Institutes of Technology, 477
- Indian League of America, 549
- Indian National Congress, 456
- Indian Welfare League, 549
- Indian women in America, **564–66**
- Indiana Jones and the Temple of Doom*, 566
- Indians in American TV and film, **566–69**
- Indigenous groups and the Asian American experience, **569–72**
- Indispensable Enemy* (Saxton), 973
- Indochina Migration and Refugee Assistance Act of 1975, 306, 506, **572–74**, 749
- Indonesian Americans, 93, **574–75**
- Ines, Doroteo, 401–2
- Infiltration—A Youngblood R.Evolution*, 395
- Information technology industry, 476–77
- Inner Voices* (Ung), 1139–40
- The Innocent* (Richard Kim), 659
- Inosanto, Dan, 395
- Inouye, Daniel K., 42, 385, **575–77**, 618
- INS. *See* Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS)
- INS v. Pangilinan*, 430
- Internal Security Act, 827
- International Hotel. *See* San Francisco International Hotel campaign
- International Hotel Tenants Association (IHTA), 948
- International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU), 884–85
- International Longshoremen and Warehousemen Union (ILWU), 578, 618
- International Society for Krishna Consciousness (ISKCON), 124, 552
- International Space Station, 812, 1193
- The Interpreter of Maladies* (Lahiri), 737–38
- Interracial marriage, 54–55, 57, 124, 136, 443, 846–49, 853, 909. *See also* Anti-Asian miscegenation laws
- InterVarsity Christian Fellowship (IVCF), 322, 369, 371
- An Introduction to Zen Buddhism* (D. Suzuki), 1055
- Iron Cages* (Takaki), 1071–72
- Irons, Peter, 725, 729
- Irrawaddy Tango* (Law-Yone), 756–57
- Irvine Libraries’ Southeast Asian Archive (SEAA), 1030–32
- Is Japan a Menace to Asia?* (Tarak), 136, 1079
- Ishigaki, Eitaro, 76
- Ishikawa, Ryo, 462
- Islam, 89–94, 182, 571, 909, 911
- Island: Poetry and History of Chinese Immigrants on Angel Island, 1910–1940* (Lim, et al.), 786
- Issei, 24–26, 28–29, 49–50, 591, 605–6, 609–10. *See also* Japanese Americans
- Issei pioneer thesis, 636
- Itliong, Larry, 379, 401, 410, **577–78**
- Ito, Robert, 533
- Ito, Tokugoro, 584
- Itsuka* (Kogawa), 667
- Izumi, Masumi, 636
- Jackson, Robert H., 35, 729
- Jaisohn, Philip, **579–80**, 714
- James, Derek, 730
- Janes, Leroy Lansing, 584
- Jang, Jon, **580–82**
- Jang In-hwan, 714
- Jang In-Whang, 689
- Jao, Frank, 308, 799
- Japan, 43–47, 330–33, 462–63, 472, 516–17, 526, 535–38
- Japan bashing, **582–83**

- Japan Exchange and Teaching (JET) Program, 619, 621
Japan Inside Out (Rhee), 960
 “Japan Invades Hollywood,” 583
 Japanese Agricultural Association, 26, 29
 Japanese American baseball, **583–87**
 Japanese American Baseball League, 584–85
 Japanese American Christianity, **587–91**, 598
 Japanese American Citizens League (JACL), **591–94**; alien land laws, 35, 37; draft resistance in internment camps, 348; *Ex Parte Mitsuye Endo* (1944), 372; formation of, 538, 601; H. Sakata and, 966–67; Hayakawa’s criticism of, 487; incarceration of Japanese Americans, 48; issue of fired state employees, 612; Kibei and, 655–56; Manzanar Riot, 823; *Ozawa v. United States*, 903; R. Matsui and, 826; suburbanization, 1040; *Yasui v. United States*, 1231–32
 Japanese American Committee for Democracy (JACD), 103, 532–33, 601
 Japanese American communities (contemporary), **594–97**
 Japanese American community organizations (historical), **597–602**; after 1900, 598–601; Kenjinkai (prefectural association), 600; labor and trade associations, 600; making of a unified ethnic community, 598; political and social organizations, 598–99; religious organizations, 599–600; second-generation organizations, 601; wartime and postwar organizations, 601
Japanese American Courier, 591
 Japanese American Cultural and Community Center, 595–96
 Japanese American draft resistance. *See* Draft resistance in internment camps
 Japanese American Internment Camp baseball, 586
 Japanese American Redress Act, 826. *See also* Civil Liberties Act of 1988
 Japanese American Research Project (JARP) Collection, 531
 Japanese American transnational families, **602–5**
 Japanese American women in the 1930s, **605–8**
 Japanese Americans, **608–15**; in Alaska, 81; alien land laws, 19–36, 623, 627–28, 903, 956; “aliens ineligible for citizenship,” 39–40, 903; Americanization of, 65–66; anti-Japanese movement, 610–11; Asian American sites and museum exhibits, 97; Buddhism, 600, 610; discrimination, 348–49, 605–6, 625, 631, 636; early Issei community, 610; effects of internment, 613; film portrayals of, 517–18; to Hawaii, 357–59, 932–34; Issei arrival in the United States, 609–10; legal challenges to internment, 612; music, 113–14; naturalization laws, 20–21; 100th Battalion/442nd RCT, 613–14; plantation life, 609; rates of naturalization, 995; religion’s social function, 955–58; relocation, resettlement, and redress, 614–15; Shin-Issei/Shin-Nisei identity, 994–96; suburbanization, 1038, 1040–41; transnational political behavior, 1129; World War II enlistments, 359; World War II incarceration, 611–12
 Japanese Americans in Hawaii, **615–19**
 Japanese Americans in Japan, **619–22**
 Japanese Association of America, 26, 28, 29, 623, 628
 Japanese Baseball League, 482, 499
 Japanese exclusion, 535–37, **622–25**
 Japanese Exclusion Act of 1924, 537. *See also* Immigration Act of 1924
 Japanese expatriates, 602–5
 Japanese farm workers in America, **625–28**
 Japanese Foreign Ministry, 622–23, 687
 Japanese immigrant press, **628–32**
 Japanese immigrant women, **632–35**
 Japanese language in Asian American studies, **635–36**
 Japanese Professional Baseball League, 1249
 Japanese return migrants in Japan, 638
 Japanese transnational identity, **637–39**
Japanese War Bride, 517
 Japanese war brides, **639–41**
 Japantown, San Francisco, 596
Jasmine (Mukherjee), 844–45
Jasmine Woman, 204
 Jazz music, 114
 Jen, Gish, **641–42**
 Jen, Myengwoon, 689
 Jenkins, Francis, 375
 Jeon Myeong-un, 714
 Jero, 640–41
 Jesse L. Lasky Feature Play Company, 488
 Jessica McClintock, 89, 108–9
 Jeung, Russell, 124, 369
 Jew, Jeanie F., 118
The Jewel in the Crown, 567
 Jin, 116
 Jindal, Piyush “Bobby,” 481, **642–43**
 Jodo Shinshu (True Pureland) Nishi Hongwanji (Western School) Buddhist sect, 154–55
 Johnson, Albert, 624
 Johnson, Hiram, 22–23, 24, 627
 Johnson, James, 279
 Johnson, Lyndon B., 321, 971
 Johnson Reed Act, 69
 Johnson-Reed Act, 384, 625, 977. *See also* Immigration Act of 1924
 Jones, George Heber, 687
 Jordan, David Starr, 265
Jordan v. Tashiro, 32
Journal of the Pharmaceutical Society of Japan, 992
Journey Beyond the West, 514
Journey from the Fall, 1125, 1126
Journey of a Thousand Miles (Lang), 744
The Journey to the West, 469

- The Joy Luck Club* (film), 518, 1184, 1185
The Joy Luck Club (Tan), 130, 1074, 1185
 Joyner, C. E., 1189
Ju Troy decision, 1120
 Judd, Albert F., 431
 Judges, 880–81
 Judo in America, **644–45**
 Jundia, Orvy, 395
 Jung, Carl, 1055
 Justice for Garment Workers Campaign, 108–9
- K. Okahara, In re*, 26
 Ka‘ahumanu, Queen, 868
 Kagawa, Toyohiko, 46
 Kahahawai, Joseph, 934
 Kahanamoku, Duke, **647–48**
 Kahiko, 524–26
 Kahuna (priests), 866, 867
 Kaiser, Henry J., 245
 Kalākaua, David, 525, 867
 Kaling, Mindy, 568
 Kalloch, Isaac, 1207
 Kamamura, 75
 Kamehameha I, 867, 868
 Kamehameha II, 867–68
 Kānaka ‘Ōiwi. *See* Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders
 Kaneko, Bill, 594
 Kaneko, Ulysses Shinsei, 21
 Kang, Youwei, 304
 Kano, Jigoro, 644
 Kao, Charles K., **648–49**
 Kao, Don, 781
 Kao, Grace, 1022, 1023
Kao Yan (The Ordeal) (Yu), 1244
 Kaplan, David E., 802
 Kapsin Coup, 579, 580
 Kapu (rules), 866–67
 Katayama, Sen, 945
 Katayama, Tetsu, 46–47
 Katipunan ng mga Demokratikong Pilipinos (KDP),
649–51, 781, 948, 1192
 Kaufman, Charles, 211, 212
 Kawamoto, Evelyn Tokue, **651**, 668
 Kays, John, 1140
 Kearney, Dennis, 8–9, 58, 241, 325, 1206
 “Kearney Riots,” 9
 Kearny Street Workshop, 779, 961–62
 Keefe, Daniel, 564
 Keller, Nora Okja, **651–52**
 Kelley, David C., 177
 Kelliher, Margaret Anderson, 200
 Kelly, Randy, 842
Kenji Namba v. McCourt, 36–37
- Kenjinkai (prefectural association), 600
 Kenny, Robert W., 32–33, 35
Kenny Was a Shortstop (Barroga), 140
 Kerry, John, 355
 Khambatta, Persis, 567
 Khmer ethnic group, 570–71
 Khmer Rouge era, 161–62, 164–65, 181, 877,
 967, 1006–8, 1139
 Khon, Sao, 170
 Khorana, Har Gobind, **652–55**
Khse Buong (Ung), 1139
Khwan ritual, 753
 Kibei, **655–57**
 Kibei Nisei, 638
 Kibuishi, Kazu, 470
 Kickboxing, 1085, 1099
 Kido, Saburo, 32, 592, 593
 Kigyo Johka Machi, 603–4
The Killing Fields, 876, 877
 Kim, Anthony, 459–60, 703–4
 Kim, Chang-jun “Jay,” 79
 Kim, Charles H., 682
 Kim, Chong, 69
 Kim, Derek Kirk, 469, 470
 Kim, Elaine H., **657–58**
 Kim, Elizabeth, 711
 Kim, Hancho, 674
 Kim, Harry, 682
 Kim, Helen, 672
 Kim, Hooni, 708
 Kim, Jaesu, 339
 Kim, Jay, 79, **658–59**
 Kim, Jodi, 928
 Kim, Richard Eun Kook, **659–60**
 Kim, Ronyoung, **660–61**
 Kim, Sung, 696, 941
 Kim, Young Oak, **661–62**
 Kim Chong Lim, 683, 705
 Kim Chong-hak, 715
 Kim Haksun, 331
 Kim Jong-lim, 714
 Kim Woon-ha, 706
 Kim Yong Jeung, 682–83
Kimchee & Chitlins (E. Wong), 1195
The Kimchi Chronicles, 709
 King, Rodney, 718
The King and I, 114
 Kingman, Dong, 77
 Kingston, Maxine Hong, 130, 176, **662–65**
 KiriKiri, 685
 Kishizawa, Ian, 1056
The Kitchen God’s Wife (Tan), 1074
 Kitchen Workers’ Union, 656

- KIWA (Korean Immigrant Workers Alliance), 69, 89, 684
 Klinkhammer, Peter, 146
 Kniss, Fred, 124
 Kösen, Imakita, 1055
 Kobayashi, Masasuke, 820
 Koch, Ed, 717
 Kochiyama, Bill, 103
 Kochiyama, Yuri, 86, 87, 103, **665–66**, 946, 1104
 Koda, Keisaburo, 627, 628
 Kogawa, Joy, **666–68**
 Kong-Thao, Kazoua, 502, 508
 Konno, Ford Hiroshi, **668–69**
 Kono, Charles, 20–21
 Kono, Tommy, **669**
 Kooskia Internment Camp, 97, **669–71**
 Korea, and Japan, 12–13, 689, 704–5, 712–14
 Korea, U.S. Punitive Action in, **671–72**
The Korea Times, **672–73**
 Koreagate, **673–74**, 705–6, 920–21
 Korean American churches, **674–77**, 688, 692–93
 Korean American Community Foundation, **677–78**
The Korean American Dream (K. Park), 680
 Korean American ethnic economy, **678–81**, 719–21
 Korean American farmers in the United States, **681–83**
 Korean American LGBT Movements in Los Angeles and New York, **683–85**
 Korean Americans, **685–94**; adopted Asian Americans, 700–701, 710–11; African Americans and, 694, 698, 715–19, 805–6; “aliens ineligible for citizenship,” 39–40; anti-Japanese sentiment, 689–90; business ownership, 693, 716–17, 805, 807–8; Christian missionaries, 686; Christianity, 121, 688, 692–93, 719; compared to other Asian immigrants, 687; disunity, 693–94; evangelicals on the college campus, 368; farmers, 681–83; in Hawaii, 358, 359, 363, 932–34; history of in *Clay Walls*, 660–61; Korean Central Intelligence Agency and, 705–6; Korean politics, 689–90, 696, 704, 712–14; Korean War, 690–91; Los Angeles riots, 805–8; pop culture, 696–97, 698–99; post-1965 immigration, 692; reasons for emigration, 691–92; recruitment as laborers, 686–88; religion and, 123; small businesses, 693, 716–17; in South Central Los Angeles, 694; suburbanization, 1039, 1042–43; swap meets, 1058–59; transnational political behavior, 1128, 1129; war brides, 691; World War II, 690. *See also* Evangelicals and Korean American community formation
 Korean Americans and transnationalism, **694–98**
 Korean Americans for Civil Rights, 684
 Korean Americans in Hawaii, **698–700**
 Korean Americans in the Cold War, **700–702**
 Korean and Korean American golf, **702–4**
 Korean Aviation School in America, **704–5**
 Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA) and the Korean American community, 673–74, **705–6**
 Korean cuisine in the United States, **706–9**
 Korean immigrant women in America, **709–12**
 Korean Immigrant Workers Alliance (KIWA), 89, 684
 Korean independence movement in the United States, 12, **712–14**, 921–22
 Korean Lesbian and Gay Organization (KGLO), 683–84
 Korean National Association (KNA), 12–13, 704, 713–14, **714–15**, 959
 Korean Provisional Government, 12–13, 689, 704–5, 713, 715, 922, 959
 Korean War, 1, 218, 662, 690–91, 700, 710, 960
 Korean Wave, 696, 698
 Korean-black relations, 694, 698, **715–19**
 Korean-Japanese Treaty of 1876, 1146
 Koreans United for Equality (KUE), 684
 Koreatown, 693–94, **719–24**, 1123
 Koreatown Immigrant Workers Alliance (KIWA), **724–25**
 Korematsu, Fred, 89, 112, 372, 612, 725–30, 1233
Korematsu, Hirabayashi, and Yasui Coram Nobis cases, 372–73, **725–26**
Korematsu v. United States, 36, 612, 725–26, **726–30**, 835
 Kron, Steve, 317
 Kross, Jack, 209
 Kulp, Daniel, 272
Kung Fu, 10, 759
 Kuniyoshi, Yasuo, 74–75, 76, 517
 Kuo, Hong-Chih, **730**
 Kuo, Joyce, 1078
 Kuomintang (KMT), 1012, 1013–14, 1048, 1049–50
 Kupfer, Owen E., 36
 Kurien, Prema, 120
 Kurihara, Joe, 656
 Kuromiya, Kiyoshi, 780
 Kurosaki, Ryan Yoshitomo, 586
 Kusama, Karyn, 519
 Kusumoto, Rokuichi, 820–21
 Kwan, Karen, 730
 Kwan, Michelle, **730–31**
 Kwong, Peter, 679
La China Poblana, 1991, 786
 L.A. Community Redevelopment Agency, 721–22
Labor Immigration Under Capitalism (Cheng and Bonacich), 205
 Labor issues: in Ah Quin diary, 7; Asian American labor in Alaska, 81–83; Bellingham “Anti-Hindu Riot,” 141–43; Chinese immigrant workers in multiethnic Chicago, 275–78; Chinese railroad workers, 293–94; Filipino agricultural workers, 377–80; Filipino American domestic workers, 389–91; Filipino women and global

- migration, 425; Japanese farm workers in America, 625–28; Korean American farmers, 681–83
- Labor movement, 82–83, 87–88, 108–10, 577–78, 650, **733–36**, 817–19
- Labor strikes, 416–18, 577–78, 616–18, 818, 864–65, 884–85, 933. *See also* Delano Grape Strike
- Lachica, Eric, 42
- Ladies Professional Golf Association (LPGA), 460, 461, 702
- Ladro, Jack, 381
- Ladwig, Mark, 371
- Lady from Chungking*, 517
- Lahiri, Amar, 737
- Lahiri, Jhumpa, **736–39**
- Lai, Him Mark, 278, **739–41**, 786, 1245
- Lai, Huang, 302
- Lair, William, 505
- Lakireddy Bali Reddy v. USA*, 69
- Lakshmi, Padma, 568
- Lam, Tony, **741–42**, 1153
- Lambuth, James William, 177
- Lambuth, Mary Isabella McClellan, 177
- Lambuth, Walter R., 178
- Landis, Kennesaw Mountain, 586
- Lane, Beatrice, 1055
- Lanfang, Mei, 787
- Lang, Ping, **742–43**
- Lang Lang, **743–44**
- Language, 308, 321–22, 413–15, 635–36, 896
- Language in Action* (Hayakawa), 486
- Language of the Geckos and Other Stories* (Pak), 908
- A Language of Their Own* (Yew), 202
- Language policy, 1179–80
- Language schools in the United States, Chinese, 280–84
- Lantos, Tom, 332
- Lao American ethnic economy, **744–47**
- Lao Americans, **747–54**; assimilation, 751; Buddhism, 748, 752–53; cuisine, 746, 754; education, 1021, 1022; family, 750–51; growth and distribution of, 749–50; juvenile crime, 1026–27; Laos and the Lao, 747–48; major festivals and rituals, 753; refugee settlement in the United States, 749; religion, 752–53; Vietnam War, 748–49; work and income, 751–52
- Lao Family Community, 507, 508, 509
- Lao language, 748
- Lao New Year's festivals, 746, 753
- Laos, 504–5, 570–71
- Lape, Bob, 261
- The Laramie Project*, 202
- Las Vegas, Nevada, 1088
- The Last Airbender*, 519
- The Last Emperor*, 204
- The Latehomecomer* (Yang), 508
- Lau, Kinney Kinmon, 754
- Lau Ow Bew, 982
- Lau Ow Bew v. United States*, 982
- Lau v. Nichols*, **754–55**
- The Laughter of My Father* (Bulosan), 157
- Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, 450
- Lawsin, Emily Porcincula, 375
- Law-Yone, Wendy, **756–57**
- Lazarus, Sylvain, 378
- Laziness on a Saturday Afternoon*, 757
- The League of Friends of Korea*, 580
- League of Revolutionary Struggle (LRS), 530, 948–49
- Lea-Nye Bill, 591–92
- Leary, Richard, 471
- Leaving Yesler* (Bacho), 134
- Leaving Yuba City* (Divakaruni), 346
- Lee, Ang, 518–19, **757–59**
- Lee, Bruce, 517–18, 527, **759–60**
- Lee, C. Y., 114, 517, **760–62**
- Lee, Cecelia Hae-Jin, 711
- Lee, Chang-rae, **762–63**
- Lee, Chol Soo, 767
- Lee, Choua, 502, 508
- Lee, Clark, 1116
- Lee, Cynthia, 211
- Lee, Dai-ming, 544, **763–64**
- Lee, David, 690
- Lee, Dohee, 711
- Lee, Don, **764–65**
- Lee, Hazel (Ah Ying), 450, **765–67**
- Lee, Helen, 10, 12
- Lee, Jai-hyon, 673
- Lee, Jason, 682
- Lee, Kyung Won (K.W.), **767–68**
- Lee, Lue, 505
- Lee, Mary Paik, 711
- Lee, Min Jin, **768–69**
- Lee, Robert G., **769–70**
- Lee, Robert Y., 295
- Lee, Rose Hum, **770–71**
- Lee, Sammy, 127, 350, 351, **771–73**
- Lee, Tsung Dao, 317, **773–75**, 925, 1225
- Lee, Wen Ho, 334, 355, **775–76**, 1253
- Lee, Wo, 1239–40
- Lee, Yan Phou, **776–77**
- Lee, Yuan Tseh, **777–79**, 1068
- Lee Chuck, 310
- Lee Dai-ming, 304
- Lee Jai Soo, 682
- Lee She, 490
- Lee Ying, 258
- Legal permanent residents (LPRs), 163, 539, 573
- The Legend Is Alive*, 879
- The Legend of Bruce Lee*, 760

- “The Legend of Miss Sasagawara” (DeSoto), 342, 343
Legends from Camp (Inada), 541, 542
Legionarios del Trabajo, 387
 Leitner Report, 163–64
 Leonard, Karen, 30
 Leong, Russell, **779–80**
Leonie, 887
 Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender issues. *See* LGBT activism
 Leung, Tom, 273
 Leways, Inc., 947
 Lewis-Clark Center for Arts & History, 97
 LGBT activism, 540, 548, 566, 683–85, **780–83**, 809.
 See also Sexuality
 Li, Choh Hao, **783–84**
 Li, Jet, 759
 Li, Yi, **785–86**
 Li, Yundi, 743
 Li Hongzhang, 260, 1049
 Li Hung-Chang, 1146
 Liang Qichao, 295
 Liem, Dean Borshay, 711
 Lien, Pei-te, 122
 Lien Yi Society, 864
Life magazine, 351, 665, 666
The Life of Pi, 759
Life Tastes Good, 835
 Light, Ivan, 679–80
 Liholiho, 867–68
 Lili’uokalani, 525
 Lim, Genny, **786–87**
 Lim, Happy, 945
 Lim, Kim Chong, 683
 Lim, Shirley Geok-lin, 188, **787–88**
 Lim, Un Jung, 684
 Lin, Jeremy, 127–28, 322, **788–91**
 Lin, Justin, 519
 Lin, Maya, 140, **791–92**
 Lin, Shirley, 788
 Lin, Tung-Yen (T.Y.), **792–93**
 Lin, Yutang, **793–95**
 Lin Gie-Ming, 788
 Lincecum, Tim, 381, **795**
 Lind, Andrew, 854
 Lindquist, Eric, 1211
 Ling, David, 349
 Ling Sing, 926
 “Linsanity,” 789–91
 Lion dance. *See* Chinese lion dance in the United States
 Lipis ethnic group, 570
 Literature, 7, 53–54, 468–70, 553, 711–12. *See also*
 Graphic novelists; *specific authors*
 Little, Morris, 823
Little Fish, 879
Little Flower, 203
 Little India and South Asian communities, **795–98**
 Little Pete’s Sanyi Huiguan, 1119
 Little Saigon and Vietnamese American communities, **798–802**
Little Saigons (Aguilar-San Juan), 801
 Little Tokyo, Los Angeles, 596
 Little Tokyo People’s Rights Organization (LTPRO), 595–96
 Little Wagner Act, 435
 Liu, Carol, 939
 Liu, Henry, **802–3**
 Liu, John, 1051
 Liu, William, 913
 Lo, Lormong, **803–4**
 Lobbyists, 920–21. *See also* Koreagate
 Local ethnic markets, 745
 Locke, Gary, 174–75, **804–5**, 941
 Locke-Paddon, William, 1190
 Lode mining, 287
 Lodge, Henry Cabot, 624
 Lon Nol, 967, 1006
 Long, Bertha, 144
 Loomis, Augustus, 876
 Lopez, Diana, 1065
 Lopez, Mark, 1065
 Lopez, Steven, 1065
 Los Alamos National Laboratory, 334, 775
 Los Angeles, 11, 683–85, 721–22, 1088, 1098–99
Los Angeles Japanese Daily News (Rafu Shimpo), 488, 497,
 606, 630, 631, 632, 1223
 Los Angeles riots, 694, 698, 717–18, 721, 724, 767, **805–9**
Los Angeles Times, 253, 260, 296, 355, 928
Lost, 712
 “Lost Battalion,” 67, 575, 613
Lost Names (Richard Kim), 659, 660
 Louganis, Greg, **809–10**
 Louie, Luella, 250
 Louie, Steve, 88
The Love Wife (Jen), 642
Loving v. Virginia, 57
 Low, Charlie, 295
 Lowe, Pardee, **810–11**
 Lowell, Massachusetts. *See* Cambodian community in
 Lowell, Massachusetts
 Loyalty issue, 48–49, 64, 67, 412, 592, 656. *See also*
 Confession Program
 Lu, Ed, **811–12**
 Luce, Clare Boothe, 812
 Luce-Celler Act of 1946, 90, 387, 535, 557, 796, **812–14**
 Lucky Sewing, 108, 109
 Lung Fat, 1063
 Lunte, Cindy, 3
Lust, Caution, 204
 Lyfoung, Touby, 504–5

- M. Butterfly* (Hwang), 130, 527
 Ma, Yo-Yo, 117, **815–16**
 Mabalon, Dawn, 395–96
 MacArthur, Douglas, 43–47, 427, 429, 482, 586, 960, 963
 MacDonald, Betty, 1011
 Macdonald, Duncan, 323
 MacGowen, Daniel Jerome, 1202
 Mackey, Biz, 1249
Madame Butterfly (Puccini), 116, 527
 Madame Chiang Kai-shek. *See* Soong Mei-ling
The Magic Brush (G. Lim), 786
 Magruder, John, 1117
 Maharishi Mahesh Yogi, 492, 567, **816–17**
 Mahayana Buddhism, 152, 155
 Mai Wah Society, 97
 “Maiden Voyage: Excursion into Sexuality and Identity Politics in Asian America” (Takagi), 1071
 Mainichi, Kashu, 35
 MAITRI, 346
 Major League Baseball (MLB). *See* Baseball
 Malakar, Sanjaya, 568
 Malaysia, 149
 Malaysian Americans, 93–94, **817**
 Malcolm X, 71, 87, 103
 Manavi, 547–48
 Mancao, Crispin, 381
 Mangaoang, Ernesto, 82
 Manglapus, Raul, 422
 Manila-Acapulco galleon circuit, 383, 391–92
 Manlapit, Pablo, 416, 417, 433–34, **817–19**
Manongs, 384, 406. *See also* Filipino agricultural workers; Filipino Americans in World War II
 “A Manong’s Heart” (Bacho), 134
 Manongs of the International Hotel, 87, 89, 96, 379, 384, 402–3
 Manufacturing, 241, 1166
Manzanar: An American Story, 466, 860
 Manzanar Children’s Village, **819–23**
 Manzanar Citizen’s Federation, 1242
 Manzanar Riot, **823–24**
 Maram, Linda, 395
 March First Movement, 13, 689, 921
 Marcos, Ferdinand, 83, 379, 385, 389, 402, 422, 428, 570, 649, 650, 948, 1128
 Marcos, Imelda Romualdez, 422
 Marriage, 564–66, 607, 610, 751. *See also* Picture marriage
 Marshall, Charles K. *See* Cao Zishi
 Marshall, G. N., 164
 Marshall, Louis, 28, 29
 Marshall Islands, 873–74
 Marti, Gerardo, 124
 Martial arts, 13–14, 644–45, 759–60, 879, 1064–65
The Martyred (Richard Kim), 659, 660
 Marutani, William, 593
 Marx, Joel M., 280
 Marxist organizations. *See* I Wor Kuen (IWK); Radical organizations; Wei Min She (WMS)
 Masanao, Hanihara, 536–37
 Masaoka, Mike, 592–93, 594
 Mass incarceration. *See* Incarceration of Japanese Americans
 Massie trial, 699, 934
 Mathematics, 206–7, 1075–76, 1233–34, 1251–52
 Mathias, Bob, 351
 Mathis, Liz, 337
 Matriarchy, 501
The Matrix, 519
 Matsuda, Minn, 102, 533
 Matsuda, Sorakichi, 584
 Matsui, Doris O., **824–25**, 826
 Matsui, Robert T., 824–25, **825–27**
 Matsuki, Tamematsu, 21
 Matsumoto, Henry, 820, 821
 Matsumoto, Ken, 592
 Matsumoto, Lillian, 821, 822
 Matsunaga, Masayuki “Spark,” 15, **827–28**
 Matthews, T. Stanley, 1240
 Matthews, Walter J., 51
 Mattoon, Everett W., 33, 36
 Maurer, Katharine, 52
Maus (Spiegelman), 468
Maverick expedition, 456
Maya Lin, a Strong Clear Vision, 792
 Mayweather, Floyd, 791
 Mazzoli, Romano L., 540
 McAllister, Hall, 310
 McCain, John, 356, 799–800, 1178
 McCarran, Pat, 40, 828–29
 McCarran Act of 1950, 95
 McCarran Internal Security Act, 292
 McCarran-Walter Act of 1952, **828–30**; Japanese American Citizens League’s support for, 487, 593; Japanese immigration quota, 634; Japanese war brides, 639; Korean Americans, 691; passage of, 21; preference for highly educated immigrants, 978; refugees, 952; removal of racial barriers to naturalization, 36, 40, 198, 611, 625
 McClatchy, Valentine S., 25, 65
 McCloud, Aminah Beverly, 94
 McCloy, John J., 1232
 McCune, George M., 199
 McCune, George Shannon, 199
 McCunn, Ruthanne Lum, **830–32**
 McDonald Carano Wilson LLP, 352
 McGovney, Dudley, 28–29
 McGraw, John, 584
 McKinley, William, 383

- McMillin, George, 472
 McMurray, Lloyd E., 341
 McWhirter, Nikki, 211
 McWilliams, Carey, 156, 1151
 Meares, John, 239
 Meditation, 1096
 Mehta, Zarin, 833
 Mehta, Zubin, **832–33**
 Mei Lanfang, 113, 581
 Meiji Restoration, 608, 632
 Meisel, Steven, 1045
 Melanesia. *See* Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders
 Mele hula, 524–25
Memory's Fictions (Santos), 969
 Meng, Grace, 362, **833–34**, 939
 Meng, Jimmy, 834
 Mental health concerns, 164–65, 1043–44
 Merit making, 1096
 Merritt, Ralph, 821, 823
 Messemer, Robert, 775
 Methodist Church, 688, 692
 Methodist Episcopal Church, 588–90, 688
 Micronesia, 873. *See also* Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders
 Middleman minority merchants, 558, 560, 679, 680–81, 717, 805
 Midori Books, 497
 Mien ethnic group, 570–71
 Migrant farm labor, 625–26, 682
 Milestone, Lewis, 10
 Military Families Act, 431
 Military Intelligence Service (MIS), 620, 656, 1241
 Miller, F. S., 12
 Miller, Gary, 658
 Mills, Allen, 317
 Mills, Sylvanus, 1060
 Min, Chan-ho, 688
 Min, Pyong Gap, 123, 365
 Min Qing (Chinese Democratic Youth League), 231, 244
 Minami, Dale, **834–35**
 Mineta, Norman, 79, 322, **835–37**, 939
 Mining industry, 81, 96, 240, 285–89
 Mink, Patsy Takemoto, 500, **837–39**
Mink v. Environmental Protection Agency, 838
 Minnesota, Hmong of, 505–9
 Minoru, Yoneda, 883
 Misaka, Wataru, **839–40**
 Miscegenation laws, 54–57, 379, 384, 593, 846
Miss Saigon, 116
 Mission 261, 296
Mission to America (Haddad and Smith), 93
 Missionaries, 43–47, 686, 688, 698, 868, 1052, 1228–29
The Mistress of Spices (Divakaruni), 346, 347
 MIWON (Multi-ethnic Immigrant Workers Alliance), 724
Mixed Blood (Spickard), 1035
 Miyakawa, Masuji, 21
 Miyama, Kanichi, 588–89
 Mizamoto, Ai, 462
 Mizuno, H., 28
 Model minorities: Chinese Americans, 252, 300; college students, 329; evangelicals on the college campus, 368; Japanese Americans and Chinese Americans, 87; Korean Americans, 711; Lin, J. and, 790; in opposition to Latinos and African Americans, 276; origins of the term, 1027; *Ozawa v. United States*, 903; refugees and, 1037; South Asian Muslims, 93; suburbanization, 1040; Thind and, 1142; Third World unity, 1104–5; Vietnamese Americans, 1161
 Modi, Narendra, 553
 Moeur, Leakhena, 169
 Momberg, G. A., 1222
Mom's Pocketguide to Watching Football (Wong and Wong), 1198
Mon Hing, 303–4
Mona in the Promised Land (Jen), 641–42
 Moncado, Hilario Camino, 411–13, 422
Monkey Bridge (Cao), 175–76
Monkey: Part One, 513–14
 Monks, 522–23
 Monrayo, Angeles, 425, 432
 Monrayo, Valeriana, 425
 Monterey, California, Chinese fisheries in, 264–65
 Monterey Park, California, 360
 Montero, Darrel, 1157
 “Mood” (D. Chang), 188
 Moon, Sun Myung, 673
 Moon Festival, **840–41**
The Moon Lady (Tan), 1074
 Mooncake, 840–41
 Moore, Brenda L., 620
 Moorman, Charlotte, 906
 Mori, Toshio, **841–42**
 Morita, Pat, 518
 Mormons, 868
 Morning, Ann, 1018–19
Morning Has Broken (Asa Ga Kimashita) (Houstong), 521
 Moros ethnic group, 570, 572
 Morrison, George, 31
Morrison v. People of State of California, 31
 Morse, James, 41
 Morse, Mary Keatinge, 136, 1079
 Morton, Jackson, 9
 Moss, John E., 826
Most Wanted (Hagedorn), 481
 Motel industry, 558–59
 “Mother’s Tongue” (Keller), 652

- Moua, Mai Neng, 508
 Moua, Mee, 175, 502, 503, 507, 508, **842–43**, 1100
 Moulder, Andrew Jackson, 1077
 Moulton, Terry, 1211
Mountains of Gold (Sung), 1051
Moving the Image: Independent Asian Pacific American Media Arts, 780
 Moy, Eugene, 215–16, 544
 Moy, Irving D., 929
Mrs. Judo: Be Strong, Be Gentle, Be Beautiful, 645
Mrs. Spring Fragrance (Sui Sin Far), 1045–46
 Muay Thai (kickboxing), 1085, 1099
 Mukherjee, Bharati, **843–45**
 Mukherjee, Bina, 843
 Muller, Eric, 496
 Multiracial Asian Americans, **845–53**; demographic and socioeconomic characteristics, 849–51; evolution of, 845–46; forging a new identity, 852–53; identity, 851–52; patterns of interracial marriage, 846–49
 Multiracial/multiethnic experience in Hawaii, **853–55**
 Mura, David, **855–56**
 Murakami, Masanori, 483
 Murayama, Milton, **856–58**
 Murphy, Frank, 34–35, 373, 728–29
 Murray, Hugh C., 926
The Music Lessons (Yamauchi), 1224
 Mutual Assistance Associations (MAAs), 714, 1034–35
My America... or Honk If You Love Buddha (Tajima-Peña), 383
My Country and My People (Y. Lin), 793–94
My Country Versus Me (Lee and Zia), 776
My Mother India (Saund), 972
 Myer, Dillon, 656
The Mysterious Dr. Fu Manchu, 516
- Nagae, Peggy, 1233
 Nagano, Kent, 466, **859–60**
 Nagasaki, 992
 Nagasu, Mirai Aileen, **860–61**
 Nagata, Donna, 49
 Nail salon industry, 745, 1165, 1166–67, 1168–71
 Nakagawa, John, 587
 Nakagawa, Kerry, 585, 587
 Nakanishi, Don T., **861–62**
 Nakano, Satoshi, 429–30
 Nambu, Yoichiro, **862–64**
Name Me Nobody (Yamanaka), 1215
The Namesake (film), 565, 737
The Namesake (Lahiri), 737, 738
Nampally Road (Alexander), 16
 Nanak, Guru, 998
 Nanjing Massacre, 188–89, 330
 Narayanan, Vasudha, 492
- Natalie Wood is Dead* (Gotanda), 465
 Nathoy, Lalu. *See* Bemis, Polly (Lalu Nathoy) Perspective 1; Bemis, Polly (Lalu Nathoy) Perspective 2
 National Civil Rights Movement Against Anti-Asian Violence. *See* Chin, Vincent
 National Coalition of Black Gays, 781
 National Council of Associations of Chinese Language Schools (NCACLS), 282
 National Domestic Workers Alliance (NDWA), 390
 National Farm Labor Union (NFLU), 379, 410
 National Farm Worker's Association (NFWA), 379, 578
 National Farm Workers Service Center, 379
 National Federation of Filipino American Associations, 388
 National Football League (NFL). *See* Football players
 National Gurdwara and Sikh Cultural Center, 999
 National Hockey League (NHL). *See* Hockey players
 National Maritime Union (NMU) and Chinese seamen, **864–65**
 National Redress Committee, 594
 National Third World Lesbian and Gay Conference, 781
 Native Americans, 38
 Native Hawaiian cuisine, 485
 Native Hawaiian Government Reorganization Act, 15, 872
 Native Hawaiian religion, **865–69**
 Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders, **869–76**; American Samoa, 870–71; economics, 875; educational attainment, 875; Federated States of Micronesia, 873; Guam, 871–72; Hawaii, 872–73; health, 875; history, 869–70; Micronesia, 873; Northern Marianas, 874; overview of Pacific Island nations under U.S. control, 870–74; Republic of Belau (Palau), 874; Republic of the Marshall Islands, 873–74; U.S. Census categories and representation, 875
Native Speaker (C. Lee), 762–63
 Naturalization: *Ah Yup, In Re*, 8–10; alien land laws and, 19–22; anti-Japanese movement, 20–22; Charr and, 198–99; Japanese Americans, 20–22, 27; Ozawa, 66; *Ozawa v. United States*, 27, 198, 623, 902–4, 1124, 1141–42; political participation, 452; rates of, 995; *Toyota v. United States*, 1124–25; *United States v. Third*, 56, 198, 556–57, 623, 813, 1141–43. *See also* “Aliens ineligible for citizenship”; McCarran-Walter Act of 1952
 Naturalization Act of 1790, 37–38, 610
 Naturalization Law of 1790, 280
 Naturalization Law of 1870, 19
 Negroponte, John, 1009
Nelson's Run (Bacho), 134
 Network of Indian Professionals (Net-IP), 547
The New Asian Immigration in Los Angeles and Global Restructuring, 205
New China Daily Press (*Xin Zhongguo ribao*), 763
New Korea, 706
 New Left, 649–50
New World Daily (*Shin Sekai Shimbum*), 883–84

- New York, Korean Americans and, 683–85, 722–23
New York Post, 790
 New York Taxi Workers Alliance (NYTWA), 547
New York Times: Bellingham “Anti-Hindu Riot,” 141; on Chiang Kai-shek, 1014; on Chinese population in 1856, 217; comfort women, 332; on J. Lin, 790; Kerry and, 355; on Korean American cuisine, 708; naturalization laws, 20; September 11 obituaries, 768; Ut photograph, 1147; Vincent Chin case, 213; on Wen Ho Lee, 775
New York Times Magazine, 85
The New Yorker, 470
 New York-New Jersey metropolitan area, 910
New York’s Chinatown (Beck), 260
 Newly Industrialized Countries (NICs), 107
 Newspapers: Filipino Americans, 392–93; independent Chinese language newspapers during the Cold War, 542–45; Indian Americans, 797–98; Japanese American, 883–84; Japanese American Citizens League and, 591; Japanese immigrant press, 628–32; Katipunan ng mga Demokratikong Pilipinos (KDP), 650; Southeast Asian American press, 1023–25; Vietnamese Americans, 800.
See also specific newspapers
- Newton, Huey, 71–72
 Ng, Kim, 225–26
 Ng, Poon Chew, **876**
 Nget, Lakhena, 165
 Ngor, Haing S., **876–78**
 Nguyen, Dat, **878–79**
 Nguyen, Dinh Huu, 954
 Nguyen, Dustin, **879–80**
 Nguyen, Jacqueline H., **880–81**
 Nguyen, Janet, 741
 Nguyen, Linda, 1173
 Nguyen, Madison (Phuong), 801, **881–82**, 1173
 Nhat Hanh, Thich, **882**
 Ni, Fu-Te, **882–83**
 Ni Kwei-tseng, 1012
Nichibei Kinyusha (Japanese American Financial Company), 105
Nichibei Shimbun (Japanese American News), **883–84**
 Nichols, Alan, 754
 Nijher, Navinderdeep Singh, 1000
 Nike, 1229
 Nikkei, incarceration of Japanese Americans and, 49
 Nikkei for Civil Rights and Redress (NCR), 89
 1982 ILGWU Strike in New York’s Chinatown, **884–85**
 Nippon Professional Baseball League, 586
 Nirenberg, Marshall, 654
 Nisei: activism and, 103; assimilation and, 617; Buddhist Churches of America and, 155; Christianity, 589–90; community organizations, 601; compared to Kibei, 655–56; dismissed state employees, 372–74; draft and, 348; educated and socialized in Japan, 620; family formation and, 605–6; in Hawaii, 65; incarceration of Japanese Americans, 49–50; Japanese American Citizens League and, 591; linguists and nurses in occupied Japan, 620–21; marriage, 607; music, 113–14; religion’s social function, 957; social world of, 606–7; World War II, 617–18; Yamato Colony of California, 1222. *See also Japanese Americans*
- Nisei Baseball Research Project (NBRP), 587
Nisei Daughter (Sone), 1010–11
 Nishi, Kiyoko, 452
 Nishida, Mo, 88
 Nishimura, Yukio, 1136
 Nitz, Michael, 61, 210–11, 213, 214, 583
 Nixon, Richard, 271, 319, 673, 838
 No Child Left Behind Act (NCLBA), 62–63, 413–14
No Sword to Bury (Odo), 889
 Nobel Peace Prize, 666, 882, 1080–81, 1147
 Nobel Prize: Chandrasekhar, 186, 187; Chu, S., 316, 317; Kao, C., 648; Khorana, 652–53, 654; Lee, T. D., 773; Lee, Y. T., 777, 778; Nambu, 862, 863; Ramakrishnan, 949; Shimomura, 991, 993; Ting, 1113, 1114; Tsien, 1133, 1135; Yang, 1208; Yang, C. N., 1224, 1226
 Noda, Gikaku Steere, 584
 Noda, Hideo, 76
 Noda, Yoshihiko, 332
 Noguchi, Isamu, 75, 76, **885–87**
 Noguchi, Yonejiro, 886
 Nonimmigrant visas, 475, 476, 539–40, 602, 995
 Non-resident Indians (NRI), 553
 Normalization of U.S. relationship with Vietnam, 1152
 North American Buddhist Mission (NABM), 154–55
 Northern Marianas, 874
 Northern Monterey Chamber of Commerce, 1189
The Nostalgist Map of America (Ali), 17
 Nou, L., 165
 Nuclear testing, 873–74
 Nurses, 620–21. *See also Filipina nurses*
- O Mimi San*, 487
 “O. Sevilla” (Villa), 1174
 Oahu Filipino League, 381
 Oak Creek Sikh temple shooting, 550
 Oakland Nisei Democratic Club, 532
 Obama, Barack: American Recovery and Reinvestment Act, 42; Asian American cabinet members, 941; Asian American support for, 1178; Chu appointment, 318; Du appointment, 352; 80/20 Initiative, 356; Filipino veterans, 15, 43, 431; hate crime legislation, 61; J. Nguyen and, 880; Locke and, 804; Women Airforce Service Pilots (WASP), 451
Obasan (Kogawa), 666–67
 Obata, Chiura, 584
 O’Brien, Dan, 324

- O'Brien, J. J., 29
 O'Brien, Leo, 577
 Ocean Star, 295–96
 Ochoa, Lorena, 462
Octopussy, 567
 Odo, Franklin, **889–90**
 O'Doul, Lefty, 482
The Office, 568
 Offley, Robert H., 407
 Ohno, Apolo Anton, **890–91**
 Ohno, Yuki, 890
 Oil-for-Food Program scandal, 920
 Okada, Dorothy, 892
 Okada, John, **891–93**
 Okada, Kenzo, 77
 Okahara, K., 26
 Okamoto, Dina, 914
 Okamoto, Kiyoshi, 348
 Okamura, Jonathan, 699
 Okihiro, Gary, 66, **893**
 Okinawa, criticism of U.S. military in, 87, 102–3
 Okkyun, Kim, 579, 580
 Okrand, Fred, 32
 Okubo, Miné, 468–69
 Okumura, Takie, 584
 Okura, K. Patrick, 594
 Oland, Warner, 516
 Oli (chant), 867
 Olsen, Zoe Ann, 351
 Omachi, George Hatsuo “Hats,” **894**
 Omachi All-Stars, 894
 Omi, Michael, 465, **894–95**, 913
 On Leong Tong, 290, 295
One Amazing Thing (Divakaruni), 347
 “100 Years of Japanese Labor History in the USA”
 (Yoneda), 88
 100th Infantry Battalion, 67, 613–14, 617–18, 661, 827
 1.5 Generation Asian Americans, 423, **895–97**
1001 Cranes (Hirahara), 498
 121 Coalition, 332
 Ong, Aihwa, 697
 Ong, Han, **897–98**
 Ong, Henry, 69
 Ong, Paul, 913
 Onizuka, Ellison, **898–900**
 Operation Babylift, 1, 927
 Operation Frequent Wind, 147, 572–73, 1155–56
 Operation Paperclip, 977
 Operation Samahan, 382
 Opium Wars, 239–40
 Opler, Morris, 1232
 Oppenheimer, J. Robert, 207, 977
Optic Nerve (Tomine), 470
The Ordeal (Kao Yan) (Yu), 1244
 Orderly Departure Program, 148, 306–7, 799, 954, 1126
 Orderly Repatriation Program, 955
 Organic Act of 1900, 21–22, 41, 417, 622, 686, 872
 Organic Act of Guam, 871
 Organized crime portrayal of Chinatown gangs, 223
Orientalism (R. G. Lee), 769
 Orphanages, 820–21
 Orr, Cameron, 199
 Orzolek, Karen Lee, 711
 O-Sensei, 13, 14
 Osias, Camilo, 416
 Osmeña, Sergio, 422, 963
 Otsuka, Julie, **900**
 Out of status, 475
Outlines (Lai), 740
Outsourced, 568
 Overseas contract workers, 420
 Overseas Filipino Workers (OFW), 389–91, 420
 Overseas Japanese, 638
 Owens, Jesse, 772
 Oyama, Fred, 32–35
 Oyama, Kajiro and Kohide, 32–35
Oyama et al v. California, 33–35
 Ozaki, H., 31
 Ozawa, Seiji, **900–902**
 Ozawa, Takao, 27, 66, 902–4, 1124
Ozawa v. United States, 27, 623, **902–4**, 1124, 1141–42
Pacific Citizen, 591, 592–93
 Pacific Coast, race relations on. *See* Survey of Race
 Relations on the Pacific Coast
 Pacific Railroad Act, 293
 Pacquiao, Manny, 127
 Page, Horace F., 905
 Page, Wade Michael, 996–97
 Page Act, 38
 Page Law, 38, 55, 68, 69, 243, **905–6**, 944, 989
 Paik, Nam June, **906–7**
 Paine, Freddy, 150
 Paine, Lyman, 150
 Pak, Gary, **907–8**
 Pak, Se Ri, 461, 702
 Pakistani Americans, 90–91, 554,
909–12, 1015–18
 Palau. *See* Republic of Belau (Palau)
 Pamphilon, Sean, 438
 Pan-Asian American coalitions, **912–16**
 Pan-Asian Christian congregations, 124
 Pan-Asian identity, 1104
 Pan-Asian unity, 95, 114
 Panda Express, 296
 Panjabi, Archie, 568

- Pao, Vang, 502, 505–6, 508–9, 510
Paper Angels (G. Lim), 786, 787
 Paper families, 218, 226–27, 251, 258, 340, 581
 “Paper son” system. *See* Paper families
 Paperback Traffic, 311
 Pappas, Tom, 324
 Para, Melinda, 780–81
 Parachute kids, 297–98, **916–19**
 Parent Volunteer Associations (PVA), 283–84
 Park, Annabel, 332
 Park, Bo-hui, 674
 Park, Kyeyoung, 680
 Park, Pauline, 782
 Park, Richard, **919–20**
 Park, Robert E., 393, 854, 1052
 Park, Tongsun, 673–74, **920–21**
 Park, W. H., 178
 Park Chung-hee, 673, 691, 705
 Park Yong-man, 689–90, 704, 713–14, 715, **921–22**
 Parker, James, 775–76
 Parque, Jim Vo, **922**
 Parreñas, Rhacel, 390
The Party, 567
 Pasquil, Corky, 395
 Passman, Otto, 674, 920
 Pate, Alex, 856
 Patel, Marilyn Hall, 726, 729
 Pathet Lao, 748, 1211
 Patriotism, 291–92, 590. *See also* Loyalty issue
 Patterson, Phil, 351
Pau Hana (Takaki), 1072
 Paull, Ray, 994
 Paulucci, Jenò, 260
 Pearl S. Buck Foundation, 1188
 Peckham, Rufus Wheeler, 1141
 Peer, Basharat, 17
 Peffer, Nathaniel, 65–66
 Pei, I. M., **922–26**
 Pei Wei restaurants, 296
 Pen, Pere, 168
 Pena, Luis, 1150
 Penn, Kal, 519
 Pensionado Act of 1903, 425
Pensionados. *See* Filipino pensionados
The People of the State of California v. Jukichi Harada, et al., 483
 People Power Revolution of 1986, 385
People v. Cockrill, 30
People v. Fujita, 32
People v. Gin Fook Bin, 30
People v. Hall, 8, **926–27**, 943, 945
People v. Indr Singh, 30
People v. Ishikawa, 32
People v. Kosai, 32
People v. Morrison, 31
People v. Oyama, 33
 Perez, Andrea, 57
Perez v. Lippold, 57
 Permanent residents, 475
 Perreria, Todd LeRoy, 124
Persepolis (Satrapi), 468
A Person of Interest (Choi), 313
Peter Parley’s Universal History, 279
 Petersen, William, 1027, 1105
 Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life, 492
 Pew Research Center, 91, 248
 P.F. Chang’s China Bistro, 296–97
 Pham, Tap Van, 1152
 Phan, Aimee, **927–29**
 Phelan, James D., 25
 Phi, Bao, 791
 Phil Ahn’s Moongate, 11
Philip Vera Cruz (Vera Cruz), 1149
 Philippine-American War, 375, 377, 384, 410, 432, 870
 Philippines, ethnic diversity of, 569–70
Philippines Herald, 962
 Phillips, Mildred, 178
 Phillips, William D., 317
Phoenix Eyes and Other Stories (Leong), 779
 Photographers, 1147–48
 Phuc, Phan Thi Kim, 1147–48
Piccadilly, 1194
The Picture Book of Famous Immigrants, 794
 Picture marriage, 610–11, 622–23, 633–34, 687, 698, 709–10, 883, 903, 943, 956–57
 Pidgin language, 358, 1214
Pie-Biter (McCunn), 831
 Pierce, Joseph, 280, **929–30**
The Pigeon Man (Barroga), 140
 Pilipino Cultural Night (PCN), 394, 405, **930–32**
 Pilot National Asian American Political Survey (PNAAPS), 1128, 1129, 1178
Plantation Boy (Murayama), 857
 Plantation workers in Hawaii, 239, 242, **932–34**
Playing with Flying Keys (Lang), 744
 Playwrights. *See* Theater
Poems of the Chinese Revolution (Tsiang), 1133
 Poetry, 188
 Point Alones, 264–65
 Point Loma, 265
 Point San Pedro, 264
 Pol Pot, 162
 Polamalu, Troy, 129, **934–36**
 Polanski, Roman, 517
 Polaris Project, 70
 Political contributions, 78–79

- Political participation, gender, race, and class in, 451–54
- Political party affiliation, 1178–79
- Political representation, 443, 721, **936–42**
- “Pomegranate” (Tran), 1125
- Pompeo, Mike, 467
- Poon, Lim, 865, **942**
- Pop culture, South Korean, 696–97, 698–99
- Porcelain* (Yew), 202
- Porterfield, W. L., 28
- Porterfield v. Webb*, 27, 28
- Portes, Alejandro, 679–80, 1022
- Posttraumatic stress syndrome (PTSD), 164, 1027–28
- “Potato King,” 626–27
- Pott, Francis Lister Hawks, 524
- Povich, Maury, 319
- Pownall, Charles, 472–73
- Pran, Dith, 876, 877
- Pray, Doug, 394
- Presbyterian Church, 365, 588–89, 676, 688, 692, 1085
- “The Prescription” (Tran), 1125
- Presidential campaign of 1996, 77–78
- Presidential Citizens Medal, 512
- Presidential elections, 355–56
- Presidential Medal of Freedom, 729, 815, 837
- The Princess of Nebraska*, 1185–86
- Prisoners of war (POWs), 438–39, 1060–61, 1117–18
- Professional Golf Association (PGA) Tour, 702
- Professional organizations, Indian Americans, 546–47
- Professional wrestlers, 966–67
- Project Cambodia, 877
- Project Ngoc, 1031
- Prostitution, 68, 173, 632–33, 710, 905, 989–90
- Prostitution in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Asian immigrant communities, **942–44**
- Protecting Emperor Society, 303–4
- Protestants, 45–47, 253–54, 366, 686, 868, 1052–53. *See also* Christianity; Evangelicals and Korean American community formation
- Pu Yi, 1049
- Public policy issue opinions, 1179–80
- Public speakers/lecturers, 770–71
- Pugh, John S., 54
- Pulido, Laura, 1106
- Pulitzer Prize, 313, 479, 660, 664, 737, 963, 1147
- Punsalang, Leon, 407
- Purcell, James, 372
- The Purple Heart*, 516
- Pushing Hands*, 758
- Quach, Danh, 799
- Queen of Dreams* (Divakaruni), 347
- Queer Korean Americans. *See* Korean American LGBT Movements in Los Angeles and New York
- “Question of Parity Conservation in Weak Interactions” (Lee and Yang), 774
- Quezon, Manuel, 156–57, 422, 426, 962
- Quiet Odyssey* (M. Lee), 711
- Quitevis, Richard, 394
- Quok Shee, 53
- Quota Act of 1921, 51
- Quotas, 535, 1180. *See also* National Origins Quota Act of 1924
- Race, Nation, and Empire in American History* (R. G. Lee), 769
- Race, political participation and, 452–53
- Race and Nation* (Spickard), 1036
- Race relations on the Pacific Coast. *See* Survey of Race Relations on the Pacific Coast
- Race riots. *See* Bellingham “Anti-Hindu Riot”; Los Angeles riots; Seattle Anti-Chinese riot and expulsion of 1886; Tacoma anti-Chinese riot of 1885; Watsonville Riots
- Racial Formation in the United States* (Omi and Winant), 895
- Racial hierarchy, Asian Americans in, 443–44
- Racial identity. *See* Identity
- Racial profiling, 776
- Racial theory, 895
- Racialization, 235–37, 276, 329, 453, 988–89, 1018–19, 1106
- Racism, in media coverage of Jeremy Lin, 790–91
- Radical organizations, **945–49**, 1191–92
- Rafu Shimpo* (*Los Angeles Japanese Daily News*), 488, 497, 606
- Rai, Lala Lajpat, 549
- Railroad workers, Chinese, 240, 293–94
- The Rains Came*, 567
- Rains of Ranchipur*, 567
- Raja-Yoga* (Vivekananda), 1176
- Raju, Jagmohan, 1000
- Ramakrishna, 1176
- Ramakrishna Mission, 1176
- Ramakrishnan, Venkatraman, **949–51**
- Raman, Chandrasekhara Venkata, 186
- Ramayana*, 493
- Ramil, Jimmie, 83
- Ramos, Benigno, 422
- Ramspeck, Robert, 813
- Rao, Narasimha, 477
- The Rape of Nanking* (I. Chang), 188–89
- Rappin’ with Ten Thousand Carabaos in the Dark* (Robles), 961
- Ravishing DisUnities: Real Ghazals in English* (Ali), 16

- R.A.W. (*'Cause I'm a Woman*) (Son), 1010
Reaching for the Stars (Barroga), 140
 Reagan, Ronald, 540
The Rebel, 879
The Rebel's Silhouette (Faiz), 17
Red (Yew), 202
Red Fiery Summer (Thúy), 1107
 Red Guard Party, 513, 529, 946–47
 Reddy, Lakireddy Bali, 69
Redemption: A Rebellious Spirit, a Praying Mother, and the Unlikely Path to Olympic Gold (Clay), 324
 Redress movement, 614–15, 666. *See also* Civil Liberties Act of 1988
 Reed, David, 557, 624
 Reed, Eugene M., 608, 615
 Reed, Ishmael, 480
 Reed, Stanley F., 35
The Re-education of Cherry Truong (Phan), 928
 Refugee Act of 1953, 634
 Refugee Act of 1980, 168, 306, 744, **952–53**, 1032
 Refugee Assistance Act. *See* Indochina Migration and Refugee Assistance Act of 1975
 Refugee camps and Southeast Asian migration, **953–55**
 Refugee Dispersion Policy, 1157, 1158
 Refugees: American response to, 1156; documentation of refugee experience at Southeast Asian Archive, 1031; juvenile crime and, 1028; Lao Americans, 749; McCarran-Walter Act of 1952, 952; Southeast Asian Refugee Resettlement, organizational leadership of, 1032–35; suburbanization, 1040; Vietnam War, 952; Vietnamese Americans refugee immigration experience, 1155–56; Vietnamese Americans refugee resettlement, 1157–58; Vietnamese vs. Lao refugee experience, 745
Regan v. King, 592
 Reich, Robert, 109
 Reichl, Ruth, 708
 Reid, Harry, 352
 Reilly, Rick, 1204–5
 Reineke, John, 416
 “Relative to the War Crimes Committed by the Japanese Military during World War II,” 332
 Religion. *See* Asian religions and religious practices in America
 Religion and its social function in the Japanese American community, **955–58**
 Religious assimilation, 153–54
 Religious organizations, Indian Americans, 546
Reparations Now! Concerto for Jazz Ensemble and Taiko (Jang), 581
 “Report on the Problem of Fraud at Hong Kong,” 245
 Republic of Belau (Palau), 873, 874
 Republic of China. *See* Taiwan
 Republic of the Marshall Islands, 873–74
 Rescission Act of 1946, 42, 385, 408, 430, 431
The Rest Is History (Jin), 116
 Restaurant industry, 234–35
 Restaurant Opportunities Center of New York, 554
The Retreat from Racism (Takagi), 1070–71
Return to Paradise (Wooden), 699
 “Revisiting the Ethnic Enclave” (Zhou), 680
Revolution and Evolution in the Twentieth Century (Boggs and Boggs), 946
 Revolutionary Communist League, 530, 949
 Revolutionary Communist Party, 948
 Revolutionary theory, 529
 Revolutionary Union, 948
 Rexroth, Kenneth, 480
 Reyes, Jose Augustin de los, 239
 Reyes, Lorenzo de los, 412
 Reyes, Rico, 391
 Rhee, Syngman, 704, 713–14, 715, 921, **958–61**
 Riady, James, 79
 Rice farming, 683
 “Rice King,” 627, 683
A Ricepaper Airplane (Pak), 908
 Ringle, Kenneth D., 656, 725
 Rinpoche, Samdhong, 1108
 Rinpoche, Telopa, 1108
 Riordan, Thomas D., 311
 Risen, James, 775
Rising Sun, 518, 583
Rita's Resources (Barroga), 140–41
 River mining, 286
 Rizal, Jose, 412
 Ro Baek Lin, 705
The Road to Wanting (Law-Yone), 757
 Roberts, Owen, 373, 728
 Robinson, Jackie, 772
 Robles, Al, **961–62**
 Roche, Michael, 372
 Rock Springs Riot, 58
 Rockwood, Angela, 879
 Rodino, Peter W., 540
 Rodriguez, R., 402
 Rodriguez, Robyn, 395
 Rohrbach, D. W., 1189–90
Romance of the Three Kingdoms, 285
 Romulo, Carlos P., 570, **962–63**
 Roney, Frank, 1206
Rooms Are Never Finished (Ali), 17
 Rooney, Mickey, 517
 Roosevelt, Franklin: “Green Light Letter,” 586; incarceration of Japanese Americans, 48, 611, 617, 727, 819; Japanese American Citizens League and, 592; Lend-Lease program, 864; Luce-Celler Act of 1946, 813; Philippines and, 406–7; repeal of Chinese exclusion, 262

- Roosevelt, Theodore: Allen on, 40; Gentlemen's Agreement, 22, 81, 622, 633; incarceration of Japanese Americans, 496; Japanese Americans and, 359; Korean exclusion, 687; Nobel Peace Prize, 1147; Philippine-American War, 383
- Root, Elihu, 687
- Roque, Frank, 560–61
- Rosa, John, 699
- Rose, Helen, 351
- The Rose Tattoo*, 516
- Roth, Wendi, 3
- Roth, William V., Jr., 1203
- Roti*, 555–56
- Rove, Karl, 1015
- Roxas, Manuel, 819
- Royal Calcutta Golf Club, 461
- Rules for Virgins* (Tan), 1074
- Rumbaut, Ruben, 895
- Rushdie, Salman, 17
- Russo-Japanese War, 330, 687
- Rutledge, Wiley B., 34
- Sabre: Slow Fade of an Endangered Species*, 468
- “Sacco, Venzetti” (Tsiang), 1133
- Safire, William, 78
- Sagar, Ramandand, 493
- Sahni, Julie, 555
- Sa-I-Gu: From Korean Women's Perspective*, 657
- Saiki, Patricia F., **965–66**
- Saito, Hideo, 901
- Saito, In re*, 20
- Saito, Leland, 914
- Sakamoto, Soichi, 651
- Sakata, Harold, **966–67**
- Salaamu, Kalamu Ya, 513
- Salvador Roldan v. Los Angeles County*, 56
- Sam, Chan Moly, 967–68
- Sam, Sam-Ang, **967–68**
- Same Differences and Other Stories* (Kim), 470
- Same-sex marriage, 594, 684, 781–82
- Samoa. *See* American Samoa
- Sampson, C. T., 463
- San Francisco, 264, 266–68, 1239–41
- San Francisco Chronicle*, 351, 928
- San Francisco Cubic Air Ordinance, 448
- San Francisco earthquake, 340
- San Francisco International Hotel campaign, 87, 89, 96, 379, 384, 402–3, 529–30, 948, 962
- San Francisco Newsletter*, 294
- San Francisco Police Department, 458–59
- San Francisco School Board, 610, 622, 754–55, 956, 1076–78
- San Francisco State College, 95, 101
- San Francisco State Teachers' College, 100
- San Gabriel Valley, California, 360
- Sanchez, Sonia, 514
- Sand Island Detention Center, 611, 617
- Sanders, Dean, 199
- Sansei, 155, 590, 621, 639, 957, 1222
- Santos, Bienvenido N., 399, **968–70**
- Sanza, Joey, 712
- Saperstein, Abe, 840
- Saroyan, William, 841–42
- Sasaki, Sokei-an, **970**
- Satellites* (Son), 1010
- Satow Nobutada, 29
- Satrapi, Marjane, 468
- Saturday Night at the Pahala Theatre* (Yamanaka), 1214–15
- Saund, Dalip Singh, 550, 937, **970–73**, 974–75, 999
- Sava, Charlie, 351
- Saving Fish from Drowning* (Tan), 1074
- Sawamiphakh, Phraya Sarasin, 1087
- Sawyer, Lorenzo, 9, 38
- Saxton, Alexander P., **973**
- Sayama, Kazuo, 1249
- Sayavong, Phoumy, 752
- Sayonara*, 517
- Sayonara* (Michener), 640
- Scandals. *See* Asian American campaign finance scandal of 1996
- Scenes from an Impending Marriage* (Tomine), 470
- Scent of Apples* (Santos), 399, 969
- A Scent of Flowers* (Hirahara), 498
- Scharrenberg, Paul, 25
- Schiolds, Gretchen, 1074
- Schönberg, Arnold, 906
- Schönberg, Claude-Michel, 116
- Schooley, Robert, 512
- Schroeder, Mary, 726
- Schultz, Susan, 344
- Science and technology, **973–79**; Cold War, 977–78; effects of discriminatory immigration laws, 975; intellectual migration, 977–78; overrepresentation of Asian Americans in, 973–75; racism and white-collar occupations, 975–76; relationship with national security, 977; social mobility, 974–76
- The Science of Being and Art of Living* (Maharishi Mahesh Yogi), 816
- Scott, Robert, 937, **979–81**
- Scott, William, 981
- Scott Act, 243, **981–82**
- Scratch*, 394
- Scripps National Spelling Bee, 548, 552
- Scruggs, Jan, 140

- Seale, Bobby, 71
 Seamen, Chinese, 864–65
 Seamen's International Union, 864
 Seattle Anti-Chinese riot and expulsion of 1886, **982–84**
Seattle Review, 133
 Seattle War Brides Association, 376
 Seau, Junior, **984–85**
 Secondary labor market, 745
Secret Colors, 856
 Secret Tibetan War against China, 571
 Secret War, 502, 505, 507, 508, 570, 744, 745, 803, 1211
Sei Fujii v. State of California, 36
 Selective migration, 365
 Selective Service Act, 348, 407
Self Portrait as a Golfer (Kuniyoshi), 75
 Self-employment, **985–88**
 Self-Realization Fellowship, 492
 “The Sensuous Women” (Cho), 313
 Seo Jaepil, 12
 “Separate but equal” doctrine, 1241
 September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks, 139, 347, 473, 768, 912, 998, 1000–1001, 1217
Seventeen Syllables: 5 Stories of Japanese American Life (DeSoto), 343
 “Seventeen Syllables,” 342, 343
 Sexual slavery, 330–33, 652, 763
 Sexual stereotypes, 988
 Sexuality, 59–60, **988–91**. *See also* LGBT activism
 Shakabpa, Tsepon, 1108
 Shaku Sōen, 970
 Sharif, Ahmed, 560
 Shariff, Zaki, 560
 Shauq, Shafi, 17–18
 Shaw, George, 512
 Sheheen, Vincent, 481
 Shepard, Sam, 526
 Shepp, Charlie, 146
 Shiao, Jiannbin Lee, 2
 Shibata, P. A., 587
 Shigeta, James, 517
 Shima, George, 626–27
 Shimizu, Toshi, 75
 Shimomura, Osamu, **991–93**
 Shin, Paull, **993–94**
 Shin, Young, 108
Shin Sekai, 606
Shin Sekai Shimbun (*New World Daily*), 883–84
 Shing, Poon Bok, 258
 Shin-Issei, 638
 Shin-Issei/Shin-Nisei Identity, **994–96**
 Shin-Nisei, 638–39
 Shinseki, Eric, 941
 Shinshu, Jodo, 155
 Shinto, 44, 47
Short Circuit, 567
Shortcomings (Tomine), 470
 Showard, Derek, 394
 Shri Swaminarayan Mandir, 552
 Shufeldt, Robert W., 1146
 Shivraj, Nivedita, 551
 Shyamalan, M. Night, 519
 Siamese Twins. *See* Chang and Eng (The Siamese Twins)
 Sigma Omicron Pi Chinese sorority, 100
 Sihanouk, Norodom, 161, 967, 1006, 1008
 Sikh American Legal Defense and Education Fund, 1001
 Sikh Coalition, 1001
 Sikh immigrants, 909
 Sikh Temple massacre (Oak Creek, WI), **996–98**
 Sikhism in the United States, 554, **998–1001**
Silent Scars of Healing Hands (Hirahara), 498
The Silent Traveller in Lakeland (Yee), 1235
The Silent Traveller in New York (Yee), 1234–35
 Silicon Valley, California, 1088
 Silk Road Ensemble, 816
 Simpson, Alan K., 540
 Simpson-Mazzoli Act. *See* Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986
The Simpsons, 568
Sing Tao Daily (*Xingdao ribao*), 545
 Singaporeans in America, **1001–5**
 Singh, Guru Gobind, 998, 1000
 Singh, Indr, 30
 Singh, J. J., 550
 Singh, Jeev Milkha, 462
 Singh, Sher, 1000
 Singh, Uday, 1000
Singh et al. v. People, 30
 Sining Bayan, 650
 Sinn-Bonanni, Pearl, 702
 Sinnolai, Satu Khamphoui, 752
 Sinnott, Nick, 1190
Sister of My Heart (Divakaruni), 346, 347
Sisters Matsumoto (Gotanda), 202, 466
 “Situating Asian Americans in the Political Discourse of Affirmative Action” (Omi), 895
 Siv, Sichan, **1005–9**
Sixteen Candles, 518
The Sixth Sense, 519
 Skaters, 371, 730–31, 860–61, 890–91, 1213–14, 1250–51
Skidoo, 447
 Skiers, 339
 Skilled workers, 476–78
 “Sleep deaths,” 505
 Slocum, Tokutaro “Tokie,” 591–92
Slowly, This, 856
Slumdog Millionaire, 567

- Smith, Jane, 93
 Smith, William French, 540
 “Snakeheads,” 220
Snakeskin Shamisen (Hirahara), 498
Snow Flier and the Secret Fan, 1185
 Söen, Shaku, 1055
 Social justice organizations, Indian Americans, 547–48
 Social media, 1069–70
 Social mobility, 248, 974–76, 985–86. *See also* Business ownership
 Socialist Workers’ Party, 71
Sociedad de Beneficencia de los Hispano Filipinas de Nueva Orleans, 387
 Societal acceptance of Asian Americans, 442–43
 Socioeconomic status: adaptation, 442; Bangladeshi Americans, 137–38; Cambodian community in Lowell, Massachusetts, 171–72; Chinese American childhood, 229; Chinese Americans, 248, 250–51; Chinese-Vietnamese Americans, 307, 309; ethnoburbs and, 361–62; Hmong Americans, 507–8, 509–10; Indonesian Americans, 575; interracial marriage, 848–49; Japanese Americans, 595; Korean Americans, 693; Lao Americans, 751–52; multiracial Asian Americans, 849–51; Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders, 875; Pakistani Americans, 911; political participation, 451; self-employment, 986; South Asian Muslims, 92; Sri Lankan Americans, 1037; Vietnamese Americans, 1159–60
 Socioeconomic status theory, 451
 Sodhi, Balbir Singh, 560–61, 997, 1000
 Soft skills, 458
 Soi, Paul, 275
 Son, Diana, **1009–10**
 Son Ki-jong, 772
 Son Sann, 1008
 Sone, Monica, **1010–11**
 Song, Alfred H., 939
 Song, Leo, 682–83
A Song For a Nisei Fisherman (Gotanda), 465
Songline: The Spiritual Tributary of Paul Robeson Jr. and Mei Lanfang, 787
Songs My Mother Taught Me (Yamauchi), 1224
 SooHoo, Peter, 1121
Sookhwan ritual, 753
 So-on, Gyokujun, 1056
 Soong Mei-ling, 250, 251, **1011–15**
 Sorenstam, Annika, 462
 “Sorrow at the End of the Yangtze River” (Yu), 1243–44
Soul Survivor (McCunn), 831
 South Asian American transnational politics, **1015–18**
 South Asian communities. *See* Little India and South Asian communities
 South Asian ethnic identity, **1018–20**
 South Asian Lesbian and Gay Association, 548, 566
 South Asian Muslims, 91, 92–93. *See also* Asian American Muslims
 South Asian, use of term, 1018–20
 South Asian Women’s Creative Collective, 547
 South Central Los Angeles, 694, 717–18
 South Korea, 460–61, 477, 683–85
South Pacific, 114
 Southeast Asian academic achievement, **1020–23**
 Southeast Asian American press, **1023–25**
 Southeast Asian American youth and crime, **1025–30**
 Southeast Asian Archive at the University of California, Irvine, Libraries, **1030–32**
 Southeast Asian migration. *See* Refugee camps and Southeast Asian migration
 Southeast Asian Muslims, 93–94
 Southeast Asian Refugee Resettlement, organizational leadership of, **1032–35**
 Southern Baptist Convention, 45, 1228
 Southworth, Billy, 894
 Souza, Bartolomeu and Mary, 30
 Soviet Union, 960. *See also* Cold War
 Space Shuttle Columbia explosion, 201, 812
 Spanish-American War, 471, 869–70
 Special Laws for Overseas Koreans’ Legal Status, 695
 Speed skaters. *See* Skaters
 Speer, William, 1061
The Spell of Hawaii, 857
 Spelling bees, 548, 552
 Spellman, Francis, 45
 Spickard, Paul Russell, 904, **1035–37**
 Spiegelman, Art, 468
The Spirit of Independence (Rhee), 921, 959
 Squires, Watson, 983
 Sri Lankan Americans, **1037**
 Srun, Madeline, 169
 Srun, Sophea, 169
 Stanford University, 100, 326, 439
Star Trek: The Motion Picture, 567
State of California v. Tojuero Togami, 31–32
State of the Union, 344
 Stebler, Jess, 484
 Steel, Michelle Eunjoo Park, 712
 Stein, Frances Patiky, 1184
 Steinbrenner, George, 730
 STEM fields. *See* Science and technology
 Stereotypes, of Japanese war brides, 640
 Stereotypes in film, 514–18
 Stevens, Durham, 689, 714
 Sticky rice, 746, 754
 Stimulus Bill, 15
Stop Kiss (Son), 1009–10
The Stranded in the World (Ong), 897

- Strangers from a Different Shore* (Takaki), 1072
The Strategy of Nation Building (Sun), 1050
 Strobridge, J. H., 294
 Struve, Otto, 187
 Student organizations, 99–101
 Student religious groups, 123–24
 Sturge, Earnest, 589
 Su, Chien-Siung, 1226
 Suburbanization, **1037–43**; as assimilation, 1038–39;
 Chinese Americans, 1038–39, 1041; Filipino Americans,
 1039, 1042; Korean Americans, 720, 723; mass Asian
 American suburbanization and global suburbs, 1039–43;
 urban and rural settlement, 1038. *See also* Ethnoburb
 Sue, Derald Wing, 1043–44
 Sue, Stanley, **1043–44**
 Suey, Hui, 258
 Sugar plantation strikes, 64–65, 358–59
 Sugar plantations in Hawaii: ethnic communities, 357–59;
 Filipino Americans, 431–34; Filipino Piecemeal Sugar
 Strike, 416–18; Hawaiian cuisine, 485; interracial mar-
 riage, 853–54; Japanese Americans, 609, 616–17;
 Korean Americans, 363, 699; Korean immigrants, 681,
 682, 687–88; life on, 609, 615–17; Manlapit and,
 818–19; workers, 932–34. *See also* Plantation workers in
 Hawaii
 Sugimoto, Shumza, 584
 Suh, Sharon, 120, 123
 Sui, Anna, **1044–45**
 Sui Sin Far (Edith Maude Eaton), **1045–47**
 Sumida, Stephen H., **1047–48**
Summer of the Big Bachi (Hirahara), 498
 Sumner, Charles, 9
The Sun Also Rises, 204
 Sun Yat-sen, 304, 1012, 1013, **1048–50**
Sunflower, 204
 Sung, Betty Lee, **1051**
 Sung-ha, Hong, 688
 Suphamongkhon, Kantathi, 1093
 Supplemental Security Income, 430
 Supplemental Security Income Extension Act of 1999, 42
 Supreme Court. *See specific cases*
The Sure Victory (Soong), 1012
 Surfing, 647
Survey of Chinese Manpower and Employment
 (Sung), 1051
 Survey of race relations on the Pacific Coast, **1051–53**
 Sutherland, George, 903–4, 1141, 1142–43
 Sutherland, William A., 415
 Suzuki, Bob H., **1053–55**
 Suzuki, Daisetz Teitarō (D. T.), **1055–56**, 1057
 Suzuki, Shunryū, **1056–57**
 Swami Narayan, 494
 Swap meet, **1057–60**
 Sweatshops, 220–21
 Swedenborg, Emanuel, 1055
 Swimmers, 350–52, 647–48, 651, 668
 Sylvanus, Thomas, 280, **1060–61**
 Tacoma Anti-Chinese Riot of 1885, **1063–64**
 Tadiar, Neferti, 390, 405
 Taekwondo in America, **1064–65**
 Taft-Hartley Act, 733
 Tahir, Saghir, **1065–67**
 Tai, Li Po, 273
Tai-Pan, 204
 Taipei 101, 760
Taipin-gyang zhoubao (Chinese Pacific Weekly),
 543, 544, 545
 Taitano, Carlos P., 472
 Taiwan, 298, 462–63, 802–3. *See also* Chinese civil war
 Taiwan Relief Act, 216–17
 Taiwanese Americans, 297, 298, 299,
 1067–70, 1128
 Tajima-Peña, Rachel, 383
 Tajiri, Larry, 592–93
 Taka, Miiko, 517
 Takagi, Dana Yasu, 895, **1070–71**
 Takahashi, Mark, 786
 Takaki, Ronald Toshiyuki, 933, **1071–73**
Takao Ozawa v. United States, 23, 599
 Takashima, Shizue, 667
 Takemitsu, Toru, 902
 Takezawa, Yasuko, 636
The Tale of Kieu, 1172
Talk Story (Barroga), 140
 Talkington, A. W., 144
 Tan, Amy, 130, 518, **1073–75**
 Tan Congkuan. *See* Ah Quin Diary
 Tang, Lin, 271
 Tang, Oscar, 925
 Tang, Thomas, 271
 Tange, Kenzo, 887
 Tao, Terence, **1075–76**
 Tape, Mamie, 1076–78
Tape v. Hurley, 227, **1076–79**
 Tarak Nath Das, 136, 557, **1079**
 Tateishi, John, 373
 Tatupu, Mosiula Faasuka, **1079–80**
 Taxi dances, 395–96
 Taxi driving, 559, 560
 Tayama, Fred, 591, 656, 823
 Taylor, Anna Diggs, 214
Tea (Houston), 640
 Teatro Ng Tanan, 140
 Tebeau, Pasty, 584
 Television, Indians Americans in, 566–69

- Temple schools, Buddhist, 1097–98
 Temples, Hindu, 494–95
 “Temporary protected status,” 539–40
 Temporary workers, 475
Ten Thousand Sorrows (E. Kim), 711
 Tennis players, 127–28, 189–91
 Tenzin Gyatso (14th Dalai Lama), **1080–81**, 1107–11
 Tera, George, 75
Terrace v. Thompson, 27–28
 Terrance, Frank, 27
 Tes, Sam-Oeun, 968
 Tết, **1081–83**, 1155
 Tết Offensive of 1968, 1082–83
 Thai American organizations, **1083–86**
 Thai American Young Professionals Association, 1085
 Thai Americans, 1085, **1086–90**
 Thai Association of Conference Interpreters, 1085
 Thai Association of Orthodontists, 1084–85
 Thai cuisine in the United States, **1090–93**
 Thai Health and Information Services, 1084
 Thai Nurses Association, 1084–85
 Thai temples, **1093–98**
 Thai Town, **1098–99**
 Thai-American Physicians Foundation, 1084–85
 Thao, Cy, 502, 503, **1099–1100**
 Thao, Neal, 508
 Theravada Buddhism, 152, 161, 169–70, 748, 752–53, 1095
The Thief of Baghdad, 10, 1193–94
 Thind, Bhagat Singh, 549, 556–57, 1000, 1142–43
 Third World Liberation Fronts (TWLFF), 72, 1101–3, 1106
 Third World strikes, 95, 947, **1100–1103**
 Third World unity, **1103–6**
 Thirteenth Amendment, 68
 31st Infantry Regimental Combat Team, 662
This is Our China (Soong), 1012
 Thomas, Norman, 592
 Thompson, Lindsay L., 27
 Thomson, Suzi Park, 674
 Thoreau, Henry David, 551
Thousand Pieces of Gold (McCunn), 145, 831
Thread of the Silkworm (I. Chang), 189
 “Three Tenors” concerts, 832–33
Through the Arch of the Rain Forest (Yamashita), 1218
 thúy, lê thi diem, **1106–7**
 “Tian Tang” (“The Paradise”) (Y. Li), 785
Tiananmen! (Jang), 581
 Tiananmen Incident, 235, 298, 299, 333, 478
 Tibet, 1080–81, 1107
Tibet Through a Red Box (Hwang), 527
 Tibetan Americans, 571–72, **1107–11**
 Tibetan Buddhism, 1080–81, 1111, 1130–31
 Tibetan Muslims, 571
 Tiefu, Li, 74
 Tien, Chang-Lin, 355, **1111–13**
The Tiger’s Daughter (Mukherjee), 844
 Tilghman, Kelly, 1205
Time magazine, 244, 250, 511, 512, 790
 Ting, David, 364
 Ting, Samuel Chao Chung, **1113–15**
 Title IX Amendment of the Higher Education Act of 1972, 837, 839
To Be the Poet (Kingston), 664
To Heal a Nation (Scruggs), 140
 Tobera, Fermin, 384, 1189, 1190
 Toggling, 174–75
 Tohei, Koichi, 14
 Tokyo Rose, **1115–17**
The Toll of the Sea, 515
 Tomine, Adrian, 470
 Tomney, John, 279, **1117–18**
Tomorrow Is Now! (Ho), 513, 514
 Tongs and Tong War, 230–31, 244, 289–90, 310, **1118–20**
Top Chef, 568
Top Chef Masters, 709, 712
 Torrance, California, 604
Tosca, 833
 Tourist industries, **1120–23**
 “Towards a Community Agenda,” 724
 Townsend, Raymond Anthony, 381, **1123–24**
 Townsend, Walter D., 41
 Toyota, Hidemitsu, 1124–25
Toyota v. United States, **1124–25**
 “Toys and Incense” (Dinh), 344
 Tozzer, Joan, 860
Track & Field News, 324
 Trading with the Enemy Economy Act, 273, 543–44
 Tran, Bich Cau Thi, 881
 Tran, Ham, **1125–26**
 Tran, Truong Van, 1152–53
 Tran, Tuyen, 1034
 Tran, Van, 175, 939
 Transcendental Meditation, 492, 816
Transforming: The Wat Misaka Story, 840
 Transgender Asian Americans, 782
 Transnational political behavior, **1126–30**
 Transnational politics, 1015–18
 Transnationalism: Asian Americans and, 444; Filipino Americans, 388–89, 419–24; future prospects of Asian Americans, 444; Japanese American transnational families, 602–5; Japanese transnational identity, 637–39; Korean Americans and transnationalism, 694–98; Pakistani Americans, 911–12; Shin-Nisei, 996; Singaporeans, 1002–3; South Asian American transnational politics, 1015–18; Thai Americans, 1088–90; voluntary associations, 1127

- Traynor, Roger J., 36
Treaty of Chemulpo (Incheon), 1146–47
Triple A, 533
Tripmaster Monkey (Kingston), 663–64
The Tropic of Orange (Yamashita), 1218
Trulock, Notra, 775–76
Truman, Harry, 40, 408, 430, 473, 813, 829–30, 960, 972
Trungpa, Chögyam, **1130–31**
Truong, Monique, **1131–32**
Tsai, Ho Chie, 1069–70
Tsang, Daniel, 780, 781
Tsao, Chin-Hui, **1132**
Tsao, Li Yuin, 178
Tseng, Yani, 462
Tsiang, H. T., **1132–33**
Tsien, Hsue Chu, 1133
Tsien, Roger Y., **1133–35**
Tsoi Sim, 1135
Tsoi Sim v. the United States, 943, **1135–36**
Tsui, Kitty, 781
Tsukamoto, Walter, 592
Tsunoda, Joyce S., **1136–37**
Tuan, Mia, 2
Tung, Henry, 452
Turandot, 833
The Turandot Project, 833
Turner, Farrant, 661
Turning Japanese (Mura), 856
Tuttle, Charles, 892
12-1-A (Yamauchi), 1224
24, 568
21, 519
21 Jump Street, 879
200 Years of Christianity, 660
Tydings-McDuffie Act: Filipino Americans, 375, 379, 380, 384, 393, 399, 427; Filipino Federation of America (FFA), 413; Filipino Repatriation Act, 418; Filipino transnationalism, 421; Filipino veterans, 429; Philippines and, 813; Repatriation Provisions of, 401–2; World War II, 406
The Typhoon, 488
Tzu Chi Charity, 154
- U Visa Program, 62
Ueno, Harry, 656, 823
Ueshiba, Kisshomaru, 14
Ueshiba, Morihei, 13, 14
Umeko, Tsuda, 99
U.N. Oil-for-Food Program scandal, 920
Unaccustomed Earth (Lahiri), 737, 738
The Undefeated, 447
Under the Rainbow (Gotanda), 465
The Underground Railroad to My Heart (Ho), 514
Underrepresentation, 936–39
Underwood, Horace G., 12, 41, 198
Ung, Chinary, **1139–40**
Unification Church, 673
Union of Democratic Filipinos. *See* Katipunan ng mga Demokratikong Pilipinos (KDP)
Union of Needletrades, Industrial, and Textile Employees (UNITE), 736
United Farm Workers (UFW), 379, 577–78, 734, 945, 1149–50
United Journal (Lianhe ribao), 543, 545
United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), 148–49, 306, 505, 953–55
United States v. Bhagat Singh Thind, 30
United States v. Gue Lim, **1140–41**
United States v. Kuwabara, 349
United States v. Okamoto et al., 349
United States v. Polly Bemiss, 144
United States v. Shigeru Fujii, et al., 348
United States v. Takeguma et al., 349
United States v. Thind, 56, 556–57, 623, 813, **1141–43**
United States v. Wong Kim Ark, 20, **1143–44**
University of California, Berkeley, 95–96, 112, 1100–1103
University of California (Berkeley) Asian American Studies Collections, **1144–46**
University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA), 973
University of California system, 326
University of Chicago, 187
University of Denver, 353
University of Hawaii, 179, 1137
University of Houston, 346
University of Idaho, 80
University of Michigan, 426
The Unknown Errors of Our Lives (Divakaruni), 346–47
Uno, Edison, 594
U.S. Census, 92
U.S. Civil War, 9, 157–58, 176–78, 278–80, 325, 338, 929, 1060–61, 1117–18
U.S. Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, 594
U.S. National Human Trafficking Resources Center, 70
U.S. News & World Report, 85
U.S. Punitive Action of 1871. *See* Korea, U.S. Punitive Action in
U.S. Refugee Admissions Policy, 162
U.S.-China Cultural Institute, 334
Ushijima, Kinji, 626–27
U.S.-India Civil Nuclear Deal, 1015, 1016, 1018, 1128
U.S.-Japan Security Treaty, 102
U.S.-Japan trade imbalance, 582
U.S.-Korea Treaty of 1882, 686, 709, **1146–47**
U.S.-Singapore Free Trade Agreement, 1004
Ut, Huynh Cong “Nick,” **1147–48**

- Utemoto, Karen, 1101–2
 Uyematsu, Amy, 86, 1105
- Vajrayana Buddhism, 152, 571
 Van Dyke, Fred, 648
 Van Hollen, Chris, 18
 Van Reed, Eugene, 632
Van Wilder, 568
 Vang, Tony, 510
Varieties of Religious Experience (James), 1055
 Varro, Vallay Moua, 502, 508
 Varsity Victory Volunteers, 617–18
 Vaughan, Frank, 490
 Vedanta Society, 492, 1176–77
 Vegetable Packers Union, 378, 410
 Vengua, Jean, 392
 Vento, Bruce, 508
 Vera Cruz, Philip, 401, **1149–51**
 Verghese, Abraham, 553
 Veterans Benefits Enhancement Act, 15
 Vicencio, Toni, 26
 Victorino, Shane, 381, **1151**
 Video art, 906–7
 Vien Dong Restaurant, 741
 Viernes, Gene, 650
 Vietnam, 2, 305
 Vietnam Veterans Memorial, 791–92
 Vietnam War: adopted Asian Americans, 1; antiwar movement, 87, 102; in Bacho's writings, 134; Cham in, 181; end of, 1155; ethnic Chinese and, 305; film portrayals of, 518; Laos and, 748–49; multiracial Asian Americans, 846; refugee camps and Southeast Asian migration, 953–55; refugee crisis, 952; refugee immigration and, 1026; Tet Offensive of 1968, 1082–83; Thai women immigrants, 1088; Ut's photographs of, 1147–48; Vietnamese American anticommunism and, 1151. *See also* Boat people
- Vietnamese American anticommunism, **1151–54**
 Vietnamese American Arts and Letters Association, 800
 Vietnamese American communities, Little Saigon and. *See* Little Saigon and Vietnamese American communities
 Vietnamese Americans, **1154–63**; adaptation process, 1158–60; anticommunism of, 1151–54; business ownership, 798–99, 1160, 1165–66, 1167; Christianity and, 121; compared to Lao refugees, 745; demographics, 1159; education, 1021–22; educational attainment, 1022–23, 1159, 1161–62; ethnic identity, 1160–61; immigration history, 1155; introduction to, 1154–55; juvenile crime, 1026–27; newspapers, 1023–24; political participation, 799–800; refugee immigration experience, 1155–56; resettlement of refugees, 1157–58; transnational political behavior, 1128, 1129; U.S. government dispersal policy, 1156–57; U.S. response, 1156. *See also* Boat people
- Vietnamese cuisine in the United States, **1163–65**
 Vietnamese ethnic economy, **1165–68**
 Vietnamese International Film Festival, 800
 Vietnamese nail salons, **1168–71**
 Vietnamese women in America, **1171–73**
 Villa, José García, **1173–75**
 Villafuerte, Brandon, **1175–76**
A Village Called Versailles, 801
 Villanueva, Marianne, 344
Vincent Who? 215, 1253
The Vine of Desire (Divakaruni), 346
 Vinson, Fred M., 33–34, 35
 Violence, 57–60, 490, 550, 560–61, 914–15, 982–84, 996–98, 1189–90. *See also* Chin, Vincent; Race riots
- Violinists, 191–92
 Visa Waiver Program, 247
 Vishnu, 494
 Vivekananda, 492, 551, **1176–77**
 Vo, Linda, 914, 1160, 1167
The Volcano (Santos), 969
 Volleyball players, 742–43
Volume Two (Villa), 1174
 Voluntary Resettlement Agencies (VOLAGs), 573, 1033–34, 1157
 Voorhees, Donald, 726
 Voting patterns, **1177–80**
 Voting rights, 520–21, 696
 Voting Rights Act, 521
 Vrooman, Robert, 775
 Vue, Pa Chay, 504
- Wadman, John, 688
 Wage discrimination, 616–17
 Wagner, Robert, 292
 Wah Kiu Wet-Wash Factory, 271
 Waheed, Mirza, 17
Waiting (Ha Jin), 478
 Wakamatsu, Don, 587
 Wakamatsu Teak and Silk Farm Colony, 609
 Wakayama, Ernest and Toki, 592
Walls (Barroga), 140
 Walsh, Richard J., 252, 262
 Walter, Francis, 828
 Walters, Frank, 496
 Wan, Fong, 273
 Wang, An, **1181–83**
 Wang, C. P., 760
 Wang, Chien-Ming, **1183**
 Wang, Jim, 334
 Wang, Ling-Chi, 79, 174

- Wang, Vera, **1183–84**
- Wang, Wayne, 518, **1184–86**
- War brides, 300–303, 375–77, 639–41, 691, 700–701, 710, 847–48, 995
- War Brides Act, **1186–87**; Chinese Americans, 245, 252, 263, 291; Filipino Americans, 375, 384, 407, 427, 814; Japanese Americans, 625, 634, 639–41; Korean Americans, 691; multiracial Asian Americans, 846
- War Relocation Authority (WRA), 48–49, 348, 611, 612
- War Trash* (Ha Jin), 478
- Ward, Hines, **1187–88**
- Warner, Roger, 877
- Warner, Stephen, 119
- Warren, Earl, 32
- The Wash* (Gotanda), 465, 466
- Washington Post*, 332, 729, 756
- Watada, Ehren, 89, 349
- Watanabe, Gedde, 518
- The Watcher of Waipuna and Other Stories* (Pak), 908
- Water Festival, 170–71
- Watermark: Vietnamese Poetry and Prose*, 1131
- Watsonville Riots, 378, 384, 410, 418, **1189–91**
- Watt, André, 743
- We Should Never Meet* (Phan), 928
- Webb, Ulysses S., 28–29, 30, 32
- Webb v. O'Brien*, 27, 29
- The Wedding Banquet*, 518, 758
- Weekends with Maury and Connie*, 319
- Wegars, Priscilla, 80
- Wei Dynasty, 284
- Wei Min Bao*, 1191–92
- Wei Min She (WMS), 947–48, **1191–92**
- Weightlifters, 669, 966
- Welch, Richard, 418
- Wellstone, Paul, 508
- Wenatchee Valley, 378
- Westminster City Council, 741
- Whang, SungChul “Sonny,” 678
- What Price Paradise* (Wooden), 699
- Whelan, Thomas, 33
- When Heaven and Earth Changed Places* (Hayslip), 489
- When I Was a Boy in China* (Y. P. Lee), 776–77
- When the Emperor Was Divine* (Otsuka), 900
- Where Is My Mother* (Gee), 74
- Where the Body Meets Memory* (Mura), 856
- Whistler, James McNeil, 74
- White, David, 338
- White, Pearl, 515
- White collar sweatshop occupations, 458
- White Male Manifesto* (Gotanda), 465
- White supremacy, 997
- Whitlock, Jason, 790
- Who Killed Vincent Chin?* 215, 1253
- Whom Shall We Welcome*, 830
- “Why I Am Not a Heathen” (Y. P. Lee), 777
- “Why I Refuse to Register for Evacuation” (Hirabayashi), 496
- Why There are No Asian Americans in Hawaii* (Okamaru), 699
- Wie, B. J. and Bo, 703
- Wie, Michelle, 459–60, 703–4
- Wild Meat and the Bully Burgers* (Yamanaka), 1215
- “Will the Hypen Win in Hawaii” (Peffer), 65
- Williams, Raymond Brady, 494
- Williams, Robert F., 1104
- Williams, Sunita L., **1192–93**
- Willingham, Bill, 470
- Willis, Bruce, 519
- Willoughby, Charles, 67
- The Willows Daily Journal*, 705
- Wilson, Horace, 584
- Wilson, Woodrow, 22
- Winant, Howard, 894–95
- Wind and Water* (Tan), 1074
- The Winds of April* (Gonzalez), 464
- Wing, Wong, 449
- A Winter People*, 202
- Winter Place* (G. Lim), 786
- Wirin, A. L., 32, 33, 593, 1232
- With Obligations to All* (Ariyoshi), 73
- Wittner, Judith, 119
- Wo, Yick, 1239–40
- Wolfe, George C., 897
- Wollenberg, Albert C., 341
- The Woman Warrior* (Kingston), 130, 176, 662, 663
- Women: artists, 77; in Asian American Movement, 88–89; Asian Immigrant Women Advocates (AIWA), 89, 108–11; Chinese immigrant cemeteries, 274; comfort women, 330–33; discrimination, 56, 146; experience of at Angel Island, 53; fetishization of Asian women, 847; Filipina nurses, 420, 427–28, 650; Filipina war brides, **375–77**; Filipinas in Hawaii, 432; Filipino American domestic workers, 389–91; Filipino transnationalism and, 420–21; Filipino women and global migration, history of, 424–28; gender and naturalization, 989; golfers, 459–61; on higher education faculties, 98; Hmong Americans, 500–504; in Indian American ethnic economy, 561; Indian Americans, 564–66; Japanese American women in the 1930, 605–8; Japanese immigrants, 632–35; Korean immigrants, 709–12; political participation, 453–54; prostitution, 942–44; role of in Lao ethnic economy, 747; roles of in ethnic enclaves, 606; Thai Americans, 1086, 1088; Tokyo Rose, 1115–17; *Tsoi Sim v. United States*, 1135–36; *United States v. Gue Lim*, 1140–41; Vietnamese Americans, 1171–73. *See also* Asian Immigrant

- Women Advocates; Garment industry; Gender, race, and class in political participation; Vietnamese women in America
- Women Airforce Service Pilots (WASP), 449–50, 765–67
- Women's Auxiliary Ferrying Squadron (WAFS), 766
- Women's Flying Training Detachment, 766
- Women's shelters, 565–66
- Wong, Al, 224
- Wong, Anna May, 10, 11, 515–16, 517, 1121, **1193–95**
- Wong, Elizabeth, **1195–96**
- Wong, Henry Kwock, 292
- Wong, Jade Snow, **1196–98**
- Wong, Kailee, **1198**
- Wong, Kent, 734
- Wong, Linda, 1198
- Wong, Sau-ling, **1198–1200**
- Wong, Shawn, **1200–1201**
- Wong, Susan N., 524
- Wong, Theodore T., 524
- Wong, Victoria, 1105–6
- Wong, Virginia, 766
- Wong Chin Foo, 260
- Wong Kim Ark, 1143–44
- Wong Kong Chai or Chae. *See* Huang, Guangcai (Wong Kong Chai or Chae)
- Wong Wing v. United States*, 449
- Woo, Chin-fu, 543, 545
- Woo, George, 86
- Woo, Gilbert, 543, 545
- Woo, Hong Neok, 280, **1201–2**
- Woo, John, 519
- Woo, Mike, 174
- Woo, Shien Biau, 175, 355, **1203**
- Wooden, Gloria, 351
- Wooden, Wayne, 699
- Woods, Tiger, 155, 459–60, 462, **1203–5**
- Wo-Ping, Yuen, 519
- Worker's Party, 150
- Workingmen's Parties, 8–9, 58, **1205–7**
- World and Town* (Jen), 642
- The World of Suzie Wong*, 517
- World Trade Center, 1216, 1217
- World War I, Issei farmers and, 24
- World War II: Buddhist Churches of America and, 155; China Lobby, 216; Chinese Americans, 228, 244–45, 250–53; Chinese seamen, 864–65; comfort women, 330; Filipino Americans, 406–8; Filipino veterans, 428–31; Guam, 472; interracial marriage in Hawaii, 854; Japanese Americans, 67, 359, 589–90, 617–18; Korean Americans, 690; Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders, 870; North American Buddhist Mission and, 155; repeal of Chinese exclusion, 262–63
- Wrack and Ruin* (Don Lee), 765
- The Wrath of the Gods*, 487
- Wreckage* (Ha Jin), 478
- Wright, George, 416
- Wright, Jacob Marion, 31, 35–36
- Wu, Chien-Shiung, 774, **1207–9**
- Wu, David, **1209–10**
- Wu Xianzi, 304
- Xiong, Blong, 510
- Xiong, Joe Bee, **1211–12**
- Xiu Xiu: The Send Down Girl*, 204
- Xuyun, 523
- XX, 786
- Yamaguchi, Kristi, **1213–14**
- Yamamoto, Hisaye. *See* DeSoto, Hisaye Yamamoto
- Yamanaka, Lois-Ann, 130–31, **1214–16**
- Yamasaki, Minoru, **1216–18**
- Yamashita, In re*, 20–21
- Yamashita, Karen Tei, **1218–19**
- Yamashita, Takuji, 20–21
- Yamashita v. Hinkle*, 21
- Yamato Colony of California, **1219–23**
- Yamauchi, Wakako, 342, **1223–24**
- Yan, Emperor, 271–72
- Yang, Chen Ning, 317, **1224–27**
- Yang, Fenggang, 120, 121, 122
- Yang, Gene Luen, 469, 470
- Yang, Henry T., **1227–28**
- Yang, Kao Kaolia, 503, 508
- Yang, Qing (Yong Seen Sarng), **1228–29**
- Yang, Y. E., 460–61
- Yankee Dawg You Die* (Gotanda), 465
- Yano, Hayao, 26
- Yao, Lo Bliia, 504
- Yao Ming, **1229–30**
- Yap, Al, 224–25
- Yasui, Minoru, 592, 612, 725–26, 1230–33
- Yasui Coram Nobis* case. *See* Korematsu, Hirabayashi, and *Yasui Coram Nobis* cases
- Yasui v. United States*, 612, 725–26, 727, **1230–33**
- Yates, Adelaide and Sally, 195, 1087
- Yau, Shing-Tong, **1233–34**
- The Year of the Dragon* (Chin), 209
- The Year of the Dragon* (film), 518
- Yee Chiang, **1234–36**
- Yee, Fung Jong, 272
- Yee, Henry, 211
- Yee, Louis, 439
- Yee, Paul, 263
- Yee Yuk Lum, 1135
- Yeeott, Jim, 274
- Yellow* (Don Lee), 765

- Yellow Brotherhood, **1236–38**
Yellow Face (Hwang), 527
 Yellow Identity symposium, 95
 Yellow Pearl, 114
 Yen, Y. K., 178
 Yen Yuen, 310, 311
 Yep, Laurence, **1238–39**
Yick Wo v. Hopkins, **1239–41**
 Yogananda, Paramahansa, 492
 Yogis, 816
Yokohama, California (Mori), 842
 Yoneda, Karl G., 88, 656, 945, **1241–42**
 “Yoneko’s Earthquake” (DeSoto), 342, 343
 Yoo, David, 686, 862
 Yoon, Sam, 1128, **1242–43**
 Yorty, Sam, 11
 Yoshimi, Yoshiaki, 331
 Yoshiwara, Hisayo, 842
 Young, Ellen, 834
 Young, Shirley, 925
 Young Lords Party, 529, 947
 “The Young Woman who Practiced Singing”
 (Duong), 353
 Young Women’s Christian Association
 (YWCA), 599, 605, 606
Youth, 203
 Youth Build Immigrant Power (YBIP), 110
 Yu, Eui-Young, 657
 Yu, Henry, 1205
 Yu, Howard and Soo, 683
 Yu Farm, 682, 683
 Yu Lihua (Helen Yu), **1243–44**
 Yuan Shi-kai, 1049
 Yuh, Ji Yeon, 691
 Yung, Judy, 439, 786, **1244–46**
 Yung Wing, 99, 279, 776, **1246–47**
 Zeckendorf, William, 923
 Zen Buddhism, 1055–56
Zen Buddhism and Its Influence on Japanese Culture
 (D. Suzuki), 1055
Zen Mind, Beginner’s Mind (S. Suzuki), 1056, 1057
 Zeng Guofan, 1246
 Zenimura, Kenichi, 499, 894, **1249–50**
 “Zero Hour,” 1115–16
 Zhang, Caroline, **1250–51**
 Zhang, Yitang, **1251–52**
 Zhang Yimou, 833
 Zhigongtang, 230–31
 Zhou, Li Qin, 267
 Zhou, Min, 679, 680–81, 1023
 Zhu Yuanzhang, 841
 Zia, Helen, 61, 776, **1252–54**
 Zoeller, Fuzzy, 1205
Zoetrope (Ong), 898
Zuv Chhum Bramaan, 18