Encyclopedia of
Asian American Issues Today
Edith Wen-Chu Chen / Grace J. Yoo, Editors
Volume 1

How to go to your page

This eBook contains two volumes. Each Tqo cp"pwo gtcn"ugevkqp has its own page numbering scheme, consisting of a volume number and a page number, separated by a hyphen.

For example, to go to page zk of Volume K, type XK-zk in the “page #” box at the top of the screen and click “Go.” To go to page x of Volume KK, type XKK-x in the "page #" box… and so forth.

Encyclopedia of
Asian American Issues Today

This page intentionally left blank

Encyclopedia of Asian American Issues Today

VOLUME 1

Edith Wen-Chu Chen and
Grace J. Yoo,
Editors

GREENWOOD PRESS
An Imprint of ABC-CLIO, LLC

Santa Barbara, California • Denver, Colorado • Oxford, England

Copyright 2010 by Edith Wen-Chu Chen and Grace J. Yoo

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise, except for the inclusion of brief quotations in a review, without prior permission in writing from the publisher.

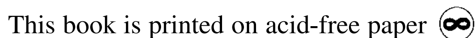
Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Encyclopedia of Asian American issues today / Edith Wen-Chu Chen, Grace J. Yoo, editors.
v. cm.
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 978-0-313-34749-8 (set : alk. paper) — ISBN 978-0-313-34751-1 (v. 1 : alk. paper) — ISBN 978-0-313-34753-5 (v. 2 : alk. paper) — ISBN 978-0-313-34750-4 (set ebook) — ISBN 978-0-313-34752-8 (v. 1 ebook) — ISBN 978-0-313-34754-2 (v. 2 ebook)
1. Asian Americans—Encyclopedias. 2. Asian Americans—Social conditions—Encyclopedias. I. Chen, Edith Wen-Chu, 1966- II. Yoo, Grace J.
E184.A75E53 2009
305.895'073—dc22 2009046475

14 13 12 11 10 1 2 3 4 5

This book is also available on the World Wide Web as an eBook.
Visit www.abc-clio.com for details.

ABC-CLIO, LLC
130 Cremona Drive, P.O. Box 1911
Santa Barbara, California 93116-1911


This book is printed on acid-free paper
Manufactured in the United States of America

In honor of our parents,
Flora Huang Chung-Hsia and Mo-Shing Chen
and
Wendy Wangsook and Frank Sungkung Yoo

This page intentionally left blank

Contents

Preface *xv*

Introduction *xvii*

Volume 1

Section 1: Diversity and Demographics
Section Editors: Edith Wen-Chu Chen and Kimiko Kelly 1

Demographic Overview: Diverse, Growing, and Ever-Changing 3
Kimiko Kelly
Sidebar: Asian Americans by the Numbers 6
Sidebar: Census Data Accuracy 13
Chinese Americans 15
Peter Kwong and Edith Wen-Chu Chen
Sidebar: Notable Chinese Americans 21
Filipino Americans 25
Allan Aquino
Sidebar: Notable Filipino Americans 30
Japanese Americans 33
Brian Niiya
Sidebar: Notable Japanese Americans 38
Korean Americans 41
Edward Taehan Chang and Barbara W. Kim
Sidebar: Notable Korean Americans 47
South Asian Americans 51
Bandana Purkayastha and Ranita Ray
Sidebar: Notable South Asian Americans 60
Southeast Asian Americans 65
Khatharya Um
Sidebar: Notable Southeast Asian Americans 77

Thai Americans 81
R. Varisa Patraporn
Sidebar: Notable Thai Americans 86

Section 2: Economy and Work
Section Editor: Don Mar 89

Overview of Economic Issues 91
Don Mar
Accent Discrimination 99
Daniel Phil Gonzales
Glass Ceiling 107
Marlene Kim
Globalization 111
Andrew Hom
H-1B Visas 117
Jayanti Mallick
Housing 123
Mike Chan
Impact of Asian Immigrants on the U.S. Economy 131
Don Mar
Labor Unions 135
Kim Geron
Sidebar: Organizing Immigrant Taxi Drivers 138
Nadia Islam
Low-Income Workers 143
Ambrose H. Lee
Poverty 149
Jocyl Sacramento and Aristel de la Cruz
Small Businesses 157
Don Mar
Sidebar: Contributing in Big Ways 159
Grace J. Yoo
Resource Guide 162

Section 3: Education
Section Editors: Shirley Hune and Julie J. Park 167

Educational Trends and Issues 169
Shirley Hune and Julie J. Park
Affirmative Action 181
Julie J. Park
Asian American Studies 185
Sophia Lai
Bilingual Education 191
Hyeyoung Kwon and Eunai Shrake

College Campus Climate 201
Julie J. Park
Sidebar: Pipeline for Asian American Faculty and Higher Education Administrators 204
Shirley Hune
Community College Students 207
Jonathan W. Lew and Winnie W. Wang
Cram Schools 211
Eunai Shrake
Freedom Schools 217
Glenn Omatsu
Model Minority Myth 221
Hyeyoung Kwon and Wayne Au
Sidebar: Filipino American Youth and Students 226
Allyson Tintiangco-Cubales
Parental Pressure and Expectations 231
Hyeyoung Kwon
Retention of College Students 237
Tracy Lachica Buenavista
Standardized Testing 245
Wayne Au
Student Groups 249
Tracy Lachica Buenavista and Dimpal Jain
Undocumented Immigrant Students 253
Tracy Lachica Buenavista and Tam Tran
Resource Guide 258

Section 4: Health
Section Editors: Ranjita Misra, Simona C. Kwon, and Grace J. Yoo 261

Overview of Health: Understanding Wellness and Disease 263
Ranjita Misra, Simona C. Kwon, and Grace J. Yoo
Sidebar: Bringing Needed Health Research and Advocacy to Asian American Communities 273
Simona C. Kwon
Cancer 277
Mai-Nhung Le, Jennifer Garcia, Mavis Nitta, and Roxanna Bautista
Sidebar: From Cancer Patient to Asian American Cancer Advocate/Activist 282
Grace J. Yoo
Cardiovascular Health 289
Candice Chin Wong and Jyu-Lin Chen
Complementary and Alternative Medicine 301
Laureen D. Hom and Simona C. Kwon
Diabetes 307
Ranjita Misra and Joan Jeung

End of Life 317
Jennifer Nazareno
Gambling 323
Timothy Fong
Health Care Access 329
Grace J. Yoo, Joan Jeung, and Ivy Wong
Infectious Diseases 337
Kejia Wan, Yu Wan, and Henry Pollack
Mental Health 345
Grace Michele V. Alba, Mabel Lam, and Alvin Alvarez
Sexual Health 357
Chwee-Lye Chng
Substance Abuse 367
Mary S. Lee and David K. Mineta
Suicide 373
Eliza Noh
Tobacco Use 387
Kan Man Kenny Kwong
Resource Guide 394

Section 5: Identity
Section Editors: Barbara W. Kim and Edith Wen-Chu Chen 397

Psychological Approaches to Understanding Asian American Identity 399
Sharon G. Goto and Jennifer S. Abe
Sidebar: "To P or Not to P?": Identifying P/Filipino Americans 404
Allan Aquino
Sidebar: Generation and Identity 409
Barbara W. Kim
Asian American Identities in Hawai'i 413
Jonathan Y. Okamura
Beauty Pageants 421
Rebecca Chiyoko King-O'Riain
Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer Identity 425
Margaret Rhee
Multiracial Asian and Pacific Islanders 437
Anh-Luu T. Huynh-Hohnbaum
Sidebar: Multiracial Asian Americans at a Glance 438
Kimiko Kelly
Pan-South Asian Identity 445
R. Benedito Ferrao
Racial Features and Cosmetic Surgery 451
Joanne L. Rondilla
Religious Identity and Marginalization 457
Russell Jeung
Resource Guide 465

Volume 2

Section 6: Immigration, Refugees, and Citizenship
Section Editor: Bill Ong Hing 469

Overview: Examining Key Issues 471
Bill Ong Hing
Citizenship and Naturalization Rates 483
Kyung Jin Lee
Detention and Deportation 491
Bo Han Yang, Angie Junck, and Sin Yen Ling
Sidebar: From Fleeing Persecution to Life on the Streets 494
Bill Ong Hing
Family Immigration 503
Joren Lyons
Sidebar: Victims of the Backlog 506
Bill Ong Hing
Human Trafficking 511
Pahole Yotin Sookkasikon
Public Benefits 519
Jonathan Blazer and Tanya Broder
South Asians in a Post–September 11th Environment 527
Deepa Iyer
Southeast Asian Refugees 535
Helly Lee, Catherina Nou, Naomi Steinberg, and Doua Thor
Undocumented Immigrants 541
Rodolfo-Jose Blanco Quiambao
Women Immigrants 547
Eun Sook Lee
Resource Guide 556

Section 7: Law
Section Editor: Angelo Ancheta 559

Legal Issues, Past and Present 561
Angelo Ancheta
Affirmative Action 573
Angelo Ancheta
Civil Rights and Community Legal Advocacy 579
Angelo Ancheta
Sidebar: Lawyers, Judges, and Law Students 582
Angelo Ancheta
Cultural Defense 585
Angelo Ancheta
Domestic Violence and Immigrant Women 591
Angelo Ancheta
Homeland Security and Racism 597
Peter Chua

Language Rights and Language Discrimination 603
Angelo Ancheta
Prisoners 609
Angela E. Oh and Karen Umemoto
Racial Violence and Hate Crimes 619
Angelo Ancheta
Sidebar: The Murder of Cha Vang: A Hate Crime? 620
Daniel Phil Gonzales
Sidebar: Racial Profiling 627
Mitchel Wu
Resource Guide 630

Section 8: Media
Section Editors: Valerie Soe, Allan Aquino, and Edith Wen-Chu Chen 633

Portrayals in Film and Television 635
Timothy P. Fong, Valerie Soe, and Allan Aquino
Sidebar: Who is Harlemm Lee? 640
Timothy P. Fong and Allan Aquino
Directors in Hollywood 651
Valerie Soe
Sidebar: Mira Nair 654
Valerie Soe
Independent Film 657
Valerie Soe
News Coverage 663
Paul Niwa
Sidebar: Hurricane Katrina News Coverage 664
Paul Niwa
Sidebar: Ethnic Press 668
Paul Niwa
Popular Music 673
Allan Aquino
Rappers and "Turntablists" 677
Allan Aquino
Resource Guide 679

Section 9: Politics
Section Editor: Andrew L. Aoki 683

Voting Behavior and Political Participation 685
James S. Lai
Asian American Movement 703
Diane C. Fujino

Coalition Politics 707
Andrew L. Aoki
"Donorgate" and Wen Ho Lee 713
Michael Chang
Naturalization and Voting 717
Don T. Nakanishi
Sidebar: 2008 Presidential Election 721
Christine Chen
Racial Attitudes in the Twenty-First Century 725
Natalie Masuoka
Women's Activism and Politics 733
Diane C. Fujino and Chrissy Lau
Resource Guide 741

Section 10: War
Section Editors: Wei Ming Dariotis and Wesley Ueunten 745

Overview of War and Its Effects: Past and Present Issues Unresolved 747
Wei Ming Dariotis and Wesley Ueunten
Sidebar: On the Bases: U.S. Military Occupation and the Future 756
Wei Ming Dariotis and Wesley Ueunten
Comfort Women 759
Annie Fukushima
Sidebar: Bringing Public Recognition to War and Asian Americans: Mike Honda 764
Wei Ming Dariotis and Wesley Ueunten
Continuing Impact of Genocide on Cambodian Americans 771
Cathy J. Schlund-Vials
Continuing Impact of the Korean War on Korean Americans 781
Raina Han
Filipino World War II Veterans 795
Ben de Guzman
Hmong and Lao American Vietnam Veterans 803
Davorn Sisavath
The Iraq War 809
Wei Ming Dariotis, Wesley Ueunten, and Kathy Masaoka
Japanese Latin American Redress for World War II Internment 815
Grace Shimizu and Wesley Ueunten
Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder in Refugees and War Veterans 821
Meekyung Han and Julian Chun-Chung Chow
Post–Vietnam War Tensions in the Vietnamese American Community 829
C. N. Le
Resource Guide 835

Section 11: Youth, Family, and the Aged

Section Editors: Alan Y. Oda and Grace J. Yoo 839

Overview: Understanding Generations 841
Alan Y. Oda and Grace J. Yoo
Sidebar: Increases in the Divorce Rate 850
Alan Y. Oda
At-Risk Youth 857
Roderick Daus-Magbual and Jonell Molina
Children as Language and Cultural Brokers 865
Nina H. Wu and Su Yeong Kim
Disabilities within Families 873
Rooshey Hasnain
Elderly Poor 881
Barbara W. Kim
Family Violence 889
Hee Yun Lee
Filial Piety and Caregiving 901
Grace J. Yoo and Barbara W. Kim
Sidebar: Taking Care of Elders 905
Grace J. Yoo
Intergenerational Relations 909
Linda P. Juang
Interracial and Interethnic Dating and Marriage 919
Sachiko K. Wood
LGBTIQ People Coming Out 927
Anneliese A. Singh
Same-Sex Marriages 935
Raymond San Diego and Margaret Rhee
Transnational Families 943
Yeon-Shim Lee and Melissa-Ann Nievera
Transracial Adoption 953
Mia H. Tuan, Elizabeth S. Rienzi, and Jiannbin Lee Shiao
Resource Guide 960

Index 963

About the Editors and Contributors 997

Preface

The editors of this encyclopedia have been teaching and conducting research on Asian Americans for two decades. As such, we are too aware of the difficulty in finding comprehensive, readily available, and accessible scholarship that addresses the social problems confronting Asian Americans today. This is the most up-to-date encyclopedic work on the current status of Asian Americans, providing a broad examination of the various critical issues facing them. It is written for students, educators, and practitioners, as well as a general audience. Issues impacting Asian Americans as a whole are considered, as well as those confronting various subgroups, from more established groups such as Chinese, Japanese, and Korean Americans to the relatively newer groups such as Cambodian and Hmong Americans.

Leading Asian American studies experts in fields such as education, public health, sociology, law, economics, and psychology served as section editors. The thematic sections were developed through a thorough review of the different contemporary social problems. The thematic sections are as follows:

- Diversity and Demographics
- Economy and Work
- Education
- Health
- Identity
- Immigration, Refugees, and Citizenship
- Law
- Media
- Politics
- War
- Youth, Family, and the Aged

Asian Americans are often lumped together and viewed as one unified group, masking important differences between and within groups. Data that illustrate common themes as well as important distinctions between groups are often difficult to find. Using the latest U.S. Census information from the 2007 American Community Survey, the first section provides a demographic overview of Asian Americans as a whole, followed by chapter profiles of the largest fourteen Asian ethnic groups and subgroups. Each of these entries, in addition to providing rare ethnic-specific demographic information, also highlights key issues specific to these particular groups.

More detailed discussion on key issues impacting Asian Americans can be found in the remaining ten sections. Each section begins with an anchor essay that provides a broad contemporary and sometimes historical overview of the main topic. This is followed by issue-specific entries organized in alphabetical order. These are the most important issues confronting the Asian American community, and some have been ongoing for decades. At the end of each section is a resource guide, which includes a carefully selected and annotated list of suggested reading, films/videos, organizations, and Web sites.

The 110 entries include background information, controversies, successes, and outlook for each of the issues. When relevant, the chapters describe how gender, class, immigrant/native status, and regionalism affect these current issues. A number of tables and figures and photos complement the text. Numerous sidebars appear throughout, with biographical profiles, quotations, statistics, and excerpts from documents.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We would like to acknowledge Wendy Ng, who initiated the project and gave us the opportunity to serve as editors and contributors to this important encyclopedia. This project would not have been possible without the support and encouragement from San Francisco State University's Asian American Studies department; California State University–Northridge's Asian American Studies department; its College of Humanities; and its Provost Office. Special thanks go to Jonathan Lee, who assisted with the formatting.

Introduction

Asian Americans encounter a range of social problems, most of which are unknown to the American public as well as to policy makers. Asian Americans face a host of issues in areas including education, media, politics, law, health, economics, immigration, citizenship, politics, and war—all of which have important public policy implications. When social problems confronting Asian Americans are discussed, conclusions are often based on generalizations that do not consider the diversity of experiences and economic backgrounds among the more than thirty different Asian ethnicities, all grouped under the one rubric *Asian American.* For example, simplistic and divisive arguments about Asian Americans' supposed overrepresentation in higher education typically overlook the underrepresentation and educational needs of Filipinos, Vietnamese, Cambodians, and Hmong communities in the United States. The common phenomenon of treating Asian Americans as one uniform group is a serious oversight that is echoed in a number of chapters in this encyclopedia.

Perhaps worse than being seen inaccurately is not being seen at all—and Asian Americans are sometimes left out altogether from important debates and discussions. When Hurricane Katrina devastated the coastal communities of Louisiana and Mississippi in 2005, much of the media coverage focused on the devastation of African American communities while tragedies impacting the sizable Vietnamese American communities living there were ignored. Race relations are too often framed in terms of a black-white paradigm, leaving Asian Americans out of such discussions.

Another reason Asian American issues are often invisible is that Asian Americans have largely been regarded as a model minority. Viewed as a homogenous, successful group, Asian Americans are presumed to have few social problems or concerns. While many Asian Americans have in fact achieved some measure of success, many others live in poverty and crowded conditions and lack access to adequate health care and other basic services. Sixty percent of Asian Americans are foreign-born, and they face various

issues and challenges unfamiliar to non-immigrants. Language barriers and cultural differences may often strain intergenerational family relationships and hinder interactions with local communities and the larger society. Meanwhile, the model minority image exaggerates the successes of Asian Americans in ways that arouse resentment from other racial and ethnic groups. The continued framing of Asian Americans as a successful minority limits important policy-making discussions that could lead to more comprehensive solutions, inclusive of all groups.

"Will Asian Americans ever be seen as real American?" is a question that shadows the lives of many Asian Americans. From the often well-intentioned question "Where are you from?" to the hateful remark "Go back to where you came from!" Asian Americans are constantly questioned about their place in American society. Some scholars suggest that Asian Americans will continue to be perceived as "forever foreigners." This is true for recent immigrants as well as for those Asian Americans whose families who have been in the United States for several generations. In the past, the idea that Asians should not be regarded as Americans was legislated into race-specific policies that banned Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, Asian Indians, and Filipinos from American citizenship, landownership, and even marriage with whites. However, nowadays, while many of such race-based policies are no longer legal, the definition of American still continues to be defined with European American undertones. During a 2009 house testimony on voter identification, Republican Texas state legislator Betty Brown proposed that Asian Americans with Asian-ethnic names change them to more common, conventionally American-sounding ones. To what extent will Asian Americans' culture, religion, language, and ways of life be accepted as part of the American fabric? To what extent will they be able to be a part of American society on their own terms, contributing their cultural perspectives and experiences? These issues are explored in a number of essays throughout this two-volume set.

WHO ARE ASIAN AMERICANS?

According to a 2007 American Community Survey and U.S. Census estimates, the 15.2 million Asian Americans living in the United States are one of the fastest-growing racial groups, encompassing more than thirty different ethnic groups. As the entries in this encyclopedia emphasize, significant social differences exist not only between ethnic groups, but also within each ethnic group according to gender, generation, language, and culture. Although some Asian Americans are recent immigrants, others descend from communities whose history in the United States extends back over 100 years. Longer-established ethnic groups include Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Filipino Americans, and Asian Indians. Although the general public usually associates the term *Asian American* with East Asian backgrounds (Chinese, Japanese and Korean), the term also includes people with backgrounds deriving from the Philippines, South Asia, and Southeast Asia. South Asians include Asian

Indians, Pakistanis, Bangladeshis, Nepalese, and Sri Lankans. Among these, Asian Indians are currently the fastest-growing Asian American ethnic group and the third largest of all Asian American groups, after Chinese and Filipino Americans. More recent arrivals have included Vietnamese, Cambodian, Hmong, and Laotians, following the United States' military withdrawal from Southeast Asia in the 1970s and 1980s. Because they largely came as refugees, their experiences are different from those of other Asian American immigrants. In the late 1980s, even more recent arrivals from Asia have included those from Burma. Because of anti-Asian legislation of the past, all Asian ethnic communities—with the exception of Japanese Americans—currently have a majority immigrant population. To truly understand the Asian American experience begins with acknowledging the diversity within and between the groups.

Although Asian Americans make up 5 percent of the total U.S. population, their presence tends to be concentrated in particular geographic regions. Hawai‘i has been home to many generations of Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Filipino Americans. In southern California, large numbers of Cambodian Americans, Korean Americans, Thai Americans, and Vietnamese Americans reside and have created ethnic enclaves and increased their visibility in terms of both local culture and politics. In the Los Angeles and San Francisco Bay areas, Chinese Americans and Filipino Americans are the largest Asian Americans subgroups who have influenced local culture and have also made inroads into political representation. Minnesota and California's Central Valley contain areas with high concentrations of Hmong Americans. Growing Asian American communities also exist in southern states; for example, Vietnamese American enclaves exist along the Gulf Coast of Texas, Mississippi, and Louisiana. In short, Asian American communities are diverse, growing, and ever-changing.

INCREASING VOICE AND VISIBILITY

Asian Americans are increasingly participating in politics, making their voices heard at the community, local, and national levels. The election of Barack Obama as the forty-fourth president proved to be a pivotal moment for Asian Americans nationally. Many Asian American participants in the November 2008 election were first-time voters, immigrants, and supporters of Obama. Regionally across the United States, an increase in the number of Asian American elected officials, especially in areas where there are high concentrations of Asian Americans, signified an improvement in representative political voices. In 2008, San Franciscans elected three Chinese Americans to the San Francisco Board of Supervisors: Carmen Chiu, David Chiu, and Eric Mar. The citizens of Irvine, California, elected the nation's first Korean American mayor. In New Orleans, Louisiana, the first Vietnamese American U.S. Congressperson was elected—Anh "Joseph" Quang Cao—after his active role as a lawyer addressing the response to Hurricane Katrina. Where there are large concentrations of Asian

Americans in the United States, Asian Americans are emerging as elected representatives for their communities. With this increasing representation of Asian Americans through the electoral process, Asian Americans are likely not only to receive more consideration as an influential voting bloc, but also have more opportunity to address and remedy the often neglected issues and concerns of their constituents.

INCREASING CONCERNS

Despite these gains, there are still many unaddressed setbacks and areas of concern. Racist and discriminatory acts targeting Asian Americans continue to occur, with notable impacts on civil rights that followed the wake of the September 11, 2001 catastrophe. Enacted soon after the 9/11 World Trade Center attacks, the U.S.A. PATRIOT Act stepped up efforts to detain and deport immigrants. As a result, South Asians throughout the United States have experienced increased racial and religious profiling that has taken the forms of harassment, hate crimes, and profiling in airline travel and security. Since 9/11, a majority of South Asian Americans reported a rise in incidents of discrimination, including employment discrimination, religious and ethnic insults, and even physical assault.

Poverty continues to be a growing concern among various subgroups of Asian Americans. In the last decade, changes to immigrants' eligibility for public benefits have had a lasting impact on low-income Asian immigrants. Anti-immigrant sentiments fueled much of the impetus for making these cutbacks. In 1994, California passed Proposition 187, which barred government services to undocumented immigrants—and deterred many undocumented immigrants from seeking health and social services. In 1996, the Federal Welfare Reform Law was passed, ending such federal entitlements as Supplemental Security Income for elderly and disabled legal immigrants. Anti-immigrant movements, which have driven further budget cuts and limiting of eligibility, have worsened the vulnerability of low-income Asian immigrants who are disabled or elderly. With the current slumping economy affecting local, state, and national levels, cuts in health care and cash benefits to the most vulnerable means that some Asian American communities face increasing burdens, not only due to the economic downturn, but also due to language barriers and mounting pressures to help extended family members. In 2009, the U.S. unemployment rate was the highest in twenty-five years, adding yet more strain on those Asian American subgroups who have experienced persistent poverty all along.

INCREASING NEED FOR DIALOGUE

In the last decade, unforeseen outbursts of violence, in the form of massacre-suicides committed by Korean American Seung Hui Cho at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, and by Chinese-Vietnamese American Jiverly Voong at a New York immigration center, grabbed the American news headlines and shocked the nation. Like individuals from any racial or ethnic group, some Asian Americans suffer from mental illness. Among all the racial/ethnic groups,

however, Asian Americans are the least likely to seek help when suffering from mental health problems. Asian Americans struggle with fears and biases about mental illness that intersect with an extreme stigmatization that still prevails in many different Asian American ethnic communities. Moreover, Asian Americans must continually contend with expectations to fit the model minority stereotype—a one-dimensional image that showcases success while dismissing struggles, shortcomings, and failures. When only success is worth noticing, chronic problems that plague the poor, uneducated, and ill members of Asian American communities remain unsolved, and mental illness can progress unchecked to the point of horrific tragedies. Obviously, such incidents are a wake-up call for preventive intervention. Dialogue and discussion within Asian American communities about mental illness is seen as crucial, in order to break patterns of shameful silence within families and communities. Similarly, other issues—cancer, domestic violence, suicide, substance abuse, and a host of other problems—are also often difficult to discuss within the Asian American community. Moreover, experiences that may be culturally unfamiliar to immigrant Asian Americans, such as homosexuality or interracial dating, are being brought to light and discussed as shared family or community concerns. Whether invisible to policy makers, misunderstood by the larger American public, or not spoken about within the Asian American community, the most pressing issues facing Asian Americans today are the subjects on which this encyclopedia sheds some light. We hope the entries will bring about the much needed dialogue and informed policy in addressing these critical issues.

This page intentionally left blank

Section 1:

DIVERSITY AND DEMOGRAPHICS

Section Editors: Edith Wen-Chu Chen and Kimiko Kelly

This page intentionally left blank

DEMOGRAPHIC OVERVIEW: DIVERSE, GROWING, AND EVER-CHANGING

Kimiko Kelly

By 2042, the population of the United States is projected to be "majority minority," or no longer a white majority, according to the U.S. Census Bureau. Asian Americans and Latinos are the fastest growing major racial/ethnic groups, making them the greatest contributors to an increasing racial and ethnic plurality in communities across the nation. In 2007 the U.S. Census Bureau estimated that there were 15 million Asian Americans, comprising 5 percent of the population (Table 1). The Asian population is projected to climb from 15.5 million in 2008 to 40.6 million by 2050. By midcentury, Asians are projected to make up 9 percent and Latinos 30 percent of the U.S. population.

While the United States is only 5 percent Asian American, this varies greatly by region and other subgeographies. For example, the western region of the United States is 10 percent Asian American, New York City is 12 percent, Sugarland (a suburb of Houston, Texas) is 25 percent, and the city of San Francisco is 33 percent Asian.

DIVERSITY

Asian Americans are treated as a racial monolith in most reports of U.S. racial and ethnic data. But this group is highly diverse, composed of more than 16 major ethnic subgroups from an even greater number of cultural and linguistic backgrounds. Some groups have been present for hundreds of years in this country, whereas others have just recently experienced a second generation.

Table 1. Major Racial and Ethnic Groups in the United States, 2007

Race/Ethnicity	Number	Percent
White	198,553,437	66%
Latino	45,427,437	15%
African American	39,663,004	13%
Asian	14,940,775	5%
American Indian	4,429,514	1%
Pacific Islander	840,612	0.3%
Total:	301,621,159	100%

Source: 2007 American Community Survey, U.S. Census Bureau
Note: All groups are single race and multirace combined, and not exclusive of Latino/Hispanic, except for white, which is single race only and non-Hispanic. Categories are not mutually exclusive; therefore totals may equal more than 100 percent.

The paths of immigration to this country also vary, from those arriving with advanced educational degrees to work in high technology industries to those forced to come here as refugees with rural backgrounds and little formal education. Because of this great diversity, analyzing measures of socioeconomic status for the Asian population as a whole masks the distinct needs of the various subgroups.

The largest Asian ethnic group in the United States is the Chinese, making up nearly a quarter of the Asian population. Filipinos are the second largest group, a fifth of the Asian population. Asian Indians have been one of the fastest growing groups in the last twenty years, making them the third largest group; their population is not far behind that of Filipinos. Vietnamese are fourth, rising one spot from 2000 to 2007. Rounding out the top six Asian groups—which make up 92 percent of the Asian population—are Koreans and Japanese. The remaining groups, which each comprise 2 percent or less of the Asian American population, are Cambodians, Laotians, Pakistanis, Thai, Hmong, Taiwanese, Indonesian, and Bangladeshi (Table 2). The Asian category includes many other groups, such as Sri Lankan, Malaysian, Nepalese, Burmese, Okinawan, and Tibetan. Many of the smaller groups have been experiencing rapid growth rates in recent years which may continue to change the composition of the population in the future.

In 2000, the U.S. Census Bureau added the multiracial category to the racial and ethnic tables, making this information available for the first time since the collection of U.S. Census data began. The 2000 census found that only 2 percent of the U.S. population was identified as multiracial. Asian Americans reported much higher rates of being multiracial. Fourteen percent of Asians, or 1.6 million Asians, identified themselves as multiracial, which would be fourth in size among

Table 2. Asian Ethnic Groups in the United States, 2007

Asian Groups	Number	Percent
Chinese, including Taiwanese	3,538,407	24%
Filipino	3,053,179	20%
Asian Indian	2,765,815	19%
Vietnamese	1,642,950	11%
Korean	1,555,293	10%
Japanese	1,220,922	8%
Cambodian	247,487	2%
Laotian	221,420	1%
Pakistani	213,800	1%
Thai	210,850	1%
Hmong	206,738	1%
Taiwanese	100,608	1%
Indonesian	84,346	1%
Bangladeshi	76,048	1%
Total:	14,940,775	100%

Source: 2007 American Community Survey, U.S. Census Bureau.
Note: All groups are single race and multirace combined, and not exclusive of Latino/Hispanic. Categories are not mutually exclusive; therefore totals may equal more than 100 percent.

Asian subgroups. Multiracial rates among ethnic groups range from 31 percent for Japanese Americans to 8 percent for Vietnamese Americans.

POPULATION GROWTH

Asians Americans, along with Latinos, are the fastest growing major racial and ethnic group in the United States. From 2000 to 2007, both Asians and Latinos were the only groups not only with double-digit growth rates, but with growth rates of 26 percent and 29 percent respectively. During this same period, the total population grew by 7 percent, the African American population by 9 percent, American Indians by 8 percent, and non-Hispanic whites by 2 percent.

Among Asian ethnic groups, Asian Indians experienced the fastest rate of growth from 2000 to 2007, growing by 46 percent. Thai, Vietnamese, Indonesians, Bangladeshis, Filipinos, and Koreans all had growth rates higher than the Asian growth rate overall from 2000 to 2007 (Figure 1).

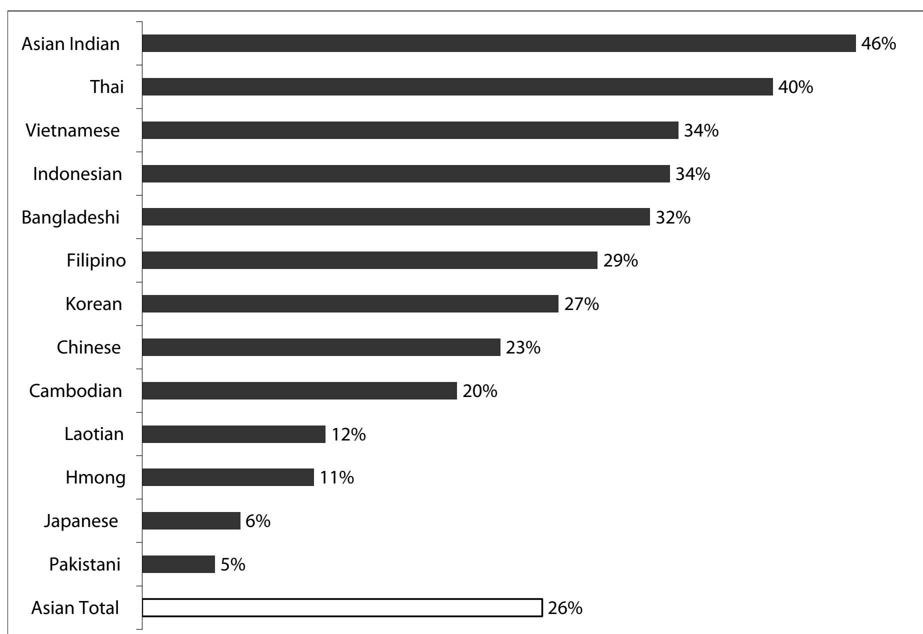
Asian Indians were also the fastest growing Asian group from 1990 to 2000, more than doubling in size during that decade. Also doubling in size were Pakistanis, Hmong, Vietnamese, Bangladeshis, and Sri Lankans during that time period.

Asian Americans by the Numbers

- U.S. population that was Asian in 2007: 5 percent
- Asian American population that was foreign-born in 2007: 61 percent
- U.S. overall population growth rate from 2000 to 2007: 7 percent
- Asian American population growth rate from 2000 to 2007: 26 percent
- Fastest-growing Asian American ethnic group: Asian Indian (46% from 2000 to 2007)
- Multiracial Asian Americans in 2000: 14 percent
- Asian American median household income in 2007: $66,409
- Asian American per capita income in 2007: $28,013
- Asian American group with the highest per capita income: Taiwanese, $37,199
- Asian American group with the lowest per capita income: Hmong, $10,837
- Asian-owned firms in 2002 with receipts of $1 million or more: 49,578
- Asian Americans who speak a language other than English at home: 71 percent
- Asian Americans who are limited English proficient: 33 percent
- Asian American group with the lowest limited English proficiency rate: Japanese, 18 percent
- Asian American group with the highest limited English proficiency rate: Vietnamese, 50 percent
- Asian Americans with a bachelor's degree or higher: 49 percent
- Asian American group with the highest rate of bachelors' degrees or higher: Taiwanese, 71 percent
- Asian American group with the lowest rate of bachelor's degrees or higher: Laotian, 11 percent
- State with the fastest-growing Asian population, 2000 to 2007: North Dakota, 81 percent
- Asian American population that lives in the West in 2007: 47 percent
- Asian group with the highest proportion in the Midwest: Hmong (49%)*
- Asian group with the highest proportion in the Northeast: Bangladeshi (61%)*
- Asian group with the highest proportion in the South: Pakistani (32%)*
- Asian group with the highest proportion in the West: Japanese (73%)*
- City with the highest Asian percentage (outside of Hawai'i): Monterey Park, CA, 64 percent *
- Counties that are majority Asian: Honolulu County, HI, and Kauai County, HI
- County in the continental U.S. with the highest percentage of Asians: San Francisco County, CA (33%)
- States where Asians are the largest minority group: Hawai'i and Vermont

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, American Community Survey, 2007, unless otherwise noted.
*2000 U.S. Census

Figure 1. Percentage Growth of Asian Groups in the U.S., 2000 to 2007



Source: 2000 Census and 2007 American Community Survey, U.S. Census Bureau.

CONCENTRATION

Asian Americans have long been highly concentrated in the western United States. In 2007 nearly half, or 47 percent, of Asians lived in the West, while only 23 percent of the U.S. population lived in this region. Though this rate is high, it is on the decline. More than half (54%) of Asians were found in the West in 1990, and 49 percent in 2000. This decreasing presence in the West indicates a greater distribution of Asians to other parts of the country. The greatest increase has been in the South, where 21 percent of Asians can now be found, compared with only 16 percent in 1990.

Asian ethnic groups are also distributed differently across the regions. Groups with longer histories in the United States, such as Japanese and Filipinos, are found in great numbers in the West and less represented in all other regions Groups newer to the United States show different patterns of settlement. South Asian groups are disproportionately located in the Northeast, where 33 percent or more of this group are found, compared with 19 percent of the total U.S. population. Nearly half of the Southeast Asian group Hmong are located in the Midwest compared with 23 percent of the U.S. population.

Asian Americans have not had a large presence in the southern region of the United States in the past, but two Asian groups, South Asians and Southeast Asians, have made the South their home in increasing numbers. Thirty percent of Vietnamese and 32 percent of Pakistanis are found in the South compared with 19 percent of Asians overall.

Although Asians are decreasing their proportion in the West, they are still increasing in size in the West because they are experiencing high rates of population growth in both traditional Asian communities and emerging communities. Because of this steady growth, California continues to increase in its number and concentration of Asians. California has the highest percentage of Asians in the continental U.S. Estimates for 2007 show California being 14 percent Asian, an increase from 12 percent in 2000 and 9 percent in 1990. After Hawai‘i and California, the states with the highest percentages of Asians are Washington, New Jersey, New York, Nevada, Alaska, Maryland, Virginia, and Massachusetts (Table 3).

The states with the fastest growing Asian populations are not those with historically Asian communities. The fastest growing Asian populations are found in states off the coasts and in the South, such as Nevada, Arizona, North Dakota, Arkansas, and Idaho. Asian populations are also rapidly growing in new communities in New Hampshire, Delaware, Georgia, and Florida.

A testament to the growing presence of Asians Americans in the United States is the number of cities that are now more than 50 percent Asian. In 1990, the city of Monterey Park in southern California emerged as the first city in the continental United States where Asians were more than half of all residents. In 2000, eight additional cities in California attained majority Asian status, including Cerritos, Walnut, Milpitas, and Daly City. In 2007, five more Californian cities of 20,000 or more people were found to be majority Asian (Cupertino, Arcadia, Temple City, Alhambra, and Diamond Bar). Three of these cities are in northern California and 11 in Los Angeles County. In addition to these cities are many others where Asians have gained a racial plurality because of great growth in Asian and Latino populations.

Table 3. States with the Highest Percent Asian, 2007

States	Number	Percent
Hawai‘i	718,976	56%
California	4,959,693	14%
Washington	517,005	8%
New Jersey	687,204	8%
New York	1,410,103	7%
Nevada	183,397	7%
Alaska	41,968	6%
Maryland	311,424	6%
Virginia	418,069	5%
Massachusetts	337,249	5%

Source: 2007 American Community Survey, U.S. Census Bureau.

Table 4. States with the Fastest Asian Population Growth, 2000 to 2007

States	Number	Percent
North Dakota	4,046	81%
Nevada	70,941	63%
Arkansas	14,862	59%
Arizona	68,623	58%
New Hampshire	10,897	57%
Delaware	10,543	56%
Florida	151,494	45%
Georgia	90,705	45%
Idaho	7,821	45%
South Carolina	18,874	42%

Source: 2007 American Community Survey, U.S. Census Bureau.

AGE

The Asian American population is younger, with a median age of 33.6 years compared to the U.S. population as a whole (36.4 years in 2007). But with this category, as with every social or economic characteristic, there is great diversity when median age is disaggregated for the dozen or more Asian ethnic groups.

All Asian groups are not hovering close to this median age; rather, they are highly distributed across a broad spectrum of age variations, ranging from the low median age of Hmong (18 years) to the high median age of the Japanese (38 years).

HOUSING

As a whole, Asian Americans have larger than average household sizes: 3.02 individuals per house compared to 2.61 for the population overall in 2007. In 2000, Asians were also found to have above-average rates of living in overcrowded housing (20% compared to 6% overall) and the highest rates of having three or more workers per family (17% compared to 12% nationally). These housing characteristics are important to consider when examining the income available per household member.

Again, each of these measures of socioeconomic status varies greatly across the many Asian ethnic groups. A third or more of Vietnamese, Laotians, and Cambodians live in overcrowded housing, and nearly a quarter of Filipino families had three or more workers in 2000.

EDUCATION

In 2007, six Asian American groups were found to have above-average rates of having less than a high school degree, including two of the six largest groups. While 16 percent of the U.S. adult population does not have a high school

degree, 18 percent of Chinese and 27 percent of Vietnamese adults do not have a high school degree. More than a third of Laotian, Cambodian, and Hmong adults have not graduated from high school.

In 2007 Asians also had the highest rate of having at least a bachelor's degree among the major racial and ethnic groups in the United States. Nearly half of Asian adults 25 years and older had a bachelor's degree, compared to 28 percent of adults overall. All but four Asian ethnic groups had attained a bachelor's degree at rates of 41 percent or higher. Vietnamese, Cambodian, Hmong, and Laotian, four Southeast Asian refugee groups, had below average rates of attaining a college degree.

INCOME

Measuring income for Asian Americans is complicated by several factors that affect the resulting figures, depending on how income is calculated. Median household income is the measure commonly used to report a group's income. Using this measure, Asians are found to have the highest level of income of all races, even higher than whites. In 2007, the Asian median household income was $66,409 compared with $55,096 for whites. But, Asian households are larger than average, and they also have higher-than-average rates of having three or more workers per family, both of which are important to consider when looking at median household income.

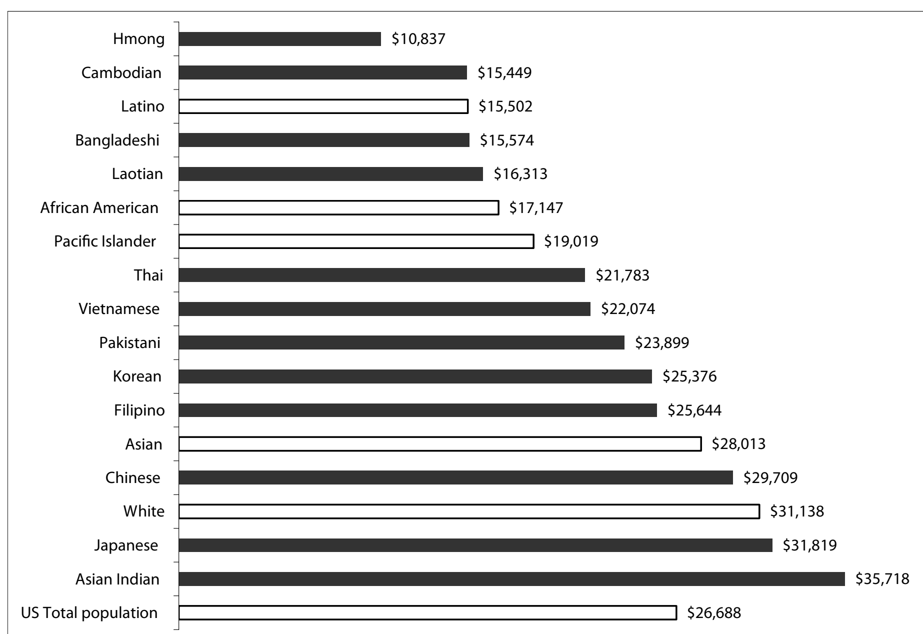
Per capita income is the measure of income that takes some of the above factors into account, as it measures the income available per person in a population. Using this figure, Asians fall considerably in their ranking. In 2007, Asian per capita income was $28,013 compared to $31,138 for whites. The drop in income ranking is even more dramatic for those Asian ethnic groups that have particularly large household sizes and high rates of three or more workers per family. Nearly a quarter of Filipino families were found to have three or more workers contributing to the family income in 2000, compared to 12 percent of families nationwide. This high rate of having three or more workers in a family contributes to the greater median household income found among Filipino Americans. Filipino households have among the highest median household incomes in the United States, $74,983. But when using per capita income as a measure, their ranking falls below that of the United States, to $25,644 (Figure 2).

Another feature of the Asian population that affects its income figures is Asians' greater presence in regions with higher incomes. Sixty-seven percent of Asians live in the Northeast or the West compared with 41 percent of the U.S. population. These two regions have the highest per capita incomes in the country.

POVERTY

As a whole, in 2007, Asian Americans were found to have below average poverty rates: 10 percent compared with 13 percent for the total population. But three Asian groups were found to have poverty rates far-above average. A quarter of Hmong and Bangladeshis and a fifth of Cambodians were found to be living

Figure 2. Per Capita Income by Racial/Ethnic Group in the United States, 2007



Source: 2007 American Community Survey, U.S. Census Bureau.
Note: All groups are single race and multirace combined, and not exclusive of Latino/Hispanic, except for white, which is single race only and non-Hispanic.

in poverty. Among those 65 years and older, Asians have above average poverty rates: 12 percent compared to 10 percent nationally. Nine Asian groups have senior poverty rates above average, including more than a fifth of Korean, 16 percent of Chinese, and 15 percent of Vietnamese seniors.

BUSINESS

Asian-owned businesses have been experiencing great growth in recent years. From 1997 to 2002, the number of Asian-owned businesses grew 24 percent, approximately twice the national average for all businesses. A quarter of Asian-owned firms were Chinese, a fifth were Asian Indian, and the balance was Korean (14%), Vietnamese (13%), Filipino (12%), Japanese (8%), and other Asian (7%). Among counties in the United States, Los Angeles County, CA, had the largest number of Asian-owned firms, or 13 percent of all Asian businesses. Queens County, NY, was second, followed by Orange County, CA, and Honolulu County, HI, according to the 2002 Economic Census.

IMMIGRATION

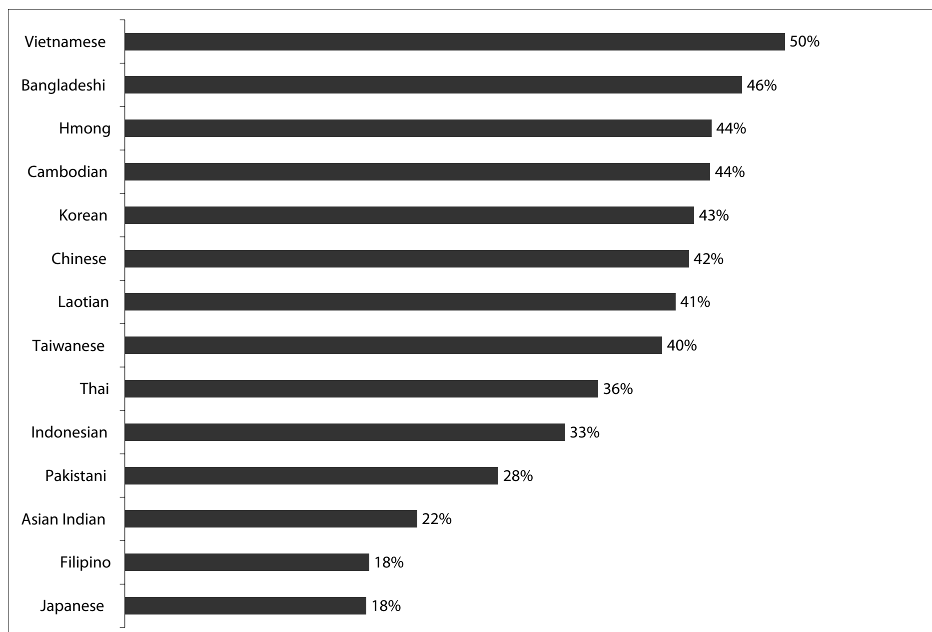
Asian immigration to the United States was virtually banned until changes to U.S. immigration laws in 1965. Since then, most of the growth of the Asian American population has been because of immigration. Between 2004 and 2005,

52 percent of the Asian population growth was because of new immigrants as opposed to natural increase (births minus deaths). The foreign-born percentage is estimated to decrease in the coming years; however, as generations of new immigrants establish themselves in the United States. While 61 percent of the Asian population was foreign-born in 2007, that percentage is projected to decrease to 46 percent in 2050, according to the U.S. Census Bureau.

LANGUAGE

Since the majority of the Asian American population is foreign-born or a first-generation immigrant, it is not a surprise that many speak a language other than English at home. Seventy-one percent of Asians speak another language at home, compared to 20 percent of the population overall. Since immigration continues to be the greatest source of growth for the Asian population, the issue of language barriers becomes an important concern, especially in areas where health, safety, and well-being are at risk. A third of the Asian population is limited English proficient (LEP), or speaks English less than "very well." This rate is even higher for many Asian ethnic groups. A majority of Vietnamese are LEP, as are 43 percent of Koreans, and 42 percent of Chinese (Figure 3).

Figure 3. Limited English Proficiency Rates of Asian Ethnic Groups in the United States, 2007



Source: 2007 American Community Survey, U.S. Census Bureau.

Census Data Accuracy

Collection of racial and ethnic data is complicated by many factors, including language barriers, cultural barriers, educational levels, immigration status, and trust issues with government agencies. These factors can affect the response rate in many communities. The U.S. Census Bureau recently changed its collection methods for the larger sample of socioeconomic data (which includes data such as income, education, and language) previously collected in the decennial census. The American Community Survey (ACS) now collects this data for a smaller sample size annually. Data for much of this chapter are from the 2007 ACS. Because the ACS collects a smaller sample size, questions remain about the accuracy of this data set, particularly for smaller Asian ethnic groups. Also, the survey is not translated into any Asian languages, raising questions about the accuracy of ACS data for groups with high limited English proficiency rates.

FURTHER READING

A Community of Contrasts. Asian American Justice Center and Asian Pacific American Legal Center. www.advancingequality.org. 2005.

The Diverse Face of Asian and Pacific Islanders in California. Asian American Legal Center. www.apalc.org. 2005.

Economic Characteristics of Asian Americans in the New York Metropolitan Area. Asian American Federation of New York. www.aafny.org. 2005.

Lai, Eric and Dennis Arguilles. *The New Face of Asian Pacific Americans: Numbers, Diversity, and Change in the 21st Century.* (Los Angeles: Asian American Studies Press, 2002).

Ong, Paul. *Asian Pacific Americans in Los Angeles: A Demographic Profile.* (LEAP Asian Pacific American Public Policy Institute, 1991).

CHINESE AMERICANS

Peter Kwong and Edith Wen-Chu Chen

Chinese Americans are one of the oldest ethnic groups in the United States. Arriving in the 1840s, they came to the country long before the "new immigrants," such as Italians and Eastern European Jews, and about the same time as the "old immigrants," such as the Germans and the Irish. The early presence of the Chinese in the United States was considerable. By 1870, they were about a quarter of California's wage laborers. Generally white workers saw the Chinese as competitors for jobs, and opportunists used racial attacks to advance themselves economically and politically. Together they battered the Chinese until they forced the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. Very few Chinese were legally allowed into the United States after that; those who were already here were attacked and pushed out of the workforce, until the only places most could survive were the isolated ghettos. Furthermore, Chinese Americans were barred from citizenship, the right to vote and land ownership. Those laws, along with anti-miscegenation laws that forbade inter-racial marriage, caused Chinese Americans to have difficulty forming and sustaining families, which stunted their population growth.

Chinese immigration did not resume in large numbers until the passage of the Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1965, which eliminated the formerly discriminatory policies that had restricted Asian immigration and favored European immigration. Since the passage of the 1965 act, the U.S. Chinese population has experienced tremendous growth nearing 3.5 million at present.[1] Chinese Americans are the largest of all the Asian American ethnic groups, as well as the largest Chinese population outside of Asia. This steady and vigorous influx of immigrants has made Chinese Americans a mainly foreign-born community (63% are foreign-born). As a result, the Chinese are considered

"new immigrants," despite the more than 150 years of presence in the country. Today's Chinese American population includes immigrants from mainland China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Southeast Asian, Latin America, and other parts of the world, as well as native-born Americans.

During this long time span, the origins of Chinese immigration have been continually shifting. Prior to the 1940s, most Chinese immigrants were male laborers who came from Guangdong Province, specifically from eight counties outside the city of Guangzhou. A few thousand came from Taiwan and Hong Kong, from among the population that left mainland China after the 1949 revolution. Many were scientists, engineers, and physicists.

The Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1965 is the watershed policy that is largely responsible for creating today's Chinese American population. Not only did it renew Chinese immigration, it contained new immigration criteria that led to the immigration of a highly skilled professional and educated elite, including artists of "exceptional ability." Many of these immigrants were scientists and engineers, otherwise known as the "brain drain" of their respective countries. The Immigration and Naturalization Act also gave immigration preferences to spouses, children, siblings, and parents of Chinese American U.S. citizens and permanent residents. Some of the family members were less educated and of more humble means than their Chinese American sponsors. For the first decade and a half, the bulk of these immigrants came from Taiwan because the United States did not have diplomatic ties with mainland China until 1979.

With the end of the Vietnam War, several waves of ethnic Chinese refugees arrived from Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia, escaping the political turmoil and anti-Chinese persecution in that region. Among these groups were the infamous "boat people," along with other Southeast Asian ethnics, who had very little material resources after settling in the United States.

In 1979 China and the United States resumed formal diplomatic ties, and a new wave of legal immigration started to arrive directly from mainland China. Today mainland China is the main source of Chinese immigration, with 60 percent of Chinese immigrants coming from the mainland.[2] At the beginning of this mainland migration, immigrants came from China's coastal cities, but gradually they came from urban centers in the interior as well. The pace of influx accelerated with the entry of illegal immigrants from Fujian Province in the 1990s. To balance the influx of poor working-class immigrants, the U.S. Congress passed a number of laws in 1990 to increase the legal quota for professional and wealthy immigrants, including investors and entrepreneurs. This in turn resulted in a gradual shift, expanding the mix of Chinese immigration and favoring professionals, investors, and entrepreneurs.

International adoption constitutes another segment of Chinese immigration, and it has been largely an outgrowth of mainland China's one-child family planning policy. More than 90 percent of these children are girls. From 1998–2008, Americans have adopted 61,884 children from China, which has been one of the top countries for U.S. international adoption since 1995.[3]

Table 1. Chinese Americans at a Glance

Population	3,490,691
Median age	35.6
Education:	
Less than high school	17.7%
College degree or higher	50%
Average household size	2.89
Homeownership	62.5%
Median household income	$64,608
Per capita income	$28,823
Poverty:	
Overall	12.0%
Child	10%
Senior	17%
Foreign-born	63%
Limited English proficiency	42%

Source: U.S. Census, *2005–2007 American Community Survey 3-Year Estimates.*
Note: Includes Chinese single race and multirace combined, and not exclusive of Latino/Hispanic, except for white, which is single race only and non-Hispanic.

KEY ISSUES

Model Minority Image

Since the late 1960s, Chinese Americans have often been heralded as the model minority, a racial and ethnic group who appears to have succeeded in American society despite being a minority group. Comparisons on levels of educational attainment and median household income are often used as evidence of their success, which is higher for Chinese Americans than for white Americans. Half of the Chinese American adult population has a bachelor's degree or higher compared to the general population of 28 percent.[4] Although the academic achievement of Chinese American students at prestigious colleges and universities and at elite high schools have been met with praise, much has also been debated about their overrepresentation.[5]

Today Chinese Americans can be found across the economic spectrum. Many Chinese Americans have broken out of the laundry and restaurant trades of the early working-class immigrants as well as ventured beyond the fields of science and engineering that had brought in the initial middle class immigrant wave into a wide range of professional fields. Others have made their marks as lawyers and entrepreneurs. Some have even established a prominent presence in professions not traditionally associated with the Chinese, such as the arts, music, literature, sports, and politics. They have also played a prominent role as transnational managers and financiers in today's global economy. At first glance, their median

household income seems impressive at $64,608, which is significantly higher than that of whites ($54,189), according to the latest estimates.[6]

A few scholars have suggested that the assimilation of Chinese and other Asian ethnic groups have been so successful that they will be regarded as the new whites.[7] Mainstream Americans tend to see the Chinese as a culturally distinct and socially unified community, with strong kinship and family ties. These associated cultural values are often attributed to Chinese success in America, as well as a testament that anyone can succeed in American society.

Much of the success of Chinese Americans has been overstated. What seems as impressive upward mobility derives from the fact that Chinese Americans had been preselected by the U.S. immigration criteria. Many had earned college degrees from the best universities in China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong before coming to the U.S. to complete graduate degrees. When they stay on after graduation, their educational level is well above the American average.

On the economic front, Chinese Americans have per capita income that is far less than that of whites who live in comparable metropolitan areas, where Chinese Americans tend to concentrate. Per capita income is a better gauge for measuring economic parity because it accounts for the total number of people and workers living in the household. The per capita income of Chinese Americans is about one-third less than that of whites in the New York and Los Angeles metropolitan areas, which have two of the largest populations of Chinese Americans.[8] This gap remains in the Honolulu metropolitan area of Hawai‘i , despite a long-established Chinese presence and the fact that Hawai‘i is the only U.S. state with a majority Asian Pacific Islander population.[9] Furthermore, when education is taken account, Chinese American men and women earn less than white men at every educational level.[10] Studies have suggested that despite their high educational attainment, a glass ceiling may exist for Chinese American professionals in corporate America, which blocks them from moving up into upper-management positions.[11]

Poverty

Lesser known among the general public are the significant numbers of Chinese Americans that face severe economic hardship. This is especially true in large metropolitan areas where Chinese Americans tend to live. Forty percent of New York's Chinatown Chinese children live in poverty, despite many who come from two-parent households, usually a protective factor in the white population.[12] In Boston, MA, the city with the fifth largest Chinese American population, a little less than a third of all Chinese Americans are low-income earners, compared with about 18 percent of all whites.[13] In San Francisco which has one of the largest Chinese American communities in the United States, one out of five households had incomes less than $15,000.[14] Many of these "Downtown Chinese" work under unregulated sweatshop conditions in several of America's metropolitan regions.[15] Others work long hours in low-paying jobs such as cooks, waiters, wait-

resses, dishwashers, and cashiers.[16] Many of these immigrants are trapped in ghettos and exploited by their own ethnic employers.

Among the working poor are the thousands of undocumented Chinese immigrants who have arrived in the country since the 1990s.[17] They may owe anywhere from $30,000 to $70,000 in debt to the human smugglers, who expect to be paid from the wages the migrants make upon arrival. Often desperate to pay off their debts, these immigrants are exploited by sweatshop owners, which means that they are consistently overworked, underpaid, and often abused. Their vulnerability as "illegal" immigrants, along with weak labor law enforcements, forces them to accept these abuses and drives them underground into the invisible substrata of American society.

Community

Chinese Americans live in a wide variety of neighborhoods, reflecting the economic, language, and generational heterogeneity of the population.[18] Traditional Chinatowns continue to receive poorer working-class and undocumented Chinese immigrants, often from rural backgrounds. Outlying satellite communities and ethnicities have also emerged, such as the Flushing neighborhood of Queens in New York and the Richmond district of San Francisco. The majority of Chinese Americans, however, live in the suburbs. The "uptown Chinese," which includes many of the second-generation and English-speaking professionally educated immigrants, tend to be scattered in predominantly white suburbs. Other affluent immigrant Chinese residents, some who work and live transnationally, have increasingly created ethnoburbs or ethnically dominated suburbs. Some of these transnational families have enough capital to buy homes in these areas so their children can obtain a U.S. education, while the parents primarily reside and work in Asia. These "parachute" children often live by themselves in these ethnoburbs, or under the guardianship of other relatives.

As growing numbers of Chinese move into formerly non-Chinese neighborhoods, some have met resentment and opposition to their presence. Some cases have resulted in "white flight" or complaints about the changing landscape of their communities.[19] In San Gabriel Valley, a suburban area of Los Angeles County that currently has the largest concentration of Chinese in the U.S., the use of Chinese language business signs stirred up controversies over definitions of American and reignited the English-only movement in the 1980s.[20] In several traditionally white, affluent, suburban communities of Los Angeles and Silicon Valley, neighbors became upset when they saw their new Chinese neighbors reconstruct single family homes into multi-generational dwellings, otherwise known as "monster houses," in the late 1990s.[21] More recently, in Chino Hills, another affluent suburb of Los Angeles and Orange County, fears about the growing Chinese presence coincided with some residents protesting the establishment of a Taiwanese-based grocery store, Ranch 99.[22] To what extent these Chinese cultural symbols will be accepted as part of American ideology is a subject of continuing debate.

Political Invisibility

The invisibility and marginalization of the Chinese in America owes much to their inability to engage on the political front with a common agenda. While the professional Uptown Chinese care about political representation and glass ceiling issues, the working-class Downtown Chinese are more interested in the labor protection agenda. The Chinatown elite who control the downtown community, along with their overseas Chinese investor partners, want real-estate development, leading to gentrification and causing serious problems for the working-class residents and small-business owners. The scattered settlement pattern of the professionals prevents them from forming ethnic voting blocks. The Downtown Chinese, concentrated in ghettos, cannot mobilize the working poor to form effective voting blocks because of the dominance of commercial and real-estate interests. Furthermore, the model minority image of Chinese Americans has often acted as a deterrent in making alliances with African Americans and other working-class communities.

OUTLOOK

The state of the relationship between China and the United States continues to weigh in on the Chinese American community in the twenty-first century. Americans' treatment of Chinese Americans has historically depended on their perceptions of China as a nation and on the state of relations between the two countries. Globalization has turned China and the United States into major trading partners with interlocking financial and manufacturing arrangements. Because of their language skills, the associations formed before arrival in the United States, and their technical know-how, many Chinese American professionals have played a very important role in establishing business connections between the two countries. But while both countries benefited from the arrangement, China is increasingly seen as a competitor and potential threat to American dominance in the Pacific region. And while American business interests continue to rely on the knowledge and contacts that Chinese Americans have with China, in certain quarters of the American political establishment these assets are exactly what makes the Chinese Americans suspect. During the Clinton campaign financing scandal, some Chinese Americans were indiscriminately accused of making contributions to facilitate mainland Chinese government's attempt to influence American politics. Similarly, Wen Ho Lee, a Taiwanese-born nuclear scientist at the Los Alamos National Laboratory, was falsely accused and imprisoned for being a suspected spy for Communist China.

Scholars continue to debate whether Chinese Americans will be accepted as real Americans, such as Italians and Irish, former immigrant groups who also had initially experienced harsh discrimination but later melded into American society. Largely, second-generation Chinese Americans have been structurally incorporated into mainstream society areas, such as workplaces, neighborhoods, and friendships with whites. Many second-generation Chinese Americans are culturally American in terms of language, education, and activities

while possessing only a glimmer of Chinese language skills and knowledge of cultural customs; however, they still may not be regarded as "real" Americans.[23] Some scholars have suggested that Chinese Americans, as with other Asian Americans, will continue to be regarded as "forever foreigners," regardless of citizenship, generation, and acculturation.[24]

At the same time, growing segments of the American population have regarded multiculturalism and diversity as increasingly important in a democratic society. Chinese Americans have been given unprecedented opportunity in shaping U.S. policy. Judy Chu, who has strong ties to Chinese and Asian American communities, recently made history as she became the first Chinese American woman to be elected to Congress in 2009. Two Chinese Americans, Secretary of Commerce Gary Locke and Secretary of Energy Steven Chu, have been appointed as members of President Obama's cabinet.

NOTABLE CHINESE AMERICANS

Steve Chen—Cofounder of YouTube in 2005; less than a year later, Chen sold it to Google for $1.65 billion.

Judy Chu—Democratic U.S. Representative for California's 32nd Congressional district; in 2009 became the first Chinese American woman to be elected to Congress.

Steven Chu—Twelfth U.S. Secretary of Energy and Nobel prize–winning physicist.

Michelle Wingshan Kwan—American figure skater who has won nine U.S. championships, five World Championships, and two Olympic medals.

Ang Lee—Oscar-winning director who is one of Hollywood's most influential Asia-born figures, with critically acclaimed and commercially successful films in both English and Mandarin.

Maya Ying Lin—Architect who is known for her work in sculpture and landscape art. Her best-known work is the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington, DC.

Gary Locke—Secretary of Commerce under the Obama administration. He was formerly the governor of Washington (1997–2005), the first Chinese American to serve as governor of a state.

Yo-Yo Ma—French-born Chinese American virtuoso cellist, composer, and winner of multiple Grammy Awards. He is one of the most internationally revered cello players of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

Helen Zia—Award-winning journalist, writer, and an advocate for social justice. Formerly the editor of Ms. magazine, she has written extensively on Asian American experience, human rights, women's rights, and gay and lesbian rights.

With the unfolding of the 2008–2009 global financial crisis and the rise of protectionism in the United States, China is increasingly being blamed as the cause of America's many economic woes. As the crisis deepens, these ideals of multiculturalism and diversity will be tested. It remains to be seen whether Chinese Americans will be targeted as scapegoats once again, or if their voices will be heard as true Americans in shaping the future direction of the country.

FURTHER READING

Fong, Timothy P. *The First Suburban Chinatown: The Remaking of Monterey Park, California*. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994).

Kibria, Nazli. *Becoming Asian American: Second-Generation Chinese and Korean American Identities*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002).

Kwong, Peter and Dusanka Miscevic. *Chinese America: The Untold Story of America's Oldest New Community.* (New York: New Press, 2005).

Lee, Jennifer. *The Fortune Cookie Chronicles: Adventures in the World of Chinese Food*. (New York: Twelve Publishers, 2008).

Louie, Vivian S. *Compelled to Excel: Immigration, Education, and Opportunity among Chinese Americans*. (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2004).

Shinagawa, Larry Hajime and Dae Young Kim. *A Portrait of Chinese Americans: A National Demographic and Social Profile of Chinese Americans* (College Park: OCA and the Asian American Studies Program University of Maryland, 2008).

NOTES

1. U.S. Census. American Community Survey, 2005–2007 3-year estimates.

2. Larry Hajime Shinagawa and Dae Young Kim, *A Portrait of Chinese Americans: A National Demographic and Social Profile of Chinese Americans* (College Park, MD: OCA and the Asian American Studies Program University of Maryland, 2008), 12.

3. U.S. Department of State, *Intercountry Adoption—China,* http://adoption.state.gov/country/china.html, accessed March 11, 2009.

4. U.S. Census, American Community Survey 2007, http://factfinder.census.gov/servlet/DatasetMainPageServlet?_program=ACS&_submenuId=datasets_2&_lang=en&_ts=.

5. Peter Kirsanow, "The Non-Preferred Minority: Michigan, Asians, and Arbitrariness," *National Review Online*, June 19, 2003, http://www.nationalreview.com/comment/comment-kirsanow061903.asp; Michael Alison Chandler, "At Magnet School, An Asian Plurality: Group Forms 45% Of Freshmen at Thomas Jefferson," *Washington Post*, July 7, 2008; A01.

6. U.S. Census. American Community Survey, 2005–2007 3-year estimates, http://factfinder.census.gov/servlet/DatasetMainPageServlet?_program=ACS&_submenuId=datasets_2&_lang=en&_ts=.

7. Min Zhou, "Are Asian Americans Becoming White?" *Contexts* 3, no. 1 (2004): 29–37.

8. U.S. Census, American Community Survey, 2005–2007, 3-year estimates, http://factfinder.census.gov/servlet/DatasetMainPageServlet?_program=ACS&_submenuId=datasets_2&_lang=en&_ts=.

9. U.S. Census, American Community Survey, 2005–2007, 3-year estimates, http://factfinder.census.gov/servlet/DatasetMainPageServlet?_program=ACS&_submenuId=datasets_2&_lang=en&_ts=.

10. Shinagawa and Kim, *A Portrait of Chinese Americans*.

11. Deborah Woo, "The Glass Ceiling at 'XYZ Aerospace'," in *Glass Ceilings and Asian Americans: The New Face of Workplace Barriers* (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2000).

12. Asian American Federation, 2003, "Census Study Shows Severe Poverty Among New York City's Asian American Children," http://www.aafny.org/cic/, accessed March 9, 2008.

13. Adam Smith, "Report Reveals Poverty Among State's Asian Americans," *Sampan*, Jan. 19, 2007, http://sampan.org/show_article.php?display=975&PHPSESSID=636103efc19d4683c519a7d784025b91.

14. NICOS Chinese Health Coalition. *Chinese Community Health Report* 2004. part of the Chinese Community Health Agenda Project, http://www.nicoschc.org/projects.html#CCHS.

15. Peter Kwong and Dusanka Miscevic, *Chinese America: The Untold Story of America's Oldest New Community* (New York: New Press, 2005).

16. Shinagawa and Kim, *A Portrait of Chinese Americans;* Peter Kwong, *Forbidden Workers: Illegal Chinese Immigrants and American Labor* (New York: New Press, 1999).

17. Peter Kwong, *Forbidden Workers*.

18. Wei Li, "Beyond Chinatown, Beyond Enclave: Reconceptualizing Contemporary Chinese Settlements in the United States," *GeoJournal* (2005): 31–40.

19. Li, *Beyond Chinatown, Beyond Enclave.*

20. Timothy P. Fong, *The First Suburban Chinatown: The Remaking of Monterey Park, California* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994).

21. Lim, *Beyond Chinatown, Beyond Enclave.*

22. Sara Lin, "An Ethnic Shift Is in Store," *Los Angeles Times*, April 12, 2007.

23. Nazli Kibria, *Becoming Asian American: Second-Generation Chinese and Korean American Identities* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002).

24. Min Zhou, "Are Asian Americans Becoming White?" *Contexts* 3, No. 1 (2004): 29–37.

This page intentionally left blank

FILIPINO AMERICANS

Allan Aquino

Filipino Americans are one of the largest and fastest-growing communities in the United States. They are, after Chinese Americans, the second largest among Asian American populations, numbering nearly 3 million. Though more than half of their population is immigrants, Filipinos have had a long historical connection to the United States. Large-scale immigration to the U.S. began during the early 1900s, while the largest influx began after 1965.

Filipino Americans have household incomes and general education attainment rates comparable to the total U.S. population; however, their living environments are often based upon extended family networks, with larger numbers of people living in the same household compared with the general U.S. population (Table 1). While most Filipino Americans are Catholics, a significant minority has Protestant or Muslim backgrounds.

Filipino Americans comprise the largest population of people of Filipino descent outside of the Philippines. More than half of all Filipino Americans reside in California, primarily San Diego, Los Angeles, and San Francisco counties. Major cities like New York, Chicago, and Seattle, also have significant populations numbering in the hundreds of thousands.

FROM EARLY NORTH AMERICAN PRESENCE TO THE 1960s

While Filipino Americans share many common social and historical experiences with other Asian Americans, they are unique in light of the long-term relations between the Philippines and the United States.[1] The earliest recorded presence of Filipinos in California, by way of Spain's Philippine-Mexican

Table 1. Filipino Americans at a Glance

Population	2,933,299
Median age	34.0
Education:	
Less than high school	8.7%
College degree or higher	45.0%
Average household size	3.31
Homeownership	64.4%
Median household income	$73,271
Per capita income	$25,151
Poverty:	
Overall	6.3%
Child	6.3%
Senior	7.1%
Foreign-born	55%
Limited English proficiency	19.1%

Source: 2005–2007 American Community Survey 3-Year Estimates, U.S. Census Bureau.
Note: Includes Filipino single race and multirace combined, and not exclusive of Latino/Hispanic, except for white, which is single race only and non-Hispanic.

galleon trade, dates back to the late 1500s, while the earliest Filipino community settlements in Louisiana have been traced to the late 1700s. The Louisiana settlements were founded by former enslaved Filipinos who had escaped Spanish trade routes and crossed the Gulf of Mexico.

The Spanish occupation of the Philippines, established in 1565, ended with the Philippine Revolution of 1898. The U.S. government, however, immediately attempted to annex the Philippines thereafter, precipitating the Philippine-American War. With the passage of the 1902 Treaty of Paris, well after Philippine fighting forces were quelled, the Philippines, along with Puerto Rico, Cuba, and Guam, became an official protectorate of the United States.[2]

The Philippines, a strategic economic and military vantage for the U.S., was then industrialized for the twentieth century. The U.S. government established contemporary schools, hospitals, and public resources. American English was introduced as an official language alongside the native Tagalog-based language. Many Filipinos were recruited to work in Hawai‘i, Alaska, and the U.S. mainland to replace the then-excluded labor immigration from other Asian nations. In addition to the laborers, students comprised another major category of Filipino immigrants.[3] By way of the 1903 Pensionado Act, college-aged Filipinos were sponsored to earn degrees at various universities under the condition that they return to the Philippines after graduation to serve as their fledgling republic's civic leadership. To this day, English is widely spoken in the Philippines, employed extensively in public education and in popular culture.

Filipino Americans, up until the legal exclusion of Philippine immigration in 1934, were considered "wards" or "nationals"—honorary citizens, in a fashion—of the U.S. government. Though not entitled to the rights of naturalized citizens, they nonetheless continued to immigrate to and settle in America even as other major Asian groups were excluded by 1924.[4]

Thousands of Filipino Americans served in specialized U.S. battalions during World War II, while U.S.-backed Philippine fighting forces and guerrilla units maintained their respective campaigns against imperial Japan. By 1946, by virtue of their American patriotism, the independent Republic of the Philippines was declared while Filipino Americans attained U.S. citizenship through newly revised naturalization laws. Though many laborers and students ultimately returned to the Philippines, a substantial Filipino American population (in Hawai'i, Alaska, and the mainland alike) settled and steadily grew from the 1920s through the 1960s. Filipino Americans were instrumental during this time in key social movements, including the formation of the United Farm Workers movement and the establishment of Asian American studies curricula in higher education.[5] It is from the late 1960s through the present that the Filipino Americans have experienced their largest population boom.

KEY ISSUES

Contemporary Immigration

For many Filipino immigrants, the United States is not a wholly foreign destination. Traditional "push-pull" immigration theory is more applicable to early twentieth-century immigrants from Europe than to contemporary Filipino immigration. While earlier generations of European immigrants hailed from nations that held few palpable economic and military ties with the U.S., the Philippines, throughout the twentieth century, has shared a strong and deeply rooted connection. Since the end of World War II, the United States has maintained a presence in Asia by way of several Philippine-based military installations; the presence of al-Qaeda affiliates and other alleged terrorist groups in the southern Philippines further cemented and carried these ties into the twenty-first century. In addition, the American influence upon the structure of Philippine education and politics has shaped a distinctly American cultural influence upon Filipinos in general.[6]

President Lyndon B. Johnson's Immigration Act of 1965 abolished racial and national quotas in American immigration policy, thus helping usher in a new wave of Filipino immigrants that would compose the contemporary Filipino American community. Though current waiting periods for immigration preference approvals and work visas is especially lengthy (often well in excess of ten years), Filipinos have made up one the largest waves of post-1965 immigration. Several thousands of visa petitions for relatives and family reunification are backlogged.[7]

As of 2005, most Filipino Americans are between the ages of twenty-five and fifty-four. Early twentieth-century immigrants were largely *pensionados* or

mostly male contract laborers. More than 50 percent of the contemporary population is women, no doubt due in part to the mass migration of women professionals during the "brain drain" of the 1970s, when thousands of nurses and other skilled professionals were recruited and sponsored to settle in the U.S.[8]

For Philippine-born Americans, the Philippines' Citizenship Retention and Re-Acquisition Act of 2003 allowed opportunities for dual citizenship in the United States and the Philippines. By 2005, more than 6,000 Filipino Americans were granted dual citizenship. As a condition of their legal status, they were granted license to make investments in the Philippine economy (as with the "Balikbayan" program), purchase land, vote in Philippine elections, and retire in the Philippines.

Filipino Americans, on account of their American-influenced educational backgrounds in the Philippines, generally exhibit more English proficiency than many of their Asian American counterparts. Thus, they do not tend to form traditional cultural and linguistic "towns" with the prolificacy of other Asian groups and, thus, tend to settle in ethnically diverse municipalities. There are, however, concentrated population niches based upon professional and family chain migration patterns; cities outside of California such as Chicago and Jersey City, for instance, have Filipino American populations that grew from the settlement of medical workers and their families during the 1970s.[9] In addition, there are specific American urban sectors, such as Stockton's "Little Manila" and Los Angeles' "Historic Filipinotown," that are officially recognized for their historical significance.

Education

Nearly half of all Filipino Americans, first generation and U.S.-born alike, have at least a bachelor's degree. In comparison to the entire U.S. population, Filipino Americans have notably high educational attainment rates. Post-1965 immigration waves from the Philippines were drawn by U.S. job shortages and Cold War–era demands in the field of education, healthcare, and information technology; thus, commensurate education backgrounds have remained palpable among Filipino Americans. Because of the American influence upon Philippine education, Filipino American immigrants from the immigration waves of the 1970s and 80s have a natural advantage in establishing their professional grounding in the United States. Philippine-trained physicians and dentists number highly amid all foreign-trained professionals in the United States, while many Filipino Americans pursue related careers including nursing, physical therapy, and medical technology. Likewise, growing numbers of English-language proficient teachers from the Philippines have been hired to teach at American schools in recent decades.

The migration of Filipinos from the 1980s through the 2000s is not as large-scale as the 1970s wave largely because of the increasing numbers of transnational Filipino migrations. Sizeable populations of Filipinos have migrated and settled in community niches in the European Union, the Middle East, and mainland Asia in pursuit of economic opportunities similar to their Filipino American counterparts.[10]

Health

Until the twentieth century, for hundreds of years, Filipinos subsisted on largely organic, traditionally prepared food dishes. Canned foods and foods treated with chemical preservatives were proliferated throughout the twentieth century, most notably during World War II, when American soldiers' tin rations were distributed and shared in an environment where food supplies were scarce. This relatively recent and intense influx of high-fat, high-calorie, chemically altered cuisine has, thus, elevated rates of diabetes and heart disease among Filipino Americans. And while earlier studies of the rates of AIDS/HIV and substance among Filipino Americans have been fairly scarce, contemporary scholarship has made inroads in exploring such phenomena.[11]

Amid rates of alcohol and substance abuse comparable to the total U.S. population, many Filipino Americans nonetheless maintain fairly active lifestyles.[12] Basketball is an enormously popular pastime, while social and cultural dancing are integral parts of community gatherings. In addition, a growing number of Filipino Americans, particularly youths seeking to study and affirm their cultural roots, engage in varieties of Filipino Martial Arts (also known as "FMA"), which include Kali and Eskrima/Arnis (blade- and stick-fighting).[13]

Discrimination

Like most immigrants, Filipino Americans have faced racism and rank discrimination. During the early twentieth century, Filipino Americans were subject to anti-miscegenation laws, the California Alien Land Acts, and, because of their status as American "wards," had very few legal and political rights. Anti-Filipino violence, which was not uncommon, was epitomized by the 1930 Watsonville Riots in California, wherein Filipino farm laborers were attacked. Such racial and anti-immigrant hysteria was catalyzed by widespread financial desperation during the Great Depression. Contemporary race-based hate crimes against Filipino Americans (thematically akin to the violence of previous decades) have occurred, most notably the 1999 murder of postal worker Joseph Ileto by Aryan Nations member Buford Furrow, who, according to his confession to the FBI, targeted Ileto because he was a government worker and was either "Asian or Hispanic."

During World War II, in addition to the Filipino American U.S. battalions assembled in California, Filipinos in the Philippines fought under the American flag. The Philippines' American protectorate status was not terminated until 1946 when independence was officially recognized. Since the passage of the 1990 Immigration and Nationality Act, several thousand Filipino World War II veterans in the Philippines and the U.S. have campaigned for their previously rescinded Veterans' Benefits and G.I. Bill rights. Because of bureaucracy and expensive legal costs, bills that would reinstate those rights are often stalled or lost in committee. Immigration officials have difficulty verifying veterans' legal claims because of lost or missing documents.[14]

Amid the passage of the U.S.A. Patriot Act in October of 2001, the U.S. government scrutinized and often detained foreign visitors and workers, including Filipinos who entered the U.S. as temporary tourists, overstaying visa workers, or undocumented immigrants. The FBI, the Immigration and Naturalization Service, and the U.S. Marshals Service, authorized to form "apprehension teams," have arrested and deported a number of Filipino immigrants who, according to the Department of Justice, had hailed from an "al Qaeda active" nation, by virtue of the southern Philippines' occupation by members of the Abu Sayyaf group, beneficiaries of financial backing by Osama bin Laden.[15]

Notable Filipino Americans

apl.de.ap (born Allan Pineda)—Co-lead vocalist and founding member of the award-winning Black Eyed Peas, an enormously popular hip-hop group founded in Los Angeles. As of 2008, Black Eyed Peas remain one of the most commercially successful acts in American music history.

Benjamin Cayetano—Former governor of the state of Hawai'i (1994–2002). Cayetano is the first Filipino American state governor, one of the highest-ranking Asian Americans in U.S. government history.

Criseto Comerford—Since 2005, the first Filipino American White House Executive Chef.

Dorothy Cordova—Historian and co-founder of the Filipino American National Historical Society. A pioneer of modern documentation and oral historiography, Cordova's works—most notably *Filipinos: Forgotten Asian Americans*—have been an authoritative basis for Filipino American representation in Asian American Studies and U.S. history.

Jessica Hagedorn—Award-winning editor, novelist, poet, playwright, and multimedia artist. Her work is a unanimously considered one of the pillars of contemporary Asian American literature.

Eleanor Mariano—A physician and the first Filipina American rear admiral in the U.S. Navy. Prior to her retirement in 2001, she served as the White House physician for presidents Bill Clinton and George W. Bush.

Lou Diamond Phillips—Prominent stage and film actor. Though he initially gained his reputation playing Chicano or Native American characters, Phillips is an active member of the Filipino American community, particularly through his outspoken endorsement of Filipino American World War II benefits.

Erik Spoelstra—First Filipino American head coach in the National Basketball Association. He became head coach of the Miami Heat in April 2008.

Philip Vera Cruz—Former vice president of the United Farm Workers, the highest-ranking Filipino American to serve with Cesar Chavez. "Manong" Philip became a much-beloved educator and youth mentor after his retirement from the UFW.

FURTHER READING

BakitWhy: Pilipino American Lifestyle, http://www.bakitwhy.com.

Bonus, Rick. *Locating Filipino America* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2000).

Cordova, Fred. *Filipinos: Forgotten Asian Americans.* (Kendall/Hunt Publishing Company: Dubuque, Iowa, 1983).

Espiritu, Yen Le. *Filipino American Lives* (Temple University Press: Philadelphia, 1995).

Filipinas: For Filipinos Worldwide. http://www.filipinasmag.com.

*The Filipino American National Historical Society (National Chapter) Page***.** http://www.fanhs-national.org.

Gutierrez, Edgardo and Antonio Tiongson, eds. *Positively No Filipinos Allowed: Building Communities and Discourse* (Temple University Press: Philadelphia, 2006).

Morales, Royal. *Makibaka 2*. Mountainview Publishers, Incorporated: Los Angeles, 1998.

Root, Maria P. P., ed. *Filipino Americans: Transformation and Identity.* (SAGE Publications: Thousand Oaks, California, 1997).

NOTES

1. Melany Dela Cruz and Pauline Agbayani-Siewert, "Filipinos: Swimming with and against the Tide," *The New Face of Asian Pacific America,* edited by Eric Lai and Dennis Arguelles (AsianWeek/UCLA AASC, 2003): 45–50.

2. Luzviminda Francisco, "The First Vietnam: The Philippine-American War, 1899–1902," *Letters in Exile* (UCLA Asian American Studies Center, 1976): 1–22.

3. Miriam Sharma, *Labor Immigration Under Capitalism* (Berkeley: UC Press, 1984): 579–615.

4. Emily Porcincula Lawsin, "Pensionados, Paisanos, and Pinoys," *Filipino American National Historical Society* 4, 1996: 33–33P.

5. Craig Scharlin and Marianne Villanueva, *Philip Vera Cruz* (UCLA Labor Center/ UCLA Asian American Studies Center: Los Angeles, 1994).

6. Renato Constantino, "The Miseducation of the Filipino," *Philippines Reader*, 1987: 45–49; Melany Dela Cruz and Pauline Agbayani-Siewert, "Filipinos: Swimming with and Against the Tide": 45–50.

7. Karen Umemoto, "On Strike! The San Francisco State College Strike, 1968–1969: The Role of Asian American Students," *Amerasia Journal* 15, no. 1 (1989): 3–41; Hyung-Chan Kim, ed. and William R. Tamayo, "Asian Americans and Present US Immigration Policies," *Asian Americans and the Supreme Court* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1992).

8. Melany Dela Cruz and Pauline Agbayani-Siewert, "Filipinos: Swimming with and against the Tide."

9. John M. Liu, Paul M. Ong, and Carolyn Rosenstein, "Dual Chain Migration: Post-1965 Filipino Immigration to the United States," *International Migration Review* 25, no. 3 (1991): 487–513.

10. E. San Juan, Jr, "Filipinizing Diasporic Re/turns," *DisOrient Journal 9*. AISAREMA publications: Los Angeles, 2002: 44–55.

11. Virginia S. Claudio, *Filipino American Food Practices, Customs, and Holidays* (American Diabetic Association, 1995): 3–10; Miguelina Maldonado, *HIV/AIDS & Asians and Pacific Islanders* (National Minority AIDS Council: Washington, DC, October 1999).

12. Claudio, *Filipino Americans: Transformation and Identity.*

13. Mark Wiley, *Filipino Martial Culture* (Rutland, VT: Tuttle Publishing, 1997).

14. Fred Cordova, *Filipino: Forgotten Asian Americans (*Dubuque, IA: Kendall/Hunt Publishing, 1983); Paul Feldman, "A Battle for Rights: Filipino Veterans of WWII Fight for Citizenship, Pensions, Despite Missing Army Records," *The Los Angeles Times*, Feb. 19, 1994, B3; Leslie Bernstein, "Unhealed Wounds," *The Los Angeles Times*, City Times section: May 28, 1995: 12–14.

15. Lai and Arguelles, eds., "Filipinos: Swimming with and against the Tide."

JAPANESE AMERICANS

Brian Niiya

The most populous of the Asian American ethnic groups for most of the 20th century, Japanese Americans are now the sixth largest group behind Chinese, Filipino, Indian, Vietnamese, and Korean Americans. This has happened because of low levels of immigration and slow population growth relative to the other groups. Among the major Asian American groups, Japanese have the lowest percentage of limited English language proficiency, the highest median age, and the highest percentage who report more than one race. All of these indicate a population that is mostly made up of those whose ancestors have been in the United States for several generations. The Japanese American population is also highly regional, with nearly 60 percent of that population in just two states, California and Hawai'i. Though down substantially from the 1920s, when Japanese Americans made up over 40 percent of the population of Hawai'i, Japanese Americans still make up nearly a quarter (23.6%) of the population of Hawai'i today (Table 1).[1]

HISTORY

The migration of Japanese workers to the Kingdom of Hawai'i in significant numbers began in 1885 and was followed by similar migration to the West Coast of the North American continent by the 1890s. In the wake of Chinese exclusion, Japanese workers soon became the largest ethnic group among sugar plantation workers in Hawai'i and a significant presence among migrant laborers on the West Coast, particularly in the agricultural arena.

Japanese immigrants soon found themselves the target of rampant discrimination, ranging from bans on purchasing land and on becoming naturalized

Table 1. Japanese Americans at a Glance

Population	1,220,922
Median age	38.1
Education:	
Less than high school	5.9%
College degree or higher	45.1%
Average household size	2.36
Owner-occupied housing units	63.2%
Median household income	$65,713
Per capita income	$31,819
Poverty:	
Overall	8.3%
Children	7.7%
Senior	5.1%
Foreign-born	28.9%
Speaks English less than "very well"	18.1%
Reports more than one race	29.1%

Source: U.S. Census Bureau 2007 American Community Survey for "Japanese alone or in any combination."

citizens to limits on immigration, and, ultimately to a complete ban on further immigration in 1924. Japanese immigrant organizations fought such discriminatory treatment through the courts and through labor action, most of which ended in defeat. They also took advantage of loopholes in immigration laws that allowed large numbers of Japanese women to migrate in the first two decades of the 20th century, which was followed by the birth of large numbers of Nisei, the American-born children of the immigrants. By the 1930s, this American-born generation outnumbered the immigrants and, equipped with American citizenship and embracing American ideals, looked to the future.

The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, changed everything. In the immediate aftermath of the attack, hundreds of immigrant generation community leaders were arrested and held without specific charges. Later, under the auspices of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Executive Order 9066 issued on February 19, 1942, all 110,000 Japanese Americans living in the West Coast states of California, Oregon, and Washington were forcibly removed from their homes and businesses and incarcerated in concentration camps strictly on the basis of ethnicity. Two-thirds of those removed were American citizens by birth. Though the approach in Hawai'i was more reasoned, some 2,500 Japanese Americans there went to internment camps and another 1,500 were excluded from their homes but not sent to camps. In both places, incarcerated Japanese Americans were denied due process and never charged with crimes. Despite such treatment, tens of thousands of Nisei men served in the

American armed forces with distinction, most of them in segregated—and highly decorated—units.

The end of the war brought an end to much of the discriminatory legislation of the prewar era and opened up the gates of opportunity for the Nisei. By the 1960s, Japanese Americans were being touted as a "model minority," a group that had seemingly overcome discrimination to attain middle class status without any governmental aid. In 1970s Hawai'i, Nisei held the governorship and both U.S. Senate seats.

However, their "success story" masked issues such as youth gangs, drug abuse, and mental health problems, due in part to the hidden legacy of their wartime incarceration. Led by Sansei (third-generation Japanese Americans), a movement for redress and reparations for their wartime treatment gained momentum in the 1970s and 1980s, culminating the passage of the Civil Liberties Act of 1988, which called for a governmental apology and reparations of $20,000 to surviving victims.

KEY ISSUES TODAY

Weight of History

Much of the energy in the Japanese American community is focused on the past rather than on the future. A wide range of museums, historical societies, cultural centers, and memorials dot the Japanese American landscape. Most were started by Nisei and remain sustained by them. Most were formed in the last thirty years and include both large national organizations and many smaller regional or specialized ones. For the most part, these are the largest, richest, and most vibrant institutions in the community. Among those with a national scope are the Japanese American National Museum in Los Angeles (incorporated in 1985); the Go For Broke National Education Center (incorporated in 1989), which has built a memorial in Los Angeles dedicated to Japanese Americans who served in World War II and which maintains a Web site featuring hundreds of videotaped oral histories of these men; the National Japanese American Historical Society (founded in 1980) and the Japanese American National Library (1969), both based in San Francisco; and the National Japanese American Memorial Foundation (1992), based in Washington, DC. Among the many locally based institutions are the Japanese Cultural Center of Hawai'i (1987), Japanese American Museum of San Jose (1987), Chicago Japanese American Historical Society (1990s), Japanese American Historical Society of San Diego (1992), and Oregon Nikkei Legacy Center (1995). Densho, started in 1996, uses digital technology to document the legacy of the World War II incarceration of Japanese Americans.

On the flip side, Japanese American organizations whose focus has been on social services or civil rights have either waned in significance or adapted to the times. Kenjinkai, organizations based on the prefectural origin of Japanese immigrants and their descendents, were once very popular organizations that combined fellowship and social functions with business and political activity.

But with the significance of prefectural origin fading among third- and fourth-generation Japanese Americans, kenjinkai and similar organizations have faded, though there are some exceptions.

Some social service organizations have broadened their missions into other areas. For example, the Little Tokyo Service Center in Los Angeles now devotes much of its resources to residential and business development projects aimed at a pan-ethnic population, while the Japanese American Service Committee in Chicago takes on functions of a historical society/archive. Formed in 1929, the Japanese American Citizens League is a national civil rights organization with more than 100 chapters nationwide. Once without question the most powerful organization in the Japanese American community, it has faced declining membership and interest as the concerns of the Nisei generation have turned from fighting discrimination to preserving the past.

Continuing Legacy of World War II

Though the events of World War II took place more than sixty years ago, its effects—in particular the mass exclusion and incarceration of Japanese Americans and the heroism of Japanese American soldiers—still reverberate through the Japanese Americans community of today. The Nisei World War II veterans play a large role in the community, as evidenced by the large number of mostly regional organizations organized by the veterans themselves, as well as "sons and daughters" organizations. At the national level, there are the Japanese American Veterans Association based in Washington, DC, and the National Japanese American Veterans Council.

The World War II internment has spawned a number of different types of organizations. Because many Nisei were in their teens at the time, concentration camp affiliation has taken on the role of high school or college affiliation for many. Large-scale reunions of camp population or subpopulations have become commonplace, which some observers find puzzling. But other organizations focus on the political aspects of this experience. Every February, Days of Remembrance (DoRs) take place across the country on or around February 19, the anniversary of Franklin D. Roosevelt's Executive Order 9066, which authorized the exclusion of the Japanese Americans. These events, which began as part of the redress movement in the 1970s, recall the events of World War II but also often focus on contemporary issues and parallels. In recent years, many DoRs have focused on the aftermath of the 9/11 attack and on the Patriot Act because many Japanese Americans saw parallels between what happened to them during World War II and what was happening to Arab and Muslim Americans and those who looked like them. The continuing fight for redress for Japanese Latin Americans—a group that was purposefully left out of the Civil Rights Act of 1988—has been another focus of many DoRs.[2]

Still another locus of activity is the preservation of the many sites where the various kinds of World War II detention camps once stood. Over the past couple of decades, "alumni" from these camps as well as local community groups

have built a variety of monuments, visitor centers, and archeological sites. Several camp locations have also come under the management of the National Park Service, and others are working toward such an arrangement. In December 2006, President George W. Bush signed legislation authoring a $38 million program for the preservation of former World War II detention camp sites. One million dollars in funding was appropriated for this program for the 2009–2010 fiscal year, to be managed as a grant program by the National Park Service.[3]

IN-GROUP DISCRIMINATION

Sports and beauty queens are as American as the proverbial apple pie. For many decades, there have been Japanese American sports leagues and beauty contests. These institutions arose in part out of the social discrimination that Japanese Americans faced, but in recent years they have been accused of discriminating against those who were not seen as Japanese American enough.

For many decades, there was not much debate about this issue. But in the late 1960s, outmarriage rates spiked upward. This phenomenon was most notably described in Harry H. L. Kitano's widely read *Japanese Americans: The Evolution of a Subculture* published in 1969. In this book, Kitano reported that the outmarriage rate for Japanese Americans in Los Angeles County rose from 23 percent in 1959 to 47 percent in 1971 and 49 percent in 1972 and noted even greater increases in other places. These figures led to expressions of alarm from within the community as to whether such increases would continue and whether this trend would eventually lead to the end of the Japanese American community. Nearly fifty years later, outmarriage rates have mostly stabilized and the resulting large mixed race population—29.1 percent based on recent census figures—has not led to the dissolution of the ethnic community. But questions remain as to who gets to be part of that community.

The sports leagues and beauty contests have responded in various ways and serve as a mirror of community attitudes. In Hawai'i, a controversy arose in the 1990s when a European American player petitioned to play in the AJA baseball league that required that players have at least 50 percent Japanese "blood." In most Japanese American basketball leagues in California, there is both a "blood" requirement for Japanese American players and an allowance for the number of non-Japanese American players allowed per team. Generally, the non-Japanese American players must be Asian American, though the definition of what constitutes an "Asian American" varies. Beauty contests seem to have settled on requiring that contestants have at least some percentage (usually 50 percent) of Japanese "blood."[4]

FUTURE OF THE COMMUNITY

In recent years, as many of the familiar markers of local Japanese American communities have begun to disappear, concerns as to the future of that community have reappeared. Such concerns have recurred at various times: in the midst of rampant discrimination in the 1930s, during the dark days of World

War II and its immediate aftermath in the 1940s, and with the uptick in outmarriage in the 1960s and 1970s. The markers today include the disappearance and/or change in traditional big city Japantowns; the closing down of family farms and businesses, as Sansei and Yonsei (the fourth-generation children of the Sansei) largely opt for professional careers rather than taking over family businesses; and the struggles and closings of many small town community organizations, in particular Japanese American churches/temples and newspapers. These trends are a result of Sansei/Yonsei having different interests from their Nisei parents, along with a continuing urbanization of the population.

Two Japanese Americans who have been in the news in recent years summarize many of these issues. Ehren Watada, a young Japanese American army first lieutenant, refused deployment to Iraq, believing the war in Iraq to be illegal under international law. His actions have split the Japanese American community across lines of generation and ideology, with some claiming that his actions disgrace the legacy of earlier generations of Japanese American soldiers, while others take pride in his actions as part of a Japanese American tradition of dissent and fighting for justice. Scott Fujita, a professional football player, has been profiled as a young man who takes pride in his Japanese American heritage and wants to educate youth about his family's World War II confinement; however, he was adopted into a Japanese American family as a baby and has no Japanese "blood." Whether he is in fact "Japanese American" is questioned.[5]

NOTABLE JAPANESE AMERICANS

Toshiko Akiyoshi—Jazz pianist and bandleader.

George Aratani—Businessman who founded Mikasa & Company and Kenwood Corporation; his philanthropy has aided many organizations that serve the Japanese American community of Southern California.

George Ariyoshi—Former governor of the state of Hawai'i, 1973 to 1986.

Bryan Clay—2008 Olympic gold medalist and 2005 world champion in the decathalon.

Mazie Hirono—Democratic Congresswoman from Hawai'i elected in 2006; lieutenant governor of Hawai'i, 1994 to 2002.

Daniel K. Inouye—U.S. senator from the state of Hawai'i since 1962, Inouye is currently third in seniority in the Senate.

Mike Shinoda—Musician and artist who is a member of the musical group Linkin Park.

Eric Shinseki—Appointed in 2009 as the Secretary of Veterans Affairs, he is a four-star general and served as the U.S. Army Chief of Staff from 1999 to 2003.

Hikaru Utada—Singer who is one of Japan's most popular stars was born and raised in New York City.

Kristi Yamaguchi—Figure skater and 1992 Olympic gold medalist.

FURTHER READING

Asakawa, Gil. *Being Japanese American: A JA Sourcebook for Nikkei, Hapa . . . and Their Friends* (Berkeley, CA: Stone Bridge Press, 2004).

Densho. http://www.densho.org/—Resource-rich Web site with a focus on the Japanese American World War II experience.

Discover Nikkei. http://www.discovernikkei.org/en—Tri-lingual (English, Japanese, Portuguese) Web site focusing on the pan-Nikkei experience.

Hawaii Herald. http://thehawaiiherald.com—Bimonthly newspaper on the Japanese American community in Hawai‘i.

Nichibei Times. http://www.nichibeitimes.com—San Francisco Bay–area–based bilingual daily that began publishing in 1946 out of the ashes of the Nichibei Shimbun, the leading newspaper of the prewar era. Also puts out a weekly feature-oriented edition aimed at a younger demographic.

Nikkei View: The Asian American Blog. http://www.nikkeiview.com/blog—Essayist Gil Asakawa writes about contemporary issues from a Japanese American perspective.

Okamura, Jonathan Y., ed. *The Japanese American Contemporary Experience in Hawai‘i.* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2002).

Pacific Citizen. http://www.pacificcitizen.org/site—The bimonthly newspaper of the Japanese American Citizens League is the closest thing to a national Japanese American newspaper.

Rafu Shimpo. http://www.rafu.com—Los Angeles based bilingual daily that began publishing in 1903.

NOTES

1. All demographic statistics unless otherwise cited are from the U.S. Census Bureau 2007 American Community Survey and are for “Japanese alone or in any combination.”

2. On Days of Remembrance, see Jane Naomi Iwamura, “Critical Faith: Japanese Americans and the Birth of a New Civil Religion,” *American Quarterly* 59.3 (2007), 937–968. On redress for Japanese Latin Americans, see the Web site for the organization Campaign for Justice at http://www.campaignforjusticejla.org/.

3. See for instance the Web sites for the Manzanar and Minidoka Historic Sites, both of which are under NPS management: http://www.nps.gov/manz/ and http://www.nps.gov/miin/. The Honouliuli site on the island of O’ahu in the state of Hawai‘i is among those seeking NPS management. See Gordon Y. K. Pang, “Plans to Preserve, Share Honouliuli Gain Traction,” *Honolulu Advertiser*, February 28, 2009. Available online at http://jcch.com/_library/documents/pdf/day%20of%20remembrance_advertiser_2.28.09.pdf. Information on the National Park Service confinement sites grant program can be found at http://www.nps.gov/history/HPS/hpg/JACS/index.html.

4. See Jonathan Y. Okamura, “Baseball and Beauty Queens: The Political Context of Ethnic Boundary Making in the Japanese American Community in Hawai‘i,” *Social Process in Hawai‘i* 41 (2002): 122–146. On sports, see also Brian Niiya, ed., *More Than a Game: Sport in the Japanese American Community* (Los Angeles: Japanese American National Museum, 2000); on beauty contests, see Rebecca Chiyoko King-O’Raian, *Pure Beauty: Judging Race in Japanese American Beauty Pageants* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006) and Christine R. Yano, *Crowning the Nice Girl: Gender, Ethnicity, and Culture in Hawai‘i’s Cherry Blossom Festival* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press), 2006.

5. Ehren Watada's case was covered extensively in the Japanese American/Asian American press. See also the special issue of *Amerasia Journal* (vol. 33, no. 3, 2007) titled *World, War, Watada.* On Fujita, see David Fleming, "Hello, I'm Japanese," *ESPN: The Magazine,* November 20, 2006. Available online at http://sports.espn.go.com/espnmag/story?id=3643439.

KOREAN AMERICANS

Edward Taehan Chang and
Barbara W. Kim

Korean Americans are the fifth largest Asian ethnic group in the United States, after Chinese, Filipinos, Asian Indians, and Vietnamese. With a population more than 1.5 million, most Korean Americans today arrived after the passage of the 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act.[1] The community is among the fastest growing ethnic groups, experiencing 27 percent increase in growth from 2000 to 2007, compared to the country's overall growth rate of 7 percent.

Sometimes referred to as the "new urban immigrants," many Korean immigrants came from middle-class, urban, and professional backgrounds. Drastic changes in the Korean economy in the 1960s and 1970s that turned war-torn Korea into a rapidly growing industrial, capitalist economy had a direct impact on emigration to the United States. Many more Korean people qualified for white-collar jobs than there were jobs to fill in Korea. This led many highly skilled and educated Koreans to look for opportunities elsewhere, including Brazil, West Germany, and the United States of America. Another significant segment of the Korean American population are the more than 100,000 Korean women who came as wives of U.S. servicemen, and another estimated 250,000 Korean children who have arrived as international adoptees since 1950.[2] Korean immigrants in Los Angeles, New York, New Jersey, Chicago, Atlanta, San Francisco, Dallas, and Seattle have established Koreatown as base of their community.

HISTORY

Prior to 1903 a small number of important political figures and student leaders arrived in the United States. They shaped the "highly political" nature of the

early Korean American community as they contributed, sacrificed, and dedicated their lives to the independence movement. Korea lost its sovereignty when it became protectorate of Japan in 1905 and was colonized in 1910.

The first official Korean immigration to the United States began when more than 7,000 Korean immigrants came to Hawai'i as sugar plantation laborers between 1903 and 1905. This initial wave of immigrants was mainly young, single, male workers with a large Christian population (close to 40%). Life for Korean laborers in Hawai'i was difficult with low pay and harsh working conditions. The average daily wage for men was sixty-seven cents, while for women the average was fifty cents; in 1909, Korean and Japanese men were paid eighteen dollars per month while white Portuguese men were paid $22.50 per month for the same work.[3]

Approximately 700 Korean women came as "picture brides" to Hawai'i and mainland between 1910 and 1924. The majority of picture brides were much younger than their husbands, and the average age difference between bride and groom was about fifteen years. They came as picture brides for economic, education, political, and personal reasons. With the hardships of raising children, performing domestic chores, and working side by side with men in sugar cane fields, picture brides withstood many challenges.

With the outbreak of Korean War (1950–53), Korean immigration to the United States resumed as orphans, war brides, students, and diplomats came to the United States between 1950 and 1964. The Korean population in the United States remained small until the passage of the 1965 Immigration Act. It is important to note that South Korea and the United States share a complex military, economic, political, and cultural link. Direct military and political ties between the two nations helped to fuel Korean immigration to the United States. In addition, the drastic changes in the Korean economy in the 1960s and 1970s that turned Korea into a rapidly growing industrial, capitalist economy had a direct impact on emigration to the U.S. The passage of the 1965 Immigration Act and close ties between the two countries fueled rapid growth of Korean population in the United States.

CURRENT STATUS OF KOREAN AMERICANS

Contrary to popular belief, the Korean American community is not homogeneous, but bimodal in areas of language, nativity, generation, identity, and class backgrounds. Language usage divides Korean Americans into three identities: Koreans in America, 1.5 generation, and second-generation Korean American. A majority of Korean immigrants speak the Korean language (73.2%), and the 1.5 generation Korean Americans are often bilingual.[4] A majority of the second-generation Korean Americans, however, can only speak English (80.3%), although an increasing number of the second generation is learning Korean language and culture.[5] In addition to language, the occupational structures of the Korean American community also attest to divisions within the community.

Among employed Korean Americans 16 years and older, 43.9 percent were in "management, professional, and related occupations," and 14.6 percent were in "service." Sales and office occupation accounted for 28.9 percent. It is important to note that the Korean American community is polarized along generation and identity, language, and class background. Korean American women today are much more likely to be working outside the home (50.8%) and for long hours.[6] The average Korean American woman works outside the home 51 hours a week; 80 percent work outside the home full-time. For many immigrant women, this is a drastic change from their previous roles in South Korea as housewives. The added role of working outside the home has not lessened their responsibilities of domestic duties (Table 1).

Role of the Church

The church plays a major role in the Korean American community, which sets it apart from other Asian American groups. It is the most numerous and dominant institution in the Korean American community. Studies have shown that approximately 70 percent of Korean immigrants in the United States are regular churchgoers, while Christians (Protestants and Catholics) make about one-quarter of the South Korean population.[7] Korean American churches, overwhelmingly Protestant, are the most important social, cultural, and economic institution to serve the needs of Korean immigrants. Church is not only a place of worship, but it is also a place where Koreans can socialize with co-ethnics,

Table 1. Korean Americans at a Glance

Population	1,500,003
Median age	32.9
Education:	
Less than high school	9%
College degree or higher	51.7%
Average household size	2.68
Homeownership	49.2%
Per capita income	$24,964
Poverty:	
Overall	11.2%
Child	11.3%
Senior	19.7%
Foreign-born	67.3%
Limited English proficiency	43%
Self-employment rate	12%

Source: U.S. Census, American Community Survey 2007.

share their immigrant experiences, and cope with language and cultural barriers in a new society. For immigrants who experienced downward mobility, the church allows its leaders and members take on leadership roles unavailable at work. Many Korean churches also maintain cultural traditions by celebrating holidays, serving Korean food after services and at functions, and teaching the Korean language to second-generation children. Churches and/or members provide information and assistance in housing, education, employment, entrepreneurship, health care, and/or Social Security. Limited English speakers can find help with translation and interpreting for schools, agencies, and courts.[8]

Korean churches have been criticized for focusing on their own needs over the needs of ethnic or surrounding communities, and also for combining conservative Christian theology with cultural values to reproduce social hierarchies, especially by gender. For example, Korean female elders (church officers elected in Presbyterian congregations) are older, have more years of education, and are wealthier than their male counterparts, while other ethnic groups did not indicate such gender differences in their eldership.[9] Korean women are more likely to attend and provide much of the voluntary services and activities than men, but they are often excluded from formal leadership positions and/or recognition.[10]

As emigration from Korea slowed down and the children of post–1965 immigrants came of age in the mid-1980s, Korean American church leaders predicted and observed a "silent exodus" of young adults leaving Korean immigrant churches as they questioned their ethnic and religious identity formations.[11] Second-generation Korean American young adults have remained in faith communities but tend to join pan-Asian or Korean American churches and college campus ministries. These racially and/or ethnically segregated churches and campus ministries allow the second generation to simultaneously experience the comfort of worshipping with co-ethnics (where, for example, they can use Korean words or phrases and swap similar cultural stories and experiences, such as growing up with immigrant parents) and distance themselves from racism and racial marginalization that they encounter from other racial/ethnic evangelicals in multiracial and predominantly white organizations.[12] Long considered to be a private matter in dominant U.S. society that has emphasized the separation of church and state, religion is a public, communal experience that connects and intersects race, ethnicity, and faith for many Korean Americans.[13]

Entrepreneurship

Korean immigrants view small business as an avenue for success in America and have been actively developing and cultivating a niche in the small business sector. This may explain why Korean immigrants have the highest self-employment rate in the United States (12.8% in 2007). A combination of factors has facilitated high self-employment rates among Korean immigrants. Cultural misunderstanding, language barriers, and unfamiliarity

with American society put Korean immigrants at a disadvantaged position in the U.S. labor market. Korean immigrants also found it difficult to find jobs commensurate with their education level. Korean immigrants came to the United States with "ethclass" (ethnic and class) resources because of American immigration policies that encouraged Koreans with capital to immigrate to the United States. Korean immigrants are in advantageous position to enter small businesses by using their ethnic and class resources and networks. In particular, Korean immigrants opened grocery markets, liquor stores, nail salons, garment subcontracting firms, restaurants, and laundry businesses, often relying on unpaid or low-paid labor of spouses, children, other relatives, and/or coethnics.

Racial discrimination and structural factors seem to push Korean immigrants to be shop owners or "middleman minority," serving largely other minority (African American and Latino) clienteles. Korean immigrants bought small retail and service businesses in low-income and predominantly black and/or Latino neighborhoods because these areas were underserved by mainstream businesses and provided less competition. For example, major grocery chains that served middle-class, white neighborhoods were less likely to open and retain stores in such areas, citing high crime rates and lack of a high-spending customer base. As a result, Korean immigrants occupy a middle space—in both economic relations and social relations, arising from their status as racial minority employers or business owners who hire employees and serve customers of other minority groups—in a society stratified by race and class.[14]

As American cities shifted from biracial (white/black) to multiracial populations, increasing incidents of racial and ethnic conflict have occurred between minority groups. During the 1980s, the tension between Korean immigrant merchants and African American customers emerged as one of the most visible and pressing racial issues in America. Two highly charged racial incidents in New York and Los Angeles intensified conflict between the two communities. A 15-month boycott of Korean-owned stores in the Flatbush section of Brooklyn, NY, between January 1990 and May 1991 was known as the "Red Apple Boycott." On March 16, 1991, Korean American store owner Soon Ja Du shot and killed 15-year-old African American Latasha Harlins in South Central Los Angeles. It became a highly volatile and explosive issue because this shooting occurred 13 days after the infamous Rodney King beating incident in Los Angeles, CA, in which four white police officers beat African American motorist Rodney King. Since both the Harlins shooting and the King incident were captured by security and video camera, local and national television networks repeatedly aired the footages for more than a year. "Korean-black tension" emerged as one of the most visible and explosive racial issues, as it became synonymous with racial conflict. At the same time, crimes committed against Korean small-business owners in metropolitan areas (such as the 1992 murder of a store owner in Detroit, MI),

and the lack of economic, social, and political resources in inner cities that predated the arrival of Korean immigrant entrepreneurs, received little coverage.[15]

The 1992 Los Angeles Civil Unrest and Korean American Political Mobilization

The acquittal of four officers who beat Rodney King sparked a mass destruction of properties and loss of lives on April 29, 1992, resulting in a multiracial eruption of violence in Los Angeles that destroyed approximately 2,280 Korean-owned businesses and caused $400 million damages.[16] In the Korean American community, this civil unrest is known as the "*Sa-ee-Gu*" (4-2-9). Scholars and activists often remarked that as Los Angeles burned, Korea America was born—or reborn—on April 29, 1992. *Sa-ee-Gu* is considered as the most important historical event—a "turning point," "watershed event," or "wake-up call"—during one hundred years of Korean American history.[17] The civil unrest destroyed Korean immigrant entrepreneurs and workers' paths to attaining the "American Dream." It also exposed many problems and challenges for the Korean American community: a lack of leadership and political power, generation split, and lack of interaction with other communities. Korean immigrants realized the importance of breaking out of ethnic isolation and actively reaching out to other communities to forge working and harmonious relations.

Korean Americans have responded to this wake-up call through political mobilization and participation, and 1.5 and second-generation Koreans in particular are entering mainstream politics and leading organizations that serve as voices of the ethnic community and work with other racial/ethnic communities. Immediately following the civil unrest, Angela Oh, a second-generation attorney, became a spokeswoman for the Korean American community; in 1997, President Bill Clinton appointed Oh to the President's Initiative on Race Advisory Board. Republican and immigrant Jay Kim, from the 41st District, became the first Korean American elected the U.S. House of Representatives in 1992.

In Washington, Paull Shin, a college professor, retired after three decades of teaching and was elected to the state house of representatives in 1992 and the state senate in 1998. In 2000, Harry Kim was elected as the first Korean American mayor in the U.S. in Hawai'i County, Hawai'i (Big Island) and served two terms.[18] Democrat Jun Choi, a 1.5 generation Korean American, was elected mayor of Edison, NJ, in 2006. Boston City Councilor Sam Yoon announced his intention to run for mayor in 2009; Yoon co-founded Asian Political Leadership Fund, with New York City Councilman John Liu and Yul Kwon, 2006 winner of "Survivor: Cook Islands," to support Asian American political candidates and promote civic engagement within the Asian American community.[19] Michigan native Eugene Kang, who worked on the Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders for Obama presidential campaign, was appointed as Special Assistant to the President in 2008.

Notable Korean Americans

David Chang—Chef/restaurant owner. Chang's Momofuku ("lucky peach") restaurants in New York's East Village have garnered critical reviews, awards, and following for his innovative interpretations of serious Asian cooking in casual settings.

Sarah Chang—Violinist. Chang was born in Philadelphia and began studying the violin at age four. She has toured and performed with most major classical conductors, artists, and orchestras around the world. In 1999, she received the Avery Fisher Prize, regarded as one of the most prestigious awards given to American instrumentalists.

Margaret Cho—Comedian, actor, and author. Cho's one-woman shows, *I'm the One That I Want, Notorious C.H.O., Revolution, Assassin,* and *Beautiful*, have toured the United States, Canada, and Australia and have been released as films, DVDs, and CDs. Her performance has been honored by the Asian Excellence Awards, ACLU of Southern California, National Organization for Women (NOW), and GLAAD (Gay & Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation). In 2007, she starred in the eponymous "The Cho Show" on VH-1.

Herbert Young Cho Choy—Senior Circuit Judge. In 1941, Choy (1916–2004) was the first person of Korean ancestry to be admitted to the bar. In 1971, Choy became the first Asian American judge to serve on the federal bench when President Richard Nixon appointed him to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit.

K. W. Lee—Journalist. Lee immigrated to the United States in 1950 and was the first Asian immigrant to work for mainstream U.S. daily publications, covering such topics as the civil rights struggles of the 1960s. His investigative series on Chol Soo Lee, who was wrongfully convicted of killing a San Francisco gang leader in 1973, helped win an acquittal and release of Lee from California's death row.

Sammy Lee—Olympic diving champion. Lee, the first Asian American Olympic gold medalist, won a gold (platform) and a bronze medal (3-meter springboard) in 1948 and another gold (platform) in 1952. He is a retired physician.

Nora Okja Keller—Writer. Born in Korea and raised in Hawai'i, Keller's first novel, *Comfort Women* (1997), received a 1998 American Book Award. She was inspired to write the novel after she went to a human rights symposium at the University of Hawai'i in 1993 and heard the term "comfort woman"—a euphemism for sex slaves who served the Japanese army during the 1930s and 1940s—for the first time.

Hines Ward—Professional football player. Ward, of African American and Korean background, received a hero's welcome in South Korea after he was selected as 2006 Super Bowl MVP. Ward has shared the racial discrimination and taunting that he and his mother Young-hee Kim faced from South Koreans, Korean Americans, and African Americans because of his mixed background, and created the Hines Ward Helping Hands Foundation for mixed-race youth in South Korea.

Organizations also advocate for and mobilize Korean Americans, building alliances with other racial/ethnic organizations and/or mainstream government and social agencies. Organizations such as Korean American Coalition (KAC), the National Korean American Service and Education Consortium (NAKASEC), and Korean Health, Education, and Information Research Center (KHEIR) have membership and branch offices in different cities to unite co-ethnics across the United States. Organizations that are based in a specific ethnic enclave—such as the Koreatown Youth and Community Center (KYCC) and Koreatown Immigrant Workers Alliance (KIWA) in Los Angeles' Koreatown—identify and serve the needs of the local ethnic community and other racial/ethnic/immigrant individuals who also live and work in "Koreatown." While generational, class, and ideological differences continue to exist, the work of such organizations promote political participation within ethnic community and build interethnic/interclass alliances with other communities.[20] Other organizations pursue education, research, advocacy, and policy work on the Korean peninsula to link Korean America to a transnational and global context.[21]

Korean America includes descendents of those who landed in Hawai'i in 1903, as well as ethnic Koreans who have migrated recently from China, Russia, and Latin America.[22] Korean adoptees such as filmmaker Deann Borshay Liem and authors Katy Robinson and Jane Jeong Trenka provide insights to transnational adoption and identity through films and literature.[23] Politically, socioeconomically, and ethnically heterogeneous more than ever, Korean Americans are embracing their roles in creating an inclusive, multiracial and multiethnic America, redefining identities and communities as local, national, and global citizens.

FURTHER READING

Chang, Edward T., and Jeannette Diaz-Veizades. *Ethnic Peace in the American City: Building Community in Los Angeles and Beyond* (New York: NYU Press, 1999).

Chung, Angie Y., *Legacies of Struggle: Conflict and Cooperation in Korean American Politics* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2007).

KoreAm Journal—http://www.koreamjournal.com. Monthly English-language magazine established in 1990.

Korean American Economic Development Center—http://www.kaedc.org. Nonprofit economic research institute established in 2002 in the Los Angeles, CA.

Min, Pyong Gap and Rose Kim, eds. *Struggle for Ethnic Identity: Narratives by Asian American Professionals* (Walnut Creek, CA: Alta Mira, 1999).

"What Does It Mean to Be Korean Today?" Part I and II. Special issue of *Amerasia Journal* 29, no. 3 (2003) and 30, no. 1 (2004).

NOTES

1. American Community Survey 2007, U.S. Census Bureau. http://www.census.gov/acs/www/index.html.

2. Ji-Yeon Yuh, "War, Gender and Migration: Korean Military Brides and Adoptees" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Studies Association, Feb. 4, 2009). http://www.allacademic.com/meta/p113682_index.html.

3. Edward Taehan Chang, “Early Korean Immigration (Before 1910)” in *The Korean American Journey*, ed. Eun Sup Shim (The National Association for Korean Schools, 2002), 33–37; Bong-Youn Choy, *Koreans in America* (Chicago: Nelson Hall Press, 1979); Ronald Takaki, *A Different Mirror: A History of Multicultural America* (New York: Back Bay Books, 2008), 243.

4. U.S. Census Bureau’s 2007 American Community Survey, http://www.census.gov/acs/www/index.html.

5. U.S. Census Bureau’s 2006 American Community Survey, http://www.census.gov/acs/www/index.html.

6. U.S. Census Bureau’s 2006 American Community Survey found that 50.8 percent of Korean American females 16 years and over were employed and 2.9 percent were unemployed. http://www.census.gov/acs/www/index.html.

7. Kwang Chung Kim and Shin Kim, ”Ethnic Roles of Korean Immigrant Churches in the United States,” in *Korean Americans and their Religions: Pilgrims and Missionaries from a Different Shore*, eds. Ho-Youn Kwon, Kwang Chung Kim, and R. Stephen Warner (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), 71–94; Korea.net, http://korea.net/korea/kor_loca.asp?code=U05.

8. Pyong Gap Min, “The Structure and Social Functions of Korean Immigrant Churches in the United States,” *International Migration Review*, 26, no. 4 (1992): 1370–1394; Kim and Kim, “Ethnic Roles of Korean Immigrant Churches in the United States”; Pyong Gap Min and Jung Ha Kim, eds. *Religions in Asian America: Building Faith Communities* (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2002).

9. Kim and Kim, “Ethnic Roles of Korean Immigrant Churches in the United States,” 84.

10. Jung-Ha Kim, “Cartography of Korean American Protestant Faith Communities in the United States,” in *Religions in Asian America: Building Faith Communities,* eds. Pyong Gap Min and Jung Ha Kim (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2002), 185–214.

11. Peter Cha, “Ethnic Identity Formation and Participation in Immigrant Churches: Second-Generation Korean American Experiences,” in *Korean Americans and Their Religions: Pilgrims and Missionaries from a Different Shore*, eds. Ho-Youn Kwon, Kwang Chung Kim, and R. Stephen Warner (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), 141–156.

12. Rebecca Y. Kim, *God’s New Whiz Kids? Korean American Evangelicals on Campus* (New York: NYU Press, 2006).

13. J. Kim, “Cartography of Korean American Protestant Faith Communities in the United States,” 186.

14. Edward T. Chang and Jeannette Diaz-Veizades, *Ethnic Peace in the American City: Building Community in Los Angeles and Beyond* (New York: NYU Press, 1999), 35.

15. *Another America*, VHS, directed by Michael Cho (San Francisco, CA: Center for Asian American Media, 1996) (56 minutes).

16. Chang and Diaz-Veizades, *Ethnic Peace in the American City*.

17. Edward Taehan Chang, “As Los Angeles Burned, Korean America was Born,” *Amerasia Journal* 30, no. 1 (2004): vii.

18. The Associated Press, “Korean American Sworn in as Big Island Mayor,” *Asian Week*, Dec. 15–21, 2000, http://www.asianweek.com/2000_12_15/news5_bigislandmayor.html.

19. Asian Political Leadership Fund, http://asianleader.org.

20. Angie Y. Chung, *Legacies of Struggle: Conflict and Cooperation in Korean American Politics* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 2007).

21. Alliance of Scholars Concerned about Korea, http://www.asck.org/index.html.

22. Corina Knoll, "In Los Angeles, Korean Immigrants Are Not Always from Korea," *KoreAm Journal*, Aug. 24, 2004, http://news.pacificnews.org/news/view_article.html?article_id=903221f18ee8bedc069d6a9c58f284c2,

23. *First Person Plural,* VHS, directed by Deann Borshay Liem (San Francisco: Independent Television Service, National Asian American Telecommunications Association, and PBS, 2000) (59 minutes); Katy Robinson, *A Single Square Picture: A Korean Adoptee's Search for Her Roots* (New York: Berkley Trade, 2002); Jane Jeong Trenka, *The Language of Blood* (St. Paul, MN: Graywolf Press, 2005).

SOUTH ASIAN AMERICANS

Bandana Purkayastha and
Ranita Ray

South Asian Americans are primarily people whose roots are in five "main" countries: India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, and Nepal. Nepalese and the other two South Asian ethnic groups, Bhutanese and Maldivians, together number less than 10,000,[1] and so data on these groups is often difficult to obtain. Asian Indians are by far the largest South Asian group, ranking third in size of all the Asian American groups after Chinese and Filipinos. Asian Indians are also the fastest growing Asian ethnic group, which may partly explain why the general perception of South Asians is usually dominated by the characteristics and cultural symbols of Asian Indians.

The category "South Asian," which indicates a very diverse group of people from five countries, is a U.S. invention. The South Asian American ethnic category has been created by a combination of U.S. government classification policies, formal political classifications, and ideological representations to "lump" people together. The term "Asian American" itself is an umbrella category, initially proposed by activists in the 1960s who sought an alternative to the more commonly used term Oriental. Today, Asian American is the accepted term, especially in government and academic research.[2] As people of South Asian origin lobbied to be included in the Asian American census category in the late 1970s, and subsequently joined Asian American organizations, they found that they did not easily fit the Asian American category for political and cultural reasons and because people equated Asian Americans with East Asian phenotypes. Even today, not all South Asian Americans agree with the label because they see themselves differing along religious affiliations, customs, practices, languages, and class locations. Some South Asians have come together, however, to form all kinds of

organizations. For instance, since the 1980s, domestic violence organizations such as Sakhi and Manavi have been organizing as South Asian American organizations, bringing together people of different nationalities to recognize some of their commonalties. Second-generation South Asians may be more likely to embrace the label; they come together as they create a common ethnic lifestyle—by consuming fashions, music, arts, movies—in the U.S. They also form groups and organizations that are based on multinational, multiethnic ties. [8]

IMMIGRATION POLICIES

In the late 1800s, the first major South Asian group in the U.S. were Indians, mostly Sikh farmers and laborers from the Punjab region of British-controlled India. This primarily male population was recruited to fulfill the cheap labor needs of the rail, agricultural, and lumber industries in California, Oregon, and Washington. Their presence was tied to the continual need for cheap labor after the Chinese exclusion law that was passed in 1882. Fears about the "tide of turbans" on the West Coast led to a backlash against these Indian immigrants, similar to that faced by their Chinese and Japanese predecessors.[3] A series of laws curbed their chances of engaging in a variety of occupations. By 1917 an Asian migration ban was passed to stop all Asians, from any part of the world, from migrating to the United States, and Indians were included in the Asian category. In addition, the restrictions on citizenship and associated rights, such as being able to own property, eroded the opportunities of these early groups. The race-based ban on migration and the restrictions on female—especially Asian female—migration, coupled with the strict antimiscegenation laws in place locally, meant that there was little opportunity to form normal families or communities in the United States. Thus, the population of Indian migrants dwindled away; a few men were able to marry Mexican women and forged new ethnic communities such as the Punjabi-Mexicans.[4]

These restrictions lasted till 1965. After the Civil Rights movement, most overtly race-based laws were scrutinized and the immigration laws were rewritten. The ban on Asian migration was rescinded, and the new immigration laws gave preferences to highly skilled professionals—doctors, scientists, engineers. Secondly, the "family reunification immigration quota" allowed these migrants to sponsor the migration of their families to the United States over several years. The immigrant visas led to the arrival of a highly educated group of mostly male migrants from India, and a smaller number from Pakistan—which included the contemporary Bangladesh till 1971—between 1965 and the mid-1980s. South Asian women and their children arrived primarily because of the family reunification category. The quotas set for each country determine how many migrants and family members can come each year.

In the beginning, after the amendment of the Immigration Act of 1990, Nepalis, and Bangladeshis benefited from diversity visas, which were offered to countries that were underrepresented or had a low rate of immigration to the United States. Along with these routes for economic migrants

(and family reunification), some Sri Lankans have been able to migrate as refugees, after the prolonged civil conflict in their country since 1983. Like other refugees, their numbers are controlled by the U.S. classification of who is a refugee.

Since the mid-1980s, new sets of immigration restrictions have begun to control legal migration. The full incorporation of spouses has been delayed because of the long delays to get spousal visas and the need for the married partners to prove to the Citizenship and Immigration Service (CIS), two years after migration, that they are still married in order to get the full legal right to stay in the United States. In addition, the rapid growth of guest-worker status for highly skilled professionals—visas that allow economic opportunities to work for short periods of time but do not allow social benefits or political rights—has begun to negatively affect migration from South Asia. Although the numbers of South Asians grew from 36,100 between 1960 and 1970, to more than 2 million by 2000 according to the Census Bureau, as we describe later, the picture varies by nationality and gender.

While migration trends are mostly described in ”gender-neutral” terms, the experience of female South Asian American migration to the United States encapsulates how immigration laws favors men. Even though females may be highly educated and dominate the fields of management, professional, sales and office-related occupations. Their credentials are rarely classified as “highly skilled,” a term reserved for the hard sciences, medicine, and technology skills, which have been male-dominated fields. Thus highly educated males have greater opportunity to migrate as highly skilled workers, while females have to come as spouses and prove their marriages after two years in order to get legal permission to work.[5]

While migration from all five countries has steadily increased, in terms of absolute numbers, India holds the dominant position. For instance, according to the Statistical Abstract of the United States, in 2004, 70,100 Indians, 12,100 Pakistani and 8,100 Bangladeshi arrived in the United States. Sri Lanka and Nepal were not listed separately; however, the immigration statistics yearbook shows that in 2006, 2,192 refugees arrived from Sri Lanka.

CURRENT STATUS OF SOUTH ASIAN AMERICANS

Indian Americans

Asian Indians recorded a growth rate of 106 percent between 1990 and 2000, highest among all of the Asian American ethnic groups. Currently, most Indian American migrants are economic or family-reunification migrants, most arriving after the Civil Rights movement that opened up many opportunities for work and residence for nonwhites. A significant portion of Indian Americans settled in the suburbs and about 80 percent of those in the labor force are in white-collar professions. There are few “ethnic ghettos” for Indians, though Jackson Heights in Queens, New York, and New Jersey have concentration of ethnic businesses that point to commercial ethnic enclaves.[6] There is a distinct

Table 1. Indian Americans at a Glance

Population	2,449,173
Median age	32.1
Education:	
Less than high school	9.8
College and above	67.9
Average household size	3.05
In labor force	68.5%
Median household income	$80,759
Per capita income	$35,385
Poverty:	
Overall	8.3%
Child	7.2%
Senior	8.5%
Foreign-born	1,803,617
Speaks English less than "very well"	22.8%

Source: 2005–2007 American Community Survey 3-Year Estimates, U.S. Census Bureau.

group of less affluent Indians—for instance, the Indian taxi drivers or the Indian gas station attendants in New York City.[7] They also have a high prevalence in the motel industry. Overall, Indians have consistently ranked among the top ethnic groups in terms of education and earnings since the 1960s. According to the latest census, Indian median household income stands at $80,759 compared with $53,000 for the white American population, and the average education of Indian women and men is consistently higher than that of whites, who are generally considered to be the standard for such comparisons.[8] (Table 1)

Indians are multilingual, and they follow multiple cultures and religions. Most are Hindus; Muslims and Sikhs, along with Christians and Jains, are among the other religious groups represented among Indians.[2]

Pakistani Americans

Migration from Pakistan follows a pattern similar to India, though the numbers have been substantially smaller. By 2007, the Census Bureau indicated that there were about 193,893 Pakistani Americans in the United States. Like the Indians, with fewer language barriers—English is widely spoken among professionals—and high educational credentials, Pakistani Americans are well-represented in the fields of medicine, engineering, finance, and information technology. Like Indian Americans, most live in suburbs and are, consequently, geographically dispersed. Most Pakistani Americans are Sunni Muslims, although Shias are represented, too (Table 2).

Table 2. Pakistani Americans at a Glance

Population	193,893
Median age	29.6
Education:	
Less than high school	13.9%
College and above	54.6%
Average household size	3.73
In the labor force	62.1%
Median household income	$57,502
Per capita income	$23,387
Poverty:	
Overall	15.9%
Child	19.2%
Senior	8.5%
Foreign-born	137,146
Speaks English less than "very well"	29.0%

Source: 2005–2007 American Community Survey 3-Year Estimates, U.S. Census Bureau.

Bangladeshi, Sri Lankan, and Nepali Americans

Migrants from Bangladesh, Nepal, and Sri Lanka show a slightly different trajectory of migration because more people from these countries arrived after 1980. Bangladesh was officially a part of Pakistan until 1971, so Bangladeshi migration, as we understand the term now, could not begin until the 1970s. The first wave of immigrants was generally composed of professionals, well-educated and affluent. In 1973, 154 Bangladeshi immigrants arrived in the United States, and in 2007, there were 62,057 Bangladeshis Americans. Bangladeshis, like Nepalese, have also benefited from "diversity" visas. They are concentrated in metropolitan New York area; other large enclaves of Bangladeshis can be found in Los Angeles, Miami, Washington, DC, and Atlanta. Bangladeshi Americans formed Bengali civic organizations and clubs in the locales where they settled. Bangladeshis are overwhelmingly Muslim, though their strong affiliations with the culture and language have led them to form ethnic and religious communities that are distinctive from other groups. Bangladeshis have often rejuvenated older Indian commercial enclaves, their stores and restaurants marked distinctively with Bengali signs.[9] Almost 50 percent of Bangladeshis speak English less than well, markedly different from their Indian, Pakistani, and Sri Lankan counterparts in which the great majority speak English well.

Unlike India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka, the official policies of Nepal discouraged migration until the 1970s. Between 1970 and 1989, there

were 1,229 Nepalis admitted to the United States.[10] The CIS Yearbook shows a gradual increase in the number of Nepalis admitted per year, ranging from 212 in 1992 to 1,138 in 2002.[11] Like the other four groups, some Nepali students who came to the United States for higher education were able to change their student status to work-related visas. Nepalis are scattered in larger cities around the United States, and local informal and a formal national organization of Nepali Americans keep group networks alive.[12] Nepali Americans are primarily Hindu.

The earliest Sri Lankans to enter the United States were classified as "other Asian." In 1975, 432 Sri Lankans immigrated to the United States. The ongoing civil war between the Sri Lankan government and armed Tamil separatists, which began in the early 1980s, has led to several hundred thousand Tamil civilians fleeing Sri Lanka. Many sought political asylum in the West. According to 2007 U.S. Census data, there were 30,323 Americans with Sri Lankan ancestry. Many Sri Lankans have settled in large metropolitan areas such as Chicago, Los Angeles, New York, Newark, and Miami, which already have Sri Lankan and Indian communities. Sri Lankan Americans practice mostly Hinduism and Buddhism. Their levels of education—92 percent Sri Lankans have high school or higher vs. 86.5 percent whites, while 29.8 percent Sri Lankans have graduate or professional degrees compared to 10.5 percent whites—and median household incomes—$61,793 compared to $53,000—are higher than that of whites.

Table 3. Bangladeshi Americans at a Glance

Population	62,057
Median age	31.8
Education:	
Less than high school	16.2%
College degree or higher	47.0%
Average household size	3.67
In the labor force	65.5%
Median household income	$41,897
Per capita income	$16,250
Poverty:	
Overall	24.0%
Child	31.0%
Senior	18.2%
Foreign-born	47,169
Speaks English less than "very well"	46.4%

Source: 2005–2007 American Community Survey 3-Year Estimates, U.S. Census Bureau.

Table 4. Sri Lankan Americans at a Glance

Population	30,323
Median age	36.7
Education:	
Less than high school	8.1%
College degree or higher	56.5%
Average household size	2.80
In the labor force	68.4%
Median household income	$61,793
Per capita income	$33,621
Poverty:	
Overall	11.0%
Child	10.4%
Senior	4.7%
Foreign-born	25,297
Speaks English less than "very well"	21.3%

Source: 2005–2007 American Community Survey 3-Year Estimates, U.S. Census Bureau.

KEY ISSUES

Religion and Culture

While most non-South Asians are unable to tell South Asian Americans of different origins and cultures apart, the "South Asian-American" label is an amalgam of groups with diverse histories. At the same time, because of the relatively large proportion of Indian migrants (relative to other South Asian Americans), the public face of "South Asian American" often reflects Indian characteristics. Thus, certain religions and cultural rites and rituals are more recognized than others. Shared cultural festivals such as the worship of the Goddess Durga is recognized as an Indian event, while the Nepali celebration, Dashain, which also focuses on the same Hindu goddess, is rarely recognized by other South Asian Americans.[13] Shared "home-country" cultural icons—for instance, Rabindranath Tagore—is more identified with Indians in the United States, even though he is revered by Bengali Indians and Bangladeshi Bengalis and is the author of the national anthems of India *and* Bangladesh. Pakistani Americans, who often share the sociodemographic characteristics of Indian Americans, are only seen as a separate entity in matters of religion. Their highly educated character is less recognized than that of Indian Americans.

All South Asians have to contend with finding a religious space in multicultural, but Christian-dominant, America. Since Hinduism and Islam are not Congregationalist religions, significant transformations of these religions and

religious communities are taking place in order to fit in with U.S. laws, most of which were based on the Christian experience. For instance, Hindu temples have to identify members in order to meet the legal designation of not-for-profit entities. Sikh men's ability to carry the five symbols of their faith—which includes a symbolic ceremonial dagger and keeping long hair covered with turbans—has been a very contentious issue in schools and travel sites. Muslim Americans have to increasingly contend with a post-9/11 climate where many people fear Muslims. Post–immigrant–generation Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs find themselves marginalized as schools recognize Christian holidays but little else.[14]

Like the different linguistic groups, a great deal of religious diversity exists within South Asian America.[15] Hinduism itself is extremely diverse, and while a huge number of temples have been, and are being, built across the United States, none of these temples are ever able to accommodate the cultural practices of more than a few major groups. Nonetheless, there is a move to try and homogenize some central practices of Hinduism, through these temples, so that temples become de facto community centers as well.

Muslim South Asian Americans face a different challenge of finding or creating a niche for themselves in mosques.[16] Because the cultures of Arab American, non-Arab American Muslims, and South Asian American Muslims are very diverse, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Indian, and other South Asian American Muslims have to work out cultural similarities in order to come together as South Asian American Muslims.

Sikh Americans, who have been present in the United States since the 19th century, have, over time, developed separate identities, that are often based on their religion rather than their ancestral roots.[17] A large number of gurudwaras, which work as community gathering places as well, testify to Sikh presence in America, and also depict the diversity within Sikhism. In the aftermath of 9/11, when Sikhs were attacked because they appeared to resemble the turban-wearing terrorists featured constantly on the media, Sikh Americans have been very active in educating Americans about their religion and challenging the erosion of their civil liberties, separately from Indian Americans. The Sikh American experience clearly depicts how groups might need to keep religion as their main identity marker, especially if they are discriminated against on the basis of their religious symbolism.

Second-generation South Asians struggle to create their place on college campuses through student organizations, in which notions of religion and ethnicity sometimes are conflated. On college campuses, the presence of "Indian student associations" and "Pakistani student associations" leads to a bifurcation of interests, all Muslim issues are assumed to be the purview of PSAs, while ISAs become increasingly Hindu-culture focused. Bangladeshi, Sri Lankan, Nepali Americans are particularly affected, as are other South Asians, who are not Hindu or Muslim, or those who do not believe in the type of Hinduism projected in these groups find themselves marginalized. Since the late 1990s and 2000s, more *South Asian* student organizations are cropping up

in colleges; however, given the very great diversity of cultures among each of the five groups—based on language, religion, histories, practices—there is ongoing dissent about whose culture counts as South Asian. A new "desi culture" has been growing, as members of the post–immigrant–generation try to find commonalties among themselves.[19]

Discrimination and Racial Profiling

Since 9/11, South Asians have often been confused with Middle Easterners and subject to stereotyping, discrimination, and racial profiling. They face discrimination in terms of airport security policies and often have to go through "random" security checks. With the increasing blurring of "national security" and policing services, there are newfound fears about "foreigners," especially those who look Muslim. In 2006 at a campaign event, Senator Conrad Burns of Montana discussed the threat of terrorism, declaring that the United States confronted a "faceless enemy" of terrorists who "drive cabs in the daytime and kill at night." Pakistani and Bangladeshi Americans, who, according to country-of-origin histories, do not belong to one group, now find their master status as Muslims forces them and their children to contend with the common forms of discrimination directed toward them as they work and/or travel. In addition, South Asian Americans of all cultural backgrounds encounter a renewed marking of their appearance. In 2006, Senator George Allen of Virginia referred to a young Indian American, who was working for his opponent's campaign, as macaca (which is a pejorative epithet used by francophone colonialists in Central Africa's Belgian Congo for the native population). The press picked up on this comment, and there were many discussions about whether it was racist. Less noticed was the other part of Allen's comment. Addressing Sidarth, Allen said, "Welcome to America," thus casting the American-born campaign worker, solely on the basis of his appearance, as a foreigner.[20] There is a long history of various groups of Asian Americans being dubbed as foreigners in the United States, and this incident was a reminder to the larger group of yet another incidence of racism. New groups are being formed and South Asian Americans are working together with organizations such as ACLU to combat racism.

Creating a South Asian American Identity

The number of Indian Americans and their financial influence drives statistics about the aggregated category South Asian American. In fact, it is often difficult to find detailed data on Bangladeshi, Nepali, and Sri Lankan migrants from official sources such as the census. When popular magazines such as *Newsweek* feature the power and influence of South Asian Americans, the overwhelming majority are South Asian Americans of Indian origin.[21]

Politics has, on occasion, brought some South Asian Americans together. South Asian Americans mostly vote Democrat,[22] though some prominent South Asian Americans—Governor Bobby Jindal of Louisiana and the conservative

NOTABLE SOUTH ASIAN AMERICANS

Amar Bose—Indian American billionaire, founder of Bose Corporation, revolutionized the technology of speakers and acoustics.

Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak—Indian American university professor at Columbia University; a foundational theorist of post-colonial studies.

Sanjay Gupta—Indian American physician (neurosurgeon) and media commentator on health issues at CNN, CBS, and *Time* magazine.

Fred Hassan—Pakistani-American, CEO at Schering Plough.

DeLon Jayasinghe—Sinhalese (Sri Lankan) American hip-hop artist.

Jawed Karim—Bangladeshi American co-founder of YouTube and lead technical architect of PayPal.

Neal Katyal—Indian American professor of law at Georgetown University Law School and lead counsel in the landmark Supreme Court case *Hamdan v. Rumsfeld.*

Jhumpa Lahiri—Indian American author whose books include *The Namesake,* and the Pulitzer Prize–winning short stories collection, *Interpreter of Maladies.*

Mira Nair—Indian American filmmaker, her recent films include *The Namesake* and *Mississippi Masala*.

Indra Nooyi—Indian American CEO of Pepsi, one of eleven women in the world to hold a CEO position in a Fortune 500 company.

Bidya Ranjeet—Nepali American academic administrator; founding member and past president of Nepali Women's Global Network and member of the Nepali American Council.

Asif Saleh—Bangladeshi American Wall Street executive, who is better known for launching Dristipath, the blog that has become a leading tool of transnational human rights activism.

Amartya Sen—Indian American, with roots in Bangladesh, who is a Nobel laureate in economics, currently at Harvard University; noted for his work on wide-ranging social justice issues.

Shaziya Sikandar—Pakistani American artist and 2006 recipient of the MacArthur Fellow genius award.

Sunita Williams—Indian American NASA astronaut; second woman of Indian descent to head into space after astronaut Kalpana Chawla was killed in the Challenger disaster.

Fareed Zakaria—Indian American, editor of *Newsweek* and host of Fareed Zakaria GPS on CNN.

pundit Dinesh D'Souza—are Republicans. Many South Asian Americans—women and men—run for local office and intern with senators and congressmen, according to reports in ethnic papers such as *News India Times*, *India Today*, and *Times of India*. The multiple Asian American coalitions that are being built, especially as Asian Americans lobby for commissions on par with other racial-

ethnic groups in the states, also create some avenues for South Asian Americans to act in unison. Equally important, at the civil society level, are a range of organizations from women working on domestic violence issues,[23] to groups working on transnational citizenship and labor rights. They testify to the depth and breadth of political participation among this group.[24] This political participation also opens up opportunities for deepening pan-ethnic ties.

Perhaps most important is the creation of South Asian America through academic and popular writing. For instance, the writing of South Asian American scholars such as Vijay Prashad's *The Karma of Brown Folk* (or the authors referenced here), literary writings on and by South Asian Americans, such as *Our Feet Walk the Sky* or *Patchwork Shawl,* gather the collective histories and create the imaginaries of South Asian America. More recently, the launch of the flagship journal for South Asian American writing—*Catamaran*—brings together a range of literary and artistic productions that are creating new ways of imagining and living South Asian America.[25] *Catamaran* has featured South Asian American authors, poets, artists, playwrights, filmmakers, and academics, ranging from Tibetans, who have come to the United States from their exiled home in India, to first- and second-generation Pakistani, Indian, Bangladeshi Americans, who may have originated from Asia, Africa, or Europe.

Lastly, the coalitions being built to create a presence of South Asian Americans among Asian Americans—blurring phenotypic boundaries, and those of culture, ethnic history, and religion—also point to the new pan-ethnic group-building work that is under way. Social gatherings, informal and formal organizations, memberships in civic and political organizations, lobbying for resources, and challenging discrimination are all steps in the process of establishing the presence of South Asian Americans as Americans.

FURTHER READING

Abraham, Margaret. *Speaking the Unspeakable: Marital Violence among South Asian Immigrants in the United States.* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2000).

Das Dasgupta, Shamita, ed. *Body Evidence*: *Intimate Violence Against South Asian Women in America* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2007).

Das Gupta, Monisha. *Unruly Immigrants: Rights Activism, and Transnational South Asian Politics in the United States* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006).

Kibria, Nazli. *Muslims in Diaspora: Bangladeshis at Home and Abroad. (*New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, forthcoming).

Narayan, Anjana and Purkayastha, Bandana. *Living Our Religions: Hindu and Muslim South Asian American Women Narrate Their Experiences.* (Sterling, VA: Kumarian Books, 2008).

Prashad, Vijay. *The Karma of Brown Folk.* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000).

Purkayastha, Bandana. *Negotiating Ethnicity: Second-Generation South Asian Americans Traverse a Transnational World.* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2005).

Shankar, Lavina and Srikanth, Rajini, *A Part, Yet Apart: South Asians in Asian America* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998).

NOTES

1. South Asian American Policy and Research Institute, "Making Data Count: South Asian Americans in the 2000 Census with Focus on Illinois," http://saapri.org/pdfs/Web-Document5.pdf.

2. K. Connie Kang, "Yuji Ichioka, 66; Led Way in Studying Lives of Asian Americans," *Los Angeles Times*, Sept. 7, 2002. http://articles.latimes.com/2002/sep/07/local/me-yuji7.

3. The ways in which people of South Asian origin have been organizing to become "a group" is discussed in detail in Bandana Purkayastha, *Negotiating Ethnicity* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2005).

4. Until 1947, Indians refers to the contemporary Indians, Pakistanis, and Bangladeshis.

5. Vijay Prashad, *The Karma of Brown Folk* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000).

6. Bandana Purkayastha, "Skilled Migration and Cumulative Disadvantage: The Case of Highly Qualified Asian Indian Immigrant Women in the U.S.," *Geoforum*, 36 (2004): 181–196.

7. Madhulika Khandelwal, *Becoming Indian, Becoming American: An Immigrant Community in New York City* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2002).

8. Diditi Mitra, "Driving Taxis in New York City: Who Wants to Do It?" *Working USA* 7, no. 2 (2003): 76–99.

9. U.S. Bureau of Census, http://factfinder.census.gov.

10. Nazli Kibria, *Muslims in Diaspora: Bangladeshis at Home and Abroad* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, forthcoming); Nazli Kibria, "South Asian Americans" in *Asian Americans: Contemporary Trends and Issues*, ed. Pyong Gap Min (Beverly Hills, CA: SAGE Publications, 2005), 206–227.

11. P. Upadhyay, "The social assimilation of Nepali immigrants in the United States and the role of English language training in the Process" (Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Connecticut, Storrs, CT, 1991).

12. CIS Yearbook, Table 3 (2003).

13. Bidya Ranjeet and Bandana Purkayastha, "A Minority Within a Minority," in *Body Evidence*: *Intimate Violence Against South Asian Women in America*, ed. Shamita Das Dasgupta (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2007).

14. Anjana Narayan and Bandana Purkayastha, *Living Our Religions: Hindu and Muslim South Asian American Women Narrate Their Experiences* (Sterling, VA: Kumarian Books, 2008).

15. Khyati Joshi, *New Roots in America's Sacred Ground: Religion, Race and Ethnicity in Indian America* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2006); Prema Kurien, "Multiculturalism and 'American' Religion: The Case of Hindu Indian Americans," *Social Forces* 85, no. 2 (2006): 723–741; Anjana Narayan and Bandana Purkayastha, *Living Our Religions: Hindu and Muslim South Asian American Women Narrate Their Experiences,* (Sterling, VA: Kumarian Books, 2008).

16. Anjana Narayan and Bandana Purkayastha, *Living Our Religions: Hindu and Muslim South Asian American Women Narrate their Experiences* (Sterling, MD: Kumarian Press, 2008).

17. Nazli Kibria, *Muslims in Diaspora: Bangladeshis at Home and Abroad* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, forthcoming).

18. Darshan Singh Tatla, *The Sikh Diaspora: The Search for Statehood* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999).

19. Bandana Purkayastha, *Negotiating Ethnicity: Second-Generation South Asian Americans Traverse a Transnational World* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2005).

20. Purkayastha, *Negotiating Ethnicity: Second-Generation South Asian Americans Traverse a Transnational World*; Sunaina Maira *Desis in the House: Indian American Youth Culture in New York City* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2002).

21. Tim Craig and Michael Shear, "Allen Quip Provokes Outrage, Apology," *Washington Post*, Aug. 15, 2006; Page A01.

22. Pramit Palchaudhuri "South Asians Living in USA Favour Democrats," *Hindustan Times*, May 5, 2007. http://www.hindustantimes.com/StoryPage/StoryPage.aspx?sectionName=NLetter&id=520e5d4b-316f-4281-8a78-7939e1d79cfe&Headline=South+Asians+living+in+USA+favour+Democrats.

23. Pei-Te Lein, Margaret Conway, and Janelle Wong, *The Politics of Asian Americans* (New York: Routledge, 2004).

24. Margaret Abraham, *Speaking the Unspeakable: Marital Violence among South Asian Immigrants in the United States* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2000).

25. Monisha Das Gupta, *Unruly Immigrants: Rights Activism, and Transnational South Asian Politics in the United States* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006).

26. See for instance, Vijay Prashad, *The Karma of Brown Folk* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000); Lavinia Shankar and Rajini Srikanth, *A Part Yet Apart: South Asians in Asian America* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998); Women of South Asian Descent Collective, *Our Feet Walk the Sky: Women of the South Asian Diaspora* (Berkeley: University of California 1994); Shamita Das Gupta, ed., *Patchwork Shawl: Chronicles of South Asian Women in America* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1998); *Catamaran* edited by Shona Ramaya and Rajini Srikanth (Storrs: Asian American Studies Institute and Asian American Cultural Center, University of Connecticut).

This page intentionally left blank

SOUTHEAST ASIAN AMERICANS

Khatharya Um

Following the Communist takeover of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, nearly 3 million refugees left their homeland. An estimated 2 million were permanently resettled in third countries, principally in Western democracies, including some 145,000 who were resettled in the United States in 1975–1976.[1] Unlike economic immigrants, these were refugees who were forcibly displaced by the sudden collapse of the pro-U.S. governments in Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos, and by the fear of Communist persecution. Many were evacuated with the Americans; others made their way out on their own recourse.[2] Though a small group of fishermen, farmers, and rank-and-file soldiers also managed to escape, most of those who left in 1975 were individuals associated with American missions, military and civilian elites, diplomats, professionals, and their families.

The initial exodus in 1975 was followed by renewed refugee conditions in the late 1970s and early 1980s. In Cambodia, the overthrow of the Khmer Rouge regime in 1979 engendered cross-border flight into Thailand of close to 800,000 Cambodians. Beginning in 1977, ethnic Chinese were forced out of Vietnam by tightening state control over the economy and escalating tension in China-Vietnam relations. Some crossed the border into China; others took to the high seas. They were the initial "boat people."[3] Ethnic Vietnamese and Amerasians, fleeing economic hardship and sociopolitical marginalization, soon joined the exodus. From Laos, the refugee flow also spiked in the 1980s. More lowland Lao, especially the middle class and small entrepreneurs, left for the refugee camps in Thailand.[4] With some exceptions, most of those who left in the 1980s had to endure a much longer stay in the refugee camps prior to resettlement as compared to the earlier cohort.

While Cambodian refugee admission to the United States virtually ceased after 1986, refugees from Vietnam and Laos continued to be admitted in the early 1990s and 2000s.[5] In all, between 1975–2002, some 1,146,650 Southeast Asian refugees were resettled in the United States.[6] Though a small community, consisting largely of Vietnamese students and professionals, existed prior to 1975, it was the refugee arrival that gave visibility to the Southeast Asian communities in the United States. As a reference to the region as a whole, the terms "Southeast Asia" and "Southeast Asian Americans" came to refer to the forcibly displaced from Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia or to individuals who trace their roots to this migration history—the human legacies of the "Vietnam War."[7]

KEY FEATURES AND ISSUES

Although most Southeast Asians were admitted to the United States as refugees, many also entered as immigrants, largely through the family reunification process. With relatively high birthrate and continuous immigration, Southeast Asian American communities have grown significantly over the last three decades, totaling more than 2 million in 2007.[8] Vietnamese Americans now constitute the fourth largest and the third–fastest-growing Asian American community.[9] Despite the initial dispersal, Southeast Asian communities have coalesced through internal migration principally in California, Minnesota,

Table 1. Vietnamese Americans at a Glance

Population	1,593,068
Median age	34.0
Education:	
Less than high school	27.7%
College degree or higher	26.1%
Average household size	3.38
Homeownership	66.8%
Median household income	$54,029
Per capita income	$21,478
Poverty:	
Overall	13.6%
Child	15.9%
Senior	16.1%
Foreign-born	63.52%
Limited English proficiency	50.6%
Public assistance income	3.5%
Food stamp benefits	8.6%

Source: 2005–2007 American Community Survey 3-Year Estimates, U.S. Census Bureau.

Table 2. Cambodian Americans at a Glance

Population	242,065
Median Age	25.8
Education:	
Less than high school	38.1%
College degree or higher	14.2%
Average household size	4.01
Homeownership	52.6%
Median household income	$48,817
Per capita income	$14,773
Poverty:	
Overall	19.8%
Child	26.0%
Senior	21.5%
Foreign-born	58.05%
Limited English proficiency	43.7%
Public assistance income	8.9%
Food stamp benefits	16.0%

Source: 2005–2007 American Community Survey 3-Year Estimates, U.S. Census Bureau.

Massachusetts, and Texas, marking their economic, social, and political presence in urban enclaves such as "Little Saigon" and "Cambodia Town."

Remarkable successes, however, coexist with persisting challenges. Because of the circumstances of their displacement, many Southeast Asians are without sufficient resources to make a rapid and effective transition into America's postindustrial economy and society. While the community is often depicted in simplistic binary of the "model minority" at one extreme, and of the "at risk" population of welfare dependents and gangs at the other, there is tremendous diversity and disparity, veiled by the homogenizing term "Southeast Asian American," that exist among and within Southeast Asian groups. Despite some common features, the communities differ from one another on key dimensions, from population size to labor participation, economic mobility, educational access, and civic engagement. The differences are even more pronounced when data is further disaggregated along the dimensions of resettlement cohort, class, gender, generation, and place of resettlement. These variations and disparities, in large part, can be attributed both to the refugees' personal and collective experiences and to the external forces and context of reception. Premigration histories, including experiences with colonization and protracted conflict, political relationship with the United States, timing and circumstances both of flight and of resettlement, all shape the composition, structure, and dynamics of the communities. The challenges to integration, however, rest not just with the

Table 3. Laotian Americans at a Glance

Population	215,664
Median age	28.5
Education:	
Less than high school	35.7%
College degree or higher	11.6%
Average household size	3.91
Homeownership	62.6%
Median household income	$54,461
Per capita income	$15,956
Poverty:	
Overall	14.1%
Child	18.5%
Senior	19.7%
Foreign-born	58.55%
Limited English proficiency	43.8%
Public assistance income	5.4%
Food stamp benefits	11.9%

Source: 2005–2007 American Community Survey 3-Year Estimates, U.S. Census Bureau.

refugees, but, equally, with the structures of opportunity and constraint presented by the local contexts into which they were inserted.

Timing and circumstances of displacement constitute two key analytic variables in the examination of Southeast Asian communities. They are important for understanding the demography of the refugees who left, and the extent of the loss and dislocation experienced prior to migration. These, in turn, determine the social capital and resilience that individuals and families possess to assist them in their re-integration into a new society. Additionally, historical timing also illuminates upon the receiving contexts that define the prospect of their successful integration.

Most of the Southeast Asian refugees who were admitted to the United States in 1975–1976 were those who were able to leave Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia because of their privileged positions, economic means, access to information, transport and political connections, including ties to the United States, or by virtue of having been outside of the country at the time of the Communist takeover. As a result, there was a higher percentage of the urban and the educated among the 1975 group as compared to later cohorts. Because of the deeper and more extended involvement of the United States in Vietnam, spanning some twenty-five years, Vietnamese refugees accounted for 89 percent of those admitted in 1975–76. U.S. involvement in the other two countries was relatively shorter and more mediated. In Laos, the "secret war" was most concentrated in the highland.[10] Though other ethnic communities, including the Mien,

Table 4. Hmong Americans at a Glance

Population	200,217
Median age	18.9
Education:	
Less than high school	42.4%
College degree or higher	12.0%
Average household size	5.28
Homeownership	52.0%
Median household income	$44,871
Per capita income	$10,352
Poverty:	
Overall	28.3%
Child	35.0%
Senior	20.1%
Foreign-born	46.06%
Limited English proficiency	45.2%
Public assistance income	16.6%
Food stamp benefits	32.2%

Source: 2005–2007 American Community Survey 3-Year Estimates, U.S. Census Bureau.

Thai Dam, and Khmu, also fought alongside the U.S. military, it was the Hmong, under the leadership of General Vang Pao who became the preponderant force in America's "secret armies" in Laos. The close political relationship between the Hmong and the U.S. military accounts for the number of Hmong refugees who were airlifted and resettled in the United States in 1975, as well as for the political cachet that the community continues to possess relative to other Laotian communities. Conversely, U.S. involvement in Cambodia was relatively short and largely confined, initially by Cambodia's neutrality and subsequently by congressional mandate, to air campaigns.[11] The small number of Cambodians who were evacuated with the Americans in 1975 attests to the limited nature of U.S. commitment.

Educational and Linguistic Challenges

For Southeast Asian refugees, limited education and English proficiency are two of the key impediments to socioeconomic advancement. The level of educational attainment, especially among first-generation Southeast Asian refugees is low: one-quarter of Vietnamese and more than one-third of Hmong, Laotian, and Cambodian adults had not graduated from high school as compared to 16 percent of the general population in the United States.[12] The problem is even more acute when age and gender are factored into the equation. Vietnamese refugees are more likely than other Southeast Asian groups to have had access to formal

schooling prior to migration: only about 8 percent of Vietnamese have no formal education, as opposed to more than 30 percent of Laotians and close to 25 percent of Cambodians.[13]

Various factors account for this intergroup disparity. French colonialism left deep and uneven imprints on all three countries. Whereas Vietnam was the focus of French ambition, Laos and Cambodia were stymied by colonial neglect. This was especially pronounced in the educational arena. Few French language schools were built under colonial rule, and the few that did exist were inaccessible to most Laotians and Cambodians. Cambodia did not receive her first high school until the mid-1930s. Similarly in Laos, formal Western-styled education was introduced very late, and, as in Cambodia, access to formal education in general was acutely limited, especially for the highland communities in large part because of geographic isolation. Even after the introduction of the romanized Hmong writing in the 1950s by French missionaries, literacy was mostly the privilege of elite male population. Educational access was confined to a small circle of elites, and, even then, many of them had to pursue secondary education in Vietnam. The legacy of colonial neglect is reflected in the incipient nature of the intelligentsias. War and revolution further arrested the measured progress that was made in the postindependence period. In Vietnam and Laos, socialist education replaced the French system. In Cambodia, the Khmer Rouge essentially did away with formal education and virtually decimated the urban, the skilled, and the educated class. The scale and scope of the losses are registered in the socioeconomic profile of the surviving refugee population in the United States.

In addition to limited education, many Cambodians and Laotians also had limited exposure to the English language prior to their migration to the United States. Because of the penetrative and long-standing American presence in Vietnam, many more Vietnamese were exposed to the English language than Laotians and Cambodians, whose contacts with the Americans were more limited both in duration and scope. The romanization of the Vietnamese system of writing, and wider exposure to the French language also facilitate English language acquisition. Though the Hmong system of writing is also romanized, that process occurred much more recently, and literacy in general was low. As a consequence, linguistic challenge continues to impede the socioeconomic advancement of many Southeast Asians. Between 40 and 50 percent of Southeast Asians are limited English proficient, while close to 50 percent consider themselves "linguistically isolated."[14]

While low educational attainment is not an uncommon feature in refugee communities, Southeast Asian American educational challenges appear to persist over time. From impoverished neighborhoods, most Southeast Asian youths find themselves in underresourced and underperforming schools. Without sufficient support and guidance at home or at school, many are left to struggle on their own. High school dropout rates are disconcertingly high. Lacking positive role models, many succumb to problematic peer associations. In Alameda, CA, Southeast Asian arrest and incarceration rates are among the highest in Alameda county.[15] Pressure to obtain employment immediately after high school also contributes to early educational exit of Southeast Asian males, while early marriage and teen pregnancy continue to impede educational advancement of Southeast

Asian women. In the 1990s, Laotian teen births accounted for 9 percent of all teen births in California.[16] In Ramsey, MN, the Hmong teen birthrate in 2002 was four times higher than that of the white population in the county.[17]

Many Southeast Asians who successfully complete high school do not have the necessary guidance, information, or sufficient preparation to enter a four-year institution. The majority ended up at a junior college and, despite the intention to transfer, are often unable to do so.[18] As a result, access to higher education continues to be uneven and acutely impeded for some communities. Because of early and continuous immigration, the Vietnamese American community has the highest percentage of individuals with a bachelor's degree or higher—18.6% as compared with 11% for Cambodians, 10% for Hmong, and 9% for Laotians. The more favorable Vietnamese statistic also translates into a higher percentage of those with graduate or professional degrees: 7.4% for Vietnamese, as compared with 1.9% for Hmong.[19]

Low educational attainment and limited English proficiency effectively combined to impede the socioeconomic advancement of many Southeast Asian Americans, who remain concentrated in low-skill, low-paying sectors. The production, transportation, and manufacturing industries account for 30–40 percent of Southeast Asians employed. While representation in management and professional sectors has increased over the years, a wide disparity among groups continues to register. Only 17 percent of Laotians and 19 percent of Hmong are represented in this occupational category as compared with more than 30 percent Vietnamese.[20] As a result, a significant number of Southeast Asians, particularly those with large families, are unable to secure employment that provides a living wage, job security, and essential benefits, or to participate in quality job training programs. For women, especially those with small children, lack of affordable childcare, low literacy, limited education, limited English proficiency, transportation issues, and cultural constraints continue to undercut the prospect for advancement.

Income and Poverty

For many Southeast Asian families, economic dislocation and concomitant erosion of self-sufficiency predated their relocation to the United States. The war in Southeast Asia disrupted the economic life of many communities, and rendered once–self–sufficient farmers into internally displaced refugees. Many, like the Hmong, were displaced from their traditional villages into makeshift camps and reduced to dependency on American aid. For the young men, soldiering became a new way of life.

Resettlement in the United States, however, brought further insecurities. Many refugees were ill-prepared to engage the American labor market, and they were further challenged by the constraints in the receiving context. Whereas the earlier cohort could tap into the reservoir of national guilt and compassion for "America's former allies," later arrivals encountered an era of post-Vietnam economic demobilization, characterized by critical labor market contraction, soaring unemployment that reached 10 percent, multiple recessions that were among

the most severe since the Great Depression, and a notably shrinking manufacturing sector. The larger-scale admissions and insertion of refugees into economically blighted neighborhoods exacerbated racial tensions. Refugees found themselves competing with America's poor for increasingly scarce resources, from affordable housing and low-skilled jobs to educational support for language minority students.

Lack of education and the resulting inability to access secure and higher paying jobs, in turn, account for the persistently high poverty index in the Southeast Asian American community. In the early 1990s, the rate of impoverishment among newly resettled Southeast Asian refugees exceeded that of African Americans and Latino Americans.[21] Close to two decades later, despite signs of improvement, economic and social marginality continue to plague many Southeast Asian families. As compared to that of other Asian American groups and to the general population, Southeast Asian socioeconomic indices remain unfavorable. While the median household income for Asian Americans is higher than that for whites, that of the Southeast Asian group is consistently lower: $48,817 for Cambodians, $44,871 for Hmong, $54,461 for Laotians and $54,029 for Vietnamese Americans, compared to $55,096 for whites.[22] This income gap is even wider if we were to consider that Southeast Asian Americans have a larger household size, ranging from 3.38 for Vietnamese to 5.28 for Hmong, compared to the national average of 2.61 and 3.02 for the overall Asian population. Southeast Asian economic vulnerability, as such, is more accurately captured in the per capita income which amounts to $14,773 for Cambodian, $10,352 for Hmong, $15,956 for Laotians, and $21,478 for Vietnamese, as compared to $28,013 for the general Asian population and $31,138 for whites. Both in terms of median household income and per capita income, Hmong and Cambodians rank as the two lowest of all the racial/ethnic groups in the census.[23]

Many Southeast Asian families also live in poverty: 46% of Cambodian, 51.1% of Hmong, 41.2% of Laotian and 28.2% of Vietnamese households have income less than $25,000, while 17.3% of Cambodian, 15.2% of Hmong, 13.7% and 9% of Vietnamese American households have income of less than $10,000.[24] These statistics must be considered further in light of the concentration of Southeast Asian Americans in higher income and correspondingly higher cost areas, and must be further disaggregated to state and city levels. In California, in cities with high concentration of Cambodians and highland Laotians, namely Fresno, Long Beach, Oakland, and Stockton, the percentage of households with income below poverty line are 51.3%, 47.2%, 48% and 60.5% respectively, markedly higher than the national average for Southeast Asian Americans. For all the groups, poverty is most concentrated among single female-headed households with children under 18 years of age. This accounts for more than 44% for Cambodian American female-headed households, more than 43% for Hmong, more than 33% for Laotians, and more than 32% for Vietnamese.[25] Among those living in poverty are children. According to the 2000 census, 59 percent of Southeast Asians living below poverty line in Fresno are children. The national Southeast Asian average is 42 percent.[26] In Minnesota, the Lao Family Community reported that during the 1996–1997 school year, 80 percent of Hmong

American students in the St. Paul public schools were eligible for free or reduced lunch rates, which reflects the poverty level of the community.[27] While there is marked improvement in 2005–2007, more than one-tenth of Vietnamese, close to one-fifth of Laotian, one-fourth of Cambodian, and more than one-third of Hmong children continue to subsist in poverty.[28] For many of these families, public assistance provides an indispensable safety net. Some 22% of Cambodians, 14% of Laotians, 30% Hmong and 10% Vietnamese households rely on some form of public assistance.[29] At more than 16 percent of the median income, Hmong reliance on public assistance income is the highest of the Southeast Asian groups, followed by close to 9 percent for Cambodians.[30]

Racial Tension

For many refugees, the incorporation experience is marked by endemic poverty, inner-city violence, and racism. Southeast Asian Americans have to deal with the resentment that is directed to them both as "Asians" and as reminders of an ignominious and divisive war. Along with the historic fear of the "yellow peril" that intermittently rears its head, Southeast Asians have also had to confront the unresolved issues of Vietnam that affected even the generations of Americans who never fought in the war. In 1989, Patrick Purdue, who had complained of the high number of Southeast Asian students, went on a shooting spree of Stockton's Cleveland elementary school, killing five Southeast Asian children. In 2001, Tung Phetakoune, an elderly Laotian man, was killed in New Hampshire "as payback" for the losses in Vietnam by Richard Labbe, who proclaimed to the police that "those Asians killed Americans and you won't do anything about it, so I will."[31]

While resettlement into America's inner cities brought contact, competition and conflict with America's inner cities, the dispersal into less diverse communities was also met with resentment and resistance. The eruption of violence in northern Wisconsin that resulted in the killing of both Hmong and white hunters is a reflection of long simmering racial tensions in the Midwest and elsewhere. The resistance of the local community in Wausau, WI, to the interdistrict busing of Hmong children in the 1980s, the violence directed at the Vietnamese fishing community in Texas, the bombing of the Lao Buddhist temple in Illinois emerged with the initial arrival of Southeast Asian refugees. While these explosive incidents drew public attention, the many forms of symbolic violence that constitutes the daily Southeast Asian American reality—from the institutional racism that deters educational advancement, to the indiscriminate application of the "model minority without needs" label—remain largely unnoticed. In the interstices of racially motivated conflict, gangs proliferated. In Long Beach, CA, warfare between Latino and Cambodian gangs disrupted the economic and cultural lives of the communities.

Social Capital

Because of the circumstances of their migration, Southeast Asian refugees are often without the necessary social capital to withstand the multifaceted

challenges of re-incorporation. The key pillars of identity and a support system were weakened or fractured by war, revolution, and genocide even prior to migration. In Cambodia, during the five years of conflict, some five million of a population of seven million were internally displaced. Mass killing under the Khmer Rouge eliminated almost one-fourth of the population, with the highest attrition being of the urban and educated. In Laos, about one-third of the population was dislocated during the "secret war"; the number was staggeringly higher among the highland communities. These developments severely destabilized critical institutions. Families were fragmented, communities destroyed, and cultural traditions weakened. These structural, economic, and cultural dislocations persisted in refugee camps, further divesting Southeast Asian families of the internal resources that could assist them in their final resettlement.

For some communities, displacement and ruptures are relatively recent experiences for which they were ill-prepared. Given low population density and relative abundance of arable land, long distance, permanent migration was not a prominent feature of prewar Cambodian or lowland Lao experience; it was not uncommon to find villages bound by ties that extend across many generations. For others, such as the Thai Dam, they are part of a longer historical continuum. The southward journey from China into Southeast Asia was but the beginning of a long and repeated process of displacement into and through Vietnam, onward to Laos, and ultimately to Des Moines, IA. For such communities, these experiences and the reservoir of collective resiliency that they create are important assets in the face of disorienting, multi-dimensional change.

Religion

Although religion has been and continues to be a cementing force, it has also emerged as a contested site in the diasporic community. War, displacement, and genocidal losses have provoked a questioning of faith among refugees that came at a time when Christianity was growing in importance in Southeast Asian lives. Almost half of the voluntary agencies officially involved in Southeast Asian resettlement were faith-based, while congregational sponsorship provided many families with the desperate exit from the refugee camps.[32] Whether out of belief or obligation, conversion has seen to the growth of the Southeast Asian Christian community and to Southeast Asians' ascension in church leadership. In some instances, however, particularly in the highland Laotian community, Christianization has entailed a difficult renunciation of key aspects of traditional culture, rendering religion into a source of contention rather than cohesion.

Family

Similarly, resettlement has also affected the family institution. Already weakened by death and separation, it has been further tested by uneven adaptation, resulting in gender and generational tension. With increased casualization

and feminization of the American labor market, more Southeast Asian women now have both the need and the opportunity to work outside the home, and that, in turn, fundamentally alters gender relations. Increased economic independence of women and, conversely, the perceived disempowerment of men have translated into increased violence in the home. In a 2000 study of the Asian Task Force Against Domestic Violence, 44–47 percent of Cambodians interviewed reported knowing a woman who has experienced domestic violence.[33] The shift in power relations has also occurred along generational lines. Many refugee families are governed by quasi-filiarchy where children, with their greater level of acculturation and English competency, assume the roles, responsibilities, and power of adults as information and cultural brokers and as de facto decision makers. Linguistic disruption and survival pressure, which includes the need to take on multiple jobs, further undercut family interaction and intergenerational communication, leaving both the older- and the younger-generation Southeast Asians essentially without the emotional support that they need and desire. These experiences, in large part, account for the longing for return to the ancestral land, especially among elderly Southeast Asians.

In critical ways, the challenges of incorporation compound the traumas that refugees encountered prior to and during migration. Many carry with them the lingering scars of separation and loss. A study of Cambodians in Long Beach, CA, one of the biggest Cambodian communities in the United States, revealed that 92 percent of the parents surveyed reported having family members or friends who were murdered under the Khmer Rouge regime.[34] This finding is corroborated by another survey in which 95 percent of the respondents have family members who died "in an unusual manner."[35] These memories can be difficult to reconcile when refugees continue to be challenged by the crisis of survival that denies them the opportunity to effectively mourn, heal, and transcend. Compounding incorporation-related stress, these historical traumas contribute to mounting physical and mental health concerns in the Southeast Asian American community, where there is a high prevalence of trauma-related disorders, including PTSD and hysterical blindness, especially in the Cambodian American community. In the 1980s, cases of Sudden Nocturnal Deaths surfaced in the Hmong community. Currently, diabetes, hypertension, stroke, and cancer have emerged as leading causes of death. Along with limited access to affordable quality healthcare, limited education, language barrier, and poverty, the scarcity of data continues to mask these concerns.

Community Rebuilding

Despite the many challenges, Southeast Asian Americans have demonstrated tremendous personal and collective resilience. During the last three decades, the communities have etched their economic, political, and cultural presence into America's landscape. The mini-malls and neighborhood businesses catering to multi-ethnic constituencies are markers signifying the rerooted presence of the refugee communities in their adopted country.

A comparison of community statistics over the last seventeen years underscore the steady progress that has been made in critical areas of education, employment, income level, and home ownership. The percentage of Southeast Asians with a high school diploma has increased, in large part because of the free, mandatory education in the United States. Among thousands of first-generation college graduates, there are now 889 Hmong with graduate and professional degrees, 304 of whom are women, a remarkable achievement given the low literacy level among first-generation refugees just a decade earlier.

The establishment of ethnic-based organizations further attests to the communities' sense of self-reliance. In 1989, the first Southeast Asian national organization, the Cambodian Network Council, was formed. It was followed by the creation of the Hmong National Development Inc. and the National Alliance of Vietnamese American Social Service Agencies. In 2000, the latest Southeast Asian national organization, the Laotian American National Association, was created. Simultaneously, the Southeast Asia Resource Action Center moved to a predominantly Southeast Asian board of directors, and toward a more genuinely pan-Southeast Asian agenda. Similarly, the educational association, NAFEA, also shed its Vietnamese identity for a Southeast Asian one. These national organizations have been instrumental in providing the communities with an important forum for networking within and across groups, for articulating their common issues and airing out their differences, and for mobilization and advocacy at the national level. Above all, they have given a national presence and voice to communities that remain politically marginalized.

Equally significant is the proliferation of local community–based organizations, many of which are mutual assistance agencies that not only provide the community with critical, linguistically accessible service and information on a day-to-day basis but also serve as physical centers for an otherwise dispersed community. It is not uncommon for many organizations to function both as social service providers and as cultural centers through which after-school or weekend heritage programs are offered. For many Southeast Asian youths and their families, these extracurricular activities are important for affirming cultural identity and the sense of communalism.

During the last decade, Southeast Asian institutional development has experienced both setbacks and growth. Whereas in the 1980s and 1990s, the few Buddhist temples that existed were mostly ensconced in dilapidated apartment units, elaborate religio-cultural centers now have emerged in numerous communities such as Maryland, Stockton, CA, and San Diego. Simultaneously, many community-based organizations have been unable to withstand critical challenges, including the succession crisis as new and younger leadership begin to emerge. Funding also has become increasingly competitive, as refugee programs dry up with the evolution of former refugees into new but vulnerable Americans. Communities and organizations with more robust social capital and connections are better positioned to undergo this transition, and even thrive; elsewhere, organizations diminish both in numbers and political strength. Where there is internal resiliency, Southeast Asian American success also has positively affected other communities, as some Southeast Asian mutual assistance agencies extend their

service to the newer refugee communities from Africa, Central Europe, and other conflict regions.

Southeast Asian Americans have also registered their presence in the political arena. While rates of naturalization and electoral participation remain low for some groups, Southeast Asian political engagement must not be gauged simply by voting behaviors but by its different manifestations in multiple arenas. Southeast Asians have held important offices as elected officials and as political appointees at national and subnational levels. Many have enlisted. Others are engaged citizens, advocating for issues that are important to them—for their children's education, their communities, and their ancestral homelands. Diasporic Southeast Asians have also emerged as an important transnational political force. Many are engaged in transnational advocacy. Others have returned to occupy prominent positions in their home countries.

Given their demonstrated civic consciousness, greater participation of Southeast Asians in American politics will come with the increased sense of belonging in the adopted country. For new communities to make that investment, however, they must feel that the host society is willing to make the investment in them. If nothing else, the deportation of Southeast Asians exposes the disenfranchised, or at least ambivalent, status that youth of refugee families continue to hold, and the challenges that the communities continue to face as they transition from being refugees to becoming new ethnic Americans.

NOTABLE SOUTHEAST ASIAN AMERICANS

Anh Joseph Cao—First Vietnamese American U.S. Congress representative (R-Louisiana), elected in 2008.

Mee Moua—First Hmong American to hold an elected office when she won the district seat of Saint Paul in the Minnesota Senate in 2002; she held it for two consecutive terms.

Dat Tan Nguyen—First Vietnamese American in the National Football League, playing for the Dallas Cowboys (1999–2005) where he currently serves as assistant linebacker and defensive quality control coach.

Puongpun Sananikone—Prominent Laotian American who is an international development economist in the Asia-Pacific region and founder of Pacific Management Resources, a Honolulu-based multinational consulting firm. Elected Chair of the University of Hawai'i East-West Center Board of Governors in 2009.

Eugene Trinh—An award-winning physicist. First Vietnamese American to travel to outer space when he served as a specialist crew member for the space shuttle Columbia in 1992.

Chanrithy Uong—First Cambodian American to hold an elected office when he won the seat on Lowell's City Council (Massachusetts) in 1999 and was reelected in 2001 and 2003.

FURTHER READING AND VIEWING

AKA Don Bonus, DVD, directed by Spencer Nakasako and Sokly Ly. (San Francisco: VYDC Media, 1995).
Death of a Shaman, DVD, directed by Fahm Fong. (Great Blue Productions, 2003).
Him, Chanrithy. *When Broken Glass Floats: Growing Up Under the Khmer Rouge*. (New York: Norton Books, 2000).
Huo, T. C. *Land of Smiles.* (New York: Plume Book, 2000).
Kibria, Nazli. *Family Tightrope: The Changing Lives of Vietnamese Americans.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).
Refugee. DVD, directed by Spencer Nakasako (San Francisco: NAATA, 2003).
Robinson, Courtland, *Terms of Refuge*. (New York: Zed Books, 1998).
Southeast Asia Resource and Action Center, http://www.searac.org.
Um, Khatharya. "Scars of War," *Asian-American Education: Prospects and Challenges,* eds. Clara C. Park and Marilyn Mei-Ying Chi (Westport, CT: Bergin & Garvey, 1999).

NOTES

1. Of this cohort, there were 128,200 Vietnamese, 5,700 Cambodians, and 11,000 Laotians (mostly Hmong). In the U.S. Census, "Hmong" is a separate ethnic category, while "Laotian" refers to all other groups from Laos. Whenever the term Laotian is used here, it refers to all groups coming from Laos. When referring to U.S. Census data, "Hmong" and "Laotian" will be treated as separate categories.

2. Those evacuated with and by the Americans in 1975 consisted of approximately 65,000 Vietnamese, 2,500 Hmong and 159 Cambodians. For the Cambodian statistics, see William Shawcross, *Sideshow* (Simon and Schuster, New York, 1979).

3. Various first asylum camps emerged in Thailand, Hong Kong, Malaysia, Indonesia, and the Philippines in the 1980s–1990s.

4. The Lao is the largest ethnic group in Laos, though they are not the largest Laotian refugee group in the United States.

5. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, many Vietnamese re-education camp detainees were released and granted refugee admission to the United States. In the early 2000s, ethnic highland refugees from Vietnam and Laos also were admitted into the United States, including 15,000 Hmong who had been living illegally in Thailand.

6. Vietnamese refugees constituted the largest group, totaling 759,482 followed by 241,996 Laotians and 145,172 Cambodians. See http://www.searac.org.

7. Here the term Southeast Asia/n also refers only to refugees from Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia and their American-born children; For a critical reading of this term, see Khatharya Um's "The Vietnam War": What's In a Name?" *Amerasia Journal* 31, no. 2 (2005).

8. U.S. Census Bureau, 2000 Census and 2007 American Community Survey, http://factfinder.census.gov/servlet/DatasetMainPageServlet?_program=ACS&_submenuId=datasets_2&_lang=en&_ts=%20%3E (henceforth referred to as ACS 2007). Special thanks to Kimiko Kelly for the statistical compilation.

9. U.S. Census Bureau, 2000 Census, and ACS 2007, http://factfinder.census.gov/servlet/DatasetMainPageServlet?_program=ACS&_submenuId=datasets_2&_lang=en&_ts=%20%3E.

10. Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, Cambodian and Laotian neutrality deterred overt U.S. military activities in those countries. Clandestine operations, including the

funding of local armies, were ways to shield U.S. involvement in those areas from public and congressional view.

11. The overthrow of Prince Sihanouk in March 1970 did away with Cambodia's neutrality.

12. U.S Census Bureau, ACS 2007. Data from Census 2000, which reflects largely the statistics of recent refugees, shows a higher percentage of those without a high school education: more than 60 percent of Hmong, 50 percent of Cambodians and Laotian, and 40 percent of Vietnamese.

13. SEARAC, Southeast Asian Statistical Profile, Washington, DC, 2004.

14. U.S. Census Bureau, ACS 2007. This amounts to more than 50 percent Vietnamese, 45 percent Hmong, and 44 percent Cambodians and Laotians. Though Vietnamese are, in many ways, better positioned than the other groups, the high number of the linguistically isolated may be explained by the continued migration from Vietnam into the 1990s and 2000.

15. National Council on Crime and Delinquency, "Not Invisible: Asian Pacific Islander Juvenile Arrests in Alameda County," July 2001.

16. Tom Lee, "Some Groups See Rise in Teen Pregnancy," *AsianWeek*, June 8, 2000, http://www.asianweek.com/2000/06/08/some-groups-see-rise-in-teen-pregnancy/.

17. Lao Family Community of Minnesota, Hmong Pregnancy Planning Grant Report, 2002.

18. See Khatharya Um, *A Dream Denied*, 2000, http://www.searac.org and "Scars of War" in *Asian-American Education: Prospects and challenge*, eds. Clara C. Park and Marilyn Mei-Ying Chi (Westport, CT: Bergin & Garvey, 1999).

19. U.S. Census Bureau, ASC 2007, http://factfinder.census.gov/servlet/DatasetMain PageServlet?_program=ACS&_submenuId=datasets_2&_lang=en&_ts=%20%3E.

20. U.S. Census Bureau, ASC 2007, http://factfinder.census.gov/servlet/Dataset MainPageServlet?_program=ACS&_submenuId=datasets_2&_lang=en&_ts=%20%3E.

21. Noy Thrupkaew, "The Myth of the Model Minority: Southeast Asians Were Stereotyped as Bolstered by Strong Values, but When Immigrants Face Grim Economic and Social Conditions, Values Are Not Enough," *The American Prospect* 13 no. 7, (April 8, 2002), http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?a=o&d=5000735849.

22. U.S. Census Bureau, 2005–2007 American Community Survey 3-year Estimates.

23. U.S. Census Bureau, 2007 ACS, http://factfinder.census.gov/servlet/Dataset MainPageServlet?_program=ACS&_submenuId=datasets_2&_lang=en&_ts=%20% 3E. All groups are single race and multirace combined, except for white, which is single race only, and non-Hispanic.

24. U.S. Census Bureau, Census 2000, Summary File 4, http://factfinder.census.gov/ servlet/DatasetMainPageServlet?_program=ACS&_submenuId=datasets_2&_lang= en&_ts=%20%3E.

25. ASC 2007, U.S. Census Bureau, http://factfinder.census.gov/servlet/Dataset-MainPageServlet?_program=ACS&_submenuId=datasets_2&_lang=en&_ts=% 20%3E

26. U.S. Census Bureau, Census 2000, Summary File 4.

27. Data accessible at http://www.laofamily.org/lfcm.htm. Statistic also cited on http://www.hmong.org.

28. Data accessible at www.laofamily.org/lfcm.htm. Statistic also cited on http://www.hmong.org.

29. U.S. Census Bureau, Census 2000, Summary File 2.

30. ASC 2007, http://factfinder.census.gov/servlet/DatasetMainPageServlet?_program=ACS&_submenuId=datasets_2&_lang=en&_ts=%20%3E.

31. See SEARAC advocacy report, http://www.searac.org.

32. See Courtland Robinson, *Terms of Refuge*, p. 1998.

33. M. R. Yoshioka and Q. Dang, "Asian Family Violence Report: A Study of the Cambodian, Chinese, Korean, South Asian, and Vietnamese Communities in Massachusetts" (Boston: Asian Task Force Against Domestic Violence Inc., 2000).

34. Him Chhim, presentation, Education Summit, Washington, DC, 2001, p. 1.

35. Him Chhim, 2001.

THAI AMERICANS

R. Varisa Patraporn

Thai Americans represent a small proportion of (about 1.4%) all Asians Americans in the United States, with a total population of 200,744 in 2007. Unlike other Southeast Asians in the United States, such as the Cambodians and Vietnamese, Thai Americans are not refugees who experienced war trauma. They are a relatively newer immigrant group, arriving mostly in the 1960s and 1970s, and thus they have a shorter history in the United States, unlike other Asian groups such as the Japanese or Chinese. Popular images associated with Thai people include cuisine, massages, and tropical vacations. Yet little is actually known about this relatively small community whose issues are often invisible to the general American public.

There have been three major waves of Thai immigration, with the first being students and professionals prior to 1965. Before 1965, there were only a few thousand Thais, mostly students in the United States; however, since the reform of U.S. immigration law in 1965 that abolished the national-origins quota system favoring European immigrants, Asians (including Thais) have entered the United States in unprecedented large numbers. From 1965 to 1976, the United States saw the largest immigration of Thais.[1] This second wave consisted mostly of students and professionals. In addition, there were some immigrants who came as business people and those who came as wives of U.S. military men as a result of the military forces being stationed in Thailand.[2] The third and most current wave of Thai immigrants, who came beginning 1976, were mostly unskilled workers, street merchants, and vendors who became undocumented laborers.[3] These individuals came through family reunification, tourists visas that they then overstayed, or by virtue of wealthy Thais living in the United States who sought unskilled Thai labor for their restaurants, homes, or other

businesses. The Thai America population has experienced a steady increase during the past few decades, largely because of continued immigration and the growth of American-born Thais.

According to 2007 data, the Thai American population remains a highly immigrant population, with close to 61 percent being foreign-born. This proportion is lower than the foreign-born rates in 2006 and 1990, which hovered in the 70th percentiles. Among those who are foreign-born, a majority are naturalized citizens; 51 percent of foreign-born Thai Americans in 2007 were naturalized citizens.

The Thai American population is geographically concentrated within particular states and metropolitan areas in the United States. The ten states with the largest Thai populations comprise 42 percent of the entire Thai population in the United States. California alone represents approximately 20 percent of all Thai Americans in the country. Other states with a notable Thai population are Texas, Illinois, Florida, Virginia, Nevada, and Georgia. Washington, DC, New York, San Francisco, Dallas-Ft. Worth, and Chicago are top metropolitan areas for Thai Americans.

Table 1. Thai Americans at a Glance

Population	200,744
Median age	31.8
Education:	
Less than high school	15.4%
College degree or higher	39.6%
Average household size	3.02[a]
Female	57.7%
Homeownership	55.2%
Median household income	$49,122
Per capita income	$22,471
Poverty rates:[b]	
Overall	13.5%
Child	14%
Senior	11.3%
Foreign-born	60.8%
Limited English proficiency	37%

Source: 2005–2007 American Community Survey 3-Year Estimates, U.S. Census Bureau.

Notes: [a] Average household size is for owner-occupied units.

[b] Poverty rates are for persons not families. The average household size of renter occupied is 2.27. Includes Thai single race and multirace combined, and not exclusive of Latino/Hispanic, except for white, which is single race only and non-Hispanic.

The Los Angeles metropolitan region has been the No. 1 place for Thai Americans to live since the 1970s. Currently, Los Angeles is home to the first Thai Town in the United States, located in Hollywood, CA. Successful Thai businesses today include restaurants, auto repair services, beauty salons, jewelry shops, import-export dealers, hotels, travel agencies, and liquor stores.[4] The existence of this ethnic enclave in Los Angeles demonstrates both the high degree of clustering of Thai businesses, but also the existence of a Thai entrepreneurship class that developed early on, in addition to those professionals who came in the in the late 1960s and 1970s.

KEY ISSUES

Economic Disparity

Overall, the socioeconomic status of Thai Americans and Thai American households is lower than that of Asian Americans and white Americans across several measures (Table 1). Thai households in the United States have a lower median household income ($49,122) compared with Asian American and white households; Asian American median household income is $64,835 and white household median income is $53,000. When comparing per capita income, a similar pattern exists, with Thai American per capita income at $22,471 compared to Asian American per capita income at $27,254 and white per capita income at $28,953. Similarly, the poverty rate for Thai Americans is higher (13.5%) than for Asian American and white individuals: 10.9 percent and 10.5 percent respectively. The one measure where Thai Americans exceed white Americans is in the proportion of individuals with a bachelor's degree or higher; 28.6 percent of whites compared to 39.6 percent of Thai Americans hold a bachelor's degree or higher. Despite having this higher level of educational attainment, median earning for Thai Americans is less than that for whites, indicating that education is not proportionately translating to commensurate earnings. Not only is there a difference between Thai American economic status compared to whites and Asian Americans overall, but also within the Thai American population. Thai Americans occupy both ends of the occupation spectrum, with a significant proportion of Thai males and females in management and professional occupations, as well as service and manual-labor occupations (Table 2). The fact that an equal proportion of Thai Americans are professionals as service workers may explain why Thai Americans have a high level of educational attainment, but lower median earnings; Thai male median earnings are $40,030, and Thai female median earnings are $31,940. The difference in earnings between Thai females and males is also notable and can be explained in large part by the difference in educational attainment among Thai males and females. Twenty percent of Thai females have less than a high school education compared to 7.8 percent of Thai males.

Part of the reason for the economic disparity within the Thai population and with other racial groups is because of differences in immigration patterns. As mentioned previously, the third and most current wave of Thai immigrants, who

Table 2. Thai Population Occupation and Earnings in the U.S. 2007

Occupation	*Male*	*Female*
Management, professional and related occupations	34.2%	33.2%
Service occupations	25.0%	31.0%
Sales and office occupations	19.8%	26.0%
Farming, fishing and forestry occupations	0.1%	0.1%
Construction, extraction, maintenance, and repair occupation	8.4%	0.5%
Production, transportation, and material moving occupations	12.5%	9.2%
Median Earnings (in dollars) fulltime, year around workers	40,030	31,940

Source: 2005–2007 American Community Survey 3-Year Estimates, U.S. Census Bureau.

arrived from 1976 on, are mostly unskilled workers, street merchants, and vendors who became undocumented laborers.[5] And while there are now Thai professionals in numerous industries, including engineering, medicine, business, and law, in the last 20 years there have also been numerous claims of exploitation of Thai immigrants by other Thai immigrants. There have been a handful of cases where more affluent Thais have exploited and brought more disadvantaged Thais to the United States. These disadvantaged Thais typically work long hours for little wages if any at all. More attention has been paid to this problem since the notorious 1995 case of the El Monte sweatshop, when more than seventy Thai workers (unaware that they were here illegally) were found in an El Monte apartment building in deplorable conditions. In a landmark case taken on by the Asian Pacific American Legal Center in Los Angeles, the Thai workers were able to remain in the United States and received a monetary settlement, with varying amounts depending on the number of years they had been held at the El Monte complex.[6] This case brought attention to the plight of lower-income Thais working in the garment and other service industries. The significant media coverage of the El Monte case and cases following it, including one where a diplomat's wife had two involuntary domestic helpers, demonstrates the existence of such exploitation and disparity within the Thai community.

Retaining Culture, Language and Religion

Another key issue in the Thai American community is the retaining and transference of the Thai culture and language among the second generation. Because there is such a small population of Thai Americans relative to other Asian American groups, Thai Americans born in the United States may not experience much interaction with other Thai Americans, their culture, language and religion. Religion in the Thai community is often linked to culture and language, as many temples in the United States offer instruction in the Thai language and practice instilling Thai

culture in youth. These temples also often offer instruction in Thai classical dance and musical instruments. None of these efforts, however, appear to have the same effect as many other Asian American groups that have been in the United States longer. Temples remain small in number, sometimes geographically isolated, and not necessarily located where the population resides, but rather where land is less expensive or where it is donated. While some temples are located where a large Thai population is present such as the Wat Thai Temple in North Hollywood or the Wat Thai in Silver Spring, MD, others are located in areas that have significantly lower Thai populations. For example, the Wat Padhammachart in La Puente, CA, and the Wat Mettavanaram in Valley, CA, are located in areas where the temple has significant land but not necessarily a very large Thai population.

Transnational Families and Multiple Agendas

As the first and second generation of Thai Americans continues to age, the question on many older Thai American minds is where they will retire. This can be seen by the number of Thai baby boomers who have begun to purchase property and build homes in Thailand in anticipation of returning to their home country. While most Thai Americans are foreign-born, many are also naturalized citizens. Thus, they have the ability to travel back and forth from the United States and Thailand with relative ease. Despite this freedom, there are many considerations in this decision, including the presence of children who remain in the United States, cultural differences, acculturation, and economics.

Because many of these individuals have children who are remaining in the United States, they may want to stay in the United States or spend significant amounts of time in both countries. Additionally, some may choose to delay retirement, remain in the United States, or travel back and forth, deciding to raise their grandchildren, a common decision for many Asian families.

The second reason the decision of where to retire may be challenging is because many Thai Americans have become quite comfortable with life in the United States. Culturally, while certain elements of Thai culture in Thailand would be appealing, some elements of the American culture are also appealing, such as privacy within nuclear families.

While the comforts of home—such as readily accessible authentic food, products, entertainment and media in Thailand—may be attractive, it may also be more economical to return home. The affordability of retiring in Thailand because of the difference in currency value can be a huge incentive, especially for those with insignificant U.S. retirement savings. Because the dollar is currently more valuable than the baht, many believe they will be able to have a better quality of life. Today metropolitan cities such as Bangkok allow those with means to have access to all the amenities they would have in the United States. In addition, quality healthcare is not much of an issue as evidenced by the numbers who already travel to Thailand to receive healthcare at a lower cost and with comfort culture. Not only are healthcare services provided in their native language, Thai Americans can receive health care and services that also reflect a more Eastern approach to medicine, including the idea that the physical state is highly linked to the spiritual and mental state.

NOTABLE THAI AMERICANS

Gorpat Henry Charoen—First and only U.S. elected official of Thai descent on November 7, 2006. He was elected to the La Palma City Council in California. On December 18, 2007, Gorpat Henry Charoen became the first mayor of Thai descent in the United States.

Porntip "Pui" Nakhirunkanok Simon—Former Miss Universe (1988) who became the second woman from Thailand to win the Miss Universe crown. She was 2 years old when she was brought to the United States by her family. She has been an ambassador working for Southeast Asian children and women projects under the cooperation of United Nations.

Thakoon Panichgul—American fashion designer born in Thailand and raised in Omaha. In addition to successfully launching his own line, he also has designed for Nine West (accessories), Gap, Hogan, and Target. His clients include celebrities as well as First Lady Michelle Obama.

Tamarine Tanasugarn—Professional female tennis player born in Los Angeles. She has been ranked in the top twenty in both singles and doubles. Her highest WTA ranking has been world number 19, and she has won a total of five doubles titles, including two with Maria Sharapova.

Tommy Tang—Chef, author, TV show host, and businessman. He is widely credited with making Thai food popular to non-Thais and Asians in the United States. Owning restaurants in New York and Los Angeles, he has also authored two books, one of which has gone through eight printings, and hosted his own cooking show on PBS.

Eldrick "Tiger" Woods—American professional golfer whose mother is Thai. With top world rankings, he has been the highest-paid professional athlete and has more career major wins and career PGA Tour wins than any other active golfer. He is the youngest player to achieve the career Grand Slam.

FURTHER READING

Dela Cruz, Melany and R. Varisa Patraporn. *Socioeconomic Status of Asians in Los Angeles County: A Closer Examination of Chinese, South Asian, and Thai Populations* (Los Angeles: UCLA Asian American Studies Center, 2004).

Ratner, Megan. "Thai Americans," http://www.everyculture.com/multi/Sr-Z/Thai-Americans.html.

Thongthiraj, Rahpee. "Unveiling the Face of Invisibility: Exploring the Thai American Experience" in *The New Face of Asian Pacific America: Numbers, Diversity & Change in the 21st Century*, ed. Eric Lai and Dennis Arguelles. *AsianWeek*. 2003: 102–104.

NOTES

1. In 1971, the U.S. Consular Section in Bangkok found that 35 percent of all non-immigrant visas granted by the U.S. Consular Section in Bangkok in 1971 were to

students. Jacqueline Desbarats, “Thai Migration to Los Angeles,” *Geographical Review* 69, no. 3 (1979): 302–318.

2. Rahpee Thongthiraj, “Unveiling the Face of Invisibility: Exploring the Thai American Experience.” *The New Face of Asian Pacific America,”* eds. Eric Lai and Dennis Arguelles. (*AsianWeek* and UCLA Asian American Studies Center Press, 2003): 102–104.; Sucheng Chan, *Asian Americans: An Interpretive History* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991).

3. Bealah Ku, “Thai American Population is a Growing Force in Southern California,” *AsianWeek,* July 8, 1994: 1.

4. Ku, “Thai American Population is a Growing Force in Southern California.”

5. Ku, “Thai American Population is a Growing Force in Southern California.”

6. Rahpee Thongthiraj, “Unveiling the Face of Invisibility.”

This page intentionally left blank

Section 2:

ECONOMY AND WORK

Section Editor: Don Mar

This page intentionally left blank

OVERVIEW OF ECONOMIC ISSUES

Don Mar

Although the general perception of Asian Americans is that they are generally doing well economically, Asian Americans are as diverse economically as in any other measure of social welfare. As a result, generalizations about any individual Asian American, let alone for all Asian Americans, overlook critical issues among them. This overview discusses a number of economic issues that have varying importance for each subgroup. It begins with an overall discussion of Asian American economic public policy issues based on previous studies. This provides a larger context to frame the individual issues covered in this section. This is followed by specific discussions about emerging and contemporary Asian American economic public policy issues.

POVERTY AND UNEMPLOYMENT

A persistent economic problem for many groups of Asian Americans is poverty. Large segments of the Asian American population do live in poverty. The Census Bureau reports that the family poverty rate for Asians as a group in 2007 was 10.2 percent compared with 8.2 percent for non-Hispanic whites.[1] Within Asian American groups, however, there are significant differences in poverty rates, particularly among Southeast Asians. High rates of poverty affect even U.S.-born Southeast Asians, which demonstrates the persistence of poverty across generations. Jocyl Sacramento and Aristel Cruz' chapter, "Asian American Poverty," discusses issues underlying Asian American poverty and the policies that address poverty.

The aggregate unemployment rate for Asian Americans is generally below that of whites in any given year. In 2007, the unemployment rate of Asians (a

Census category) was 3.1 percent compared with 4.7 percent for whites.[2] However, the aggregate rate masks a much higher rate among individual Asian American groups, particularly Southeast Asians. Also, Asian Americans are often concentrated in locations with relatively high unemployment rates. There is substantial literature on the impact of residential location on labor market outcomes.[3] Transportation access and residential segregation contribute to negative labor market outcomes such as higher unemployment and underemployment.

Asian Americans with low incomes and living in poverty are not just the unemployed. Many Asian Americans living in poverty are employed in low-wage jobs in the manufacturing and retail/service industries. Ambrose Lee in "Low Income Asian Americans" discusses problems among low-income workers and examines policies that affect them. Moreover, low-wage manufacturing jobs are declining as a result of economic globalization. The decline in these jobs is one topic discussed in the entry on "Globalization's Impact on Asian Americans."

Poverty, unemployment, and low-wage jobs also contribute to the lack of health insurance coverage. The U.S. Census reports that in 2008, 16.8 percent of Asians did not have health insurance compared with 10.4 percent of non-Hispanic whites. Given the increasing importance of health access, health inequities among minorities, and health care reform issues, this is certainly an important policy issue among low income Asian Americans.[4]

EARNINGS, EARNINGS DISCRIMINATION, AND OCCUPATIONAL DISCRIMINATION

At first glance, Asian American earnings do not appear to be a problem. In fact, Asian American household earnings are among the highest of all racial and ethnic groups. In 2007, the Asian household median income was $66,103 compared with the median of $54,920 for non-Hispanic white households. Asian households are larger on average, however, than non-Hispanic white households. On a per-capita basis, Asian median incomes are *lower* than the per-capita median incomes of non-Hispanic whites. Again for 2007, the Asian median per-capita income was $29,901 compared with the non-Hispanic white median of $35,051.[5]

The literature on Asian American earnings has argued that the much of the difference in wage and salary earnings is because of differences in human capital, particularly education and English speaking ability. Educational attainment for many Asian American groups is considerably higher than for non-Hispanic whites. The exceptions are Southeast Asians, who have lower levels of education than non-Hispanic whites. Given that recent U.S. immigration laws have favored highly educated workers, the educational attainments of some Asian groups with more recent immigration are higher than that of those born in the United States.

The English speaking ability of most Asian groups also tends to be lower than that of non-Hispanic whites and this negatively affects earnings. The U.S. Census reports that about 40 percent of Asians age five and over spoke English less than "very well" compared with only 8 percent for the total population.[6] Asian groups identified by the Census as having particular problems in spoken English are Vietnamese, Southeast Asians, Chinese, and Korean immigrants. Dan Gonzales looks at the effects of accent discrimination on Asian Americans.

There is considerable debate about the extent of earnings discrimination against Asian Americans. Economists generally measure earnings discrimination in terms of differences in earnings, controlling for education, experience, and other individual characteristics.[7] Most studies using this method find earnings discrimination for Vietnamese, Southeast Asians, and Pacific Islanders men and women. Filipinos, Asian Indian, and Korean men have very mixed results regarding earnings discrimination, with some studies showing discrimination and others showing earnings parity. Studies of earnings discrimination against U.S.-born Chinese and Japanese men generally show little discrimination in earnings. U.S.-born Asian women generally do well compared with non-Hispanic white women in terms of earnings but continue to fare badly compared with men.

There is evidence of occupational discrimination, particularly in managerial and high ranking executive jobs. This "glass ceiling" has been noted in a number of studies.[8] On the other hand, other researchers find that some U.S.-born Asian groups may not suffer from a glass ceiling.[9] Marlene Kim's entry on the glass ceiling further explores this issue of occupational discrimination for managerial jobs in her entry, "Asian Americans and the Glass Ceiling in the United States."

ASIAN AMERICAN SELF-EMPLOYMENT AND SMALL BUSINESSES

Self-employment continues to be an important issue for Asian Americans. Self-employment is often cited as a means of economic advancement as well as a means to escape discrimination in the job market.[10] There is evidence that self-employment does bring financial benefits. Annual earnings of self-employed Chinese, Japanese, and Filipinos in 1990 were greater than the average Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino wage and salary earnings.[11]

However, self-employment may also be part of the problem for low-income Asian Americans. Researchers have noted that Asian immigrants with moderate education levels and limited English skills may be pushed into self-employment.[12] These "disadvantaged" self-employed in the retailing and service industries have high rates of business failure, low revenues, and very low rates of return on their labor and capital. Before tax profits for Korean and Chinese immigrant firms in 1987 averaged only $17,397, and profit calculated on a per hour basis for self-employed Asian Indian and Filipino immigrants was $5.39.

In addition, Asian ethnic businesses, such as restaurants and garment factories, are often criticized for their low pay, health and safety violations, and lack of adherence to labor laws. Asian American owners are seen as unfairly exploiting disadvantaged workers who have limited English skills, poor knowledge of U.S. laws, and limited opportunities. Kim Geron's entry discusses unionization efforts for these disadvantaged workers.

IMMIGRATION AND GLOBALIZATION ISSUES

Labor market issues are frequently associated with immigration. Immigration policy often examines the costs of immigration by its effects on native-born workers in the labor market and immigrant use of social welfare. In general, the impact of immigrants on the native-born and their social welfare "burden" appears to be small. The essay on the impact of Asian immigration on native-born workers discusses the employment and earnings impact of Asian immigration on U.S. workers and the use of social welfare by immigrants.

US immigration law and policy has increasingly moved toward a preference based on job skills that will help the U.S. economy and away from its former emphasis on family reunification. The change is most evident in the expansion of H-1B visas, which has led to a large increase in well-educated Asians coming to the United States. This change has contributed to a large influx of highly skilled workers from India, Taiwan, and China. This has led to a rapid change in Asian American communities, politics, employment, and businesses. The entry, "U.S. Immigration and Silicon Valley: Hi-Tech H-1B Workers' Right to Work in America" details the issues regarding the large number of H-1B workers in California's Silicon Valley.

Finally, immigration operates as part of the larger globalization process affecting Asian Americans. Globalization, a process of growing economic linkages among countries, affects Asians in a number of ways. The provision of H-1B visas is frequently described as a "reverse brain drain," taking human capital from developing Asian countries. This would theoretically slow development in these countries by reducing the number of technically trained workers, professionals, and managers in Asian countries. This may cause political differences between the United States and Asian countries, as well as resentment within the United States for these workers.[13] On the other hand, the rapid development of China and India in recent years may actually make it more difficult for the United States to recruit these workers, thus slowing down U.S. development in high-tech industries and reversing this "brain drain."

At the other end of the economic spectrum, globalization has led to a decline in the number of jobs for low-income Asian American workers, particularly garment workers.[14] The loss of jobs to offshore production puts low-income workers at even greater disadvantage. Most of these workers are limited English speakers with few opportunities to find alternative employment. Advocates for these workers have stressed the need for extending welfare, job training programs, and job development programs for these workers.

HOMEOWNERSHIP

Although Asian American households have incomes close to non-Hispanic white household incomes, homeownership among Asian American households lags significantly behind. Low rates of homeownership among Asian Americans signal the persistence of wealth differences between Asian Americans and non-Hispanic whites. In Michael Chan's entry, "Housing and Asian Americans," he cites the U.S. Census 2007 Housing Vacancies Survey that finds that the homeownership rate for Asian Americans was only 60.0 percent compared to 72.0 percent for whites. Census data from 2000 finds that homeownership rates differ substantially among Asian American groups. Southeast Asian, Korean, Vietnamese, and Asian Indians had the lowest rates of home ownership. The rates of home ownership were 47.2 percent for Cambodians, Hmongs, and Laotians, 49.9 percent for the Koreans, and 47.5 percent for Asian Indians. Chinese, Japanese, and Filipinos also had lower rates, with homeownership rates of 59.8%, 63.7%, and 61.8%, respectively. By comparison, the rate of homeownership among non-Hispanic whites was 72.4 percent in 1999.[15]

EMERGING ECONOMIC ISSUES

The dramatic changes in the U.S. economy in recent years suggest new issues that will affect Asian Americans in the near future:

1. Increasing inequality. Economists have noted the rapid increase in income inequality since the early 1970s. After adjusting for inflation, the top 10 percent of households earned $152,000 in 2002 compared with only $105,000 in 1972. Among very high-income households, the increase has been even more dramatic. The top one-tenth of a percent earned $464,000 in 1972 compared with $1,657,000 in 2002.[16] Various reasons are cited for this increase in income inequality: technological change, increasing impact of international trade, the decline of unions, stagnant minimum wages, and sectoral industrial shifts.

The increase in inequality affects Asian American households in a number of ways. Increasing economic inequality has historically been associated with increasing racial discrimination in the United States.[17] As inequality continues to increase, public policy is likely to respond in terms of developing educational, poverty, and welfare programs that will affect low income Asian Americans. Finally, increasing inequality is likely to create political, economic, and social fissures among Asian Americans themselves.

2. Changes in immigration laws. There is substantial debate about immigration laws. Higher unemployment and economic problems have put increasing pressure on policy makers to tighten restrictions on both documented and undocumented immigrant workers. Enforcement of laws against the hiring of undocumented immigrant workers has already begun. Immigration laws may become increasingly based on economic skill preferences as opposed to family unification. These two trends will tend to polarize Asian immigrant workers into a high-skill, high-income class and a low-skill, undocumented class.

3. Emergence of second generation groups of East Asians, Koreans, Southeast Asians, and Chinese. The large influx of immigrants from India, China, South Korea, and Southeast Asia in the last two decades has already redefined the economic issues facing Asian Americans. The children of these recent immigrants are coming of age and are now entering a U.S. labor market distinctly different from previous second-generation Asian Americans. The labor market is much more competitive, much more service-oriented, has a wide dispersion in earnings, and is more sensitive to world economic conditions. Previous research finds that second-generation U.S. immigrants have usually fared better in the labor market than other U.S.-born immigrants.[18] There is debate, however, whether the second generation of these new immigrants will do as well.[19]

4. Rapid development and increasing political power of Asian countries, particularly China, India, and South Korea. The social, political, and economic outcomes of Asian Americans historically have been tied to the political and economic power of their countries of origin. Moreover, emigration is always sensitive to the labor market differentials between the originating country and the receiving country. In the last decade, the development and growth of the Chinese, India, and South Korean economies have decreased the differentials in economic outcomes for individuals considering emigration. This will lead to a lower number of immigrants from these countries. In addition, the skill and education composition of new immigrants is likely to change in response to changes in economic opportunities in both the sending and receiving countries.

Asian Americans will continue to face some persistent problems. Poverty, high unemployment rates, low-income jobs, and low self-employment earnings will continue to affect immigrant Asian American populations. Discrimination in managerial professions means that affirmative action programs may still be important for specific occupational categories for Asian Americans. Self-employment rates among Asian Americans have been declining and are now below that of non-Hispanic whites. Public policies, such as minority set asides and better access to credit, are often suggested to mitigate this downward trend. Globalization continues to bring changes to Asian Americans in terms of employment, communities, and politics. Job training programs to assist low-income workers affected by globalization and expansion of unemployment benefits to these workers are ways to address the employment issues. Finally, Asian American homeownership rates are lower than rates for non-Hispanic whites. Credit issues may be part of the problem for Asian Americans in terms of home-ownership. The recent housing market crisis may exacerbate problems of home ownership among Asian Americans, if credit markets do discriminate against Asian Americans.

Given the scope of economic problems affecting Asian Americans, much of the remediation for these problems must come from governmental policies. For example, immigration issues and globalization issues must be handled with federal policy. Many of the other economic issues, such as poverty, unemployment, skills training, and housing, are also addressed at the governmental level, although community development groups such as Asian Americans for Equal-

ity in New York City, Asian Neighborhood Design in San Francisco, and the Little Tokyo Service Center in Los Angeles seek community-based solutions to the these problems.

NOTES

1. U.S. Census, *Income, Poverty, and Health Insurance Coverage in the United States: 2007,* Washington DC: USGPO, 2008, http://www.census.gov/prod/2008pubs/p60-235.pdf, 1–84.

2. U.S. Census, *Income, Poverty, and Health Insurance Coverage in the United States: 2007.*

3. Jeffrey Zax and John F. Kai, "Moving to the Suburbs: Do Relocating Companies Leave their Black Employees Behind?" *Journal of Labor Economics* 14 (1996): 472–504.

4. U.S. Census. *Income, Poverty, and Health Insurance Coverage in the United States: 2007.*

5. U.S. Census. *Income, Poverty, and Health Insurance Coverage in the United States: 2007.*

6. Terrance J. Reeves and Claudette E. Bennett, "*We the People: Asians in the United States*. *Census 2000 Special Reports,"* U.S. Census, Washington DC: USGPO, 2004.

7. Marlene Kim and Don Mar, "The Economic Status of Asian Americans," in *Race and Economic Opportunity in the 21st Century,* ed. by Marlene Kim (London and New York: Routledge, 2007).

8. Harriet Duleep and Seth Sanders, "An Exploratory Analysis of Discrimination at the Top: American-born Asian and White Men," *Industrial Relations* 31, no. 4 (1992): 416–432; Joyce Tang, "The Glass Ceiling in Science and Engineering," *Journal of Socio-Economics* 26, no. 4 (1997): 383–406; Deborah Woo, *Glass Ceilings and Asian Americans: The New Face of Workplace Barriers* (Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2000).

9. Arthur Sakamoto, Hyeyoung Woo and Keng-Loong Yap, "Are Native-Born Asian Americans Less Likely to be Managers? Further Evidence on the Glass-Ceiling Hypothesis," *AAPI Nexus: Asian Americans & Pacific Islanders, Policy, Practice & Community* 4 (2006): 13–37.

10. Robert Fairlie and Bruce Meyer, "Ethnic and Racial Self-Employment Differences and Possible Explanations," *Journal of Human Resources* 31, no. 4 (1996): 757–793; Ivan Light and Edna Bonacich, *Immigrant Entrepreneurs: Koreans in Los Angeles, 1965–1982* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1988); Roger D. Waldinger, *Through the Eye of the Needle: Immigrants and Enterprise in New York's Garment Trades.* (New York, NYU Press, 1986); Edna Bonacich, "A Theory of Middleman Minorities," *American Sociological Review* 38, no. 5 (1973): 583–594; Ivan Light and C. Rosenstein, "Expanding the Interaction Theory of Entrepreneurship," in *The Economic Sociology of Immigration: Essays on Networks, Ethnicity, and Entrepreneurship,* ed. by Alejandro Portes (New York, Russell Sage, 1995): 166–212; Marilyn Fernandez and Kwang Chung Kim, "Self Employment Rates of Asian Immigrant Groups: An Analysis of Intragroup and Intergroup Differences," *International Migration Review* 32, no. 3 (1997): 654–681.

11. Don Mar, "Asian Americans in the Labor Market: Public Policy Issues," *AAPI Nexus* 3, no. 2 (Los Angeles: UCLA Asian American Studies Center, 2005): 39–58.

12. Timothy Bates, *Race, Self-Employment & Upward Mobility: An Illusive American Dream* (Washington DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1997); Paul Ong and Evelyn

Blumenberg, “Welfare and Work amongst Southeast Asians,” in *Economic Diversity, Issues and Policies*, ed. Paul Ong (Los Angeles: LEAP Press and UCLA Asian American Studies Center, 1994).

13. Sheridan Tatsuno, “High Technology Policies,” *The State of Asian Pacific America: Economic Diversity, Issues and Policies,* ed. Paul Ong (LEAP Asian Pacific American Public Policy Institute and UCLA Asian American Studies Center, Los Angeles, 1994).

14. Karin Mak and Grace Meng, “Workforce Development: Its Potential and Limitations for Chinese Garment Workers,” *AAPI Nexus, Special Focus on Employment* 3, no. 2 (Los Angeles: UCLA Asian American Studies Center, 2005): 16–38.

15. Mar, “Asian Americans in the Labor Market: Public Policy Issues,” 39–58.

16. Kevin Lang, *Poverty and Discrimination* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007).

17. Michael Reich, *Racial Inequality: A Political-Economic Analysis* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1981).

18. James Long, “The Effect of Americanization on Earnings: Some Evidence for Women,” *Journal of Political Economy* 88, no. 3 (1980): 621–629; Barry Chiswick, “An Analysis of the Earnings and Employment of Asian American Men,” *Journal of Labor Economics* 1, no. 2 (1983): 197–212.

19. Roger Waldinger and Cynthia Feliciano, “Will the Second Generation Experience ‘Downward Assimilation’? Segmented Assimilation Reassessed,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 27, no. 3 (2004): 376–402.

ACCENT DISCRIMINATION

Daniel Phil Gonzales

Accent discrimination occurs when negative attitudes toward or prejudice against certain accents evolves into acting in ways that harm—in social, educational or employment settings—people who speak with an accent. Accent discrimination is closely related to other communication issues such as English fluency tests and English-only requirements.

Under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act, Section 703(h) (1964), it is "an unlawful employment practice to give and to act upon the results of any professionally developed ability test that is designed, intended or used to discriminate because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin."[1] Because people who speak with accents are immigrants to the United States, as language minorities they are also cultural minorities whose rights to fair treatment lie within the national origin protections of Title VII.

Generally, accented speech is a characteristic pronunciation that reflects the cultural, regional, or social background of the speaker. In a nation experiencing cultural change fueled by continuing immigration from Asia, Latin America, Europe, and Africa, there are a multitude of accents present in the United States, particularly in the urban environments. Immigrant accents are determined by the manner of pronunciation of vowels and consonants in the speaker's native language. These aspects of a primary language affect the speaker's pronunciation of words in other languages. Many immigrants experience problems beyond the immediate difficulty of effective communication and comprehension—negative reactions ranging from mild ridicule to anger and hostility, even violence.

ACCENTS AND PREJUDICE

Accents continue to be substantial impediments in educational, employment, and social environments for a large segment of the American population. Linguistics experts confirm that in American society, it is socially acceptable practice to criticize nonstandard spoken English, even when the degree of accent may be mild and completely understandable by any and all native listeners. Intolerance and expressions of condemnation concerning accents is standard behavior in the United States.[2]

Call center workers who render information and limited service—personal computer support, for example—report that callers frequently complain about the workers' Indian or Filipino accents, even when the caller understands the detailed and often lengthy directions given by the call center worker. Call center workers are made aware that their accents can provoke negative reactions during their training. People often associate accents with relative levels of intelligence. Academic studies have found clear evidence that accents make a difference to employers in hiring situations.[3] The employers' impressions were often based on how the speaker sounded and overall impressions are often made: positive or negative, whether the speaker seems educated or not, intelligent or not so intelligent, energetic or lazy, uptight or laid back, self-confident or reserved, and assertive or docile.[4]

Ridiculing an accent is often associated with disrespectful or other negative behavior toward a person who is identified as an outsider—someone who is perceived as a stranger, not belonging in the social location of the critic; someone who is unwelcome; or someone who is seen as the opposite of the positive characteristics and values of those engaging in ridicule. When an established population identifies newcomers in any negative way, the newcomers' primary language and related accents when speaking English are associated with the preliminary negativity.

Asians and Latinos have arrived to the United States in high numbers over the past four decades. Both are generally perceived as invading populations who compete successfully for employment, housing, and other resources against the "native" populations. They also bring cultural contrast in primary language, food, clothing, and mannerisms. These noticeable differences from the preexisting cultural setting often provoke strong reactions from those who feel threatened by the new arrivals' presence. Critics often may be motivated by nationalism, cultural pride, ethnic prejudice, racism, or a simple attitude of superiority. Heavier or thicker accents, particularly those that are generally identified as "foreign," are more problematic and bring more serious negative reactions. Many immigrants have reported that their negative accent-related experiences reflect prior existing prejudices and underlying cultural and political biases against them.[5]

Many academics who have researched and written on the subject of language and accent discrimination agree that this particular form of cultural bias has negative consequences for many Asian Americans. Some studies present data

that indicate that in American society there exists a specific and focused revulsion among non-Asian Americans to Asian accents.[6]

At the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission Meeting in 2008, accent-related circumstances of Chinese American employees were presented.[7] More than 13 percent of working Chinese Americans responding to a survey reported experiencing negative and unfair treatment because of language issues or accent. This survey included both people who spoke English with and without accent. Asian accents were clearly thought to be "low status" accents that validated the positioning of Asian immigrants in subordinate roles. Legal advocates in the Asian American community have suggested that in frequent occasions of workplace interface between dominant and nondominant speakers of English, the accent or accents identified as foreign or low-status can be a source of subordination—particularly for Asian immigrants.[8] Most of the court decisions involving accent discrimination are the result of complaints by employees of Asian and Latino descent. There is history in all societies of criticism, exclusion, and persecution of people who speak in ways that the cultural majority condemns as undesirable. Legal protection against unfair treatment because of accents, however, has only recently developed in the United States.

LAW AND POLICY ADDRESSING ACCENT AND LANGUAGE DISCRIMINATION

Certain actions based on language and accent are specifically defined as illegal under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act as forms of national origin discrimination. National origin discrimination is defined as "the denial of equal employment opportunity, because of an individual's—or his or her ancestors'—place of origin; or because an individual has the physical, cultural or linguistic characteristics of a national origin group." Federal courts have recognized that accent and national origin are "obviously inextricably intertwined," therefore requiring a "very searching look" at employment decisions based on accent.

The *Carino* case (1984) is one of the leading decisions that has served as foundation for the development of judicial criteria regarding alleged violations of plaintiffs' civil rights associated with national origin.[9] The U.S. Court of Appeals found that Mr. Carino's Filipino accent would not interfere with the performance of communication activity and other duties required of a supervisor. On appeal, the trial court decision in favor of the plaintiff was upheld against the University of Oklahoma because as an immigrant and racial minority who might be subject to unlawful discrimination, the plaintiff was a member of a "protected class"; the plaintiff must have applied for the position and was qualified for it; despite being qualified, he was rejected; and after his rejection, the position remained open and the employer continued to seek similarly qualified applicants.

In sharp contrast, however, is a later suit brought by Manuel T. Fragante in 1989.[11] The immigrant plaintiff lost at trial. On appeal, the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals upheld the trial decision in favor of the defendant employer, the City

of Honolulu because the plaintiff's "pronounced Filipino accent" would be difficult for many members of the general public difficult to understand over the telephone. Despite the fact that the district court judge at trial had no difficulty understanding Fragante, the judge decided in favor of the employer. For its part, the *Fragante* appellate court did express an elevated concern and a degree of judicial wariness toward employers: it noted that a defendant employer might attempt to disguise between actual practice discrimination by falsely arguing that the plaintiff did not satisfy a basic communication skill requirement. In *Shieh v. Lyng* (1990),[12] the appellate court found that the plaintiff, of Chinese descent, was lawfully demoted because his language abilities were too limited to enable him to produce the complex scientific manuscripts required by his position.

The Fragante standard—whether an employee's accent interferes with his or her job performance—has been followed by the courts to the present in spite of strong criticism that it is too imprecise and therefore unfair to accented plaintiffs. Critics of the Fragante standard argue that the courts have not given proper attention to the subjectivity of the hearer, shaped by the hearer's personal experience, as a major factor in the processing, understanding, and valuing of accents.[13] One suggestion is that courts use a "reasonable listener" standard.[14] This approach would look at the kinds of probable contacts in the general public and at the workplace that would be communicating with and hearing from an accented employee. How coworkers and listeners within the local community would comprehend the accent would be given substantive consideration. A reasonable listener rule would balance the judge's evaluation of the employee's accent with a community standard, but it would not cater to listener prejudice that might serve as the employer's explanation for discriminatory acts. As an appropriately objective standard, it would enable courts to more fairly assess communication-based requirements of a particular employee activity in a relevant and more complete social and cultural context.

THE CONTINUING ISSUE

With Latinos and Asians constituting the two largest groups of immigrants entering the United States since 1970, accents and language will continue to be at the core of conflict between the foreign-born and the American majority. A forceful political coalition arose under the banner "English Only!" in the 1980s, a direct outgrowth from widespread and growing anti-immigrant sentiment that had begun a decade earlier. The English Only movement was counteracting what it perceived as destructive and divisive cultural changes and social conflicts resulting from large-scale immigration of people from non-Western nations. Its major immediate goal was to make English the official and exclusive language of government at all levels: local, state, and national. The movement was particularly intent on reversing adjustments made, often under federal court orders, to the two-language, or bilingual, and multiple language, or mul-

tilingual, reality of American society. The accommodations targeted for attack were made in educational, employment, commercial, and political settings—multilingual ballots being an example of the latter. English Only! and like-minded organizations campaigned with support from both liberals and conservatives; though critics of the monolingual position depicted it as extreme, anti-democratic, ethnically and racially biased conservatism, the movement was clearly popular and mainstream in nature. The majority of thirty states and six U.S. territories adopted English-as-official-state-language statutes. Despite pressure from English Only! and similar groups, there is no official national language, although English is obviously the language-in-fact of Congress, the federal government, and the courts. Arguments favoring official English cite social division and economic costs as their major concerns, but many objective observers with no particular stake in the conflict identify racial prejudices and competition for material resources as the main motivations of anti-immigrant and anti-accent activism.

Before the success of lawsuits pressed by culture and language minorities for bilingual education policy and programs, immigrants who qualified by all applicable government standards as competent teachers from K-12 grades were routinely held to substitute teaching or teaching assistance roles from the 1940s to the 1970s. Under bilingual educational policy, qualified immigrants were able to attain full-time classroom-teaching positions denied to them in the past. As the presence of educators from language minority communities increased in American schools, so did their power to represent the needs of their communities. Similarly, civil service employment became much more open to accented first-generation immigrants, whether or not they understood that their access to those positions was because of the protections of Title VII. The Fragante case was not an isolated instance of a single Asian immigrant applying for a civil service position. Rather, the plaintiff's basic characteristics were very much like those of thousands of immigrants who have experienced entry-level success and subsequent advancement up the civil service ladder.

For those who suffer the persecution of accent and language prejudice, speech therapists, language tutors and accent erasure programs are ways of lessening or possibly eliminating the impact of condescension, ridicule, and hostility to which they have been subjected. These remedies may help mitigate future harm if they are substantially successful in their attempts to bring their spoken communication skills in line with American majority expectations; however, present and past injuries caused by accent or language discrimination in business, employment, or educational settings may require that the injured individual or group seek assistance from advisers and advocates familiar with the complex and often daunting process of understanding whether and how their rights may have been violated.

Accent discrimination thus has a number of effects on the economic outcomes of Asian American workers. One, discrimination based on accents has clearly led to the nonhiring of some Asian American workers, as illustrated in

the *Carino* decision. Two, accent discrimination is likely linked to the glass ceilings faced by Asian American workers seeking higher paying managerial and executive positions, as employers may feel that employees with accents do not represent the organization effectively or cannot communicate well with both subordinates and colleagues. Three, as accents affect job outcomes, accent erasure programs clearly add to the costs of Asian American workers compared to other workers. Finally, if it is considered an acceptable social norm in American society to openly criticize individuals with accents, then the door is open for continued economic discrimination based on ascriptive characteristics over job-related qualifications and abilities.

Since the 1980s, the matter of accents as a social and economic burden on and a liability to Asian Americans, especially first-generation immigrants, has continued to be the object of academic study and legal action. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) attorneys have brought many successful suits based on workplace unfairness, including many concerning national origin discrimination. There are regional EEOC offices throughout the nation with legal staff who have employment law expertise. Nonprofit social service and legal assistance agencies and organizations are based in Asian American communities in urban centers with substantial Asian American populations. These include the Asian Law Caucus in San Francisco, the Asian American Legal Defense Education Fund (AALDEF) in New York City, Asian Americans United (AAU) in Philadelphia, and the Asian Pacific Legal Center in Los Angeles. These centers have educated and advised many members of immigrant and ethnic communities and protected their rights as well.

FURTHER READING

Ancheta, A. N. *Race, Rights, and the Asian American experience,* 2nd ed., (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2006).

Asian American Legal Defense Fund. https://www.aaldef.org/.

Asian Law Caucus. http://www.asianlawcaucus.org/site/alc_dev/.

Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. http://www.eeoc.gov/.

NOTES

1. Civil Rights Act, Section 703(h) (1964).
2. *Carino v. University of Oklahoma Board of Regents*, U.S. Court of Appeals, 750 F.2d 815 (10th Cir. 1984).
3. Patricia Cukor-Avila and Dianne Markley, "Job Hirers Show Bias against Regional Accents, Study Suggests," inhouse@UNT, 2000, http://www.unt.edu/inhouse/august42000/accent.htm.
4. Cukor-Avila and Markley, "Job Hirers Show Bias against Regional Accents, Study Suggests."
5. Raymond Hernandez, "When an Accent Becomes an Issue; Immigrants Turn to Speech Classes to Reduce Sting of Bias," *The New York Times*, March 2, 1993.
6. S. G. Goto, G. C. Gee, & D. T. Takeuchi, "Strangers Still? The Experience of Discrimination among Chinese Americans," *Journal of Community Psychology* 30, no. 2 (2002): 211–224.

7. Sharon Goto, *Issues Facing Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders (AAPIs) in the Federal Workplace*, www.eeoc.gov/abouteeoc/meetings/7-22-08/goto.htm. Retrieved on Dec. 28, 2008, from the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission Meeting of July 22, 2008.

8. Angelo N. Ancheta, *Race, Rights, and the Asian American experience*, 2nd ed. (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2006).

9. *Carino v. University of Oklahoma Board of Regents*, U.S. Court of Appeals, 750 F.2d 815 (10th Cir. 1984).

10. *McDonnell Douglas Corp. v. Green*, 411 U.S. 792, 802, 93 S.Ct. 1817, 1824, 36 L.Ed.2d 668 (1973).

11. *Fragante v. City And County Of Honolulu*, 888 F.2d 591 (9th Cir. 1989).

12. *Shieh v. Lyng*, 897 F.2d 523 (3rd Cir. 1990).

13. Ancheta, *Race, Rights, and the Asian American Experience*.

14. Ancheta, *Race, Rights, and the Asian American Experience.*

This page intentionally left blank

GLASS CEILING

Marlene Kim

Many people believe that Asian Americans face a "glass ceiling": despite being qualified for higher management jobs, Asians find it difficult to attain them. Indeed, Asians are underrepresented in higher management jobs. Making up more than 4 percent of the workforce, they hold less than 1 percent of senior management positions.[1] Compared to white workers, fewer Asians are likely to work in management occupations. Among men ages forty and over who have college degrees, 20 percent of Asians born in the United States are managers, compared to 27 percent of U.S.-born white workers. Among the foreign-born, 17 percent of Asian men and 26 percent of white men are managers. Among college-educated women who at least forty years old, 17 percent of Asian women born in the United States, compared to 18 percent of white women, hold management jobs. Among the foreign-born, 9 percent of Asian women and 14 percent of white women are in management positions. Similar disparities are found when examining the highest management job, that of chief executive officer.[2]

The question is how much of this underrepresentation in management jobs is because of discrimination, and how much to other factors, such as differences in qualifications. Most studies that examine the existence of the glass ceiling for Asians look at Asian workers with similar characteristics (such as age and education level) as white workers. They then examine if Asians are as likely as these similar white workers to work in management jobs. The results suggest that when examining Asians as a whole, they appear to face a glass ceiling.

But the results vary by ancestry and nativity.[3] Among Asians who were born in the United States, Asian Indians, Vietnamese, and Cambodian/Hmong/Lao do not appear to face a glass ceiling. Native Hawai'ians, however, do. Studies on Filipinos, Koreans, Japanese, and Chinese Americans show mixed results,

with some studies showing evidence of a glass ceiling, but others coming up empty.

Among foreign-born Asians, research shows that Filipino, Vietnamese, and Cambodian/Hmong/Lao are less likely to be in management jobs compared with similar white workers; however, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Asian Indians do not appear to face glass ceilings.

Management jobs often include middle-level jobs, however. When examining top management positions such as chief executive officers, one finds even fewer Asian Americans. Among chief executive officers of the 500 largest companies in the United States (the Fortune 500), thirteen are women (including two Asian Americans, Andrea Jung of Avon and Indra Nooyi of PepsiCo) and fifteen are racial or ethnic minorities (three African Americans, six Latinos, and seven Asians, including the two women mentioned). The concept of the glass ceiling refers to the difficulties women and people of color may find in being promoted into these coveted jobs, and that race and gender may be a factor. Much research has documented how race and gender can prohibit workers from attaining higher-level management jobs. In the most groundbreaking research that investigated this phenomenon, it was argued that the very nature of these jobs cause exclusion by gender and, by extension, race.[4] Upper-level managers' jobs are difficult and uncertain, and it is often difficult to determine who makes a good manager. Good managers are effective and powerful; they get things done and are able to mobilize people behind them, but there is no a priori basis for the extent of a manager's power. In order to be powerful and be effective, managers need allies and people to be on their team and to work well with them. But it is difficult to know who allies might be, especially in work environments in which different factions thrive and where backstabbing is commonplace.

Given this uncertainly, managers often hire, promote, and groom those whom they feel they can trust, who will be reliable and loyal to them, and who will conform to the company's and their own goals and wishes. At one time (and still to this day) this included family members. Today, managers tend to hire people who are socially similar to themselves in terms of having attended similar schools, having the same social and economic backgrounds, originating from the same parts of the country, and having the same nationality, gender, race, and ethnicity.

Thus, people fall back on social biases in order to determine whom to trust, and the result is a preference to hire and work with socially similar people. They simply feel more comfortable hiring people and working with people who are just like themselves. In addition, being a manager means working well with people one has never met before and making important decisions with them. Because managers need to work closely together, they need to share a common language in order to understand each other accurately and rapidly. The result is pressure for upper-level managers to share common values, understandings, and experiences in order not to be misunderstood. Thus people who are socially and culturally similar are hired in order to ensure quick and accurate communication.

The result is that managers avoid hiring people who are difficult to understand and whom they feel uncomfortable to be around. Because they are

socially different, women and people of color are seen as unpredictable, harder to communicate with, and less reliable in terms of being allies with current managers; thus they are not hired. In addition, mentoring is essential for reaching a top management position, and those who have power and skill and can groom others for these jobs tend to favor grooming people who look and act like themselves for these same reasons: they simply like them better and feel more comfortable around them.

Critics, however, argue that rather than social biases working to disfavor women and people of color, preferences and lack of skill explain the dearth of diversity at the top of corporations. Because of family obligations, women do not want to travel or work eighty-hour weeks, so they elect not to follow the management track. In addition, fewer women and people of color have the requisite skills for management jobs. When they work in management jobs, few work in jobs in which one is responsible for a company's profit and loss. It is from these jobs that workers are promoted into higher management positions. Instead, women and people of color often work in human resources or as affirmative action or diversity officers, jobs that don't lead to upper management positions.[5]

In addition, some argue that women and people of color were only recently admitted in larger numbers into business schools. Once these workers prove themselves and attain the necessary skills, they will be promoted. The growing number of women and people of color as CEOs shows that skills acquisition and time will break the glass ceiling. Thus this general argument states that there are few women and minorities from which to choose, leading to low levels in management positions. With time, and when these groups acquire the requisite skills to be come managers, they will indeed move up the corporate ladder.[6]

Scholars argue that the same dynamics described above put Asians at a disadvantage. Asian workers are seen as outsiders: cultural differences, lack of mentoring, and informal networks that are not accessible to Asians limit their upward mobility. In interviews, Asian workers complain that although they are seen as capable technical workers, they are not perceived to be leaders and as higher-level managers.[7] Another study in 1997 of scientists and engineers confirmed similar findings that full-time workers in these occupations were overrepresented by Asians; however, Asians were found to be less likely than whites to work in management positions or be promoted into management jobs.[8] Given that their technical ability is unquestioned, it appears that discrimination or prejudice may be one reason why Asians are not promoted into management at the same rates as their white peers. The fact that Asians have successfully sued their employers for failing to promote them into management jobs, or for demoting them from management jobs, indicates that prejudice and discrimination may play a factor in the underrepresentation of Asian workers in management positions.

Many policy remedies have been proposed for helping workers who, because of social biases, may not be able to enter higher management positions. Strong affirmative action programs, including mentoring and training programs, are essential for this. Without such programs, workers must rely on informal

networks, which often exclude Asians. Rewarding top managers is also key. If managers are rewarded in their annual bonuses and work performance evaluations for mentoring, training, and grooming women and people of color for higher-management jobs, more would undertake these activities. This would increase the number of Asians who would have the skills to enter higher management jobs and would lead to a more diverse leadership of corporate America.

FURTHER READING

Borja, Rhea. "Breaking the Glass Ceiling: Asian American Workplace Issues," *The Washington Post*. June 25, 2004. http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A30930-2003May8.html.

Curry, Sheree R. "Fighting the Glass Ceiling: Why Asian Americans Don't have More Positions at the Top," *The Chief Executive.* Nov. 4, 2008. http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m4070/is_215/ai_n26763326.

Kwon, Yul. "An Asian Glass Ceiling," CNN Video, May 15, 2007. Cable News Network. Turner Broadcasting System, Inc. http://www.cnn.com/video//business/2007/05/15/kwon.asian.glass.ceiling.cnn.

Mervis, Jeffrey. "A Glass Ceiling for Asian Scientists?" *Science Magazine* 310 no. 5748 (October 2005): 606–607. http://www.sciencemag.org/cgi/content/full/310/5748/606.

NOTES

1. Sheree R. Curry, "Fighting the Glass Ceiling: Why Asian Americans Don't Have More Positions at the Top," *Chief Executive,* January 1, 2006.

2. Marlene Kim and Don Mar, "The Economic Status of Asian Americans," in *Economic Opportunity in the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Marlene Kim (London: Routledge, 2007).

3. Kim and Mar, "The Economic Status of Asian Americans."

4. Rosabeth Moss Kanter, *Men and Women of the Corporation* (New York: Basic Books, 1977).

5. Bell Rose Ragins, Bickley Townsend, and Mary Mattis, "Gender Gap in the Executive Suite: CEOs and Female Executives Report on Breaking the Glass Ceiling," *Academy of Management Executive* 12, no. 1 (1998): 28–42; Jaclyn Fierman, "Why Women Still Don't Hit the Top," *Fortune* 122, no. 3 (1990): 40–47.

6. Ragins, Townsend, and Mattis, "Gender Gap in the Executive Suite," 28–42; Fierman, "Why Women Still Don't Hit the Top," 40–47.

7. Paul Ong and S. Hee, "Work Issues Facing Asian Pacific Americans: Labor Policy," *The State of Asian Pacific America: A Public Policy Report: Policy Issues to the Year 2020* (Los Angeles: LEAP Press and UCLA Asian American Studies Center, 1993); Ronald Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore: A History of Asian Americans* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1989); U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1992, Civil Rights Issues Facing Asian Americans in the 1990s, (Washington, DC: USGPO, 1992); Joyce Tang, "The Glass Ceiling in Science and Engineering," *Journal of Socioeconomics* 26, no. 4 (1997): 383–406; Deborah Woo, *Glass Ceilings and Asian Americans: The New Face of Workplace Barriers* (New York: Alta Mira Press, 2000).

8. Joyce Tang, "The Glass Ceiling in Science and Engineering," *Journal of Socioeconomics* 26, no. 4 (1997): 383–406.

GLOBALIZATION

Andrew Hom

The effects of globalization have undoubtedly reached all corners of the world, but globalization is arguably one of the greatest changes affecting Asian American culture, community, and economic outcomes in the last decade. Globalization has increased the political and economic ties between Asian countries and the United States. Globalization has resulted in jobs being taken away from Asian Americans while at the same time has created new Asian American jobs. Globalization is defined by the trade, investment, and labor flows between countries that have come together to form a world economic system. Asian Americans stand in the middle of globalization, benefiting at times, but also experiencing barriers and challenges. Economists have debated the costs and benefits of globalization. In general, they argue that there is a net benefit for the United States, although there are losers as globalization proceeds. As a result, the effects of globalization on Asian Americans economically have also been mixed.

OUTSOURCING

Outsourcing has increased because of significant wage differences between developing countries with a highly educated population and technological change in communications and information transfer. An estimate of the average wage in 2003 for a software developer in India is approximately $6 an hour compared with $60 in the United States. A telephone operator in India makes less than $1 an hour compared with $12.50 for a U.S.-based telephone operator.[1]

Outsourcing is commonly defined as the process of subcontracting labor for product design or manufacturing to a third-party nation.[2] One frequently cited estimate of the *gross* job losses in the United States because of increasing

international trade is nearly 310,000 per year for the period from 1979 to 1999.[3] Economists have debated, however, the *net* employment effect of increasing trade because globalization also increases job creation through increased U.S. exports and jobs in trade-related industries.[4] For example, between 1997 and 2001, employment of U.S. residents increased by more than 1 million jobs at foreign-owned businesses in the United States.[5]

Although there is considerable debate about the degree of job losses because of globalization, there is evidence to suggest that workers displaced by globalization suffer economic losses in terms of lower re-employment rates and lower earnings after displacement.[6] Outsourcing has had an effect on Asian American employment. For example, Chinese and Southeast Asians in the United States are disproportionately represented in the low-wage manufacturing and service sectors, which are the two of the primary sectors affected by globalization. Outsourcing has affected Asian American low-wage workers by the closing of factories in low-wage garment manufacturing and semiconductor assembly in cities with a high proportion of Asian Americans, such as New York, Los Angeles, and the San Francisco Bay area. One study estimates that more than a half-million apparel and textile jobs have been lost in the United States since 1994. In San Francisco, this amounts to a two-thirds decrease in apparel and textile jobs.[7]

Low-wage manufacturing jobs are not the only occupations that are affected. Many high-end American jobs are continually being outsourced to the Philippines, China, and India. For the past five years, India has become a hotspot for major U.S. and European pharmaceutical firms to relocate their clinical trial operations. India, like other Asian nations, is attractive for many reasons. These favorable conditions include "looser regulatory requirements, larger populations of native people, in addition to the costs associated in hiring qualified doctors, nurses, technicians and researchers are much lower when compared to the U.S."[8] Traditionally, manufacturing, such as those in the garment and textile sectors, have been outsourced, but new evidence shows that once-protected "high-end" jobs are being outsourced, including tax-filing preparations, medical diagnoses, legal work, and financial portfolio analysis.[9]

Finally, outsourcing has affected many high-paying white-collar workers, particularly in the high-tech companies. One study finds that as much as 15 million white-collar workers could potentially be displaced by offshoring.[10] Nonacademic, private-sector studies have estimated that between 100,000 and 500,000 information technology jobs could be lost by the end of the decade.[11] As a large proportion of Asian Americans are employed in information technology jobs, continued offshoring of these jobs will have an adverse effect on their earnings and employment.

BUSINESS STARTUPS

There is no doubt that globalization has created a "transpacific highway," which has facilitated the transfer of economic resources such as land, labor, capital, and ideas between the United States and Asia. Start-up companies,

especially those in Silicon Valley, are the most direct beneficiaries of the global exchange of people and technology. One study finds that almost 30 percent of Silicon Valley's start-ups between 1995 and 1998 were founded by Chinese and Indian immigrants.[12] The rise of these Asian startups has helped the United States maintain its comparative advantage as a nation. For example, research finds that for every 1 percent increase in first-generation Asian-Pacific immigrants in California, exports from California go up by almost 0.5 percent.[13] In 1998, it is estimated that one in four of Silicon Valley's high tech firms had a Chinese or Indian executive, accounting for 17 percent of all high tech sales ($16.8 billion) and 14 percent of total high-tech employment (58,282 jobs).[14]

The list of firms and those individuals who found these firms include Yahoo! Inc.'s Jerry Yang, who is arguably one of the most quintessential successful Asian American entrepreneurs; however, there are several other well-known Asian entrepreneurial founders: Suhas Patil (Cirrus Logic Corp.), K. B. Chandrashekar (Exodus Communications); Vinod Khosla (Sun Microsystems); David Lam (Lam Research Corp.); Winston Chen (Solectron Corp.); and Frank Lin (Trident Microsystems). This is just a sample of a much larger population of Silicon Valley firms started by Asian American entrepreneurs.

In the past two decades, entrepreneurs from Asia have brought to Silicon Valley innovation, enterprise, and wealth production for California and the nation. Asian Indian American entrepreneurs have given birth to new business ventures, which have ultimately been sold off to much larger corporations. The sales of such high-tech start-up firms have generated a significant amount of wealth. For example, Cascade, founded by Desh Deshpande, is a firm that specialized in designing and manufacturing high-density carrier-packet switches, and it was acquired by Ascend Communications for $3.7 billion; Cobalt Networks, founded by Vivek Mehra, is a maker of low-cost Linux-based servers and easy-to-use server appliances that was acquired by Sun Microsystems for $2 billion. One of the more impressive examples is perhaps Rajvir Singh, who founded four start-up firms that were ultimately sold to Cisco Systems, Broadcom, and Redback for a grand total of $11.8 billion.[15]

This increase in wealth has affected philanthropy. Winston Chen's Solectron Corp. has been a good corporate citizen. This firm has forged partnerships with such groups as the American Heart Association, America's Second Harvest Food Bank, and Habitat for Humanity. The firms' annual contributions to these national organizations not only serve the Asian American community but the larger community as well. Success builds upon itself. Many of these aforementioned individuals, such as Jerry Yang, have spent their time and financial resources on developing and investing capital into new commercial enterprises. This has given rise to a new generation of Asian American entrepreneurs in Silicon Valley. Venture capital groups and angel investors have placed huge amounts of capital into the next big thing. While many new fledgling ideas will end up not working out, a few will survive to potentially become the next industry killer. Despite the high rate of business failures, the social network formed by Silicon Valley Asian American entrepreneurs and other professionals continues to serve members of

the Asian American community, as well as the larger community. Vinod Kholsa, founder of Sun Microsystems, started Kholsa Ventures, a venture capital firm focused on "business building." This firm provides a comprehensive service for new start-up firms. Kholsa Ventures assists with team building, investment capital and product development. This venture capital firm provides strategic advice and capital to start-up companies that specialize in technologies geared for the Internet, computing and mobile devices, and environmentally friendly technologies. In an interview conducted by *BusinessWeek*, Khosla stated that while he spends most of his time making investment decisions in new business ventures, he indicated that his "aim for maximum social impact rather than maximum profit" was his driving force for Khosla Ventures.[16] He acknowledged that many investors are too fearful to place investment capital in highly experimental and unproven products or markets. For Khosla, much of the money provided by his firm is from his own personal account.[17]

The growth of these extensive Asian business networks has significant impact on the economic outcomes of Asian Americans. One, the networks provide Asians with access to business capital that may have been denied Asian entrepreneurs in traditional U.S. capital markets because of discrimination. For example, one study suggests that funding by traditional venture capital sources has been tied to a requirement that non-Asian senior executives by hired.[18] Two, the establishment of these networks may help to remove any "glass ceiling" for Asian American managers and executives. Three, Asian entrepreneurs frequently move back and forth between the United States and Asia, expanding the networks and giving Asian Americans even greater access to jobs, capital, and intellectual capital. Finally, the transnational nature of these networks has increased the economic and political ties between Asia and the United States. This should ultimately benefit Asian Americans, as the strength of the relationship between the United States and Asian countries has traditionally had an impact on how Asians have been treated in the United States.

Globalization has affected Asian Americans on many levels. Jobs have been created *and* destroyed. On one hand, the globalization has helped to create many Asian-initiated start-ups, which have changed the face of Asian American businesses and created wealth that may spread throughout the Asian American community. On the other hand, the impact of job displacement as a result of globalization adds to the problems of poverty and unemployment for both low-wage workers and high-wage workers. Studies show that workers displaced by globalization have problems restoring their employment and earnings after losing their jobs. Expansion of governmental policy, such as the federal Trade Adjustment Assistance Program, may be necessary to help workers transition to new jobs with extended unemployment benefits and job training.

FURTHER READING

Saxenian, AnnaLee. *The New Argonauts: Regional Advantage in a Global Economy,* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007).

U.S. General Accounting Office, "Offshoring of Services: An Overview of the Issues, 2005," http://www.gao.gov/new.items/d065.pdf.

Wong, Bernard P. *The Chinese in Silicon Valley: Globalization, Social Networks, and Ethnic Identity*. (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005).

NOTES

1. Ashok Deo Bardhan and Cynthia Kroll, "The New Wave of Outsourcing, Fisher Center for Real Estate and Urban Economics," *Fisher Center Research Reports*: Report #1103. http://repositories.cdlib.org/iber/fcreue/reports/1103; McKinsey Global Institute, "Offshoring: Is It a Win-Win Game?" *McKinsey & Company* (August 2003).

2. Definition of outsourcing, accessed Nov. 21, 2008, www.wikipedia.org.

3. Lori Kletzer, *Job Loss from Imports: Measuring the Costs* (Washington, DC: Institute for International Economics, 2001).

4. Remarks by Chairman of the Federal Reserve Ben S. Bernanke, accessed Jan. 9, 2008, at http://www.federalreserve.gov/boarddocs/speeches/2004/20040330/default.htm.

5. Remarks by Bernanke.

6. Henry Farber, "Job Loss in the United States, 1981–2001," Industrial Relations Section, working paper no. 471, Firestone Library, Princeton University, January 2003; Kletzer, *Job Loss from Imports.*

7. "Free Trade's Threat to California's Garment Workers," sweatshopWATCH, 2004, http://digitalcommons.ilr.cornell.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1001&context=globaldocs.

8. Leslie A. Platt, Jason Schwartz, Reza Zarghamee, and Vladimir Chechik, "Insider Analysis: Can Outsourced Clinical Trials Also Be The Best? The Potential to Harmonize Best Practices in China, India and Globally" (Part 1 of 2) Nov. 12, 2007. Oct. 3, 2008. http://fdcalerts.typepad.com/asia/2007/11/insider-analy-1.html.

9. John Boudreau, "More High-End American Jobs Being Outsourced to India," *The Mercury News,* Oct. 16, 2008, http://www.mercurynews.com/ci_10736776?source=email, accessed on 08 Nov 2008.

10. Cynthia Kroll, "State and Metropolitan Area Impacts of the Offshore Outsourcing of Business Services and IT," Fisher Center Working Paper 293 (Berkeley: University of California, Berkeley: Fisher Center for Real Estate & Urban Economics, 2005).

11. U.S. General Accounting Office, "Offshoring of Services: An Overview of the Issues, 2005," http://www.gao.gov/new.items/d065.pdf.

12. AnnaLee Saxenian, *Silicon Valley's New Immigrant Entrepreneurs* (San Francisco: California Public Policy Institute, 1999).

13. Ashok Deo Bardhan and David K. Howe, "Transnational Social Networks and Globalization: The Geography of California's Exports," Working Paper No. 98-262 (Berkeley: Fisher Center for Real Estate and Urban Economics, University of California at Berkeley, February 1998).

14. Saxenian, *New Immigrant Entrepreneurs*.

15. "Wealth Creation by Indians in USA," Delhi College of Engineering, Jan 12, 2001. http://www.dcealumni.net/nostalgia/indiansatusa.html, accessed on Nov. 11, 2008.

16. Justin Hibbard. "Catching Up with Vinod Khosla," *BusinessWeek Online*, May 31, 2005. http://businessweek.com/the_thread/dealflow/archives/2005/05/catching_ up_wit.html, accessed on Nov. 2008.

17. Saxenian, *New Immigrant Entrepreneurs*.

This page intentionally left blank

H-1B VISAS

Jayanti Mallick

Immigrants who come to the United States on an H-1B visa are highly skilled and educated in their profession. Half of the immigrants on an H-1B visa are working in computer-related industries, a tenth work in industries related to architecture or engineering, another tenth are in education-related professions and 6 percent are medical professionals.[1] More than 42 percent of immigrants who arrive in the United States on a H-1B have a bachelor's degree, almost 40 percent have a master's degree, and 12 percent have a professional certificate or a diploma. Thus, a large number of them are highly educated.[2]

Almost half of all H-1B workers came from India, followed by China, Canada, Korea, Japan, the United Kingdom. and the Philippines. Almost all Indians who arrive on an H-1B visa work in information technology–related jobs such as computers and engineering.[3] Compared to U.S. citizens, the H-1B workers have a higher level of education. Approximately 45 percent of them hold a specialized bachelor's degree in contrast to 18 percent of U.S. citizens; 37 percent have a master's degree compared with 6 percent of U.S.-born.[4]

SKILLED WORKERS AND IMMIGRATION LAW

The Immigration and Nationality Act 1952 was the primary effort made to reform immigration policy and select immigrants on the basis of higher education and professional skills. The H-1B program was modified in 1998. The American Competitiveness and Workforce Improvement Act (ACWIA) increased the number of H-1B visas available from 65,000 a year to 115,000 in FY99 and FY00, and to 107,500 in FY01. A year later, the number was raised to 140,000 and then to 195,000 for the next three years till 2003. It

raised the ceiling on legal immigration by 40 percent. This act was considered necessary for the growth and development of American businesses. H-1B visas were created to fill the shortage of skilled workers in the growing technical and electronic fields. It also altered the laws that have made it easier for white-collar immigrant workers to change jobs. Some other law changes that affect the H-1B workers extended H-1B status past six years; previously, they had to return to their native countries after six years. It also allowed the workers to move from one job to another within the same H-1B status, thus reducing paperwork for employers of H-1B workers in case of mergers and acquisitions.[5]

Similarly, another nonimmigrant visa, L-1, is available to the employees of those companies that have offices in both the United States and the native country of the employee. This visa allows skilled workers to relocate to a business' U.S. office after having worked for the company for at least one year prior to being granted L-1 status. Spouses of L-1 visa holders are allowed to work, without restriction, in the United States. There is no annual cap for this visa. Thus, employers often hire foreign workers on H-1B and L-1 work visas.[6]

Building Ethnic Communities on American Lands

The reasons for skilled workers migrating to America have been technological modernization in the United States and a shortage of experienced workers who could support this development. This led the way for skilled migration from Asia.[7] The various reasons for Indians to come to the United States all fall in the wide category of economics and capital. The structuring of international capitalism helped in the frequent disposition of capital and labor, and migration to the Western hemisphere. Transnationalism has also caused the recent shift in Indian migration patterns. It has been estimated that one-third of the engineering workforce in most of the technology firms and emerging entrepreneurs are Asians.[8] Indian workers are in a vulnerable position because they think that they are the bread winner, which is a defining factor of their identity.[9]

This economic urgency of the skilled workers from developing countries makes them vulnerable to the traps of the "body shops," which are consulting companies that send their employees to work for a third party for short periods of time. This leads to the exploitation of the nonimmigrant workers.[10] Yet due in part to the labor of skilled Indian workers, the United States software industry has experienced dramatic growth and earnings.[11]

Living in America But Not an American

Emigration of skilled workers from developing countries has soared since the 1970s. Immigrants are attracted by the high wages, better career opportunities, and higher living standard. Post 1965, immigrants have been predominantly highly educated, have belonged to urban areas and have been family men

with high income. By the late 1980s and the early 1990s, such immigrants were 48 percent of all the legal entries.[12] From 1971–1990, nearly 9 million immigrants entered from Asian and Latin American countries.[13] This high influx of immigrants has brought a dramatic change in the ethnic composition of the nation. And this brings about the whole new debate on who has the right to live in America and who does not. Level of skill and income fails to erase the sociocultural differences, and racial and ethnic hierarchies in terms of living within the American society.[14]

Discrimination within professions is not uncommon, particularly those employed by "body shops." These workers are vulnerable to exploitation by their employers. In the hope of improving their economic situation, these workers are exposed to unfair and unequal economic conditions. The wages are much lower than the normal standard, living quarters are cramped, and nonimmigrant workers are expected to put long working hours.[15] Discrimination can be explained as low pay for given productivity.[16] Thus, H-1B workers from the developing countries are discriminated against because of their nonimmigrant status. They are seen as cheap labor that can be exploited.

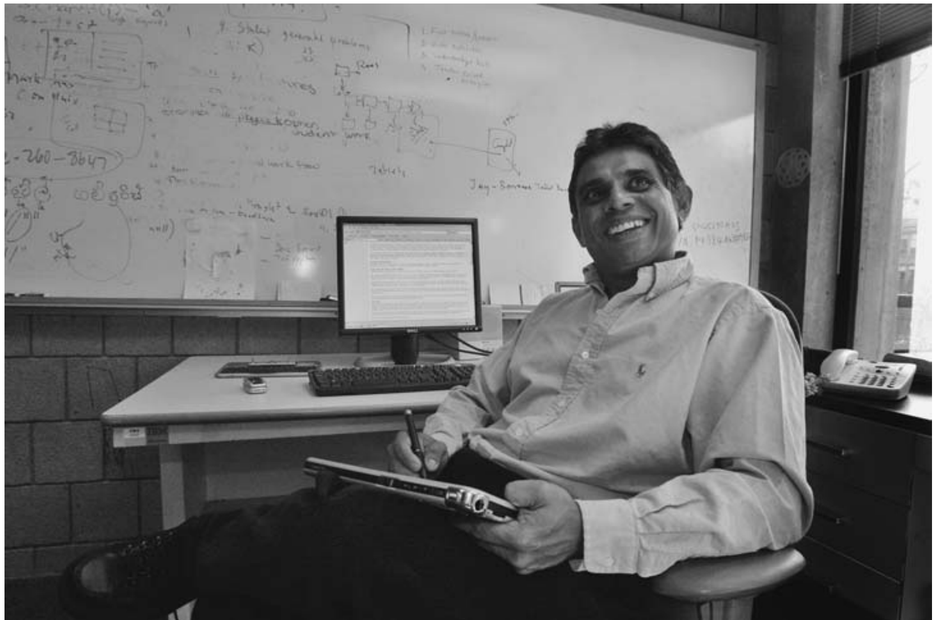
Consequently, opponents argue that Indian high-tech H-1B workers are underqualified, willing to work for lower wages, and are susceptible to exploitation because of their nonimmigrant status. The arguments put forward are "nationalist in spirits, pitting the right of the American citizens against the contamination of the very meaning of 'white collar work' by third world workers."[17] Immigrants have limited opportunities to become a part of a union, which makes them vulnerable to many kinds of frauds. Often the local unions do not like the immigrants and view them as second-class members. They are seen as potential threats for the American workers.[18] The most marginalized workers, racially and economically, are those dependent on the "body shops" because of their inability to shift jobs, which are based on their job skills, social contacts, and economic conditions. The nonimmigrant workers are also left stranded when they are asked to leave jobs and have a small time period provided to leave the country.[19] The feeling of insecurity and inferiority adds to the second-class treatment that is meted to some of the workers because of their language and cultural disadvantages.[20]

Many Americans believe that the nonimmigrant workers are taking away jobs from the native-born. But, surveys have found that there is a positive and statistically significant connection between H-1B workers who are hired and the percent change in total employment. Research shows that for every H-1B position, U.S. companies increase their workforce by five additional employees. Thus it has been seen that the H-1B workers in fact complement the American workforce instead of substituting for native workers. Further the research by the National Foundation of American Policy also found that companies stop hiring H-1B workers during hard economic times, thus dismissing the recurrent assertion that H-1Bs are hired as cheap labor. As a response to the lack of H-1B visas, technology companies move their work overseas.[21]

OUTLOOK

Silicon Valley would not have been the hub of global technology industry without the brains and efforts of the immigrants who also help in the development of trade and investments across the Pacific and around the world. And, instead of snatching jobs away from the American workers, immigrants have created more jobs and built a whole new industry. Seshan Rammohan, a noted member of the TiE (The Indus Entrepreneurs) chapter, Silicon Valley, declares that it was a TiE member who wrote a check that got Google started.[22] More than a quarter of Silicon Valley's highly skilled workers are immigrants from China, Taiwan, India, the United Kingdom, Iran, Vietnam, the Philippines, Canada, and Israel.[23] H-1B workers also boost the consumer market and create demand, thus building jobs in other consumer sectors. This in turn helps the economy by creating more jobs.[24]

It is possible for immigrants to work alongside Americans. Researchers state that some alternative solutions are needed to help those immigrants who are susceptible to companies that take advantage of the vulnerable skilled immigrants. Policy experts suggest that commissions need to be established for racial equality for immigrants and equal opportunity that would focus on the wages of the immigrants and help them recognize their rights. Immigrants must be



Sri Lankan native Ananda Gunawardena, an associate professor of computer science at Carnegie Mellon University, is shown in his office on campus in Pittsburgh, 2006. Drawn here by Pittsburgh's thriving universities and high-tech and medical sectors, a still small but growing number of Asian immigrants are helping to revitalize the economy and change the face of this city as its majority white population has been aging and shrinking. (AP Photo/Gene J. Puskar)

able to form a union so they are able to be more organized and prepared for the help and support that they need from their employers.[25] Consequently the older engineers and entrepreneurs have formed organizations and cross-generational forums, in both the Chinese and the Indian communities, which help in sponsorship and act as mentors for the younger co-ethnic entrepreneurs.[26]

Labor advocates have suggested that employers must go an employment ability test to minimize fraudulent cases. Employers need to become aware of all the regulations and pitfalls and make certain a proper approach is taken regarding wages equality, time constraints, and compliance with federal regulations. For many of those arriving on a H-1B visa, being informed about the immigration process and how that ties into employment goals is essential in overcoming obstacles they face in having a global workforce. Labor advocates have advocated that law regarding the H-1B workers and other nonimmigrant workers must be revised to keep a check on loops that trap the vulnerable nonimmigrant workers, as well as harm the prospects of American workers.[27]

FURTHER READING

Chakravartty, Paula. "Weak Winners of Globalization: Indian H-1B Workers in the American Information Economy." *AAPI NEXUS* 3, No 2 (2005).

The Heritage Foundation. "H-1B Workers: Highly Skilled, Highly needed." http://www.heritage.org/research/labor/wm1916.cfm.

Legrain, Phillipe. *Immigrants: Your Country Needs Them*. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007).

Saxenian, AnnaLee. *Silicon Valley's New Immigrant Entrepreneurs*. (San Francisco: Public Policy Institute of California, 1999).

Saxenian, AnnaLee. *The New Argonauts: Regional Advantage in a Global Economy.* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007).

NOTES

1. Ruth Ellen Wasem, "Immigration: Legislative Issues on Nonimmigrant Professional Specialty (H-1B) Workers," CRS Report for Congress, 2000, http://migration.ucdavis.edu/wcpsew/files/CRS_5=23=07pdf.pdf.

2. Wasem, "Immigration: Legislative Issues."

3. Gary P. Freeman and David K. Hill, "Disaggregating Immigration Policy: The Politics Of Skilled Labor Recruitment In The United States, North America And The Asia-Pacific," *Comparative Urban And Community Research* 8 (Piscataway, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2006).

4. USCIS, Characteristics of Specialty Occupation Workers (H-1B): Fiscal Year 2005, http://www.uscis.gov/files/nativedocuments/H1B_FY05_Characteristics.pdf.

5. Wasem, "Immigration."

6. Paula Chakravartty, "Weak Winners of Globalization: Indian H-1B Workers in the American Information Economy," *AAPI NEXUS* 3, no. 2 (2005): 59–84.

7. Priya Agarwal, *Passage from India, post 1965 Indian Immigrants and Their Children: Conflicts, Concerns and Solutions* (Palos Verdes, CA: Yuvati Publications, 1991).

8. AnnaLee Saxenian, *Silicon Valley's New Immigrant Entrepreneurs* (San Francisco: Public Policy Institute of California. 1999).

9. Freeman and Hill, "Disaggregating Immigration Policy."

10. Chakravartty, "Weak Winners of Globalization."

11. A. Aneesh, Rethinking Migration: High-Skilled Labor Flows from India to the United States, The Center for Comparative Immigration Studies, 2000, http://www.ccis-ucsd.org/PUBLICATIONS/wrkg18.PDF.

12. Bill Ong Hing, *Making and Remaking Asian America through Immigration Policy, 1850–1990* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 1993).

13. Hing, "Making and Remaking Asian America."

14. Bill Ong Hing, *To Be an American: Cultural Pluralism and the Rhetoric of Assimilation* (New York: New York University Press, 1997).

15. Chakravartty, "Weak Winners of Globalization."

16. Harish C. Jain and Peter J. Sloane, *Equal Employment Issues: Race and Sex Discrimination in the United States, Canada, and Britain* (New York: Praeger, 1981).

17. Chakravartty, "Weak Winners of Globalization."

18. Evelyn Nakano Glenn, *Unequal Freedom: How Race and Gender Shaped American Citizenship and Labor* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002).

19. Chakravartty, "Weak Winners of Globalization."

20. Jain and Sloane, "Equal Employment Issues."

21. National Foundation of American Policy, "Talent Search: Job Openings and the Need for Skilled Labor in the U.S. Economy," 2007, http://www.nfap.com/pdf/080311talentsrc.pdf.

22. Phillipe Legrain, *Immigrants: Your Country Needs Them* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007).

23. AnnaLee Saxenian, Yasuyuki Motoyama, and Xiaohong Quan, *Local and Global Networks of Immigrant Professionals in Silicon Valley*, (San Francisco: Public Policy Institute of California, 2002).

24. Legrain, "Immigrants."

25. Chakravartty, "Weak Winners of Globalization."

26. Chakravartty, "Weak Winners of Globalization."

27. Immigration Reform and Control Act 1983: hearing before the Committee on Agriculture, House of Representatives, Ninety-eighth Congress, first session, on H.R. 1510, June 15, 1983, http://www.archive.org/stream/immigrationrefor1983unit/immigrationrefor1983unit_djvu.txt.

HOUSING

Mike Chan

While the Asian American population living in America continues to grow more diverse, the groups' housing situation also continues to change. According to data collected by the 2007 Housing Vacancies Survey (U.S. Census), home ownership was at 60.0 percent for Asian American, 72.0 percent for whites, 47.2 percent for blacks, and 49.7 percent for Hispanic or Latinos. Overall, home ownership for the U.S. was determined to be 68.1 percent.[1] While Asian Americans appear to have the highest home ownership among racial and ethnic minorities, the percentage is still well below the U.S. average for homeownership.

A diverse influx of recent Asian immigrants has continued to accentuate the unique housing makeup of the Asian American population. While Asian American families who have lived in America for many years contribute to the current housing structure, there are also newer Asian immigrants who are also expanding this definition. In addition to examining home ownership amongst Asian Americans, this chapter will also investigate their household compositions, household configurations, and mortgage status.

HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION

In general, Asian American families have a variety of different household sizes and arrangements due in part to the increase of subgroup diversity over the past three decades. Overall, married couples characterize a larger number of Asian American family households in comparison to the total U.S. population. According to U.S. Census Bureau data collected from 1990 and 2000, approximately 61.8 percent of Asian households were households of married couples,

which is higher than the U.S. household percentage of 52.5 percent. Several Asian American subgroups have unique household unit characteristics. Thai and Japanese Americans households had lower percentages of married-couple households, 37.7 percent and 40.9 percent respectively, relative to U.S. household and overall Asian American married-couple percentages.[2] Hmong households define the opposite spectrum, having very high percentages of married-couple households.[3]

Asian American households are usually larger than the average U.S. household. U.S. Census data indicates that between 1990 and 2000 there was an overall drop in the average household size in of U.S. households, going from 3.20 people in 1990 to 2.59 per household in 2000. While this trend of declining household sizes is also reflected by Asian American households (with an average household declining from 3.80 to 3.08 people per household), these averages are still higher than the United States. All Asian American groups saw a drop in household sizes between 1990 and 2000, but there were certain Asian American groups that continued to have lower- or higher-than-average household sizes. Japanese American average household sizes declined to a level below the average household size for the U.S., going from 3.10 to 2.25 people per household. An aging population and fewer births might be the reason for these declines.

Recent immigrant groups, particularly most Southeast Asian American groups, are still well above the average U.S. household size. Hmong and Cambodian average household sizes, while on the decline, are still higher in comparison to other Asian American groups and higher in comparison to other racial groups. Recent immigration status, rising housing or renting costs, and high costs of living because of urban surroundings can contribute to the higher than average household sizes for Southeast Asian Americans.

OVERCROWDING

There is enough data analysis that shows Asian American families tend to have larger average family sizes than many other U.S. households, but it still does not explain the housing problems that Asian American face. The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare defines overcrowding as having more than one person per room, and there is enough census data to help describe the housing conditions of Asian American households. Data on overcrowding shows that white families suffer less from overcrowding than racial and ethnic minorities; overcrowding affected only 5.7 percent of white occupied households in 2000.[4] By comparison, overcrowded households comprise approximately 20.5 percent of Asian families; however, overcrowding in Asian households is still not as bad as in Latino households, where overcrowded occupied units represented 29.1 percent of Latino households in 2000.[5]

Several conditions help explain why a high percentage of Asian American households are overcrowded. First, a high proportion of Asian Americans are recent immigrants who have immigrated in the past two decades and are search-

ing for stability once they arrive. Many recent immigrant Asian families will attempt to secure neighborhood support and access to ethnic resources, sometimes by living with extended families.[6] Second, many Asian Americans live around urban epicenters, which makes housing costs and general costs of living higher, thus pushing more families together under one household. There is also a general lack of affordable housing for many Asian American families, which also translates to overcrowding.[7] Third, Asian American families tend to be larger, thus increasing the number of people living under one household. Recent census data show that the levels of Asian American households have maintained a higher person-per-household average for several decades. Finally, there is a possibility that overcrowding is a financial choice, as Asian American families will tolerate overcrowded conditions in order to obtain a valuable asset and to avoid renting.[8]

LOW HOMEOWNERSHIP STATUS

A common American dream is for a family to own its own home, and for many years, it has been a difficult goal to reach for racial and ethnic minorities in America. However, in the past ten years, homeownership has increased dramatically. According to the Housing Vacancy Survey conducted by the U.S. Census Bureau, between 1998 and 2005, homeownership rates in the United States have increased from 66.3 percent to 68.9 percent, a difference of 2.6 percent. In the same time span, whites maintained the highest homeownership rate, going from 70.0 percent in 1998 to 72.7 percent in 2005.[9] Asian American homeownership rates also increased during the same time span, from 52.6 percent in 1998 to 60.1 percent in 2005, which is an 8 percent increase over a decade. The homeownership gap, however, is much pronounced between Asian Americans and non-Hispanic whites, when one considers the difference in household incomes between the two groups is not great. Asian American homeownership rates in relation to other minority groups are second highest behind white homeownership rates. Both black and Hispanic/Latino homeownership rates have remained less than 50 percent over the past decade; however, while Asian American homeownership has shown a significant trend upward, the rate is still well behind the total U.S. homeownership rate, and does not disclose the differences in homeownership rates within the Asian American community.

There is also diversity of homeownership rates within the Asian American community, in terms of immigration status and Asian group. American-born Asian households have higher rates of homeownership than foreign-born Asian households do.[10] Overall, the young age of Asian subgroups and their adaptation from recent immigration contribute to low homeownership rates.[11] American-born Asian families may have better opportunities to secure loans from American credit institutions. In addition, foreign-born Asian families may suffer from more language and cultural barriers on their way to gaining home-

ownership.[12] Immigration to the United States is often a forced migration because of such events as the Cultural Revolution, the Vietnam War, or the Khmer Rouge years. Further studies suggest that the low homeownership levels within an Asian enclave can enforce low homeownership in other surrounding Asian households.[13] The concept of homeownership can also be of larger or smaller importance to some Asian American subgroups. For example, in Chinese families there is a high tendency to place homeownership as the primary goal, while Korean American families feel that expectations for homeownership must come after expectations of owning a business in America.[14] Lower homeownership rates may also be attributed the fact that many Asian American families are highly concentrated around expensive urban areas, which tend to have lower homeownership rates in comparison to other U.S. geographic locations.

MORTGAGES

The increase in Asian American homeownership rates over the past fifteen years has translated into increased partnerships with home mortgage and banking industries in the United States. On the surface, it may appear that the housing market favors Asian American households more than any other group in America, as Asian Americans represent an impressive group of prospective homebuyers. In 2000, 83.6 percent of Asian American households have mortgages on their housing units.[15] The percentage of mortgaged housing units is greater than the percentage of total U.S. households; however, when compared to white households, Asian American families have fewer available funds after making mortgage payments and are at higher risk of incurring greater financial debt. Approximately 34.3 percent of Asian households devote 30 percent or more of their monthly household income to making mortgage payments.[16] In contrast, only 25.1 percent of white households commit 30 percent or more of their household income to mortgage payments.

Due to the current state of the economy and the rising number of foreclosures caused by sub-prime mortgages, Asian American families face additional economic problems going forward. The recent U.S. economic downturn beginning in late 2007 and continuing through 2009, has led many U.S. mortgage and banking lenders to be more skeptical toward handing out loans and mortgages for homes. Many home values have dropped and have caused mortgages to depreciate, in turn pushing Americans toward walking away from their homes by risking foreclosure. Economic downturns can prevent Asian American families from increasing their mortgage borrowing, and the ability of Asian American families to increase their homeownership.

Analysts also mistakenly view Asian Americans as one group instead of the number of subgroups that vary the housing and mortgage lending experiences. Regardless of the varying economic status of Asian American subgroups, mortgage lenders and analysts state that language barriers,

inexperience in the home-buying process, unverifiable income, and lack of adequate credit files are all barriers to increasing mortgage lending and eventual homeownership.[17]

OUTLOOK

While there have been modest improvements in the overall Asian American housing condition, specific subgroups continue to face challenges in the areas of housing composition, overcrowding, homeownership, and mortgage or credit lending. Chinatown tenants across the U.S., mostly Chinese American immigrants, face increasing financial pressure from city governments and property owners eager to make more revenue or convert properties to luxury apartments or office spaces. Residents have been successful in keeping landlords honest by maintaining tenant associations, pressuring the property owners to negotiate with tenant associations and to show tenants the finances of the buildings.[18] Organizations such as the Chinese Progressive Association, located in New York, Boston, and San Francisco, devote their specific grassroots efforts toward fighting for and improving the conditions of immigrant Chinese families living in single room occupancy apartments.[19]

Southeast Asian subgroups face tough housing conditions and limitations to financing houses. The conditions that Southeast Asians face is important to note because their conditions may be overlooked because of the overall positive housing trends for Asian Americans. In areas such as Oak Park in Oakland, CA, Cambodian American communities have used legal means to demand improvements in their living conditions.[20] Organizations such as the Cambodian American League of Lowell, MA, offer a variety of seminars to Cambodian Americans regarding first-time home buying, and they offer homeownership education and assistance program to the Lowell community members.[21]

While there have been some positive results for Asian Americans, access to home ownership has not caught up with the total U.S. population. Asian Americans have fewer available funds because of more difficult living standards, and high ratios of mortgage payments to monthly household income suppress the overall ability of Asian Americans to match the housing characteristics of the average U.S. household. Organizations such as the National Coalition for Asian Pacific American Community Development, based in Washington, DC, help low-income Asian American families nationally, using effective approaches toward affordable housing and community development.

Future understanding of the housing conditions for Asian Americans will depend on more of the global economic changes occurring in rising Asian markets, particularly in China. Immigration from Asian countries has remained consistent overall for several decades. So, with the movement of people and the potential of increased purchasing power, a more affluent set of Asian Americans may change the landscape of housing conditions for Asian Americans overall.

FURTHER READING

Foster, Angela, Faith Mitchell and Stephen Fienberg. *Measuring Housing Discrimination in a National Study: Report of a Workshop.* (Washington, DC: National Academies Press, 2002).

Kurz, Karin, and Hans-Peter Blossfeld. *Home Ownership and Social Inequality in Comparative Perspective: In Comparative Perspective*. (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006).

Retsinas, Nicolas, and Eric Belsky. *Low-Income Homeownership: Examining the Unexamined Goal*. (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2002).

NOTES

1. Housing Vacancies Survey, U.S. Census Bureau, 2007.
2. Summary Tape File 1 and 3 (1990), Summary Files 2 and 4 (2000), U.S. Census Bureau, 1990 and 2000.
3. Summary Tape File 1 and 3 (1990), Summary Files 2 and 4 (2000), U.S. Census Bureau, 1990 and 2000.
4. Summary File 2 and Summary File 4, U.S. Census Bureau, 2000.
5. Summary File 2 and Summary File 4, U.S. Census Bureau, 2000.
6. E. Fong and M. Gulia, "Neighborhood Change within the Canadian Ethnic Mosaic, 1986–1991," *Population Research and Policy Review* 19, no. 2 (2000): 155–177.
7. Paul Ong and Doug Miller, "Economic Needs of Asian American and Pacific Islanders in Distressed Areas: Establishing Baseline Information," *Los Angeles: Economic Development Administration,* July 2001.
8. Peter Somerville, *'Race,' Housing and Social Exclusion* (San Francisco: Jessica Kingsley Publishers, 2002).
9. U.S. Census Bureau, Housing and Household Economic Statistics Division, 1998–2005.
10. Belinda I. Reyes, "Economic Outcomes," *A Portrait of Race and Ethnicity in California: An Assessment of Social and Economic Well-Being* (San Francisco: Public Policy Institute of California, 2000).
11. Gary Painter, Lihong Yang and Zhou Yu, "Homeownership Determinants for Chinese Americans: Assimilation, Ethnic Concentration and Nativity," *Real Estate Economics* 32, no. 3 (2004): 1–31.
12. Lauren Krivo, "Immigrant Characteristics and Hispanic-Anglo Housing Inequality," *Demography* (Silver Spring, MD: Population Association of America, 1995).
13. Maude Toussaint-Comeau, Sherrie L. W. Rhine, "Ethnic Immigrant Enclaves and Homeownership: A Case Study of an Urban Hispanic Community," *Policy Studies* (Chicago: Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago, 2000).
14. Kyeyoung Park, *The Korean American Dream: Immigrants and Small Business in New York City* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997).
15. Housing Vacancy Survey, U.S. Census Bureau 1995–2005.
16. Housing Vacancy Survey, U.S. Census Bureau 1995–2005.
17. Rick Grant, "The Asian-American Market," Mortgage Banking April 1, 2008: 68–70, 72–73. ABI/INFORM Global. ProQuest. SFSU, San Francisco, CA. Aug. 22, 2008.
18. Jeremy Schwab, "Chinatown Tenants Battle Rising Rents," *Bay State Banner* [Boston, Mass.] June 30, 2005, p. 11, Ethnic NewsWatch (ENW), ProQuest. SFSU, San Francisco, CA, Aug. 22, 2008.

19. Chinese Progress Association Web site (New York City, Boston, San Francisco sites), http://www.cpanyc.org/; http://www.cpaboston.org/; http://www.cpasf.org/.

20. Laura Counts, "Complex Gets Face-Lift after 10-Year Fight." *Oakland Tribune* [Oakland, Calif.] Oct. 1, 2004, p. A3, ProQuest. SFSU, San Francisco, CA, Aug. 22, 2008.

21. "First Time Homebuying," Cambodian American League of Lowell, MA, http://www.cambodianamerican.net/html/1sttimehomebuyer.htm.

This page intentionally left blank

IMPACT OF ASIAN IMMIGRANTS ON THE U.S. ECONOMY

Don Mar

The large number of immigrants to the United States in recent years has generated intense debate over the economic impact of immigrants on the economy. Many of these recent immigrants are Asians. In 2004, approximately one in four of the 1.1 million immigrants to the United States originated from India, China, the Philippines, Vietnam, and Korea. There are a number of empirical studies about the economic impact of all immigrants on native-born workers, disadvantaged minority workers, and the U.S. economy in general; however, there have been relatively few studies on the impact of Asian immigrants in particular.

Economic theories are frequently used by policy makers to assess the impact of immigration on the economy. A simple labor market theory argues that immigration increases the supply of labor in the United States. This increase in the supply of labor causes wages and employment to decline for native-born workers. In this simple model, immigration is the source of negative wage and employment outcomes for native-born workers. Alternative economic models often argue that immigrants are not perfectly competitive with native-born workers, particularly in low-wage manufacturing and service jobs. In addition, immigration laws favor immigrants with job skills that are in short supply in the United States. In this case, the impact on wages and employment is expected to be relatively small. More complex theories argue that immigrants affect not just the supply of labor but the demand for labor. Overall labor demand can increase as immigrants create additional demand for goods and services, in addition to starting businesses themselves. Finally, some economists have argued that

immigration brings benefits to the economy in the same way that free trade benefits countries in terms of lower cost products for consumers and greater efficiency. However, like free trade, immigration may have negative impacts on specific groups in society.

For example, in a comprehensive study of the economic effects of immigration, it was found that immigrants are a net benefit to the United States, generating $1 billion to $10 billion to the U.S gross domestic product. Furthermore, it was argued that recent immigrants have had a relatively small impact on the wages and employment of native-born workers in general.[1]

Although immigrants may have a net positive impact on the U.S. economy, immigrants may have some negative impacts on disadvantaged groups. Low wage, high school dropouts are found to have 5 percent lower wages in areas experiencing high rates of immigration.[2] Earlier Asian immigrants, who arrived more than 10 years ago, are found to decrease wages and employment for African Americans, although these negative effects are relatively small.[3]

There is also considerable debate over the impact of immigrants on governmental services and tax revenues. Some studies find immigrants may have a large negative fiscal impact as immigrants use more in social welfare services than they pay in taxes.[4] Immigrants are more likely to use public services in terms of public schools because of immigrant households being generally younger with more school-age children. On the other hand, other studies find a net positive fiscal impact for immigrants contributing more in taxes than they receive in governmental benefits.[5]

Although most studies conclude that immigrants are using more governmental services relative to their tax payments, Asian immigrants are likely to be less of a burden compared to immigrants in general.[6] Asian immigrant households generally have higher incomes relative to most immigrant households, which lowers the use of social welfare by Asian immigrant households compared to others.

Recent changes in social welfare legislation likely have reduced the negative fiscal effect of immigrants. The passage of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 (PRWORA) reduced usage of social welfare by many social and ethnic groups in the United States. PRWORA restricted federal welfare to naturalized citizens.[7] In addition, the passage of state level legislation, such as Proposition 187 in California, may have a chilling effect on immigrant use of social welfare even when legal.[8]

Although the overall impact of Asian immigrants on the U.S. economy is likely to be positive, there may be greater impacts in specific geographic places. Asian immigration is largely concentrated in a small number of states, such as California and New York. Even within states, immigrants are concentrated within specific cities. As a result, the negative impact of Asian immigration on wages, employment, and social welfare in these places may be greater.

There is also a concern that immigration has contributed to increasing residential segregation in America. The argument is that the influx of immigrants into a region leads to an outmigration of native-born, particularly of groups who may

be in competition with immigrants. With the arrival of immigrants, wages and employment for these native-born groups are depressed, leading these native-born groups to move to higher-wage, lower-unemployment areas. As new immigrants often choose to live near established immigrants, some areas become increasingly composed of immigrants, leading to significant regional segregation in U.S. society. In a recent report by the U.S. Census Bureau, residential segregation of Asian Americans was found to have increased from 1980 to 2000.[10] This is likely because of continued immigration as opposed to movement by U.S.-born Asians.

This internal migration may also be one reason for the relatively small effects of immigrants on native-born wages and employment, as the outmigration by native-born will decrease the overall supply of workers and drive wages and employment up in areas with large inflows of immigrants. Other studies dispute the magnitude of this outmigration effect, arguing that native-born workers are relatively immobile and that immigrants do not cause significant outmigration of native-born groups.[11]

In conclusion, empirical studies are divided on the impact of immigrants on the U.S. economy. Although it is difficult to generalize from these studies, the overall impact is likely to be positive; however, like free trade, different economic sectors and social groups may be negatively affected. Wages and employment for low-skill workers may be depressed, although the precise magnitude of the effects is under debate. In addition, some geographic regions may experience significant effects—greater demand for social welfare in some high immigration states or larger immigrant enrollments in some school districts.

U.S. immigration policy is now being hotly debated. Future immigration policy may shift more immigration preferences toward higher-skilled workers. If this shift occurs, it will reduce some of the effects of labor market competition on low-wage and disadvantaged U.S.-born workers. The use of social welfare by immigrants will also decline as higher skill workers have higher earnings and less need for social welfare. However, as workers in the currently depressed U.S. economy experience more labor market problems, there will be a corresponding increase in demands to limit immigration, limit social welfare to immigrants, and limit other social benefits to immigrants, even though the net impact of immigrants on the U.S. economy is positive. This has been the history of the U.S. immigration policy as a response to economic problems.

FURTHER READING

Asian Pacific Fund. "Understanding the Immigration Debate," 2006, http://www.asianpacificfund.org/resources/docs/Outlook%202006/immigration%20economics.doc.

Borjas, George. *Heaven's Door: Immigration Policy and the American Economy,* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001).

Le, C. N. 2008. "Immigrants in the Postindustrial Economy." *Asian-Nation: The Landscape of Asian America*. http://www.asian-nation.org/postindustrial.shtml.

Smith, James P. and Barry Edmonston, eds., *The New Americans: Economic, Demographic, and Fiscal Effects of Immigration* (Washington, DC: National Research Council, 1998).

NOTES

1. James P. Smith and Barry Edmonston, eds., *The New Americans: Economic, Demographic, and Fiscal Effects of Immigration* (Washington, DC: National Research Council, 1998).

2. Smith and Edmonston, *The New Americans*.

3. Paul Ong and Don Mar, "Differential Impacts of Immigrants on Native Black and White Workers," *American Economic Review, Papers and Proceedings* 97 (2007): 383–387.

4. George J. Borjas and Lynette Hilton, "Immigration and the Welfare State: Immigrant Participation in Means-Tested Entitlement Programs," *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 111 (1996): 575–604.

5. Francine D. Blau, "The Use of Transfer Payments by Immigrants," *Industrial Labor Relations Review* 37 (1984): 222–239.

6. Younghee Lim and Stella M. Resko, "Immigrants' Use of Welfare After Welfare Reform: Cross-Group Comparison," *Journal of Poverty* 6 (2002): 63–82.

7. Michael E. Fix and Jeffrey S. Passel, "Trends in Noncitizens' and Citizens' Use of Public Benefits Following Welfare Reform: 1994–97," Urban Institute, (March 1999), http://www.urban.org/url.cfm?ID=408086.

8. George Borjas, "The Impact of Welfare Reform on Immigrant Welfare Use," Center for Immigration Studies, (March 2002), http://www.cis.org/articles/2002/borjas2.htm

9. William Frey, "Immigration and Internal Migration 'Flight' from US Metro Areas: Toward New Demographic Balkanization," *Urban Studies* 32, no. 4–5 (1995): 333–357.

10. U.S. Census, "Racial and Ethnic Residential Segregation in the United States: 1980–2000." USGPO: Washington DC, 2002.

11. David Card, "Immigrant Inflows, Native Outflows, and the Local Labor Market Impacts of Higher Immigration," *Journal of Labor Economics* 19 (2001): 22–64.

LABOR UNIONS

Kim Geron

Asian Americans are a growing segment of the American workforce. As the Asian American population has grown in the United States, so has the proportion of Asians in the workforce. Asian Americans are extremely diverse in their socio-economic characteristics; they are some of the lowest and highest paid members of the United States workforce. They work in some of the most dangerous jobs, and in some of the most prestigious white-collar professions. There is no single narrative for Asian American workers; rather, there are multiple storylines, and only a small segment are represented by labor unions.

More than one half of all Asian Americans are immigrants and 75 percent of all Asian American workers are foreign-born; the Asian American immigrant population is bifurcated with one segment of the workforce that has limited job skills and education and a second segment that is highly educated with professional skills. The professional classes from Asian nations migrate to start their own businesses or work in the high-tech, scientific, and service sectors. Their incomes and education levels are significantly higher than the low-wage workers who migrate from Asian countries. On average, Southeast Asians, such as Vietnamese, Cambodian, Hmong, and Laotian, and to a slightly lesser degree, Filipinos, have a large percentage of their populations that work in blue collar, manual services, and farm labor. Other Asians, including South Asian, Chinese, Japanese, and Koreans, on average are more likely to be concentrated in computer, scientific, and engineering fields, and also sales, operations and support categories.[1] South Asians in particular, have been heavily recruited to fill critical needs in the high-technology industry as engineers and scientists.[2]

While many Asian Americans have overcome numerous obstacles to obtain advanced education degrees, and high-paying professional jobs, there are still

"glass ceiling" barriers that prevent Asian Americans from advancing up the corporate ladder to success.[3] Many in white-collar jobs have limited opportunities for promotion to executive positions, particularly Asian American women. Asian American women make up just over a quarter of 1 percent of corporate officers among more than 10,000 positions within the largest 500 companies in the United States.[4] While there are barriers to employment advances for the professional sector workers in the Asian American community, there are significantly more challenges for low-wage workers.

Many new Asian immigrants, with limited education, English skills, and job skills, work in ethnic enclaves in restaurants, garment shops, small factories, and other places of employment, as well as in various forms of self-employment. Most of these workplaces have poor pay and working conditions. In one study in New York City, it was found that workers in Chinese-owned businesses received significantly lower wages than other New York City workers.[5] For this segment of the workforce, their options for upward mobility are extremely limited, particularly for older workers, who have difficulty transferring their job skills into other jobs.

Many in this segment of the Asian American workforce live in extreme poverty; a poverty rate more than 50 percent among Southeast Asian refugees led to "a predominance of jobs in manufacturing, electronics assembly, home piece-work, and service sector jobs."[6] In addition to those who live and work in ethnic enclaves, another segment of low-wage workers, domestic workers, either commute to or live in the residences of their employers in middle and upper-middle class neighborhoods. They work long hours from early morning to late into the evening, sometimes six and seven days a week. For example, Filipina domestic workers must work in this challenging situation to support their families back home in the Philippines. They are trapped in a lonely existence, with limited contact with the Filipino community and their families.[7]

ORGANIZING ASIAN AMERICAN WORKERS INTO UNIONS

Workers in this country have limited rights and protections on the job. Labor laws generally offer limited defense against unscrupulous employers and often are not enforced. For example, there are limited protections for workers attempting to organize a union in their workplace, to obtain back pay if they are paid incorrectly, or to have labor department personnel inspect safety and occupational hazards. This is an important issue for Asian Americans because as a majority immigrant community, labor rights may be violated by employers because many workers are too fearful to speak up or seek assistance. In 1995, seventy-five women garment workers in El Monte, CA, were discovered by government officials after being forced to live and work for up to seven years in a cramped apartment complex without freedom of movement and under armed surveillance. They worked up to 18 hours a day and lived up to ten in a room. Their employers and captors were their own fellow countrymen from Thailand, who lured them to the United States with promises of good-paying jobs.[8]

Because of a number of factors including immigration status, language barriers, fear of loss of employment, deportation threats, and familial loyalties with fellow countrymen who often are the employers and who secured their job and work visa, these workers are difficult to unionize in ethnic enclaves. Koreans employed by Korean owners have particularly low rates of unionization, whereas Chinese workers employed by Chinese in industries such as in the New York garment are more heavily unionized.[9] Yet in other businesses in ethnic enclaves, such as restaurants, markets, and retail stores, there are virtually no unionized workplaces nationwide.

Until recently, U.S. labor unions have not invested the time and energy to organize Asian American workers. They have viewed this segment of the U.S. workforce as unorganizable. A notable exception took place in New York City's Chinatown in 1974; the union, the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU), after applying pressure on buyers in the garment industry, reached an agreement with the Chinatown garment contractors for their factories to be unionized.[10] In 1982, 20,000 Chinese women garment workers held a successful strike against the garment industry subcontractors to demand better wages and working conditions, which marked a contemporary high water mark in Chinese garment worker solidarity and action.[11]

Rather than attempt to organize immigrant workers in workplaces in ethnic enclaves, the approach to organize Asian American workers by labor unions has been to recruit them in multiethnic industries where they are concentrated. Asian American workers are employed in industries such as hotels and casinos, meatpacking, industrial food services, and hospitals (both public and private sector), as well as in government at all levels, such as public-sector engineers and accountants. Many of the workers in private-sector businesses are new immigrants and are in industries that typically pay low wages. In the public sector, where U.S. citizenship requirements limit who can work for the government, there is wide disparity in the wages and working conditions. For example, at the U.S. Postal Service, workers have union protection, good health care, and pension benefits, whereas other government-related jobs are nonunionized, with low pay and no benefits.

The public sector has a significantly higher concentration of unionized workers compared with the private sector, which has meant there are greater numbers of public-sector Asian American workers than in the private sector. These public-sector works include teachers and professors, where unions such as the National Education Association, and the American Federation of Teachers and their affiliates have organized thousands of Asian American teachers into collective bargaining agreements. One of the most significant gains in unionization has been among Filipino nurses, where unions such as the American Nurses Association, California Nurses Association, the Service Employees International Union (SEIU), and the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) have organized thousands in hospitals and clinics across the country. Nurses are overwhelmingly female, and in the 1960s and 1970s, they were paid extremely low wages with poor working conditions.

Organizing Immigrant Taxi Drivers

The New York Taxi Workers Alliance (NYTWA), a nonprofit, multiethnic membership-based organization, was founded in 1998 to improve working conditions for taxi drivers through organizing, political and media advocacy, litigation, direct legal services, and access to health care. NYTWA currently has more than eleven thousand registered driver members who receive monthly mailings and participate in quarterly activities. NYTWA's activities benefit all forty thousand taxi workers and respond to the direct needs of its members, providing them with a means to advocate and organize for their rights and achieve basic worker protection and benefits. The organization is led by a fifteen-member organizing committee consisting of active drivers from all over the world. Bhairavi Desai, a second-generation South Asian immigrant, has been the organization's executive director since its inception.

More than 90 percent of yellow cab drivers are struggling immigrants from South Asia, parts of Africa, the Caribbean, and the Middle East. Taxi drivers labor daily in sweatshop conditions, working twelve-hour shifts for low wages in one of the most dangerous jobs in the country. Before earning wages, 85 percent of the drivers must first pay their lease obligation and gas money: about $130 to $190 per shift. As independent contractors, drivers receive none of the benefits of salaried employees. They do not have guaranteed income, an eight-hour workday, health benefits, paid time off, or mandated programs for salaried workers, such as unemployment insurance, disability insurance, or Social Security.

NYTWA's organizing efforts have resulted in various successes. For example, the organization has organized several high-profile taxi drivers' strikes; successfully advocated for the first wage increase for drivers in more than ten years; developed a benefits program for drivers; and developed several reports on the economic and social issues faced by drivers. NYTWA's efforts demonstrate the important role that such organizations play to improve the lives of immigrant workers in the United States.

—Nadia Islam

The need for trained nurses, combined with the passage of the 1965 Immigration Act, led to the training and recruitment of nurses from the Philippines in the 1970s and 1980s.[12]

In addition, the restructuring of the health care industry in this country has led to the practice of sending patients home from hospitals early to receive less expensive care at home. Home health care workers have a high percentage of immigrant women. They work long hours, providing basic health needs of patients. Many home care workers are employees of the state, working under a

state-funded program called "in home support services" (IHSS).[13] Hundreds of thousands of home care workers have joined labor unions such as AFSCME and SEIU in recent years in states with high numbers of Asian Americans such as Illinois, Washington, California, and New York.

This approach of organizing in multiethnic industries has meant there are significant numbers of Asian American workers in unions, but they remain a small portion of the overall number of Asian workers in the United States. In 2007, out of a total U.S. workforce of 129 million wage and salary workers, there were 15.6 million union members, or 12.1 percent of the workforce. Of this total workforce, there were more than 6 million APA workers in unionized and nonunion workplaces, which represent 4.7 percent of the total workforce. With the Asian American population growing by 45 percent since 1990, Asians will continue to grow as a proportion of the total U.S. workforce. In 2007, there were 654,000 Asian American workers who were members of labor unions, or 10.9 percent of the total number in 2007. This is a sizable increase from 2003. There are more women than men in unions, with 330,000 Asian women in unions and 324,000 Asian men in unions.[14] See Figure 1.

In terms of the wages of Asian American workers, their average median weekly salary for all unionized and nonunionized workers is $830, compared to $695 for all workers in the United States. For Asian American unionized workers, their median weekly salary is $853 per week, and for nonunionized workers, it is $823. Female Asian American union workers' median wages are significantly higher than their nonunionized counterparts, with unionized workers earning $842 compared to $712 for nonunionized Asian American women workers.[15] This difference in wages reflects the high concentration of unionized Asian professional women, such as nurses and other technical positions, particularly in the public sector.

Figure 1. Asian American Union Members as Compared to Others, 2003–2007

	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
White	12,535,000	12,381,000	12,520,000	12,259,000	12,487,000
Black	2,298,000	2,130,000	2,178,000	2,163,000	2,165,000
Asian	581,000	603,000	614,000	592,000	654,000
Latino	1,712,000	1,676,000	1,793,000	1,770,000	1,837,000
Total	15,776,000	15,472,000	15,685,000	15,359,000	15,670,000

Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics 2007.

COMMUNITY-BASED ORGANIZING EFFORTS

While Asian American workers have steadily increased their numbers in labor unions, the challenge of organizing more workers, particularly those on the lower end of the economic ladder, has sparked a variety of organizing efforts. In the late 1970s, dissatisfied with the efforts of New York City's restaurant union to organize Chinese workers in the restaurant business, a community-based organization, the Chinese Staff and Workers Association, organized a small segment of Chinese restaurant workers into an independent restaurant workers association.[16] The Asian Immigrant Workers Association (AIWA) formed in Oakland, CA, in 1982 to provide leadership and organizing skills to immigrant women workers in the garment, electronics, and other low-wage industries. The Korean Immigrant Workers Association, now the Korean Immigrant Workers Alliance (KIWA), was formed in Los Angeles's Koreatown in 1992 to organize Korean and other workers who worked in Koreatown to oppose their exploitation.[17] Subsequently, other workers' centers have started up to organize Chinese workers, including the Garment Workers Center in Los Angeles, Filipino Workers Centers in Los Angeles and other cities, and the Chinese Progressive Association's efforts in Boston and San Francisco. These efforts are part of a larger effort in this country to form community-based centers for low-wage workers.[18]

In addition to such centers, there have been organizing efforts for such groups as South Asian taxi drivers and women domestic workers in New York City to improve economic justice and working conditions.[19] These efforts are part of a new wave of community-based worker outreach efforts that seek to provide workers with the skills and leadership training to demand better pay and working conditions in the predominantly nonunionized businesses that exist in ethnic enclaves and that employ APA immigrant workers.

Asian American worker activists also formed the Asian Pacific American Labor Alliance (APALA) in 1992, which is currently affiliated with the AFL-CIO and Change to Win Labor Federations. APALA provides a voice for Asian American workers, elected leaders, and union staff nationally to come together and address issues confronting workers on the job and in their communities.[20] Asian American organizers have played critical roles in recent organizing drives in Atlantic City, NJ, Los Angeles, CA, and elsewhere in recent years. They have used culturally appropriate communication skills and tools, such as using bilingual organizers, publishing articles in Asian language press on their organizing efforts, and building ties with community social networks to gain workers' trust.[21] Together, community-based and union-based organizing efforts have challenged employers of Asian American workers to address substandard working conditions, low pay, and discrimination on the job. Asian American workers have organized to join unions, become members of worker centers, and speak up for their rights in the workplace.[22]

In the future, Asian American workers will be concentrated in fast-growing industries, such as health care, services, and education, and their employment

in both low-skilled and high-skilled occupations are ones that unions have targeted to organize, such as nursing, home health care, teaching, construction, and gaming and casino work. Asian Americans are also heavily concentrated in states with high union density, such as Hawai‘i, California, New York, Massachusetts, and Nevada, where unions are actively recruiting new members and there are a growing number of Asian American union organizers. This means their ranks will likely grow as union members. There is also a significant Asian American population in the Northwest, Midwest, and Northwest in key industries where they will likely be the target of future organizing efforts.

FURTHER READING

Gupta, Monisha Das. *Unruly Immigrants: Rights, Activism, and Transnational, South Asian Politics in the United States*. (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006).

Liu, M., K. Geron, and T. Lai. *The Snake Dance of Asian American Activism: Community, Vision, and Power*. (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2008).

Louie, Mariam Ching Yoon. *Sweatshop Warriors: Immigrant Women Workers Take on the Global Factory*. (Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 2001).

Omatsu, Glenn. “Asian Pacific American Labor Organizing: An Annotated Bibliography, Part I: Historical Struggles, 1840s–1960s,” http://www.sscnet.ucla.edu/aasc/classweb/winter02/aas197a/apapart1.html and “Part II: Contemporary Struggles from the 1960s.” http://www.sscnet.ucla.edu/aasc/classweb/winter02/aas197a/apapart2.html.

Tait, Vanessa. *Poor Workers’ Unions: Rebuilding Labor from Below*. (Boston, MA: South End Press, 2005).

Wong, Kent. “Building an Asian Pacific Labor Alliance: A New Chapter in our History.” *Asian American Politics: Law, Participation, and Policy.* Edited by Don T. Nakanishi and James S. Lai. (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2003).

Wong, K., J. Monroe, and K. Yasuda, eds. *Voices for Justice: Asian Pacific American Organizers and the New Labor Movement.* (Los Angeles; UCLA Center for Labor Research and Education, 2001).

Wong, Kent and Julie Monroe, eds. *Sweatshop Slaves: Asian Americans in the Garment Industry*. (Los Angeles; UCLA Center for Labor Research and Education, 2006).

NOTES

1. C. N. Le, “Employment & Occupational Patterns,” Asian-Nation: Asian American History, Demographics & Issues, 2009, http://www.asian-nation.org/employment.shtml.

2. Rafael Alarcon, “Recruitment Processes among Foreign-Born Engineers and Scientists in Silicon Valley,” *American Behavioral Scientist* 42, No. 9 (1999), 1381–1397.

3. Deborah Woo, *Glass Ceilings and Asian Americans: The New Face of Workplace Barriers* (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2000).

4. Sheree R. Curry, “Fighting the Glass Ceiling: Why Asian Americans Don’t Have More Positions at the Top,” *Chief Executive*, Sept. 10, 2008, http://www.chiefexecutive.net/ME2/Default.asp.

5. Tarry Hum, “New York City’s Asian Immigrant Economies: Community Development Needs and Challenges,” in *Jobs and Economic Development in Minority Communities,* eds. Paul Ong and Anastasia Loukaitou-Sideris (Philadelphia; Temple University Press. 2006), 176–213.

6. Lynn Fujiwara, *Mothers without Citizenship: Asian Immigrant Families and the Consequences of Welfare Reform* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), 61.

7. Rhacel Salazar Parreñas, *The Force of Domesticity: Filipina Migrants and Globalization* (New York: New York University Press, 2008).

8. Suzi Feng and Jacqueline Ng, “El Monte Slave Shop,” in *Sweatshop Slaves: Asian Americans in the Garment Industry,* ed. Kent Wong and Julie Monroe (Los Angeles; UCLA Center for Labor Research and Education, 2006), 47–48.

9. Pyong Gap Min, *Caught in the Middle: Korean Merchants in America’s Multi-ethnic Cities,* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 214–216.

10. Peter Kwong and Dusanka Miscevic, *Chinese America: the Untold Story of America’s Oldest New Community* (New York: The New Press, 2005).

11. Xiaolan Bao, *Holding Up More Than Half the Sky: Chinese Garment Workers in New York City, 1948–1992* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001).

12. Paul Ong and Tania Azores, “The Migration and Incorporation of Filipino Nurses” in *The New Asian Immigration in Los Angeles and Global Restructuring*, eds. Paul Ong, Edna Bonacich, and Lucie Cheng (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994), 164–195; James A. Tyner, “The Global Context of Gendered Labor Migration from the Philippines to the United States” *American Behavioral Scientist* 42, (1999): 671–689.

13. Grace Chang, *Disposable Domestics: Immigrant Women Workers in the Global Economy* (Boston, MA; South End Press 2000), 133–134.

14. U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2007 “Access to Historical Data for Union Membership.” Table 1. Union affiliation of employed wage and salary workers by selected characteristics.” http://www.bls.gov/webapps/legacy/cpslutab1.htm, Aug. 11, 2008.

15. U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2007, “Access to Historical Data for Union Membership,” Table 2. Median weekly earnings of full-time wage and salary workers by union affiliation and selected characteristics, http://www.bls.gov/webapps/legacy/cpslutab2.htm, Aug. 11, 2008.

16. Peter Kwong and Dusanka Miscevic, *Chinese America: The Untold Story of America’s Oldest New Community* (New York: The New Press, 2005).

17. Koreatown Immigrant Workers Alliance, “About KIWA,” http://www.kiwa.org, Sept. 12, 2008; Angie Y. Chung, “The Historical Evolution of KYCC and KIWA,” *Legacies of Struggle: Conflict and Cooperation in Korean American Politics* (Stanford, CA; Stanford University Press, 2007), 153–164.

18. Janice Fine, *Workers Centers: Organizing Communities at the Edge of the Dream* (Ithaca, NY; Cornell University Press, 2006).

19. Monisha Das Gupta, *Unruly Immigrants: Rights, Activism, and Transnational, South Asian Politics in the United States* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press. 2006).

20. Kent Wong, “Building an Asian Pacific Labor Alliance: A New Chapter in Our History,” in *Asian American Politics: Law, Participation, and Policy,* eds. Don T. Nakanishi and James S. Lai. (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2003), 421–430.

21. Marlene Kim, “Organizing Asian Americans into Labor Unions,” in *The State of Asian America: Trajectory of Civic and Political Engagement,* ed. Paul M. Ong (Los Angeles: LEAP Asian Pacific American Public Policy Institute, 2008 Volume V). Accessed at: http://www.leap.org/docs/PPI%20PDFs/marlene.pdf.

22. Erin Chan, “Asian Workers Flex Their Union Muscles,” *Los Angeles Times*, Sept. 3, 002, p. A4.

LOW-INCOME WORKERS

Ambrose H. Lee

Despite having relatively high median and average incomes, a large segment of the Asian American population suffers from poverty. The U.S. Census Bureau reports that in 2000, 12.6 percent of Asian Americans lived below the poverty line compared to 12.4 percent of the entire U.S. population. Significant differences exist among different subgroups groups, with Koreans, Vietnamese, and Chinese experiencing higher poverty rates.[1]

Low-income Asian American workers are predominantly recent immigrants. In 2004, more than half of those born outside the United States were living in poverty compared to those born in the United States.[2] Moreover, half of the Asian immigrant population is of relatively recent entry; approximately 33 percent of foreign-born Asians entered during the 1990s and about 17 percent arrived in 2000 or later. Limited English speaking ability and education is often cited as a reason for low incomes among Asian immigrant groups.[3]

CHALLENGES AND ISSUES

Low-income Asian American workers face a number of barriers to overcome. Although the majority of low-wage workers are employed, low-wage workers also experience high unemployment rates, particularly among Southeast Asians. Low-income Asian Americans face several barriers to attaining economic self-sufficiency.[4]

The social and economic characteristics of low-income Asian American workers are often associated with difficulties in finding jobs. These shared characteristics place them in the category of “hard to employ.” The characteristics

that have been specified by many previous studies include any combinations of the following: low educational attainment, limited work experience, limited English proficiency, mismatch of human capital/skills or deficiencies in marketable job skills, and refugee-related issues.[5]

Asian Americans who have one or any combination of these characteristics find it difficult to achieve economically self-sufficient jobs or keep themselves in the labor market employed at jobs with long hours, low wages, and low skills, or in part-time jobs with no benefits. These jobs include garment workers, restaurant and domestic workers. Labor participation rates are high even with low wages—in fact, low wages force low-income households to send two or more workers into the labor market in order to meet their financial needs. Furthermore, globalization or the internationalizing of the economy has exacerbated the situation, as many of these low-wage jobs are in sectors that are often affected by globalization.

While globalization has created benefits to the world's economy and to the economic efficiencies, studies show that it has also generated employment issues by reducing low-skilled jobs in advanced countries like the United States.[6] This internationalization phenomenon has led to sectoral shifts in employment, primarily declining manufacturing opportunities, which creates an influx of labor into the service industry. This movement of workers from the manufacturing sector to the service sector increases the supply of workers, making the jobs in the service sector more competitive. As a result, wages in the service sector are lowered. Unemployment rates also increase, as not all workers will be able to transition from low-skill manufacturing to the service sector. In addition, the continual influx of large numbers of new immigrants and refugees with less education and limited English proficiency enter the workforce, further increasing the supply of less-skilled labor in the U.S. economy. Wages for low-income jobs are further depressed for these "hard to employ" Asian American workers.

Labor economists agree that human capital has become more significant in determining labor market earnings in the past three decades. The lack of human capital among low-income Asian American workers is frequently cited by many previous studies as an immense disadvantage to these workers.[7] Research on the current workforce development system is inadequate to assist less-skilled Asian Americans in confronting the challenges in the globalized economy.[8] They argue that the current workforce development system is characterized by bureaucracy, language barriers, limited training options, lack of access for undocumented and immigrant workers, lack of understanding of challenges that immigrant workers face, and lack of linkages to economic development and job creation. As a result, it is hard for the low-income Asian American workers to find stable employment with fair wages and safe conditions. Reforms of workforce development systems targeted on the specific problems of less-skilled Asian American and new immigrants are suggested so as to overcome these obstacles.

Besides the inadequate workforce development systems, research indicates that existing welfare-to-work programs also do not meet the unique needs of the

low-income Asian American population.[9] Despite an increase in the time limit of welfare programs from two to five years, low-income Asian American needs are not adequately addressed by welfare reform's "work first" approach. Many Asian immigrants and refugees face unique barriers to access and use of social services, such as language, mental health issues, and transportation access. Basically, studies argue that providing only work-related assistance is insufficient and that a coordinated set of social services is necessary to serve this low-income population.

The residential location of the low-income Asian American is yet another barrier. Because of historical and ethnic networking reasons, previous studies note that most Asian immigrants and refugees reside in some racially defined inner cities with high concentrations of low-income Asian Americans.[10] Examples are San Francisco and New York's Chinatowns, Los Angeles' Koreatown, the Vietnamese community in Orange County, and the Cambodian community in Long Beach, CA. Because of the large number of Asian businesses in these enclaves, these Asian communities employ many ethnic immigrant workers who cannot find work elsewhere because of the lack of transportation, inadequate job skills, and limited English language proficiency. These "enclave economies" may also negatively affect Asian immigrants and refugees by slowing their acquisition of job and English skills that could lead to better jobs outside the enclave. In addition, cultural and language ties, as well as fears of job loss, often leave immigrant workers susceptible to unfair labor practices. These include poor and dangerous working conditions, long working hours without overtime pay, and nonpayment of wages.

Furthermore, employment and earning discrimination continue to hinder the general Asian American population advancement, and they have also prevented low-income Asian Americans from finding better jobs. Recent studies show that employment discrimination still persists against Asian Americans.[11] Many research publications show evidence of wage and salary discrimination against Asian men, particularly for Vietnamese and Southeast Asians, while Filipinos, Asian Indian, and Korean men have very mixed results.[12]

OUTLOOK

A recent U.S. Census Population Report indicates that there was improvement for low-income Asian American in 2006 compared to 2000.[13] 10.3 percent of Asian American were living below poverty line, compared to 8.2 percent of non-Hispanic whites and 12.3 percent of the entire U.S. population. However, research suggests that the challenges and barriers still remain as issues for low-income Asian Americans.[14] Moreover, the decline in the self-employment rate among Asian Americans may have intensified problems for low-income workers finding jobs with immigrant entrepreneurs.

Government, academic, national, and community-based organizations; and other advocacy groups are working collectively to ease or remove the challenges that the low-income Asian American workers are facing. One example

of a national advocacy organization is the National Coalition for Asian Pacific American Community Development (National CAPACD).[15] A membership-based network of organizations and individuals, it serves Asian Americans by promoting issues that affect community development as well as low-income workers. The National CAPACD partners with academic institutions, such as the UCLA Asian American Studies Center, in order to produce more applied research for policy and legislation to address the economic development needs of low-income Asian American. At the same time, the group has worked with the national coalition of Asian American Pacific Islanders (AAPI) organizations and the National Council on Asian Pacific American to pass the Asian and Pacific Islander Serving Institutions (AAPISI) Designation in 2007 under the College Cost Reduction and Access Act.[16] The AAPISI program provides greater opportunities and services for underserved college students, including low-income Asian American students, to increase their self-sufficiency.[17]

Asian Americans are the fastest growing population in the United States. This growth is significantly related to the large inflow of their immigrants and refugees, and thus creates an incredibly diverse number of employment policy issues. In focusing on the low-income Asian American workers, the common labor market policy issues cited by previous studies are the problems of poverty, English deficiencies, limited education, lack of marketable job skills, earnings/employment discrimination, and inadequate or lack of access to employment supporting services. These problems hinder the prosperity of this "disadvantaged" Asian American group as well as the whole nation. On the other hand, the decline of the self-employment rate of the Asian American and the globalization phenomenon may also aggravate the situation. Governmental and community-based development organizations have been working together to ease or remove the challenges faced by low-income Asian Americans.

FURTHER READING

Chow, Julian Chun-Chung, Kathy Lemon Osterling, and Qingwen Xu. "The Risk of Timing Out: Welfare-to-Work Service to Asian Immigrants and Refugees," *Asian American & Pacific Islander Policy, Practice & Community* 3, no. 2 (2005): 85–104.

Ishimaru, Stuart J. "Employment Discrimination and Asian Americans." *Asian American & Pacific Islander Policy, Practice & Community* 3, no. 2 (2005): 1–15.

Mak, Karin, and Meng Grace. "Workforce Development: Its Potential and Limitations for Chinese Garment Workers," *AAPI Nexus: Asian American & Pacific Islander Policy, Practice & Community* 3, no. 2 (2005): 16–38.

Mar, Don. "Asian Americans in the Labor Market: Public Policy Issues," *AAPI Nexus: Asian American & Pacific Islander Policy, Practice & Community* 3, no. 2 (2005): 39–58.

NOTES

1. (U.S. Census 2002; U.S. Census 2004) U.S. Census. 2002. *The Asian Population: 2000, Census 2000* brief by Jessica S. Barnes and Claudette E Bennett. Washington DC: USGPO; U.S. Census 2002 *The Asian and Pacific Islander Population in the United*

States: March 2002, Population Report by Terrance Reeves and Claudette Bennett Washington DC: USGPO; *U.S. Census. 2004. We the People: Asians in the United States.* Census 2000 Special Reports by Terrance J. Reeves and Claudette E Bennett. Washington DC: USGPO.

2. American Survey Community Report, 2007, *The American Community—Asian: 2004*, the U.S. Census Bureau's Racial Statistics Branch.

3. See, for example, Don Mar, "Asian Americans in the Labor Market: Public Policy Issues," *Asian American & Pacific Islander Policy, Practice & Community* 3, no. 2 (2005): 39–58.

4. Mar, "Asian Americans in the Labor Market," 39–58.

5. General Accountability Office Report 2001, "Welfare Reform: Moving Hard-to-Employ Recipients Into the Workforce," *GAO*-1-368, March 15, 2001; Julian Chun-Chung Chow, Kathy Lemon Osterling, and Qingwen Xu, "The Risk of Timing Out: Welfare-to-Work Service to Asian Immigrants and Refugees," *Asian American & Pacific Islander Policy, Practice & Community* 3, no. 2 (2005): 85–104; Dana Y. Nakano, "Out of Time: Asian Americans, Time Limits, and Welfare Reform in California," *Asian American Policy Review* 15 (2006): 31–48.

6. Paul Ong and Evelyn Blumenberg, "Welfare and Work Among Southeast Asians," in *Economic Diversity, Issues and Policies,* ed. Paul Ong (Los Angeles: LEAP Press and UCLA Asian American Studies Center 1994), 113–138; Joel F. Handler and Paul Ong, "Welfare and Work Policies" *The State of Asian Pacific American, Economic Diversity, Issues & Policies, A Public Policy Report* (1994): 215–232; Chow, Osterling, and Xu, "The Risk of Timing Out," 85–104.

7. Linda C. Wing, "Workforce Policies," in *Economic Diversity, Issues and Policies,* ed. Paul Ong (Los Angeles: LEAP Press and UCLA Asian American Studies Center, 1994), 57–86; Karin Mak and Grace Meng, "Workforce Development: Its Potential and Limitations for Chinese Garment Workers," *Asian American & Pacific Islander Policy, Practice & Community* 3, no. 2 (2005): 16–38.

8. Mak and Meng, "Workforce Development," 16–38.

9. Chow, Osterling, and Xu, "The Risk of Timing Out," 85–104.

10. Paul Ong and Karen Umenoto, "Life and Work in the Inner City," in *Economic Diversity, Issues and Policies,* ed. Paul Ong (Los Angeles: LEAP Press and UCLA Asian American Studies Center, 1994) 87–112.

11. Stuart J. Ishimaru, "Employment Discrimination and Asian Americans," *Asian American & Pacific Islander Policy, Practice & Community* 3, no. 2 (2005): 1–15; Siri Thanasomabat and John Trasvina, "Screening Names Instead of Qualifications: Testing with Emailed Resumes Reveals Racial Preferences," *Asian American & Pacific Islander Policy, Practice & Community* 3, no. 2 (2005): 105–115; Myron Dean Quon, "Discrimination against Asian American Business Enterprises: The Continuing Need for Affirmative Action in Public Contracting," *Asian American Policy Review* 17 (2008): 27–40.

12. See, for example, James Long, "The Effect of Americanization on Earnings: Some Evidence for Women," *Journal of Political Economy* 88, no. 3 (1980): 621–629; Leonard Carlson and C. Swartz, "The Earnings of Women and Ethnic Minorities, 1959-1979," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review* 41, no. 4 (1988): 530–546; Henry Barringer, R. W. Gardner, and M. J. Levin, *Asian and Pacific Islanders in the United States* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1993); Don Mar, "Four Decades of Asian American Women's Earnings: Japanese, Chinese, and Filipino American Women's Earnings 1960–1990," *Contemporary Economic Policy* 18, no. 2 (2000): 228–237; Don

Mar, "Asian Americans in the Labor Market: Public Policy Issues," *Asian American & Pacific Islander Policy, Practice & Community* 3, no. 2 (2005): 39–58.

13. U.S. Census 2007 *Income, Poverty, and Health Insurance Coverage in the United States: 2006, Current Population Reports, Consumer Income* By Carmen DeNavas-Walt Bernadette D. Proctor.

14. Don Mar, "Asian Pacific Islanders Self-Employment and Small Businesses," 39–58; Nakano, "Out of Time," 31–48; Quon, "Discrimination against Asian American Business," 27–40.

15. National Coalition for Asian Pacific American Community Development, 2009, http://nationalcapacd.org/index.php.

16. The National Council of Asian Pacific Americans is based in Washington, DC, and was founded in 1996. It is a coalition of twenty-one Asian Pacific American organizations nationwide. NCAPA serves to represent the interests of the greater APA community and to provide a national voice for APA issues.

17. The purpose of the Asian American and Native American Pacific Islander-Serving Institution Program is to support institutions of education in their effort to increase their self-sufficiency by improving academic programs, institutional management, and fiscal stability. http://www.ed.gov/programs/aanapiccraa/index.html.

POVERTY

Jocyl Sacramento and Aristel de la Cruz

Often, Asian Americans are labeled as the "model minority" because they are perceived to have realized the American Dream because of the success of entrepreneurial endeavors, the immigration of high-skilled/high-wage workers, and high levels of educational achievement. However, according to the 2000 census, more than 12 percent of Asian Americans in the United States earn an income under the poverty level. The numbers are higher in certain communities. The Asian American community is diverse, with so many specific ethnic groups placed within the "Asian" umbrella. Southeast Asians are more likely to live in poverty than other Asians. Many Southeast Asians are recent immigrants and refugees with limited access to sustainable employment because of limited English proficiency, limited education, and occupational discrimination. Systemic barriers play a major role in limiting employment access and upward mobility for Asian Americans.

CAUSES OF POVERTY

Despite the model minority stereotype, the quality and/or a lack of education is a key factor in the prevalence of poverty among Asian Americans. It is especially evident among Asian immigrants, where a large number of them arrive lacking the skills and education that are required for high-paying jobs. As a result, many of these Asian immigrants are either unemployed or work "low-skill" or "low-wage" occupations. Low-wage occupations may include janitorial work, making clothing, busing tables, and other low-paying factory work where health and other benefits are often not part of their employment package. This can be especially burdensome for workers who may have relatives who are

frequently sick and not covered by a health plan. Another important factor to acknowledge is that a large amount of the earned wages of Asian Americans are often sent back to their country of origin in order to support their family. This is especially true in Asian countries were poverty is rampant, such as Cambodia, Vietnam, and the Philippines. Those working in America are forced to compensate for the lack of jobs available in their country of origins as a result of poverty and the inability of the government to provide employment by remitting money out of their low earnings in the United States.

Data show that 53 percent of Cambodians, Hmong, or Laotians in America have less than a high school diploma as compared to 15 percent of whites. Furthermore, 23 percent of Cambodian, Hmong, or Laotian in America are living in poverty in comparison to 9 percent of whites. Other groups to mention are Pacific Islanders, where 22 percent have less than a high school diploma, and Vietnamese Americans, where 38 percent have less than high school diploma. As a result, 17 of percent Pacific Islanders and 14 percent of Vietnamese Americans are living in poverty.[1]

Educational differences, nontransferrable job skills and certifications, and poor English language skills are often cited as factors related to poverty among these Asian groups. Skills that were applicable in their country of origin for earning a living may not translate well into the job market in America. For example, immigrants who were once farmers in their former country often find themselves in areas in America where farming employment is scarce, and/or low-wage.[2] Southeast Asians often find themselves in low-wage jobs, especially in urban areas, as a result not being able to find farm work. In December 2003, it was found that a manufacturer of baseball caps for Major League Baseball was required to pay $124,509 in back wages to 597 workers, many of whom were Laotian, Cambodian, or Vietnamese.[3] This incident implies that Southeast Asians are subject to job discrimination, discussed in another section, as well as low wages are paid to Asian immigrants who are unable to find decent wage work appropriate for their skills. Academic achievement in one's country of origin may not necessarily be viewed as high as American education. For example, a college degree in one's country of origin may be viewed as a high school diploma or lower by employers in America. This devaluing of non-U.S. education greatly limits one's occupational mobility. This is particularly true with many Filipinos, who were considered nurses in the Philippines but once they have migrated to America, many of whom are hired as a nurse's aide or lower. Because of this occupational downgrade, these Filipinos are forced to retake the required tests and/or classes in America in order to be considered qualified.

Language and Skill Acquisition

Many Asian immigrants, particularly Southeast Asians, arrive in the United States with challenges beyond their lack of English proficiency. Systemic barriers play a role in shaping the marketability of limited-English proficiency

(LEP) workers in the labor market. Many LEP Asian Americans not only lack English proficiency, but lack marketable skills. One study asserts that many limited English proficient immigrants need both language training and basic skills development in order to find sustainable employment.[4] For example, most LEP welfare recipients in the San Francisco East Bay area have a sixth- or seventh-grade educational level, which makes it difficult to understand verbal and written English language.[5] Despite their inability to comprehend class material, the skills training programs fail to accommodate their language needs. Unable to move beyond low-skilled positions, LEP workers are stuck with specific low-wage jobs; some agencies have no problem with clients who continue work as gardeners or nail salon workers, with no prospect for upward mobility. This is particularly the reality for recent immigrants and refugees from China, Cambodia, and Vietnam.

Furthermore, job training programs designed to offer marketable skills often fail to serve Asian Americans for three reasons.[6] These programs were biased toward more marketable applicants and did not prioritize those in greatest need of assistance, high-risk LEP participants. They also tended to place participants in low-wage, entry-level positions, rather than more sustainable employment. Finally, given the limited funding, the programs could only serve a select number of participants.

Current skills training programs do not accommodate limited English proficient students. For example, a study of training programs for LEP workers found that one welfare-to-work participant was asked to attend skill-based training without knowing what to expect from the classes. The participant could not understand a word of English and felt that the teacher only cared about the participant's attendance. The content and purpose of the class was unclear and a waste of time for the participant.[7] Often, employment counselors who serve LEP recipients do not make the conscious effort to ensure that agencies provide interpreters when holding workshops.[8] Because participants cannot understand the job training in English, they do not gain skills that will lead them off welfare assistance and into stable employment. Additionally, the lack of English limits Asian Americans to low-pay work in the ethnic enclaves, like Chinatowns, and makes them susceptible to unfair wages.[9] For example, there are 15,000 Asian garment workers in the state of California, most of whom have limited English proficiency.[10] According to the 2000 U.S. Census, Los Angeles garment workers earn below the poverty limit with a yearly average income of $14,000.

Additionally, one study found that training programs were ineffective because they did not provide a culturally relevant approach.[11] Many Asian Americans on welfare, particularly Cambodian refugees, are victims of displacement who were forced to transition from the Khmer-Buddhist values of collectivism to American values of individualism and self-sufficiency. Sensitivity to their cultural transition is necessary in order for them to become self-sufficient, and services focused on support and counseling have been helpful in the transition.[12]

OTHER CAUSES OF UNEMPLOYMENT

In addition to language and lack of education, there are other barriers that Asian Americans face in the search for employment. Asian Americans, particularly immigrants, are often unaware of the job employment programs that are available to them, nor are they educated on the process of taking the necessary steps for receiving such aid.[13] The lack of effective outreach strategies often leaves many Asian Americans with few resources for finding quality employment. Another cause of unemployment is residential location and/or the lack of transportation. Asian Americans, especially those who are living in low-income neighborhoods, often find it difficult to find a job in close proximity to where they live. Areas where there is a high concentration of jobs are often high cost-of-living areas with no inexpensive transportation. Furthermore, Asian Americans living in areas where the cost living is not as high must find ways to commute to their job, especially if they do not own a car. The lack of low-income housing and/or transportation to areas with a high concentration of jobs, often limits the types of jobs that poor Asian Americans can apply for.[14]

Job Discrimination

Significant numbers of Asian Americans are subject to job discrimination in terms of wages, promotion, and/or immediate employment. Despite having lower attainment rates of college degrees in comparison to some Asian groups, whites still possess a high median personal income. In 2000, 46.3 percent of Chinese in America had a college degree compared with 25.3 percent of whites, and whites still earned more than Chinese Americans, with a median personal income for whites of $23,640 compared with $20,000 for Chinese Americans. The gap between whites and Korean Americans is especially large when compared with educational achievement. The median personal income of whites is $7,340 more than Korean Americans, even though 43.6 percent of Korean Americans have college degrees. While Filipino Americans and whites have relatively the same median personal incomes, there is a huge difference between the numbers of Filipino Americans and whites with a college degree, with 42.8 percent of Filipino Americans having graduated college.[15]

Statistics show that although whites have lower achievement in education compared with certain Asian groups, they still occupy more managerial, administrative, and executive positions in the labor market. In some of the major industries in the United States, the number of Asian Americans occupying managerial, administrative, and executive positions are small: 4 percent of male and 2 percent of females in retail trade; 2 percent of males and 2 percent of females in wholesale trade; and 2 percent of males and 3 percent of females in finance.[16] In those very same industries, whites more frequently occupy managerial, executive, or administrative positions, with 42 percent of males and 40 percent of females in retail trade; 53 percent of males and 36 percent of females in wholesale trade; and 45 percent of males and 38 percent of females in finance trade.[17] The gap between whites and Asian Americans in occupying managerial,

administrative, and executive positions is indicative of a kind of discrimination that favors whites over Asian Americans, despite the fact there are Asian American groups that have higher academic achievement.

The trends of lower median personal income and the lack of managerial, executive, and administrative positions filled by Asian Americans, despite higher educational attainment, are often a result of a "glass ceiling." The glass ceiling refers to the illusion that people of color are led to believe that managerial, executive, or administrative positions are attainable, when in reality the ceiling prevents them from reaching these positions. The glass ceiling results from employer biases and prejudices against the employee as it relates to their race, gender, sexual orientation, age, and other characteristics.

Welfare

While government programs are intended to produce self-sufficient workers who contribute to the economy, outcomes show otherwise. Time limits within welfare-to-work programs effectively prevent recipients from gaining the skills necessary to advance to high-wage occupations. Cash aid recipients of California Work Opportunity and Responsibility to Kids (CalWORKs) are required to begin working after twenty-four months on welfare, but job training and English language courses are not considered work under this requirement. Limited English proficient workers are thus handicapped because they are expected to find employment despite their lack of marketable skills and English proficiency.

While many new immigrants and refugees rely on state assistance while transitioning into California's economy, welfare policies must be sensitive to the specific needs of these new communities. For example, as an unemployed single mother of three children, 35-year-old Thao Nguyen struggled with the challenge of low-wage, dead-end jobs and poverty because of her limited workplace skills, lack of education, and limited English proficiency. Thao received up to $300 a month in cash plus child-care benefits, which provided her the opportunity to work while enrolled in CalWORKs. Her 5-year-old daughter suffered a broken leg after being hit by a car, so Thao had to stay home for a month to tend to her. As a result, Thao lost her job making cookies at a small Westminster bakery. She realized she was stuck and frustrated because she was unsure of her economic future. She could not improve her work skills to make a better living while juggling child-rearing and work.[18]

Many LEP workers like Thao come to California with limited education and post-traumatic stress, which hinders their ability to gain English proficiency. Consequently, LEP workers may need more than twenty-four months—the time allotted by current law—to gain English language skills. Pressuring those receiving cash aid to find jobs in this time frame does not encourage self-sufficiency because workers fail to gain English language proficiency and remain trapped in low-wage positions. According to a study of welfare recipients with limited English proficiency, those who are earning low wages are not making enough to sustain themselves and therefore continue to

rely on welfare to survive.[19] However, if recipients do not comply with program requirements, they can be taken off cash aid.[20]

Not only is learning English difficult, but for older persons, it is even more so. Many CalWORKs recipients are over the age of forty and with limited education. They need more that the twenty-four month time limit to gain the skills they need.[21] Making time limits on Welfare-to-Work activities and services more flexible would grant recipients more time to acquire language proficiency and skills necessary to entering the labor market with a chance at a higher wage level. Allowing them to complete their training gives recipients an opportunity for sustainable employment.[22]

OUTLOOK

With an estimated 33.4 million Asian American U.S. residents by 2050, it is expected that the need for more equitable resources and/or programs will be needed in order to effectively address issues related to Asian Americans.[23] Limited English proficiency, knowledge of resources, lack of education, and job discrimination will become increasingly visible as such cases are expected to occur more frequently among this rapidly growing population.

Effectively addressing poverty in the Asian American community requires multiple solutions that specifically serve the need of each Asian American group in its respective community. This includes providing the necessary resources to increase academic achievement among Asian Americans, especially Cambodians, Hmong, and Laotians in America. It also means creating more ways to ensure that employers treat all workers equally. Furthermore, better models for measuring non-American education are needed as occupational downgrade is prevalent among Asian Americans. Moving toward providing services or programs that are sensitive to the English acquisition of Asian Americans, especially the elderly, are key in addressing the issue of poverty.

Here are some of the many organizations that are active in addressing poverty in the Asian American community:

- The Information Group for Asian American Rights is based in Houston, Texas, where the U.S. Department of Labor, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, the City of Houston Council, the Organization of Chinese Americans, VN Teamwork, Alliance for Multicultural Community Services, and the Japanese American Citizens League collaborate to educate the Asian American community of their rights in relation to the workplace. Videos are available that concern wage violations, workplace safety, and discrimination. The radio has also been used to reach out to low-wage workers, whether in English, Vietnamese, or other Asian languages.
- Operation COACH (Compliance Outreach to the Asian Community and Hispanics) of New Jersey works directly with workers and employers in Hudson County. It creates partnerships with numerous community centers

to implement strategies such as job training, family counseling, health and child care service, and worker seminars.

- The Korean American Manufacturers Association, in partnership with the U.S. Department of Labor, takes the role of closely monitoring garment subcontractors to make sure that they are in compliance with the Fair Labor Standards Act, which ensures rights such as minimum wages and overtime, as well as details in relation to youth employment and record-keeping.
- Established in 1983, the Asian Immigrant Women Advocates (AIWA) works with thousands of Asian American women of low-income immigrant status. AIWA seeks to empower its community through different programs, which includes gaining leadership skills, English language acquisition, networking, coalition building, and campaigns for justice.

FURTHER READING

AALEAD. *Invisible Americans: The Hidden Plight of Asian Americans in Poverty*. (Wheaton, MD: AALEAD, 2006).

Asian Immigrant Women Advocates. http://www.allacademic.com/meta/p_mla_apa_research_citation/1/0/5/7/9/p105793_index.html.

Asian-Nation: Asian American History, Demographics, & Issues. http://www.asian-nation.org.

Lai, Eric, and Dennis Arguellas. *The New Face of Asian Pacific America: Numbers, Diversity, and Change in the 21st Century*. (Los Angeles: UCLA Asian American Studies Center Press, 1998).

UCLA Asian American Studies Center. “AAPI Nexus: Asian Americans & Pacific Islanders Policy, Practice and Community.” Vol. 5, no. 2 (2007).

U.S. Census Statistic for Asian/Pacific American Heritage Month 2006. http://www.imdiversity.com/villages/asian/reference/census_asian_pacific_american_heritage_2006.asp.

NOTES

1. C. N. Le, “Socioeconomic Statistics & Demographics,” *Asian-Nation: The Landscape of Asian America,* http://www.asian-nation.org/demographics.shtml (July 13, 2008).

2. Paul Ong et al., *Beyond Asian American Poverty: Community Economic Development Policies and Strategies* (Los Angeles: Leadership Education for Asian Pacifics, Inc, 19, 1993).

3. U.S. Department of Labor, “Secretary of Labor Elaine L. Chao and the Asian Pacific American Community,” http://www.dol.gov/_sec/APA_fact_sheet.htm.

4. Luna Yasui, Tyler Moran and Theodore Wang. *Bridging the Language Gap: An Overview of Workforces Development Issues Facing Limited English-Proficient Workers and Strategies to Advocate for More Effective Training Programs.* Chinese for Affirmative Action, Center for Asian American Advocacy, and National Immigration Law Center, August 2005.

5. Luan Huynh, interview by J. Sacramento and L. Yasui, San Francisco, 6 October 2006.

6. Ong, *Beyond Asian American Poverty*.

7. Julian Chun-Chung Chow, Kathy Lemon Osterling and Qingwen Xu, "The Risk of Timing Out: Welfare-to-Work Services to Asian Immigrants and Refugees," *AAPI Nexus* 3 (2005): 85–104.

8. Huynh, Interview.

9. Ong, *Beyond Asian American Poverty*.

10. Edna Bonacich and Richard Appelbaum, *Behind the Label: Inequality in the Los Angeles Apparel Industry* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000); Karin Mak and Grace Meng, "Workforce Development: Its Potential and Limitations for Chinese Garment Workers," *AAPI Nexus* 3 (2005): 16–38.

11. Chow, "The Risk of Timing Out."

12. Aiwha Ong, *Buddha Is Hiding: Refugees, Citizenship, and the New America* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 2003).

13. Julian Chun-Chung Chow and Grace J. Yoo, "Welfare Reform and the Delivery of Welfare-to Work Programs to AAPIs: What Works?" *AAPI Nexus* 5 (2007): 1–20.

14. Chow, "Welfare Reform and the Delivery."

15. Le, *Socioeconomic Statistics.*

16. Deborah Woo, *In The New Face of Asian Pacific America: Numbers, Diversity, and Change in the 21st Century*, eds. E. Lai and D. Arguellas (Los Angeles: UCLA Asian American Studies Center Press, 1998), 226.

17. Woo, *The New Face.*

18. Scott Martelle and Mai Tran, "More Vietnamese Immigrants Reaching End of Welfare Benefits," *Los Angeles Times*, Nov. 1, 2003, http://articles.latimes.com/2003/nov/01/local/me-viet1, accessed on July 3, 2009.

19. Dana Nakano, "Out of Time: Asian Americans, Time Limits, and Welfare Reform in California." *Asian American Policy Review* 15 (2006): 31–47.

20. Nakano, "Out of Time."

21. Chow, "Welfare Reform and the Delivery."

22. Chow, "Welfare Reform and the Delivery."

23. U.S. Census Bureau, "U.S. Census 2004," http://www.census.gov/Press Release/www/releases/archives/population/001720.html, accessed Oct. 11, 2008.

SMALL BUSINESSES

Don Mar

Self-employment and small businesses are an important component of Asian American economic life. In addition to being a source of livelihood for owners, Asian American businesses provide access to cultural goods, are a crucial feature in developing Asian American communities, and provide jobs for other Asian American workers. On the other hand, Asian American small businesses are often criticized for allowing ethnic Asian Americans to exploit ethnic workers and for serving as a lightning rod for racial antagonism. Self-employment and the relative size of Asian American businesses are frequently cited as an important indicator of economic discrimination and social progress.

Although self-employment rates have historically been higher than the majority population for Asian American groups in general, self-employment rates by year vary for different subgroups of Asian Americans. For example, in 1992, the 13 percent self-employment rate of all Asian Americans was above the non-Latino white self-employment rate of 11 percent. By 2000, the Asian self-employment rate had fallen to 10 percent—below the non-Latino self-employment rate that had not changed much from 1992.[1] As the percentage of the population that is self-employed is often used as an indicator of economic progress, the decline in Asian American self-employment in recent years is a potentially important issue of Asian American economic parity.

Self-employment rates still vary considerably by gender and ethnicity. Table 1 shows self-employment rates for major Asian American groups by place of birth and gender based on 2000 census data. Self-employment rates are highest for foreign-born Korean men and women and lowest for Filipinos overall.

Table 1. Self-Employment Rates by Ethnicity, Gender and Birthplace, 1999[3]

Ethnic Group	Foreign-Born Men	Foreign-Born Women	U.S.-Born Men	U.S.-Born Women
Non-Latino White	16.0%	10.7%	15.3%	8.5%
Asian Indian	12.4%	7.5%	n.a.	n.a.
Cambodian, Hmong, Laotian	7.4%	4.7%	n.a.	n.a.
Chinese	12.9%	8.7%	12.5%	8.0%
Filipino	6.0%	4.6%	5.4%	4.2%
Japanese	12.7%	11.3%	14.2%	7.6%
Korean	28.7%	18.0%	12.1%	5.3%
Vietnamese	11.0%	10.3%	9.2%	5.3%

Source: Mar, Don. “Asian Americans in the Labor Market: Public Policy Issues,” Asian American Nexus, Vol. 3, #2, (Summer/Fall 2005), pp. 39–58.

U.S.-born Asian Americans have lower rates of self-employment overall compared with U.S.-born non-Latino whites.

Researchers examining the differential self-employment rates by race and ethnicity have focused on a number of factors. These include: prior experience in self-employment by country of origin and by family members; differences in human capital, differences in accessing financial capital, and discrimination.[2]

There is a considerable range of businesses encompassed by the category, self-employment. The self-employed may be a small-scale individual entrepreneur, an individual professional operating his or her own business, or the owner of a large, privately held business. Although, it would be useful to discuss the heterogeneity of Asian American self-employment in order to develop appropriate policy for different types of self-employment, much of the data on self-employment is not broken down in these ways.

In general, Asian American businesses are smaller compared to average businesses in the United States. In 2002, average sales per Asian American firm were $296,001 compared with the average sales receipts for all businesses of $983,852. The average number of employees in Asian American firms with employees was seven, with an average payroll per employee of $25,314 compared with twenty workers per firm and $34,418 per employer for all firms with employees in the United States.[4]

Similar to the diversity in self-employment rates, the sizes of Asian American businesses vary considerably by Asian American group. Asian Indian and Chinese have the greatest number of firms with largest sales. In 2002, there were 223,212 Asian Indian firms with sales of $88 billion. Chinese firms in 2002 numbered 286,041 with sales of $105 billion. Korean (157,688 firms with sales of $47 billion), Vietnamese (147,036 firms, $15.5 billion), Filipino (125,146 firms, $14 billion), and Japanese (86,910 firms, $30 billion) businesses followed.

Asian American businesses are also concentrated in a few sectors of the economy. A third of Asian American firms are in food-related or service-related industries. Retail firms, professional and technical firms, and health-related firms each account for about one-eighth of all Asian American firms. Self-employment does provide Asian Americans with significant earnings. Asian American self-employment earnings are slightly lower than self-employment earnings of non-Latino whites. Again, data from the 2000 Census calculated the self-employment earnings of non-Latino whites to be $53,244 in 1999 and $52,805 for Asians. For comparison, nonwhite Latino earnings were $38,225 and African-American earnings, $35,006.[5]

With the decrease in the percentage of self-employment among Asian American groups and the relative size of Asian American businesses, there are a number of public policy issues that are pertinent to Asian Americans and

Contributing in Big Ways

Compared with any other Asian American subgroup, Korean immigrants have the highest percentage of small business owners. Many decide to become small business owners because of the racial discrimination, language barriers, and the inability to transfer their education and credentials from Korea to the mainstream labor market.

Through long hours, family sacrifices, and hard work, Korean immigrant small business owners not only have made a living to support their families, but they also have provided contributions to American society. Here are some unique strengths and notable achievements of Korean immigrant small business owners:

- Korean immigrants use informal family and friend networks to get start-up funds. Also known as a “kye,” a rotating credit system in which friends and family pool money so the funds can be rotated.
- Willingness to open up businesses in low-income, racial/ethnic minority neighborhoods.
- Korean immigrants have used unpaid family labor to help them with the family business.
- Korean immigrant small business owners are represented in service-oriented businesses such as drycleaners and grocery stores.
- Korean immigrant small business owners make major contributions to U.S. economy through taxes and their hard work.
- More than 90,000 Korean immigrants own a small business.
- Annual gross income for Korean immigrant small businesses is 4.3 billion.

—Grace J. Yoo

self-employment. Prominent are issues of financing Asian American small businesses, rate of failures, minority set-asides in contracting, and working conditions.

Financing is an important issue for self-employment and Asian American businesses. Access to financial resources allows individuals to start, continue, and expand businesses. In general, minority access to borrowing has been a major constraint in developing minority businesses. For Asian Americans in particular, loan applications for small businesses were more likely to be denied, even after controlling for the creditworthiness of the application.[6]

Failure rates of Asian American businesses are related to the financing problem. Some Asian American business ventures are undercapitalized, making them highly subject to failure during economic downturns, as they are unable to weather even a short term economic slowdown.[7] In addition to financing problems, Asian American businesses are concentrated in sectors of the economy—personal services, food services, etc.—that are characterized with higher failure rates compared to other business sectors.

In the period immediately following the civil rights movements of the 1960s, the federal government and many state and local governments set up minority set-aside contracting programs to provide affirmative action for minority businesses. Many of these programs were targeted to assist minority construction firms. A large body of research suggests that these set-asides did work for African Americans, although there has been little study on Asian American firms. Most of these programs, however, were dismantled during the 1990s.[8] The U.S. Supreme Court's decision in *City of Richmond v. J.A. Croson Co*., in 1989, was the beginning of a series of challenges to minority set-asides in governmental contracts. In recent years, some set-aside programs were re-established based on some evidence of past or current discrimination in municipal contracting.[9]

Finally, there is concern over the wages and working conditions of some Asian American–owned businesses. Some Asian American–owned businesses, such as restaurants and garment shops, are in industries that have a history of paying low wages and providing poor working conditions. Some argue that these Asian American businesses allow business owners to exploit non-English speaking recent immigrants who have little political and social voice or economic alternatives.

Self-employment and small businesses continue to be important features of Asian American economic adaptation in the United States. Self-employment continues to be an important part of how people in the Asian American communities earn a living. Although Asian Americans as a whole have had historically high rates of self-employment, self-employment rates for Asian Americans have now fallen below the rates for non-Latino whites. Moreover, there are considerable differences in the self-employment rate among Asian American groups, with several groups, such as Filipinos, with very low self-employment rates. Policy issues regarding self-employment include financing, rate of business failure, minority set-asides, and employment issues related to small Asian American businesses.

Charles Park, president of the Asian District Development Association of Dallas, poses at the Asiana Plaza in Dallas, 2006. (AP Photo/Donna McWilliam)

FURTHER READING

Bates, Timothy. *Race, Self-Employment & Upward Mobility: An Illusive American Dream* (Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1997).

Le, C. N. 2008. "Asian Small Businesses" *Asian-Nation: The Landscape of Asian America*. http://www.asian-nation.org/small-business.shtml. Dec. 17, 2008.

U.S. Census Department. *Asian Owned Firms: 2002* (Washington, DC: U.S. Census Bureau, 2006).

NOTES

1. Robert Fairlie and Bruce Meyer, "Ethnic and Racial Self-Employment Differences and Possible Explanations," *Journal of Human Resources* 31 (1996): 757–793.

2. Edna Bonachich, "A Theory of Middleman Minorities," *American Sociological Review* 38 (1973): 583–594; Robert Fairlie and Bruce Meyer, "Ethnic and Racial Self-Employment Differences and Possible Explanations," *Journal of Human Resources* 31 (1996): 757–793; Marilyn Fernandez and Kwang Chung Kim, "Self Employment Rates of Asian Immigrant Groups: An Analysis of Intragroup and Intergroup Differences," *International Migration Review* 32 (1997): 654–681; A. Yuengert, "Testing Hypotheses of Immigrant Self-Employment," *The Journal of Human Resources* 30 (1995): 94–204.

3. Don Mar, "Asian Americans in the Labor Market: Public Policy Issues," *Asian American Nexus* 3 (2005): 39–58.

4. U.S. Census, "Survey of Minority Businesses: 2002," U.S. Census Bureau, Economics and Statistics Administration, 2006.

5. Robert W. Fairlie, "Race, Ethnicity and Business Ownership," University of California, San Cruz. http://people.ucsc.edu/~rfairlie/presentations/fairlie%20sba%20presentation.pdf.

6. David G. Blanchflower, Phillip B. Levine, and David J. Zimmerman, "Discrimination in the Small-Business Credit Market," *The Review of Economics and Statistics* 85 (2003): 930–943.

7. Timothy Bates, *Race, Self-Employment & Upward Mobility: An Illusive American Dream* (Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1997).

8. K. Y. Chay and R. W. Fairlie, "Minority Business Set-Asides and Black Self-Employment," Working Paper, (1998); M. E. Enchautegui, *Do Minority-Owned Businesses Get a Fair Share of Government Contracts?* (Washington, DC: Urban Institute, 1997).

9. David Blanchflower, "Minority Self-Employment in the United States and the Impact of Affirmative Action Programs," *National Bureau of Economic Research*, Working Paper 13972 (2008).

RESOURCE GUIDE

Suggested Reading

Asian American Leadership Empowerment and Development for Youth and Families (AALEAD), "Invisible Americans: The Hidden Plight of Asian Americans in Poverty. 2006." A brief report on poor Asian Americans in Montgomery County, MD (near Washington, DC) that provides a discussion of the wider social problems faced by poor Asian Americans. http://www.aalead.org/content/Report%20-%20Invisible%20Americans.pdf.

Bates, Timothy. *Race, Self-Employment & Upward Mobility: An Illusive American Dream,* Washington DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1997. A comprehensive examination of the effects of self-employment on minorities, particularly Asian Americans.

Foster, Angela, Faith Mitchell, and Stephen Fienberg. *Measuring Housing Discrimination in a National Study: Report of a Workshop*. Washington, DC: National Academies Press, 2002. An important and extensive study on the extent of discrimination in housing because it is one of the first to explicitly include Asian Americans as a group.

Kim, Marlene. "Organizing Asian Americans into Labor Unions," in *The State of Asian America: Trajectory of Civic and Political Engagement,* ed. Paul M. Ong (Los Angeles: LEAP Asian Pacific American Public Policy Institute, 2008). This essay provides an overview of the history, problems, and potential of Asian American labor organizing.

Kim, Marlene and Don Mar, "The Economics Status of Asian Americans," in *Race and Economic Opportunity in the 21st Century,* ed. Marlene Kim (New York: Routledge, 2007). This chapter specifically summarizes much of the academic research on economic problems faced by Asian Americans.

Lang, Kevin. *Poverty and Discrimination*. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008). A higher level but comprehensive text on issues concerning poverty, discrimination, and inequality. It gives readers the latest empirical evidence on many issues, as well as further readings on these issues.

Louie, Mariam Ching Yoon. *Sweatshop Warriors: Immigrant Women Workers Take on the Global Factory*. (Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 2001). An extensive portrait of problems faced by immigrant women in low-wage manufacturing and workers organizing in these industries.

Nakano, Dana. "Out of Time: Asian Americans, Time Limits, and Welfare Reform in California," *Asian American Policy Review* 15 (2006): 31–47. This study examines the effects of recent welfare reform on Asian Americans.

Saxenian, AnnaLee. *The New Argonauts: Regional Advantage in a Global Economy.* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007). Saxenian looks at the development of Chinese entrepreneurs in the Silicon Valley as a way to examine the effects of globalization both locally and nationally.

UCLA Asian American Studies Center, "Special Focus on Employment," *AAPI NEXUS* 3, no. 2 (2005). This special edition of the AAPI NEXUS provides in-depth discussion of Asian American policy issues.

U.S. Census (Terrance J. Reeves and Claudette E. Bennett), "We the People: Asians in the United States. Census 2000 Special Reports," U.S. Census, Washington DC: USGPO, 2004. A Census report on Asian Americans based on the 2000 decennial survey that provides the basic economic statistical picture of Asians in the United States.

Woo, Deborah. *Glass Ceilings and Asian Americans: The New Face of Workplace Barriers* (New York: Alta Mira Press, 2000). This book examines the causes of occupational discrimination for Asian Americans for high-level administrative positions.

Films

"An Asian Glass Ceiling," by Yul Kwon. CNN Video, May 15, 2007. http://www.cnn.com/video/#/video/business/2007/05/15/kwon.asian.glass.ceiling.cnn. This segment from a CNN series on Asian Americans interviews corporate executives for their views of Asian Americans as high-level managers.

"Blood, Sweat & Lace." VHS tape. Asian Immigrant Women's Advocates. Oakland, CA, 1994. A short documentary about employment problems faced by Asian American women garment workers in Oakland, CA.

"The Global Assembly Line." VHS tape. New Day Films, 1986. Mexico and the Philippines, directed by Lorraine Gray. Early examination of the effects of off shoring in the apparel and electronics assembly industries by U.S. manufacturers.

"Labor Women." DVD. Asian Women United, 2002. Los Angeles, directed by Renee Tajima-Pena. 2004. An examination of three Asian American women union activists working to organize industries employing large immigrant work forces.

Organizations

Asian Americans for Equality, New York City. Community development corporation, providing community services, homeownership counseling, and small business training. http://www.aafe.org/.

Asian Immigrant Women Advocates, San Francisco Bay Area. Assists Asian women immigrant workers in low-income jobs in the San Francisco Bay Area. http://www.aiwa.org/index.php.

Asian Neighborhood Design. Provides programs to reduce poverty by building communities and providing job-training opportunities for low-income residents. http://www.andnet.org/.

Chinatown Community Development Center, San Francisco. Community development organization that provides neighborhood advocacy and community planning, as well as the development and management of low-income and affordable housing. http://www.chinatowncommunitydevelopmentcenter.org/pages/main.php?pageid=1.

Korean Immigrant Workers Alliance, Los Angeles. KIWA works to organize and preserve the rights of immigrant workers in Los Angeles. http://www.kiwa.org/.

Little Tokyo Service Center in Los Angeles. The LTSC is a community development center which provides a wealth of family and support services. In addition to providing direct services, LTSC is also involved with community development projects such as developing affordable housing projects. http://www.ltsc.org/.

Web Sites

Asian Pacific American Labor Alliance (APALA). Provides updates on Asian American union organizing activities as part of the AFL-CIO. http://www.apalanet.org/.

California Public Policy Institute, http://www.ppic.org/main/pubs.asp. Independent organization researching public policy issues that affect California. As immigrants and Asian Americans make up a large segment of the California population, they frequently publish policy reports on issues that affect Asian Americans.

Le, C. N. *Asian-Nation: Asian American History, Demographics & Issues,* http://www.asian-nation.org/. More general Web site that is frequently updated with social demographic information about Asian Americans.

Leadership Education for Asian Pacifics (LEAP). http://www.leap.org/. Periodically releases public policy reports on Asian American issues. Past reports include topics on Asian American small businesses, immigration, and economic problems.

National Coalition for Asian Pacific American Community Development. http://www.nationalcapacd.org/. In addition to acting as an advocacy organization for Asian American community development, the National CAPACD Web site provides summaries of the effects of governmental policy on community development issues.

UCLA Asian American Studies Center, http://www.aasc.ucla.edu/. In addition to being one of the foremost programs in Asian American studies, the Asian American Studies Center at UCLA provides a wealth of timely and policy-oriented research on Asian Americans and the economy.

U.S. Census. http://www.census.gov/csd/sbo/ and http://www.census.gov/csd/sbo/asian2002.htm. Every five years, the U.S. Census Bureau collects data on minority owned businesses. Data on the number of Asian owned businesses, sales by Asian owned businesses, number of employees, and other information is compiled on Asians as a group and by specific Asian groups.

This page intentionally left blank

Section 3:

EDUCATION

Section Editors: Shirley Hune and Julie J. Park

This page intentionally left blank

EDUCATIONAL TRENDS AND ISSUES

Shirley Hune and Julie J. Park

One of the more enduring images of Asian Americans is their reputation in the area of education as being intelligent overachievers who are good at math and science. From the joke that UCLA stands for "University of Caucasians Lost among Asians" to the high percentages of Asian Americans enrolled in Ivy League institutions, the public perception persists that Asian Americans do not face major barriers or challenges in the educational realm. A result of this assumption is that Asian Americans are a relatively understudied group in education. At times, Asian Americans have been left out of policy discussions or reports because their experiences are thought to be almost identical to those of whites. For instance, a CNN.com feature published in 2003, "Back to School: The American Student," went so far as to omit Asian Americans in its demographic breakdown of American college students, naming the overall college racial/ethnic population as being 81.4 percent white, 13 percent black, and 9.1 percent Hispanic, with some overlap because of multiracial students.[1]

This section includes entries on the educational issues that affect this growing population. Some of the entries provide a sociohistorical context for common stereotypes around Asian American students, such as Hyeyoung Kwon and Wayne Au's entry on the model minority myth and Eunai Shrake and Hyeyoung Kwon's entry on parental pressures and expectations. Others such as Tracy Buenavista and Tam Tran's piece on undocumented students draw attention to an issue that few have associated with Asian Americans. This overview includes information on the diverse experiences of Asian Americans in education,

selected historical aspects of their education, pertinent issues in K–12 education, and key issues in higher education.

A DIVERSE COMMUNITY

One of the problems in understanding Asian American educational experiences is the common practice of not examining the vast differences that exist within this diverse population. The umbrella term "Asian American" encompasses a population that includes more than twenty-four different ethnic groups.[2] Socioeconomic background, immigrant status, gender, and English-language ability among other variables contribute to different educational opportunities and experiences for individuals and groups of Asian Americans. Additionally, in data collection and reporting, Pacific Islanders, an umbrella term for another twenty-four highly diverse ethnic groups, are also often lumped together with Asian Americans.

The use of data that does not separate by ethnic subgroup helps contribute to the notion that Asian Americans are a "model minority" and educationally successful. As a group, 49 percent of Asian Americans have a bachelor's degree compared to 28 percent of the total U.S. population for those 25 years and older in 2007 (Figure 1); however, this rate of attainment varies widely by ethnic subgroup, from 11 percent for Laotian Americans to 71 percent for Taiwanese Americans. Public and policy discussions on achievement, diversity, and education tend to focus on the experiences of Asian Americans of Chinese and Japanese descent, and increasingly Korean and Asian Indian Americans. For instance, an article published on January 7, 2007, in *The New York Times,* entitled "Little Asia on the Hill," addressed how the Asian American enrollment at the University of California–Berkeley exceeded 40 percent.[3] The article focused on the high enrollment of Chinese American students and the strong emphasis that their families placed on academics.

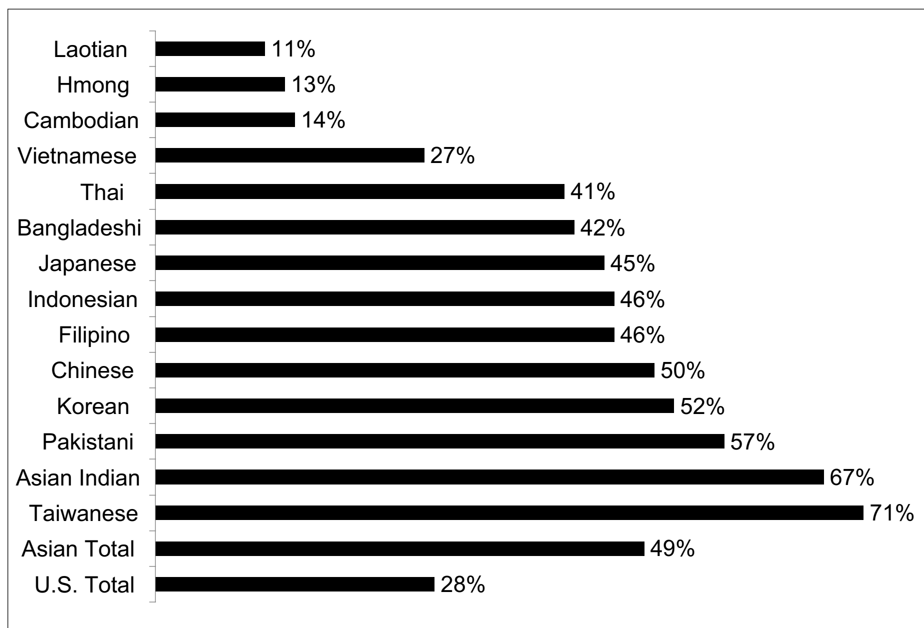
Such news coverage reflects a popular public perception that Asian Americans are "overrepresented" in higher education, considering that some Asian American groups have higher college attainment rates than the general population; however, because of the misperception that all Asian Americans excel academically, the educational experiences and lower educational attainment rates of Southeast Asian Americans, such as Vietnamese, Cambodian, Hmong, and Laotian Americans, are seriously neglected. Also, socioeconomic differences within Asian American subgroups that affect educational opportunities are often ignored. As a result, policies meant to promote access and equity to high-quality education for traditionally disadvantaged students often overlook Asian Americans. One example of this oversight occurred when The College Board released a report on minority students in 1999 entitled "Reaching the Top." The report grouped Asian Americans together with whites and did not include mention of the unique challenges that many Asian Americans encounter in the educational system.[4]

Still, contrary to popular belief, wide disparities exist between and within Asian American ethnic groups. Some Asian American groups have much lower

rates of educational attainment than the average U.S. citizen or resident or average Asian American and are actually underrepresented, not overrepresented, in higher education. The educational experiences of Southeast Asian Americans, such as Vietnamese, Cambodian, Hmong, and Lao Americans, show that many Asian American students face significant challenges in succeeding academically. For example, only 13 percent of Hmong Americans over the age of twenty-five have a bachelor's degree, in contrast to 28 percent of the U.S. general population (Figure 1).

One explanation for the wide disparities of educational attainment among Asian American groups, as well as differences between all U.S. and all Asians, can be found in the foreign-born data of the U.S. census. In 2000, 69 percent of Asian Americans reported being born outside of the United States compared with 11 percent of the general U.S. population.[5] Hence, much of the high educational attainment among certain Asian American subgroups is a result of selective immigration to the United States. In other words, the immigration of highly educated Asians who obtained a bachelor's degree or more elsewhere are a form of brain gain for America, but a brain drain for their homelands. The overall lower educational attainment of Southeast Asian groups is also related to the impact of the U.S. wars in their countries of origin and the legacy of their refugee exodus requiring them to start over in America. These students may attend high schools that are unresponsive to students' unique needs as English

Figure 1. Percentage of Total U.S., All Asian Americans, and Asian American Ethnic Groups 25 Years and Older with a Bachelor's Degree or Higher, 2007



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2007 American Community Survey.

language learners or bicultural students.[6] Consequently, the differences in educational attainment within the Asian American community are largely related to structural forces, such as the way that different Asian American subgroups immigrated to the United States. In particular, the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 and various military conflicts resulted in drastically different sets of educational opportunities and socioeconomic circumstances for different Asian American subgroups.

One way to help remedy the vast misconceptions regarding the educational experiences of Asian Americans is for institutions and organizations to collect and make available both aggregate and disaggregated data on Asian Americans by ethnic group (e.g. Filipino, Cambodian, Korean) and by social and economic status. Such data would contribute to more complete analyses of the diversity and complexity of the Asian American population. At a minimum, educational data for Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders must be presented separately. In addition, qualitative studies of individual ethnic communities that draw attention to the dynamics of social class and gender provide rich detail that is missed when relying only on quantitative data. Multiple data sources better serve all groups and sectors of the Asian American population in assessing their education in the United States.

STRUGGLE FOR ACCESS TO AND EQUITY IN EDUCATION

The predominant arena of educational participation for Asian Americans is in U.S. public schools and higher education institutions. Asian Americans have experienced discrimination and forced segregation in the U.S. educational system. They have used multiple strategies, such as petitions to local authorities and challenging the legal system up to the Supreme Court, as well as contemporary civil rights activism to fight for equity in education.

The early history of Asian American education, as for other minority groups in the United States deemed inferior and incapable of being first-class citizens, is one of denied access to public education followed by segregated schooling. While the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* Supreme Court decision is the landmark case for black/white school desegregation, Asian Americans also have a long history of contesting segregated schools. For instance, in the mid-nineteenth century, Chinese American students in San Francisco had to attend separate schools from the general population. In 1905, ninety-three Japanese and Korean immigrants created an international incident when the Japanese government protested the San Francisco school board's decision to assign them to the separate "Oriental School." It took the intervention of President Theodore Roosevelt in order for the school board to allow Japanese students to attend public schools with whites.[7] Segregated schooling for Asian Americans continued in some parts of California into the 1930s and in Mississippi until 1950.[8]

The rounding up and incarceration into barbed wire camps with military guards during World War II of some 110,000 Japanese Americans, including 30,000 children, disrupted the education of Japanese American youth. Japanese

American parents worked to ensure the continuity of schooling, and even created schools themselves when, on occasion, none were available. They also sought to provide opportunities for school-age children to sustain their cultural heritage.[9] More than 5,000 Japanese American college students also persisted in their educational goals. Many Japanese American college students were successful in completing their degrees elsewhere, but others had their earlier hopes and dreams derailed, some for a lifetime.[10]

In the 1974 *Lau v. Nichols* decision, Asian Americans had an historic role in expanding the educational rights of language minority groups, as explained in Hyeyoung Kwon and Eunai Shrake's entry on bilingual education. As a result of the lawsuit, filed by Chinese Americans who argued that schools were ill-equipped to educate limited English proficient (LEP) students, the U.S. Supreme Court redefined educational access and equity and called for new remedies that included bilingual programs, teachers, and teacher assistants.

During the late 1960s and early 1970s, as part of the social movements of the period, Asian Americans demonstrated and sat in with other student groups of color and supportive whites to challenge institutional inequities in higher education. Their primary demands focused on increased college access for minority, female, and low-income students, more minority faculty, and the establishment of ethnic studies programs. To this day, students continue to challenge institutions with petitions, sit-ins, and occasional hunger strikes to secure or expand Asian American Studies programs.[11] Sophia Lai's entry on Asian American Studies traces the development of this movement. Glenn Omatsu also discusses how the development of Asian American Studies was influenced by the pedagogy of the Freedom Schools movement of the Civil Rights era.

In the 1980s, Asian Americans opposed discriminatory practices adopted by both Ivy League and elite public institutions that sought to restrict the enrollment of Asian American students.[12] More recently, they have challenged anti-affirmative action initiatives and decisions by policy makers and institutions to exclude Asian Americans from programs serving minority students. As Julie Park's entry on affirmative action explains, Asian Americans have come out as both supporters and opponents of the policy. Many Asian Americans maintain they are a minority group that faces barriers to accessing and succeeding in higher education.[13]

Asian American faculty women and men have also taken action when they have been unjustly denied tenure, merit, or promotion. Here again the Asian American struggle for equity has benefited others. For example, Rosalie Tung's tenure case led to a 1990 U.S. Supreme Court decision that called for universities to adopt a more open, impartial, and consistent review process for all faculty. Tung had been denied tenure by the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School of Business, but argued that she had been unfairly treated during the tenure process because of her gender and national origin. The resilience of many Asian American faculty members to seek justice is part of a long and ongoing historic resistance against inequities in the U.S. educational system.[14]

The struggle for access and equity in Asian American education continues today, as certain states have passed laws restricting or even banning bilingual education, and Asian American college students often face unsupportive campus climates.

ISSUES IN K–12 EDUCATION

Role of Socioeconomic Status

In recent years, a series of studies have emerged that highlight the role of income and socioeconomic status within certain Asian American subgroups. One example of this work is Jamie Lew's research on Korean American high school students.[15] Her work draws attention to a category of Asian American students who are all but invisible in the existing research: high school dropouts. She found marked differences in the high school experiences between working-class students and students from families with greater financial resources. For instance, Lew found Korean American parents from wealthier backgrounds could send their children to private tutoring and supplementary educational institutions, while parents who had to work longer hours and had limited finances were unable to provide such resources.

Standardized Testing

Since the passage of No Child Left Behind, there has been a greater focus on testing students in America's schools. Wayne Au's entry on standardized testing provides information about the different ways that standardized tests are used in schools, as well as the impact of such tests on Asian American students. While statistics suggest that Asian American students tend to perform well on such tests, breaking the data out by socioeconomic status and ethnic subgroup shows that not all Asian American students are excelling in this area.

Supplementary Education

For many Asian American students, education goes beyond what they experience in public or private schools; they may attend supplementary educational institutions such as language schools or cram schools. From New York City to Los Angeles, such institutions sponsor a wide curriculum of language, arts, music, dance, and athletics. In addition, ethnic entrepreneurs have created private, for-profit schools in Chinese and Korean communities to prepare youth for the rigors of getting into a prestigious college. The Chinese-run "buxiban" or "kumon" program and the Korean-run "hagwons" are noted for their SAT, PSAT, and AP preparation. Nonprofit and for-profit community-supported schools are a form of social capital that help explain, along with immigration policies that favor the entry of highly motivated, skilled, and professional classes from Asia to the United States, why certain Asian American communities have demonstrated academic success in U.S. schooling.[16]

Racism in Schools

The model minority myth assumes that all Asian American students are excelling in school, which in turn would suggest that Asian American students face few barriers to succeeding in schools; however, researchers have found that some school environments are unsupportive of Asian American students. Stacey J. Lee studied a well-resourced high school that did little to facilitate the well-being of the first- and second-generation Hmong American students that attended the school. She argues that the school perpetuated a dominant culture that privileged white students and marginalized Hmong students. Furthermore, the school did little to meet the distinct needs of the Hmong student population. In the twenty-first century, blatant discrimination against Asian Americans and other students of color still occurs in school settings. This discrimination may be especially prevalent for South Asian American and Arab American children following the events of September 11, 2001.[17]

Diversity in the Curriculum

One major concern in K–12 education is the lack of multicultural perspectives reflected in the curriculum. Depending on the region of the country, the history and experiences of Asian Americans and other communities of color may or may not be included in social studies, history, and language arts curriculum. Asian Americans have acted to remedy this problem by working to include Asian American stories and perspectives in the curriculum. One notable initiative is Pin@y Educational Partnerships (PEP), a collaboration between San Francisco public schools, a community center, and the San Francisco State University Asian American Studies Department. PEP developed innovative curricula on Filipino American issues that have been taught by undergraduates, graduate students, and teachers in middle and high schools.[18] One little-known fact is that when President Barack Obama was an Illinois state senator, he introduced SB890, which mandated that the role of contributions of different American ethnic groups, including Asian Americans, be taught in public schools.[19]

Asian American Teachers and Administrators

Related to the issue of underrepresented Asian American voices in existing curriculum are the relatively low numbers of Asian Americans teaching in K–12 schools. Researchers have identified the need to recruit greater numbers of Asian American students to the teaching profession.[20] They have also noted that Asian American student teachers often encounter subtle forms of racism or questions about their identities, particularly when teaching in areas with lower concentrations of Asian Americans.[21] Additionally, there are few Asian Americans who serve on school boards or in top administrative positions. One high-profile Asian American superintendent of a major metropolitan area is Michelle Rhee, who was appointed chancellor of the District of Columbia Public Schools system in 2007.

TRENDS IN HIGHER EDUCATION

Student Growth

The most notable trend is the increased presence of Asian American and Pacific Islander students, especially Asian Americans, in higher education institutions at all levels. Their undergraduate enrollment grew 40.5 percent from 1993 to 2003. In this same period, Asian American graduate enrollment grew 64.5 percent while their professional degree participation increased 59.6 percent.[22] Overall, Asian Americans alone comprised 6.6 percent of all undergraduate enrollees and 6.6 percent of all college enrollees (undergraduate, graduate, and professional) in fall 2006.[23] As Tracy Buenavista and Dimpal Jain note, Asian American student groups and organizations reflect their population growth on college campuses.

Community College Presence

Another trend is that the proportion of Asian American students who attend community colleges compared with four-year institutions has remained relatively constant throughout the years, being about 56 percent and 44 percent at four-year and two-year colleges, respectively.[24] This trend challenges the notion that Asian Americans are largely in four-year elite institutions. Why do so many Asian American students choose community colleges? As Jonathan Lew and Winnie Wang explain in their entry on community colleges, cost and location close to home are key reasons. Tuition costs are lower at community colleges than at four-year institutions, an important consideration for low-income households. The vast majority of Asian Americans also reside in the Western states, which have a large number of community colleges.

Increased Participation of Asian American Women

One of the most significant trends is the increased enrollment of Asian American women in college. Their college enrollment parallels a general U.S. trend of a gender shift in education for all racial/ethnic groups. It was not until the mid 1990s, however, that the numbers of undergraduate Asian American women began to exceed their male counterparts, a situation held by women in other racial and ethnic groups a decade or more earlier. By 2003–04, Asian American women were earning more associate, bachelor, master's, professional, and doctoral degrees than their male counterparts.[25] While rates of participation have increased for Asian American women, the rate of participation for Asian American men at the undergraduate level has not increased at the same level.

Marginalization of Asian American Issues and Concerns

A fourth trend is the continued lack of attention given to Asian American issues and concerns by educational institutions and their personnel at all levels. In higher education, whether as students, faculty, staff, or administrators, Asian

Americans have long identified the many ways in which they and their interests are ignored to their detriment. Asian American student concerns have received little attention by many student affairs offices across the country.[26] Tracy Buenavista highlights the often overlooked issue of student retention for Asian American students in higher education, along with the challenges that some students face staying in college.

OUTLOOK

In response to failures to include the Asian American population and their perspectives in educational matters, national educational groups and Asian American scholars and community organizations have collaborated in producing a number of public policy reports with research findings of economic and educational disparities in the Asian American community all along the pipeline beginning with elementary schools. In contrast to the dominant group's public discourse of Asian American communities as a model minority, community-based public policy reports identify them as a community in "crisis."[27]

Some developments point to a greater awareness of the educational needs of Asian Americans. For instance, history was made when a federal designation for Asian American Pacific Islander (AAPI) Serving Institutions was passed as part of the College Cost Reduction and Access Act of 2007, making AAPIs the newest population group to be eligible for Minority Serving Institution status. This program makes higher education institutions with at least a 10 percent AAPI student enrollment and a certain threshold of low-income students eligible to apply for certain federal grants.[28] Still, numerous challenges exist to ensure that all Asian Americans can have a high quality educational experience. In the coming years, many policy decisions will be made around issues such as high stakes testing; teacher quality, pay and accountability; and access to higher education, including affordability, and the extent to which they will affect the lives of Asian American students and educators alike. Asian American ethnic groups need to be included in efforts to close the achievement gap being addressed by school systems nationwide and to be part of a seamless pre-K through higher education and beyond pipeline.[29] In addition, more attention needs to be given by the larger U.S. society, the educational community in general, and Asian American communities to the widening educational gap across Asian American ethnic groups and within ethnic groups.

NOTES

1. CNN.com. "Back to School: The American Student." CNN.com, 2003. http://www.cnn.com/SPECIALS/2003/back.to.school/college/social.html.

2. Robert Teranishi, *Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders, Facts, Not Fiction: Setting the Record Straight*, (New York: National Commission on Asian American and Pacific Islander Research in Education and The College Board, 2008).

3. Timothy Egan, "Little Asia on the Hill," *The New York Times*, Jan. 7, 2007. http://www.nytimes.com/2007/01/07/education/edlife/07asian.html.

4. The College Board, *Reaching the Top: A Report of the National Task Force on Minority High Achievement* (New York: College Board Publications, 1999).

5. Terrance J. Reeves and Claudette E. Bennett, *We the People: Asians in the United States* (Washington, DC: U.S. Census Bureau, 2004).

6. Stacey J. Lee, *Up Against Whiteness: Race, School and Immigrant Youth* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2005).

7. Victor Low, *The Unimpressible Race* (San Francisco: East/West Publishing Co., 1982).

8. Sucheng Chan, *Asian Americans: An Interpretive History* (Boston: Twayne, 1991).

9. Thomas James, *Exile Within: The Schooling of Japanese Americans 1942–1945* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987).

10. Allan W. Austin, *From Concentration Camp to Campus* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 2004).

11. Shirley Hune and Kenyon S. Chan, “Special Focus: Asian Pacific American Demographic and Education Trends,” in *Minorities in Higher Education, 15th Annual Status Report,* eds. Deborah Carter and Reginald Wilson (Washington, DC: American Council on Education, 1997), 39–67 and 103–107.

12. Dana Takagi, *Retreat from Race: Asian American Admissions and Racial Politics* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1992)

13. Sharon S. Lee, “Over-Represented and De-Minoritized: The Racialization of Asian Americans in Higher Education,*” Interactions: UCLA Journal of Education and Information Studies* 2, no. 2 (2006).

14. Sumi Cho, “Converging Stereotypes in Racialized Sexual Harassment: Where the Model Minority Meets Suzie Wong,” in *Critical Race Feminism,* ed. Adrien Wing (New York: New York University Press, 1997), 203–220.

15. Jamie Lew, *Asian Americans in Class: Charting the Achievement Gap among Korean American Youth* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2006).

16. Min Zhou and Susan Kim, “Community Forces, Social Capital, and Educational Achievement: The Case of Supplementary Education in the Chinese and Korean Immigrant Communities,” *Harvard Educational Review* 76 (2006): 1–29.

17. Khyati Joshi, “The Racialization of Hinduism, Islam, and Sikhism in the United States. *Equity & Excellence* 39 (2006): 211–26.

18. Pin@y Educational Partnerships, Allyson Tintiangco-Cubales, “Pin@y Educational Partnerships,” http://pepsf.org/.

19. Yvonne M. Lau, “President-elect Barack Obama’s Chinese Connection: One ‘Jia,’ ” U.S.-China Media Brief. http://www.aasc.ucla.edu/uschina/cac_chicago.shtml.

20. Xue Lan Rong and J. Preissle, “The Continuing Decline in Asian American Teachers,” *American Educational Research Journal 34* (1997): 267–93.

21. Roberta M. Newton, “Racialized Experiences of Asian American Student Teachers,” in *Asian American Identities, Families, And Schooling,* eds. Park Clara, A. Goodwin Lin, and Stacey J. Lee (Greenwich, CT: Information Age Publishing, 2003), 77–104.

22. Bryan J. Cook and Diana I. Córdova, *Minorities in Higher Education, Twenty-Second Annual Status Report* (Washington, DC: American Council on Education, 2006).

23. The Chronicle of Higher Education, “The 2008-9 Almanac, College Enrollment by Racial and Ethnic group, Selected Years.” http://chronicle.com/weekly/almanac/2008/nation/0101403.htm.

24. Ibid.

25. Cook and Córdova, *Minorities in Higher Education, Twenty-Second Annual Status Report*.

26. Marylu K. McEwen, Corinne Maekawa Kodama, Alvin N. Alvarez, Sunny Lee, and Christopher T. H. Liang, eds., *Working with Asian American College Students* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2002).

27. Asian American Justice Center, *A Community of Contrasts: Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders in the United States* (Washington DC: Asian American Justice Center, 2006).

28. Julie J. Park and Robert Teranishi, "Asian American Pacific Islander Serving Institutions: Historical Perspectives and Future Prospects," in *Understanding Minority Serving Institutions,* eds. Marybeth Gasman, Benjamin Baez, and Caroline Turner (Albany: SUNY Press, 2008), 111–26.

29. Shirley Hune and David Takeuchi, *Asian Americans in Washington State: Closing Their Hidden Achievement Gaps. A report submitted to The Washington State Commission on Asian Pacific American Affairs* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington, 2008).

This page intentionally left blank

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

Julie J. Park

Affirmative action is a highly controversial issue within the Asian American community. Within the field of education, affirmative action generally refers to taking race and/or ethnicity into account as a factor in university admissions or school assignment policies. There are also ramifications beyond who gains entrance into a university or high school, such as whether scholarships or special outreach programs can be offered to certain racial/ethnic groups. A number of polls indicate that, overall, Asian Americans tend to be almost evenly split in their opposition and support of affirmative action.[1] In other cases, Asian Americans have been slightly more likely to support affirmative action. In 1996, 39 percent of Asian American voters in California voted for Proposition 209, which forbade public institutions to take race into account as a factor in policies such as university admissions or government contracts.[2] While this percentage was larger than other minority groups in California, it was substantially lower than the 63 percent of white residents who voted in favor of the proposition.

HISTORY

Affirmative action policies first emerged through Executive Order 10925 under President John F. Kennedy, which required federal contractors to "take affirmative action to ensure that applicants are employed, and that employees are treated during employment, without regard to their race, creed, color, or national origin." In 1965, President Lyndon B. Johnson issued Executive Order 11246, which required government contractors to examine the demographic composition of their workforces and take affirmative steps to remedy any inequalities in the hiring or treatment of employees. Much of the controversy

surrounding affirmative action is related to disagreements about what exactly affirmative action constitutes, as well as who stands to benefit or lose from the policy. For instance, a popular misperception exists that the purpose of affirmative action is to fill certain racial quotas, but such quotas are illegal. However, in the 1978 *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke* case, Supreme Court Justice Lewis Powell argued that race could be considered as a "plus" factor in admissions decisions when all other qualifications were equal.[3] In the 2003 Supreme Court case *Grutter v. Bollinger*, Justice Sandra Day O'Connor was the swing vote in the decision that affirmed the right of universities to consider race as one of multiple factors in college admissions decisions. This approach of justifying affirmative action as a tool to assemble a diverse student body due to the benefits of diversity is known as the diversity defense.

ASIAN AMERICANS AND AFFIRMATIVE ACTION: SUPPORT AND OPPOSITION

Asian Americans are an important group to consider in regard to affirmative action because they have dedicated resources toward both defending and attacking affirmative action policy. The Asian American community is very heterogeneous and thus different populations such as women, low-income Asian Americans, and Asian Americans from different ethnic subgroups have been affected by affirmative action in different ways.

Many Asian American civil rights organizations have argued in favor of affirmative action for several reasons, as noted in an amicus brief signed by twenty-eight Asian American civil rights organizations in *Grutter v. Bollinger*.[4] The brief made three major arguments. First, they argued that Asian American students, like all students, benefit from engagement in a diverse student body. This argument reflects the diversity defense argument invoked by the University of Michigan's legal team that contended that assembling a diverse student body was a compelling educational interest. Furthermore, Asian American groups argued that the flexible nature of the University of Michigan's affirmative action policies did not harm Asian American or other applicants and that Asian Americans would not significantly benefit from the end of affirmative action. They also noted that in certain circumstances that Asian Americans should still be included in affirmative action policies, for instance in order to improve educational opportunities for Asian American subgroups that are highly underrepresented in higher education. In a similar vein, some scholars and community leaders have argued for the need for Asian Americans to look beyond "self-interest" and see affirmative action as a tool that can help other minority communities and Asian Americans.[5] The late Chang-Lin Tien, the former chancellor of the University of California–Berkeley, and the first Asian American to head a major U.S. research university, was a vocal supporter of affirmative action. Another prominent supporter of affirmative action is civil rights leader Karen Narasaki, the president of the Asian American Justice Center, who has been vocal about how she personally benefited from affirmative action as an undergraduate at Yale.[6]

However, many Asian Americans have strongly argued against affirmative action, stating that Asian Americans stand to lose more than other racial/ethnic groups. In *Ho vs. SFUSD*, a group of Chinese American families sued the San Francisco Unified School District in 1994 because they believed that admissions policies at the highly competitive Lowell High School disadvantaged Chinese American students. Because Asian Americans are generally not considered under affirmative action policies at the most highly selective institutions, some Asian Americans feel that affirmative action gives an unfair advantage to other minorities such as African Americans and Latino/as.[7] They also assert that affirmative action robs Asian Americans and other students of the chance to be considered as "individuals," and argue that race/ethnicity should be irrelevant to the admissions process. Such advocates maintain that America is a colorblind society, and affirmative action violates this ideal by considering an individual's race. Prominent opponents of affirmative action include Elaine Chao, the first Asian American Secretary of Labor, and John Yoo, professor at the University of California–Berkeley School of Law.

Some recent research findings maintain that Asian Americans have much to gain from affirmative action ending, in that more Asian American students would be admitted to colleges and universities instead of members of other minority groups. In an analysis of admissions data, Princeton University scholars Thomas Epsenshade and Chang Chung conclude that "Asian applicants are the biggest winners if race is no longer considered in admissions."[8] In 2006, Yale University student Jian Li sued Princeton University, which rejected him the previous year, arguing that colleges' commitments to bringing together a diverse student body through affirmative action unfairly discriminates against Asian Americans in the college admissions process. Li cited Epsenshade and Chung's research to bolster his claim that affirmative action results in unequal standards for students from different racial/ethnic groups.[9]

However, law scholar Jerry Kang counters this claim and instead contends that Asian Americans actually suffer a form of "negative action," in which they are less likely to be admitted than white students with comparable test scores and grades.[10] Thus, it may be possible that Asian American students are being displaced by white students rather than students from other minority groups when affirmative action policies are in place. Research examined Asian American enrollment in five law schools in California, Texas, and Washington before and after affirmative action policies ended in the institutions.[11] It was found that overall Asian Americans made up 12.9 percent of the student bodies during affirmative action and 14.3 percent without affirmative action. However, between 1993 and 2005, Asian American applicants to American Bar Association accredited law schools rose by 50 percent. Thus, it is uncertain how much of the slight rise in Asian American students for these institutions can be attributed to the end of affirmative action policies.

The future of affirmative action policies is uncertain. In her swing-vote decision in *Grutter v. Bollinger*, Justice Sandra Day O'Connor stated that affirmative action should not be needed in twenty-five years. The Supreme Court also struck

down voluntary school integration plans in two 2006 cases, *Parents v. Seattle and Meredith v. Jefferson* and *Parents Involved in Community Schools v. Seattle School District No. 1*. These cases may have ramifications for affirmative action in the future, although they did not negate the Supreme Court's ruling in *Grutter v. Bollinger*. It is almost certain, however, that Asian Americans will continue to stand on both sides of the affirmative action issue, both advocating and opposing the policy.

FURTHER READING

Americans for a Fair Chance, http://www.fairchance.org/.

Asian American Legal Defense and Education Fund, http://www.aaldef.org/affirm.php.

The Center for Individual Rights: http://www.cir-usa.org/history.html.

Chin, Gabriel, Sumi Cho, Jerry Kang, and Frank Wu. "Beyond Self-Interest: Asian Pacific Americans Towards a Community of Justice, a Policy Analysis of Affirmative Action." Los Angeles: Asian American Studies Center, 1996.

NOTES

1. Paul Ong, "The Affirmative Action Divide." In *Asian American Politics: Law, Participation, and Policy*, eds. by Don T. Nakanishi and James S. Lai, (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003), 377–405.

2. Loan Le, Taeku Lee, and Mark Q. Sawyer, "Is Demography Destiny: Stimulating the Vote to Repeal Proposition 209?" Paper presented at the Equal Opportunity in Higher Education: The Past and Future of Proposition 209, Berkeley, CA, 2006.

3. Mitchell J. Chang, Daria Witt, James Jones, and Kenji Hakuta, eds., *Compelling Interest: Examining the Evidence on Racial Dynamics in Colleges and Universities* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003).

4. Brief of National Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium, Asian Law Caucus, Asian Pacific American Legal Center, et al. as *Amicus Curiae* in support of respondent; *Grutter v. Bollinger et al.,* No. 02-241 (2003); *Gratz v. Bollinger et al,* No. 02-516 (2003), http://chronicle.com/indepth/michigan/documents/briefs/respondent/NAPALC.pdf.

5. Gabriel Chin, Sumi Cho, Jerry Kang, and Frank Wu, "Beyond Self-Interest: Asian Pacific Americans Towards a Community of Justice, a Policy Analysis of Affirmative Action" (Los Angeles: Asian American Studies Center, 1996).

6. Americans for a Fair Chance. "Real Stories, Real People," http://www.fairchance.org/real_people/psa_txt-html.html.

7. Daniel Golden, "Is Admissions Bar Higher for Asians at Elite Schools?" *Wall Street Journal*, Nov. 11, 2006.

8. Thomas J. Espenshade and Chang Y. Chung. "The Opportunity Cost of Admission Preferences at Elite Universities" *Social Science Quarterly* 86, no. 2 (2005): 293–305.

9. Scott Jaschik, "Inquiry into Alleged Anti-Asian Bias Expands." *Inside Higher Ed*, June 11 2007, http://www.insidehighered.com/news/2008/06/11/asians.

10. Jerry Kang, "Negative Action against Asian Americans: The Internal Instability of Dworkin's Defense of Affirmative Action," *Harvard Civil Rights-Civil Liberties Law Review* 31 (1996): 1–47.

11. William Kidder, "Negative Action versus Affirmative Action: Asian Pacific Americans Are Still Caught in the Crossfire," *Michigan Journal of Race & Law* 11 (2006): 605–624.

ASIAN AMERICAN STUDIES

Sophia Lai

Asian American Studies is an interdisciplinary academic program focusing on the experiences of Asians in the United States. The field draws from disciplines such as anthropology, criminology, economics, education, ethnic studies, history, journalism, law, library science, literature, political science, psychology, social work, and sociology. Asian American Studies is considered part of the Ethnic Studies framework, having originated in 1960s student activism to make more inclusive of Asian American experiences and communities. The field has a distinctive history and purpose from Asian Studies, which was established to study Asian cultures and societies.

PROGRAMS AND STRUCTURES

In September 2008, there were thirty-two institutions of higher education with Asian American Studies programs, with twenty additional programs situated within broader structures, such as Ethnic Studies departments with comparative frameworks. Half of these programs are located at institutions in California, and many of them allow college students to major or minor in Asian American Studies. Only the University of California at Los Angeles and San Francisco State University offer master's of arts degrees in Asian American Studies, and no institution currently provides doctoral degrees in the field as of 2008. In addition, there are nearly twenty colleges and universities that offer courses in Asian American Studies, although they do not have Asian American Studies departments or programs.

The largest and most prominent Asian American Studies program is at University of California Los Angeles (UCLA), which boasts nearly forty full-time

faculty and the largest teaching program. UCLA's Asian American Studies Center houses a press committed to publishing scholarship devoted to Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders, the leading repository of English-language Asian American and Pacific Islander materials in North America, the Center for EthnoCommunications, and a student and community projects unit focusing on student leadership development and community collaboration. Other institutions with Asian American Studies Departments include California State University (CSU) at Long Beach, CSU Northridge, San Francisco State University, University of California (UC) at Irvine, UC–Santa Barbara, and the Claremont Colleges. Outside of California, there are significant programs at Columbia University, Cornell University, Hunter College (City University of New York), New York University, University of Illinois–Urbana-Champaign, University of Massachusetts–Boston, University of Pennsylvania, and University of Texas–Austin.

In spite of the successful establishment of Asian American Studies programs at many institutions and general acceptance of Asian American Studies scholarship, the field continues to struggle for legitimacy in higher education. Even in the last decade, the creation, expansion, and preservation of Asian American Studies programs continue to depend heavily on student demand.[1] At schools ranging from UC–Berkeley to Tufts University and Harvard University, students still push for more courses, faculty, and structural development through staging rallies, lobbying administrations, and implementing hunger strikes. Nonetheless, Asian American Studies offerings at universities without established programs often consist of only a couple courses taught by visiting, adjunct, or nontenured faculty.

The Association for Asian American Studies (AAAS), which was founded in 1979, is the primary professional organization for the multidisciplinary field. Through increasing scholarly exchange and communication, AAAS strives to educate American society about Asian Americans and to promote understanding and closer ties among ethnic subcomponents, including South Asian, Southeast Asian, Pacific Islander, Filipino, Hawai'ian, and East Asian groups. In addition to hosting an annual conference, AAAS publishes the *Journal of Asian American Studies* and distributes awards for noteworthy publications in Asian American history, cultural studies, poetry or prose, and social science. The UCLA Asian American Studies Center also regularly publishes two journals focused on Asian American Studies scholarship: *Amerasia Journal* and *AAPI Nexus: Policy, Practice, and Community*, which focuses on applied research.

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

Asian American Studies originated in the social movements for equality and empowerment of people of color in the late 1960s. In 1969, a broad coalition of students at UC–Berkeley and San Francisco State University formed the Third World Liberation Front and staged the longest student strike in American history, braving arrest, tear gas, mace, and clubs at the hands of the National Guard and

local police. They demanded establishment of autonomous Ethnic Studies programs, hoping to create an academic curriculum and structure that would serve their communities through relevant research and political mobilization.

As Asian American Studies programs developed within universities, both scholars and activists criticized their declining outward community orientation.[2] The field also faced significant disapproval from administrators and faculty in more traditional disciplines, who questioned the legitimacy of scholarship originating in student protest.[3] Despite the difficulty of navigating the tension between institutional and community demands, Asian American Studies continued to grow through effective teaching, scholarship, and student activism. In a second wave in the 1980s and 1990s, the field expanded from public universities in California to more private and public institutions on the East Coast and in the Midwest and South.

By the 1990s, demographic shifts due to the 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act and Southeast Asian conflicts forced Asian American Studies to redefine the communities it sought to serve.[4] The Asian American population was fundamentally transformed by the influx of highly educated professional immigrants from East and South Asia and refugees from Southeast Asian nations. Diversity of not only national origin, class, and immigration or generational status, but also of gender and sexual orientation, forced the field to reconsider its frameworks. Because of these developments, Asian American Studies scholars increasingly rejected the concept of a singular Asian American identity, perspective, or experience.[5]

TRENDS IN SCHOLARSHIP

Because of its origins in social movements for racial equality, Asian American Studies has always diverged from conventional understanding of an academic field. The overarching mission of the first Asian American Studies scholar-activists was to make the United States a fairer and more inclusive society by opening higher education to previously marginalized racial and ethnic groups. By establishing community-relevant programs and creating scholarship that challenged mainstream stereotypes of Asians in the United States, they hoped to transform society.

Initially, the field's radical orientation resulted in a tendency toward political and topical essentialism, as a leftist orthodoxy pervaded scholarship and teaching. Early "Asian Americanists," or scholars committed to Asian American Studies, often drew a dichotomy between the academy and the community, conceptualizing the latter as working class, geographically bound ethnic enclaves rooted in the United States, such as Chinatowns and Japantowns.[6] Many scholars presupposed a panethnic framework, overlooking differences among ethnicities in order to develop a unifying Asian American Studies narrative and canon. Others criticized this conformity for reproducing the hierarchy and exclusion of more traditional disciplines.[7]

As Asian American Studies matures, it has become progressively more complex and inclusive of alternative narratives, reflecting the concurrent

diversification of the Asian American population. Four decades of evolving social and historical context have complicated the basic underpinnings of the field, forcing scholars to redefine the field's relationship with communities and universities.[8] Asian Americanists have contested privileges based on class, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, immigration or nationality status, and region that were prominent in early scholarship. For example, AAAS members organized the "East of California" caucus at the 1991 conference at Cornell to challenge assumptions that the West Coast is definitive of Asian American experiences, communities, and scholarship. Recognition of the intersection of Ethnic Studies with Women's Studies and Queer Studies has also resulted in innovative scholarship.

Asian American Studies programs are frequently located within broader Ethnic Studies structures, providing a comparative framework for studying race and ethnicity in the United States. Asian Americanists frequently highlight the distinction between the Ethnic Studies heritage of racial empowerment and the foreign policy–related motivations of Asian Studies.[9] However, the demographic shift from mostly American-born Asians to a largely immigrant and refugee Asian population in the United States has disrupted the American-rooted framework of Asian American Studies. The globalization of Asian American communities and the increased mobility and communication between Asian countries and the United States, has led to more attention to diaspora and transnationalism studies.[10]

Although Asian American Studies has changed significantly from its inception, many programs strive to realize the original objective of relevant research and instruction by collaborating with community organizations and practitioners.

FURTHER READING

Association for Asian American Studies, http://www.aaastudies.org/.

Chan, Sucheng. *In Defense of Asian American Studies: The Politics of Teaching and Program Building*. Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2005.

Chuh, Kandice. *Imagine Otherwise: On Asian Americanist Critique*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003.

Hirabayashi, Lane Ryo, ed. *Teaching Asian America: Diversity and the Problem of Community*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 1998.

Nomura, Gail M., Russell Endo, Stephen H. Sumida, and Russell C. Leong, eds. *Frontiers of Asian American Studies: Writing, Research, and Commentary*. Pullman: Washington State University Press, 1989.

Okihiro, Gary Y., Marilyn Alquizola, Dorothy Fujita Rony, and K. Scott Wong, eds. *Privileging Positions: The Sites of Asian American Studies*. Pullman: Washington State University Press, 1995.

Okihiro, Gary Y., Shirley Hune, Arthur A. Hansen, and John M. Liu, eds. *Reflections on Shattered Windows: Promises and Prospects for Asian American Studies*. Pullman: Washington State University Press, 1988.

Ono, Kent A. *Asian American Studies after Critical Mass*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2005.

Ono, Kent A., ed. *A Companion to Asian American Studies*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2005.

Tachiki, Amy, Eddie Wong, Franklin Odo, eds. *Roots: An Asian American Reader*. Los Angeles: Regents of the University of California, 1971.

University of California at Los Angeles Asian American Studies Center, http://www.aasc.ucla.edu/.

Wu, Jean and Min Song, eds. *Asian American Studies: A Reader*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2000.

NOTES

1. Shirley Hune and Phil Tajitsu Nash, "Reconceptualizing Community, Pedagogy, and Paradigms: Asian American Studies and Higher Education," *Journal of Asian American Studies* 3 (2000): 7–15.

2. Michael Omi, "It Just Ain't the Sixties No More: The Contemporary Dilemmas of Asian American Studies," in *Reflections on Shattered Windows: Promises and Prospects for Asian American Studies*, eds. Gary Y. Okihiro, Shirley Hune, Arthur A. Hansen, and John M. Liu. (Pullman: Washington State University Press, 1988), 31–36.

3. Chalsa Loo, "The 'Middle Aging' of Asian American Studies," in *Reflections on Shattered Windows: Promises and Prospects for Asian American Studies*, eds. Okihiro, Gary Y., Shirley Hune, Arthur A. Hansen, and John M. Liu (Pullman: Washington State University Press, 1988), 16–23.

4. Lane Ryo Hirabayashi and Marilyn C. Alquizola, "Asian American Studies: Reevaluating for the 1990s," in *The State of Asian America: Activism and Resistance in the 1990s*, ed. Karin Aguilar-San Juan (Boston: South End Press, 1994), 351–364.

5. Keith Osajima, "Pedagogical Considerations in Asian American Studies," *Journal of Asian American Studies* 1 (1998): 269–292.

6. Russell Endo and William Wei, "On the Development of AAS Programs," in *Reflections on Shattered Windows: Promises and Prospects for Asian American Studies*, eds. Okihiro, Gary Y., Shirley Hune, Arthur A. Hansen, and John M. Liu (Pullman: Washington State University Press, 1988), 5–15.

7. Lisa Lowe, "Heterogeneity, Hybridity, Multiplicity: Marking Asian American Differences," *Disapora* 1 (1991): 24–44. Republished in Kent A. Ono, ed. *A Companion to Asian American Studies*. (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), 254–275.

8. Kenyon S. Chan, "Rethinking the Asian American Studies Project: Bridging the Divide between 'Campus' and 'Community,'" *Journal of Asian American Studies* 3 (2000): 17–36.

9. Sylvia Yanagisako, "Asian Exclusion Acts," in *Learning Places: The Afterlives of Area Studies*, eds. Masao Miyoshi and H. D. Harootunian (Durham, NC: Duke University Press., 2002), 175–189.

10. Lingyan Yang, "Theorizing Asian America: On Asian American and Postcolonial Asian Diasporic Women Intellectuals," *Journal of Asian American Studies* 5 (2002): 139–178.

This page intentionally left blank

BILINGUAL EDUCATION

Hyeyoung Kwon and Eunai Shrake

Contrary to the stereotypical image of Asian Americans as a single entity, the Asian American population is extremely heterogeneous. Members of the Asian American population speak more than 300 languages and dialects.[1] Language diversity is one of the most critical issues for many Asian Americans because it has been a highly influential factor in their transition into American society, which in turn affects their socioeconomic mobility. The issue of language is particularly relevant to the Asian American educational experience, specifically in relation to bilingual education for the children of Asian immigrants.

With the significant increase of Asian immigrants and refugee school-aged children each year, bilingual education has been an issue of extensive debate and controversy within and outside the Asian American community. Though the most basic definition of bilingual education involves teaching school subjects in both English and a child's native language, there are various models of bilingual education in the United States. For example, the transitional bilingual education model is designed to help nonnative English-speaking students acquire proficiency in English as quickly as possible (subtractive bilingualism), while others, such as the two-way bilingual education and developmental bilingual education models, aim to develop bilingualism and biliteracy in both languages (additive bilingualism).

Asian Americans constitute 12 percent of the English Language Learner (ELL) student population nationwide, even though they amount to only 5 percent of the total student population. They account for more than 10 percent of the ELL population in 28 different states, including some states with the largest ELL populations such as California, New York, and New Jersey.[2] In other

words, nearly a quarter of all Asian American students in K–12 schools are ELL students.[3] While more than half of Asian American children come from homes where English is not the primary language, not all ELL students are immigrants themselves. The increase in ELL students has been most visible in California. For example, the California Department of Education reports that there are approximately 1.6 million ELL students in California alone, and besides Latinos, Asian Americans are the second largest ELL student population.[4] While Asian Americans are not the majority of English Language Learners, the issues concerning language minorities and bilingual education remain relevant because of the linguistic and cultural diversity within Asian American populations.

HISTORY

English-Only Movement and Ethnic Language Schools

Bilingual education in the United States reflects the political climate related to various immigrant populations over time. In the 1840s, the first bilingual education laws were passed to ensure equal educational rights for German children. As the population of Latino immigrants increased in later decades, states like California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas quickly enacted their own bilingual education programs; however, as a result of the growing English-Only Movement and "100 percent Americanization" campaigns in the early 1900s, English-only instruction was mandated in 37 states.[5]

The English-Only Movement had a significant effect on Asian American parents, who struggled to pass their culture and language onto their children by opening up ethnic language schools. These schools were met with much resistance from mainstream society. For example, in Hawai'i, local white leaders criticized the Japanese-language schools for preventing Japanese American children from being "Americans." During the early twentieth century, the collective efforts to ban ethnic language schools resulted in legislation that required ethnic language school teachers to have American teaching credentials and demonstrate knowledge of the English language and American history.[6] Nevertheless, many ethnic language schools survived and functioned to foster family and community ties by improving the communication between immigrant parents and their children, facilitating ethnic identity development, creating employment for immigrants, and serving the community as social support and network systems.

Legislation, Lawsuits, and the Struggle for Equal Educational Opportunities

Bilingual education eventually regained support during the Civil Rights Movement. In 1968, President Lyndon Johnson signed the Bilingual Education Act, and three years later, California passed the state's Bilingual Education Act. This act allowed native language instruction in California's public schools.

Despite the passage of the Bilingual Education Act at both the federal and state level, the majority of ELL students did not receive special assistance in their native languages. For example, in the San Francisco Unified School District, more than 62 percent of Chinese ELL students did not receive any special instruction in 1970, while the remaining Chinese ELL students were removed from their regular classes to receive once-a-day 40-minute Pull-Out English as a Second Language (ESL) instruction.[7]

In this context of the virtual absence of bilingual education, the U.S. Supreme Court reached a landmark decision for bilingual education in the *Lau v. Nichols* case in 1974. The case was a class-action suit filed by approximately 1,800 Chinese American parents against San Francisco Unified School District for not providing proper bilingual help for their children, thus denying them equal educational opportunities. The U.S. Supreme Court acknowledged that the “sink or swim” approach for ELL students was a violation of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which prohibits educational discrimination on the basis of national origin. As a result, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in favor of students. Hence, the *Lau* decision was the most notable legal precedent to grant rights to equal educational opportunities for all ELL students, expanding their rights nationwide.[8]

Lau v. Nichols fundamentally challenged the discriminatory institutional practices of depriving ELL students of their rights to equal educational opportunity in the public education system and recognized the importance of students’ native language in the classroom context. For the first time in U.S. history, Congress amended the nationwide bilingual education program to ensure equal educational opportunities for ELL students. While the *Lau* case did not mandate bilingual education programs, it did shift national attention to their importance. The decision also helped spur the development of bilingual instruction programs across the nation for ELL students. While the *Lau* decision and the subsequent remedies have served as the primary legal references that guide educational policy makers, the recent shift in immigration policies significantly affects the educational opportunities of ELL students in the United States.

STATUS

Opposition and the Re-emergence of English-Only Movement

As the immigrant population increased rapidly after the passage of the 1965 Immigration Act, many people in U.S. mainstream society began to voice strong opposition to the use of federal funds to preserve minority languages and cultures. For example, during California’s economic downturn in the late 1980s, undocumented immigrants were blamed as being one cause of the recession. The resulting public hostility toward immigrants culminated in Proposition 187, which aimed to restrict their access to public facilities, including schools, medical care, and other social services. What is significant about Proposition 187 is that supporters of this measure blurred the lines between the ELL students and undocumented students. They claimed that illegal immigrant

families purposely moved to California to enroll their children into bilingual education programs and that it was costly to educate undocumented children who were incapable of learning English fast enough.[9] In later years, these stereotypes continue to influence how many Americans perceive bilingual education programs.

This anti-immigrant sentiment eventually set the stage for other propositions such as California Proposition 227, or "English for the Children," which sought to remove bilingual education from the public school system; however, the change in political atmosphere and the consequent passage of these propositions have had a detrimental effect on the ability of many Asian American students to succeed in the educational system.

Opponents of bilingual education argue that such programs prevent language minorities from successfully assimilating into the mainstream.[10] They claim that bilingualism and bilingual education will not only balkanize the American melting pot, but also hurt language minority children because their failure to learn English quickly will inhibit their transition to becoming American. In other words, they argue that linguistic assimilation is the price that immigrants have to pay for success in America. Buying into this rhetoric, some immigrant parents also have opposed bilingual education, expressing concern that ineffective bilingual programs may prevent their children from having a bright economic future.[11]

Similar to the sentiments of the early 1900s, opponents generally believe that bilingualism fosters children's allegiance to minority customs, thereby causing the fragmentation of American society. As a result of this resistance toward bilingualism, the reauthorization of the Bilingual Education Act (BEA) added a provision in 1978 stating that bilingual education should "allow a child to achieve competence in English language." Furthermore, the 1984 reauthorization of the BEA signified an acceptance of English-only programs in public schools. The primary use of the English language and the limited use of ELL students' native languages in transitional bilingual education classes implied that the ultimate goal of bilingual education was not bilingualism.[12] Though using both ELL students' native language and structured English was encouraged in developmental bilingual education programs, the unequal distribution of funding allocations reflected a preference for transitional bilingual program classes.[13] Two years after the approval of English-only programs, Proposition 63, a California constitutional amendment declaring English as the state's official language, was passed by a margin of 73 to 27 percent. Colorado, Arizona, and Florida followed suit in the November 1988 elections.

Bilingual education, which had been viewed at one time as an instructional program ensuring the equal educational opportunities for ELL students, was once again being perceived as an obstacle hindering immigrant children from adapting to the education system of the United States. The English-Only Movement continued to gain momentum through 1990s. During this time, Ronald Unz, a Silicon Valley multimillionaire software developer and former Republican candidate for California governor launched a national movement across the country to add an

English-only mandate to the U.S. Constitution.[14] Consequently, Unz's education initiatives designed to curtail bilingual education programs were passed in California (1998), Arizona (2000), and Massachusetts (2002), states that account for more than one-half of ELL students in the nation.[15] As a result, in these three states, most bilingual programs are replaced with a program called "Structured English Immersion" or "Sheltered English Immersion." ELL students enrolled in these programs currently follow rigorous English instruction for one year before transferring into regular mainstream classrooms.[16]

While a majority of California, Arizona, and Massachusetts voters supported ending bilingual education, Colorado voters rejected a similar ballot measure in 2002 for the first time, with 56 percent of the voters opposing the measure. Historically, Colorado voters took a relatively conservative approach regarding language rights as reflected in the passage of an "English Is the Official Language of the State of Colorado" amendment to the state constitution in 1987. Also, in 1992, the U.S. Department of Education's Office of Civil Rights (OCR) charged the Denver Public Schools with practicing discrimination based on race in bilingual education. This finding of the OCR received national attention and marked a turn in the tide for the bilingual education movement in the state. A broad-based coalition of grassroots organizations helped strategize a political campaign targeting different interest groups. As a result of the campaign, Colorado became the first state to reject an English-only initiative funded by Unz.

Despite continuous efforts to outlaw bilingual education entirely, bilingual education programs have survived in many schools throughout the nation. For example, an attempt to eliminate bilingual education programs in New York schools endorsed by the former mayor Rudolph Giuliani failed. Furthermore, Texas, Illinois, New Jersey, and New Mexico require bilingual education programs. In Florida, a bilingual teacher must be present in all classes.[17]

In California, which passed the first anti-bilingual ballot initiative, approximately 170,000 children stayed in bilingual classrooms from 1998 to 1999. In 2000, California's attorney general ruled in a state appeals court decision of *McLaughlin v. State Board of Education* that the parents of ELL students have the right to enroll their children in bilingual education by filing a waiver form; however, the process of filing the waiver form is complicated, and there is increasing political pressure to counter the advocates of bilingual education.[18] For example, Proposition 227 includes the personal liability provisions allowing parents to sue teachers and school officials for alleged violations of the English-only requirements of the law. With recent efforts to document the implementation of anti-bilingual measures, it is likely that schools will place more effort in immersing ELL students into English-only environments, including students who were granted waivers for Structured English Immersion.[19]

With the passage of such anti-bilingual education measures, Asian American children, especially the growing number of Southeast Asian refugee school-aged children, have been adversely affected by the diminishing resources for bilingual education. For example, it was reported that educators' lack of cultural understanding and limited knowledge about issues related to refugee experiences (for

example, trauma, acculturated stress, and their diverse ethnic and socioeconomic backgrounds) caused many Southeast Asian students to be incorrectly placed in special education programs.[20]

Given the current sentiment against bilingual education, one concern is how ELL students will fare in a culture of standardized testing that has emerged because of No Child Left Behind policy. In 2001, under the federal No Child Left Behind Act, California mandated that the home language survey and the California English Language Development Test (CELDT) identify language minority students. While many argue that CELDT helps place students into English classes that are compatible with their capabilities, further research has documented that less than ten percent of ELL students are reclassified as “Fluent English Proficient” before they finish high school. As a result, language classification and testing systems can place ELL students into remedial and noncollege preparatory tracks.[21] Also, ELL students are more likely than English-speaking students to be placed in classrooms where teachers are undercredentialed—most teachers hold “teacher in training” agreements, rather than full credentials in Bilingual Cross-cultural, Language, and Academic Development credentials.[22] In short, lack of access to key resources such as college preparatory curricula, and fully credentialed teachers has direct and indirect consequences for ELL students’ academic outcomes.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE ENGLISH-ONLY MOVEMENT FOR ASIAN AMERICANS

Another concern is that ending or weakening bilingual education programs will have a negative effect on ELL students’ sense of self or ethnic-identity development. Proponents of bilingual education stress that teaching language-minority children in their native language helps them value their family and ethnic culture, thus reinforcing their sense of self-worth and ethnic pride. In this sense, eliminating bilingual education may hinder the psychological well-being of language minority students.

The loss of their native or primary language may result in profound effects on Asian American children and their families, especially when it results in an inability to speak with their immigrant parents and grandparents.[23] With the substantial decrease in public support for bilingual education, the primary language retention rate for the children of Asian immigrants may decline much more rapidly. Several studies indicate that the level of linguistic assimilation in Asian Americans is higher than the level for Mexican Americans.[24] As many as three-quarters of second-generation Asian American children speak only English at home, despite findings from the 2000 U.S. Census Data that found that at least 43 percent of California’s Asian American population is categorized as limited English proficient.

Linguistic communication is the primary link for all parent-child relationships. When Asian American children lose their parents’ language in the process

of acquiring English, it is difficult for many monolingual immigrant parents to communicate with their children effectively.[25] For example, studies reported that loss of children's primary language resulted in breakdowns of parental authority, alienation of children from their parents, and the inability for monolingual immigrant parents to effectively guide their children's lives. What is more significant is that some children lose their home language even before they master the English language as a result of interacting with students who speak with variations of English instead of communicating with people who speak standard English.[26]

In addition, the eradication of bilingual education may send a symbolic message to children of immigrants that their primary language is not valued in American society. This indirect message, in conjunction with the increasing emphasis of standardized tests in English, can lead Asian American children to view their immigrant parents or others with limited English proficiency as less intelligent.[27] For Asian American children who are often stereotyped as foreigners or outsiders, the pressure to acquire English language in order to prove their "Americanness" may hinder their ethnic identity development. As a result, there is an ever-increasing need to foster positive ethnic language learning experiences for Asian American children.

As described earlier, attitudes concerning bilingualism and racial minorities have mirrored specific political atmospheres throughout American history. While the decline in bilingual education in public schools today may facilitate the process of both language assimilation and subordination, the recent appreciation of multiculturalism and the urban landscape reflecting the increasing number of immigrants may bring the synergistic possibility for more diverse cultural and linguistic expression. Furthermore, in an increasingly global society in which multilingualism is increasingly valued, nurturing proficiency in multiple languages is critical to fostering economic and social development. Whether the alternative experience and perspective will offset the current political trend designed to reduce the linguistic diversity, however, remains an open question.

FURTHER READING

Asian American Legal Defense and Education Fund, http://www.aaldef.org/press.php.

Asian Pacific American Legal Center: http://demographics.apalc.org/.

Center for Applied Linguistics: http://www.cal.org.

Chu-Chang, Mae, ed. *Asian and Pacific American Perspectives in Bilingual Education: Comparative Research.* New York: Teachers College Press, 1983.

Crawford, James. *Hold Your Tongue: Bilingualism and the Politics of "English Only."* New York: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1992.

Lee, Stacey J. "Additional Complexities: Social Class, Ethnicity, Generation, and Gender in Asian American Student Experiences," *Race, Ethnicity and Education,* 9(1): 2006, pp. 17–28.

Tse, Lucy. "The effects of ethnic identity formation on bilingual maintenance and development: An analysis of Asian American narratives." *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 3 (2000): 185–200.

Wang, L. Ling-Chi. "Lau v. Nichols: History of a Struggle for Equal and Quality Education." In *The Asian American Educational Experience: A Source Book for Teachers and Students*, edited by D.T. Nakanishi and T.Y. Nishida. New York: Routledge, 1995. pp. 58–91.

NOTES

1. Robert Teranishi, Miguel Ceja, Anthony L. Antonio, Walter Allen, and Patricia McDonough, "The College-Choice Process for Asian Pacific Americans: Ethnicity and Socioeconomic Class in Context," *The Review of Higher Education* 27, no. 4 (2004): 527–551.

2. Brian Redondo, Khin Mai Aung, Margaret Fung, & Nancy W. Yu, *Left In The Margins: Asian American Students and The No Child Left Behind Act* (New York: Asian American Legal Defense and Education Fund, 2008).

3. Asian American Legal Defense and Education Fund Press release, "New Report: Asian American Students Don't Benefit From No Child Left Behind Act—Major Reforms Needed," posted May 5, 2008, http://www.aaldef.org/article.php?article_id=368.

4. California Department of Education, (DataQuest Language Census Data 2003–04), http://data1.cde.ca.gov/dataquest/.

5. James Crawford, *Hold Your Tongue: Bilingualism and the Politics of "English Only"* (New York: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1992).

6. Joel Spring, *The American School 1642–2000* (New York: McGraw-Hill Press, 2000).

7. L. Ling-Chi Wang, "Lau v. Nichols: History of a Struggle for Equal and Quality Education," in *The Asian American Educational Experience: A Source Book for Teachers and Students,* eds. Don T. Nakanishi and Tina Yamano Nishida (New York: Routledge, 1995), 58–59.

8. Wang, "Lau v. Nichols," 61.

9. Deborah Escobedo, "Propositions 187 and 227: Latino Immigrant Rights to Education," American Bar Association http://www.abanet.org/irr/hr/summer99/escobedo.html (accessed Nov. 2, 2008).

10. James Crawford, *Bilingual Education: History, Politics, Theory and Practices,* 4th ed. (Los Angeles: Los Angeles Bilingual Education Services, 1999).

11. Beth Frerking, "Immigrant Parents Join Campaign against Bilingual Education," *Newark Sunday Star-Ledger*, Nov. 16, 1997, http://www.crpc.rice.edu/newsArchive/nsl_11_16_97.html.

12. Ann-Marie Wiese and Eugene E. Garcia, "The Bilingual Education Act: Language Minority Students and Equal Educational Opportunity," *Bilingual Research Journal* 22 (1998): 1–18.

13. Wiese and Garcia, "The Bilingual Education Act."

14. Padres Unidos, "Colorado Upholds the Right to Bilingual Education," *Rethinking Schools* 17 (2003). http://www.rethinkingschools.org/archive/17_03/colo173.shtml.

15. National Conference of State Legislatures: The Forum for America's Ideas, "The English Only for the Children Ballot Initiative," http://www.ncsl.org/programs/educ/bilingualed.htm.

16. Michael D. Guerro, "Research in Bilingual Education: Moving beyond the Effective Debate," in *Chicano School Failure and Success: Past, Present, and Future,* ed. Richard Valencia (New York: Routledge, 2002), 170–191.

17. ProEnglish: English Language Advocates, "The status of bilingual education in America," http://www.proenglish.org/issues/education/bestatus.html.

18. Nanette Asimov, "Schools Try to Resist Bilingual Law: Waiver Request, Suits or Civil Disobedience," *San Francisco Chronicle,* June 6, 1998, A-1.

19. Eugene E. Garcia and Julia E. Curry-Rodriguez, "The Effect of California's 227: A Statewide Analysis," *Bilingual Research Journal* 24 (2000): 15–36.

20. Kenji Ima and Ruben G. Rumbaut, " Southeast Asian Refugees in American Schools: A Comparison of Fluent-English-Proficient and Limited-English-Proficient Students," in *the Asian American Educational Experience*, eds. Don T. Nakanishi and Tina Yamano Nishida (New York, Routledge, 1994), 180–197.

21. Yang Sao Xiong and Min Zhou, "Structuring Inequality: How California Selective Tests, Classifies, and Tracks Language Minority Students," in *California Policy Options,* ed. Daniel J. B. Mitchell (Los Angeles: UCLA Ralph and Goldy Lewis Center for Regional Policy Studies, 2005).

22. Patricia Gandara, "In the Aftermath of the Storm: English Learners in the Post-227 Era," *Bilingual Research Journal* 1 (2000).

23. Lily Wong Filmore, "When Learning a Second Language Means Losing the First," *Early Childhood Research Quarterly* 6 (1991): 323–346.

24. Min Zhou, "Are Asian Americans Becoming White?" *Contexts* 3 (2000): 29–37.

25. Filmore, "When Learning a Second Language Means Losing the First."

26. Filmore, "When Learning a Second Language Means Losing the First."

27. Lucy Tse, "The Effects of Ethnic Identity Formation on Bilingual Maintenance and Development: An Analysis of Asian American Narratives," *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 3 (2000): 185–200.

This page intentionally left blank

COLLEGE CAMPUS CLIMATE

Julie J. Park

The campus climate for diversity describes how adequately a collegiate environment supports students of color and promotes diversity on all levels of the university, from student affairs to curriculum. Borrowing from the metaphor of weather, a campus climate hostile to students of color may be described as "chilly," while a more positive climate might be referred to as "warm." The campus racial climate is made up of multiple, interrelated components.[1] While it is common to primarily gauge the campus climate for diversity by the racial/ethnic demography of the institution, there are other components that influence the campus climate, such as the historical legacy of the institution, the interactions that students have within and across racial/ethnic groups, and the psychological perceptions that students have of the campus. More recently, scholars have also argued that the organizational/structural component of the campus, which concerns institutional policies and practices, constitutes a fifth element of the campus climate for diversity.[2]

RACIAL/ETHNIC DEMOGRAPHY

In the area of racial/ethnic demography, campuses vary widely in the percentage of Asian American student enrollment. Several campuses, such as the University of Hawai'i–Manoa and the University of California–Irvine, have Asian American student enrollments of more than 40 percent, but most campuses have much smaller Asian American student populations.[3] Nationally, Asian American students make up approximately 6.4 percent of college students.[4] Their high representation at a small number of highly selective institutions, however, has led to the false assumption that Asian American students do

not face challenges or have special concerns. A campus climate report at the University of California–Berkeley found that even though Asian American students comprised more than one-third of the student population, there were few Asian American administrators or student support services for this group; 90 percent of administrators were white.[5]

The high percentage of Asian American students at a small group of institutions also masks educational disparities within the Asian American student population. While some subgroups have high college-going rates, groups such as Southeast Asian American students, students with limited financial means, and first-generation Asian American college students face many barriers to accessing college, let alone navigating the college environment.[6] Asian American students also face key challenges in the area of mental health; they are known to underuse counseling services.[7] The model minority myth, coupled with the stereotype that Asian American students lack special needs because of their demographic representation, can help create an environment that is unresponsive to the needs of Asian American students.

HISTORICAL LEGACY

The historical legacy of an institution's treatment of students of color is an important, yet often overlooked, component of the campus climate. Examining the historical presence of Asian American students at an institution and in higher education can contribute to a fuller understanding of some of the current climate issues for Asian American students. For instance, Asian American students tend to be underrepresented in fraternities and sororities, even at institutions with large Asian American student enrollments.[8] However, knowing that Asian Americans, like African Americans and Jews, were explicitly barred from joining certain Greek organizations prior to the 1960s may shed light on why this pattern persists.[9] Another indicator of climate is whether campuses have opportunities for students to learn the history of their ethnic communities through Asian American Studies classes and programs. Such programs can contribute to a more positive climate for Asian American students.

INTER-GROUP DYNAMICS

The interactions that Asian American students have within and between racial/ethnic groups are critical indicators of the campus climate. Research has documented the benefits of cross-racial interaction for students. It is questionable whether Asian American students are having healthy interactions and friendships with students from different racial/ethnic groups. A popular perception exists that students on diverse campuses engage in self segregation, congregating mainly within their own communities.[10] With Asian American students, cross-ethnic interactions should not be overlooked, as some Asian American students may come from high schools or communities where they mainly socialized with students of the same ethnicity prior to college.[11] It is also important to provide opportunities for Asian American students to socialize

among peers of the same/racial ethnic group. Ethnic student organizations, such as Asian American cultural-political groups or Asian American sororities and fraternities, can provide valuable experiences for students to learn more about their own culture and gain a sense of ethnic identity.[12]

PSYCHOLOGICAL COMPONENT

The psychological perceptions that Asian American students have of the campus climate point to how students themselves are experiencing and evaluating the campus environment for diversity. Some studies have found that Asian American students generally have been less satisfied with the campus climate than white students, and they also have been less likely to express satisfaction with their overall college experience.[13] In order to better understand Asian American students' perceptions of climate, it may be necessary for faculty and administrators to disaggregate campus climate surveys by racial/ethnic groups in order to see if such patterns exist on their campuses, and design appropriate interventions and programs. Psychological perceptions of campus can be particularly affected by hate crimes, which have ramifications for an entire racial/ethnic community.[14] Such acts send a hostile message that students of color, Asian American students, or students of particular Asian American subgroups, such as women or Asian American gay, lesbian, bisexual, or transgender students, are unwelcome or blatantly disrespected on campus. Following the events of September 11, 2001, South Asian American and Middle Eastern students were particularly vulnerable to hate crimes and acts of racial harassment.[15]

INSTITUTIONAL POLICIES AND PRACTICES

Finally, Asian Americans are affected by the organizational/structural piece of the campus climate. This area includes the institutional policies and practices that affect the environment for diversity on a college campus. For instance, are Ethnic Studies or Asian American Studies classes offered? Is there an institutional commitment to recruiting and retaining a diverse faculty and administration? Are there protocols in place to address hate crimes or other incidents of racial bias in a timely fashion? Is diversity addressed in strategic planning? These are just a few of the institutional policies that can significantly influence the campus climate for Asian American students, as well as the overall campus racial climate for all students.

These five areas—racial/ethnic demography, institutional history, interactions within and between racial/ethnic groups, psychological perceptions, and institutional policies—are all key indicators of the campus climate for Asian Americans. Much overlap exists between these areas. For instance, the availability of Asian American Studies courses may be largely dependent on the organizational/structural dynamics of campus, but such courses also reflect whether Asian American students have a chance to learn their own history during college. A campus may have a high percentage of students of color, yet there may be tense interactions between students of different racial/ethnic

Pipeline for Asian American Faculty and Higher Education Administrators

Higher-education institutions are sites of employment. Has the increased participation of Asian Americans as doctoral students translated into expanding opportunities for Asian Americans as faculty and administrators? Asian American faculty face challenges in being hired, gaining tenure, and moving through the ranks to full professor. The overall increase in Asian American and Pacific Islander faculty was modest from 1993 to 2003 (Table 1). Details by gender and by rank tell a more complicated story. Asian American and Pacific Islander women lag far behind men at all ranks except at the instructor/lecturer level. The future of junior faculty here is of concern given the persistence of a revolving door for underrepresented faculty in higher education.

The dearth of Asian Americans as university administrators, especially at the highest level of president, is another indicator of the continuing obstacles facing Asian American faculty as they advance in their careers. There are more than 4,000 institutions of higher education. From 1986 to 2006, the percent of Asian American presidents of American colleges and universities increased from 0.4 to 0.9 with a high of 1.2 in 2001, according to a report by the American Council on Education. In total numbers, the under-representation of Asian Americans in leadership roles at the highest level is even more stark. There were forty-five Asian American college and university presidents in 2005, of which thirty-six were men. That same year, they were primarily leaders of four-year institutions (twenty-nine men, five women) rather than two-year institutions (seven men, four women).

Table 1. Full-Time Asian Pacific Islander American (APIA) Faculty by Rank and Gender

	Fall 1993		**Fall 2003**	
	Total	**(%)**	**Total**	**(%)**
All APIA	25,269	4.6	41,133	6.6
°Men	18,943	3.5	27,815	4.5
°Women	6,326	1.2	13,318	2.1
Full professor	7,033	4.5	10,202	6.2
°Men	6,245	4.0	8,591	5.2
°Women	788	0.5	1,611	1.0
Associate professor	5,471	4.5	9,183	7.0
°Men	4,367	3.6	6,643	5.0
°Women	1,104	0.9	2,540	1.9
Assistant professor	7,586	5.9	13,216	8.7
°Men	5,277	4.1	8,167	5.4
°Women	2,309	1.8	5,049	3.3
Instructor or lecturer	2,700	3.3	5,505	4.8
°Men	1,390	1.7	2,690	2.3
°Women	1,310	1.6	2,815	2.5

Source: Cook, Bryan J. and Diana I. Córdova. *Minorities in Higher Education, Twenty-Second Annual Status Report.* Tables 26 and 27. Washington, DC: American Council on Education, 2006.

—Shirley Hune

groups. Campus officials must be especially cognizant of diversity within the Asian American community, including differences in ethnicity, socioeconomic status, gender, religion, and sexual orientation. Colleges and universities need to make a special effort to consider the campus climate for Asian American students and the way it might compare to the climate for other racial/ethnic groups, as Asian American students cannot afford to be overlooked as an "invisible minority." Campuses must work to create a climate that is conducive to the success of students of all backgrounds.

FURTHER READING

Campus Advisory Committee on Asian American Affairs. "Asian Pacific Americans at Berkeley: Visibility and Marginality." University of California–Berkeley, 2001.

Diversity Web: http://www.diversityweb.org/.

Hurtado, Sylvia, Jeffrey Milem, Alma Clayton-Pederson, and Walter Allen. *Enacting Diverse Learning Environments: Improving the Climate for Racial/Ethnic Diversity in Higher Education*. Edited by Adrianna Kezar. Vol. 26, Ashe-Eric Higher Education Report. Washington, DC: The George Washington University, Graduate School of Education and Human Development, 1999.

Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice 2000. "Responding to Hate Crimes and Bias-Motivated Incidents on College/University Campuses." http://www.usdoj.gov/crs/pubs/university.pdf.

NOTES

1. Sylvia Hurtado, Jeffrey Milem, Alma Clayton-Pederson, and Walter Allen, *Enacting Diverse Learning Environments: Improving the Climate for Racial/Ethnic Diversity in Higher Education*, ed. Adrianna Kezar. Vol. 26, Ashe-Eric Higher Education Report (Washington, DC: The George Washington University, Graduate School of Education and Human Development, 1999).

2. Jeffrey F. Milem, Mitchell J. Chang, and Anthony L. Antonio, *Making Diversity Work on Campus: A Research-Based Perspective* (Washington, DC: Association of American Colleges and Universities, 2005).

3. *U.S. News and World Report*, "America's Best Colleges 2008," Aug. 27, 2007.

4. *The Chronicle of Higher Education Almanac*, 2006, "College Enrollment by Racial and Ethnic Group, Selected Years," http://chronicle.com/weekly/almanac/2008/nation/0101403.htm.

5. Campus Advisory Committee on Asian American Affairs, "Asian Pacific Americans at Berkeley: Visibility and Marginality," University of California, Berkeley, 2001.

6. Theresa Yeh, "Asian American College Students Who Are Educationally at Risk," *New Directions for Student Services* 97 (2002): 61–71.

7. Mitchell J. Chang, et al., *Beyond Myths: The Growth and Diversity of Asian American College Freshmen, 1971–2005* (Los Angeles: Higher Education Research Institute, 2007).

8. Edith Chen, "The Continuing Significance of Race: A Case Study of Asian American Women in White, Asian American, and African American Sororities," PhD diss., University of California Los Angeles, 1998.

9. Alfred M. Lee, *Fraternities without Brotherhood: A Campus Report on Racial and Religious Prejudice* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1955).

10. Dinesh D'Souza, *Illiberal Education: The Politics of Race and Sex on Campus* (New York: The Free Press, 1991).

11. Anthony L. Antonio, "The Impact of Friendship Groups in a Multicultural University," PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1998.

12. Troy Duster, "The Diversity Project: Final Report," Berkeley: Institute for the Study of Social Change, University of California–Berkeley, 1991.

13. J. R. Ancis, William E. Sedlacek, and J. J. Mohr, "Student Perceptions of the Campus Cultural Climate by Race," *Journal of Counseling and Development* 78 (2000): 180–85; Christine Bennett and Alton Okinaka, "Factors Related to Persistence among Asian, Black, Hispanic, and White Undergraduates at a Predominantly White University: Comparison between First and Fourth Year Cohorts," *The Urban Review* 22 (1990): 33–60.

14. U.S. Department of Justice 2000, "Responding to Hate Crimes and Bias-Motivated Incidents on College/University Campuses," Washington, DC: http://www.usdoj.gov/crs/pubs/university.pdf.

15. Cambridge: The Civil Rights Project, 2003, "Know Your Rights on Campus: A Guide on Racial Profiling, and Hate Crime for International Students in the United States," http://www.civilrightsproject.ucla.edu/resources/KnowYourRightsComplete.pdf.

COMMUNITY COLLEGE STUDENTS

Jonathan W. Lew and Winnie W. Wang

Much of the attention on Asian American college students has focused on the "model minority" stereotype and the noticeable numbers of Asian American students at many elite colleges and universities. Studies have shown, however, that more than 40 percent of all Asian American students enrolled in higher education are found not on Ivy League campuses, but in the nation's more than 1,000 community colleges.[1] Community colleges (also referred to as "two-year colleges" or "junior colleges") serve multiple missions in American society: providing open access to higher education to members of the public, regardless of their socioeconomic background or academic credentials; preparing students to transfer to a four-year college or university; and providing vocational training, personal enrichment, and community education classes for adults of all ages.

Nationally, the Asian American community college student population has grown considerably in the last few decades. Between 1990 and 2000, for example, Asian American enrollment at public two-year community colleges has increased at a faster rate than Asian American enrollment at four-year colleges.[2] Asian American enrollment at community colleges across the United States grew 224 percent between 1980 and 2000, expanding from 124,000 to 402,000 students. The number of associate degrees conferred upon Asian Americans grew at a similar rate, the largest increase of any racial group.[3] These increases have paralleled the growth of Asian American students in higher education overall.

Regionally, Asian American community college enrollment grew the fastest in the South and Midwest between 1990 and 2000.[4] The proportion of Asian Americans among community college students in California, which has the largest Asian American population of any state, more than doubled in that same time period.[5]

It is difficult to generalize about Asian American community college students because of the vast differences of backgrounds, interests, and reasons for attending that exist among this population. There are, however, certain characteristics prevalent among Asian American community college students that may set them apart from students of other racial and ethnic backgrounds.

ROLE OF FAMILY AND FRIENDS

Family members and friends often play important roles in Asian American students' decisions to attend community colleges. Students have reported choosing to attend a particular community college because of the recommendations of family and friends, because the location is close to their home, and because the low tuition makes it affordable for their family's limited income. Community colleges may be attractive to students from low-income or immigrant families expected to work long hours in jobs or family businesses; however, proximity to family can also result in students more frequently having to negotiate parental expectations, intergenerational tensions, and cultural differences.

IMMIGRANT STATUS

At some community colleges, immigrants comprise a large proportion of the Asian American student population. Immigrant students usually face more hurdles than native-born students because they tend to be less familiar with the higher education system in the United States and are more likely to be limited in their English proficiency. The teaching styles and classroom expectations may be different than what they are used to, yet they may be inhibited from asking for help from professors, counselors, or academic advisers because of cultural and language barriers. Many community colleges offer English as a Second Language (ESL) courses that students can take to improve their English language skills, but these courses are not always mandatory.

Language difficulties can also cause many immigrant Asian American students to avoid courses or majors that require English fluency (such as in literature and the social sciences), influencing them to concentrate instead in subjects like math and science. For students at community colleges in particular, limited English proficiency may dissuade students from pursuing an academic track leading to transfer to a four-year institution; they may instead choose a vocational track that does not depend as much on language skills. This choice may limit future professional options and influence whether they are able to develop the self-confidence and strong writing and speaking skills necessary to rise beyond technical positions into leadership and management roles.

In addition, immigrant Asian American students may experience lingering effects from the difficult journeys their families took to make it to the United States, and the stresses that come from the process of having to adapt to a new culture with its different academic and social norms. These challenges are particularly true for refugees from Southeast Asian countries such as Vietnam,

Cambodia, and Laos, who fled their countries of origin because of war and political oppression and may exhibit symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder, including depression, guilt, anxiety, and anger. The extent to which community colleges hire and train counselors and other staff who are sensitive to these issues, as well as employ faculty and staff who come from these ethnic populations, will determine their ability to serve these students well and help them succeed.

OTHER BARRIERS AND CHALLENGES

Despite the model minority stereotype that portrays all Asian American students as high achievers without significant problems, Asian American community college students continue to face a number of challenges and obstacles. Asian American students who do not live up to the expectations of the stereotype may be unfairly judged, neglected, or simply overlooked.

Asian American community college students from low-income or working-class families may find it more difficult to succeed in school. Younger students may be expected by their parents to work at a job or the family business to contribute to the family's income. Young women from more traditional households may be urged by their families to take care of younger siblings, or get married and have children, seeing these as more important priorities than a college degree or vocation. Students who are parents themselves might be torn between spending time on their own education versus working longer hours to provide for their children and relatives.

In addition to the challenges faced by immigrant students noted above, such as limited English proficiency and differences between teaching and learning styles, both immigrant and native-born Asian American students may have to confront and work through issues of ethnic and racial identity, often without the guidance of ethnic role models and mentors in the community college environment. Faculty and staff diversity, mentoring and support programs, and courses in Asian American Studies or Ethnic Studies can help students to grow in their understanding and appreciation of their identities, histories, and communities.

COMMUNITY COLLEGE RESPONSES

Various programs and initiatives have been recommended to assist Asian American students in persisting and succeeding in community college settings. In communities where there is a significant presence of particular immigrant groups, colleges can offer parent information sessions and new student orientations in different languages, establish an Asian American resource center or extension site in the community, and strengthen ESL programs.

Culturally sensitive counselors and student services staff are particularly important for Asian American community college students. Counselors who are effective with Asian American students are ones who ask students about their experiences, are alert to nonverbal cues, try to understand and accept students' cultural values, and take into account the importance and strong influence of

family in Asian American cultures. Staff and faculty may be able to help students reconcile their individual interests with their family's expectations.

FURTHER READING

American Association of Community Colleges, http://www.aacc.nche.edu/.

Choo, Brooke. "Intergenerational Conflict, Family Functioning, and Acculturation Experienced by Asian American Community College Students." PhD diss., University of Southern California, 2003.

Do, V. T. "Counseling Culturally Different Students in the Community College." *Community College Journal of Research and Practice* 20 (1996): 9–21.

Lew, Jonathan W., June C. Chang, and Winnie W. Wang. "The Overlooked Minority: Asian Pacific American Students at Community Colleges." *Community College Review* 33 (2005): 64–84.

National Commission on Asian American and Pacific Islander Research in Education (CARE), http://www.nyu.edu/projects/care/reports_pubs.html.

Nishimoto, J. K., and L. S. Hagedorn, "Retention, Persistence, and Course Taking Patterns of Asian Pacific Americans Attending Urban Community Colleges." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, 2003. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED478369).

Tsuda, Lily. "Asian Students in Community Colleges: A Study of Intersecting Effects of Student Characteristics, Construct Models of Retention, Social Reproduction and Resulting Variables as Applied to the Study of Transfer and Retention of Urban Community College Students (TRUCCS)." EdD diss., University of Southern California, 2005.

Wu, Shuang. "Academic Performance and Persistence of Asian American Students in the Los Angeles Community College District." PhD diss., University of Southern California, 2005.

Yang, X., L. I. Rendon, and R. W. Shearon. "A Profile of Asian Students in North Carolina Community Colleges." *Community College Review* 22 (1994): 19–32.

NOTES

1. William B. Harvey, *Minorities in Higher Education: Annual Status Report, 2002–2003* (Washington, DC: American Council on Education, 2003), 57.

2. National Commission on Asian American and Pacific Islander Research in Education, *Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders: Facts, Not fiction: Setting the Record Straight* (New York: The College Board, 2008), 13.

3. Harvey, *Minorities in Higher Education,* 62.

4. National Commission on Asian American and Pacific Islander Research in Education, *Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders: Facts, Not Fiction*, 14.

5. R. Wassmer, C. Moore, and N. Shulock. *California Community College Transfer Rates: Policy Implications and a Future Research Agenda* (Senate Publication No. 1218-S). Sacramento: California Senate Office of Research, 2003.

CRAM SCHOOLS

Eunai Shrake

With the increase in Asian immigrant populations during the last several decades, cram schools have sprung up and grown rapidly in many urban cities of the United States. A cram school is a privately owned, for-profit, supplementary educational institute that provides highly organized lessons on particular academic subjects conducted after regular school hours, on weekends, and during the summer. Cram schools provide supplementary education that is complementary to, rather than competitive with, formal education.

In New York, Los Angeles, and elsewhere, various SAT preparation schools, after-school tutoring, and music and art schools, many of which are run by East Asian immigrant entrepreneurs, have emerged, creating a shadow education system. Today, hundreds of cram schools are listed in Korean business directories in New York and Los Angeles, and the Southern California Chinese Consumer Yellow Pages lists more than one hundred academic tutoring establishments, mostly located in greater Los Angeles.[1] The school names, such as "Ivy Prep," "Harvard Academy," "Oxford Educational Institute," "Princeton Review," and "Julliard Music Center," clearly state the goals and ambitions that exist in many communities with large Asian immigrant populations in regards to these institutions.

ORIGINS

The presence of cram schools in many Asian American communities has its origins in East Asian countries. Cram schools, also called *juku* in Japanese, *buxiban* in Chinese, and *hagwon* in Korean, are so prevalent in many East Asian countries that they are seen as an indispensable part of a student's education.[2]

In fact, cram schools are a product of an unusually strong cultural and parental emphasis on children's educational success and its resultant competitive educational systems in many Asian countries.

For children growing up in East Asian countries, where education is the single most important means for social mobility and access to quality education is fiercely competitive, cram schools are an everyday part of life. Typically, academic competition begins as early as grade school. By the time students enter high school, the competition to get into prestigious universities becomes extremely fierce. Increasingly more parents enroll their children in supplementary educational programs to enhance their performance on examinations, especially when their children enter high school.[3] The growing popularity of cram schools can be attributed in part to high parental academic expectations and their willingness to invest significant resources in their children's future.

As a result, cram schools have become a very lucrative business in many Asian countries. For example, parents spend 1.5 times more money on cram schools and tutoring than the government spends per pupil on its public schools in Korea.[4] In Japan, more than 70 percent of Japan's 15 million schoolchildren seek some sort of private tutoring by the time they enter high school.[5] Despite a recent decline in school-age population in Japan and Korea, the cram school business continues to flourish. Some of the cram schools in Japan are so popular and profitable that they are traded on national stock exchanges, and some cram school teachers enjoy national celebrity status in Korea.[6]

Compared to after-school programs in the United States that offer childcare services as well as remedial help to improve the academic performance of participating children, the primary function of a cram school is to improve academic achievement and prepare students to pass high school or college entrance exams. Cram schools, as the name implies, pass on as much information as possible that is deemed necessary for particular tests and examinations to students in a condensed period of time. They often prepare students for specific tests, such as the SAT and tests for specialized magnet high schools. Some cram schools focus on training students to learn test-taking skills and techniques.

ASIAN AMERICAN PARTICIPATION

The mainstream media tends to interpret the phenomenon of cram schools in Asian American communities as a cultural reproduction of the educational practice of their country of origin.[7] In other words, the cram school is viewed as a part of the cultural customs that Asian American parents carry with them when they immigrate. Some scholars suggest, however, that this cultural practice does not operate in a vacuum. Though these scholars acknowledge a spillover effect of Asian culture on cram school practice in Asian American communities, they emphasize that cram schools are not simply a replica of Asian cultural practices, but also a reflection of the context where Asian culture and the American social structure interact for Asian American immigrants.

For example, East Asian immigrants encounter abundant educational opportunities in the United States on the one hand, and blocked social mobility on the other compared with the highly competitive educational systems in their country of origin.[8] This conflicting reality highlights their perception that education is the most effective means for social mobility in American society. As a result, academic aspirations for their children are heightened and many parents are willing to invest significant resources to ensure their children's academic success. Therefore, sending their children to cram schools may appear to be particularly appealing to parents who are willing and able to spend the money on supplementary educational instruction.

Most Asian immigrant parents see cram schools as a way of assisting their children's academic performance; however, cram schools also function as a kind of "academic baby-sitting" service for some busy parents who tend to work long hours and for parents whose language barriers prevent them from academically helping their children.[9] In this particular immigrant context, the cram school business has found a burgeoning niche in Asian American communities.

CRITIQUES

The public and academia have a mixed view of the role of cram schools in education. Some critics argue that as private institutions designed primarily to help students improve test scores, cram schools rarely provide enriching curriculum for children's cognitive development based on progressive teaching methods and pedagogy.[10] As such, cram schools have been criticized for a lack of fostering critical and analytical thinking skills in their students because of their heavy reliance on rigid discipline and rote memorization as their teaching techniques. Critics also point out other problems associated with cram schools. Some argue, for instance, that as for-profit businesses, cram schools incur heavy financial burdens on families, while others say cram schools fuel a spirit of hypercompetition that can be blamed for increased stress in students. Still others maintain that cram schools undermine parents' confidence in the public education system.[11] In addition, cram schools may foster social inequality because high-quality programs have high costs that are generally accessible only to children from high socioeconomic backgrounds.

Despite the criticism, however, some evidence supports their role in raising scores for the SAT and on the entrance examination to specialized magnet school programs.[12] It is not unusual to see lists of cram school graduates in Asian American ethnic media who have scored a perfect 1600 on their SATs or who have been accepted to specialized high schools and prestigious universities, including Ivy League schools, each year.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

Recently, the rigor and discipline, as well as academic success stories, of the Asian American cram schools that spread through word of mouth have begun to attract a growing number of non-Asian participants. Increasingly more non-Asian

parents, such as African American parents in Harlem and Flushing, NY, are enrolling their children in cram schools run by Asian Americans, possibly hoping to emulate academic success associated with Asian American students. In fact, a *New York Times* article reports that about 15 to 25 percent of the students attending cram schools run by Chinese Americans or Korean Americans in Flushing and Queens are of neither Chinese nor Korean descent.[13]

More recently, with the implementation of the No Child Left Behind policy, the academic burdens placed on schoolchildren to score high on standardized tests have become greater than ever in the United States. The pressure to score high is especially serious for high school students who have to go through the college admissions process where applicants' grades and SAT scores are often crucial factors for admission. In recent years, the already intense competition for admission to the nation's most prestigious colleges and universities has become even fiercer.

Given the cutthroat competition for admission to selective universities and the subsequent rise in the importance of standardized tests, parental concerns and worries for children's education have become more intense. As a consequence, it appears that the market for cram schools will continue to flourish as many parents—of both Asian and non-Asian descent—continue to see them as advantageous to their children's educational success.

FURTHER READING

Gordon, E. W., B. L. Bridglall, and A. S. Meroe. eds., *Supplementary Education: The Hidden Curriculum of High Academic Achievement*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2003.

Lew, Jamie. *Asian Americans in Class.* New York: Teachers College Press, 2006.

Zhou, Min, and Susan S. Kim. "Community Forces, Social Capital, and Educational Achievement: The Case of Supplementary Education in the Chinese and Korean Immigrant Communities," *Harvard Educational Review* 76 (2006): 1–29.

Zhou, Min, and Xi-Yuan Li. "Ethnic Language Schools and the Development of Supplementary Education in the Immigrant Chinese Community in the United States," *New Directions for Youth Development* 100 (2003): 57–73.

NOTES

1. Min Zhou and Susan Kim, "Community Forces, Social Capital, and Educational Achievement: The Case of Supplementary Education in the Chinese and Korean Immigrant Communities," *Harvard Educational Review* 76, no. 1 (2006): 1–29.

2. Ashley Dunn, "Cram Schools: Immigrants' Tools for Success," *New York Times,* January 28, 1995, Section 1, 1.

3. H. M. E. Huang, "Effects of Cram Schools on Students' Mathematics Learning." In *How Chinese Learn Mathematics: Perspectives from Insiders,* ed. L. H. Fan, N. Y. Wong, J. F. Cai, and S. Q. Li (Singapore: World Scientific, 2004), 282–306.

4. Mark Bray, "The Shadow Education System: Private Tutoring and Its Implications for Planners," *Fundamentals of Educational Planning* 61 (Paris: UNESCO International Institute for Educational Planning, 1999), 1–107.

5. Kathleen Kennedy Manzo, "Japanese Schoolchildren 'Cram' to Boost Achievement," *Education Week* 21, no. 43 (2002), http://www.edweek.org/ew/collections/education-international.

6. "Where a Teacher Can Make Millions," *BusinessWeek,* December 11, 2006, http://www.businessweek.com/magazine/content/06_50/b4013056.htm.

7. Cheong Huh, After-School Programs in Koreatown, Los Angeles, California. PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2004, 46–48.

8. Min Zhou and Susan Kim, "Community Forces, Social Capital, and Educational Achievement."

9. Dunn, "Cram Schools."

10. Jamie Lew, *Asian Americans in Class* (New York: NY Teachers College Press, 2006), 40–41.

11. Lew, *Asian Americans in Class,* 44.

12. Pyong Gap Min, *Asian Americans: Contemporary Trends and Issues* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1995), 223–224.

13. Michael Luo, "Taking Lesson from Another Culture: For Students of Many Backgrounds, A Study Tool from the Far East," *New York Times*, October 20, 2003, Section B, 1.

This page intentionally left blank

FREEDOM SCHOOLS

Glenn Omatsu

Freedom Schools serve as the foundation for the special approach to teaching and learning that defines Asian American Studies. Freedom Schools emerged in the segregated South during the early years of the Civil Rights Movement when African American parents and activists created their own schools for children excluded from white schools. Like other schools, these Freedom Schools provided basic instruction in reading, writing, and math. Unlike other schools, Freedom School curriculum focused on issues relevant to students' neighborhoods, such as poverty and racism, and encouraged children to use the knowledge they acquired to tackle these problems.[1] Similarly, when activists created the first classes and programs in Asian American Studies in the late 1960s, they drew from the African American educational model of Freedom Schools, shaping curriculum around community needs and emphasizing the responsibility of students and teachers to respond to these needs.

Generally, researchers studying Freedom Schools focus on curriculum as the feature that distinguishes them from other schools; however, pedagogy (method of teaching and learning) and epistemology (approach to knowledge) play a major role in Freedom Schools. Conceptually, Freedom Schools—or, more accurately, Freedom Schooling—represent an alternative vision of teaching and learning that challenges several fundamental assumptions in Western education.[2] In the U.S. educational system, it is common to separate what is taught from how it is taught. It is also common to separate the learner from what is learned and the learner from the teacher. Learning is viewed as mainly an individual activity occurring in individual learners. Teachers also may believe that that learning is dependent on the availability of specific resources, such as textbooks and the four walls of a classroom. Finally, learning and doing are usually

conceptualized as separate steps, that is, students first learn and then apply their knowledge. In contrast, teachers working from the framework of Freedom Schooling recognize that students learn by doing, that the community can serve as the classroom, that learning and teaching are directly related to the quality of social interactions in classrooms, and that the acquisition of knowledge is intrinsically connected to the responsibility to use it to serve communities. In short, the vision of learning and teaching advanced by Freedom Schools is community-based, holistic, and anti-colonial.

Although Freedom Schools emerged during the Civil Rights Movement, their roots reach back to the approach to anti-colonial education developed by leaders of national liberation movements; the model of popular education promoted by Myles Horton through the Highlander Folk School; the concept of critical pedagogy advanced by Paulo Freire; and the ideas of John Dewey linking democracy and education.[3] In addition, for Asian Americans, the legacy of Freedom Schools also draws from the practice of community-based education pioneered in immigrant worker centers, such as the Chinese Workers Mutual Aid Association of San Francisco Chinatown in the 1930s.[4] At this worker center, immigrants not only learned about their rights as laborers, they also took part in U.S. labor history classes, English classes, movement study groups to learn organizing strategies, and singing classes. For the singing classes, workers learned songs about China's resistance to Japan's invasion; thus, singing became a tool for workers to educate and mobilize others in their community and provide support for efforts in their former homeland.

Today, for Asian Americans, the legacy of Freedom Schools continues both in colleges through Asian American Studies classes as well as in the community. In Philadelphia Chinatown, immigrant parents and activists founded the Folk Arts–Cultural Treasures Charter School in 2005 based on the Freedom School model. The curriculum of this multiracial school focuses on community and folk arts as vehicles for academic learning and social change. In addition, youth develop leadership skills by studying and mobilizing around important neighborhood needs, such as housing and jobs. Similarly, in Detroit, a core of activists has coalesced around Grace Lee Boggs' ideas on Freedom Schools as a means for transforming the moribund public education system in inner-city neighborhoods. Across the U.S., immigrant worker centers remain critical sites for promoting community-based education. For instance, in Los Angeles, three worker centers—Koreatown Immigrant Workers Alliance (KIWA), Pilipino Worker Center (PWC), and Garment Worker Center (GWC)—carry on the legacy of earlier immigrant organizations in promoting the approach of Freedom Schools. Three other well-known organizations focusing on immigrant workers are Asian Immigrant Women Advocates (AIWA) in the San Francisco Bay Area and Workers Awaaz and Chinese Staff and Workers Association in New York City. Although most of the Freedom Schools founded during the Civil Rights Movement have closed their doors, the philosophy lives on in these organizations. Freedom Schooling continues to influence pedagogy for Asian Americans, through the work of community activists and practitioners in Asian American Studies.

FURTHER READING

Furumoto, Warren. "Reconnecting Education: Replacing the Pedagogy of Racism with a New Pedagogy of Humanity." *Amerasia Journal* 29, no. 2 (2003): 35–65.

James and Grace Lee Boggs Center to Nurture Community Leadership. http://www.boggscenter.org.

Koreatown Immigrant Workers Alliance (KIWA). http://www.kiwa.org.

Omatsu, Glenn, "Mobilizing Students to Respond to Community Needs: Organizing a Class around a Community Project." In *Teaching about Asian Pacific Americans: Effective Activities, Strategies, and Assignments for Classrooms and Workshops*. Eds. Edith Wen-Chu Chen and Glenn Omatsu, 205-213. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006.

NOTES

1. Charles Payne, *I've Got the Light of Freedom: The Organizing Tradition and the Mississippi Freedom Struggle* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992).

2. James and Grace Lee Boggs Center to Nurture Community Leadership Web Site. Boggs, Grace Lee, "Freedom Schooling," www.boggscenter.org/ideas/fresh-ideas/fi-08-20-00.shtml.

3. Glenn Omatsu, "Freedom Schooling: Reconceptualizing Asian American Studies for Our Communities," *Amerasia Journal* 29 (2003): 9–33.

4. Happy Lim, "The Chinese Workers' Mutual Aid Association," *East Wind* (1982); and Lai, Him Mark, "A Historical Survey of the Chinese Left in America," in *Counterpoint: Perspectives on Asian America*, ed. Emma Gee (Los Angeles: UCLA Asian American Studies Center, 1976), 63–80.

This page intentionally left blank

MODEL MINORITY MYTH

Hyeyoung Kwon and Wayne Au

ORIGINS

The concept of the "model minority" refers to the idea that Asian Americans have been more successful educationally and economically than other "minority" groups in the United States. It was first used popularly in a January 1966 issue of *The New York Times Magazine* in an article entitled, "Success Story: Japanese American Style." In this article, author William Petersen used the term "model minority" to praise the Japanese American community for what he perceived as its successful assimilation into mainstream American culture. Twelve months later, *U.S. News and World Report* also published an article praising Chinese Americans for their successful assimilation into America, as well as for Chinatowns being both prosperous and peaceful.[1] These images of quietly successful Asian Americans were often contrasted with the "louder" and more visible civil rights struggles of African Americans and other groups during this time.[2]

Proponents of the model minority thesis attributed the supposed success of Asian Americans to their adherence to traditional Asian cultural values and family structures. They argued that Asian Americans were more obedient to authority, respectful of teachers, smart, good at math and science, hardworking, cooperative, well behaved, and quiet. The model minority thesis also suggests that Asian Americans are more successful educationally and economically than other "minority" groups in the United States such as blacks, Latinos, and Native Americans. Thus their pathway to success is viewed as a "model" for other "minority" groups to follow.[3]

Even though the success or desirability of Chinese and Japanese Americans assimilation into mainstream American culture is highly debatable, by the

1980s, significant magazines such as *Newsweek*, *The New Republic*, *Fortune*, *Parade*, and *Time* all printed stories touting the success of Asian Americans in schools and society, regularly citing the statistic that Asian Americans had higher family incomes than whites. The concept of Asian Americans as a "model minority" was thus embedded in mainstream American consciousness.

EDUCATION

On the surface, statistics suggest that Asian Americans are an exceptionally successful group. On the whole, Asian Americans have relatively high graduation rates, both from secondary schools and colleges, and they tend to score well on standardized tests relative to other racial groups. They also enroll in the freshmen classes of prestigious universities such as Stanford, MIT, Cal Tech, and the University of California in disproportionately large numbers, comprising more than 20 percent of their student populations.[4]

The apparent success, at least in aggregate data, has led to education policies where most Asian Americans are ineligible for most affirmative action programs and scholarships aimed at increasing the enrollment of nonwhite groups in colleges. One allegation is that many prestigious universities have informal caps on the number of Asian Americans they will accept for admission, thus making it more difficult for Asian American students to gain admission.[5] While these institutions deny imposing tougher academic standards for Asian Americans, some Asian American students have responded by trying to present themselves as exceptions to the stereotypes surrounding Asian American students. For instance, one educational consultant in Garden City, NY, advised his client to enter the Miss Teen New Jersey contest in an effort to make her college application stand out. Following his advice, she also moved to a different city where few Asian Americans lived, moving her from being in the top 20 percent of her class to being the valedictorian.[6]

Asian Americans' concerns about college admissions are not without precedent. In the 1980s, prestigious universities such as Brown, Harvard, Stanford, and the University of California–Berkeley, underwent federal investigation because of their alleged discriminatory admission practices. Though no universities initially admitted to imposing admissions caps on Asian Americans, Brown University later confessed to "serious problems," in their admission process and Stanford acknowledged "unconscious bias." The UC–Berkeley chancellor publicly apologized to Asian American communities for limiting the number of Asian American students.[7] Though rare, Asian American students continue to lodge complaints against universities for holding Asian American students to unfairly high standards for admission.[8]

Besides perpetuating stereotypes about Asian American students in college admissions, the model minority myth has a number of adverse ramifications in education. First, the image of Asian Americans as the model minority can negatively affect the educational experiences of Asian Americans who may

need extra assistance. In some cases, teachers have misinterpreted silence by Asian American students as meaning that they comprehend the subject matter, even when they may not.[9] In a study of an East Coast high school, educators underestimated the different academic achievement levels of Asian Americans and stereotyped Asian American students as being a homogeneous group without unique needs.[10] Furthermore, interviews of teachers, administrators, and counselors from an urban high school in California frequently revealed favorable perceptions of Asian Americans, who they perceived as well prepared, focused, and eager to learn.[11] While such an assessment may seem like a positive development, a downside is that Asian American students who are not high academic achievers are often subject to certain expectations and pressures that can cause feelings of low self-worth and low self-esteem. In the same study, an Asian low-achieving student felt embarrassed about seeking help for academic difficulties despite failing out of numerous classes because of the pressure imposed by the model minority myth.[12]

The model minority stereotype can also be used to denigrate other racial/ethnic groups. Educators may use the model minority stereotype to create a racial hierarchy within schools that presents Asian American students as being ideal students, which may produce resentment among students from other groups.[13] For example, in one study, black students in a California urban school called many teachers "racists" and were aware of teachers' tendencies to treat Asian Americans favorably. Teachers also held stereotypes about Asian Americans being high academic achievers, which mediated the tracking of these students into college-bound programs.[14] Implicit in the model minority myth is that if Asian American students can succeed with their "cultural values" and hard work, other racial minorities' inferior culture and the choices they make are at fault. However, juxtaposing and comparing different racial/ethnic groups' cultures can perpetuate hostility toward Asian Americans.

The model minority myth can also produce fear among other racial groups when Asian Americans are seen as curve breakers raising the academic standard.[15] In schools, many Asian American students become targets of physical harassment and bigotry as a result of the misconception that all Asian Americans are academic overachievers. For example, in 2005 bullying and violence against Asian American students was so widespread at Lafayette High School in Brooklyn, NY, that the school agreed to a Department of Justice consent decree that sought to address the "severe and pervasive harassment of Asian American students by their classmates."[16] This example is one of many incidents demonstrating how anti-Asian resentment can permeate students' educational and social worlds.

Finally, the idea that all Asian Americans are high academic achievers because of cultural values such as hard work ignores the greater structural inequalities that permeate the educational system. The model minority myth supports the popular idea that America is a meritocracy, an equal playing field for all, where the best, brightest, and most hardworking yield the rewards that

they deserve.[17] After all, many Asian Americans overcame hardships such as the internment of Japanese Americans and the refugee experience of Vietnamese Americans. Some believe that while the extraordinary achievements of many Asian Americans should not be overlooked, it is also critical to recognize that hard work does not always result in the rewards that individuals deserve, and many groups continue to experience major structural inequalities that are linked to difficult residential, school, and home environments.

OVERLOOKED ISSUES

By depicting Asian culture as a static and monolithic entity in which all Asian Americans succeed, the model minority myth ignores the influence of factors such as class, gender, generation, and sexual orientation that contribute to the vast diversity within the Asian American community.[18] The racial category of "Asian" masks the diversity of various Asian American communities. There are dozens of ways to be officially categorized as Asian by the U.S. government.[19] The use of the term "Asian" to categorize such a large and diverse group of people means that the unique attributes of each group are oftentimes lost. This fact is important because, when Asian Americans are called a model minority, it is unclear which Asian American groups are the so-called model minorities.[20]

Lumping different Asian ethnic groups into a single Asian American category hides the variation of economic success and academic achievement across different ethnic group. Among the Asian American population, Southeast Asian Americans are particularly harmed by the model minority myth as they tend to trail behind East and South Asians in most indicators of achievement. The 2000 U.S. Census shows that while 42.7 percent of Asian Americans aged 25 and older, in the aggregate data, have graduated college, only 9.1 percent of Cambodian Americans, 7.4 percent of Hmong Americans, 7.6 percent of Lao Americans, and 19.5 percent of Vietnamese Americans have graduated from college.[21]

Paralleling the differences in educational attainment is economic disparities among Southeast Asian American communities. All Southeast Asian Americans made far below the overall U.S. population's average per capita income of $21,000.[22] Hmong Americans earned an average of $6,613 per capital income, the lowest per capita income of all ethnic groups in the United States, while Cambodian Americans earned $10,215. Lao Americans earned $11,454, and Vietnamese Americans earned $15,385.[23] The average per capita incomes for Southeast Asian Americans, with the exception of Vietnamese Americans, are below those for American Indians ($14,267), African Americans ($14,222), and Latino Americans ($12,111).[24]

Poverty, limited English proficiency, and limited experience with formal education have been identified as major barriers to academic success for many Southeast Asian Americans.[25] Many Cambodian students drop out of school to support their families, and low levels of parental education within Cambodian Americans prevent parents from helping their children educationally. Studies

have indicated that Cambodian girls have a higher risk of dropping out of school because of cultural norms governing gender roles.[26] For example, in a case study of Cambodian high school dropouts, 22 out of 23 Cambodian girls rated cultural pressure to marry and have children as a major reason for dropping out.[27] Despite the educational and economic challenges that Southeast Asians face, many school officials have limited knowledge about their distinct experiences. A study found that teachers' lack of knowledge regarding Lao students' ethnic identities and unique experiences produced resentment among Lao students and discouraged them from participating in school and even led to delinquency.[28]

Research has also found that the language diversity found within Asian American communities has led to poor test scores and increased dropout rates. The Asian American Legal Defense Fund reports that in some states such as New York and Massachusetts, Asian American students whose first language is not English drop out of high school at a rate that is up to five times than that of the general school-going population. According to this report, some schools are allowing Asian American students whose first language is not English to drop out of school with little or no intervention, pushing them into General Education Diploma programs, or expelling such students under questionable circumstances—all in an effort raise the overall test scores of schools.[29]

The model minority myth also does not account for differences within and between Asian American groups of different economic classes. While many Chinese and Korean Americans enroll in many prestigious universities, class differences within these student populations greatly influence the way they use school resources and social capital. For instance, research in New York City found that working-class and low-income Korean American students do much more poorly in schools than their richer, middle- and upper-class peers.[30] Similar findings have come from research on Chinese American students as well, where middle-class Chinese American mothers had more time and resources available to devote to their children than working class mothers who were often employed in multiple jobs and spent most of their days at work.[31] Reflecting the diversity of Asian American educational experiences, the number of Asian American high school dropouts is rising. In 1999, out of 513,000 Asian American high school students, 25,000, or 4.8 percent, had dropped out of high school.[32]

Statistics also show that the model minority myth obscures the actual economic circumstances of many Asian Americans. While the average median household income for Asian Americans is greater than that of the average American household, Asian American households have more working adults than white American households. Asian Americans average 3.3 people per household, versus white Americans, who average 2.5 people per household, and actually have a lower per capita income compared to whites. In addition, Asian American families have lower than average homeownership rates, but have higher than average rates of overcrowded housing.[33] To further complicate these statistics is the fact that most Asian Americans live in regions of the United States with high costs of living such as New York, California, and Washington.

Filipino American Youth and Students

According to the U.S. Census, Filipinas/os are an immigrant success story. Of the 3,053,079 Filipinas/os in United States in 2007, more than 40 percent are in management and professional occupations. Almost half of Filipino/as over the age of 25 held at least a bachelor's degree. The perception that Filipinas/os are doing well is bolstered by cultural stereotypes that describe Filipinas/os as extremely hardworking, with supportive, tight-knit families. These statistics, however, obscure the problems that Filipinas/os youth face.

Too often, mental health and educational issues of Filipinas/os have been masked by stereotypes and generalizations, such as the model minority myth and the cultural stereotype of "family cohesion." Though some researchers, educators, and policy makers point to "culture" as the reason why Filipinas/os and other Asian Americans succeed, the same culture is often blamed for the myriad issues facing youth. These stereotypes persist among researchers, funders, and providers of social service programs. Stereotypes include the idea that Filipino/as do well in school and thus do not need extra educational programs. In the mental health field, similar to other Asian American groups, Filipino/as are thought to have few if any mental health concerns.

In San Francisco, more than a third of the Filipina/o population resides in the Excelsior district. The San Francisco Board of Supervisors Legislative Analyst report, based on the 2000 census, describe this district as having the highest percentage of households with seniors at 36 percent and the second highest percentage of households with children under 18, at 40 percent. This district also has the lowest per capita income in the city, and the lowest educational attainment, with 71 percent of residents having earned less than a BA or associate's degree. More than half of the residents, approximately 52 percent, are foreign born; 8 percent live below the federal poverty level. In this same district in San Francisco, 32 percent speak an Asian or Pacific Islander language and speak English "not well" or "not at all."

Filipinas/os have the highest dropout rate among all Asian American groups, and one of the highest dropout rates among all ethnic groups. Key predictors that are often associated with influencing immigrant schooling show that immigrant status, language, and class factors alone cannot explain the dropout rates across national-origin groups. Dropout rates for Filipino/a students in lower-income schools greatly surpass the general dropout rate for all students recorded at the district, county, and state levels. Dropout rates often indicate that students are encountering difficult issues in the environments and situations to which they are exposed. Filipino/a students' challenges in their neighborhoods, schools, and homes need to be further examined to get a holistic picture of their experiences.

In the schools, Filipino/a students are often blamed for their failures, which in turn can create severe internalized inferiorities and psychological trauma. These mental health issues can directly relate to the experiences of Filipina/o students, especially when they experience pressure to live up the model minority stereotype. Along with the issue of high dropout rates, Filipinas/o students face other mental health-related dilemmas such as suicide and depression. Filipina/o and Pacific Islander youth are the second most likely group among San Francisco middle-school students who have had thoughts of suicide. Almost a third of Filipina/o and Pacific Islander youth report having depression, the third highest percentage. In 2000, suicide was a leading cause of death for Asian American and Pacific Islander youth nationwide, second only to unintentional injuries. There has been a lack of research conducted on the reasons why Filipinas/os have these mental health issues. Some researchers problematize Filipina/o American "culture," and in some cases, this diagnosis puts the blame on the parents without taking an in-depth look at the social conditions that contribute to or create the issue.

Many studies about Filipina/o Americans are exploring interesting questions about identity formation, group identity, family histories, labor, transnationalism, and immigration, but most of them focus on Filipina/o Americans from suburban communities. There has yet to be a comprehensive community-based research project on the lives of urban Filipina/o youth. Consequently, the issues of poverty and violence are not at the center of the conversations in these contemporary studies.

A study on Filipina/o American youth in the Excelsior neighborhood of San Francisco, which consisted of interviews, journals written by the students, and participant observation, identified several pressing needs. One prevalent challenge that was identified was the effect of economic hardship on youth home life. Many homes have a large number of people, and youth often had a number of responsibilities as a consequence of having parents or guardians work multiple jobs. Also, many of the Filipina/o youth described violence as a daily occurrence in their neighborhoods, schools, and homes. Youth often described the presence of gangs in their neighborhoods, either through their personal involvement or the involvement of those around them. Students also noted the lack of Filipino/a teachers and role models.

There is a clear need to learn about the impact that class and poverty have on the lives of Filipina/o American youth from both suburban and urban settings. In most cases, these youth are ignored by researchers, funders, and service providers. If they are included, they are usually just part of a statistic. Along with the need to study these youth, a clear need exists to develop programs, create services, and build a community to address the needs of urban Filipina/o American youth.

—Allyson Tintiangco-Cubales

All of these statistics stand in stark contrast to the stereotypes of Asian Americans fostered by the model minority image. As mentioned earlier, the seemingly positive representation of Asian Americans obscures the importance of structural barriers and disparities among Asian American populations while also encouraging an inaccurate depiction of the American opportunity structure. The model minority myth also imposes stereotypes on Asian American students that many hinder their personal self-concept or ambitions. As more Asian American actors and actresses gain roles that contradict stereotypes of Asian Americans as being math geeks or quiet nerds, the door may open for American society to gain a more multifaceted understanding of the Asian American community's diversity. However, the model minority myth continues to have an undeniable impact on the way that Asian Americans are perceived in the educational realm and in broader society.

FURTHER READING

Asian American Legal Defense and Education Fund. http://www.aaldef.org.

Asian Nation. http://www.asian-nation.org.

Chang, Benji, and Wayne Au. "You're Asian, How Could You Fail Math? Unmasking the Myth of the Model Minority." *Rethinking Schools* 22, no. 2 (2007–2008): 14–19.

Lee, Stacey J. *Unraveling The "Model Minority" Stereotype: Listening To Asian American Youth*. New York: Teachers College Press, 1998.

Lee, Stacey J., and Kevin Kumashiro. *A Report on The Status Of Asian Americans And Pacific Islanders In Education: Beyond The "Model Minority" Stereotype*. Washington, DC: National Education Association, 2005.

Lew, Jamie. *Asian Americans in Class: Charting The Achievement Gap Among Korean American Youth*. New York: Teachers College Press, 2006.

ModelMinority.com: A Guide to Asian American Empowerment. http://www.model-minority.com.

Redondo, Brian, Khin Mai Aung, Margaret Fung, and Nancy W. Yu. *Left In The Margins: Asian American Students and The No Child Left Behind Act.* New York: Asian American Legal Defense and Education Fund, 2008.

NOTES

1. Keith Osajima, "Asian Americans As The Model Minority: An Analysis of the Popular Press Image in the 1960s And 1980s," in *Reflections On Shattered Windows: Promises and Prospects For Asian American Studies,* eds. Gary Y. Okihiro, Shirley Hune, Arthur A. Hansen and John M. Liu (Pullman: Washington State University Press, 1988), 165–174.
2. Asian Nation, "The Model Minority Image," http://www.asian-nation.org/model-minority.shtml.
3. Sucheng Chen, Asian *Americans: An Interpretive History* (Woodbridge, CT: Twayne Publishers, 1991).
4. Min Zhou, "Are Asian Americans Becoming White?" *Contexts* 3 (2004): 29–37.
5. Jay Mathews, "Learning to Stand Out among the Standouts: Some Asian Americans Say College Expect More from Them," *Washington Post*, March 22, 2005: A10, http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A55160-2005Mar21.html.
6. Mathews, "Learning to Stand Out among the Standouts."

7. Don Nakanishi, "A Quota on Excellence? The Asian American Admissions Debate," in *The Asian American Educational Experience: A Source Book for Teachers and Students,* eds. Don T. Nakanishi and Tina Yamano Nishida (New York: Routledge, 1995), 278–284.

8. Asian Nation, "Rejected Asian American Applicant Sues Princeton," Dec. 3, 2006, http://www.asian-nation.org/headlines/2006/12/rejected-asian-american-applicant-sues-princeton/.

9. Carol Tateishi, "Taking a Chance with Words: Why Are the Asian American Kids Silent in Class?" *Rethinking Schools* 22 (2007–2008), http://www.rethinkingschools.org/archive/22_02/word222.shtml.

10. Stacey J. Lee, *Unraveling the Model Minority Myth: Listening to Asian American Youth* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999).

11. Gilberto Q. Conchas, *The Color of Success: Race and High Achieving Urban Youth* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006).

12. Lee, *Unraveling the Model Minority Myth.*

13. Conchas, *The Color of Success.*

14. Conchas, *The Color of Success.*

15. Sue In Hwang, "The New White Flight," *The Wall Street Journal*, Nov. 19, 2005, A1.

16. Mary Altaffer, "Asian Youth Persistently Harassed by U.S. Peers," *USA Today*, November 13, 2005, http://www.usatoday.com/news/nation/2005-11-13-asian-teens-bullied_x.htm.

17. Asian Nation, "Debate Continues on Affirmative Action," Oct. 24, 2006, http://www.asian-nation.org/headlines/2006/10/debate-continues-on-affirmative-action/.

18. Zhou, "Are Asian Americans Becoming White?"

19. Stacey J. Lee, "Additional Complexities: Social Class, Ethnicity, Generation, And Gender In Asian American Student Experiences," *Race, Ethnicity, and Education* 9, no.1 (2006): 17–28.

20. Asian Nation, http://www.asian-nation.org/model-minority.shtml.

21. Bic Ngo and Stacey J. Lee, "Complicating the Image of Model Minority Success: A Review of Southeast Asian American Education, *Review of Educational Research* 77 (2007): 415–453.

22. Ngo and Lee, "Complicating the Image of Model Minority Success."

23. Ngo and Lee, "Complicating the Image of Model Minority Success."

24. Ngo and Lee, "Complicating the Image of Model Minority Success."

25. Khatharya Um, "Scars of War: Educational Issues and Challenges for Cambodian American Students" in *Asian American Education: Prospects and Challenges*, eds. Clara C Park, and Chi, Mei-Ying (Westport, CT: Bergin & Garvey, 1999), 263–284.

26. Nancy Smith-Hefner, "Education, Gender, and Generational Conflict among Khmer Refugees," *Anthropology and Education Quarterly* 24 (1993): 135–158.

27. Margaret E. Goldberg. "Truancy and Dropout among Cambodian Students: Results from a Comprehensive High School," *Social Work in Education* 21 (1999): 49–63.

28. Bic Ngo, *The Complexities of Difference: "Diversity," Race and Immigrant Identity at an Urban High School* (University of Wisconsin–Madison: Unpublished doctoral diss., 2004); Kenji Ima, "Testing the American dream: Case Studies of At-risk Southeast Asian Refugee Students in Secondary Schools," in *California's Immigrant Children: Theory, Research, and Implications for Educational Policy,* eds. Ruben G. Rumbaut and Wayne A. Cornelius (San Diego: University of California–San Diego, Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, 1995), 191–209.

29. Brian Redondo, Khin Mai Aung, Margaret Fung, & Nancy W. Yu, *Left In The Margins: Asian American Students and The No Child Left Behind Act* (New York: Asian American Legal Defense and Education Fund, 2008).

30. Jamie Lew, *Asian Americans In Class: Charting The Achievement Gap Among Korean American Youth* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2006).

31. Vivian Louie, “Parents’ Aspirations and Investment: The Role of Social Class in the Educational Experiences of 1.5 and Second-Generation Chinese Americans,” *Harvard Educational Review* 71 (2001): 438–474.

32. Lew, *Asian Americans in Class.*

33. *The Diverse Faces of Asian and Pacific Islanders* (Los Angeles: Asian Pacific American Legal Center, 2006).

PARENTAL PRESSURE AND EXPECTATIONS

Hyeyoung Kwon

Discussion of Asian Americans in both academic literature and the popular media consistently identifies the significant influence of Asian parenting styles, characterized by high expectations for and pressure about the academic achievement of their children. Though high expectations may often function to boost children's academic performance, studies also argue that the tendency for Asian American parents to associate their children's academic ability with their family honor produces enormous pressure and even possible psychological damage to school-aged children. For example, Asian American children commonly express that a "B" for their parents is equivalent to an "F." In the most extreme cases, the excessive high expectations have resulted in suicide attempts by Asian American young adults.[1]

CULTURAL EXPLANATIONS FOR PARENTING STYLES

The parenting styles of Asian immigrants can be a reflection of both the culture and social structures of their countries of origin. Many Asian parents rely on the values learned in their homeland to evaluate school-aged children's educational performance in the United States. For example, the painstaking current educational system and fierce academic competition in many East Asian countries, the long legacy of East Asian countries' imperial examination systems, and Confucian values are frames of reference for their experience in the United States.[2] Consequently, Asian immigrant parents often promote their children's school achievement with an authoritarian or "training" style of parenting,

stressing industriousness and deference to family elders.[3] In this sense, Asian culture, which places high values on social respect, self-discipline, perseverance, willpower and schooling, is manifested in the academic expectations of Asian American parents.[4]

For many Asian immigrant parents, their children's academic performance is seen as an indication of their own parenting ability.[5] Accordingly, Asian parents tend to sacrifice a large amount of time and resources for their children and may exercise a large amount of supervision of their children's educational issues, ranging from what universities they should attend, what majors they should choose, and ultimately, what kind of career paths they should follow.[6] In fact, one study reveals that more than eight out of ten Asian parents were willing to sell their personal property and sacrifice their financial stability in order to support their children's education, while only three out of ten white parents were willing to do the same for their children.[7] Because Asian children's academic achievement is perceived as a long-term family investment for their parents, many parents tend to induce guilt and shame about their sacrifices whenever their children do not meet their high expectations.

STRUCTURAL EXPLANATIONS FOR PARENTING STYLES

Asian parents' cultural values toward education do not solely account for their strong parental control, however. In fact, the context of emigration and migration patterns of Asian Americans after 1965 underlie high expectations for Asian parents as well. Many Asians immigrated to the United States seeking an economically and politically more stable life.[8] They also believe that seemingly inexhaustible educational opportunities in the United States will provide better economic payoffs for their children. As a result, the decision to leave their homeland and establish new lives in the United States often centers on their children's lives. For example, Korean immigrant parents are often considered successful when they send their children to prestigious universities, help them obtain professional jobs in the American mainstream, and marry them to fellow Korean Americans.[9] This vision of success explains why a large number of Korean immigrants take pride in small–business–related vocations that other groups may perceive as unrewarding work. In other words, Asian parents' high expectations for their children derive not only from cultural factors mentioned above, but also from their optimism: the perception that their difficult years in the United States are investments which will eventually pay off in their children's academic and career success.[10]

While many immigrant parents are optimistic about their children's future in the United States and have high expectations for them, they are also keenly aware of the racial discrimination associated with being Asian American. In fact, despite the relatively higher educational aspirations of Asian parents, the economic rewards for the educational investment of Asian Americans have been lower than those for whites.[11] In this sense, the differential return rates of education, preoccupying concerns for survival, and immigrant pessimism mani-

fested in the perceived racial discrimination in the job market for their children all serve as the driving force behind Asian immigrants' high parental control.[12] Many Asian immigrants who arrived in the United States after 1965 faced downward social mobility because of language barriers and were forced into self-employment. Rather than embracing the idea that America is the land of opportunity, they pushed their children to enter "academic" or "professional" fields, such as engineering, science, and medicine, instead of nonacademic fields, such as the entertainment industry and art, with the hopes that their children would have better life chances.[13] In short, given the history of marginalization of Asian Americans in the United States, Asian parents perceive education as a relatively effective functional channel of upward mobility and a means of escaping discrimination.

IMPACT OF SOCIAL CAPITAL ON PARENTAL PRESSURE AND EXPECTATIONS

Recently, scholars have taken these theories a step further and looked at the role of ethnic community norms in producing social comparisons and high educational expectations in Asian parents.[14] They argue that values learned in their homelands are promoted by relatively closed-structured ethnic communities in the United States. Consequently, within the closed-structured ethnic communities, a certain set of academic practices and standards can control the parental styles and behavior of Asian American parents. For example, many ethnic media outlets within the Asian American community promote the importance of the parents' role in producing academic success for their children. Furthermore, countless cram school commercial advertisements that display the astonishing educational backgrounds of the instructors reinforce the idea that the education as well as the credential from prestigious universities is critical to future success. Asian parents who do not meet the ethnic community's set of educational standards are faced with informal sanctions such as gossip because they are unable to provide the vital support for their children; however, sanctions also exist in the form of praise and reward. A parent or child who adheres to Asian ethnic community norms receives adulation and is held in higher esteem. Sanctions that reinforce behavior are worth noting because they can make Asian parents forgo their self-interests for the sake of the larger community.

Research on Asian American children has shed more light on how children are responding to high parental expectation and pressure. Asian American children, who are often praised and glorified as model minorities and academic superstars in American education and mainstream media, face ever-increasing pressure when their ethnic community norms support these racial stereotypes. In general, many Asian American children feel obligated to please their parents and try to adhere to their parents' desires of becoming high-skilled professionals because they have witnessed their parents' struggles working in the ethnic economy.[15] The Asian American parent-child relationship is distinguished by a reciprocal sense of duty.[16] Many Asian American children not only recognize

their parents' sacrifices but believe that they must help their parents escape their menial occupations.[17] As a result, Asian Americans tend to choose careers that would provide them with greater financial security and social status.[18]

Nonetheless, high expectations from parents often produce internal conflicts in Asian American children, as they are torn between meeting their parents' expectations and pursuing their own interests and dreams.[19] When Asian children fail in the eyes of their parents, it negatively influences their psychological well-being. Studies demonstrate that social comparisons and inducing guilt about parental sacrifice produces high anxiety and stress.[20] For example, in one ethnographic study, "Asian low achievers" from working class families were exceptionally self-critical and suffered from emotional distress because they felt that their academic failures brought shame to their entire family.[21] Furthermore, more "Americanized" Asian American children may view their parents' educational values derived from Asian culture and norms as very restrictive and resent their parents' high parental expectation.

High expectations and the preoccupation with children's schooling transcend class lines.[22] However, the educational strategies employed by Asian American parents are not monolithic. While many upper-middle class Asian parents can pay to send their children to cram schools, working class parents may have a harder time translating their high educational expectations into reality because of their long working hours and limited access to social networks.[23] In brief, the parenting styles and roles of immigrant families are multifaceted and more complicated than the ethnic and mainstream media suggests. Consequently, unraveling the role of immigration and socioeconomic status of Asian parents is evermore critical in studying the effect of high parental expectation and pressure on Asian American youth.

FURTHER READING

Asian Nation. http://www.asian-nation.org/headlines/2005/12/model-minority-expectations-and-suicide/.

Lee, Stacey. *Unraveling the Model Minority Myth: Listening to Asian American Youth.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1999.

Lew, Jamie. *Asian Americans in Class: Charting the Achievement Gap among Korean American Youth*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2006.

Louie, Vivian. S. "Parents' Aspirations and Investment: The Role of Social Class in the Educational Experiences of 1.5- and Second-Generation Chinese Americans." *Harvard Educational Review* 71, no. 3 (2001): 438–474.

Zhou, Min and Susan S. Kim. "Community Forces, Social Capital, and Educational Achievement: The Case of Supplementary Education in the Chinese and Korean Immigrant Communities." *Harvard Educational Review* 76, no. 1 (2006): 1–76.

NOTES

1. Paula Yoo, "Troubled Waters," *A Magazine*, 1, no. 4 (1992): 53–54.

2. John U. Ogbu, "Cultural Problems in Minority Education: Their Interpretations and Consequences. Part Two; Case Studies," *Urban Review* 27 (1995): 189–205.

3. Ruth K. Chao, "Extending Research on the Consequences of Parenting Style for Chinese Americans and European Americans," *Child Development* 72, no. 6 (2001): 1832–1843.

4. Kimberly Goyotte and Yu Xie, "Educational Expectations of Asian American Youths: Determinants and Ethnic Differences," *Sociology of Education* 72, no. 1 (1999): 22–36.

5. Timothy P. Fong, "Educational Issues Facing Asian Americans," in *The Contemporary Asian American Experience Beyond the Model Minority* (Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1998), 87–91.

6. Eun Young Kim, "Career Choice among Second-generation Korean Americans: Reflection of a Cultural Model of Success," *Anthropology & Education Quarterly* 24 (1993): 224–248.

7. Jayjia Hsia, *Asian American in Higher Education and at Work*. (Mahweh, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1988).

8. Kyeyoung Park, *The Korean American Dream* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997).

9. Park, *The Korean American Dream.*

10. Lisa Sun Hee Park, *Consuming Citizenship: Children of Asian Immigrant Entrepreneurs* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University, 2005).

11. R. Herbert Barringer, David T. Takeuchi and Peter Xenos, "Education, Occupational Prestige, and Income of Asian Americans," *Sociology of Education* 63, no. 4 (1990): 27–43.

12. Ki-Taek Chun, "The Myth of Asian American Success and Its Educational Ramification," *IRCD Bulletin* 15, no. 1–2 (1980): 1–12; Charles Hirschman and Morrison G. Wong, "The Extraordinary Educational Attainment among Immigrant and Native-Born Asian-Americans: A Search for Historical Evidence and Explanations," *Social Forces* 65, no. 1 (1986): 1–27.

13. Stanley Sue and Sumie Okazaki, "Asian American Educational Achievements: A Phenomenon in Search of an Explanation," *American Psychologist* 46, no. 8 (1990): 913–920.

14. Min Zhou, "Social Capital in Chinatown: The Role of Community-Based Organizations and Families in the Adaptation of the Younger Generation," in *Beyond Black and White: New Voices, New Faces in the United States Schools,* eds. Lois Weis and Maxine S. Seller (Albany: State University of New York Press), 181–206; Min Zhou and Susan S. Kim, "Community Forces, Social Capital, and Educational Achievement: The Case of Supplementary Education in the Chinese and Korean Immigrant Communities," *Harvard Educational Review* 76, no. 1 (2006): 1–26.

15. Vivian, S. Louie, "Parents' Aspirations and Investment: The Role of Social Class in the Educational Experiences of 1.5- and Second-Generation Chinese Americans," *Harvard Educational Review* 71, no. 3 (2001): 438–474.

16. Grace Kao, "Asian Americans as Model Minorities? A Look at Their Academic Performance," *American Journal of Education* 103 (1995): 121–159

17. Eun Young Kim, "Career Choice among Second-Generation Korean Americans: Reflection of a Cultural Model of Success," *Anthropology & Education Quarterly* 24 (1993): 224–248.

18. Park, *Consuming Citizenship.*

19. Jamie Lew, *Asian Americans in Class: Charting the Achievement Gap among Korean American Youth* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006).

20. O. Valerie Pang and Lilly Li- Rong Cheng, *Struggling to Be Heard: The Unmet Needs of Asian Pacific American Children* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998).

21. Stacey Lee, *Unraveling the Model Minority Myth: Listening to Asian American Youth* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999).

22. Louie, "Parents' Aspirations and Investment."

23. Lew, *Asian Americans in Class,* 45–59.

RETENTION OF COLLEGE STUDENTS

Tracy Lachica Buenavista

With the growing presence of Asian Americans in U.S. colleges and universities, much attention has focused on their representation and less so on their retention and actual experiences in postsecondary education. Retention generally refers to successful student persistence in college.[1] While Asian American academic persistence combined with an increased presence in college obscures their complex educational experiences, this article examines some of the factors that shape Asian American retention in higher education.

RETENTION RATES

Generally, students of color have lower retention and graduation rates when compared to their white counterparts; however, Asian Americans are an anomaly to this trend. According to the Consortium for Student Retention Data Exchange, Asian Americans have the highest rates of retention and graduation from four-year universities.[2] In 1999, the first-year retention rate for Asian Americans was 86.9 percent—higher than all other racial/ethnic groups. Similarly for all students who entered college in 1994, Asian Americans had the highest six-year graduation rates at 61.1 percent. These high retention rates suggest that Asian American retention issues do not warrant institutional attention. The retention rates for Asian Americans can be misleading, however, when one considers the ethnic diversity of the population.

While Asian American college students are primarily from East Asian ethnic groups, low-income East Asians, Filipinos, and Southeast Asians (e.g., Vietnamese,

Cambodian, and Hmong) experience lower retention and graduation rates. For example, in the University of California system, the college system with one of the highest rates of Asian American enrollment, Filipinos demonstrated first-year retention and six-year graduation rates lower than their white and Asian counterparts in 1996.[3]

Asian Americans experience some retention issues and marginalization similar to other students of color. Many Asian American first-generation college students have not been regularly exposed to a college-going culture and often experience difficulties balancing family and school obligations. In addition, students are affected by the lack of ethnic and racial diversity in higher education and the limited university recognition of their position as students of color in need of academic support. Consequently, Asian American postsecondary issues often go overlooked, and there are few institutional programs that specifically seek to support Asian American student issues.[4] The perception that there is a lack of institutional support directed toward the community often fosters student perceptions of a negative campus racial climate for Asian Americans, and this affects students' persistence and attitudes toward higher education.[5] Some of the factors that affect Asian American retention include academic preparedness and behaviors, commitment to educational goals, financial aid, and campus racial climate.

ROLES OF ACADEMIC PREPAREDNESS AND ACHIEVEMENT

The main predictor of Asian American retention is academic achievement and preparedness, particularly for Asian American transfer students.[6] In other words, the higher the grades prior to admission, the more likely Asian American first-year students will persist. However, for some Asian Americans, such pre-college performance is difficult. For example, many Southeast Asian students face barriers to success in college. Many Southeast Asian students are first-generation college students, live in low-income neighborhoods, and/or attend low-performing schools prior to college—factors that often detrimentally affect academic performance and place these students at a disadvantage upon entering higher education.

Academic preparedness is important to retention because it influences Asian American academic practices. Asian Americans are more likely than their peers to participate in study groups, as well as to seek out tutoring. For example, researchers found that Asian American students are more likely to study with other students than their white counterparts.[7] In context of the classroom, however, Asian Americans are less likely to participate in classroom discussions. Although some Asian Americans come into college with high levels of academic preparedness, their ability to persist during college is influenced by their ability to translate their study skills into greater academic engagement in the college environment. Thus, while some Asian Americans benefit from academic preparedness, their academic behaviors at the college level better shape their retention potential.

PERSISTING TOWARD EDUCATIONAL GOALS

Asian Americans enter college with high educational aspirations; however, they also express feeling greater levels of pressure to perform academically well. Asian American student self-concept is complex. Although these students have high educational aspirations, internal and external pressures to perform often lead to personal doubt. Further, when they seek institutional support, Asian Americans often use academic and career support services rather than those for personal or social support, such as counseling services.

While Asian Americans have high academic aspirations, they are less certain about their vocational identities, which in turn may shape their persistence during college.[8] Having a strong vocational identity entails having a clear understanding of one's interests, talents, and subsequent professional goals. Among the characteristics portrayed by those without a strong vocational identity is difficulty in addressing psychological issues and barriers related to one's career decision-making. Students with less vocational clarity also were more likely to experience interpersonal problems and stress while in school.

Asian American women in their first year and Southeast Asians overall are often less academically confident than their counterparts. They often report feeling inadequately prepared for college and more uncertain of their majors, and they anticipated difficulties in adjusting to personal and academic challenges.[9] Such retention concerns are attributed to inconsistencies in student perceptions of their family expectations and what constitutes a competitive student, as expressed via the culture of individualism that characterizes U.S higher education institutions. As such, Asian American retention issues are influenced by the clarity and overall commitment to their educational goals.

FINANCIAL AID

For all students regardless of race, socioeconomic background can significantly affect one's retention potential. Like many low-income students of color, the retention of low-income Asian Americans can suffer from competing family and educational expenses.[10] Low-income students often work to offset the costs of college. Asian American students reported that they are expected to work a range of fifteen to fifty hours each week to contribute to their family incomes.[11] In many cases when Asian American students come from families in which their parents and other caregivers work multiple jobs, they are subject to other familial obligations, such as caring for siblings and other relatives, as well as other household responsibilities.

Low-income status may affect the ability of Asian American students to live on campus. Commuting from home in combination with work and/or familial responsibilities lessens the amount of time students can dedicate to their academic endeavors, and thus can increase the risk of attrition for Asian Americans. Paying tuition and fees, as well as the necessary books and materials required to complete coursework, can also add financial strain. Low-income students often

demonstrate a lack of financial aid literacy, which can result in many students not being familiar with and not pursuing the various funding opportunities targeting these students.

CAMPUS RACIAL CLIMATE AND SENSE OF BELONGING

While it is important to identifiy the factors that affect Asian American retention, it is also necessary to acknowlege the limitations of contemporary higher education research on Asian Americans. Traditional retention discourse often attributes student persistence to an individual's ability to socially integrate into the campus culture, but it does not consider the way that institutional culture shapes retention.[12] The campus racial climate generally refers to the overall environment of an institution in the context of diversity. Students of color, who are considered nontraditional college students, often perceive campus racial climate more negatively than their white counterparts because the culture of the institution reflects the dominant culture of those considered traditional college students. Student perceptions of campus racial climate affect their sense of belonging and ultimately, retention. Studies have found that Asian Americans have greater perceptions of a negative campus racial climate than their racial counterparts.[13]

Asian American students often experience marginalization in college early in their academic careers.[14] Within the first year, Asian American students express less sense of belonging than their white counterparts. Sense of belonging refers to the extent to which students feel they are a part of the campus community. Asian Americans report negative perceptions of campus racial climate related to experiences with prejudice and discrimination on their campus, in classes, and with faculty. More specifically, the residential experience of Asian American students living on campus was an important factor in determining their sense of belonging.[15] Living in a socially supportive environment tolerant of diverse backgrounds is central to Asian American retention.

There have been many hate-related incidents and crimes directed toward Asian Americans. In one study, Asian Americans reported higher levels of stress resulting from campus racism than students from other racial groups.[16] Asian American college students had negative experiences both in and out of the classroom environment, as well as between students, faculty, and other practitioners. The inability of the institutional culture to foster a greater sense of belonging for Asian American students signals the importance of colleges and universities to better express their commitment to campus diversity.

RETENTION STRATEGIES

There is a lack of practitioners familiar with Asian American issues; therefore students often do not seek out such support. Asian American college students have various techniques to cope with stress, which practitioners often misinterpret as an indication of academic and emotional instability. Instead of seeking out institutional support, Asian American students are more likely to individually cope with interpersonal or social issues affecting their retention.[17] Asian Americans also tend

to avoid problems that arise, often using strategies of social withdrawal.[18] The tendency to self-remedy poses as a retention barrier in the early years of college, as many students are experiencing significant adjustment issues.

However, while Asian Americans might not use campus-based support programs and services specifically designed to address social and/or academic issues, many have used campus involvement as a means for retention. Important to Asian American student persistence is working with faculty, becoming involved in campus organizations, and participating in community service projects. In the past two decades, Asian Americans have increasingly become involved in student-initiated retention organizations.

Student-initiated retention organizations are student-created, student-run, and largely student-funded projects that attempt to address the academic, social, and political issues that affect students of color and their communities. For Asian Americans, student-initiated retention projects are central to their persistence because they are often excluded from university programs and services that target low-income, first-generation, and historically underrepresented students—categories, which do not necessarily encompass the retention issues of Asian American students. For example, Filipino 1.5-generation college students are second-generation college students whose higher education experiences more resemble first-generation college students.[19] Student-initiated projects have a holistic approach to retention, which is a direct response to university efforts that often solely focus on student academics.

Despite their relative academic success, Asian Americans face significant barriers in higher education. In particular, Asian Americans are vulnerable to experiencing retention issues related to academic preparedness, commitment to educational goals, financial aid, and campus racial climate. Even with the shifting demographics of the college-going population, higher education institutions often continue to reflect the culture of the dominant college-going group. Based on the conditions set up by the conflicts between student of color and institutional cultures, students of color still face challenges to persisting in higher education. While students have worked to facilitate retention through becoming more socially and politically involved on campus, it is critical for institutions to consider the retention experiences of Asian American students to better foster their academic success.

FURTHER READING

Maldonado, David Emiliano Zapata, Robert Rhoads, and Tracy Lachica Buenavista. "The Student-Initiated Retention Project: Theoretical Contributions and the Role of Self-Empowerment." *American Educational Research Journal* 42, no. 4 (2005): 605–638.

University of California–Berkeley Bridges Multicultural Resource Center. http://www.ocf.berkeley.edu/~bridges/.

University of California–Los Angeles Community Programs Office. http://www.studentaffairs.ucla.edu/studentcampuslife/community1.htm.

University of Wisconsin–Madison Multicultural Student Center. http://msc.wisc.edu/msc/.

NOTES

1. Linda Serra Hagedorn, "How to Define Retention: A New Look at an Old Problem," in *College Student Retention: Formula for Student Success*, ed. Alan Seidman (Westport, CT: American Council on Education and Praeger Publishers, 2006), 89–106.

2. Alan Seidman, "Minority Student Retention: Resources for Practitioners," *New Directions for Institutional Research* 125 (2005): 7–24.

3. Tracy Lachica Buenavista, "Movement from the Middle: Pilipina/o 1.5-Generation College Student Access, Retention, and Resistance," PhD diss., University of California–Los Angeles, 2007.

4. Marylu K. McEwen et al., "Working with Asian American College Students," *New Direction for Student Services Sourcebook,* 97 (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2002).

5. Buenavista, "Movement from the Middle."

6. James K. Nishimoto and Linda S. Hagedorn, "Retention, Persistence, and Course Taking Patterns of Asian Pacific Americans Attending Urban Community Colleges," (Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, 2003).

7. Matthew R. Wawrzynski and William E. Sedlacek, "Race and Gender Differences in the Transfer Student Experience," *Journal of College Student Development* 44, no. 4 (2003): 489–501.

8. Margaretha S. Lucas and LaVerne Berkel, "Counseling Needs of Students Who Seek Help at a University Counseling Center: A Closer Look at Gender and Multicultural Issues," *Journal of College Student Development* 46, no. 3 (2005): 251–266.

9. Vivian S. Boyd et al., "Relationship between Identity Processing Style and Academic Success in Undergraduate Students," *Journal of College Student Development* 44, no. 2 (2003): 155–167.

10. Amaury Nora, "How Minority Students Finance Their Higher Education," (New York: ERIC Clearinghouse on Urban Education, EDO UD-01-0, 2001).

11. Richard F. Olenchak and Thomas P. Hebert, "Endangered Academic Talent: Lessons Learned from Gifted First-Generation College Males," *Journal of College Student Development* 43, no. 2 (2002): 195–212.

12. Laura I. Rendón, Romero E. Jalomo and Amaury Nora, "Theoretical Considerations in the Study of Minority Student Retention in Higher Education," in *Reworking the Student Departure Puzzle,* ed. John M. Braxton (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 2000), 127–156.

13. Sylvia Hurtado, et al., "Enhancing Campus Climates for Racial/Ethnic Diversity: Educational Policy and Practice," *The Review of Higher Education* 21, no. 3 (1998): 279–302.

14. Alberto F. Cabrera and Amaury Nora, "College Students' Perceptions of Prejudice and Discrimination and their Feelings of Alienation: A Construct Validation Approach," *The Review of Education/Pedagogy/Cultural Studies* 16, nos. 3–4 (1994): 387–409.

15. Dawn R. Johnson et al., "Examining Sense of Belonging Among First-Year Undergraduates From Different Racial/Ethnic Groups," *Journal of College Student Development* 48, no. 5 (2007): 525–542.

16. Angela Kim and Christine J. Yeh, "Stereotypes of Asian American Students," (New York: ERIC Clearinghouse on Urban Education, No. ED 462520, 2002).
17. McEwen et al., "Working with Asian American College Students."
18. Edward C. Chang, "Cultural Differences in Optimism, Pessimism, and Coping: Predictors of Subsequent Adjustment in Asian American and Caucasian American College Students," *Journal of Counseling Psychology* 43 (1996): 113–123.
19. Buenavista, "Movement from the Middle."

This page intentionally left blank

STANDARDIZED TESTING

Wayne Au

A standardized test is any test that is given and scored in a predetermined, standardized manner. In education, there are two broad types of tests: norm-referenced and criterion-referenced. A norm-referenced test is a standardized test that compares one student's test score to other students; it compares how one student does relative to the average scores (the norm) of everyone else who took the test. A criterion-referenced test measures how well a student did in relation to a set criteria of knowledge; it measures how much of a particular subject area a student knows.[1]

Many of the standardized tests given in schools are referred to as high-stakes tests. A standardized test becomes high-stakes when student scores are used to determine rewards and sanctions for students, teachers, principals, schools, and school districts. Tests are also high-stakes because many test scores are published and shared with the public, making students, teachers, principals, and schools feel the weight of public pressure regarding student test performance.[2]

ARGUMENTS FOR STANDARDIZED TESTS

Standardized tests are very popular in education in the United States for several reasons. Standardized testing advocates believe that these tests measure students "objectively," and that they support equality by allowing all students to freely compete against each other based solely on individual educational merits—an idea known as "meritocracy."[3] Supporters of testing also point out that standardized tests provide easy numbers for the sorting and ranking of students, as well as the ability to use test scores to develop "data-driven instruction" in classrooms.[4]

CRITIQUES OF STANDARDIZED TESTS

There are many issues identified with such tests. For instance, standardized tests seem to mirror inequalities that exist outside of schools.[5] Students from low-income families as well as many African American and Latino students generally get lower scores than their white and middle-class peers in school.[6] On some standardized math tests, 90 percent of the differences in student scores can be predicted by simply knowing the level of students' education, the number of parents in the home, the community in which the student lives, and the poverty rate of the state.[7]

ASIAN AMERICANS AND STANDARDIZED TESTING

Typically, when looked at as one large group, Asian Americans seem to score high on standardized tests. Some analysts have even found that Asian Americans have outperformed whites on most major standardized tests such as the college-entrance SAT Reasoning Test. Such performance has been used to justify the exclusion of Asian Americans being considered under affirmative action–related policies and other programs that seek to diversify the college-going population.[8]

However, for many of the same reasons that Asian Americans should not be considered model minorities, not all Asian Americans do well on tests.[9] Standardized test scores within the Asian American community are actually quite varied. Research on Asian American achievement has found that, just as in other communities, low-income Asian Americans get lower test scores than middle-class and high-income Asian Americans.[10] What this means is that even within both the Korean American and Chinese American communities, for instance, students from families with lower incomes tend to do worse on standardized tests than students from families with higher incomes.

Similarly, not all Asian American groups score high on tests. Cambodian Americans, as well as some other Southeast Asian American populations, tend to score lower on tests on average when compared to other groups, such as Chinese Americans, Indian Americans, or Japanese Americans. Part of this difference can be explained by economic class because these same Southeast Asian groups tend to have lower incomes when compared to other Asian American groups.[11]

Additionally, because standardized tests are written in English, they affect Asian Americans differently because they essentially assess two things at once: tested content (e.g., math) and English language comprehension/usage. For instance, researchers in Texas found that the statewide standardized mathematics test there worked unfairly against Asian American English language learners because it was assessing them not only on their understanding of math, but also on their understanding of English. Thus, even though many of these Asian American students could adequately perform the mathematical operations, their ability to score well on the test was limited because the test was only written in English.[12]

A related issue regarding Asian American achievement on standardized tests has to do with parents' level of education. Research on test score achievement

finds that test scores often parallel the level of education of a test taker's parents, where students with college-educated parents tend to perform better on the tests. For Asian Americans, the 1965 United States Immigration Act and other immigration policy has influenced Asian Americans and standardized test scores. In addition to making exceptions for refugees, the 1965 Act has an economic preference that privileges the entry of educated professionals. As a result, the majority of Asian Indian and Korean immigrants who entered the United States between 1965 and 1972 were highly educated professionals. Such high levels of education within some communities ultimately translated into higher test scores for their children.[13]

MASSACHUSETTS EXAMPLE

One particularly clear example of how standardized testing relates to Asian Americans can be found in the state of Massachusetts and the results of their test, the Massachusetts Comprehensive Assessment System (MCAS). In 2000, even though Asian American tenth-graders performed well statewide, a closer examination of test scores show just how unevenly individual Asian Americans communities actually performed. In the districts of Lowell, Lynn, Fitchburg, and Springfield, where the Asian American communities are predominately Hmong, Vietnamese, and Cambodian American, reading and math scores on the MCAS averaged between 213 and 223. A score of 220 is considered failing. However, in other districts predominated by Chinese and Indian American students such as Lexington and Newton, reading and math scores on the MCAS averaged between 243 and 260; a score of 240+ is considered proficient.[14] Thus, as the Massachusetts example illustrates, while Asian American students seem to be high performers on standardized tests, factors, such as socioeconomic status and parental education, affect their test scores.

OUTLOOK

The future of standardized testing is difficult to measure. It is not likely that standardized testing, despite the issues outlined, will disappear in the United States; however, the use of such tests may change with shifts in politics. For instance, it is possible that standardized tests could be made less high-stakes. It is also possible that standardized tests could be written in multiple languages so that English language learners could be properly assessed relative to non–English–related subjects such as mathematics. Another possibility is that states will increasingly use different forms of standardized testing to assess students. One example comes from Fairfax, VA, where students were allowed to produce a writing portfolio to prove their proficiency in English, instead of the state's usual multiple-choice, standardized test. The use of this portfolio system resulted in a 22 percent increase of English language learners' scoring proficient (from 68 percent one year to 92 percent the next, with 40 percent total scoring "advanced").[15] Such a shift in the style of standardized testing might better meet the needs of diverse Asian American communities.

FURTHER READINGS

Asian American Legal Defense and Education Fund, 2008.

Lee, Stacey J. "Additional Complexities: Social Class, Ethnicity, Generation, and Gender In Asian American Student Experiences." *Race, Ethnicity, and Education* 9 (2006): 17–28.

Lee, Stacey J. and Kevin Kumashiro. *A Report On The Status Of Asian Americans And Pacific Islanders In Education: Beyond The "Model Minority" Stereotype*.Washington, DC: National Education Association, 2005.

Redondo, Brian, Khin Mai Aung, Margaret Fung and Nancy W. Yu. *Left in the Margins: Asian American Students and the No Child Left Behind Act.* New York:

NOTES

1. James W. Popham, *The Truth about Testing: An Educator's Call to Action* (Alexandria, VA: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, 2001); see also, Daniel Koretz, *Measuring Up: What Educational Testing Really Tells Us* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008).
2. Wayne Au, "High-Stakes Testing And Curricular Control: A Qualitative Meta-synthesis," *Educational Researcher* 36 (2007): 258–267.
3. Peter Sacks, *Standardized Minds: The High Price Of America's Testing Culture and What We Can Do to Change It* (Cambridge, MA: Perseus Books, 1999).
4. James W. Popham, *America's 'Failing' Schools: How Parents and Teachers Can Cope with No Child Left Behind* (New York: Routledge, 2005).
5. Wayne Au, *Unequal By Design: High-Stakes Testing and the Standardization of Inequality* (New York: Routledge, 2008).
6. Linda M. McNeil, "Faking Equity: High-Stakes Testing and the Education of Latino Youth," in *Leaving Children Behind: How 'Texas-Style' Accountability Fails Latino Youth,* ed. Angela Valenzuela (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005), 57–112.
7. Robert Evans, "Reframing the Achievement Gap," *Phi Delta Kappan* 86 (2005): 582–589.
8. Stacey J. Lee and Kevin Kumashiro, *A Report on the Status of Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders In Education: Beyond the "Model Minority" Stereotype* (Washington, DC: National Education Association, 2005).
9. Benji Chang and Wayne Au, "You're Asian, How Could You Fail Math? Unmasking the Myth of the Model Minority," *Rethinking Schools* 22 (2007–2008): 14–19.
10. Jamie Lew, *Asian Americans in Class: Charting the Achievement Gap Among Korean American Youth* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2006).
11. Lee and Kumashiro, *A Report on the Status of Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders in Education.*
12. Wayne E. Wright and Xiaoshi Li, "High-Stakes Math Tests: How No Child Left Behind Leaves Newcomer English Language Learners Behind," *Language Policy* 7 (2008): 237–266.
13. Lee and Kumashiro, *A Report on the Status of Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders in Education.*
14. Peter N. Kiang, "Policy Challenges for Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders in Education," *Race, Ethnicity, and Education* 9 (2006): 103–115.
15. Kathleen B. Yancy, "Assessment Models Worth Sharing," *Council Chronicle: The National Council of Teachers of English* 18 (2008): 28–29.

STUDENT GROUPS

Tracy Lachica Buenavista and Dimpal Jain

Aligned with the growth of the Asian American college student population is the increase of campus-based organizations focused on Asian American issues and/or with large Asian American membership.[1] Cocurricular activities provide Asian American students, as well as other students of color in higher education, with opportunities to gain a greater sense of academic and social belonging.[2] In particular, ethnic and race-based organizations have been one way Asian American students have mobilized themselves to bring attention to issues related to campus racial climate.[3]

RACE/ETHNIC BASED ORGANIZATIONS

Historically, involvement in race/ethnic-based organizations has been part of most college campuses, as students continuously struggle to address social and race-based issues.[4] These student groups include large ethnic-specific organizations, such as Filipino or Indian student associations, as well as smaller efforts, such as artist collectives. In addition, the number and types of Asian American student groups may vary by campus context; for instance, at major research-based universities, there may be a large number of different ethnic Asian American student groups in comparison to a community college, where there may be one panethnic Asian organization. Asian American students can benefit from involvement in student groups that promote and host activities that value their ethnic and racial heritage.[5]

These student groups tend to be social in nature, yet often hold activities such as cultural nights or forums for political organizing. In addition, many Asian

American ethnic student groups have formed umbrella panethnic coalitions to form a stronger collective voice on campus, including Asian American student unions and clubs with students of mixed heritage.[6] Asian American students have also been involved in chartering fraternities and sororities with predominantly Asian American membership.[7] Many of the race/ethnic-specific projects have their origins in the ethnic studies movement and continue a multidecade legacy of campus organizing. Research on college involvement found that students who participated in race/ethnic-based student groups developed a greater awareness of issues affecting Asian American communities than they had prior to joining such organizations.[8]

RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS

In addition to secular opportunities to engage on campus, Asian American students also participate in religious student organizations. Asian Americans are religiously diverse; their involvement ranges from Buddhist organizations to Christian fellowships. In particular, Asian American Christian fellowships or Christian fellowships with a large Asian American membership have become popular with the increase in the Korean American and Chinese American student populations in higher education.[9]

Campus fellowships offer students activities that supplement their religious faith, such as Bible study, prayer meetings, community volunteering, and retreats. They have also served as a space for students to explore their spirituality, which is noted for increasing students' sense of belonging within the earlier years of college.[10] Faith-based activities may appeal to students who seek support for intergenerational and intercultural differences while maintaining their religious beliefs. Religious student organizations also vary in their approach by addressing the intersection between ethnicity and faith. In research on Asian American and Korean American Christian fellowships, it was found that some organizations did not address race at all, while others took a more active approach in addressing ethnic identity.[11]

STUDENT-INITIATED ORGANIZATIONS

While many Asian American student groups can be categorized as race/ethnic-based and/or religious, student-initiated organizations are a more recent development. During the past twenty-five years, the phenomenon of student-initiated organizations dedicated to the access and retention of students of color has emerged on college campuses. An organization is considered student-initiated if it is student-created, student-run, and largely student-funded, as well as grounded in a mission of social justice.[12] The activities hosted by student-initiated organizations include, but are not limited to, college outreach, tutoring/mentoring programs, on- and off-campus political organizing, and campus recruitment and yield activities. While they might differ in structure, common among student-initiated organizations is the belief that students are able to advocate for themselves and that this must be paramount in institutional

approaches to recruit and retain students of color. Further, these efforts adhere to one of three principles: community consciousness, social praxis, and cultural and social capital.

Community consciousness reflects the increase in knowledge and awareness regarding issues that affect the community of the students. Aligned with an increase in consciousness is the developed commitment to address social and political issues toward the collective betterment of the community. Finally, while community empowerment is the goal of student-initiated strategies, students involved in such efforts gain knowledge that helps them work toward academic success while simultaneously developing closer associations with their communities. Such student groups have become increasingly important for Asian American students within four-year institutions, where university programs and services generally do not target Asian American communities in their recruitment and retention efforts.[13]

COUNTERSPACES

The race/ethnic-based, religious, and student-initiated organizations in which Asian American students are involved represent what education scholars call "counterspaces."[14] Counterspaces are both tangible and intangible in that they may take the form of a physical space, such as a multicultural center, or they might be comprised as a group of people participating together toward a common social and/or political agenda, such as an ethnic organization. Counterspaces are considered such when students of color can find solace from the everyday pressures of a hostile campus culture.[15] Thus, counterspaces can serve as a place in which students resist hostility directed at people of color, as well as become empowered agents of change. Regardless of the type of student organization in which Asian American students become involved, their campus involvement signifies the changing racial demographic of higher education and the need for colleges and universities to address such changes.

FURTHER READING

Asian Americans for Community Outreach. http://www.aaco-sf.org/.

Espiritu, Yen Le. *Asian American Panethnicity: Bridging Institutions and Identities*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1992.

Inkelas, K. K., "Does Participation in Ethnic Cocurricular Activities Facilitate a Sense of Ethnic Awareness and Understanding?: A Study of Asian Pacific American Undergraduates," *Journal of College Student Development, 45,* 2004: 285–302.

Intervarsity Christian Fellowship, Asian American Ministries. http://www.intervarsity.org/mem/aam/.

Liang, Christopher T. H., Sunny Lee and Marie P. Ting. "Developing Asian American Leaders." *New Directions for Student Services, 97*, 2002: 81–89.

United States Student Association. http://www.usstudents.org/.

NOTES

1. Christopher T. H. Liang, Sunny Lee, and Marie P. Ting, "Developing Asian American Leaders," *New Directions for Student Services* 97 (2002): 81–89.

2. Karen K. Inkelas, "Does Participation in Ethnic Cocurricular Activities Facilitate a Sense of Ethnic Awareness and Understanding?: A Study of Asian Pacific American Undergraduates," *Journal of College Student Development* 45 (2004): 285–302.

3. Mitchell Chang, "Racial Dynamics on Campus: What Student Organizations Can Tell Us," *About Campus* 7, no. 1 (2002): 2–8.

4. Tony Chambers and Christine E. Phelps, "Student Activism: Impacting Personal, Institutional, and Community Change," *New Directions for Student Services* 66 (1994): 45–57.

5. Liang, Lee, and Ting, "Developing Asian American Leaders," 81–89.

6. Yen Le Espiritu, *Asian American Panethnicity: Bridging Institutions and Identities* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992).

7. Deborah Lou, *We're All Sisters Here: Asian American Women's Experiences from Leftist Politics to Sorority Membership*, MA thesis (University of California, Santa Barbara, 1998).

8. Liang, Lee, and Ting, "Developing Asian American Leaders," 81–89.

9. Rebecca Kim, "Second-Generation Korean American Evangelicals: Ethnic, Multiethnic, or White Campus Ministries?" *Sociology of Religion* 65, no. 1(2004): 19–34.

10. Lydia Lum, "The 'Asianization' of Campus Fellowships," *Diverse Issues in Higher Education* 24 (2007): 16–19.

11. Kim, "Second-Generation Korean American Evangelicals."

12. David Emiliano Zapata Maldonado, Robert Rhoads, and Tracy Lachica Buenavista, "The Student-Initiated Retention Project: Theoretical Contributions and the Role of Self-Empowerment," *American Educational Research Journal* 42, no. 4 (2005): 605–638.

13. Tracy Lachica Buenavista, "Movement from the Middle: Pilipina/o 1.5-Generation College Student Access, Retention, and Resistance," PhD diss., University of California–Los Angeles, 2007.

14. Daniel Solórzano, Miguel Ceja, and Tara Yosso, "Critical Race Theory, Racial Microaggressions, and Campus Racial Climate: The Experiences of African American College Students," *The Journal of Negro Education* 69 (2000): 60–73.

15. Solórzano, Ceja, and Yosso, "Critical Race Theory, Racial Microaggressions, and Campus Racial Climate," 64.

UNDOCUMENTED IMMIGRANT STUDENTS

Tracy Lachica Buenavista and Tam Tran

One unexplored issue affecting Asian American educational attainment is undocumented immigration status. There are an increasing number of students who are undocumented and experience unique higher education access and retention issues. While the mainstream media and academic research on undocumented students typically focuses on Latina/o student experiences, this article offers information that sheds lights on the experiences of Asian American undocumented student issues.

Undocumented people are those who primarily reside in the United States, but are not American citizens or permanent residents, nor do they hold authorized temporary status (e.g., a work or student visa).[1] However, many "undocumented" persons legally participate in various American practices and thus have documentation not related to citizenship. For example, many possess Individual Taxpayer Identification Numbers, which designate individuals as tax residents who are liable for filing and paying state and federal taxes.[2] Some scholars prefer the term "unauthorized migrant" to better describe those who reside and work in the United States without legal citizenship.[3] Increasingly, advocates for undocumented children also use the term "unprotected" immigrants to explicate the lack of protection offered to these youth by the American political process.[4]

According to the Department of Homeland Security, there are approximately 11.6 million undocumented people residing in the United States.[5] Approximately 1 million undocumented immigrants, or about 9 percent, are from Asian countries.[6] Many of the nation's youth are directly affected by undocumented status. Many immigrant families are of "mixed" status, having undocumented foreign-born parents and U.S.-born children with citizenship.

There are 3 million children of undocumented immigrants who were born in the United States. Additionally, of all undocumented immigrants, approximately 17 percent are under the age of 18. This estimate reflects slight but steady growth of the undocumented student population.

Some of the unique characteristics of undocumented youth are that many of them had no decision-making power in determining their status.[7] Many entered the United States with their parents and/or other relatives when they were very young. While some came to the country without proper documentation, some entered legally but acquired their undocumented status because of visa expiration. As many undocumented students have spent the majority of their lives in the United States, they are often unaware of their status until they attempt to obtain a form of identification issued by the government (e.g., driver's license or passport), register to vote, and/or apply for college or employment. Such practices require a Social Security number, which these youth do not have.

Undocumented students do not comprise a large portion of K–12 students; however, they represent one of the most vulnerable student sectors. Undocumented students often experience educational, financial, and physical and mental health barriers associated with their lack of citizenship status.[8] Because there are nearly 1 million Asian American undocumented people, such information highlights the importance of exploring the issues of Asian American undocumented students.

EDUCATIONAL ISSUES

Many undocumented students have lived in the United States for five or more years, and despite their participation in the K–12 education system, they tend to demonstrate lower educational attainment than their U.S.-born or documented immigrant student counterparts. Fifty percent of undocumented youth do not complete high school for various reasons, including dropping out and nonenrollment in secondary education.[9] Thus, they have lower high school completion rates than U.S.-born and other immigrant students.

About 65,000 undocumented students graduate from high school every year, while another 13,000 to 16,000 do not complete high school. Only 20 percent of undocumented high school graduates in a given year will go on to enroll in college. While 75 percent of U.S.-born and other immigrant students experience some postsecondary education, almost half of all undocumented high school graduates do not pursue any type of higher education.[10]

Although access to college is limited for undocumented students, many have aspirations to attain higher education. Many are academically competitive, and heavily involved in extracurricular activities and community service: In 2004, seventeen high school valedictorians in California were undocumented.[11] Yet, they face a significant barrier: because of their lack of legal residency status, undocumented students are ineligible for state and federal financial aid.[12] Undocumented students are denied access to loans, grants, and work study—the most common ways that students pay for college. Further, though undocumented students may have lived in one state for most of their lives, their

undocumented status leads to the inability to provide proper proof of residency, which results in students being expected to pay higher nonresident college fees.

While lack of financial aid often deters undocumented students from pursuing higher education, those who do attend college often experience difficulties. Most students often cannot find work because of their undocumented status. Those who do work, often inconsistently attend school. Student enrollment strategies include alternating work-school cycles.[13] For example, undocumented students demonstrate varying commitments to work and school depending on their financial situation. One strategy includes working one or more jobs while simultaneously attending school. Another method entails working full-time and/or having multiple jobs to save enough money to enroll in school for a shortened academic term, only to postpone enrollment in a subsequent term when money becomes scarce. Yet, the ability to sustain such work-school strategies is dependent on the availability of stable work opportunities. Like many immigrants, undocumented students are potentially subject to employment abuse and unfair labor practices and are particularly vulnerable because of their immigration status.

STATE AND FEDERAL LEGISLATION

There have been efforts to alleviate the financial difficulties that undocumented students experience. In some states, there is legislation in which undocumented students can apply for special student status within their institution so that they may qualify for in-state resident tuition. In 2001, Texas was the first state to pass a law extending in-state tuition to undocumented students. It is also one of two states that offer limited state financial aid—the other being Oklahoma.[14] However, 40 percent of all undocumented students live in California, as does the majority of Asian American population.[15] Thus, it is important to examine the financial options for undocumented students in California.

In California, undocumented students can apply for AB540 status. California Assembly Bill 540 (AB540) passed in 2001 and allowed undocumented students, in addition to out-of-state U.S. citizens and permanent residents, to be eligible for in-state tuition fees at any California public college or university. Students can gain AB540 status if they attended a California high school for three or more (consecutive or nonconsecutive) years; have or will graduate from a California high school or have attained a General Equivalency Diploma (GED); have registered at or are currently enrolled at an accredited California institution; and filed or will file an affidavit as required by individual institutions indicating their intention to apply for legal residency. However, unlike Texas and Oklahoma, undocumented students in California are not eligible for state financial aid. Other states that offer similar provisions include Illinois, Kansas, New York, Utah, and Washington.[16]

Despite increasing public and government awareness, legislative efforts to expand access to financial aid have come in the form of unsuccessful state proposals. Two versions of the California Dream Act, an effort to give undocumented

students access to financial aid, passed through the legislature but were vetoed by Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger in 2006 and 2007. These versions of the legislation would grant students access to institutional aid (e.g., merit-based scholarships through the university). Previous versions have included access to loans, work-study and noncompetitive Cal Grants. Other states, including Arizona and Minnesota, have also attempted to pass similar legislation.

There have also been proposals to expand access to financial aid on the federal level while also providing undocumented students a path to citizenship. These attempts have also been unsuccessful. In October 2007, the U.S. Senate failed to pass the stand-alone version of the Development, Relief and Education for Alien Minors (D.R.E.A.M.) Act—bipartisan legislation that would have offered undocumented students a pathway toward citizenship.[17] Various Asian groups such as the Korean Resource Center and the Asian Pacific American Legal Center in Los Angeles support the D.R.E.A.M. Act. Before the bill failed to pass, the D.R.E.A.M. Act had also been proposed through various comprehensive immigration reform plans. Had the D.R.E.A.M. Act passed, eligible youth would then have six years of "conditional status" to complete a minimum of two years of higher education or military service to then be eligible to apply for permanent residency.

Research and testimonies of Asian American undocumented students are virtually nonexistent, but there is evidence that demonstrates this specific population of immigrants directly benefits from legislation that increases access to higher education for undocumented students. According to the University of California's Office of the President's 2008 Annual Report on AB540 Tuition Exemptions, while 216 potentially undocumented Latinos benefited from the exemption policy, 174 Asian students were similarly categorized in 2006–2007.[18]

EXPERIENCES

Most research on undocumented students focuses on financial issues affecting educational attainment. The popular press, however, has highlighted the need to examine the personal and social experiences of undocumented students, including Asian Americans.[19] Many Asian American students do not learn of their undocumented status until late in their adolescence or young adulthood, often complicating their plans for postsecondary education.

Increased activism around undocumented immigrant rights has brought attention to Asian American experiences. In particular, the case of Tam Tran is a significant example of the complexity of Asian American educational experiences.[20] Tran's parents fled Vietnam and became refugees in Germany, where she and her brother were born. As a child, Tran's family entered the United States on tourist visas and unsuccessfully applied for political asylum. Tran went on to graduate from a public high school, attended community college, transferred to the University of California at Los Angeles, graduated with honors, and was admitted into a doctoral program, which she deferred because of her lack of financial aid eligibility. Throughout her educational career, she was an outspoken advocate for undocumented student issues and in 2007 testified

before the U.S. House on immigration reform. National attention was brought to Tran when her family was detained following her testimony.[21] Tran and her family remain in the United States uncertain of their future; however, Tran remains a fervent advocate for undocumented immigrant rights.

Like Tran, Asian American undocumented students are subject to significant hardships associated with their status. While undocumented students are aware that higher education is necessary to compete in today's economy, many are often prevented from pursuing careers after graduation because of their inability to provide proper documentation. Among the most serious fears among undocumented students are the current absence of any legal pathway toward American citizenship and the possibility of being deported to a country with which they are truly unfamiliar.[22] Further, as Asian Americans comprise a smaller portion of the undocumented student sector and possibly because of the social taboo of discussing the issue in the community, their experiences are largely unknown. Thus, more research is required to determine best practices for serving Asian American undocumented students.

FURTHER READING

Gonzales, Roberto. "Wasted Talent and Broken Dreams: The Lost Potential of Undocumented Students." Washington, DC: Immigration Policy Center, Oct. 19, 2007.

Korean Resource Center. "Access to Public Education Guide: Unlocking the Key to Our Nation's Future," August 2008; http://nakasec.org/blog/wpcontent/uploads/2008/08/Access%20to%20Education%20Guide_Eng1.pdf.

Madera, Gabriela, Angelo A. Mathay, Armin M. Najafi, Hector H. Saldivar, Stephanie Solis, Alyssa Jane M. Titong, Gaspar Rivera-Salgado, Janna Shadduck-Hernandez, Kent Wong, Rebecca Frazier, and Julie Monroe, eds. *Underground Undergrads: UCLA Undocumented Immigrant Students Speak Out.* Los Angeles: UCLA Center for Labor Research and Education, 2008.

McGray, Douglas. "The Invisibles." *WEST Magazine, Los Angeles Times*, April 23, 2006. http://www.douglasmcgray.com/theinvisibles.html.

Passel, Jeffrey, Randolph Capps and Michael Fix. "Undocumented Immigrants: Facts and Figures." Washington, DC: Urban Institute, 2004.

Perez, William. *We ARE Americans: Undocumented Students Pursuing the American Dream*, Sterling, VA: Stylus Publishing, 2009.

Rincon, Alejandra. *Undocumented Immigrants and Higher Education: Sí Se Puede!* El Paso, TX: LFB Scholarly Publishing, 2008.

UCLA Center for Labor Research and Education; http://www.labor.ucla.edu/index.html.

NOTES

1. Jeffrey S. Passell, "Unauthorized Migrants: Numbers and Characteristics" (Washington, DC: Pew Hispanic Center, 2005).

2. Internal Revenue Service, "Individual Taxpayer Identification Number," http://www.irs.gov/individuals/article/0,,id=96287,00.html.

3. Jeffrey S. Passel, Jennifer Van Hook, and Frank D. Bean, "Estimates of Legal and Unauthorized Foreign-Born Population for the United States and Selected States, Based on Census 2000," (Washington, DC: The Urban Institute, 2004).

4. Alfred Herrera, “Assisting Undocumented Students in Higher Education,” University of California, http://www.universityofcalifornia.edu/educators/counselors/resources/materials/CC_2007/CC07_Undocumented_Students_FINAL.ppt.

5. Michael Hoefer, Nancy Rytina, and Bryan C. Baker, “Estimates of the Unauthorized Immigrant Population Residing in the United States: January 2008,” (Washington, DC: Department of Homeland Security Office of Immigration Statistics, February 2009).

6. Passel, “Unauthorized Migrants: Numbers and Characteristics,” 4.

7. Gabriela Madera et al., eds., *Underground Undergrads: UCLA Undocumented Immigrant Students Speak Out* (Los Angeles: UCLA Center for Labor Research and Education, 2008).

8. Madera et al., *Underground Undergrads.*

9. Passel, “Unauthorized Migrants: Numbers and Characteristics,” 22.

10. Spiro Protopsaltis, “Undocumented Immigrant Students and Access to Higher Education: An Overview of Federal and State Policy,” (Denver, CO: The Bell Policy Center, 2005), 2.

11. AVID, “AB 540/ Undocumented student resource guide,” http://www.avidregion4.org/resources/documents/fin_aid/UndocumentedStudent_Student_Guide-AB_540_.pdf.

12. Ellen Badger and Stephen Yale-Loehr, “Myths and Realities for Undocumented Students Attending U.S. Colleges and Universities,” *Journal of College Admission* 174 (2002): 10–15.

13. James Payawal Saspa, “‘Hiya’ Culture Bars Undocumented Students from Coming Out,” *Balita*, July 30, 2007, http://www.balita.com/xshell.php?id=1819.

14. Protopsaltis, “Undocumented Immigrant Students and Access to Higher Education,” 7.

15. AVID, “AB 540/ Undocumented Student Resource Guide.”

16. Protopsaltis, “Undocumented Immigrant Students and Access to Higher Education.”

17. Joseph Pimentel, “US Senate Rejects DREAM Act,” *Asian Journal*, Nov. 14, 2007, http://asianjournal.wordpress.com/2007/11/14/us-senate-rejects-dream-act/.

18. University of California, Office of the President, “Annual Report on AB540 Tuition Exemption for 2006-2007,” March 5, 2008, AB540_annualrpt_2008.pdf.

19. Madera et al., *Underground Undergrads.*

20. U.S. House of Representatives, “Testimony of Tam Tran,” (Washington, DC: Committee on the Judiciary, 2007), http://judiciary.house.gov/media/pdfs/Tran070518.pdf.

21. Kathy Kiely, “Immigrant’s Family Detained After Daughter Speaks Out,” *USA Today*, Oct. 16, 2007, http://www.usatoday.com/news/washington/2007-10-16-Dream_N.htm.

22. Madera, et al. *Underground Undergrads.*

RESOURCE GUIDE

Suggested Reading

Chan, Sucheng. *In Defense of Asian American Studies: The Politics of Teaching and Program Building*. (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2005).

Chang, Mitchell J., Julie J. Park, Monica H. Lin, Oiyan Poon, and Don T. Nakanishi. “Beyond Myths: The Growth and Diversity of Asian American College Freshmen, 1971–2005.” (Los Angeles: Higher Education Research Institute, 2007).

Inkelas, K. K., “Does Participation in Ethnic Cocurricular Activities Facilitate a Sense of Ethnic Awareness and Understanding?: A Study of Asian Pacific American Undergraduates,” *Journal of College Student Development* 45 (2004): 285–302.

Kidder, William. "Negative Action Versus Affirmative Action: Asian Pacific Americans Are Still Caught in the Crossfire." *Michigan Journal of Race & Law* 11 (2006): 605–624.

Korean Resource Center. "Access to Public Education Guide: Unlocking the Key to Our Nation's Future," August 2008; http://nakasec.org/blog/wpcontent/uploads/2008/08/Access%20to%20Education%20Guide_Eng1.pdf.

Lee, Stacey J. *Up against Whiteness: Race, School and Immigrant Youth*. (New York: Teachers College Press, 2005).

Lee, Stacey J., and Kevin Kumashiro. A Report on the Status of Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders in Education: Beyond The "Model Minority" Stereotype. (Washington, DC: National Education Association, 2005).

Lew, Jamie. *Asian Americans in Class.* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2006).

Lew, Jonathan W., June C. Chang, and Winnie W. Wang. "The Overlooked Minority: Asian Pacific American Students at Community Colleges." *Community College Review* 33 (2005): 64–84.

Maldonado, David Emiliano Zapata, Robert Rhoads, and Tracy Lachica Buenavista. "The Student-Initiated Retention Project: Theoretical Contributions and the Role of Self-Empowerment." *American Educational Research Journal* 42, no.4 (2005): 605–638.

McEwen, Marylu K., Corinne M. Kodama, Alvin N. Alvarez, Sunny Lee, and Christopher T. H. Liang. *Working with Asian American College Students: New Directors for Student Services.* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2002).

McGray, Douglas. "The Invisibles." *WEST Magazine, Los Angeles Times*, April 23, 2006. http://www.douglasmcgray.com/theinvisibles.html.

Omatsu, Glenn. "Mobilizing Students to Respond to Community Needs: Organizing a Class around a Community Project." In Edith Wen-Chu Chen and Glenn Omatsu, eds. *Teaching about Asian Pacific Americans: Effective Activities, Strategies, and Assignments for Classrooms and Workshops.* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006). 205–213.

Pang, Valerie Ooka, and Li-Rong Lilly Cheng, eds. *Struggling to Be Heard: The Unmet Needs of Asian Pacific American Children*. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998).

Redondo, Brian, Khin Mai Aung, Margaret Fung and Nancy W. Yu. *Left in the Margins: Asian American Students and the No Child Left Behind Act.* (New York: Asian American Legal Defense and Education Fund, 2008).

Films

A.K.A. DON BONUS. 1995. Dir. Spencer Nakasako. Center For Asian American Media. DVD. (55 minutes). Video diary of Cambodian-born Sokly "Don Bonus" Ny who is struggling to finish high school.

On Strike! Ethnic Studies 1969–1999. 1999. Dir. Irum Shiekh. Center for Asian American Media, DVD (30 minutes). Documentary about the strike for Ethnic Studies at San Francisco State University and the more recent battle between the Third World Liberation Front and university administration.

Organizations

Association for Asian American Studies, http://www.aaastudies.org. Founded in 1979, it is the primary professional organization for faculty pursuing research in Asian American Studies; the group holds a national annual academic conference.

Asian Pacific Islander American Scholarship Fund. http://www.apiasf.org. Nation's largest nonprofit scholarship fund for Asian American and Pacific Islander students. APIASF is also the administering organization for AAPI recipients of the Gates Millennium Scholarship Program.

National Association for Asian Pacific American Education. http://www.naapae.net. Founded in 1977 as an organization for educators and community members to advance the education of Asian Pacific American students.

Web Sites

Americans for a Fair Chance: http://www.fairchance.org/. Campaign run to provide the public with information on affirmative action.

Asian Nation: http://www.asian-nation.org/headlines/2005/12/model-minority-expectations-and-suicide/. Run by C. N. Le, who teaches at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, it contains a number of links, articles, and resources on the Asian American community.

InterVarsity Christian Fellowship, Asian American Ministries: http://www.intervarsity.org/mem/aam/. Describes the different resources and events related to the Asian American Ministries division of InterVarsity Christian Fellowship, a national parachurch organization with chapters on college campuses across the country. Asian American student involvement in parachurch organizations such as InterVarsity has spiked since the early 1990s.

James and Grace Lee Boggs Center to Nurture Community Leadership: http://www.boggscenter.org. Grace Lee Boggs of Detroit is a veteran political activist who has written numerous articles during the past four decades advocating Freedom Schooling. At the Boggs Center, activists create visions and strategies for community struggles and global campaigns for social justice.

National Asian American Student Conference: http://www.naascon.org. Contains information on different activist campaigns coordinated by students involved in this national organization. Besides holding a national conference, NAASCon has coordinated campaigns such as protests against Abercrombie and Fitch and the student movement for Asian American and Pacific Islander Serving Institutions.

University of California–Berkeley Bridges Multicultural Resource Center: http://www.ocf.berkeley.edu/~bridges/. An example of multicultural student services held at one large university.

University of California, Los Angeles Asian American Studies Center: http://www.aasc.ucla.edu/. Founded in 1969 to support teaching and research around Asian American Studies at UCLA. The Web site contains information on the Center's publications such as *Amerasia Journal* and different resources on Asian American Studies.

University of California, Los Angeles Center for Labor Research and Education; http://www.labor.ucla.edu/index.html. Contains information about the programs, events, and publications coordinated by the UCLA Center for Labor Research and Education. The Center has taken an active role in promoting research and activism on issues related to undocumented students.

Section 4:

HEALTH

Section Editors: Ranjita Misra,
Simona C. Kwon, and Grace J. Yoo

This page intentionally left blank

OVERVIEW OF HEALTH: UNDERSTANDING WELLNESS AND DISEASE

Ranjita Misra, Simona C. Kwon, and Grace J. Yoo

The Asian American population has been frequently labeled as the "model minority" in the health literature. This myth, however, is shattered when one begins to closely examine the health data. A different pattern of significant disease outcomes emerges because of, in part, the lack of culturally appropriate health care and/or access to health care. Much of this stereotype is based on national trends and forecasts that tend to aggregate Asian Americans (and sometimes Pacific Islanders) into one group for comparison among diverse racial/ethnic groups such as the non-Hispanic whites, blacks, and Hispanics in the United States. The aggregation of Asian Americans as a homogenized group is problematic, as it masks the vast diversity among the more than fifty Asian American subgroups. Asian Americans, whether they are immigrants or U.S.-born, represent a diversified and rich mixture of cultures, languages, beliefs, and practices. Literature is replete that Asian Americans are often mistakenly perceived to be an economically advantaged, insular group who experience healthier outcomes than other racial/ethnic populations. In reality, the diversity of this group not only extends to socioeconomic indicators, education, levels of acculturation and immigration history, religious traditions, dietary practices but also extends to chronic diseases (e.g., diabetes, cancer, and cardiovascular disease) and infectious diseases (e.g., the high rates of hepatitis B), with some subgroups disproportionately burdened than the general U.S. population. Yet, in spite of their increasing numbers, cultural and psychosocial issues affecting health-related behaviors and health status of this group is poorly understood and addressed. According to public health

researchers, this has significant implications as many health professional and policy makers neglect several high-risk Asian subgroups who suffer serious health problems, and often resources devoted to disease prevention and wellness programs are inadequately addressed for these diverse Asian subgroups.

Although Asian Americans have often been portrayed as the model minority, there is great variation in terms of education, socioeconomic status and occupation among subgroups. Some Asian subgroups such as the Laotians and Cambodians often do not have a high school diploma. Education is not only linked with professional skills and higher income levels but also to health care access. Consequently, numerous Asian Americans work for minimum wage or are working poor, with no access to preventive or specialized health care. As a result, the Asian American population is burdened with higher rates of preventable diseases such as cancer, cardiovascular disease, and diabetes, as well as related complications and death rates from these diseases. Again, sporadic data sets on mortality and morbidity among the more established Asian Americans exists (e.g., Chinese and Japanese), with a paucity of data for many Asian subgroups. Furthermore, Asian Americans are concentrated in a few geographical regions of the country (e.g., New York, New Jersey, California, Florida, and Texas) and most published research is focused on these areas and in a few Asian subgroups. Hence, information available on Asian American health does not present a comprehensive picture.

The heterogeneity of the Asian American population is largely because of their countries of origin. They represent approximately fifty countries, one hundred languages, ten religious affiliations, and a variety of cultural beliefs and food habits. Understanding these factors is important in providing culturally and linguistically appropriate treatments to a fast-growing community in the United States. Furthermore, immigration patterns among these groups vary considerably, with a few groups enjoying longer residency and generational status. As Asian Americans move through generations of living in the United States, acculturative changes and adoption of the American lifestyle affects their perceptions, attitudes, beliefs, and consequent health behaviors. Asian Americans tend to shift from the use of "traditional" healing practices and complementary and alternative medicine (CAM) to available biomedical therapies as they acculturate and gain access to formal health care. Understanding the changes in health care–seeking behaviors, self-care practices, and cultural and economic barriers that confront Asian Americans takes on a special significance because of the extreme heterogeneity in lifestyle, cultural, economic, and health factors that exist, both within and between groups.

Asian Americans form one of the smallest minorities in the United States today. However, they are one of the fastest-growing racial and ethnic groups and comprise about 5 percent of the total U.S. population. The growth of the Asian American population has been significant in the last three decades, mostly following the passage of the Immigration Act of 1965, and except for the Japanese Americans, the majority of Asian Americans are recent immigrants or second-generation U.S. citizens. The 1980 U.S. Census counted 3.5 million Asian

Americans (1.5 percent of the total U.S. population), up from 1.4 million in 1970, with a considerable growth rate of 141 percent, more than blacks (17%) or Hispanics (39%). Hence, diversity in characteristics of Asian Americans is also related to their birth place, age, acculturation, health-related behaviors and health care.

According to Asian American health advocates and health and service providers, the scientific and political communities are often uneducated on health issues affecting the Asian American community. Yet as highlighted in the entries in this section, the available public health data and research studies challenge these myths and show that there are significant health disparities and barriers to care experienced by this group.

OVERVIEW OF HEALTH AND ILLNESS

This section describes the leading health issues and trends affecting quality of life and/or life expectancy among Asian Americans in general or among specific Asian subgroups. In 2003, the Institute of Medicine (IOM) released a report that documented differences in access to care and quality of care that has impacts on the health and health care of racial/ethnic minorities compared with whites.[1] For example, diabetes, cancer, and cardiovascular disease disproportionately affect some Asian American subgroups. Cervical cancer among Vietnamese women and invasive cancer among South Asian women are much higher compared with other ethnic groups. Gender differences are also noted. Among Asian American men, cardiovascular disease (e.g., diseases of the heart and stroke) is the leading cause of death, followed by cancer. Asian American women, however, are afflicted by cancer significantly more than their male peers; cancer is the leading cause of death in this group, followed by heart disease and stroke.

Significant steps have been taken to raise awareness and education about several important health issues, including cancer, tobacco use, heart disease, and diabetes. According to public health researchers, the impact and effects of mental disorders and issues such as elder care have yet to benefit from attention and research. Asian Americans are underrepresented or unreported in most studies of mental illness, although they are overrepresented among the conditions thought to generate susceptibility to, or prolong the effects of, mental illness, such as racism, suicide, substance abuse, and poor access to health care. Infectious diseases, such as hepatitis B, disproportionately (and sometimes chronically) infect Asian Americans, causing inflammation of the liver that can lead to serious liver diseases.

Emerging issues of concern for this population include health issues caused by learned behavior (e.g., tobacco use and gambling), factors related to the environment, suicide, and issues related to elder care, including end of life care and age-related dementia. Sociocultural contextual factors, such as gender, immigration status, generational status, and education, as well as barriers related to access to health care, including language, culturally appropriate

services, and health literacy, play key roles in understanding these health disparities and are explored in this section. Advocates have pushed to increase awareness of these disparities to the general public, health care providers, and policy makers, and have advocated for the use of "evidence-based" guidelines to ensure that care is more consistent and equitable. The promotion of these efforts, along with the adoption and integration of comprehensive culturally and linguistically appropriate services to the health care model, has been used to overcome barriers affecting the quality of life of this ethnic group.

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL FACTORS

Asian Americans' diversity extends to their religions, religious affiliations and practices of spirituality and faith. These play a role as coping mechanisms for adapting and adjusting to new cultures by some Asian subgroups. Examples of religious denominations include Hindu, Muslim, Christian, Sikh, and Buddhist. Practices of spirituality and faith affect health beliefs, healing, and recovery from health-related problems, but they also affect the difficult personal and social transformations intertwined with migrating to the United States.

Almost 30 percent of the U.S. Muslim population is made up of individuals from Asian countries, including Indonesia, Pakistan, Bangladesh, India, Sri Lanka, and Nepal. Islam has been noted by religious scholars to exert substantial influence over the lives of its practitioners. Islamic customs influence everyday life, from the personal to social networks. Within the early twentieth century, many parts of the Arab-speaking world have prohibited tobacco use. In other Muslims countries, tobacco use is actively discouraged.[2] While smoking rates among Muslims differ by country, in general, given the view of smoking by the religion of Islam, this behavior is likely to be seen as more socially undesirable than for other religious groups, thus affecting smoking rates and behaviors. Religious beliefs can also affect preventative health screening behaviors. Similarly, one study of Muslim immigrant women found that these women forgo cervical cancer screening because the services are offered in a manner that is not in line with their religious practices, and in fact, the women found the screening services threatening to their religious values.[3] Asian Islamic women are also found to have low rates of mammography and clinical breast exams, which researchers attributed in large part to the religious influence of Islam.[4]

There is evidence of a strong association between educational level and health outcomes of all immigrants, including Asian Americans. Given that the differences in educational levels by subgroups and generational status are more pronounced among some Asian subgroups as mentioned earlier (e.g., Laotians and Cambodians have low rates of completing high school education, and Chinese and Asian Indians have high rates of college level education), these differences provide a good rationale to tailor programs for Asian Americans by the health literacy levels of the participants. The clustering of an individual's educational level with socio-economic status, access to health care, knowledge

of disease and health promotion lifestyle serves as a strong reason for health professionals to be cognizant of the lifestyle of the Asian community they serve (i.e., their educational background, economic status, religious beliefs, cultural beliefs, family relationships).

While higher morbidity and mortality occurs among people who are at the lowest socioeconomic status (SES) levels, recent scholarship indicates immigration status and language play an important role in health insurance coverage, access to health care, and quality of care. While public attention has focused on racial and ethnic disparities in access to care, there is surprisingly little discussion of the importance of immigration status, although two-thirds of U.S. Asians are foreign-born.[5] Immigrants are a large and growing segment of the U.S. Asian population, and they are disproportionately uninsured because of their low income levels. For example, children of immigrants are less likely to have wellness visits, and illness screening rates are low among immigrants if documentation is required. Undocumented people tend to have poorer health, experience poorer care, and are less likely to seek health care. According to advocates, the gap in health care for the children of immigrant families who are U.S. citizens has been distressing because these children are eligible for Medicaid and State Children's Health Insurance Program (SCHIP). The gap in emergency care for the uninsured Asians is particularly relevant. Federal policy allows noncitizen immigrants, including undocumented aliens, to receive emergency Medicaid services even if they are ineligible for full coverage. According to advocates, however, current policies are not effective, as they do not allow for continuity of care or the provision of preventive health care services, such as cancer screenings.

Culture is a major determinant of lifestyle and corresponding health outcomes.[6] Cultural beliefs have been shown to inform perceptions of illness and health management in all populations. The influence of cultural factors is likely to be more pronounced among Asian Americans, in part given the groups' more recent immigration history. Acculturation, defined as the process by which immigrants adopt the customs, beliefs and behaviors of a new culture, can have either a positive or a negative influence on health-enhancing behaviors as Asian immigrants become more Westernized. Acculturation, however, is not only complex but also multidimensional. Acculturation has been generally understood to include generational status, language preference, and the number of years of U.S. residence. Given the diversity of experiences and exposures to mainstream society based on ethnic enclaves within the Asian American community, acculturation among Asian subgroups may not necessarily be a similar experience. Despite these inconsistencies, acculturation is often used by researchers in studies of Asian Americans as a predictor of health attitudes, behaviors, and outcomes.

In general the migrant studies have been a source of health data on acculturation and Asian Americans. Researchers have studied a specific population—usually the Japanese— sampled in three locations (e.g., Japan, Hawaii, and California), compared with non-Hispanic whites, and have drawn inferences about the health status or morbidity patterns of the Japanese Americans as an

example of Asian Americans.[7] According to public health researchers, an unintended consequence of this approach has been to use the oldest Asian American subgroup—which happens to have an extremely large percentage of English speakers and also the highest SES attainment of all Asian Americans—to represent Asian Americans, an ethnic minority characterized by a heavy representation of people from low SES and poor English skills.[8] Public health researchers and advocates have suggested that the media and policy makers have glossed over the issue of Asian American ethnic diversity in health and morbidity. Furthermore, comparisons between the Japanese American and white Americans have often led to the conclusion that Japanese American are in better health than white Americans. However, despite the flaw in this research design, the literature indicates that being acculturated is linked to use of health services. For example, less acculturated Asian Americans (e.g., Vietnamese Americans) tend to use fewer mental health services and cancer screenings, and engage in more tobacco use compared with their more acculturated peers. Being more acculturated, however, may also lead to lifestyle and behavioral practices that override the protective cultural influences experienced by a group. These include changes to the dietary practices that encourage the development of obesity and obesity-related diseases, and a more sedentary lifestyle.

TRENDS AND EMERGING CONCERNS

Lifestyle Changes

Public health researchers have had a growing concern over the effect of Asian Americans lifestyle behaviors. As Asian Americans acculturate, their food habits become increasingly Westernized. There is a tendency for Asian Americans to move from more ethnic, plant-based foods to more meat-based Western diets, which often means a shift from a diet low in fat and high in fiber to one that is high in fat and low in fiber. These changes in the diet, along with less physical activity and stressful lifestyles, may increase their risk for increased weight or obesity as chronic diseases among acculturated and second- and third-generation immigrants.

Overweight and Obesity Level

Research indicates that obesity is linked to migration patterns with the individual's length of stay in the United States. For immigrants from Asian countries, food is a vital part of the social matrix, and changes from traditional Asian diet (similar to Mediterranean diet) to fast foods results in a higher consumption of fatty meats, dairy products, and processed snacks and desserts. Asian Americans are experiencing the same trend of increasing weight and obesity observed in other ethnic groups in the United States. While it is difficult to specify what has caused the trend, physical inactivity and poor eating habits are certainly contributors. A study showed that Asian American children between the ages two to eleven consume the least amount of fruits and vegetables and have

the lowest rates of vigorous physical activity when compared with children of other ethnicities.[9] Asian American adults are also less physically active, with higher levels of inactivity among women. Acculturation also affects attitudes and behaviors as indicated earlier. Minimally nutritional and calorie-dense foods are readily available and inexpensive in the United States, and the automobile is the preferred mode of transportation, even for short distances.

Immigration, Generational and Geographical Status

In certain Asian subgroups, there is more research on immigration rates and generations lived in the United States. For example, Japanese Americans, who immigrated to the United States earlier than many others (e.g., Hmong, Mien, Laotians, Cambodians, and Thai), have a significant amount of research on cardiovascular disease. On the other hand, there is extremely limited data on the health of Vietnamese, Cambodian, Hmong, and Laotians. Furthermore, voluntary immigrants are less likely to suffer from severe trauma and culture shock compared with a war refugee. Large numbers of Southeast Asians came to the United States as refugees fleeing the Vietnam War or the violence of the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia, and they suffer from mental health issues attributed to the war and refugee experience.[10] These experiences are likely to manifest in differential mental health and other health outcomes for refugees compared to voluntary immigrants, who come to the United States for social or economic opportunities.

South Asians/Asian Indians have a very high rate of cardiovascular disease, yet national studies fail to address them, as they are recent immigrants, do not compose a large percent of the U.S. population, and are not considered a "priority" population by many funding agencies. There are also disparities in terms of research done on Asian Americans and health issues by geographic regions. The majority of research on Asian Americans' health issues has been conducted in areas of high Asian concentrations, such as New York and California, with little attention to geographic regions with growing Asian American populations such as Texas and Illinois.

Targeted Marketing

Asian Americans make up one of the fastest-growing subpopulation in the United States. This trend has not gone unnoticed by trade and industry groups. Asian Americans spend nearly $254 billion annually, and by 2009, they are estimated to have a spending power of $528 billion, making them a powerful force in the U.S. consumer market.[11] An emerging trend is the work of several industry groups to capitalize on unhealthy behaviors practiced by Asian Americans. For example, elevated rates of gambling and tobacco use in Asian American populations may be due, in part, to cultural influences. As discussed in entries in this section, such behaviors have a culture of acceptance among Asian Americans. Gambling is a socially acceptable activity in many Asian cultures; games of chance are often played with family and friends on special occasions.

Similarly, Asian men typically share cigarettes as a token of camaraderie or a social exchange. Target marketing or niche marketing for Asian clients has been adapted by many companies that are spending exponentially increasing amounts of money to exploit these cultural nuances. For example, while the tobacco industry's pursuit of the Asian American market is not as documented as it is for the African Americans, tobacco manufacturers have devoted considerable marketing resources to selling tobacco to Asian American markets.[12] Tobacco industry documents from 1985 to 1995 indicate that the Asian population in United States became a priority for the industry in the 1980s. In particular, the tobacco companies noted the high population growth, increasing purchasing power, and high smoking rates in the home country.[13]

Tobacco control advocacy groups, who track the marketing tactics of tobacco companies, have also noted that because of strong restrictions on tobacco marketing in the United States, the tobacco companies have dedicated increasing time and resources to enlarging their reach in Asia. Indeed, they have made a concentrated effort to reach these populations before they become immigrants to the United States, capitalizing on the social acceptability of smoking within their cultures and the ease with which globalization allows the marketing of tobacco across countries using a unified marketing message.

Specifically, tobacco companies have carefully tracked postimmigration cigarette brand-switching behaviors and are concentrating their efforts to reach Asian Americans even before they immigrate. Extensive cross-country coordinated targeted marketing in Asia and to Asians living in the United States is performed. Exposure is initiated in the Asian home country, and after migrating, branding of the product is reinforced. This tactic is especially important for brands that are predominantly available in Asia, such as the 555 brand, but do not carry the same status symbol in the U.S.[14]

Similarly, targeted marketing has been enthusiastically embraced by gambling establishments. Across the United States, several of the larger casinos have dedicated Asian marketing offices in-house. Many casinos carry Asian-language promotional pamphlets and offer direct service buses from the major Chinatowns to their facilities. And as presented in the entry on gambling, certain casinos schedule Asian-themed events, hire Asian-speaking employees to guide the Asian clients, and provide discounted bus fares and casino vouchers from Chinatown locations to attract Asian American gamblers.

Other industries focusing on Asian communities include alcohol companies, specifically those that produce cognac. Chinese consumers drink nearly twice the cognac per person as the general population, which has led many producers to target this population through advertisements in Chinese language print media.[15] Remy Martin brand cognac also notes on its Web site that China is a major market and discusses the “aggressive” marketing policy it initiates around the Chinese Lunar New Year.[16] Moreover, Martell Cognac created a new XO Cognac in 2005 to cater to the Chinese market. Martell's marketing director stated that the new cognac will “help us achieve our number 1 ambition in China” and noted “our XO consumer is predominantly Chinese.”[17] Martell

follows in the footstep of Courvoisier, which introduced Exclusif Cognac in 2003 that was launched in Asia and specifically targets the Chinese population.

The beauty industry has also responded to the growing marketing opportunity for many Asian American (especially female) consumers. Asian Americans had 767,800 cosmetic surgeries in 2006, a 26 percent jump from the previous year and a 246 percent increase from 2000. Overall, nonwhites account for 20 percent of all cosmetic surgery patients in the United States, compared to 15 percent just eight years ago. The types of procedures elected are ethnic specific. The most commonly requested procedures for Asian American patients are nose reshaping, breast augmentation and eyelid surgery. This is in comparison to the most commonly requested procedures in the mainstream population of breast augmentation, liposuction, and nose reshaping.[18] Marketers are taking advantage of the surge in recent numbers through advertisements in Asian and Asian American media outlets. For example, advertisements for cosmetic surgery are located on the back pages of Audrey magazine, an Asian American women's lifestyle glossy, and an ad is prominently displayed on the home page of the magazine's Web site. Other Asian-language dailies and magazines, including ones in Chinese, Vietnamese, and Korean languages, feature regular advertisements for plastic surgery and skin-lighting creams.

Health and Environmental Issues

Exposure to environmental and occupational hazards is another growing area of concern. Asian Americans are exposed to different levels of environmental toxins at work, in their homes, in the food they consume, and in their neighborhoods which ultimately impact health and wellness. Exposure to toxin levels varies by the Asian subgroups. Compared with any other racial/ethnic groups, Asian Americans consume higher levels of seafood yet they are unaware—because of language and education—of health risks associated with eating contaminated fish.[19] Asian Americans who consume high levels of seafood are often recent immigrants who rely on seafood fishing and consumption as a cultural pastime or sometimes out of economic necessity. Hmong families in Wisconsin, for example, have been found to consume an average of 30 fish meals per year compared with 18 fish meals consumed by the general population.[20] In the San Francisco Bay Area, Laotian families often practice subsistence fishing and consume fish at a higher rate than the normal population.[21] In many parts of the United States, fish are contaminated with PCBs, mercury, dioxins, and pesticides, and Asian immigrants are often unaware of these warnings because they are illiterate or do not have English proficiency. Environmental toxins play a role in the development of respiratory illnesses such as asthma but also in the development of various kinds of cancers and autoimmune illnesses.

Concerns about toxins are not only focused on food, but also in and around neighborhoods close to industrial sites. Racial and ethnic minority communities often face more pollution in their communities because of incinerators, oil refineries, and power plants. The Laotian community in Contra Costa County

in California lives in one of the most toxic areas of the United States, with the close proximity to oil refineries, polluting facilities, and 350 industrial sites, several of which are on the federal government's of list Superfund sites.[22] Traditions in this community include community gardening. Soil contamination of high levels of lead and metal from nearby industries pose health risks. The Asian Pacific Environmental Network in northern California has been working to educate low-income Asian American communities on environmental and social justice issues. The Laotian Organizing Project has been working to develop an environmental justice agenda for this community.

Asian immigrant women, primarily Vietnamese women, comprise 42 percent of all nails technicians in the United States.[23] In California, 80 percent of nail salon workers are Vietnamese immigrant women.[24] A large percentage of nail salon workers are of child-bearing age and face exposure from nail products that contain thousands of chemicals, many which have not been tested for safety. Long work hours, poor ventilation, and prolonged exposure to toxic chemicals such as phthalates—which at high dosages are known to cause birth defects, miscarriages, infertility, and cancer—are only now being explored. A study in Boston found that Vietnamese immigrant nail salon workers in this area experienced many health problems because of their work, including carpal tunnel syndrome, respiratory issues, skin problems, and headaches.[25] The Environmental Protect Agency in Houston, TX, conducted hands-on assessments of nail salons primarily owned and operated by Vietnamese immigrants to identify ways to reduce or minimize chemical exposures at nail salons. To this end, the Environmental Protection Agency has disseminated and translated an information booklet into Vietnamese and Korean to educate nail salon owners and employees of potential hazards from chemicals present in nail products.[26]

Similarly, a high proportion of dry cleaning businesses are owned by Asian immigrants, primarily Korean immigrants, and workers (primarily business owners and their families) are consistently exposed to chemicals such as perchloroethylene (PERC), which at high, concentrated dosages have been shown to damage the nervous system and increase risk for certain cancers. Although there is a movement toward switching to machines that would reduce PERC fumes, Korean Americans have voiced that this would harm their businesses.[27] Air quality officials estimate that 850 tons of PERC are emitted annually, ranking it as one of the most prevalent air toxins in the United States.[28]

At the same time, high numbers of Asian immigrant workers are involved in the semiconductor industry as assemblers or involved in fabrication work. Fabrication and assembly line work are low-wage jobs that often have limited access to benefits such as health care, but also entail exposure to toxins. Silicon Valley electronics assembly companies have regularly used Asian immigrant women to assemble circuit boards at home. While at home, these assemblers expose themselves and their families to dangerous chemicals that have been linked to cancer, neurological, vision, respiratory, and reproductive health issues.[29]

Bringing Needed Health Research and Advocacy to Asian American Communities

Founded in 2003, The New York University Center for the Study of Asian American Health at the New York University School of Medicine is the first federally funded research center devoted to research, research training, and community outreach initiatives aimed at reducing health disparities in health in Asian American communities. This center is a campus-community partnership of academic, health care, and community organizations serving New York City's Asian American populations. Its primary research areas include mental health, cardiovascular disease, diabetes, oncogenesis, and the social and cultural determinants of health.

To foster their commitment to community partnerships, the center has moved beyond research to provide support for community mobilization and advocacy for policy-level changes to effect change in health disparities. The center has led the development of three ethnic-specific health advocacy coalitions: the Kalusugan Coalition, a coalition committed to bringing a voice to the health of the Filipino Americans in the New York/New Jersey area through education, research and community action; the NYU South Asian Health Initiative (SAHI), a coalition that engages in diverse community-based research and education activities to bridge South Asians in the United States with the health care system, and to reduce the health care disparities faced by community members; and the Vietnamese Community Health Initiative (VCHI), a diverse group of health professionals, community leaders, students and individuals who are concerned with improving the well-being of the Vietnamese community.

—Simona C. Kwon

ADDRESSING HEALTH NEEDS

Access to Care

In order to meet the growing health concerns in the Asian American community, a number of organizations and individuals are getting involved to address these health disparities. This is also an important goal for the nation to eliminate disparities in access to health care for racial and ethnic groups in the United States. Many local, state, and national organizations are working to address a wide range of health issues and problems in the Asian Americans community.

A key health advocate for the Asian American community in Washington, DC, and in the state of California is the Asian Pacific Islander American Health Forum. Based in San Francisco, the mission of the APIAHF is to promote improvement in the health status of all Asians and Pacific Islanders in the United States. As an advocacy organization, it is dedicated to promoting policy,

program, and research efforts to improve the health and well-being of Asian American and Pacific Islander communities.

In the United States, there are more than fifty health and advocacy centers that cater to the needs of Asian Americans. About a third of these centers are in California, primarily in the San Francisco Bay Area and greater Los Angeles area. Outside of California, Asian American health centers and advocacy groups exist in New York, Washington, Texas, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Washington, D.C., Colorado, Georgia, and Illinois. These health centers exist to serve the health and social needs of low-income and underserved Asian Pacific Islander Americans. These centers focus on health, mental health, well-being, leadership development, community building, advocacy, health education, empowerment, and self-determination. In addition, the centers strive to empower their clients to make positive changes in their lives and communities. The centers are essential to the Asian American community because they provide services that are culturally and linguistically relevant. Many of the materials are printed in several Asian languages, and centers make it a point to hire staffs that are fluent in Asian languages.

Lack of Health Data

Advocates who have worked to meet the health needs of Asian Americans often point to the challenges and limitations of the available health data of Asian Americans. Some of the major issues include low number of participants for meaningful analysis and/or generalization, the loss of Asian subgroup variability when Asian Americans are aggregated into a homogenous group, and the lack of linguistically appropriate interviews or surveys to include those with limited English proficiency. As highlighted in most of the entries in this section, public health researchers recommend oversampling Asian Americans in national surveys and the collection of disaggregate Asian Americans to unmask the variability between diverse Asian subgroups. Further complicating these issues is the lack of baseline health data on this population. One area that has drawn the attention of public health researchers is the alarming increase in cancer deaths among Asian Americans in the United States. The National Cancer Institute, mindful of the lack of data and research on this area, has provided a research initiative to understand these disparities. One project is the Asian American Network for Cancer Awareness, Research and Training (AANCART), which has worked to build partnerships and programs to increase cancer awareness and cancer research on Asian Americans throughout the United States.

OUTLOOK

There is a paucity of literature on Asian Americans. This is significant given that Asian Americans are the fastest-growing U.S. subpopulation. Public health researchers have continually advocated for the collection of national disaggregated baseline data on Asian Americans through targeted and increased recruitment of Asian Americans into clinical trials. The historical lack of recruitment has

hampered health care findings and treatment protocols for Asian Americans—because a better understanding of cultural, social, psychological, racial, and religious factors that influence behaviors and act as a barrier to changing behaviors in this group is needed. As a result, public health researchers are pushing for effective interventions that are culturally and linguistically appropriate to reduce and/or eliminate health disparities in the Asian American community. While sound health services and community-based research are essential in addressing the health needs of this group, advocates nationally and locally are pushing for policy-level change to dispel the model minority myth. Advocates, researchers, and practitioners continually are working to reduce morbidity and mortality and improve quality of life and life expectancy. Advocates have pushed for community mobilization against the industry's targeting of Asian Americans to encourage risky, unhealthy behaviors. The following entries provide a description and dialogue on key health issues in the Asian American community, as well as discussion of solutions that have been proposed to reverse established health disparities and to stem the emerging ones.

NOTES

1. B. Smedley, A. Stith, & A. Nelson, eds., *Unequal Treatment: Confronting Racial and Ethnic Disparities in Health Care*, Institute of Medicine, (Washington, DC: National Academies Press, 2003).
2. N. Ghouri, M. Atcha, and A. Sheikh, "Influence of Islam on Smoking among Muslims," *BMJ* 332 (2006): 291–294.
3. M. Matin and S. LeBaron, "Attitudes toward Cervical Cancer Screening among Muslim Women: A Pilot Study," *Women's Health* 39, no. 3 (2004): 63–77.
4. A. Rashidi and S. Rajaram, "Asian-Islamic Women and Breast Cancer Screening: A Socio-Cultural Analysis," *Women's Health* 28, no. 3 (1999): 45–58.
5. Leighton Ku and Sheetal Matani, "Left Out: Immigrants' Access To Health Care And Insurance," *Health Affairs*, 20, no. 1 (January/February 2001): 247–256.
6. H. Balcazar, F. G. Castro, J. L. Krull, "Cancer Risk Reduction in Mexican American Women: The Role of Acculturation, Education, and Health Risk Factors," *Health Education Quarterly* 22 (1995): 61–84.
7. W. Y. Fujimoto, et al., "Diabetes Prevention Program Research Group: Body Size and Shape Changes and the Risk of Diabetes in the Diabetes Prevention Program," *Diabetes* 56 (2007): 1680–1685; I. P. Kovac et al., "Linkage and Association Analyses of Type 2 Diabetes/Impaired Glucose Metabolism and Adiponectin Serum Levels in Japanese Americans from Hawaii," *Diabetes* 56 (2007): 537–540.
8. E. S. H. Yu, K. Kim, W. Liu, and S. C. Wong, "Functional Abilities of Chinese and Korean Elders in Congregate Housing," in *Ethnic Elderly and Long-Term Care*, eds. Charles Barresi and Donald E. Stull (New York: Springer Publishing Co., 1993), 87–100.
9. G. G. Harrison et al., "Seizing the Moment: California's Opportunity to Prevent Nutrition-Related Health Disparities in Low-Income Asian American Populations," *Cancer* 104 (2005): 2962–2968.
10. R. F. Mollica et al., "The Dose-Effect Relationships between Torture and Psychiatric Symptoms in Vietnamese Ex-Political Detainees and a Comparison Group," *Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease* 186 (1998): 543–553.

11. Magazine Publishers of America, "Asian-American Market Profile," 2004, http://www.magazine.org/ASSETS/BF4E8BCE5E9D4847BA537A448EE20EF4/market_profile_asian.pdf, accessed on Nov. 16, 2008.

12. R. Lew and S. Tanjasiri, "Slowing the Epidemic of Tobacco Use among Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders," *American Journal of Public Health* 93, no. 5 (2003): 764–768; M. E. Muggli et al., "Targeting of Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders by the Tobacco Industry: Results from the Minnesota Tobacco Document Depository," *Tobacco Control* 11, no. 3 (2002): 201–209.

13. Muggli et al., "Targeting of Asian Americans."

14. D. Acevedo-Garcia et al., "Undoing an Epidemiological Paradox: The Tobacco Industry's Targeting of US Immigrants," *American Journal of Public Health* 94, no. 12 (2004): 2188–2193.

15. A. J. Cortese, *Provocateur: Images of Women and Minorities in Advertising,* 3rd ed. (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2008), 115–134.

16. Remy Cointreau, www.remycointreau.com, accessed on Nov.17, 2008.

17. The Moodie Report, "Mann R. Martell Unveils New XO Cognac," Feb. 11, 2005, accessed Nov. 11, 2007 at www.moodiereport.com.

18. American Society of Plastic Surgeons, "Report of the 2007 Statistics National Clearinghouse of Plastic Surgery Statistics," American Society of Plastic Surgeons, 2008: 1–20.

19. Ruth Sechena et al., "Asian American and Pacific Islander Seafood Consumption—A Community-Based Study in King County, Washington," *Journal of Exposure Analysis and Environmental Epidemiology* 13 (2003): 256–266.

20. "Local Hmong Ignoring Fish Dangers//Many Unaware of Health Risks from Contamination," *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, Dec. 17, 2000, 6C.

21. Asian Pacific Environmental Network, http://www.apen4ej.org/.

22. Asian Pacific Environmental Network, "From Refugee Camps to Toxic Hot Spot: About the Laotian Community in Richmond, CA," http://www.apen4ej.org/ lop_history.htm, accessed on Dec. 15, 2008.

23. National Asian Pacific Women's Forum, "Issue Brief: Nail Salon Industry and the Impact of Cosmetic Toxins on API Women's Reproductive Health," 2008, http://www.napawf.org/file/issues/issuebrief_nailsalon_updated.pdf, accessed on Dec. 15, 2008.

24. National Asian Pacific American American Women's Forum, http://www.napawf.org/.

25. Cora Roelofs, "Results from a Community-based Occupational Health Survey of Vietnamese-American Nail Salon Workers," *Journal of Immigrant and Minority Health* 10, no. 4 (2008): 353–361.

26. U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, "Nail Salons Project Partners," http://www.epa.gov/dfe/pubs/projects/salon/partners.htm.

27. Gary Polakovic, "Dry Cleaners Steam over Plan to Ban Toxic 'Perc'," *Los Angeles Times* Oct. 23, 2002, http://community.seattletimes.nwsource.com/archive/?date=20021023&slug=dryclean23.

28. G. Polakovic, "Study Links Smog, Sports to Asthma," *The Los Angeles Times,* Feb. 1, 2002, http://articles.latimes.com/2002/feb/01/local/me-asthma1.

29. Lisa Park and David Pellow, "Making the Invisible Visible: Asian American/Pacific Islander Workers in Silicon Valley," *AAPI Nexus* 3, no. 1 (2007): 45–66.

CANCER

Mai-Nhung Le, Jennifer Garcia, Mavis Nitta, and Roxanna Bautista

In contrast to other racial/ethnic groups, for Asian Americans, cancer is a growing problem and the leading cause of death.[1] Cancer incidence, or the risk of developing the illness, and mortality rates for Asian Americans vary by cancer site, ethnicity, and gender. For example, Vietnamese American women have the highest incidence and death rates from cervical cancer. In fact, cervical cancer is five times more likely among Asian American women from Vietnam compared to white Americans.[2] The lung cancer incidence rate is 18 percent higher among Asian Americans who are Southeast Asian compared with white Americans.[3] Asian Americans experience the highest incidence rates of liver and stomach cancer for both sexes compared with all racial and ethnic groups.[4] The mortality rate from cancers of all types is growing faster among Asian Americans than in other racial/ethnic group. The incidence and mortality rates for various cancers differ by ethnicity within the Asian American population.

CANCER INCIDENCE

Asian Americans have the lowest overall cancer incidence rates (new cases) compared to other racial groups; however, Asian Americans have higher incidence for specific cancers related to infection.[5] For example, Asian Americans have the highest incidence of cancer of the stomach and liver and intrahepatic bile duct.[6] Higher rates of stomach and liver cancers stem from increased exposure to infectious agents such as *Helicobacter pylori* and hepatitis B.[7] Also, compared to non-Hispanic white women, Asian American women have higher rates of cervical cancer, which is related to certain types of the human papillomavirus or also known as HPV infection.[8]

Asian American subgroups show considerable variation in cancer incidence. Lung cancer rates were highest among Filipino American, Kampuchean, Laotian, and Vietnamese American men. Prostate cancer was another leading cancer among Asian American men, in particular among Asian Indian/Pakistani, Chinese Americans, Filipino Americans, and Japanese Americans. Colorectal cancer ranked among the top cancers in Asian Indian/Pakistani, Chinese American, Filipino American, Japanese American, and Korean American men, with Japanese American men having the highest colorectal cancer rate, higher than non-Hispanic white men. Liver cancer was also among the top five cancers in Chinese American, Filipino American, Kampuchean, Korean American, Laotian, and Vietnamese American men.[9] By contrast, the lowest overall cancer rates for Asian American men were found among Asian Indian/Pakistani men.[10] Overall, Chinese American, Japanese American and Korean American men had the highest cancer death rates compared with overall cancer death rate, while Asian Indians had the lowest overall cancer death rate compared with other Asian Americans. The top causes of cancer deaths among Asian American males were lung, prostate, colorectal, liver, and stomach cancers.[11]

The mortality rate from cancers of all sites is growing faster among Asian Americans than in other racial/ethnic group.[12] Cancer has been the leading cause of death among Asian American women since 1980.[13] However, Asian Indian women had the lowest overall cancer death rate among Asian American women. [14] The leading causes of cancer death among Asian American women were lung, breast, colorectal, liver, and stomach cancer. [15] Asian American women, compared with white women, were diagnosed at more advanced stages of breast and cervical cancer because of the inconsistent or lack of screening for cancer.[16] Among Asian American women, the overall cancer incidence rates were highest among Filipinas, Japanese, and Laotian women and lowest among Asian Indian/Pakistani and Kampuchean women.[17] Breast cancer was the leading cancer among Asian Americans (except for Laotian women), and diagnosed cases were more likely to receive their diagnosis at an advanced/later stage as compared with white women.[18] Colorectal cancer is one of the leading cancers among Asian American women, with Japanese American women having rates higher than non-Hispanic white women.[19] Cervical cancer incidence is highest among Kampuchean, Laotian, and Vietnamese women, with all groups exceeding the rate of non-Hispanic white women.[20] Asian Americans have higher cervical cancer incidence and mortality rates than white women and have the second highest risk of cervical cancer after Hispanic women.[21] In particular, Chinese American, Japanese American, and Korean American women had higher rates of stomach cancer than non-Hispanic white women.[22] Compared to Asian American women, Asian Indian women had the lowest overall cancer death rate among Asian American women.[23] The leading causes of cancer death among Asian American women were lung, breast, colorectal, liver, and stomach cancer.[24]

CHALLENGES AND ISSUES

Cancer Screening

Cancer is a Westernized word. Many Asian languages do not have translated words for cancer, so many foreign-born individuals do not know about cancer, including screenings and treatment. Or, if individuals are familiar with the term cancer, it can be a taboo word among the Asian American communities because of the lack of awareness and education about the disease.

A high level of stigma or cultural shame may in part be responsible for the unnecessary high rates of cancer among Asian American men and women. Asian Americans may regard the illness as a sign of weakness or a disease from God. They know that they may have cancer, but they will delay seeking treatment or withhold information from their physician because of the shame of having a diagnosis of cancer.[25] There are myths that are difficult to dispel regarding cancer among the Asian American communities. When diagnosed with cancer, the individual can be blamed for causing the cancer. Cancer can be seen as a deadly disease because individuals will not survive after their diagnosis because of the lack of treatment for cancer. In addition, Asian Americans have stated that cancer is contagious. Individuals may not want cancer treatment because it can cause them shame or embarrassment of possible "disfigurement," such as hair loss or removal of part of the body. There has been resistance to breast cancer screenings because some few Asian Americans believe that mammograms hurt and that the screening itself may cause cancer. Health professionals believe it is vital to educate Asian Americans about the importance of early cancer detection and screenings to dispel those myths.

Discrepancies in accessing health prevention and screening services can stem from various issues. First-generation foreign-born Asian American immigrants face many barriers to accessing health care and may tend to see doctors after they feel sick and not for prevention of disease. Even when feeling ill, Asian Americans who have low income and no health insurance may put off the expense of seeing a doctor until they feel very sick. Asian American immigrants tend to see doctors as a last resort due, in large part, to competing issues associated with immigrating to a new country, thereby lowering their chance of early cancer detection. Because of a lack of knowledge about cancer, Asian Americans have the lowest rate of cancer screenings and are usually diagnosed in the later stages of the disease. Asian American women in California are less likely to have had a mammogram compared white women.[26] Researchers believe that part of the discrepancy in mammography rates between white women and Asian American women may be because of unequal access to screening and diagnosis for people of color.

The elevated risk for cervical cancer among Asian American populations is partly because of a lack of knowledge of cervical cancer and Pap screening guidelines among Asian American women. A Pap smear involves collecting cells from the cervix to test for cervical cancer. Asian Americans have the lowest usage of Pap screening of all ethnic groups; however, variation among the subgroups does

exist. For example, Filipino American and Korean American women who have lived longer in the United States were more likely to get a Pap screening compared with those who have recently arrived.[27] As for breast cancer screenings, there is also great variation among Asian American subgroups. Seventy percent of South Asian women in New York had a mammogram in their lifetime, but only 56 percent had a mammogram in the past two years.[28] Fifty-six percent of Filipino American women complied with an annual mammogram, while Japanese Americans had a mammography rate of 78 percent, and Korean American women in California had a 53 percent mammogram rate.[29]

Overall, Asian Americans have low colorectal cancer screenings. Asian Americans were 30–50 percent less likely than whites to have colorectal cancer screenings regularly. In fact, Korean Americans had the lowest rate of colorectal screenings, 49 percent.[30] There is little knowledge of colorectal cancer among Asian Americans, especially if they are recent immigrants, poor, or uninsured.

An unmet need among Asian Americans is access to health care and cancer screening. Asian American women with no health insurance were more likely to go without screenings for colorectal, breast, and cervical cancers. This is a concern specifically for Asian Americans who are medically underserved. In 2003, California Asian Americans had higher rates of uninsured compared to non-Hispanic whites. Korean Americans (34.1%), Vietnamese Americans (22.2%), and Chinese Americans (17.4%) had the highest uninsured rates among the Asian American ethnic groups in California.[31] Screening rates vary among Asian American groups and are related to a number of factors, including insurance status, poverty, and language barriers.[32] One study found that Chinese Americans, Filipino Americans, and Korean Americans had lower rates of colorectal, cervical, and breast cancer screening than non-Hispanic whites.[33] Foreign-born Asian Americans in this study reported that they did not have wellness exams because they did not have any symptoms. In their home country, only an individual who felt sick would see a physician. Even when feeling ill or to relieve symptoms individuals may use more often natural herbs or cultural exercises, such as acupuncture or tai chi.

Cancer Diagnosis

There is a dearth of research on the psychosocial impact of cancer on Asian American survivors and their families, but personal stories reveal enormous unmet needs for emotional support and practical assistance. Asian Americans face difficulties obtaining support because of cultural and linguistic barriers. There are few cancer support groups that are bilingual to help Asian American survivors in coping with their cancer experience.

For some individuals, diagnosis of cancer may make them feel alone, overwhelmed, and vulnerable. Cancer survivors often need assistance coping with the physical and emotional issues that can occur after a cancer diagnosis. Cancer survivors may not receive encouragement and information from their health care provider and/or partner; however, attending a cancer support group

can provide understanding, emotional support, and information with which to live productive lives.

Although support services are available for cancer patients, evidence suggests that these services do not address the specific needs of Asian American cancer survivors. These survivors have often cited inadequacies of available cancer resources and have expressed their disappointment in the absence of culturally appropriate services and support.[34] There is a need for more cancer support groups that are culturally tailored to their lifestyle and beliefs.

Culturally and linguistically appropriate cancer support groups are available in larger Asian American concentrated areas. For example, the Chinese Women's Cancer Support Group at the Chinatown Public Health Center in San Francisco, CA, was started by Lei Chun Fung in 1994. There cancer survivors discuss concerns and issues regarding their illness, such as uncertainties surrounding surgery and treatment decisions, concerns about nutrition, family relationships, and issues surrounding the fear of death. Discussions are facilitated by a Cantonese-speaking social worker and a public health nurse facilitates the groups and teaches cultural healing techniques such as tai chi, qi gong, guided visualization, and art therapy. This type of culturally and linguistically appropriate cancer support group provides a safe place for women to share concerns, feelings, and fears, and strengthens their acceptance and their ability to cope with their cancer diagnosis. Because of the high incidence of breast cancer, the focus has been on developing culturally and linguistically appropriate breast cancer support groups.

Although support groups address cancer experiences and provide emotional support, they may not provide aid to help the cancer survivors through their recovery. Cancer survivors have issues concerning practical assistance, such as lack of insurance, financial assistance, and side effects from the treatment. Many cancer patients need assistance for transportation to and from medical appointments and basic living expenses, such as food and housing. These are the practical everyday needs that are necessary to help cancer survivors with their recovery. Because of the lack of money or knowledge about assistance, these are issues that face many Asian Americans who are currently going through their cancer treatment. Many cancer survivors also do not want to overburden their family members and caregivers with their health and emotional issues during treatment and recovery. Often, there lacks a space for these family members and caregivers to get their own psychosocial support in this trying time of treatment and recovery. In addition to the Chinese Women's Cancer Support Group at the Chinatown Public Health Center in San Francisco, Lei-Chun Fung organized a support group called "Dr. Play" Children's Support Group for young children. This group was started as a response to the need for childcare for the young children of the women participating in the cancer support group. The mothers expressed difficulties in sharing their experience of cancer with their children. Support groups are needed for those caregivers and families who are affected by cancer to improve the emotional and mental capacities of both the cancer patient/survivor and the caregivers and families who experience this cancer journey together.

From Cancer Patient to Asian American Cancer Advocate/Activist

In 1991, Susan Matsuko Shinagawa discovered a prominent lump in her right breast during a routine breast self-examination. Despite a negative mammogram, ultrasound revealed the lump to be a solid mass, and she was immediately referred to a surgical oncologist. After reviewing the radiographs, taking a family history and performing a clinical breast exam, that surgeon denied Shinagawa a breast biopsy, explaining that she was "too young to have breast cancer," had "no family history of cancer," and because "Asian women don't get breast cancer." Realizing that doctors refused to acknowledge something she intuitively knew was happening inside her body, Shinagowa sought a second opinion and underwent an excisional biopsy, which revealed infiltrating ductal carcinoma of the right breast—breast cancer. She was 34 years old.

During the past sixteen years, Shinagawa has challenged internal norms, exposed external stereotypes about Asian Americans and cancer, and has become the nation's leading Asian American cancer advocate/activist. In 1998, she cofounded the Asian & Pacific Islander National Cancer Survivors Network. An often-invited speaker on cancer in the Asian American community, Shinagawa is the recipient of nearly thirty honors and awards in recognition of her efforts to achieve equity for Asian Americans and cancer. She now is actively involved in the Asian & Pacific Islander Cancer Education Materials (APICEM) Web portal, an online search engine providing one-stop access to available cancer education materials in Asian and Pacific Island languages to health care providers who treat limited English proficient and non–English–speaking Asian or Pacific Islander patients. Launched in March 2006, the APICEM Web portal is accessible via these Web sites: aancart.org/apicem and www.cancer.org/apicem.

—Grace J. Yoo

OUTLOOK

It has been known for some time that the risk of cancer increases among generations of Asians who migrate to the United States. Asian Americans are getting cancer at a younger age despite having no family history of cancer. For some Asian subgroups such as Japanese Americans, the rates of breast cancer are almost equivalent to white women. Cultural and language barriers affect quality of health care delivery. There are at least 50 ethnic groups and 100 different languages among the Asian American communities. Asian Americans, especially those who are new immigrants to the United States, do not have resources or knowledge about cancer. There are limited cancer materials that are translated for the Asian American community, and most are not translated in all of the different languages needed.

Outreach efforts have been focused on helping Asian Americans to understand the importance of cancer education and screenings by providing information in different Asian languages. The American Cancer Society has had several initiatives to reach out to Asian American communities, including the Asian Initiative in New York, which has provided cancer educational material and patient services for the Asian American communities, and the Northern California Chinese Unit, established to assist and support newly diagnosed Chinese American cancer patients and their families.

Across the United States there have been several local, ethnic community–based organizations addressing the cultural and ethnic barriers to screening and addressing the need for more support for Asian American cancer survivors. In Georgia, The Center for Pan Asian Community Services Inc. is an example of a program that has targeted Chinese and Korean health education programs and survivorship resources. In the Los Angeles area, Saath USA, is a community-based organization devoted to supporting South Asians from cancer diagnosis through survivorship. Saath USA has strong partnerships with local temples, mosques, gurdwaras, churches, and cultural organizations. Jina Peiris, a co-founder of Saath, is a fourteen-year breast cancer survivor, and became vocal about her disease and survivorship, ending the silence in the South Asian community. In Minnesota, the Vietnamese Social Services of Minnesota has been working to address the alarming high rates of breast and cervical cancer among Vietnamese American women in their community. It has focused on education and increasing the knowledge about cancer, but also in working to ensure women are able to get support once diagnosed with cancer.

At the same time, Asian American cancer survivors have organized faith-based organizations to provide support and care for those diagnosed with cancer. Lucy Young, a breast cancer survivor and advocate, leads the Herald Cancer Association (HCA), an organization supporting Chinese American churches in working to educate their congregations about cancer. She has worked to raise cancer awareness and knowledge through distribution of Chinese cancer literature, media campaigns, and public education, but she also has worked to provide support and guidance to cancer patients and their families through Chinese-language support groups.

Asian American cancer survivors have initiated discussions about the need for representation and voice in the cancer movement. Ten years ago, the late Reverend Frank Chong and Susan M. Shinagawa co-founded the Asian & Pacific Islander National Cancer Survivors Network. Reverend Chong and Shinagawa were both survivors and activists in health advocacy. During the past ten years, this network of cancer survivors and advocates has worked to bring about greater cancer awareness in Asian American and Pacific Islander communities, greater public awareness of cancer's impact on Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders, and identified ways to build stronger networks and support. According to Asian American cancer survivor advocates, there is a need for more support services and representation, as well as for support that is personal, empathetic, and cultural. Asian Americans diagnosed with cancer face multiple

challenges, such as communication with families and providers on cancer treatment and care and cultural barriers associated with cancer prevention, treatment and survivorship.[35]

Asian American cancer survivor advocates have continually pushed for Asian American cancer survivors to become more involved in advocacy efforts to ensure that their voices are represented on local, state, and national policy-making bodies. According to these advocates, representation in the cancer

Leaders of the Asian and Pacific Islander Cancer Survivors Network work to support cancer survivors, their family members, health care providers, researchers, and community members in the Asian American and Pacific Islander communities. (Courtesy of the Asian and Pacific Islander American Health Forum)

movement is continually needed as the number of Asian American diagnosed with cancer increases and as communities and families confront the need for more support.

FURTHER READING

American Cancer Society's Northern California Chinese Unit. http://nccu.cancer.org/.

Asian American Network for Cancer Awareness, Research and Training (AANCART) and American Cancer Society created a Web portal called the Asian & Pacific Islander Cancer Educational Materials (APICEM). www.aancart.org/apicem/.

Asian & Pacific Islander American Health Forum. *A Book of Hope: Stories of Healing to Honor Asian American and Pacific Islander Cancer Survivors.* San Francisco, CA: Red Dog Bytes, 2007.

Asian & Pacific Islander National Cancer Survivors Network Online Cancer Resource Directory. http://www.apiahf.com/devsearch/data.asp.

Caring for Native Hawaiian Women. Understanding Cultural Values in the Treatment of Breast Health, VHS. Directed by American Cancer Society Pacific Division, Honolulu, HI: Juniroa Productions, 1998.

Center for Pan Asian Community Services. http://www.cpacs.org.

Herald Cancer Association. http://cancer.cchc.org/main/modules/contact/ and http://www.cchc.org/la/indexE.php.

Mothers, Daughters, Sisters: The Story of Breast Cancer in Asian Pacific Islander Families, VHS. Produced by Pacific Film Currents, Los Angeles, CA: Pacific Film Currents, 1999.

Saath, South Asian Cancer Foundation. www.saathusa.org.

Shinagawa, Susan M. "The Excess Burden of Breast Cancer in Minority and Medically Underserved Communities: Application, Research and Redressing Institutional Racism." *Cancer Supplement* 88 (5) (2000): 1217–1223.

Vietnamese Social Services of Minnesota. http://www.vssmn.org.

NOTES

1. National Center for Health Statistics, *Health, United States, 1998 with Socioeconomic Status and Health Chartbook* (Hyattsville, MD: U.S. States Department of Health and Human Services, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, National Center for Health Statistics, 1998).

2. American Cancer Society, "Cancer Hits U.S. Asian Groups Differently: Statistics Show Wide Variations among 5 Main Ethnic Groups," www.cancer.org/docroot/NWS/content/NWS_1_1x_Cancer_Hits_US_Asian_Groups_Differently.asp.

3. David B. Coultas et al., "State of the Art: Respiratory Diseases in Minorities of the U.S.," *American Journal of Respiratory Critical Care Medicine* 149 (1994): S93–S131.

4. National Cancer Institute, "Cancer Health Disparities: A Fact Sheet," http://www.cancer.gov/newscenter/benchmarks-vol5-issue6/page2.

5. American Cancer Society. *Cancer Facts & Figures 2007* (Atlanta, GA: American Cancer Society, 2007).

6. Elizabeth Ward et al., "Cancer Disparities by Race/Ethnicity and Socioeconomic Status," *CA: A Cancer Journal for Clinicians* 54(2) (2004): 78–93.

7. Ahmedin Jemal et al., Cancer Statistics, 2007, *CA: A Cancer Journal for Clinicians* 57 (2007): 43–66.

8. American Cancer Society, *Cancer Facts & Figures 2007.*

9. American Cancer Society, "Cancer Hits U.S. Asian Groups Differently."

10. Barry A. Miller et al., "Cancer Incidence and Mortality Patterns Among Specific Asian and Pacific Islander Populations in the U.S. Cancer Causes Control," *Cancer Causes Control* 19 (2008): 227–256.

11. Barry A. Miller et al., "Cancer Incidence and Mortality Patterns Among Specific Asian," 227–256.

12. Marjorie Kagawa-Singer and Nadereh Pourat, "Asian American and Pacific Islander Breast and Cervical Carcinoma Screening Rates and Healthy People 2000 Objectives," *Cancer* 89 (2000): 696–705; Barry A. Miller et al., "Cancer Incidence and Mortality Patterns among Specific Asian," 227–256.

13. National Center for Health Statistics, *Health, United States, 1998 With Socioeconomic Status and Health Chartbook.*

14. American Cancer Society, "Cancer Hits U.S. Asian Groups Differently."

15. American Cancer Society, "Cancer Hits U.S. Asian Groups Differently."

16. National Center for Health Statistics, *Health, United States, 2003 With Chartbook on Trends in the Health of Americans* (Hyattsville, MD: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, National Center for Health Statistics, 2003).

17. Barry A. Miller et al., "Cancer Incidence and Mortality Patterns Among Specific Asian and Pacific Islander Populations in the U.S. Cancer Causes Control," *Cancer Causes Control* 19 (2008): 227–256.

18. Barry A. Miller et al., "Cancer Incidence and Mortality Patterns Among Specific Asian," 227–256; National Center for Health Statistics, *Health, United States, 2003 With Chartbook on Trends in the Health of Americans* (Hyattsville, MD: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, National Center for Health Statistics, 2003).

19. Barry A. Miller et al., "Cancer Incidence and Mortality Patterns among Specific Asian," 227–256.

20. Barry A. Miller et al., "Cancer Incidence and Mortality Patterns among Specific Asian," 227–256.

21. American Cancer Society. *Cancer Facts & Figures 2001.* (Atlanta, GA: American Cancer Society, 2001), http://www.cancer.org/downloads/STT/F&F2001.pdf.

22. Barry A. Miller et al., "Cancer Incidence and Mortality Patterns among Specific Asian," 227–256.

23. Barry A. Miller et al., "Cancer Incidence and Mortality Patterns among Specific Asian," 227–256.

24. Barry A. Miller et al., "Cancer Incidence and Mortality Patterns among Specific Asian," 227–256.

25. Annette E. Maxwell, "Demographic Predictors of Cancer Screening among Filipino and Korean Immigrants in the United States," *American Journal of Preventive Medicine* 18, no. 1 (2000): 62–68.

26. Ninez A. Ponce et al., *Cancer Screening in California: Findings from the 2001 California Health Interview Survey* (Los Angeles: UCLA Center for Health Policy Research, 2003).

27. Nadia Islam et al., "Breast and Cervical Cancer Screening Among South Asian Women in New York City," *Journal of Immigrant and Minority Health* 8, no. 3 (July 2006): 211–221.

28. Celine M. Ko et al., "Filipina American Women's Breast Cancer Knowledge, Attitudes, and Screening Behaviors," *BioMed Central Public Health* 3 (2003): 27.

29. Marjorie Kagawa-Singer et al., "Breast and Cervical Cancer Screening Rates of Subgroups of Asian American Women in California," *Medical Care Research and Review* 64, no. 6 (2007): 706–30.

30. Sabrina T. Wong et al., "Disparities in Colorectal Cancer Screening Rates Among Asian Americans and Non-Latino Whites," *Cancer Supplement* 104, no. 12 (2005): 2940-2947.

31. E. R. Brown et al., "The State of Health Insurance in California: Findings from the 2003 California Health Interview Survey" (UCLA Center for Health Policy Research, August 2005), http://www.healthpolicy.ucla.edu/pubs/publication.asp?pubID=146#download. (accessed June 20, 2006).

32. Steven S. Coughlin and Robert J. Uhler, "Breast and Cervical Cancer Screening Practices Among Asian and Pacific Islander Women in the United States, 1994–1997." *Cancer Epidemiology, Biomarkers & Prevention,* 9, no. 6 (2000): 597–603.

33. Namratha R. Kandula et al., "Low Rates of Colorectal, Cervical, and Breast Cancer Screening in Asian Americans Compared with Non-Hispanic Whites: Cultural Influences or Access to Care?" *Cancer* 107, no.1 (2006): 184–192.

34. Asian & Pacific Islander American Health Forum, *Asian American & Pacific Islander Cancer Support Groups Case Study* (San Francisco, CA: Red Dog Bytes, 2005), http://www.apiahf.org/images/stories/Documents/publications_database/cd_apiahf_support_gr_case_study.pdf.

35. Asian & Pacific Islander American Health Forum, *Asian American & Pacific Islander Cancer Support Groups Case Study.*

This page intentionally left blank

CARDIOVASCULAR HEALTH

Candice Chin Wong and Jyu-Lin Chen

Cardiovascular disease (CVD), the combination of coronary heart disease and stroke, is the leading cause of death among Asian Americans in the United States. National data in the 1990s indicate that heart disease and cancer were the leading and/or second-leading cause of death for Asian Americans and its subgroups.[1] Stroke was the third-leading cause of death for Chinese, Filipinos and Japanese. As a group, Asian Americans tend to experience lower risks of cardiovascular disease than the general population. Vast heterogeneity, however, exists among the Asian subgroups. For example, South Asians have one of the highest rates of coronary artery disease of any ethnic group studied. Despites these differences in rates, there exists for all Asian subgroups a significant lack of data and research on the risk factors for developing heart disease, characteristics of the disease, and health outcomes.

Among Asians, the risk for hemorrhagic stroke (stroke that involves bleeding within the brain) is higher than for whites.[2] Asian Americans hospitalized for stroke tend to be younger, have longer hospital stays and are less likely to be discharged to home. This suggests Asians are hospitalized with more severe strokes. A study based in California among Asian Americans with a prepaid health plan reported that South Asians had some of the highest heart disease rates. Chinese and Japanese patients had the worst risks of hospitalization because of cardiovascular disease. Gender differences were also noted, with hospitalization risk higher among South Asian men and Filipino women compared to other groups.[3]

Traditionally, Asian Americans represented a low-risk group for cardiovascular disease; however, evidence suggests that cardiovascular mortality for

Asian Americans rises as they acculturate, adopting Western lifestyles that include changes in dietary habits, decreased physical activity, and increased psychosocial stress.[4] Although factors such as age, male gender, and genetics are not behavior-related and cannot be altered, cigarette smoking, high cholesterol and high blood pressure can be prevented through changes in lifestyle behaviors. Lack of physical activity and obesity indirectly contribute to increased risk for cardiovascular disease through the development of high blood pressure, high cholesterol and diabetes.

This discussion focuses on the major factors that are critical to maintaining cardiovascular health among Asian Americans. Cardiovascular disease frequently begins in childhood; thus, information on the current cardiovascular health status of Asian American children and ways to maintain cardiovascular health among Asian population is presented.

LIFESTYLE FACTORS

Tobacco

Cigarette smoking, the leading cause of preventable disease and death, increases risks of cardiovascular disease.[5] Tobacco use varies considerably within Asian American subgroups, and prevalence estimates of current smoking depend on the settings or the regions where the studies were conducted, or whether only English-proficient subjects were included. For example, 9.7 percent of English-speaking Chinese Americans indicated they smoke compared with 34.2 percent Chinese American men with less than a high school education.[6] A national study (2004–2006) of six major Asian American subgroups reported Korean Americans (22%) are two to three times as likely to be current smokers compared with Japanese (12%), Asian Indian (7%) or Chinese Americans (7%).[7] Another study on current tobacco use among Asian Americans in the Delaware Valley region showed usage was highest among Cambodians (42%), followed by Vietnamese (40%), Koreans (27%) and Chinese Americans (24%).[8] High rates among Vietnamese American men was also noted among two population-based studies, with 37 percent in Seattle, WA, and 32 percent in Santa Clara, CA.[9]

Tobacco use among Asian Americans is influenced by cultural norms and values. Peer influences, tobacco use for medicinal purposes, and smoking practices within cultural traditions have been associated with tobacco use behavior among Asian Americans.[10] Rates of smoking among Asian subgroups are influenced by age, gender, country of origin, education level, acculturation, and psychosocial factors. Smoking behavior is higher among Asian men than women; the prevalence of smoking was 23.5 percent among Asian American men in California but 8.9 percent among Asian women.[11] Cigarette smoking is also associated with acculturation, with tobacco usage much higher among Asian immigrant men than second- and third-generation Asian Americans. In contrast, smoking rates have been observed to be higher among Asian American women with increasing acculturation.[12]

Diet and Nutrition

An important aspect of cardiovascular health is dietary behavior. The shift from traditional food habits to a diet based on highly processed, calorie-rich foods has been suggested as the cause of disproportionately high rates of cardiovascular mortality in developing nations and among disadvantaged ethnic minority groups in developed countries.[13] The loss of traditional dietary habits and physical inactivity contribute to the general increase in obesity, resulting in higher risks for the development of cardiovascular disease.[14] Diets high in animal fat, cholesterol, and low in dietary fiber have also been associated with increased risk for high blood pressure.[15]

In general, diet changes after individuals immigrate to the United States. For example, Korean Americans consume greater amounts of American food, eat fast food, and have meals away from home more frequently than their counterparts in Korea.[16] Second-generation Japanese Americans have greater intakes of total fat, animal protein, and carbohydrates compared with their first-generation counterparts.[17] In one study of Southeast Asians, the adult immigrants were found to have maintained their traditional diets, while their children had increased consumption of foods such as meat, cakes, and soft drinks, as well as an overall preference for Western foods.[18] Public health research indicates that a loss of traditional dietary habits and physical inactivity contribute to the general increase in obesity, resulting in a great risk to develop cardiovascular disease.

Health behaviors are established early in childhood. Studies have suggested that minority adolescents, including Asian Americans, with a low level of acculturation, low household income, and parents with a low level of education, are more likely to report a high level of fat and sugar intake and a low level of physical activity.[19] These habits increase the risk of being overweight and developing cardiovascular disease.

Although the typical Asian diet, which primarily is based on carbohydrates and vegetables, is considered healthy, it contains high amounts of sodium—in ingredients such as soy sauce, pickled vegetables, and salted meat products. Asian Americans undergoing the acculturation process may consume a combination of an American diet high in animal protein, fats, and sugar, while retaining their traditional foods that are high in sodium content. This bicultural diet may contribute to an increased cardiovascular disease risk for Asian Americans.[20] It is therefore recognized that dietary education should include reinforcement of a traditional diet of vegetables and fish, as well as customary use of garlic, onion, ginger and lemon to enhance food flavor, while reducing the use of salty condiments and sauces. In addition, cooking methods, such as, boiling, steaming, roasting and grilling should be encouraged instead of frying.[21]

Physical Inactivity and Obesity

Diseases such as diabetes, hypertension, and obesity increase cardiovascular risk. Despite common knowledge that exercise is healthful and can decrease one's risk for cardiovascular and related diseases, more than 60 percent of American

adults are not physically active. Asian Americans have the highest rate of being sedentary compared to the general U.S. population.[22] A study of Vietnamese adults in California found that 40 percent of the men and 50 percent of the women did not exercise, compared with 24 percent of men and 28 percent of women in the U.S. population.[23] A study of Asian Americans in Hawaii found that 76 percent of Filipinos and 57 percent of Japanese were sedentary. Factors associated with a lack of physical activity were lower education, lower income, and age between thirty-five to fifty-four years.[24] Lower activity levels have also been reported among Chinese Americans, with 31 percent in Seattle engaged in physical activity.[25]

Regular physical activity decreases the risk of being overweight and health issues related to being overweight. Although Asian immigrants have lower levels of obesity than their U.S.-born counterparts, after living in the United States for more than fifteen years, the levels of obesity converge.[26] Children are encouraged to engage in at least sixty minutes of age-appropriate physical activity on almost a daily basis. Underpinning such recommendations is a growing recognition that physical activity promotes cardiovascular health and reduces anxiety and depression. Studies of Asian American children indicate that a little more than 30 percent of them do not participate in any sports. Lower levels of physical activity are related to higher blood pressure and higher levels of bad cholesterol (LDL) in Chinese American children.[27]

The prevalence of overweight children has increased significantly across all racial and ethnic groups in the United States, including Asian Americans—the largest and fastest growing subgroup in the country.[28] The most recent data indicate that the prevalence of overweight (a body mass index [BMI] in the 85th percentile or higher) among Chinese Americans aged six to eleven years is 31 percent.[29] In children, excess weight is associated with immediate and long-term medical and psychosocial complications.[30] A drop in BMI of even 5 percent in overweight children decreases cardiovascular morbidity.[31] Therefore, it is seen that development of culturally sensitive and age-appropriate programs that promote healthy lifestyles and prevent childhood obesity is critical for cardiovascular prevention in Asian Americans.

The greatest percentage increase in the prevalence of diabetes from 1993 to 2000 was among Asians (68%). The prevalence of diabetes among Chinese American adults ranges from 12 percent to 21 percent, which is more than twice that of white Americans. Additionally, the risk of hypertension and diabetes doubles for Chinese Americans who have a BMI of 23 to 24.9 and is threefold for those who have a BMI of 25 to 26.9. Some Asian subgroups such as Chinese Americans, Japanese Americans, and South Asians are at a higher risk of developing cardiovascular disease and diabetes than are non-Hispanic whites, possibly because of genetic differences in body composition and metabolic responses.

Psychosocial Factors

Biological, psychological and sociobehavioral factors can greatly impact cardiovascular health and disease outcomes. High levels of stress, low levels of

social support or social isolation, low socioeconomic status, and negative emotions such as anxiety and depression are associated with increased cardiovascular disease morbidity and mortality.[32] Depressed mood and anxiety have been linked to cardiovascular disease and sudden cardiac death.[33] Researchers have also found that depression predicts cardiovascular disease morbidity and mortality.[34]

Asian Americans have been shown to be susceptible to mental health and adjustment problems. Psychological factors have been linked to a number of cardiovascular risk factors. During the immigration process, many Asian Americans report high levels of intergenerational and gender conflicts within families.[35] Psychological factors have also been found to play a critical role in adherence to treatment regimens. People with depression or negative moods were less likely to quit smoking.[36] In addition, patients with a high level of psychological stressors were less likely to adhere to blood pressure medication regimens.[37]

BIOLOGICAL FACTORS

Hypertension is defined as an elevation in normal blood pressure (e.g., >140/90 mmHg).[38] It is the leading cause of heart disease and stroke for the entire U. S. population and is one of the major modifiable risk factors for the prevention of cardiovascular disease. Most of the studies to date on Asian Americans and hypertension have been conducted on Chinese, Japanese and Filipino Americans. There is paucity of information on the prevalence of hypertension for other Asian subgroups, such as Vietnamese and South Asians, who have immigrated in large numbers in more recent years.

Filipino Americans were found to have a higher prevalence of hypertension with significantly higher blood pressure readings compared with other Asian Americans subgroups.[39] In California, Filipinos were found to have the highest prevalence of hypertension (24.5%), followed by Chinese (15.7%) and Japanese (12.5%).[40] A community study of Korean Americans in Baltimore reported that close to 70 percent had elevated blood pressures.[41] Less than half (44%) of those being treated had their blood pressure under control. These studies underscore the need to test effective prevention and treatment programs for blood pressure control among Asian Americans.

Hypertension increases with age and tends to reflect genetic influences. Environmental contributors of hypertension include high salt intake, increased alcohol consumption, and body weight. Reports from studies in the Asia-Pacific region have revealed that excessive salt consumption, a feature of many traditional cuisines, is an important factor in the rates of hypertension .[42] In general, alcohol consumption raises blood pressure, which in turn increases the risk of hypertension and stroke.

Among Asian Americans, failure to treat or control hypertension is a significant modifiable risk factor for stroke.[43] Nationally, compared to whites, Asians were more likely to have hemorrhage stroke (bleeding within the brain); in contrast Asians have lower rates of stroke from carotid artery disease. In addition,

mortality rates from hemorrhagic stroke were higher in Asians than whites, and tended to occur at younger ages.[44] A 2000 study of Chinese immigrants in New York City found that stroke patients were more likely to have high blood pressure, to be current smokers, to have decreased their exercise activity, and consumed more salt and sugar after immigration compared with Chinese immigrants who had not suffered a stroke.[45]

Hypercholesterolemia, a major risk factor for heart disease, generally refers to high serum cholesterol (> 240 mg/dl). Metabolic syndrome, on the other hand, defines a group of risk factors such as abdominal obesity, high blood levels of triglycerides, insulin resistance, and elevated blood pressure, which in combination increases risk of atherosclerosis. Genetic predisposition, excessive central obesity, diet high in fat, and lack of physical activity are important contributors to increased risk for dyslipidemia and metabolic syndrome.[46] Dyslipidemia results from the interactions between a genetic predisposition coupled with environmental factors (e.g., diet and sedentary lifestyle).

Information on Asian Americans and these risk factors is extremely limited. Research suggests that longer years lived in the United States coupled with a diet high in animal fat, a sedentary lifestyle, and obesity results in high levels of cholesterol.[47] South Asians, in particular, have a higher prevalence of metabolic syndrome and dyslipidemia. A study of obesity and metabolic syndrome among South Asians in California reported the rate of metabolic syndrome to be 34 percent.[48]

HEALTH SYSTEM FACTORS

A fundamental disconnect may exist between the U.S. health care system and the health service requirements of Asian Americans, particularly those who are foreign-born. Health system factors that have important implications for cardiovascular health care for Asian Americans include provision of accessible and appropriate health care accompanied by culturally tailored health education programs.

A striking example of health system factors influencing cardiovascular health is awareness, treatment and control of the disease. California statewide hypertension study reported that Filipinos had the highest rate of awareness with regards to their hypertension status (63%) compared with Chinese (46%) and Japanese (57%) samples.[49] Among those treated for hypertension, however, Filipinos were found to have the lowest blood pressure control rate (16%) compared to Chinese (37%) and Japanese (30%). A recent study of Filipino Americans with hypertension reported that participants had difficulties maintaining required lifestyle changes and adhering to medication regimens in order to achieve blood pressure control.[50] These studies demonstrate that knowledge and awareness of cardiovascular disease risk factors, having access to health insurance, and being treated with medications are not sufficient for achieving an optimal cardiovascular health outcome.

Hmong Americans, in general, have low compliance to medication regimens. In a 2005 study of Hmong Americans on hypertensive medications, almost all

reported having some form of health insurance coverage, but more than half reported low adherence with hypertension care, such as medication adherence and keeping appointments.[51] Another study that examined Hmong Americans in 1991 found that their rates of blood pressure control (27%) were worse than those of blacks (48%) and whites (55%) with treated hypertension.[52] Problems associated with understanding disease processes, comprehending medical instructions, articulating health concerns to medical staff, navigating medical system, a high prevalence of psychological distress, and discriminations in health care settings were important barriers that prevented Hmong Americans and many other Asian Americans groups with hypertension from achieving effective blood pressure management.[53]

OUTLOOK

According to public health researchers, improving cardiovascular health of Asian American populations requires that the health care system respond appropriately and competently with culturally responsive health education and outreach programs, including accessible health services for diagnosis and treatment.[54] Researchers highlight the critical need for a better understanding of issues related to adherence, particularly in managing blood pressure control, to prevent the devastating effects of heart disease and stroke. An understanding of the biological, psychosocial, and cultural processes that influence cardiovascular disease risk factors in this ethnic group is seen as crucial in designing cardiovascular health programs and interventions. Public health researchers have also realized that information on different Asian subgroups is still lacking. Today, advocates, practitioners, and researchers continually advocate for the gathering of ethnic-specific data to address the cardiovascular health disparities that still affect various subgroups of Asians in America.

FURTHER READING

American Heart Association (AHA). http://www.americanheart.org. Cardiovascular health information in Chinese and Vietnamese.

Chen, Jyu-LinL, and Yuaner, Wu Y. "Cardiovascular Risk Factors in Chinese American Children: Associations between Overweight, Acculturation, and Physical Activity." *Journal of Pediatric Health Care* 22, no. 2 (2008): 103–110.

Hong, B., C. Wong, C, C. Kao, I., Tekawa, I, and I. Yen, I., "Asian American and Pacific Islander Cardiovascular Health Status: What do the data tell us?" Asian American And Pacific Islander Workshops Summary Report on Cardiovascular Health. National Institutes of Health. National Heart, Lung, and Blood Institute. Office of Prevention, Education, and Control. NIH Publication No. 00-3793, March 2000.

National Heart, Lung and Blood Institutes, *Addressing cardiovascular health in Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders.* Washington DC: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2000.

President's Advisory Commission on Asian Americans and Pacific Islander. Report to the President and the Nation. Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders Addressing Health Disparities: Opportunities for Building a Healthier America, 2003.

NOTES

1. D. L. Hoyart and H. C. Kung, "Asian or Pacific Islander Mortality, Selected States, 1992," *Monthly Vital Statistics Report* 43, no.1, Supplement. Final Data from the Center for Disease Control and Prevention/National Center for Health Statistics. Hyattsville, MD (Aug. 14, 1997).

2. Mai N. Nguyen-Huynh and S. Claiborne Johnson, "Regional Variation in Hospitalization for Stroke among Asians/Pacific Islanders in the United States: A Nationwide Retrospective Cohort Study," *BMC Neurology* 5 (2005): 21. http://www.biomedcentral.com/1471-2377/5/21.

3. Arthur L. Klatsky and Irene Tekawa, "Health Problems and Hospitalizations among Asian American Ethnic Groups," *Ethnicity & Disease* 15, no. 4 (2005): 753–760.

4. World Health Organization, Obesity: Preventing and Managing the Global Epidemic, Report of a WHO Consultation on Obesity. Geneva 3-5 June, 1997. (Geneva: World Health Organization, 1998).

5. Department of Health and Human Services, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, National Center for Chronic Disease Prevention and Health Promotion, Office on Smoking and Health. "Tobacco use among U.S. racial/ethnic minority groups—African Americans, American Indians and Alaska Natives, Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders and Hispanics: A Report of the Surgeon General," (Atlanta, GA: Centers for Disease Control and Prevention; 1998); W. P. Castelli et al., "Incidence of Coronary Heart Disease and Lipoprotein Cholesterol Levels: The Framingham Study," *Journal of the American Medical Association* 256 (1986): 2835–3288; W. B. Kannel et al., "Fibrinogen and Risk of Cardiovascular Disease: The Framingham Study," *Journal of the American Medical Association* 258 (1987): 1183–1186.

6. X. Chen et al., "Patterns of Cigarette Smoking among Asian American Adults in California," Paper presented at the TRDRP Annual Investigators Meeting, December 1998, Los Angeles, CA; M. M. Lee. "Smoking and Passive Smoking Patterns in Chinese Americans," Report submitted to Tobacco-Related Disease Research Program, State of California (1994).

7. P. M. Barnes, P. F. Adams, and E. Powell-Griner, "Health Characteristics of the Asian Adult Population: United States, 2004-2006," *Division of Health Statistics, Advance Data from Vital and Health Statistics* 394 (Jan. 22, 2008).

8. G. X. Ma et al., "Prevalence and Predictors of Tobacco Use among Asian Americans in the Delaware Valley Region," *American Journal of Public Health* 92 (2002): 1013–1020.

9. N. L. Chan et al., "Smoking Prevalence, Knowledge and Attitudes among a Population of Vietnamese American Men," *Nicotine & Tobacco Research* 9, no. 3 Supplement (November 2007): S475–84; M. M. Ratiman, et al., "Prevalence and Predictors of Smoking Behaviors among Vietnamese Men Living in California," *Nicotine & Tobacco Research* 7, no.1 (February 2005): 103–109.

10. Robert H. Friis et al., "Sociocultural Determinants of Tobacco Use among Cambodian Americans," *Health Education Research* 21 (2006): 355–365.

11. D. Burns and J. P. Pierce. *Tobacco Use in California 1990–1991* (Sacramento: California Department of Health Services, 1992).

12. K. Carr, M. Beers, T. Kassebaum, and M. S. Chen. "California Chinese American Tobacco Use Survey 2004." Sacramento, CA: California Department of Health Services, 2005.

13. P. Timothy Gill, "Cardiovascular Risk in the Asia-Pacific Region from a Nutrition and Metabolic Point of View: Abdominal Obesity," *Asia Pacific Journal of Clinical Nutrition* 10, no. 2 (2001): 97–102.

14. M. S. Chen Jr. et al., "Promoting Heart Health for Southeast Asians: A Database for Planning Interventions," *Public Health Reports* 106 (1991): 304–309.

15. I. Hajjar and T. Kotchen, "Regional Variations of Blood Pressure in the US Are Associated with Regional Variations in Dietary Intakes: The NHANES III Data," *Archives of Internal Medicine* 133 (2003): 211–214.

16. M. J. Kim et al., "Dietary Acculturation and Diet Quality of Hypertensive Korean Americans," *Journal of Advanced Nursing* 58, no. 5 (2007): 436–445.

17. J. H. Hankin et al., "Epidemiology of Diet-Related Diseases in the Japanese Migrant Population in Hawaii," *Proceedings of the Nutrition Society of Australia.* 8 (1983): 22–40.

18. M. Story and L. J. Harris, "Food Habits and Dietary Change of Southeast Asian Refugee Families Living in the United States," *Journal of the American Dietetic Association* 89 (1989): 800–803.

19. Jennifer B. Unger et al., "Acculturation, Physical Activity, and Fast-Food Consumption among Asian-American and Hispanic Adolescents," *Journal of Community Health* 29, no. 5 (2004): 467–481.

20. K. Lee, J. Sobal, and E. A. Frangillo, "Acculturation and Health in Korean Americans," *Social Science Medicine* 51 (2000): 159–173.

21. Felicitas A. Dela Cruz and Carmen B. Galag, "The Illness Beliefs, Perceptions, and Practices of Filipinos Americans with Hypertension," *American Academy of Nurse Practitioners* 20 (2008): 118–127.

22. Center for Disease Control and Prevention, "Physical Activity among Asians and Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islanders—50 States and the District of Columbia 2001–3," *Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report* 53 (2004): 756–760.

23. Center for Disease Control and Prevention, "Behavioral Risk Factor Survey of Vietnamese: California, 1991," *Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report* 41 (1992): 69–72.

24. Health Promotion and Education Office, *Hawaii's Health Risk Behaviors*, 1987. (Honolulu: Hawaii State Department of Health, 1988).

25. Vicky M. Taylor et al., "Heart Disease Prevention among Chinese Immigrants," *Journal of Community Health* 32, no. 5 (2007): 299–310.

26. Mita Sanghavi Goel et al., "Obesity among US Immigrants Subgroups by Duration of Residence," *Journal of the American Medical Association* 292 (2004): 2860–2867.

27. lvin B. Heyman, Eric Vittinghoff, and Robert Lustig, "Pilot Study of an Individually Tailored Educational Program by Mail to Promote Healthy Weight in Chinese-American Children," *Journal for Specialists in Pediatric Nursing* 13, no. 3 (2008): 212–222.

28. Patricia B. Crawford et al., "Ethnic Issues in the Epidemiology of Childhood Obesity," *Pediatric Clinics of North America* 48, no. 4 (2001): 855–878.

29. R. Tarantino, "Addressing Childhood and Adolescent Overweight," Paper presented at the NICOS meeting of the Chinese Health Coalition, San Francisco, September 2002.

30. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. Childhood Obesity, 2007; Jyu-Lin Chen and Yuaner Wu, "Cardiovascular Risk Factors in Chinese American Children:

Associations Between Overweight, Acculturation, and Physical Activity," *Journal of Pediatric Health Care* 22, no. 2 (2008): 103–10; Karen C. Swallen et al., "Overweight, Obesity, and Health-Related Quality of Life among Adolescents: the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health," *Pediatrics* 115, no. 2 (2005): 340–347.

31. T. Reinehr and W. Andler, "Changes in the Atherogenic Risk Factor Profile According to Degree of Weight Loss," *Archives of Disease in Childhood* 89 no. 5 (2004): 419–422.

32. David S. Krantz and Melissa K. McCeney, "Effects of Psychological and Social Factors on Organic Disease: A Critical Assessment of Research on Coronary Heart Disease," *Annual Review of Psychology* 53 (2002): 341–369; Alan Rozanski, James A. Blumenthal, and Jay Kaplan, "Impact of Psychological Factors on the Pathogenesis of Cardiovascular Disease and Implications for Therapy," *Circulation* 99 (1999): 2192–2217.

33. Thomas W. Kamarck and J. Richard Jennings, "Biobehavioral Factors in Sudden Death," *Psychological Bulletin* 109, no. 1 (1991): 42–75.

34. Ingrid Connerney, Peter A. Shapiro, Joseph S. McLaughlin, et al., "Relation between Depression after Coronary Artery Bypass Surgery and 12-Month Outcome: A Prospective Study," *Lancet* 358, no. 9295 (2001): 1766–1771.

35. Joseph. A. Westermeyer, Allan Callies, and John Neider, "Welfare Status and Psychosocial Adjustment among 100 Hmong Refugees," *Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease* 178 (1990): 300–306; David T. Takeuchi et al., "Immigration-Related Factors and Mental Disorders among Asian Americans," *American Journal of Public Health* 97 (2007): 84–90.

36. Janice Y. Tsoh et al., "Smoking and Depression in Chinese Americans," *The American Journal of the Medical Sciences* 326, no. 4 (2003): 187–191.

37. C. C. Wong et al., "Adherence with Hypertension Care among Hmong Americans" *Journal of Community Health Nursing* 22 (2005): 143–156.

38. National Heart, Lung and Blood Institute, *The Seventh Report of the Joint National Committee on Detection, Evaluation, and Treatment of High Blood Pressure* (Washington, DC: NIH, 2003).

39. A. L. Klatsky, and M. A. Armstrong, "Cardiovascular Risk Factor among Asian Americans Living in Northern California," *American Journal of Public Health* 81 (1991): 1423–1428.

40. G. R. Stavig, A. Igra, and A. R. Leonard, "Hypertension among Asians and Pacific Islanders in California," *American Journal of Epidemiology* 119 (1984): 677–691.

41. Hae-Ra Han et al., "Knowledge, Beliefs, and Behaviors about Hypertension Control among Middle-Aged Korean Americans with Hypertension," *Journal of Community Health* 32, no. 5 (2007): 324–342; K. Lee, J. Sobal, and E. A. Frangillo, "Acculturation and Health in Korean Americans." *Social Science Medicine* 51 (2000): 159–173.

42. Z. Yu et al., "Changes in Blood Pressure, Body Mass Index and Salt Consumption in Chinese Populations," *International Journal of Cardiology* 52 (1995): 39–44; T. Hashimoto, "Urinary Sodium and Potassium Excretion, Body Mass Index, Alcohol Intake and Blood Pressure in Three Japanese Populations," *Journal Human Hypertension* 3 (1989): 315–321; M. Kawamura et al., "Relation of Urinary Sodium Excretion to Blood Pressure, Glucose Metabolism, and Lipid Metabolism in Residents of an Area of Japan with High Sodium Intake," *Hypertension Research* 20 (1997): 287–293.

43. Lin-Feng Zhang et al., “Proportions of Different Subtypes of Stroke in China,” *Stroke*, Published online August 2003, http://stroke.ahajournals.org/cgi/content/full/34/9/2091.

44. D. Woo, L. R. Sauerbeck, B. M. Kissela, et al., “Genetic and Environmental Risk Factors for Intracerebral Hemorrhagic Stroke: Preliminary Results of a Population-Based Study,” *Stroke* 33 (2002): 1190–1196.

45. S. H. Foo, J. Jeng, J. Fang, R. K. Yip, and S. Lau, “Sociodemographic and Vascular Risk Factors Among Stroke Patients of Chinese Origin at New York University Downtown Hospital,” *Tenth Conference on Health Problems Related to the Chinese in North America,* San Francisco, CA, June 30, 2000.

46. E.S. Ford, W.H. Giles, and W.H. Dietz. “Prevalence of the Metabolic Syndrome among US Adults,” *Journal of the American Medical Association* 287 (2002): 356–359.

47. A. L. Klatsky and M. A. Armstrong, “Cardiovascular Risk Factor among Asian Americans Living in Northern California,” *American Journal of Public Health* 81 (1991): 1423–1428.

48. Kiran B. Misra, Sarah W. Endemann, and Mandeep Ayer, “Measures of Obesity and Metabolic Syndrome in Indian Americans in Northern California,” *Ethnicity & Disease* 16, no. 2 (2006): 331–337.

49. G. R. Stavig, A. Igra, and A. R. Leonard, “Hypertension among Asian and Pacific Islanders in California,” *American Journal of Epidemiology* 119 (1984): 677–691.

50. Felicitas Dela Cruz and Carmen Galang, “The Illness Beliefs, Perceptions, and Practices of Filipino Americans with Hypertension,” *American Academy of Nurse Practitioners* 20, no. 3 (2008): 118–127.

51. C. C. Wong, L. V. Mouanoutoua, M. J. Chen, K. Gray K, W. Tseng, “Adherence with Hypertension Care among Hmong Americans,” *Journal of Community Health Nursing* 22 (2005): 143–156.

52. V. L. Burt, P. Whelton, E. J. Roccella, C. Brown, J. A. Cutler, M Higgins, M. J. Horan, and D. Labarthe, “Prevalence of Hypertension in Adult US Population: Results of the Third National Health and Nutrition Examination Survey 1988–1991,” *Hypertension* 25 (1991): 305–313.

53. C. C. Wong et al., “Adherence with Hypertension Care”; Dela Cruz and Galang, “The Illness Beliefs, Perceptions, and Practices of Filipino Americans with Hypertension,” *American Academy of Nurse Practitioners* 20, no. 3 (2008): 118–127.

54. U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, “Healthy People 2010: Understanding and Improving Health” (Washington D.C: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2000), http://www.eric.ed.gov/ERICWebPortal/contentdelivery/servlet/ERICServlet?accno=ED443794.

This page intentionally left blank

COMPLEMENTARY AND ALTERNATIVE MEDICINE

Laureen D. Hom and Simona C. Kwon

Close to half of all Asian Americans use health practices outside the Western model of care to enhance and maintain their health and well-being. These practices are often described as complementary and alternative medicines (CAM) and can range from individual practices and procedures, such as herbal supplements and acupuncture, to complete systems of care that date back to antiquity, such as traditional Chinese medicine. The growing rate of CAM use in the general U.S. population, coupled with its relation to the socioeconomic and cultural characteristics of Asian Americans, make CAM a significant issue affecting the current state of Asian American health.

The National Center of Complementary and Alternative Medicine (NCCAM), the central resource for CAM information in the United States, has officially defined CAM as "a group of diverse medical and health care systems, practices, and products that are not presently considered to be part of conventional medicine."[1] Specifically, *complementary* medicine is defined as medicine that is used *together with* conventional medicine, while *alternative* medicine is used *in place of* conventional medicine. The types of CAM treatments are broadly grouped into four categories: mind-body medicine, biologically based therapies, manipulative and body-based practices, and energy medicine. Definitions and examples of the different CAM treatments are listed in Table 1.

Whole medical systems that incorporate different types of CAM treatments also exist. These systems, such as traditional Chinese medicine, which promotes the balance of the body's energy, and Ayurveda, or traditional Indian medicine, which promotes the integration of body and mind, are considered

Table 1. Types of CAM Treatments

CAM Treatment	Definition	Examples
Mind-Body Medicine	Techniques that enhance and strengthen the mind	Meditation, prayer, mental healing, art therapy
Biologically Based Practices	Substances found in nature	Herbal medicine, dietary supplements, animal body parts
Manipulative and Body-Based Practices	Manipulation and movement of body parts	Massage, reflexology, osteopathic manipulation
Energy Medicine	Manipulation of energy fields that directly affect the body	Qi gong, reiki, therapeutic/ healing touch

complementary or alternative, as they do not conform to the existing conventional medical system.

Compared to any other racial/ethnic groups, Asian American adults reported high use of CAM. Asian Americans are nearly thirteen times more likely to use acupuncture compared with white Americans.[2] Asian Americans are almost three times more likely to use herbal medicines than whites. Significant differences also exist in CAM use among Asian ethnic subgroups. Chinese Americans have the highest rate of CAM use in general (86%), compared with South Asians, who reported the lowest rate of use (67%).[3] Among limited English proficient Chinese and Vietnamese patients, more than half of Mandarin- and Cantonese-speaking Chinese immigrants, and majority of Vietnamese-speaking respondents use CAM.[4]

Furthermore, Asian Americans are more likely to use CAM practices integral to their traditional ethnic medical system than practices that fall outside of their cultural practices and beliefs. Chinese Americans are more likely to engage in biologically based therapies associated with traditional Chinese medicine, specifically the use of herbs and animal body parts, compared with Filipinos and Asian Indians.[5] Other studies that examine CAM use among Chinese have reinforced that traditional Chinese medicine practices are commonly used. Ninety-eight percent of Chinese patients at two San Francisco-based community health centers reported use of traditional Chinese medicine to help alleviate respiratory and gastrointestinal symptoms.[6] Another study indicates that Chinese respondents are more likely to use herbal remedies and acupuncture, while Vietnamese respondents are more likely to use ethnic-specific therapies such as coining, massage, and cupping.[7] Another study reports that South Asians report the highest usage rates for mind-body therapies associated with Ayurveda, such as imagery, meditation, hypnosis, and biofeedback, compared to Filipinos and Chinese.[8] A quarter of elderly Koreans in metropolitan

Baltimore, MD, reported using a combination of Western and traditional Korean herbal medicines.[9] Filipinos, a group that is predominantly Catholic, also report the highest use of prayer as a complementary health practice (16% compared to 8% for all Asians).[10]

REASONS FOR CAM USE

Most Asian Americans tend to use CAM therapies along with conventional medical practices to achieve a more holistic approach to health care. In many cases, CAM treatments are used to manage chronic conditions, such as using acupuncture for asthma and arthritis, and to improve the overall quality of life, such as using meditation for stress and fatigue. Conventional medical practices, on the other hand, are used to treat more acute and critical maladies.[11] While these may be the remedial reasons for using CAM, the underlying socioeconomic and cultural factors that influence CAM use among Asian Americans are far more complex.

As many Asian Americans are of recent immigrant status, it has been generalized that Asian Americans are more inclined to use CAM because of familiarity and accessibility of traditional ethnic medicine systems, such as traditional Chinese medicine in the Chinese community and Ayurvedic medicine in the Indian community. Overall, studies looking at acculturation, which is often measured by English language proficiency and length of residency in the United States have reported mixed results as it relates to CAM use among Asian Americans. For example, one study determined that Chinese and Vietnamese individuals with limited English proficiency have a high percentage of CAM use.[12] Westernization and acculturated lifestyle in the United States did not influence CAM use among surveyed Chinese and South Asians.[13]

Easier accessibility to CAM compared with accessibility to conventional health care is another possible explanation for high rates of usage among Asian Americans. A report from the U.S. surgeon general attributed higher rates of CAM use to explain the lower rates of health care usage reported by Asian Americans. Asian Americans who face linguistic and cultural barriers to using conventional health care may turn to CAM.[14] Chinese and Vietnamese patients with limited English proficiency who reported poor to fair health status were more likely to report that they have used some type of CAM therapy associated with their traditional ethnic medicine.[15] Access to conventional health care was a major factor that influences CAM usage among Asian Americans.[16]

Health insurance coverage can greatly influence an individual's decision to use CAM as it directly affects the amount of out-of-pocket expenses a person has to pay to receive CAM care. The number of health clinics and medical centers that provide CAM is increasing, but it is still not common. Currently, there are no standardized policies regarding insurance coverage for complementary and alternative medicines. CAM practices, such as chiropractic, acupuncture, and massage therapy, are covered by some insurance companies, but this is often contingent on their regional popularity. Limited insurance coverage can

make CAM an expensive alternative for health care. The high rates of CAM use in the general Asian American community indicate that lack of insurance coverage is most likely not a barrier; however, no formal research has directly analyzed this relationship.

CAVEATS OF THE CURRENT CAM DATASETS

Most of the data on CAM use in Asian Americans are taken from large-scale surveys, which have several limitations, including incorrectly grouping Asian Americans into one group, as well as linguistic and cultural hindrances to data collection. These limitations in collecting health information in the Asian American communities are not unique to studies that focus on CAM use. For example, while definitions for the different types of CAM are set by NCCAM, most studies do not follow the categories, and some do not even distinguish between individual CAM practices. While prayer and other spiritual remedies are not considered one of the main types according to NCCAM, they have been analyzed and included in some studies on CAM. When prayer is included in the analyses, blacks, not Asians, use general CAM the most. Last, personal interpretations about the definition of CAM may underestimate the actual prevalence among Asian Americans. Some Asian Americans may not consider their daily use of herbs or teas to be a CAM practice because it is fully integrated into their everyday lifestyle. The lack of a standardized approach to defining CAM can explain why there is not yet a consensus on both the actual rate of general CAM use and the rates of individual practices among Asian Americans.

FUTURE DIRECTIONS

CAM use in Asian Americans is prevalent, but the current datasets have limitations that may be underreporting the actual rate of CAM use. Data that examines individual Asian subgroups separately indicate that these subgroups use CAM practices at different rates, suggesting a need to understand theories and practices behind their use to address the overall health and well-being of Asian subgroups in a culturally appropriate way.

Public health researchers have suggested that future studies should explore how CAM use is exponentially increasing in each subsequent generation. According to these researchers, efforts to target Asian ethnic subgroups and to expand definitions of CAM use to include Asian-specific CAM practices is also needed in future studies. They have also advocated that at the institutional level, health provider training is needed to raise awareness about CAM use among Asian American patient populations, to improve patient-provider communication, and to ensure the delivery of comprehensive, culturally appropriate care. Because of the insight into understanding how health disparities affect Asian Americans, public health researchers have continually advocated for recognizing CAM as a major source of health care for many Asian Americans in the United States.

FURTHER READING

Alternative Medicine Foundation (AMF) .http://www.amfoundation.org/.

Hsiao, A. F., M. D. Wong, M. S. Goldstein, L. S. Becerra, E. M. Cheng, and N. S. Wenger. "Complementary and Alternative Medicine Use among Asian-American Subgroups: Prevalence, Predictors, and Lack of Relationship to Acculturation and Access to Conventional Health Care." *Journal of Alternative and Complementary Medicine* 12, no. 10 (2006):1003–1010.

Medline Plus: Complementary and Alternative Medicine: http://www.nlm.nih.gov/medlineplus/complementaryandalternativemedicine.html.

Mehta, D. H., R. S. Phillips, R. B. Davis, and E. P. McCarthy. "Use of Complementary and Alternative Therapies by Asian Americans. Results from the National Health Interview Survey." *Journal of General Internal Medicine* 22 no. 6 (2007): 762-767.

Mehta, D. H., and E. P. McCarthy. "Complementary and Alternative Medicine." In *Asian American Communities and Health*, eds. C. Trinh-Shevrin, N. Islam and M. Rey (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2008.

National Institute of Health National Center for Complementary & Alternative Medicine (NCCAM): http://nccam.nih.gov/.

NOTES

1. *What Is CAM?* 2008. U.S. Department of Health & Human Services, National Institutes of Health, National Center for Complementary & Alternative Medicine 2007 (cited July 31 2008). http://nccam.nih.gov/health/whatiscam/.

2. E. R. McKenzie, L. Taylor, B. S. Bloom, D. J. Hufford, and J. C. Johnson, "Ethnic Minority Use of Complementary and Alternative Medicine (CAM): A National Probability Survey of CAM Utilizers" *Journal of Alternative and Complementary Medicine*, 9, no. 4 (2003): 50–56.

3. A. F. Hsiao et al., "Complementary and Alternative Medicine Use among Asian-American Subgroups: Prevalence, Predictors, and Lack of Relationship to Acculturation and Access to Conventional Health Care," *Journal of Alternative and Complementary Medicine* 12, no. 10 (2006): 1003–1010.

4. A. C. Ahn et al., "Complementary and Alternative Medical Therapy Use among Chinese and Vietnamese Americans: Prevalence, Associated Factors, and Effects of Patient-Clinician Communication," *American Journal of Public Health* 96, no. 4 (2006): 647–653.

5. D. H. Mehta, "Use of Complementary and Alternative Therapies by Asian Americans. Results from the National Health Interview Survey," *Journal of General Internal Medicine* 22, no. 6 (2007): 762–767.

6. A. P. Wu, A. Burke, and S. LeBaron, "Use of Traditional Medicine by Immigrant Chinese Patients," *Family Medicine* 39 (2007): 195–200.

7. A. C. Ahn et al., "Complementary and Alternative Medical Therapy," 647–53.

8. A. F. Hsiao et al., "Complementary and Alternative Medicine," 1003–1010.

9. M. Kim et al., "The Use of Traditional and Western Medicine among Korean American Elderly," *Journal of Community Health* 27 (2002): 109–120.

10. A. F. Hsiao et al., "Complementary and Alternative Medicine," 1003–1010.

11. G. X. Ma, "Between Two Worlds: The Use of Traditional and Western Health Services by Chinese Immigrants," *Journal of Community Health* 24, no. 6 (1999):

421–37; Q. Ngo-Metzger, et al., "Linguistic and Cultural Barriers to Care," *Journal of General Internal Medicine* 18, no. 1 (2003): 44–52.

12. A. C. Ahn et al., "Complementary and Alternative Medical Therapy," 647–653.

13. A. F. Hsiao et al., "Complementary and Alternative Medicine," 1003–1010.

14. *Mental Health: Culture, Race, and Ethnicity: A Supplement to Mental Health: A Report of the Surgeon General.* (U.S.P.H.S. Department of Health & Human Services, 2001).

15. A. C. Ahn et al., "Complementary and Alternative Medical Therapy," 647–653.

16. A. F. Hsiao et al., "Complementary and Alternative Medicine," 1003–1010.

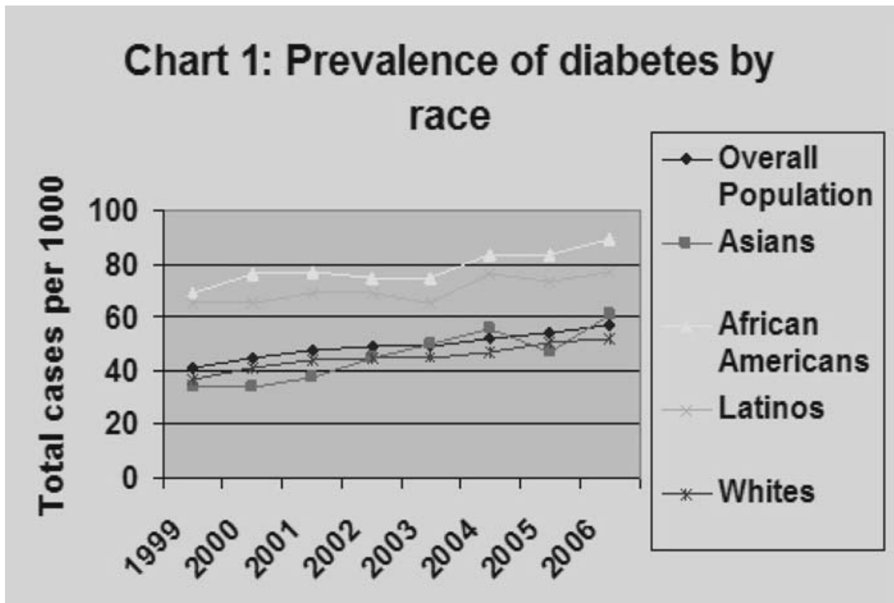
DIABETES

Ranjita Misra and Joan Jeung

Diabetes is a serious and chronic disease that is associated with long-term complications that may affect a person's quality of life. Overall, diabetes incidence and prevalence rates have been increasing for all racial groups in the United States. Compared with whites and the general U.S. population, Asian Americans in the United States have had a consistently higher rates of new cases of diabetes (termed as incidence rate that arise during a specific period of time) over the last decade, with 9.5 new cases of diabetes per 1,000 Asian Americans in 2006, compared with 7.6 new cases per 1,000 in the general population. Likewise, prevalence rates for diabetes (defined as the total number of cases with diabetes) have also increased for Asians during the past decade and have overtaken those of whites and the general U.S. population (Figure 1). While diabetes was less prevalent among Asian Americans compared with the general population in 1999 (at 34 per 1000 vs. 41 per 1000 respectively), 2006 prevalence figures show that diabetes has become more prevalent among Asian Americans (61 per 1000) than in the general population (57 per 1000). Thus by 2006, both the incidence and prevalence of diabetes in the Asian American community have escalated beyond the rates of the U.S. population at large.

While the overall risk for diabetes is now higher among Asian Americans than in the general population, important subgroup differences exist within the larger Asian American community. Asian Americans have approximately 50 subgroups. Some of the Asian subgroups, (e.g., Filipino, multiple-race Asians, and South Asians) have been reported to have significantly higher rates of diabetes (generally more than 10%) and diabetes-related mortality than Caucasians and other ethnic groups in the United Kingdom, Canada, Singapore, and South Africa.[1] Despite limited population-based studies in the United States

Figure 1. Prevalence of Diabetes by Race (Age Adjusted per 1,000 Standard Population)



Source: Centers for Disease Control, Healthy People 2010 Database (http://wonder.cdc.gov/).

representative of the different subgroups, adjusted prevalence of diabetes is higher among Asian Americans than the general U.S. population;[2] gestational diabetes (defined as a condition in which women without previously diagnosed diabetes exhibit high blood glucose levels during pregnancy) was higher in South and Central Asian pregnant women (included women from Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Ceylon, India, Kashmir, Kazakhstan, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan or women who reported being of Hindu or Sikh ancestry) in New York City.[3] Self-reported prevalence of diabetes, however, is lower as compared to other ethnic groups, suggesting a higher rate of undiagnosed diabetes in this group.[4]

The risk factors—or variables or conditions that increases one's risk for developing a disease—for type 2 diabetes (adult onset) includes age, obesity, body fat distribution, physical inactivity, family history of diabetes, previous gestation diabetes, being a member of a minority group, elevated fasting glucose levels, impaired glucose tolerance, and insulin resistance. These risk factors have not been systematically assessed in migrant Asian Americans, nor have changes in these factors as migrant Asian Americans acculturate to Western society received attention. Current national surveys are incapable of assessing risk factors and disease prevalence in specific Asian subpopulations because multiple ethnic groups are aggregated into the general category of

"Asian and Pacific Islander," and because sample sizes of individual Asian subgroups are small.

INSULIN RESISTANCE AND DIABETES

The pancreas of a person with type 2 diabetes makes insulin, but the body does not use the insulin properly—this is called *insulin resistance*. There are several factors that contribute to insulin resistance, including genes, excess weight, and the lack of exercise. Often individuals with insulin resistance and high blood glucose also experience high blood pressure, excess weight around the waist, and high levels of bad cholesterol (LDL) and triglycerides—all of which affect the heart. These different factors contribute to metabolic syndrome, or the insulin resistance syndrome (formerly called Syndrome X). Metabolic syndrome is defined as a clustering of risk factors, with the presence of three or more of the following: abdominal obesity, low levels of HDL, high levels of serum triglyceride, high blood pressure, and high blood glucose levels. Presence of insulin resistance and metabolic syndrome indicate high risk for diabetes and cardiovascular disease.

HIGHER RISK AT LOWER BODY MASS INDEX

Many studies suggest that "healthy" adult Asian Americans have abnormal body composition, characterized by an excessive percentage of total body fat and abdominal fat. This body composition defect may partially explain the occurrence of some of the risk factors.[5] Other abnormalities include higher fat in the abdomen area and around the buttocks.[6] Further, Asian Americans have smaller waist circumferences but comparable ratios of waist-to-hip circumference compared to Caucasians.[7] Such abnormalities may contribute to the development of insulin resistance and high levels of blood cholesterol and/or triglyceride levels (sometimes referred to as dyslipidemia). Hence in 2000, the World Health Organization Western Pacific Region (WHO-WPR) and the International Association for the Study of Obesity and International Obesity Task Force jointly recommended a revised cutoff of body mass index (a ratio of weight to height) 23 kg/m^2 and 25 kg/m^2 for redefining overweight and obesity, respectively, in Asian populations.[8] First-generation Asian Americans tend to have lower body mass when compared to other ethnic groups. As a result, many Asian Americans are not routinely screened for diabetes during a doctor's visit, even though some subgroups have higher prevalence of type 2 diabetes than the general population. However, second-generation Asian Americans have higher body mass and a greater risk of developing type 2 diabetes at a younger age.[9] For example, Japanese Americans are twice as likely to develop type 2 diabetes compared with non-Hispanic whites even though they are less obese.[10]

The average BMI in Asian Americans is lower than in whites, Mexican Americans and African Americans.[11] BMI increases, however, as individuals become affluent and Westernized. For example, among several Asian subgroups, being born in the United States is associated with having a higher

BMI.[12] Further, a high prevalence of abdominal obesity is a risk factor and is characteristic of South Asians.[13] Importantly, increased abdominal adiposity has been reported in those with BMI < 25 kg/m^2.[14] Although the average waist circumference in some Asian subgroups appears to be lower than in Caucasians, abdominal adiposity is significantly greater among the former group.[15] However, the impact of a "Westernized" lifestyle, physical inactivity, information on chronic diseases, and access to health care upon the body fat patterning of Asian Americans has not been investigated.

ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS, ACCULTURATION, AND CHANGES IN LIFESTYLE

Important cultural factors affecting diabetes risk include ethnic customs and cultural and health beliefs that influence dietary intake and physical activity. Environmental factors that influence the incidence and complications of diabetes include socioeconomic status (assessed by income and educational level of individuals) and health care access and usage. Socioeconomic status plays a decisive role in an individual's access to open spaces, sports equipment, and health clubs. This fact is supported by research indicating that low-income populations across all age groups suffer from higher rates of disease and deaths because of diabetes and cardiovascular disease.[16] An individual's degree of acculturation influences dietary intake and usage of health care.[17] Immigrants who have lived in the United States longer and with higher degrees of acculturation (defined as adoption of behavior and assimilation into the host culture) may have different lifestyles than those who report fewer years of residence or lesser degrees of acculturation.[18] For example, second-generation and acculturated Asian Americans have higher body mass mostly because of their Western lifestyle. As Asian Americans adapt to the American culture, dietary changes (referred to as the Americanization of the traditional Asian diet) occur, with increased fat, saturated fat and protein and fewer grains and vegetables that affect the risk of developing chronic diseases such as type 2 diabetes and cardiovascular disease among other conditions.[19] These dietary changes have been noted among Korean Americans and Japanese Americans with immigration to the United States.[20] Use of the Diabetes Food Pyramid can help individuals with diabetes; however, many of the Asian Americans eat rice, and an overconsumption of white rice can have an effect on their blood sugar levels. Rice is high on the glycemic index (that measures the effect of carbohydrates on blood glucose levels) and causes a rapid spike and then a drop in blood glucose. High-fiber foods tend to be lower on the glycemic index and hence have a more gradual effect on blood glucose. Vegetables are good source of fiber, and health experts recommend that they be consumed on a regular basis.

Food habits are changing among Asian Americans, particularly among adolescents, because of the attractive and aggressive advertisement campaigns of the fast-food industry, low cost, and peer pressure to "fit in."[21] The changes include consuming fast foods, such as hamburgers and pizza, and increasing

dietary fat, calories, and salt.[22] Each of these practices results in a less-than-adequate intake of foods of appropriate nutritional value.[23] Furthermore, adolescents also show a preference for sedentary activities, such as watching TV and playing video games.[24] Activity profiles of individuals also vary based on socioeconomic status, neighborhood, and years of residence in the United States. Families who are less acculturated might be more likely to live in low-income neighborhoods, where safe areas for physical activity are not available, fast-food restaurants are more prevalent, and healthy foods are less easily available.[25] While some have become more aware of the benefits of physical activity and exercise, physical inactivity is still more common among Asian American immigrants than other ethnic groups.[26] Increased years in the United States tend to increase the risk for obesity-related behaviors among Asian Americans. [27]

Among lifestyle factors, physical activity, alcohol, and tobacco use are important determinants of an adverse metabolic profile.[28] Smoking is highly prevalent in some subgroups, especially the Filipino, Japanese, and multiple-race Asians at an earlier age.[29] Activity levels of most immigrant Asians are less as compared to their white peers.[30] Sedentary lifestyle is a critical factor for the development of insulin resistance and excess cardiovascular risk in South Asians, but one that has been sparsely investigated. Obesity is also linked to diet and physical activity. The genetic predisposition of some Asian subgroups (e.g., South Asians), coupled with physical inactivity, abdominal obesity, and lifestyle changes, can lead to early onset of chronic diseases.

OUTLOOK

Asian Americans in general are considered the "model minority," a myth that is debunked in this discussion. With current national studies incapable of assessing prevalence and risk factors for Asian subgroups, national (epidemiological) studies on Asian Americans is vital to eliminating health disparities, as well as quantifying the incidence/prevalence rates and understanding the risk factors and disease mechanisms in this group. With their high growth rate and disproportionately high risk of diabetes in some Asian subgroups, researchers and clinicians have advocated for more baseline data to develop culturally competent interventions, with a desire to reduce the burden of diabetes and improve quality of life.

There are many programs (clinic- and community-based) to help individuals prevent early onset and/or help in better self-management. The Diabetes Prevention Program and the UK Prospective Diabetes Study have shown that lifestyle intervention is the most cost-effective strategy to prevent or manage type 2 diabetes. The National Diabetes Education Program (NDEP) provides patient education materials and diabetes education resources in several Asian languages (Cambodian, Chamorro, Chinese, Gujarati, Hindi, Hmong, Korean, Japanese, Laotian, Samoan, Tagalog, Thai, Tongan, and Vietnamese) that can be downloaded for free at http://www.ndep.nih.gov/diabetes/prev/prevention.htm.

NDEP provides information on steps to control diabetes for life. According to clinicians and researchers, self-management is the key to stay healthy and requires that an individual use a diabetes meal plan, eat healthy food (more fiber and less fat, sugar, and salt), maintain a healthy weight, learn to cope with stress, do not smoke, take medications, check blood glucose and blood pressure regularly, and report changes to eyesight and sores in the feet and mouth to a health-care professional. For Asian Americans with diabetes, public health researchers and clinicians are continuing to identify and work on the barriers and challenges, including cultural and language barriers, to managing and controlling diabetes and improving quality of care for this diverse community.

FURTHER READING

American Diabetes Association: http://www.diabetes.org.

Asian American Diabetes Initiative: http://aadi.joslin.harvard.edu/.

Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, "National Diabetes Statistics Fact Sheet: General Information and National Estimates on Diabetes in the United States, 2003," rev. ed. Atlanta, GA: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2004. www.cdc.gov/diabetes/pubs/factsheets.htm.

National Diabetes Education Program: http://www.ndep.nih.gov/.

National Institutes of Health. Diabetes in Asian and Pacific Islander Americans. *Diabetes Prevention and Management.* NIH Publication No. 02-4667. http://diabetes.niddk.nih.gov/dm/pubs/asianamerican/index.htm.

National Institutes of Health. "How Do Diabetes Complications Affect Asian and Pacific Islander Americans?" in *Diabetes in Asian and Pacific Islander Americans*. NIH Publication No. 02-4667 (2002). http://diabetes.niddk.nih.gov/dm/pubs/asianamerican/index.htm.

NOTES

1. K. L. Ramaiya, V. R. Kodali, and K. G. Alberti, "Epidemiology of Diabetes in Asians of the Indian Subcontinent," *Diabetes/Metabolism Reviews.* 6, no. 3 (1990): 125–146; E. A. Enas et al., "Coronary Heart Disease and Its Risk Factors in First-Generation Immigrant Asian Indians to the United States of America," *Indian Heart Journal* 48, no. 4 (1996): 343–353; M. Aarabi and P. R. Jackson, "Coronary Risk in South Asians: Role of Ethnicity and Blood Sugar," *European Journal of Cardiovascular Prevention and Rehabilitation* 11, no. 5 (2004): 389–393; S. S. Anand et al., "Differences in Risk Factors, Atherosclerosis and Cardiovascular Disease between Ethnic Groups in Canada: The Study of Health Assessment and Risk in Ethnic Groups (SHARE)," *Indian Heart Journal* 52, no. 7 (2000): S35–S43; M. Bajaj and M. A. Banerji, "Type 2 Diabetes in South Asians: A Pathophysiologic Focus on the Asian-Indian Epidemic," *Current Diabetes Reports* 4 no. 3 (2004): 213–18; P. M. McKeigue, H. O. Lithell, and D. A. Leon, "Glucose Tolerance and Resistance to Insulin-Stimulated Glucose Uptake in Men Aged 70 Years in Relation to Size at Birth," *Diabetologia* 41, no. 10 (1998): 1133–1138; N. Ranjith et al., "Lp(a) and apoE Polymorphisms in Young South African Indians with Myocardial Infarction," *Cardiovascular Journal of South Africa* 15, no. 3 (2004): 111–117; S. L. Gomez et al., "Immigration and Acculturation in Relation to Health and Health-Related Risk Factors among Specific Asian Subgroups in a Health Maintenance Organization," *American Journal of Public Health* 94, no. 11 (2004): 1977–1984.

2. S. A. Mohanty et al., "Diabetes and Cardiovascular Disease among Asian Indians in the United States," *Journal of General Internal Medicine* 20, no. 5 (2005): 474–478; R. Venkataraman et al., "Prevalence of Diabetes Mellitus and Related Conditions in Asian Indians Living in the United States," *American Journal of Cardiology* 94, no. 7 (2004): 977–980; M. J. McNeely and E. J. Boyko, "Type 2 Diabetes Prevalence in Asian Americans: Results of a National Health Survey," *Diabetes Care* 27, no. 1 (2007): 66–69.

3. L. E. Thorpe et al., "Trends and Racial/Ethnic Disparities in Gestational Diabetes among Pregnant Women in New York City, 1990–2001," *American Journal of Public Health* 95, no. 9 (2005): 1536–1539.

4. McNeely, "Type 2 Diabetes Prevalence," 66–69.

5. P. Deurenberg, M. Yap and W. A. van Staveren, "Body Mass Index and Percent Body Fat: A Meta Analysis among Different Ethnic Groups," *International Journal of Obesity and Related Metabolic Disorders* 22, no. 12 (1998): 1164–1171; M. Deurenberg-Yap et al., "The Paradox of Low Body Mass Index and High Body Fat Percentage among Chinese, Malays and Indians in Singapore," *Int J Obes Relat Metab Disord* 24, no. 8 (2000): 1011–1017; M. Deurenberg-Yap, et al., "Body Fat Measurement among Singaporean Chinese, Malays and Indians: A Comparative Study Using a Four-Compartment Model and Different Two-Compartment Models," *British Journal of Nutrition* 85, no. 4 (2001): 491–498; M. A. Banerji et al., "Body Composition, Visceral Fat, Leptin, and Insulin Resistance in Asian Indian Men," *Journal of Clinical Endocrinology and Metabolism* 84, no. 1 (1999): 137–44; V. Dudeja et al., "BMI Does Not Accurately Predict Overweight in Asian Indians in Northern India," *British Journal of Nutrition* 86, no. 1 (2001): 105–112; C. S. Yajnik et al., "Adiposity and Hyperinsulinemia in Indians Are Present at Birth," *Journal of Clinical Endocrinology and Metabolism* 87, no. 12 (2002): 5575–5580; A. Misra et al., "Non-Obese Hyperlipidemic Asian Northern Indian Males Have Adverse Anthropometric Profile," *Nutrition, Metabolism, and Cardiovascular Diseases* 12, no. 4 (2002): 178–183; H. G. Lubree et al., "Body Fat and Cardiovascular Risk Factors in Indian Men in Three Geographical Locations," *Food and Nutrition Bulletin* 23, no. 3 Suppl. (2002): 146–49.

6. Banerji et al., "Body Composition, Visceral Fat," 137–144; A. Raji et al., "Body Fat Distribution and Insulin Resistance in Healthy Asian Indians and Caucasians," *Journal of Clinical Endocrinology and Metabolism* 86, no. 11 (2001): 5366–5371; M. Chandalia et al., "Relationship between Generalized and Upper Body Obesity to Insulin Resistance in Asian Indian Men," *Journal of Clinical Endocrinology and Metabolism* 84, no. 7 (1999): 2329–2335.

7. A. Misra, "Impact of Ethnicity on Body Fat Patterning in Asian Indians and Blacks: Relation with Insulin Resistance," *Nutrition* 19, no. 9 (2003): 815–816; A. Misra and N. K. Vikram, "Insulin Resistance and Asian Indians," *Current Science* 83 (2002): 1483–1496.

8. World Health Organization Western Pacific Region, I.A.f.t.S.o.O.a.I.O.T.F., *The Asia-Pacific Perspective: Redefining Obesity and Its Treatment.* 2000: Health Communications Pvt Limited, Melbourne, Australia.

9. W. Hsu and H. Yoon, "Bridging Cultural Competency for Improved Diabetes Care: Asian Americans and Diabetes," *Journal of Family Practice* September supplement (2007): S7–S13.

10. McNeely and Boyko, "Type 2 Diabetes Prevalence," 66–69.

11. Gomez, "*Immigration and Acculturation*," 1977–1984.

12. Gomez, "*Immigration and Acculturation*," 1977–1984.

13. Misra, "*Non-Obese Hyperlipidemic Asian Northern Indian Males*," 178–183; P. M. McKeigue et al., "Relationship of Glucose Intolerance and Hyperinsulinaemia to Body Fat Pattern in South Asians and Europeans," *Diabetologia* 35**,** no. 8 (1992): 785–791; P. M. McKeigue, B. Shah, and M. G. Marmot, "Relation of Central Obesity and Insulin Resistance with High Diabetes Prevalence and Cardiovascular Risk in South Asians," *Lancet* 337, no. 8738 (1991): 382–386; A. Misra and N. K. Vikram, "Insulin Resistance Syndrome (Metabolic Syndrome) and Obesity in Asian Indians: Evidence and Implications*," Nutrition* 20 no. 5 (2004): 482-91; A. Misra et al., "High Prevalence of Diabetes, Obesity and Dyslipidaemia in Urban Slum Population in Northern India," *International Journal of Obesity and Related Metabolic Disorders* 25, no. 11 (2001): 1722–1729; A. Misra et al., "Adverse Profile of Dietary Nutrients, Anthropometry and Lipids in Urban Slum Dwellers of Northern India," *European Journal of Clinical Nutrition* 55, no. 9 (2001): 727–734; A. Misra, "Body Composition and the Metabolic Syndrome in Asian Indians: A Saga of Multiple Adversities," *National Medical Journal of India* 16, no. 1 (2003): 3–7; J. Dhawan et al., "Insulin Resistance, High Prevalence of Diabetes, and Cardiovascular Risk in Immigrant Asians. Genetic or Environmental Effect?" *British Heart Journal* 72, no. 5 (1994): 413–421; K. Hughes et al., "Central Obesity, Insulin Resistance, Syndrome X, Lipoprotein(a), and Cardiovascular Risk in Indians, Malays, and Chinese in Singapore," *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health* 51, no. 4 (1997): 394–99; M. E. Lean et al., "Ethnic Differences in Anthropometric and Lifestyle Measures Related to Coronary Heart Disease Risk between South Asian, Italian and General-Population British Women Living in the West of Scotland," *International Journal of Obesity and Related Metabolic Disorders* 25, no. 12 (2001): 1800–1805; A. Misra and N. K. Vikram, "Clinical and Pathophysiological Consequences of Abdominal Adiposity and Abdominal Adipose Tissue Depots," *Nutrition* 19, no. 5 (2003): 457–466.

14. Misra and Vikram, "Clinical and Pathophysiological Consequences," 457–466; N. K. Vikram et al., "Non-Obese (body mass index < 25 kg/m^2) Asian Indians with Normal Waist Circumference Have High Cardiovascular Risk," *Nutrition* 19, no. 6 (2003): 503–509.

15. M. A. Banerji et al., "Body Composition, Visceral Fat," 137–144; A. Raji et al., "Body Fat Distribution and Insulin Resistance," 5366–5371.

16. J. Sundquist and M. Winkleby, "Country of Birth, Acculturation Status and Abdominal Obesity in a National Sample of Mexican-American Women and Men," *International Journal of Epidemiology* 29, no. 3 (2000): 470–77; J. Sundquist and M. A. Winkleby, "Cardiovascular Risk Factors in Mexican American Adults: A Transcultural Analysis of NHANES III, 1988–1994," *American Journal of Public Health* 89, no. 5 (1999): 723–730.

17. J. Sundquist, M. A. Winkleby, and S. Pudaric, "Cardiovascular Disease Risk Factors among Older Black, Mexican-American, and White Women and Men: An Analysis of NHANES III, 1988–1994. Third National Health and Nutrition Examination Survey," *Journal of the American Geriatrics Society* 49, no. 2 (2001): 109–116; L. B. Dixon, J. Sundquist, and M. Winkleby, "Differences in Energy, Nutrient, and Food Intakes in a US Sample of Mexican-American Women and Men: Findings from the Third National Health and Nutrition Examination Survey, 1988–1994," *American Journal of Epidemiology* 152, no. 6 (2000): 548–557.

18. D.o.H.a.H. Services, *Tobacco Use Among U.S. Racial/Ethnic Minority Groups-African Americans, American Indians and Alaska Natives, Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders, and Hispanics: A Report of the Surgeon General,* 1998; P. Kalra et al., "Knowledge and Practice: The Risk of Cardiovascular Disease among Asian Indians. Results from Focus Groups Conducted in Asian Indian Communities in Northern California," *Ethnicity and Dis*ease 14, no. 4 (2004): 497–504.

19. W. Y. Fujimoto et al., "Type 2 Diabetes and the Metabolic Syndrome in Japanese Americans," *Diabetes Research and Clinical Practice* 50, Supplement 2 (2000): S73–S76; D. E. Crews, *Obesity and Diabetes. In Confronting Critical Health Issues of Asian and Pacific Islanders*, ed. D. Takeuchi, K. N. J. Young, and N. W. S. Zane, eds. (SAGE Publications, 1994), 174–207; E. J. Yang et al., "Chronic Diseases and Dietary Changes in Relation to Korean Americans' Length of Residence in the United States," *Journal of the American Dietetic Association* 107, no. 6 (2007): 942–950.

20. W. Y. Fujimoto et al., "Type 2 Diabetes," S73–S766; E. J. Yang et al., "Chronic Diseases and Dietary Changes," 942–950.

21. C. L. Perry et al., "Adolescent Vegetarians: How Well Do Their Dietary Patterns Meet the Healthy People 2010 Objectives?" *Archives of Pediatrics and Adolescent Medicine* 156, no. 5 (2002): 431–437.

22. J. B. Unger et al., "Acculturation, Physical Activity, and Fast-Food Consumption among Asian-American and Hispanic Adolescents," *Journal of Community Health* 29, no. 6 (2004): 467–481.

23. Y. L. Pan et al., "Asian Students Change Their Eating Patterns after Living in the United States," *Journal of the American Dietetic Association* 99, no. 1 (1999): 54–57; S.R. Hawks, et al., "Intuitive Eating and the Nutrition Transition in Asia," *Asia Pacific Journal of Clinical Nutrition* 13, no. 2 (2004): 194–203; N. Lv and K. L. Cason, "Dietary Pattern Change and Acculturation of Chinese Americans in Pennsylvania," *Journal of the American Dietetic Association* 104, no. 5 (2004): 771–778.

24. J. B. Unger et al., "Acculturation, Physical Activity," 467–481.

25. J. B. Unger et al., "Acculturation, Physical Activity," 467–481.

26. S. A. Mohanty et al., "Diabetes and Cardiovascular Disease," 474–478; D. E. Crews, *Obesity and Diabetes,* 174–207.

27. J. B. Unger et al., "Acculturation, Physical Activity," 467–481.

28. Gomez, "*Immigration and Acculturation*," 1977–1984.

29. Gomez, "*Immigration and Acculturation*," 1977–1984.

30. J. Dhawan and C. L. Bray, "Asian Indians, Coronary Artery Disease, and Physical Exercise," *Heart* 78, no. 6 (1997): 550–554; S. K. Kamath et al., "Cardiovascular Disease Risk Factors in 2 Distinct Ethnic Groups: Indian and Pakistani Compared with American Premenopausal Women," *American Journal of Clinical Nutrition* 69 no. 4 (1999): 621–631; A. Misra, K. Luthra, and N. K. Vikram, "Dyslipidemia in Asian Indians: Determinants and Significance," *Journal of Association of Physicians of India* 52 (2004): 137–142; C. M. Fischbacher, S. Hunt, and L. Alexander, "How Physically Active are South Asians in the United Kingdom? A Literature Review," *Journal of Public Health (Oxf)* 26, no. 3 (2004): 250–258; L. Hayes et al., "Patterns of Physical Activity and Relationship with Risk Markers for Cardiovascular Disease and Diabetes in Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi and European Adults in a UK Population," *Journal of Public Health Medicine* 24, no. 3 (2002): 170–178.

This page intentionally left blank

END OF LIFE

Jennifer Nazareno

The perception of the Asian American population in the United States is that it is generally a young cohort. The reality, however, is that the Asian American population is aging rapidly. The percentage of Asian Americans aged 65 and older had increased 78 percent from 1990.[1] This is because of the aging of the Asian population, as well as an increasing number of elderly Asians immigrating to the United States. The greatest life expectancy (85.8 years) of any other ethnic group in the United States is among Asian American women. Life expectancy does, however, vary among the Asian American subgroups: Filipino (81.5 years), Japanese (84.5 years), and Chinese (86.1 years).[2] Despite the longevity experienced by Asian American women, Asian Americans overall contend with numerous factors that may threaten their health. The three leading causes of death for Asian Americans are, in order of prevalence: all cancers combined; heart disease; and cerebrovascular disease, including stroke.[3] Although the risk of developing one of these diseases increases significantly with age, because of scientific and medical advancements, people are living longer with chronic diseases. Asian Americans, however, have been found to severely underuse formal end-of-life services that can affect quality of life. These factors combined make it imperative that researchers, healthcare professionals, and policy makers attain a better understanding and awareness of the differences and potential barriers to quality end-of-life care and advanced care planning for Asian Americans.

EPIDEMIOLOGY

Hospice services provide end-of-life care through pain control, symptom management, and emotional and spiritual support, with a focus on caring, not curing, and, in most cases, care is provided in the patient's home.[4] Despite the emerging

literature indicating that hospice care can improve symptom management and quality of life at the end of life, recent data indicate that Asian Americans rarely use these services.[5] According to national survey data, an estimated 1.4 million patients received services from hospice in 2007. Patients of minority (nonwhite) race accounted for nearly one out of every five hospice patients. Only 1.6 percent of these patients were Asian, Hawaiian, or Other Pacific Islander. The majority of patients were Caucasian at 81.3 percent. Cancer is currently the leading cause of death among Asian Americans.[6] Recent research studies have focused on hospice usage for those Asian Americans diagnosed with terminal cancer. A study looking at Medicare hospice beneficiaries aged 65 and older found that all the Asian subgroups had lower rates of hospice use than white patients.[7]

Advance directives help facilitate dialogue about critical decisions about prolonging or ceasing aggressive medical treatment during terminal illnesses. These legal documents allow someone to convey his or her decisions about end-of-life care ahead of time to family, friends, and health care professionals.[8] Recent studies on ethnic disparities in advance-care planning and hospice usage confirm national findings, indicating that older Asian Americans are less likely than whites to use hospice services. Asian Americans are also less likely to have an advanced directive in place.[9]

FACTORS INFLUENCING CARE AND PLANNING

Culture fundamentally shapes how individuals make sense of illness, suffering, and dying. These beliefs are central to perceptions of illness and can significantly influence hospice usage within the diverse Asian American populations. As such, understanding how culture affects health care and service usage is essential to efforts to reduce the racial and ethnic disparities in health care outcomes.[10]

To date, few studies have focused on specific Asian American populations and end-of-life care issues as compared with whites and other ethnic groups. Prior research has highlighted the unique ways by which cultural norms influence attitudes, preferences, and important decisions. Although informed consent is a major principle of the U.S. health care system, truth-telling about diagnosis, and especially about the prognosis of potentially fatal illnesses, cannot be assumed to be the norm within and among Asian American populations. Unlike Western cultures in which direct and explicit verbal communication is preferred, more subtle, indirect, and implicit verbal communication is valued in some Asian cultures.[11]

Religious and spiritual beliefs, family structure, and the ways families discuss death are all crucial factors that play a role in the decision-making process around end-of-life care.[12] For many Asian families, decision-making about disease and end-of-life care is not centered on the individual as is the norm in the U.S. medical system, but family-centered in which family members are engaged in and actively make the decisions for the patient. This cultural principle of "filial piety," or the expectation or moral obligation of children to care for

their parents, has been found in several studies to be an important concept prominent in many Asian cultures.[13] For example, a Chinese immigrant family may prefer that the patient not be informed of his or her terminal illness or imminent death, or may prefer that a family member be the one to tell the patient.[14] In addition, family members may want to "protect" the patient from the knowledge of a terminal prognosis in order to prevent despair and maintain hope. A recent study showed Japanese and Japanese Americans prefer nondisclosure of a terminal diagnosis to the patient for the same reasons as well.[15] In many Asian American cultures, medical decision-making is regarded as a duty of the family and it is its responsibility to protect the dying patient from the burden of making difficult decisions.[16]

Furthermore, culture strongly influences views on death and dying. Among some Asian cultures, even speaking of a person's death can be viewed as taboo because it is believed that talking about a death will hasten its occurrence.[17] In a study of Korean immigrant caregivers for their elderly parents, participants indicated that initiating discussions on advanced care planning was extremely challenging because speaking about the possibility of death may be viewed as a desire for the event to happen. The caregivers perceived that asking their parents explicitly about their preferences for end-of-life care will be considered disrespectful and insensitive.[18]

Lack of open and culturally sensitive discussion may mean, however, that the patient's choice for life support or death with dignity is ignored. Furthermore, older patients dying at home without hospice care report higher rates of pain than those who have hospice care.[19] Therefore, some experts believe that health care professionals should work with families to ensure that minority patients are aware and understand all end-of-life care options, including hospice, and how these care options can be delivered in a culturally competent manner.[20]

In general, making treatment decisions at the end of life is a complex process, which is further complicated by the diverse attitudes to the end-of-life issue that exists across and within the Asian American subgroups. Compared to whites, Asian Americans in general have more negative attitudes toward advanced directives.[21] This may be attributed in part to varying cultural beliefs and attitudes found within diverse Asian American groups. Another significant barrier is the lack of appropriate knowledge.

In a recent study on Korean-American older adults and caregivers, the majority of participants had no knowledge of or had misconceptions about end-of-life care.[22] Participants perceived an advanced directive as a will or as a health care legal document that would bind them permanently to a decision on one's own life that could not be reversed. Many had not heard or were unaware of the services that hospice provided. Many believed that hospice care was comparable to a nursing home or home health program.[23] Korean-Americans, as well as other Asian American older adults, experience substantial barriers to gaining information on available end-of-life care services unless information is made easily accessible for them and their families in their primary language.

ACCESS

Medicare is the U.S. government's health insurance program for people aged 65 or older, and the Medicare Hospice Benefit covers the cost of hospice care. In order to qualify for hospice care under Medicare, one must accept that one has a terminal diagnosis.[24] Encouraging a family member, especially an elderly parent, to sign the statement choosing hospice care instead of curative therapies as required by the Medicare's Hospice Benefit, may conflict with one's filial piety duties.[25] Hospice care may be interpreted as "giving up" on the patient since disease-modifying treatments are viewed to be commonly unavailable in hospice. This can result in high levels of emotional distress for family members, who must make that decision.

Also, Medicare requires that a full-time caregiver be present for patient care. This requirement may serve as a deterrent to hospice enrollment for immigrant patients who may not have family members or a family network available, as many relatives may be in the home country. In addition, many immigrant families live in households in which both the husband and wife are required to work and may preclude many immigrant families from taking advantage of these Medicare services.[26]

OUTLOOK

As the population in the United States grows more culturally diverse, encounters between patients and physicians of different backgrounds are becoming more common. With this increasing diversity comes an increase in cross-cultural misunderstandings concerning end-of-life. Barriers to cultural competence can arise when health care professionals lack knowledge of their patients' cultural practices and beliefs, or when the healthcare professionals' beliefs differ from those of their patients.[27] The national organization, the Chinese American Coalition for Compassionate Care (CACCC), was formed to address the lack of linguistically and culturally appropriate information about end of life available to the Chinese immigrant community. The CACCC is the only organization in the nation devoted to end-of-life issues facing Chinese Americans, and in less than two years it has grown to a coalition of more than fifty organizations. The CACCC seeks to encourage culturally sensitive open dialogue about end-of-life issues in communities, give attention to the importance of ensuring that people die with dignity, and respect, as well as enhance, consumer understanding of and participation in end-of-life decision making.[28]

In decreasing the lack of awareness and cultural barriers to hospice usage among Asian Americans, researchers and clinicians have advocated for the following: culturally sensitive hospice models that take into consideration family-centered decision making, culturally and linguistically appropriate education and communication tools on end-of-life services, the implementation of simultaneous curative and hospice services, and professional culturally competent training to assist in decreasing the lack of awareness and cultural barriers to hospice usage for Asian Americans. Despite advocacy on

these issues, deficiencies continue to exist in end-of-life care for Asian American populations.

FURTHER READING

Advance Directives. http://www.cancer.gov/cancertopics/factsheet/support/advance-directives.

Asian Americans Community Services/End of Life Care Project. http://aacsohio.org/Services/CommunityEducation/LinkLearnSupportEndLifeCareProject.

Bruan, K., Pietsch, J. H., Blanchette, P. L., eds. *Cultural Issues in End of Life Decision Making.* Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications 2000.

Chinese American Coalition for Compassionate Care: http://www.caccc-usa.org/.

Fadiman, A. *The Spirit Catches You and You Fall Down: A Hmong Child, Her American Doctors, and the Collision of Two Cultures.* New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1998.

Hospice Foundation. http://www.hospicefoundation.org/.

Medicare Hospice Benefits. http://www.medicare.gov/publications/pubs/pdf/hosplg.pdf.

NOTES

1. U.S. Census Bureau, "The Asian Population: 2000 (Census 2000 Brief)," http://www.census.gov/prod/2002pubs/c2kbr01-16.pdf.
2. U.S. Department of Health & Human Services: The Office of Minority Health. "Asian American/Pacific Islander Profile." http://www.omhrc.gov/templates/browse.aspx?lvl=2&lvlID=53.
3. CDC Office of Minority Health & Health Disparities (OMHD). "Asian American Populations." http://www.cdc.gov/omh/Populations/AsianAm/AsianAm.htm.
4. National Hospice and Palliative Care Organization, "NHPCO's Facts and Figures: Hospice Care in America," 2008, http://www.nhpco.org/files/public/Statistics_Research/NHPCO_facts-and-figures_2008.pdf.
5. G. W. Miller et al., "Delivering Quality Care and Effectiveness at the End of Life," *National Hospice and Palliative Care Organization*, February 2002, http://www.nhpco.org/files/public/delivering_quality_care.pdf; K.A. Wallston et al., "Comparing the Quality of Death for Hospice and Non-Hospice Cancer Patients," *Medical Care* 26, no. 2 (1988): 177–182; National Hospice and Palliative Care Organization, "NHPCO's Facts and Figures: Hospice Care in America," 2008.
6. U.S. Census Bureau, "The Asian Population: 2000 (Census 2000 Brief)," http://www.census.gov/prod/2002pubs/c2kbr01-16.pdf.
7. A. K. Gordon, "Hospice and Minorities: A National Study of Organizational Access and Practice," *The Hospice Journal* 11, no. 1 (1996): 49–70.
8. U.S. National Institute of Health, "National Cancer Institute Fact Sheet: Advanced Directives," http://www.cancer.gov/cancertopics/factsheet/support/advance-directives.
9. M. Kagawa-Singer and L. J. Blackhall, "Negotiating Cross-Cultural Issues at the End of Life: "You Got to Go Where He Lives," *Journal of the American Medical Association* 286, no. 23 (2001): 2993–3001; J. Kwak and J. R. Salmon, "Attitudes and Preferences of Korean-American Older Adults and Caregivers on End-of-Life Care," *Journal of the American Geriatrics Society* 55, no. 11 (2007): 1867–1872; P. Mazanec and M. K. Tyler, "Cultural Considerations in End-of-Life Care: How Ethnicity, Age, and Spirituality Affect Decisions When Death Is Imminent," *The American Journal of Nursing* 103, no. 3 (2003):

50–58; quiz 59; Q. Ngo-Metzger et al., "Older Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders Dying of Cancer Use Hospice Less Frequently Than Older White Patients," *American Journal of Medicine* 115, no. 1 (2003): 47–53; Q. Ngo-Metzger, R. S. Phillips, and E. P. McCarthy, "Ethnic Disparities in Hospice Use among Asian-American and Pacific Islander Patients Dying with Cancer." *Journal of the American Geriatrics Society* 56, no. 1 (2008): 139–144.

10. K. S. Johnson, M. Kuchibhatla, and J. A. Tulsky, "What Explains Racial Differences in the Use of Advanced Directives and Attitudes toward Hospice Care?" *Journal of the American Geriatrics Society* (2008).

11. Metzger et al., "Older Asian Americans," 47–53.

12. National Hospice and Palliative Care Organization, "NHPCO's Facts and Figures: Hospice Care in America," 2008.

13. Miller et al., "Delivering Quality Care"; Wallston, et al., "Comparing the Quality of Death," 177–182; National Hospice and Palliative Care Organization, "NHPCO's Facts and Figures"; Kwak and Salmon, "Attitudes and Preferences of Korean-American," 1867–1872.

14. National Hospice and Palliative Care Organization, "NHPCO's Facts and Figures."

15. Kagawa-Singer and Blackhall, "Negotiating Cross-Cultural Issues," 2993–3001.

16. Miller et al., "Delivering Quality Care."

17. A. Gordon, "Hospice and Minorities: A National Study of Organizational Access and Practice," *The Hospice Journal* 11, no. 1 (1996): 49–70; M. Pawling-Kaplan and P. O'Connor, "Hospice Care for Minorities: An Analysis of a Hospital-Based Inner City Palliative Care Service," *The American Journal of Hospice and Palliative Care* 6, no. 4 (1989): 13–21.

18. Pawling-Kaplan and O'Connor, "Hospice Care for Minorities," 13–21.

19. Johnson, Kuchibhatla and Tulsky, "What Explains Racial Differences."

20. Kagawa-Singer and Blackhall, "Negotiating Cross-Cultural Issues," 2993–3001; Johnson, Kuchibhatla and Tulsky, "What Explains Racial Differences."

21. K. W. Bowman and P. A. Singer, "Chinese Seniors' Perspectives on End-of-Life Decisions," *Social Science & Medicine* 53, no. 4 (2001): 455–64; S. T. Murphy et al., "Ethnicity and Advance Care Directives," *Journal of Law Medicine & Ethics* 24, no. 2 (1996): 108–117.

22. Kwak and Salmon, "Attitudes and Preferences of Korean-American," 1867–1872.

23. Kwak and Salmon, "Attitudes and Preferences of Korean-American," 1867–1872.

24. Miller, et al., "Delivering Quality Care."

25. Pawling-Kaplan and O'Connor, "Hospice Care for Minorities," 13–21.

26. Gordon, "Hospice and Minorities," 49–70; Pawling-Kaplan and O'Connor, "Hospice Care for Minorities," 13–21.

27. W. Bulkin and H. Lukashok, "Rx for Dying: The Case for Hospice," *The New England Journal of Medicine* 318, no. 6 (1988): 376–378; V. Mor, G. Hendershot, and C. Cryan, "Awareness of Hospice Services: Results of a National Survey," *Public Health Reports* 104, no. 2 (1989): 178–83; Miller et al., "Delivering Quality Care"; Pawling-Kaplan and O'Connor, "Hospice Care for Minorities," 13–21.

28. Chinese American Coalition for Compassionate Care, http://www.caccc-usa.org/.

GAMBLING

Timothy Fong

Recent media coverage has initiated a focus on gambling behavior among Asians and how they compare to other ethnic groups. In a recent survey, the UCLA Gambling Studies Program found that close to 30 percent of the clientele of a card club in Los Angeles identified themselves as being from an Asian ethnicity.[1] This is a much higher percentage than expected, given that Asian Americans comprise 13 percent of the general population of California. Asian Americans comprise a diverse group of ethnic cultures, languages, and backgrounds. Important cultural values and priorities are constantly changing and developing in this landscape. One activity that has been relatively unexplored until the last fifteen years is the impact of gambling on Asian Americans.

A working definition of gambling refers to placing something of value at risk on an event with an uncertain outcome. Traditional forms of gambling include casino games, such as blackjack, slot machine, sports betting, lottery games, poker and stock market trading. Among Asian populations, playing Mahjong for money is technically gambling, although many would not think of it in that way. In gambling research and with those with addictions to gambling, the term primarily refers to money won or lost on games of chance.

Throughout the world, gambling is a highly prevalent activity conducted by many different cultures. Asian culture has historically accepted gambling as a popular form of entertainment, and recent expansion of gambling in Asia has confirmed this. The growth of Macau and expansion of gambling in other Asian countries provide clear and convincing evidence of the exponentially rising popularity and accessibility of gambling. Long cast as a stereotypical behavior of immigrants and of an Asian subculture, recent academic work has begun to examine gambling's storied and complex past among Asian Americans.

Understanding how this relationship developed and what the current issues are for Asian Americans communities is critical to minimizing the negative impact of gambling addiction.

EMERGENCE OF GAMBLING IN AMERICA

Across the world, gambling's accessibility and acceptability has never been higher. In 2008 in the United States, only two states, Hawaii and Utah, do not have any form of legalized gambling. The gambling industry earns more than $80 billion per year, which is higher than the combined revenue of most forms of entertainment, including movies, sporting attendance and amusement parks.[2] It was not until the late 1980s when state lotteries and Indian casinos began to emerge that gambling become accessible to everyday citizens.

As the lotteries expanded to more states, Indian and riverboat gambling emerged as popular forms of casino gambling, outside of Nevada or Atlantic City, during the early 1990s. Because of this growth, neighboring states that were losing revenue to states with existing gambling revenue could not risk losing more revenue unless they themselves authorized or expanded gambling.[3] This expansion of gambling became a marked success and, along with the reinvigoration of Las Vegas as a gambling Mecca, put gambling back into the consciousness of Americans. The final piece in the emergence of gambling in America is the rise of Internet gambling. Gambling became available in the home, on a personalized level, and it could be done in an anonymous manner. This destigmatized gambling, taking it from a world of grungy gambling parlors and shady bookmakers to welcoming graphics and sounds.

The result of this rapid expansion of gambling has been that people from many different cultures are learning to gamble or are continuing to gamble. The majority of the general population of the United States gambles socially, recreationally, and without any long-lasting problems. Up to 60 percent of Americans report having gambled in the last 12 months, making gambling a common recreational activity.

In contrast to social gambling, approximately 1–2 percent of the general population meet criteria for the psychiatric disorder of pathological gambling.[4] Pathological gambling is a psychiatric condition characterized by continued and recurrent gambling despite the emergence of adverse physical, social, and psychological consequences created by gambling. Specific symptoms include preoccupation, lying about gambling, tolerance, withdrawal, chasing losses, losing life opportunities because of continued gambling, and committing illegal acts to support gambling behaviors.[5] Unlike substance use disorders where the consequences of ongoing addiction are obvious to the person and society, pathological gambling is a hidden addiction. Suicide, financial devastation, domestic violence, crime, homelessness, and divorce can result from gambling addiction, but often the link to the root cause is not obvious. The impact of pathological gambling on American society is extensive, with an estimated economic burden of $35 billion.[6]

CULTURAL CONTRIBUTIONS

Language and cultural barriers do not prevent participation in gambling activities; in fact, major U.S. gambling establishments have recently begun to cater to the Asian American market through targeted advertising, bringing in Asian-themed entertainment, and by providing free shuttle services and vouchers in Chinatowns across the United States.[7] Additionally, many casinos have dealers who speak multiple languages and/or casino hosts who help Asian clients navigate the casino floor. The end result of this marketing toward the Asian community has been steady participation in gambling activities among Asian American communities throughout the United States. Second, financial difficulties among Asian American communities may increase the perceived value of gambling as a way to get rich, particularly among immigrant Asian Americans with fewer resources compared with long-established U.S. residents.

An enabling factor to develop gambling problems is having heavy-gambling peers.[8] Hence, immigrants who are indebted and are working or living with peers who gamble are more likely to gamble on a regular basis. Gambling is also more culturally accepted and approved within many Asian American cultures, with less stringent religious prohibitions regarding gambling. Historical gambling traditions are documented by widespread pre-colonial era gambling in China, India, Korea, Vietnam, Thailand, Southeast Asia, and Japan.[9] Gambling in many Asian American cultures is an accepted form of entertainment, a rite of passage, and in general, an activity that is promoted rather than restricted. Cultural values of luck, superstition, testing one's fate with the ancestors, and numerology may reinforce gambling behaviors and involvement.[10]

PATHOLOGICAL GAMBLING

Recent epidemiological work has begun to identify that some Asian-Americans are more vulnerable to develop pathological gambling, otherwise known as gambling addiction or compulsive gambling. According to the Chinese Community Health Study, a survey of 1,808 Chinese American adults in San Francisco, approximately 70 percent of respondents identified gambling addiction as the number one social problem in their community, larger than drugs or crime.[11] A follow-up 1997 community survey conducted by the San Francisco Chinese Health Coalition and two UC–Berkeley graduate students found that 14.7 percent of Chinese identified themselves as problem gamblers, and 21 percent met the criteria for pathological gambling.[12] A community survey conducted in 2002 among Southeast Asian refugees reported that an astounding 59 percent of Laotians, Cambodians, and Vietnamese met criteria for pathological gambling.[13] This is approximately 30 times higher than the national average. No follow-up study was conducted nor was it replicated in different cities.

In 2006, the UCLA Gambling Studies Program conducted a random survey at a Los Angeles casino and found that approximately 30 percent of the casino patrons surveyed identified as Asian or Pacific Islander (API). This is much

higher than the general population rate of Asian Americans in California, which is around 12 percent. Furthermore, although there was no significant difference in the rate of pathological gambling between Asian Americans and non–Asian American casino patrons, approximately 30 percent of the Asian American casino patrons met criteria for pathological gambling.

Not all studies have been able to confirm this trend. For example, the 2006 California Prevalence Survey, which is the largest statewide pathological gambling prevalence survey ever done, found close to 4 percent of Californians met criteria for problem or pathological gambling.[14] Of these, the highest rate of risk was seen in African-Americans, the disabled, and the unemployed. Asian Americans, who had the lowest rate of response, were also found to have rates lower than the statewide average.

Taken together, this epidemiological data suggest that although Asian American communities may be at a higher risk to develop gambling problems, it is harder to detect than other social problems such as drug abuse, crime, or economic indicators. Also, because Asian Americans are not routinely emphasized in clinical research, this has the potential to distort the true impact of the condition on their communities.

The area of treatment and prevention of pathological gambling in Asian American populations is an emerging issue of study. At present, there are no FDA-approved medications for pathological gambling. Most gambling treatment programs employ a combination of individual therapy, family therapy, and Gamblers Anonymous to assist patients with reducing or stopping their gambling. Evidence-based psychotherapies for pathological gambling include cognitive-behavioral treatments, brief-interventions (such as self-help workbooks), relapse prevention, and psychodynamic psychotherapy.[15] Currently, state and federal funding for the treatment of pathological gambling is sparse in comparison to that for substance use disorders. In the state of California, as of July 2008, $150,000 is available on an annual basis for state-funded treatment of pathological gambling. Asian American community-based organizations (CBOs) then are faced with a lack of funding to train therapists and to deliver treatment for Asian pathological gamblers.

Even with existing gambling treatment programs, treating Asian American pathological gamblers requires additional training for cultural competency and relevancy. As an example, family members of Asian American pathological gamblers may not want to stop gambling themselves (because it is such an important social activity), which can create triggers and difficulties for those in recovery.

Another cultural barrier to treatment is the stilted use of self-help groups among Asian American patients; in California, there are several Asian-language Gamblers Anonymous meetings, but they are poorly attended or there is limited participation by its members. Additional barriers to treatment include denial, guilt or shame, acculturation issues such as language, lack of acceptance of mental health problems, and access to care.[16]

OUTLOOK

There is much to learn about the relationship between Asian Americans and gambling. Most notably, it is seen that more research is needed to understand the exact cultural values that lead to, promote, or protect from pathological gambling. On an even more basic level, some experts believe that examination of the criteria of pathological gambling is warranted. For instance, one of the criteria of pathological gambling is to borrow money from others to relieve a financial debt. Anecdotal evidence suggests that some Asian communities and families readily borrow money without pretense and that to not lend money to a family member during a time of need can create more unintended consequences. As a result, it is unclear how diagnostic criteria may actually fit in with Asian Americans clients.

Another area that may require more study is the impact of immigration on gambling behaviors. Some Asian American gamblers learn to gamble in their native countries, while others only learned how to gamble once they immigrated to America. Furthermore, gambling knowledge, patterns, and meanings can change from generation to generation, but it is unclear what influences those changes, such as social, cultural, psychological or even biological factors.

Gambling is a social behavior that is common among Asian Americans, regardless of immigration status, level of acculturation, or placement in America. Access to gambling is likely to grow over the next several years in America, and with it, Asian Americans are likely to continue to participate heavily within it. To many, the most crucial aspect of this is to address pathological gambling, a psychiatric disorder that remains understudied and underrecognized in Asian American communities. The availability of treatment and prevention programs specifically for Asian American pathological gamblers and their families is often limited, even in large metropolitan cities. As more is learned about the causes and courses of pathological gambling, investing in understanding and addressing the specific cultural components that contribute to the disease are seen as critical. Without evidence-based programs, treatment and prevention barriers will continue to hide the true impact of this hidden addiction on Asian American communities.

FURTHER READING

Gamblers Anonymous. http://www.gamblersanonymous.org.
National Council on Problem Gambling. http://www.ncpgambling.org.
NICOS Health Coalition. http://www.nicoschc.com/ccpgp.html.
UCLA Gambling Studies Program. http://www.uclagamblingprogram.org.

NOTES

1. T. Fong, et al., *Prevalence Rates of Pathological Gambling among Casino Patrons*. In Preparation, 2008.
2. C. Simmons, *Gambling in the Golden State 1998 Forward* (California Research Bureau: Sacramento, 2006), 182.

3. K. S. Whyte, “Analysis of the National Gambling Impact Study Commission Act,” *Journal of Gambling Studies* 14, no. 4 (1998): 309–318.

4. R. C. Kessler et al., “DSM-IV Pathological Gambling in the National Comorbidity Survey Replication,” *Psychological Medicine* (2008): 1–10.

5. C. E. Lakey et al., “Examining DSM-IV Criteria for Pathological Gambling: Psychometric Properties and Evidence from Cognitive Biases,” *Journal of Gambling Studies* 23, no. 4 (2007): 479–498.

6. E. Grinols, *Gambling in America: Costs and Benefits*, Vol. 1 (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 232.

7. G. Rivlin, “Las Vegas Caters to Asia’s High Rollers,” *The New York Times*, June 13, 2007, http://travel.nytimes.com/2007/06/13/business/13vegas.html?scp=1&sq=Las%20Vegas%20Caters%20to%20Asia%E2%80%99s%20High%20Rollers&st=cse.

8. J. W. Welte et al., “Risk Factors for Pathological Gambling,” *Addictive Behaviors* 29, no.2 (2004): 323–335.

9. P. Binde, “Gambling across Cultures: Mapping Worldwide Occurrence and Learning from Ethnographic Comparison,” *International Gambling Studies* 5, no.1 (2005): 1–27.

10. E. Papineau, “Pathological Gambling in Montreal’s Chinese Community: An Anthropological Perspective,” *Journal of Gambling Studies* 21, no. 2 (2005): 157–178.

11. San Francisco Chinese Community Health Agenda Project/Chinese Community Health Study, “Chinese Community Health Study,” *NICOS Chinese Health Coalition* (1997): 1–2.

12. San Francisco Chinese Community Health Agenda Project/Chinese Community Health Study, “Chinese Community Health Study.”

13. N. M. Petry et al., “Gambling Participation and Problems among South East Asian Refugees to the United States,” *Psychiatric Services* 54, no. 8 (2003): 1142–1148.

14. R. Volberg, K. Nysse-Carris, and D. Gerstein, “2006 California Problem Gambling Prevalence Survey,” (National Opinion Research Center and the California Office of Problem and Pathological Gambling, August 2006).

15. D. C. Hodgins, S. R. Currie, and N. el-Guebaly, “Motivational Enhancement and Self-Help Treatments for Problem Gambling,” *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology* 69, no. 1 (2001): 50–57.

16. T. Fong and J. Tsuang, “Asian Americans, Addictions, and Barriers to Treatment,” *Psychiatry MMC* 4, no. 11 (2007): 51–59.

HEALTH CARE ACCESS

Grace J. Yoo, Joan Jeung, and Ivy Wong

One of the most significant crises facing the Asian American community is the lack of access to health care. One out of six Asian Americans is uninsured.[1] Compared with white Americans, Asian Americans are more likely to not have a usual source of care. For Asian Americans, the barriers to accessing health care not only include being uninsured or underinsured, but they also stem from changing federal and state policies, language barriers, and racial bias in the delivery of health care services. Because access to health care and health are interconnected, this discussion briefly reviews barriers to quality health care access for the Asian American community and consequential health outcomes.

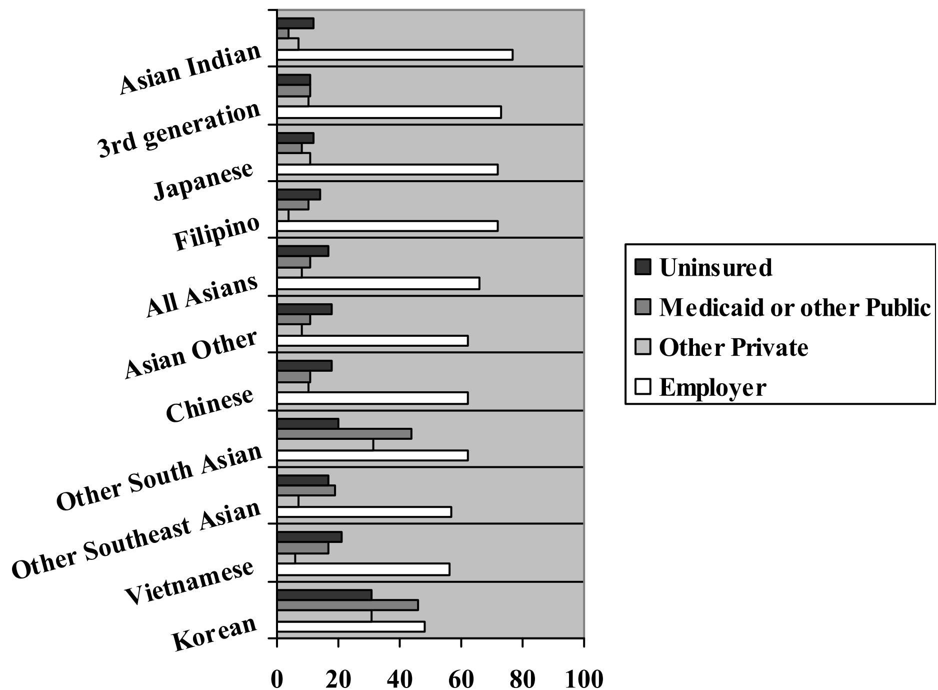
HEALTH INSURANCE

Health insurance provides access to primary care and is fundamentally important to good health. Lack of health insurance, along with low socioeconomic status and adverse health behaviors, has been demonstrated to affect health care–seeking behaviors and health outcomes. Health insurance, poverty, and health are all interconnected. Compared with those who have health insurance, individuals who lack health insurance coverage also experience more of a decline in their health and have an increased chance of premature death. Not having health care decreases the use of preventive services, delays disease diagnosis, and leads to poor monitoring and control of chronic diseases.

Asian Americans, in particular immigrants, continue to have less access to basic primary and preventive health services than does the general U.S. population, largely because as immigrants they are more likely to have low incomes and disproportionately comprise America's uninsured. In 2003, immigrants

constituted 26 percent of the nation's uninsured; compared to U.S. citizens, immigrants were more likely to be twice as likely to be uninsured than U.S. citizens.[2] Among Asian Americans, after Latino noncitizens (58% uninsured), Asian noncitizens (30% uninsured) constitute the second largest immigrant group lacking health insurance in the United States. Among immigrants, ethnic groups largely concentrated in self-employment in small businesses, such as Vietnamese and Korean Americans, are especially at risk for being uninsured. Among Asian Americans, Korean Americans and Vietnamese Americans have the highest rates of uninsured. More than a third of Korean American adults and a quarter of Vietnamese American adults lacked health insurance compared with 15 percent of the total population (see Figure 1).[3] This is in contrast to uninsurance rates of 12 percent among Filipino Americans, 12 percent among Japanese Americans and 12 percent among Asian Indians). In California, Korean American and Vietnamese American children also had the lowest rates of health insurance coverage, at 40.5 percent and 42.6 percent respectively.[4] Among the self-employed, there are higher rates of the uninsured, especially for those involved in small businesses, such as the Vietnamese and Korean Americans. While the American health insurance system is both privately and

Figure 1. Health Coverage of Asian Americans, 2004–2006



Source: "Health Coverage and Access to Care Among Asian Americans, Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders," (#7745) The Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation, April 2008.

publicly financed, its foundation remains employer-based coverage for working families. Health insurance is often unaffordable for low-income people and for those who are self-employed because of high health premiums. Even those who are eligible for state-funded health insurance programs often lack any coverage at all. Of all the currently uninsured Asian American children in California, 51 percent are eligible for Medi-Cal (Medicaid) or Healthy Families, and of those eligible yet uninsured children, 21 percent are Korean.[5] Because many Korean American and Vietnamese Americans do not have access to health insurance, they lack a regular source of health care through which they can access preventive services, such as cancer screenings and immunizations. Research has shown that the lack of health insurance was the strongest predictor for not accessing health services for Korean Americans and Vietnamese Americans.[6] For these and other Asian Americans, and for immigrants in particular, lack of health insurance provides a major deterrent to receiving timely and appropriate health care.

FEDERAL AND STATE POLICY

While lack of health insurance constitutes a major barrier to health care access, changing federal and state Medicaid policies for immigrants have also put public insurance out of reach for many low-income Asian immigrants. Low-income Asian immigrants, both documented and undocumented, may not use publicly funded health services because they fear deportation and worry about jeopardizing their immigration status. Moreover, because of policy changes, they may not know whether they qualify. Because of changes to Medicaid, anxiety over jeopardizing immigration status or hopes for citizenship has led to decreased Medicaid participation rates for low-income Asian Americans. For example, only 13 percent of low-income Chinese have Medicaid coverage compared to 24 percent of low-income whites.[7] Likewise, half of the currently uninsured Asian American children in California are eligible for Medicaid or State Children's Health Insurance Program (SCHIP) funded programs but for multiple reasons are not enrolled.[8]

Even so, publicly funded insurance programs, such as Medicaid and the SCHIP, provide a crucial safety net for many Asian American families and children. In 2007, Medicaid covered 11 percent of nonelderly Asian American adults, 19 percent of Asian American children nationwide, and large subgroups of Asian Americans such as Vietnamese Americans and Korean Americans.[9] For Asian American children, particularly in immigrant-heavy regions such as California, the proportion on Medicaid or State Children's Health Insurance Program–funded programs run up to 42 percent.[10] Consequently, policies to restrict eligibility or increase the complexity of enrollment significantly affect low-income and working-class Asian American families. In the case of Medicaid, restrictive and cumbersome federal eligibility and enrollment requirements have prevented many Asian American immigrants from accessing state insurance programs. Since 1996, most *legal* immigrants have been

ineligible for Medicaid for their first five years of residence in the United States. Some states have opted to use state-only funds to extend benefits to some low-income immigrants excluded from Medicaid and SCHIP under federal policy, but as the recent economic downturn affects state budgets, such funding is in jeopardy as two-thirds of states face likely Medicaid budget shortfalls.[11] Recent changes to Medicaid enrollment procedures have posed significant barriers even to U.S. citizens, who must now comply with new citizenship documentation requirements passed under the 2005 Deficit Reduction Act (DRA). In 2008, thirty states reported that these new citizenship documentation requirements "moderately or significantly increased" application processing times, with resulting application backlogs and increased application denials. As a result, many people previously covered under Medicaid no longer have coverage. The Bush Administration also imposed new federal restrictions to the State Children's Health Insurance Program eligibility, preventing states from covering children in families with incomes that are above the poverty level. For working-class Asian Americans, particularly the self-employed or others without employer-based insurance, the new restrictions on states regarding State Children's Health Insurance Program eligibility, and the inability of Congress to provide strengthened federal funding, curtail their ability to obtain affordable insurance for their children.

DISPARITIES IN HEALTH CARE DELIVERY

Access to health care for Asian Americans is affected by disparities in health care interactions between providers and patients but also in coordination of care. A national Commonwealth Study has found that, even when differences in education, English language ability, and health care insurance are accounted for, Asian Americans who are able to access health care still face substandard health care in that many are often referred to preventative screenings or counseling with less frequency, and often a lower quality of care than whites.[12] Asian Americans were less likely than white patients to report that they were very satisfied with their care overall, and were also less likely to have a great deal of trust in their doctor. Moreover, Asian Americans were more likely to state that their doctor did not understand their background, and they were less likely to have a doctor who adequately educated and informed them of major medical decisions. Compared to whites, many Asian Americans felt not listened to by their doctors. For Asian Americans, these poor doctor-patient interactions often translated into less doctor-patient communication about nutrition and physical activity, and less follow-up care for crucial health issues such as mental health. Many Asian Americans attribute these poor doctor-patient relations to their race and their limited English ability, and they believe if they were white they would be treated with more respect by their doctor. Among Asian American elderly, these poor doctor-patient interactions remain. Compared to their white elderly peers, Asian American elderly have said they received poorer care and were less likely to be offered important cancer screenings and diabetic services.[13] The

lack of access to these important screenings has an impact on the continued disparity not only in access, but also in quality of care. Ultimately, these disparities affect morbidity and mortality.

LANGUAGE AND CULTURAL BARRIERS

Language and cultural barriers can pose barriers to care. Cultural ideals about Western medicine can deter Asian immigrants from seeking needed care. In various Asian American subgroups, complementary and traditional medicine may be sought out not only because of cultural familiarity but also because of the high cost of using Western medicine.[14] Uninsured Vietnamese and Korean immigrants have been shown to access traditional medicine such as acupuncture and herbal medicine more than Western medicine because of cost and familiarity.[15] At the same time, language poses a significant barrier to care for many Asian immigrants. More than one-third of Asian Americans speak English less than well. Not knowing English well has an impact on health care access, but also in quality of care. Research suggests that limited English proficiency poses a significant barrier to accessing quality health care. Limited English proficiency deters individuals from accessing health care in several ways.[16] First and foremost, the quality of communication between the individual and the health care professionals is adversely affected and has been found to create misunderstandings regarding a medical diagnosis and confusion on medication use.[17] These issues increase medical error and poorer health outcomes.

Second, language barriers frequently prevent many immigrants from navigating the health care system. Non–English-proficient individuals, on average, seek fewer preventive services than their English proficient counterparts.[18] Conversely, higher English proficiency is positively correlated with greater screening participation.[19] Non–English-proficient individuals' lack of understanding of diagnostic techniques and treatments used in Western medicine creates fear of the unfamiliar, which greatly contributes to the delay in seeking medical (Western) attention and underuse of preventive care. Seeking medical attention for urgent care has been challenging for many Asian immigrants.[20]

Third, the lack of familiarity with the English language has forced many Asian immigrants to seek ad hoc interpreter services, such as relying on their own children, family members, and friends to interpret when trained interpreters are not available, during an urgent care visit.[21] Without training in two languages and medical terminology, errors can result as a result of ad-hoc interpreters. For these reasons, many hospitals have trained medical interpreters to address this problem; however, even with trained medical interpreters, patients often worry that their symptoms are not being translated completely or accurately.[22] Some of the immigrant elders have reported feelings of insecurity and losing face because an interpreter was used to assist them with their medical situation.

OUTLOOK

There is variation in health coverage, access and barriers to health care, and health among Asian Americans. For some subgroups, these problems are comparable to the most disadvantaged racial and ethnic group. Better data is needed to fully understand the needs of these populations in order to develop culturally and linguistically appropriate solutions for improved access to quality health care. Across the United States, there are local health providers working to provide access and quality health care to low-income Asian immigrant populations. The Chinatown Public Health Center in San Francisco has been serving its community since 1971, providing the Asian community with linguistically and culturally appropriate services, and is an example of quality health care to low-income Asian immigrants. It provides services in Tagalog, Vietnamese, Cantonese, and Mandarin—the four most frequently spoken Asian languages in California. Bilingual flyers and resources have helped the dissemination of health information to the community tremendously. Its areas of service include children's health, nutrition, health education, HIV testing, and breast cancer support. In addition to the wide array of services conducted in both English and an Asian language, it also uses traditional Chinese medicine in its health services. As part of its smoking cessation program, smokers who wish to cease their smoking habits come to receive counseling and education. "Acupuncture Quit Smoking" integrates acupuncture to curb nicotine cravings as part of the smoking cessation regiment. This program has been quite successful, and smokers from the Smoking Cessation Program have reported a stronger sense of hope and control over their endeavors to cease smoking because they understood and agreed with the method used in the program. At the national level, the Asian Pacific Islander American Health Forum is involved in advocating at state and federal government levels for policies that deal with health care access, the need for more health care data, and cultural and linguistic competence. It has been involved in raising awareness on these issues through dissemination of information to the media, but also through policy briefs that are distributed to advocates and local and community-based organizations throughout the nation. They are also involved in testimonies and commentaries directed toward federal and state legislative hearings and coalition-building with other national and statewide organizations interested in health care access, research, and cultural and linguistic competence.

FURTHER READING

Asian Pacific Islander American Health Forum. http://www.apiahf.org/.

Kaiser Family Foundation. "Fact Sheet: Health coverage and access to care among Asian Americans, Native Hawaiians, and Pacific Islanders." 2008. http://www.kff.org/minorityhealth/upload/7745.pdf. Accessed Dec. 30, 2008.

Quyen Ngo-Metzger, Anna T. R. Legedza, and Russell S. Phillips, "Asian Americans' Reports of Their Health Care Experiences," *Journal of General Internal Medicine* 19 (February 2004): 2.

NOTES

1. E. R. Brown et al., "The State of Health Insurance in California: Findings from the 2003 California Health Interview Survey," (UCLA Center For Health Policy Research, August 2005), http://www.healthpolicy.ucla.edu/pubs/publication.asp?pubID=146#download. (accessed June 20, 2006).

2. P. Fronstin and J. MacDonald, "Immigrants Make Up a Growing Share of U.S. Population without Health Insurance, Study Finds" (Employee Benefit Research Institute, June 13, 2005), http://www.ebri.org/publications/prel/index.cfm?fa=prelDisp&content_id=3527.

3. Race, Ethnicity & Health Care, "Health Coverage and Access to Care among Asian Americans, Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders," Kaiser Family Foundation, April 2008, http://www.kff.org/minorityhealth/upload/7745.pdf accessed on Dec. 30, 2008.

4. S. A. Lavarreda et al., "Insurance Rates of Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders Vary Widely" (Los Angeles: UCLA Center for Health Policy Research, 2005).

5. Ibid.

6. E. R. Brown et al., "The State of Health Insurance in California: Findings from the 2003 California Health Interview Survey."

7. E. R. Brown et al., "The State of Health Insurance in California: Findings from the 2003 California Health Interview Survey."

8. P. Fronstin and J. MacDonald, "Immigrants Make Up a Growing Share of U.S. Population without Health Insurance, Study Finds."

9. E. R. Brown et al., "The State of Health Insurance in California: Findings from the 2003 California Health Interview Survey."

10. E. R. Brown et al., "The State of Health Insurance in California: Findings from the 2003 California Health Interview Survey."

11. E. R. Brown et al., "Racial and Ethnic Disparities in Access to Health Insurance and Health Care," 2000, http://healthpolicy.ucla.edu/pubs/files/Racialand-EthnicDisparitiesReport.pdf, accessed Oct. 10, 2005; A. E. Maxwell et al., "Demographics Predictors of Cancer Screening among Filipino Korean Immigrants in the United States," *American Journal of Preventive Medicine,* 18 (2000): 62–68.

12. Quyen Ngo-Metzger, Anna T. R. Legedza, and Russell S. Phillips, "Asian Americans' Reports of Their Health Care Experiences," *Journal of General Internal Medicine* 19 (2004): 2.

13. Ernest Moy, Linda G. Greenberg, and Amanda E. Borsky, "Community Variation: Disparities in Health Care Quality between Asian And White Medicare Beneficiaries," *Health Affairs* 27, no. 2 (2008): 538–549.

14. Grace Yoo and Barbara Kim, "Korean Immigrants and Health Care Access: Implications for the Uninsured and Underinsured," *Research in the Sociology of Health Care* 25 (2007): 77–94.

15. Yoo and Kim, "Korean Immigrants and Health Care Access," 77–94; C. N. Jenkins et al., "Health Care Access and Preventive Care among Vietnamese Immigrants: Do Traditional Beliefs and Practices Pose Barriers?" *Social Science and Medicine* 43, no. 7 (1996): 1049–1056.

16. Maxwell et al., "Demographics Predictors of Cancer Screening among Filipino Korean Immigrants in the United States," 62–68.

17. Elisabeth Wilson et al., "Effects of Limited English Proficiency and Physician Language on Health Care Comprehension," *Journal of General Internal Medicine* 20, no. 9 (2005): 800–806.

18. D. A. Taira, “Improving the Health and Health care of Non–English–Speaking Patients,” *Journal of General Internal Medicine* 14 (1999): 322–323.

19. C. Kwok et al., “The Role of Culture in Breast Health Practices among Chinese-Australian Women,” *Patient Education and Counseling* 64 (2006): 268–276.

20. Elisabeth Wilson et al., “Effects of Limited English Proficiency and Physician Language on Health Care Comprehension,” *Journal of General Internal Medicine* 20, no. 9 (2005): 800–806.

21. Q. Ngo-Metzger et al, “Linguistic and Cultural Barriers to Care. Perspectives of Chinese and Vietnamese Immigrants,” *Journal of General Internal Medicine* 18 (2003): 44–52.

22. Ngo-Metzger, et al., “Linguistic and Cultural Barriers to Care,” 44–52.

INFECTIOUS DISEASES

Kejia Wan, Yu Wan, and Henry Pollack

Asian Americans suffer higher rates of two serious infectious diseases, hepatitis B and tuberculosis, compared to the general U.S. population. These diseases are two of the most common chronic infections. They are found in about one-third of the world's population, with at least half of these infections occurring among individuals of Asian descent. Both have plagued humans for thousands of years, and successful prevention and treatment is available. Yet prevalence and infection rates in the United States for both diseases have been steady, and in some cases increasing, among individuals of Asian descent. The high prevalence rates among Asian Americans can be attributed to the high rates of infection among newly arrived immigrants. In some Asian countries, as many as two-thirds are infected with at least one of these diseases. Thus while Asian Americans carry a significant burden of these diseases, a major factor in the persistence of these health problems is the existing global health disparities.

HEPATITIS B

While hepatitis B prevalence in the general U.S. population is low (0.2%), more than half of those infected are of Asian ethnicity, who have a prevalence almost 50 times higher than the general population.[1] The estimated overall prevalence of chronic hepatitis B infection in Asian Americans is between 10–15 percent and can be as high as 25 percent in some groups of new or recent Asian immigrants.[2] Chronic infection with the virus can eventually lead to liver scarring and liver cancer.

Hepatitis B (HPV) is transmitted through exposure to infected blood or body fluids.[3] The virus travels to the liver, where it causes either a short-term infection,

acute hepatitis B, which resolves within a few weeks or months, or a long-term infection, chronic hepatitis B, which may be life-long. A vaccine for hepatitis B, often called the first anti-cancer vaccine, has been widely available and used in the United States for more than twenty years. This vaccine can prevent up to 90 percent of new infections. Universal immunization of newborns has been recommended in the United States since 1991. Because in large part to the success of immunization, second-generation Asian Americans, particularly those born after 1991, have rates of chronic hepatitis B similar to that of the general U.S. population. People with chronic hepatitis B infection are advised to undergo treatment to regularly monitor their infection for early detection of liver damage or liver cancer. Most patients with acute hepatitis B recover without injury to the liver and do not develop chronic hepatitis B.

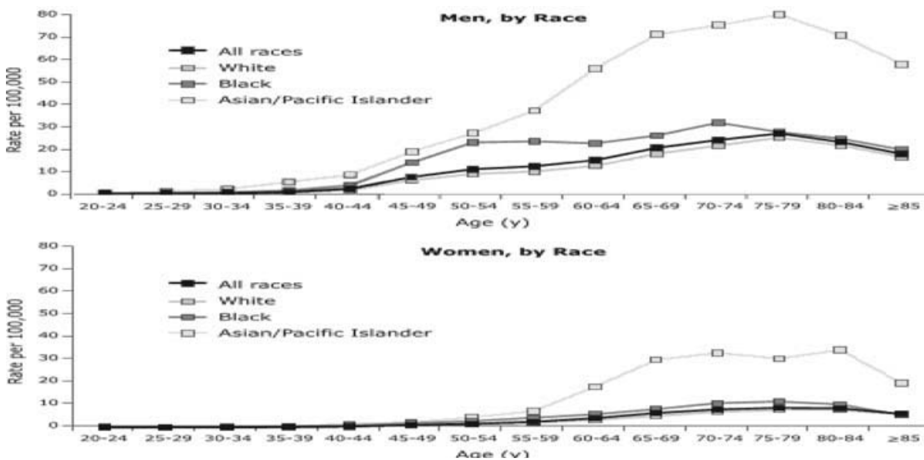
Despite these medical advances, hepatitis B is still a significant problem among Asian Americans. The overall hepatitis B prevalence is increasing in the United States because of, in large part, the increasing numbers of immigrants from Asian countries. Hepatitis B is estimated to have infected more than one-third of the world's population and more than two-thirds of Asians. In these Asian countries, the hepatitis B vaccine has not been available or used regularly until recently. Chronic hepatitis B is usually more prevalent in areas densely populated by immigrants from East and Southeast Asia, where the virus is endemic. For these populations, the infection is mostly spread from an infected mother to newborn at the time of birth. Urban areas with a high prevalence of hepatitis B infection include New York City, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Honolulu, Houston, Chicago, and Philadelphia. Because of the high prevalence and infection rates, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention now recommends routine hepatitis B testing for people born in areas where hepatitis B infection is greater than 2 percent of the population.[4] This recommendation extends to all Asian countries.

The hepatitis B disparity affects other significant health disparities among Asian Americans. Chronic hepatitis B causes 80 percent of all liver cancers and is the primary cause of liver cancer among Asian Americans. Liver cancer rates are especially high for people of Vietnamese, Korean, and Chinese origin and are four times higher than the rates for whites (Figure 1).[5] Liver cancer ranks as one of the leading causes of cancer among Asian American males and is the number one cause of death in Asian males under the age of 30.

TUBERCULOSIS

In the United States, Asian Americans have the highest rate of tuberculosis (TB) infection compared with other ethnic groups. Estimates from 2007 indicate that the rate of infection is almost 23 times greater for Asian Americans than for whites. More than half of all the cases of active TB worldwide occur in Asia, making it a significant public health problem for Asian Americans. New immigrants or foreign-born individuals account for 96.1 percent of cases among Asian Americans.[6] The countries of origin with the largest number of cases are Vietnam,

Figure 1. Age-Specific Incidence of Hepatocellular Carcinoma, by Sex and Race, U.S., 1998–2003



Data cover 83 percent of the U.S. population and are from population-based cancer registries that participate in the National Program of Cancer Registries (NPCR) and the Surveillance, Epidemiology, and End Results (SEER) Program and that met study criteria.

Source: Centers for Disease Control http://www.cdc.gov/pcd/issues/2008/jul/07_0155.htm.

Philippines, South Korea, India, and China.[7] Vietnamese-, Filipino-, and Indian-born individuals report some of the highest rates of tuberculosis.

TB is caused by the bacterium *Mycobacterium tuberculosis* and is highly infectious. TB spreads through the air when an actively infected individual coughs or sneezes and an uninfected individual breathes in the exposed bacteria. Individuals either have active TB infection, in which the infected individual show signs of sickness, such as coughing blood, chest pains, and a persistent cough, and can spread the disease, or latent TB infection, in which the infected individual shows no symptoms and cannot spread the disease. While it is uncommon, a small percentage of individuals with latent TB are at risk to develop active TB. Obtaining and maintaining proper treatment is crucial for managing both active and latent TB, as TB can grow resistant to some drugs, thus becoming more expensive and difficult to treat. Untreated TB can be fatal and cause severe damage to the lungs, kidney, lung, and brain.

One vaccination for TB, the Bacillus Calmette-Guérin (BCG) vaccine, is used worldwide; however, is not commonly used in the U.S. The vaccine is less than 90 percent effective. Individuals who are immunized with the BCG vaccine are also more likely to produce false-positives during screenings for TB. Thus individuals who were successfully vaccinated with BCG and are not TB-infected may screen as infected for TB because of the nature of the BCG vaccination. Many Asian immigrants who have a positive TB skin test may be reluctant to

take TB medication because they believe their positive result is a false-positive because of the BCG vaccination they received in their home country. While there are newer diagnostic blood tests that correctly and accurately identify TB infection and are not affected by prior BCG vaccination, Asian immigrants may still be reluctant to undergo treatment because of the information gap on the relationship between TB screening and the BCG vaccination.

HEALTH CARE COVERAGE

Many individuals, particularly new immigrants, lack adequate insurance and may have little or no ability to pay for services or expensive medication out-of-pocket, thus making it difficult for individuals to seek preventive care and treatment for hepatitis B and TB. While there is a federal program to cover the cost of vaccination for children, the cost of hepatitis B vaccination varies according to an individual's insurance provider and whether they are considered in a high-risk group. Similarly, health insurance status is related to whether an individual will be tested for TB or undergoes treatment if they are positive for TB, latent or active. Because obtaining health care in general can be costly and overwhelming, individuals who feel healthy, as they may with a hepatitis B infection or latent TB infection, may refrain from seeing a doctor or simply not realize that they should see a doctor for screening and care.

PERCEPTIONS OF HEPATITIS B AND TUBERCULOSIS

Lack of knowledge or misinformation about hepatitis B is also common among Asian Americans. A review of research from 1998–2002 on hepatitis B knowledge in different Asian American communities across the country indicated that among the Vietnamese, Chinese, and Cambodian individuals surveyed in various studies, no more than half of them were aware that hepatitis B can be sexually transmitted.[8]

Cultural beliefs about health can influence how Asian Americans interpret and manage their TB. For example, Vietnamese refugees responded to preventive drug treatment of latent TB by indicating that the side effects of TB therapy were "hot."[9] This symbolic feeling of "hot" refers to the East Asian medical belief that the body is in disequilibrium. Thus these Vietnamese refugees felt less likely to comply with the treatment, as they found it more harmful than beneficial according to their health beliefs. Vietnamese immigrants in Southern California spoke of TB as having two forms, the noninfectious psychological and the infectious physical disease, in which Western medicine could only treat the physical form and complementary mental health strategies were needed to treat the psychological form.[10] In addition, many Asian immigrants use traditional herbal medicine for treatment, especially if they lack insurance and a regular source of care, despite little scientific evidence that they are effective in treating HBV- and TB-specific symptoms. The effects of traditional ethnic medicine on attitudes and health care usage are explained in more detail in the entry on *Complementary & Alternative Medicine*.

Further complicating the burden of hepatitis B and TB in Asian Americans are study findings that indicate that health care providers may lack the knowledge and skills needed for managing these diseases. Not only is there a lack of knowledge among some providers of the prevalence of these two infectious illnesses among their Asian patients, they may also be unfamiliar with their Asian patients' cultural background. This disconnect can compound the already large health disparity that exists for Asian Americans. Asian American patients may not be properly targeted for screening and treatment, and follow-up may not be delivered in a culturally appropriate manner that recognizes the role of traditional medicines in health care and maintenance.

OUTLOOK

The federal government has recognized hepatitis B and TB as the key health priority areas among Asians. Most hepatitis B and TB programs, however, have been implemented at the local level in areas with a dense Asian American population. In New York City, the Asian American Hepatitis B Program (AAHBP) was the first large-scale program in the United States to adopt a comprehensive approach addressing the hepatitis B burden in Asian Americans. AAHBP, a partnership of various stakeholders including community groups and academic and community health centers, provided free or low-cost education, screening, vaccination, and treatment, as well as conducted research to provide baseline data and needs assessments of Asian American communities in the New York City area. In the San Francisco Bay Area, there have been successful hepatitis B educational programs devoted mainly to increasing screening and immunization. San Francisco Hep B Free is a citywide campaign to screen and vaccinate all San Francisco Asian and Pacific Islander residents for hepatitis B. Like AAHBP, the campaign provides convenient, free or low-cost testing opportunities at partnering health facilities and events. Recognizing that education and outreach is also needed for health care providers, the Asian Liver Center of Stanford University holds the annual "Hepatitis B Prevention and Education Symposium," which provides education and training for health care providers on culturally appropriate management of hepatitis B for their Asian American patients. In 2001, the Asian Liver Center (ALC) launched the Jade Ribbon Campaign. This campaign is a culturally targeted, educational outreach program, which uses mass media and local community based interventions to inform the Asian American population of hepatitis B. Its goal is to encourage the API community of hepatitis B virus prevention and screening.

In Washington State, the Hepatitis B Task Force was established in 1997 by the State Department of Health. It provided linguistically appropriate and culturally sensitive educational material to address the issue of hepatitis B in the API community. It has developed and aired provider interviews on a multicultural channel TV, placed articles in public health newsletters and medical organization publications, provided presentations, and established a short-term

Educational Media Campaign using bus signs regarding hepatitis B testing and vaccination in Cambodian, Chinese, Korean, and Vietnamese.

In response to the high rates of TB in their county, especially among the Vietnamese and Filipino residents, Santa Clara County in California formed the Tuberculosis Prevention Partnership (TPP) in 1999. TPP is lead by the American Lung Association (ALA) and Asian Americans for Community and is a broad-based coalition of community groups, agencies, and individuals concerned about TB in their local communities. The partnership aims to raise awareness about TB; educate the community about TB transmission, prevention and treatment; advocate for equal access to culturally competent health services for populations at risk for TB; and advocate for policies and funding to support the control of TB. Similarly, in Los Angeles and Orange counties, community organizations and public health departments formed a council of representatives to work together to develop and implement culturally appropriate TB education programs that incorporated views of TB within the Vietnamese health belief system to help the large Vietnamese immigrant population receive proper health care.[11]

These local initiatives display the success of regional and community-driven approaches. The current challenge is to implement evidence-based community health programs in other areas to help raise awareness of HBV and TB prevention in the Asian American communities throughout the United States. The B Free National Center of Excellence in the Elimination of Hepatitis B Disparities (B Free CEED) of New York University School of Medicine has recently been funded by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention to help community organizations, health departments, and community health centers develop and implement evidence-based hepatitis B programs across the country. Public health advocates note that more initiatives are needed to help spread these best practices for both hepatitis B and TB in areas with large or growing Asian American communities.

FURTHER READING

B Free National Center of Excellence in the Elimination of Hepatitis B Disparities (B Free CEED). http://bfree.med.nyu.edu.

Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. "Screening for Chronic Hepatitis B Among Asian/Pacific Islander Populations—New York City, 2005." *Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report* 55 (2006): 505–509.

Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. "Trends in Tuberculosis United States, 2007." *Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report* 57, no. 11 (2008): 281–285.

National Center for HIV/AIDS, Viral Hepatitis, STD, and TB Prevention, Centers for Diseases Control and Prevention. http://www.cdc.gov/nchhstp/healthdisparities.

National Institute of Allergies and Infectious Diseases—Tuberculosis. The National Institute of Allergies and Infectious Diseases. http://www3.niaid.nih.gov/topics/tuberculosis.

Nguyen T. T., et al. "Hepatitis B Awareness, Knowledge, and Screening among Asian Americans." *Journal of Cancer Education* 22 no. 4 (2007): 266–272.

STOP TB Partnership. http://www.stoptb.org/.

NOTES

1. G. M. McQuillan et al., "Prevalence of Hepatitis B Virus Infection in the United States: The National Health and Nutrition and Examination Surveys, 1976 through 1994," *American Journal of Public Health* 89, no. 1 (1999): 14–18.

2. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, "Screening for Chronic Hepatitis B Among Asian/Pacific Islander Populations, New York City, 2005," *Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report* 55 (2006): 505–509.

3. World Health Organization, "Hepatitis B—Fact sheet N. 240," Revised August 2008, http://www.who.int/mediacentre/factsheets/fs204/en/index.html (accessed on Oct. 30, 2008).

4. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, "Recommendations for Identification and Public Health Management of Persons with Chronic Hepatitis B Virus Infection," *Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report* 57, No. RR-8 (2008): 1–16; K. Q. Hu, "Hepatitis B Virus (HBV) Infection in Asian and Pacific Islander Americans (APIAs): How Can We Do Better for This Special Population?" *American Journal of Gastroenterology* (2008).

5. F. Ahmed, et al., "National Trends and Disparities in the Incidence of Hepatocellular carcinoma, 1998–2003," *Preventing Chronic Disease* 5, no. 3 (2008), http://www.cdc.gov/pcd/issues/2008/jul/07_0155.htm (accessed on July 18, 2008).

6. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. "Trends in Tuberculosis United States, 2007," *Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report* 57, no. 11 (2008): 281–285.

7. Wing Wai Yew and Chi Chiu Leung, "Update in Tuberculosis 2007," *American Journal of Respiratory and Critical Care Medicine* 177 (2008): 479–485.

8. T. T. Nguyen et al., "Hepatitis B Awareness, Knowledge, and Screening among Asian Americans," *Journal of Cancer Education* 22, no. 4 (2007): 266–272.

9. Karen L. Ito, "Health Culture and the Clinical Encounter: Vietnamese Refugees' Responses to Preventive Drug Treatment of Inactive Tuberculosis," *Medical Anthropology Quarterly* 13, no. 3 (1999): 338–364.

10. H. Rika Houston, Nancy Harada, and Takashi Makinodan, "Development of a Culturally Sensitive Educational Intervention Program to Reduce the High Incidence of Tuberculosis Among Foreign-Born Vietnamese," *Ethnicity & Health* 7, no. 4 (2002): 255–265.

11. Houston, Harada, and Makinodan, "Development of a Culturally Sensitive Educational Intervention," 255–265.

MENTAL HEALTH

Grace Michele V. Alba, Mabel Lam, and Alvin Alvarez

Asian Americans, the fastest growing minority group in the United States, have the lowest rate of mental health care usage among all minority populations. While the overall prevalence rates of mental illness among Asian Americans appear similar to those of the white population, Asians show higher levels of depressive symptoms than whites. Only 17 percent of Asian Americans suffering from mental afflictions sought needed care.[1] Compared to other racial/ethnic groups, Asian Americans have less access to mental health services and are less likely to receive services.[2] Moreover, Asian Americans are traditionally underrepresented in mental health clinical research.[3] These factors combine to make mental health a significant public health issue for this rapidly growing group.

The incidence of mental illness among Asian Americans varies by ethnicity, generation, gender, and age. Although Asian Americans overall have lower rates of mental disorders than the total U.S. population, they experience higher rates of mood disorders, substance use/abuse, and some anxiety disorders compared with international studies of Asian communities.[4] Among Asian Americans, U.S.-born Asians had a higher risk for mood and anxiety disorder than immigrants.[5] Among Chinese Americans, about 6.9 percent of adults have experienced a major depressive episode in their lives, and 3.4 percent had experienced a major depressive episode within a 12-month period.[6] Older Asian American women have the highest suicide rate of women 65 years and older. Older Asian Americans also show a greater prevalence of dementia than the general population.[7] The prevalence of major depressive episodes in the Asian American population is 19.6 percent in the primary care setting. This rate is comparable to or higher than that of the white populations.[8] Without proper diagnosis and treatment, many Asian Americans who suffer from mental illnesses will

experience disability and despair within their families, schools, communities, and the workplace.

FACTORS AFFECTING MENTAL HEALTH

Cultural beliefs and values influence all areas of health awareness, knowledge, access, and outcomes. As with many ethnic minority groups, issues of shame and stigma, compounded with misinformation about mental health, are likely to affect how the illness is conceptualized within the community. Because of the high percentage of immigrants among Asian Americans, cultural influences are likely to be very prominent. In general, traditional Asian views dictate that mental health issues are more acceptable if they are attributed to physical and spiritual problems, rather than emotional.

A major obstacle for Asian American usage of mental health care resources may be attributed to the shame and stigma associated with mental health issues. Stigma is a significant obstacle that may prevent many from accessing care. Compared with other racial/ethnic groups, Asian Americans are the least likely to seek help for mental disorders. Within some Asian cultures, values of self-reliance, reservation, and fear of shaming the family may prevent many from seeking necessary help.[9] Mental illness may be viewed as a weakness in the patient and also reflect negatively on his or her family. As Asian Americans value family reputations and familial relationships above all others, there exists a resistance to sharing information that is thought to bring shame to the family and subsequently alienation from the community. In some Asian countries, the label of mental illness decreases opportunities for workplace success, marriage, and acceptance in society.[10]

Given the general stigma associated with mental illness in some Asian cultures, research has shown that many Asian Americans tend to manifest their psychological problems as physical ones, such as headaches, weakness, or back and chest pain. A somatic complaint may be a more acceptable manner of expressing psychiatric distress and seeking formal health services to treat it.[11] Among traditionally oriented Chinese Americans, depression might be described with physical symptoms rather than sadness because many feel that a diagnosis of depression is unacceptable, both morally and experientially.[12] Previous research, however, has shown that somatization may also play a role as a barrier to care. Physicians who are unaware of the potential for somatization of mental health issues may become mired in trying to attend to these physical symptoms, thus leaving the underlying mental health problem undiagnosed and unaddressed.

Culture-specific or culture-bound syndromes are psychological symptoms recognized by a specific ethnic group. Cultural influences significantly affect how mental disorders are manifested and perceived. Some disorders, especially mental disorders, are more culture-specific than others. One example is hwabyung, a documented Korean folk illness that afflicts older, married, and less acculturated Korean immigrant women.[13] Hwabyung, or literally "anger

illness" or "fire illness," manifests as one or more of a wide range of physical symptoms in response to emotional disturbance, such as stress from troublesome interpersonal relationships or life crises. In some cultures, the hallucinations of schizophrenia and schizoaffective disorders can be experienced as a spiritual experience, such as seeing a spirit or a ghost of a deceased family member, or as Karma by various Southeast Asians. Some spiritual beliefs and explanations of mental illness by Asian Americans include actions of a superior being requiring appeasement, bad wishes of another person through witchcraft, and biomedical spiritual modalities, such as Ayurvedic and Chinese medicine, which embrace ideas of bodily balance and noxious substances.[14]

A major barrier and challenge for Asian Americans seeking help for mental illness is the lack of education and awareness regarding mental health issues and how to access care within the U.S. health care system. This lack of education about psychiatric disorders further contributes to the stigma. For example, as the Asian American population ages in the United States, diseases such as Alzheimer's, which affects mental health, have become more prevalent; however, the lack of education and misconceptions about Alzheimer's has resulted in the underusage of treatment for the disease. Because of cultural norms, Asian Americans may see signs of Alzheimer's as normal mental aging and memory loss. After becoming aware of the disease, however, many Asian Americans may seek information or treatment privately, as there is a concern about the stigmas and misconceptions associated with mental illness. One documented misconception is that Alzheimer's is contagious. There are some instances among Chinese Americans in which individuals have been subjected to alienation and discrimination from the community after having disclosed a family member's Alzheimer's diagnosis. Community members reportedly shunned the family, as they feared they too may "catch" the disease.[15] Incorrect perceptions and the passing around of inaccurate information further fuel the fear and stigmas surrounding mental illness.

RACISM AND DISCRIMINATION

Racism and discrimination have been and continue to be significant influences on the mental health of Asian Americans. Racism emerges in three forms: individual, institutional, and cultural.[16] Individual racism refers to the behaviors of individuals acting on their beliefs in their racial group's superiority and the inferiority of another racial group. Individual racism may span the range from verbal harassment and racial slurs to physical assault and homicide, such as the murders of Vincent Chin, Thien Ly, and Mohammed Hossain. Institutional racism occurs when social systems create policies, regulations, and legislation—in areas such as housing, education, health, and the legal system—that limit or deny the rights or choices of a particular racial group. From historical anti-immigration, anti-naturalization and anti-miscegenation laws to contemporary English-only initiatives, glass-ceiling barriers, and educational quotas, institutional racism has been a consistent aspect of Asian Americans' lives. Lastly,

cultural racism refers to the underlying worldviews, beliefs, and traditions that promote a belief in one group's superiority. In effect, cultural racism is the belief system that provides explicit and implicit support for the racism enacted by individuals and institutions. Cultural racism can be found in assumptions about how one defines physical beauty, social etiquette, interpersonal communication, family dynamics, and so forth.

Racism has been consistently linked with adverse psychological and physical outcomes. In the National Latino and Asian American Study—the most comprehensive national study to date—racism increased the probability that Asian Americans would experience a psychological disorder and that this probability increased as Asian Americans had more frequent encounters with racism.[17] Indeed, racism against Asian Americans has been found to be consistently associated with a range of negative outcomes such as substance abuse, depression, poor body image, post-traumatic stress disorder, race-related stress, self-esteem, HIV risk behavior, heart disease, and respiratory illness.[18]

Research on the frequency and prevalence of racism has been more inconsistent in its findings and may reflect methodological variations. For instance, the National Latino and Asian American Study reported that racism was a relatively infrequent event that occurred less than once a year—which was similar to the rate found in other communities.[19] However, the authors noted that this may reflect underreporting and minimization by their participants. Despite this infrequency, research has found that racism is a prevalent experience among Asian Americans. Depending upon the type of racism being assessed, 40 to 98 percent of Asian Americans report having experienced at least one form of racism in their lifetime.[20] Although further studies are needed, the preliminary evidence suggests that Asian Americans' experiences with racism may differ by factors such as gender, with Asian American men reporting more frequent experiences with racism than women; ethnicity, with Filipinos reporting higher levels of racism than other Asian ethnic groups, and length of residency, with length of residency in the United States being positively associated with a higher frequency of racism.[21] Given the clear evidence of the significant adverse affects of racism, further work is needed to determine the nuances of this experience in the various segments of Asian American communities.

BARRIERS TO CARE: FAMILY, LANGUAGE, AND HEALTH CARE ACCESS

Although Asian Americans underuse mental health services, the reason for this is unclear. Discrepancies between official and real rates of adjustment difficulties may be masked because of undiagnosed rates of mental disorder in this community. These undiagnosed rates may be partly because of cultural factors such as shame and stigma associated with mental illness, but also to cultural norms that favor problem solving within the family unit versus reliance on outside or formal resources.[22]

In traditional Asian culture, help is first accessed from within the family. As a result, Asian immigrant families prefer to keep issues and situations within their family for fear of judgment from outsiders. Distinct differences in the barriers to those seeking help exist in each Asian American subgroup. With Filipino Americans, it has been shown that the importance of family hierarchy and reputation can become barriers against help-seeking.[23] As interpersonal relationships are often crucial to Filipino Americans, physicians are perceived as outsiders, which results in the underusage of health care services. While many Filipino Americans prefer to seek help through interpersonal relationships, some Chinese Americans have been shown to seek out information privately at health clinics or with their physician.[24] Chinese Americans may not turn to friends for a fear of discrimination and public shame and because they believe that friends would not understand their illness.

Asian Americans not only experience cultural barriers to mental health care but also barriers in terms of language barriers and health care access. As there are more than thirty different Asian groups, each distinctly different from the other, these groups react to and treat mental illness differently. Each Asian American subgroup faces certain barriers to care, including language barriers. The availability of mental health services presents a challenge to approximately half of Asian Americans because of language barriers.[25] Twenty-one percent of Asian Americans compared to 16 percent of all Americans lack health insurance, which further compounds access to health services.[26]

Different levels of acculturation among Asian American subgroups have also been an explanation for the differing amounts of usage between each group. Southeast Asians, a less-established Asian American group when compared to other Asian groups, have been shown to have stronger cultural attitudes and beliefs about mental health issues and are less likely to seek the appropriate help.[27] The distinct difference between each Asian American group indicates that there cannot be a generalization of care toward Asian Americans. The treatment of mental illness is best addressed in each group separately. There are also marked disparities in treatment for mental disorders among Asian Americans. Research indicates that among the Chinese American subpopulation, few patients diagnosed with a major depressive disorder had received antidepressant treatment from their primary care physician.[28]

The use of traditional medicinal and healing practices or complementary alternative medicine is still very common and often the first method of treatment for Asian Americans. Complementary therapies were sought by Asian Americans at rates equal to or higher than by white Americans. Complementary alternative medicine is widely used in the Chinese American community.[29] Chinese Americans report higher levels of shame when using American psychiatric services than with the use of traditional Chinese medicine. Some researchers advocate for an integrated approach using traditional Chinese medicines and formal mental health services, which may help to reduce shame for Chinese American patients.[30] Beyond family members, many Asian Americans also report seeking spiritual healing or treatment for mental illness. Often,

clergy members or spiritual leaders are approached for help and for treatment. In the Korean American community, a pastor is often the first point of contact for those seeking mental health assistance.[31]

CULTURALLY COMPETENT CARE

Given that counseling and therapy may be unfamiliar and inconsistent with cultural and personal norms, then a central question for Asian Americans is how to determine if a clinician is culturally competent. A key foundation for cultural competence is the therapists' self-awareness about their own biases, experiences, and knowledge of Asian Americans and the diversity within this community.[32] In order to provide culturally competent care, a therapist should have engaged in a process of self-reflection—for instance, their assumptions about psychological well-being, family dynamics, communication style, interpersonal norms, etc., and their clients. For instance, this would include their knowledge about different Asian ethnic groups, history and immigration patterns, and stereotypes of Asian Americans, as well as cultural values relevant to therapy such as shame, self-disclosure, working with authority figures, etc. In particular, it is seen that therapists should be aware of their own socialization and interpersonal experiences with Asian Americans and how these experiences may shape their expectations of a particular client. Researchers argue that this self-reflection should occur regardless of whether or not the therapist and client are from similar or different racial or ethnic backgrounds because both individuals may define and identify with these social identities differently.[33] For instance, a Thai American therapist may not necessarily have the same understanding of what it means to be Thai or Asian American in the same way as the Thai client she is seeing in therapy. In short, having a therapist of the same racial or ethnic background, per se, may not guarantee that the two will work well together. Consequently, cultural competence is also demonstrated by the therapist's ability to assess, respect, and incorporate the client's cultural identity and values into her treatment plan.[34]

In addition, therapists' cultural competency is also evident in their actual knowledge base and clinical skills. For example, to enhance their knowledge base, therapists should have received training and clinical supervision in multicultural counseling courses and workshops, familiarized themselves with the existing literature in Asian American psychology and professional standards of multicultural counseling and perhaps enrolled in courses in Asian American Studies.[35] As a result of this training, therapists should understand that there are cultural variations in how mental health is manifested and treated rather than imposing a more mainstream perspective on their Asian American clients. In terms of culturally competency skills, therapists can initially demonstrate their cultural sensitivity by acknowledging and honoring the potential stigma associated with coming to therapy and assessing the client's understanding of and expectations of therapy. In return, it may be helpful for therapists to provide clients with clear explanations about the process and outcome of therapy, the

types of treatments that may be possible, as well as the role of the therapist and client—rather than assuming that there is a shared understanding of how therapy works.[36] Culturally competent therapists recognize that psychological well-being is not simply a function of the individual but also of the context of this individual's life, including the social, institutional, and sociopolitical stressors such as discrimination, access to resources, and immigration.[37] Therefore, therapists demonstrate their cultural competence by implementing interventions that focus not only on the individual but also on addressing systems and institutions that are stress-inducing to the individual. Moreover, culturally competent therapists are cognizant of and incorporate indigenous healers and healing practices into their treatment when it is consistent with the client's cultural worldview.[38]

OUTLOOK

Many factors converge to create significant barriers for seeking early treatment of mental disorders for Asian Americans. There is the need to instruct the general public about mental illness and mental health issues. Through education of the general public via campaigns, and by education of the family unit via family therapy, progress can be made. The National Alliance on Mental Illness has created a Multicultural Action Center that focuses on reform and access to culturally competent services and treatment of different multicultural groups. This center holds national events and conferences about multicultural mental health issues, such as the National Alliance on Mental Illness Multicultural Leadership Conference, which was an opportunity for leaders of multicultural efforts from across the country to gather to share information, tools, and network. The National Asian American Pacific Islander Mental Health Association advocates on behalf of Asian/Pacific-American mental health issues, serving as a forum for effective collaboration and networking among a wide range of stakeholders and addressing issues that include both physical and mental health as well as substance abuse. The Asian American Psychological Association is the oldest national psychological organization dedicated to advancing the welfare of Asian Americans through the development of Asian American psychology. This association has an online community at www.aapaonline.org, where users can access an email listserv, newsletters, and information about its annual national conventions. In addition to national organizations, there are also regional and local organizations that provide resources and support to the Asian American community.

In areas where there are significant numbers of Asian Americans, there are several Asian American organizations working to help educate and service Asian Americans suffering from mental illness. In Houston, TX, the Asian American Family Services provides culturally and linguistically competent programs and conducts intervention and prevention-oriented programs for families in the Greater Houston Area. Their programs include clinical and mental health services, family support services, as well as senior and youth programs. In addition,

the Asian American Family Services organizes educational conferences and seminars to improve cross-cultural competency in mental health. To raise public awareness about the mental health needs and services in the Asian community, the Asian American Family Services also campaigns via ethnic media outlets, including radio talk shows and newspaper columns. In New York, the N. Y. Coalition for Asian American Mental Health is an organization that seeks to improve the quality of mental health care services for Asian Americans through community advocacy for the establishment of culturally competent care for Asian Americans at city and state hospitals. It also provides resources, such as educational DVDs, promoting understanding of stigma and shame associated with mental illness and Asian Americans, and also organizes national conferences to raise awareness about Asian American mental health issues.

In the San Francisco Bay Area, the Asian Community Mental Health Services organization provides multicultural and multilingual services in three areas: behavioral health care, developmental disabilities, and family support and youth services. Some of its services include confidential on-site outpatient mental health care; including assessment; case management/brokerage; crisis intervention; psychotherapy for individuals, groups, and families; and medication therapy services. It also is continually training its multidisciplinary, multilingual staff to provide culturally competent care. Other organizations in the Bay Area include the Richmond Area Multi-Services Inc. and the Asian Americans for Community Involvement Organization. The Richmond Area Multi-Services Inc. is a private, nonprofit mental health agency that advocates and provides services aimed at serving Asian and Pacific Islander Americans. Its services range from adult, older adult, youth and family outpatient services, to vocational training and employment services. The Asian Americans for Community Involvement Organization is the largest community-based organization serving the Asian American community in Santa Clara County. It offers a range of culturally and linguistically competent services such as individual, group, and family counseling, an outpatient clinic, case management, school based counseling, as well as twenty-four-hour emergency coverage.

FURTHER READING

Asian American Psychological Association. http://www.aapaonline.org/index.shtml.

Asian Americans for Community Involvement. http://www.aaci.org/home.htm.

Asian Community Mental Health Services. http://www.acmhs.org/.

National Alliance on Mental Illness: Multicultural Action Center. http://www.nami.org/Template.cfm?Section=Multicultural_Support&Template=/TaggedPage/TaggedPageDisplay.cfm&TPLID=56&ContentID=42137.

National Asian American Pacific Islander Mental Health Association. http://www.naapimha.org/.

N.Y. Coalition for Asian American Mental Health. http://www.asianmentalhealth.org/.

Tewari, Nita and Alvin N. Alvarez. *Asian American Psychology: Current Perspectives*. New York: Psychology Press. 2008.

NOTES

1. U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, *Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration*, http://www.samhsa.gov/ (May 2008).

2. The National Household Survey on Drug Abuse, "Serious Mental Illness among Adults," *Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration*, Oct. 18, 2002, http://www.oas.samhsa.gov/2k2/SMI/SMI.htm (May 2008).

3. U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, "Serious Mental Illness among Adults."

4. D. T. Takeuchi et al., "Lifetime and Twelve-Month Prevalence Rates of Major Depressive Episodes and Dysthymia among Chinese Americans in Los Angeles," *American Journal of Psychiatry* 155 (1998): 1407–1414.

5. Takeuchi et al., "Lifetime and Twelve-Month Prevalence Rates," 1407–1414.

6. Takeuchi et al., "Lifetime and Twelve-Month Prevalence Rates," 1407–1414.

7. American Psychiatric Association, "Asian American/Pacific Islanders (AAPI) Awareness," Online May 2008, http://www.healthyminds.org/aapia08.cfm (accessed May 2008); *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders: DSM-IV,* 4th ed., Washington, DC: American Psychiatric Association, 1994; "Let's Talk Facts About Mental Health in Asian American and Pacific Islanders," American Psychiatric Association, APA Web site (accessed May 2008).

8. A. Yeung et al., "Prevalence of Major Depressive Disorder among Chinese-Americans in Primary Care," *General Hospital Psychiatry* 26, no. 1 (2004): 24–30.

9. American Psychiatric Association, "Asian American/Pacific Islanders (AAPI) Awareness," http://www.healthyminds.org/aapia08.cfm; *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders: DSM-IV,* 4th ed., Washington, DC: American Psychiatric Association, 1994, "Let's Talk Facts About Mental Health in Asian American and Pacific Islanders," American Psychiatric Association, APA Web site; Derald Wing Sue and David Sue, *Counseling the Culturally Diverse: Theory and Practice*, 5th ed. (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, Inc, 2007).

10. Henry Chung, "The Challenges of Providing Behavioral Treatment to Asian Americans," *Western Journal of Medicine* 176 (2002): 222–223, http://www.pubmedcentral.nih.gov/articlerender.fcgi?artid=1071732.

11. Jian-Ping Chen, Hongtu Chen, Henry Chung, "Depressive Disorders in Asian American Adults," *Western Journal of Medicine* 176 (2002): 239–244, http://www.pubmedcentral.nih.gov/articlerender.fcgi?artid=1071741.

12. A. Kleinman, "Culture and Depression," *New England Journal of Medicine* 351 (2004): 951–953.

13. S. K. Chaturvedi and G. Desai, "Neurosis," in *Textbook of Cultural Psychiatry*, ed. Dinesh Bhugra and Kamaldeep Bhui (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2007); H. J. Chen, "Mental Illness and Principal Physical Diagnoses among Asian American and Pacific Islander Users of Emergency Services," *Issues in Mental Health Nursing* 26, no. 10 (2005): 1061–1079.

14. P. Bebbington and C. Cooper, "Affective Disorders," in *Textbook of Cultural Psychiatry*, ed. Dinesh Bhugra and Kamaldeep Bhui (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 224–241.

15. Diane F. Mahoney et al., "African American, Chinese, and Latino Family Caregivers' Impressions of the Onset and Diagnosis of Dementia: Cross-Cultural Similarities and Differences," *Gerontologist* 45, no. 6 (2005): 783–792.

16. James Jones, *Prejudice and Racism,* 2nd ed. (New York: McGraw Hill, 1997); Richard M. Lee, "Resilience against Discrimination: Ethnic Identity and Other-Group Orientation as Protective Factors for Korean Americans," *Journal of Counseling Psychology* 52 (2005): 36–44.

17. G. C. Gee et al., "The Association between Self-Reported Racial Discrimination and 12-Month DSM-IV Mental Disorders among Asian Americans Nationwide," *Social Science and Medicine* 64, no. 10 (2007): 1984–1996.

18. Gilbert Gee, "Relationships between Self-Reported Unfair Treatment and Prescription Medication Use, Illicit Drug Use, and Alcohol Dependence among Filipino Americans," *American Journal of Public Health* 96, no. 8 (2006): 1–8; Melissa Greene, Niobe Way, and Kerstin Pahl, "Trajectories of Perceived Adult and Peer Discrimination among Black, Latino, and Asian American Adolescents: Patterns and Psychological Correlates," *Developmental Psychology* 42 (2006): 218–238; Dana S. Iyer and Nick Haslam, "Body Image and Eating Disturbance among South Asian American Women," *International Journal of Eating Disorders* 34 (2003): 142–147; Jones, *Prejudice and Racism*; Chalsa M. Loo et al., "Measuring Exposure to Racism: Development and Validation of a Race-Related Stressor Scale (RRSS) for Asian American Vietnam Veterans," *Psychological Assessment* 13, no. 4 (2005): 503–520; Christopher T. Liang, "The Role of Coping in the Relationship Between Perceived Racism and Racism-Related Stress for Asian Americans: Gender Differences," *Journal of Counseling Psychology* 54 (2007): 132–141; Celia Fisher, Scyatta Wallace, and Rose Fenton, "Discrimination Distress during Adolescence," *Journal of Youth and Adolescence* 29 (2000): 670–695; Hirokazu Yoshikawa et al., "Do Family and Friendship Networks Protect against the Influence of Discrimination on Mental Health and HIV Risk among Asian and Pacific Islander Gay Men?" *AIDS Education and Prevention* 16, no. 1 (2004): 84–100; Gilbert C. Gee et al., "A Nationwide Study of Discrimination and Chronic Health Conditions among Asian Americans," *American Journal of Public Health* 97, no. 7 (2007): 1275–1282.

19. Gee et al., "A Nationwide Study of Discrimination," 1275–1282.

20. Alvin N. Alvarez, Linda Juang, and Christopher T. H. Liang, "Asian Americans and Racism: When Bad Things Happen to 'Model Minorities,'" *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology* 12, no. 3 (2006): 477–492; Krysia N. Mossakowski, "Coping with Perceived Discrimination: Does Ethnic Identity Protect Mental Health?" *Journal of Health and Social Behavior* 44, no. 3 (2003): 318–331.

21. Alvarez, Juang, and Liang, "Asian Americans and Racism," 477–492; Richard M. Lee, "Resilience Against Discrimination: Ethnic Identity and Other-Group Orientation as Protective Factors for Korean Americans," *Journal of Counseling Psychology* 52 (2005): 36–44; Alvarez, Juang, and Liang, "Asian Americans and Racism," 477–492; Gee, et al., "A Nationwide Study of Discrimination," 1275–1282; Sharon G. Goto, Gilbert C. Gee, and David T. Takeuchi, "Strangers Still? The Experience of Discrimination among Chinese-Americans," *Journal of Community Psychology* 30, no. 2 (2002): 211–224.

22. Sue and Sue, *Counseling the Culturally Diverse: Theory and Practice*.

23. Francis Sanchez and Albert Gaw, "Mental Health Care of Filipino Americans," *Psychiatric Services* 58, no. 6 (2007): 810–815, http://psychservices.psychiatryonline.org/cgi/content/abstract/58/6/810.

24. Sanchez and Gaw, "Mental Health Care of Filipino Americans," 810–815; Mahoney et al., "African American, Chinese, and Latino Family Caregivers," 783–792.

25. Jason Cheng, "Asian-American Mental Health," Asian Pacific American Medical Student Association, March 24, 2007, http://www.apamsa.org/home/resources/files/The_State_of_APIA_Mental_Health_3-24-07.ppt#271,17,APAMSA.

26. Cheng, "The State of Asian American Mental Health."

27. Phillip D. Akutsu, Garyn K. Tsuru, Joyce P. Chu, "Prioritized Assignment to Intake Appointments for Asian Americans at an Ethnic-Specific Mental Health Program," *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology* 74 (2006): 1108–1115.

28. Yeung, "Prevalence of Major Depressive Disorder," 24–30.

29. Lin Fang and Steven P. Schinke, "Complementary Alternative Medicine Use Among Chinese Americans: Findings From a Community Mental Health Service Population," *Psychiatric Services* 58 (2007): 402–404.

30. Lawrence H. Yang, Jo C. Phelan, Bruce G. Link, "Stigma and Beliefs of Efficacy towards Traditional Chinese Medicine and Western Psychiatric Treatment among Chinese-Americans," *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology* 14 (2008): 10–18.

31. M. Kim-Goh, "Conceptualization of Mental Illness among Korean-American Clergymen and Implications for Mental Health Service Delivery," *Community Mental Health Journal* 29 (1993): 404–412.

32. Sue and Sue, *Counseling the Culturally Diverse: Theory and Practice.*

33. Alvin N. Alvarez and Grace A. Chen, "Ruth as an Asian American: A Multicultural, Integrative Perspective," in *Gerald Corey Case Approach to Counseling and Psychotherapy,* 7th ed. (Belmont, CA: Thomson/Brooks Cole, 2009), 304–312

34. Sue and Sue, *Counseling the Culturally Diverse: Theory and Practice.*

35. Frederick T. L. Leong, et al., *Handbook of Asian American psychology,* 2nd ed. (Thousand Oaks, CA; SAGE Publications, 2006); American Psychiatric Association, "Asian American/Pacific Islanders (AAPI) Awareness," http://www.healthyminds.org/aapia08.cfm (accessed May 2008); *DSM-IV,* 4th ed., Washington, DC: American Psychiatric Association, 1994, "Let's Talk Facts About Mental Health in Asian American and Pacific Islanders," American Psychiatric Association, http://www.healthyminds.org/Document-Library/Brochure-Library/Asian-American-and-Pacific-Islanders-Text-Only.aspx (accessed May 2008).

36. Alvarez and Chen, "Ruth as an Asian American," 304–312.

37. Sue and Sue, *Counseling the Culturally Diverse: Theory and Practice.*

38. Arpana G. Inman, and Christine Yeh, "Stress and coping," in *Handbook of Asian American Psychology,* 2nd ed., eds. Frederick T. L. Leong et al. (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 2006), 323–340.

This page intentionally left blank

SEXUAL HEALTH

Chwee-Lye Chng

The sexual attitudes, knowledge, and practices of Asian American teenagers and young adults are strikingly different from those of other ethnicities. Asian Americans are more sexually naïve, with poor knowledge about sex and HIV. One study reported that almost 75 percent of Asian Americans in grades 9–12 are virgins.[1] Asian Americans are also more conservative in their sexual behavior compared to non-Asian Americans.[2] For instance, when compared to others, Asian American youth were less likely to engage in oral sex or intercourse, and their sexual initiation began at an older age.[3] Overall, Asian American youths know less about HIV and sex, and have poorer sexual communication skills than white youths.[4] Research has shown that Asian Americans were less likely to use a condom at first intercourse than other ethnic groups.[5] Consequently, compared to their white and Latino peers, Asian Americans are at higher risk for unintended pregnancies, and they are the only ethnic group nationally to experience growing rates of abortion.[6]

A 2006 study of white and Chinese Americans students in grades 7–12 reported that Chinese Americans students had lower rates of sex than whites (13% vs. 36%).[7] Among all four comparison groups, Chinese American males had the lowest rate of sex (11.4%). Overall, Chinese American students had fewer casual partners in the past year than other groups, but among sexually active youths, Chinese American males had the fewest number of casual sex partners.

Once they have sex, however, Asian American students are equally prone to use drugs, refuse condom use during sex, or have multiple partners, as others.[8] Although sexually active Asian American eventually have similar rates of HIV and engage in the same risky sexual behaviors as those of other groups.[9] They

are less likely to be HIV-tested or have accurate HIV and sexual knowledge, making Asian Americans more vulnerable to undetected infections. Asian Americans (47%) are less likely than whites (67%) to discuss HIV.[10] Whites are more than twice as likely to discuss HIV than are Asian Americans. Knowledge about how to prevent HIV has traditionally been low for many Asian Americans.[11]

A 2005 study of young heterosexual Asian American college students attending a national health conference provided information on their sexual behavior.[12] Like the earlier adolescent study, this study on college students confirmed Asian American as being sexually naive, with 60 percent virgins and only 33 percent reporting sex in the past month.[13] Among the sexually active, 52 percent had had oral sex, 27 percent in the past month; 49 percent had had vaginal sex, 25 percent in the past month. Notably, 9 percent reported previous experience with anal intercourse (90 percent of the time without condom), 2 percent in the past month (80 percent of the time without a condom). The 37 percent lifetime rates of unprotected sex (vs. 80%) and 16 percent (vs. 55%) current rates of unprotected sex among Asian American students were significantly lower than those of their same age peers. Notably, the Asian American rate of 16 percent for current prevalence rate of unprotected sex was significantly lower than for blacks (43%), Hispanics (30%), and whites (28%). The typical Asian American college student in this study lacks basic HIV knowledge information, with the majority reporting inaccurate information about HIV and its transmission; only 2 percent of the sample scored perfectly on their HIV knowledge test. These observations easily confirm Asian Americans as a high-risk group for contracting HIV and other STDs, despite their cultural stereotype of sexual conservatism. Asian Americans do not have accurate sex information when initiating sex with others.

The sexual risks for HIV and STDs vary widely across the diverse subgroups within the Asian communities. For example, Filipino American teenagers were more than twice as likely as Chinese Americans to be sexually active.[14] While white teenagers reported a birth rate of 12 percent, birth rates of Asian subgroups ranged for 1 percent to 19 percent. Similarly, whereas 36 percent of white teenagers had used drugs in the past month, the rates for Asian subgroups ranged from 12 percent to 37 percent, and Asian American rates for marijuana use ranged from 4 percent to 20 percent, compared to 15 percent for non-Asians. One cannot assume indiscriminately that the overall sexual risk data apply to all Asian subgroups without exception.

SEXUALLY TRANSMITTED DISEASES AMONG YOUTH

Asian Americans are equally susceptible to contracting sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) as other ethnicities; however, Asian American females are at greater risk for such infection than Asian American males. Their low levels of STD knowledge, with the cultural stigma of contracting infections through sex, may have hindered Asians from being tested and treated for these infections. A national study of 762 Asian American middle and high school students

uncovered 9 percent of Asians with STD infections, with chlamydia being the most common.[15] This proportion of Asians with chlamydia mirrors national trends among young adults (5% females, 4% males). Notably, more young Asian American females (13%) report STD infections than do young males (4%). In fact, Asian American females are four times more likely to contract an STD than Asian American males. This higher female rate may merely reflect the higher frequency of routine STD screening among females during their regular gynecologic examinations, a service rarely available to males. Another explanation may be the wider and more racially mixed sexual networks of Asian American females than Asian American males. Because Asian American females have three to six times higher rates of interracial dating and marriages than Asian American males, their sexual networks may be more expansive, thus exposing them to more STDs.[16] The STD risk for Asian males may be underreported. Further, among those with an STD history, 75 percent were women, 9 percent had exchanged sex for money, 31 percent had had sex before age 15, and 55 percent reported multiple sex partners in the past year.[17]

Despite these observations, Asian Americans still consider their risk for STDs as very low and therefore are unlikely to protect themselves from such infections. Interestingly, the earlier adolescent study had underscored the popularity of oral sex among Asian American youth, reflecting their inaccurate view that oral sex is safe.[18] In truth, oral sex has been linked to STD transmissions, including chlamydia, gonorrhea, syphilis, herpes, hepatitis, and HIV.[19] A study of multiethnic adolescents showed that when compared to other students, Asian Americans were the least likely to correctly identify sex with an infected person as a risk factor for hepatitis B infection.[20]

HIV/AIDS

Although the overall rate of AIDS among Asian Americans (4 per 100,000 population) is low compared to other ethnic groups in the United States, the estimated number of HIV/AIDS cases have steadily increased.[21] When compared to other ethnicities, Asian Americans are not without sexual risks for HIV.[22] A study conducted in San Francisco 2004 showed that the rates of unprotected anal sex and STDs among young Asian American men who have sex with men (MSM) have exceeded the levels among white MSM in the city.[23] Some studies have suggested that some Asian American subgroups may engage in higher HIV risk behavior than other ethnicities.[24] Despite this observation, many Asian American MSM do not consider themselves to be at risk for HIV. A recent study underscored an emerging HIV epidemic among young Asian Americans who have sex with men (MSM) in San Francisco, with almost half reporting unprotected anal sex in the past six months.[25] Consistent with earlier findings of studies with high school students and young MSM, Asian Americans report similar levels of HIV risk as the rest of the population.[26] Although 3.8 percent of the nationwide adult sample had at least one HIV risk behavior in the past year, the prevalence of HIV risk behaviors

(e.g., unprotected anal intercourse in the past six months) had been as high as 30 percent in some Asian subgroups such as Asian MSM.[27]

Among Asian Americans, the HIV/AIDS epidemic has primarily affected males (83% of AIDS cases). The main risk factor for Asian American men is male-male sexual behaviors, whereas heterosexual contact accounts for the majority of HIV/AIDS cases in Asian American females. HIV and AIDS affect primarily those twenty-five to forty-four years old, and these cases are mostly concentrated in a few states with large Asian American populations. HIV diagnosis in Asian Americans, as in other ethnic groups, is often made in later stages of the disease, suggesting that many Asians may have delayed HIV testing.

PARENT-ADOLESCENT CONVERSATIONS ABOUT SEX

Parent-adolescent communication about sex can protect against risky sexual behaviors in teenagers.[28] Although family relationships are vitally important to Asian Americans, ironically, such dialogues on sensitive topics such as sexual feelings, sexual intercourse, pregnancy, HIV, and drugs are rare in families. Asian American parents may convey sexual messages in indirect, implicit, and nonverbal ways easily understood by their Asian American children. For example, parents who inform their daughters that “romance and dating can wait until after college” have essentially conveyed clear expectations about their children’s sexual behavior without explicitly referring to sexual intercourse; however, Asian American parents are not uniformly silent about sexuality, although male family members are less engaged in the sexual socialization of their young.[29] According to a 2007 study, sons recalled receiving less sexual information than did daughters, and fathers were perceived as providing less information than mothers on almost all sexual topics.[30] In the absence of explicit parental communication about sexuality, perhaps Asian American males have to turn elsewhere to learn about sex.

In fact, across many Asian cultures, open discussions of sexuality are taboo.[31] A 2006 study of multiethnic adolescents and their mothers reported that Asian Americans were more uncomfortable and had fewer discussions about sex with their daughters.[32] Perhaps because of the rarity of such sexual conversations, when they do occur, Asian youths are more likely to attend to such messages from their parents. Chinese American and Filipina American young women who were more comfortable talking to their mothers about sex and whose mothers were more approving of their sexual behavior, were less likely to use the unreliable “withdrawal” as a method of contraception.[33] Vietnamese American college females whose mothers had discussed pap testing were more likely to experience a pap test than those whose mothers had not talked to them. These two studies have underscored that direct maternal communication could influence health and sexual behaviors of Asian Americans females and young adults.[34]

Probably because of their cultural conservatism, Asian Americans are more likely to consider parental opinions of their behaviors. A study has shown that

compared to whites, Asian American were more concerned about their parents' opinions regarding dating and were less likely to verbally disagree with a parent's decision regarding dating.[35] These observations may reflect the influence of their immigrant parents' traditional values and cultural norms. Compared to white teenagers, Asian American teenagers expressed more barriers communicating with their fathers, who are more authoritarian in Asian American society. Research has shown that direct and open communication between father and child is rare. Studies have established that openness in communication with parents was a significant predictor of self-esteem for both Asian Americans and white youths.[36] Fewer than 10 percent of young Asian American females who reported high parental attachments had sexual experience; more than half of those with low parental attachments were nonvirgins.[37] Moreover, Asian American mothers have often been less open and less comfortable talking about sex with their daughters compared with white mothers.[38] Importantly, Asian American youths were more likely than other youths to believe their parents would disapprove of them having sex.[39] Evidently, having a close relationship with parents is an important protective factor for Asian American adolescent sexuality.

BARRIERS TO OPENNESS ABOUT SEXUAL HEALTH

Model Minority Myth

Adhering to the "model minority" stereotype—that all Asian Americans are universally successful and problem-free—can be a barrier for many Asian Americans to report sexual assault, admit relationship problems, and access sexual health programs. In general, Asian Americans fear that the entire ethnic group will suffer if their "deviant" problems become public. Consequently, many Asian Americans are reluctant to seek help for personal problems for fear of bringing dishonor to their extended family.[40] In Asian cultures, there are clear guidelines on what can be disclosed to outsiders (nonfamily members), as demonstrated in the Chinese expression, "Family dishonor should never be disclosed to outsiders."[41] Consequently, Asian Americans often defend the "model minority" stereotype in their own communities by asserting that there is no sexual violence, crime, drug use, or homosexuality in their community.[42] According to advocates and health and service providers, the power of this myth can silence Asian Americans from acknowledging their sexual problems, as well as erecting obstacles to access of health and sexuality services available to Asian Americans who need them.

Barriers to Sexual Communication

Many Asian cultures forbid open expression of sexuality, especially for women, as this threatens social order and undermines family integrity.[43] In this culture, adherence to strict moral and social norms, and modesty are cherished female virtues.[44] The cultural taboo about sex deters open and explicit communication about this sensitive topic.[45] If Asian immigrant parents do not initiate

these discussions because of the taboo, then their children may feel that it is not their place to ask such questions. Also, a lack of shared sexual vocabulary (English vs. Asian languages) may also create obstacles to intergenerational sexual conversations in some immigrant families.[46]

Within their cultures, Asian Americans avoid highly personal or emotional topics for fear of triggering embarrassment and discomfort for speaker and audience. Sexual behavior, drug use, homosexuality, illness, and death typically are taboo topics for conversation.[47] For instance, homosexuality is sometimes viewed in many modern Asian cultures as deviant and contrary to values of the family. Given that the majority of Asian Americans affected by HIV/AIDS are gay men, disclosure of HIV status may insinuate a disclosure of sexual orientation. As a result, some HIV-positive gay Asian Americans hide their HIV status for fear of disgracing their family by the implicit disclosure of their sexual orientation.[48] By not disclosing, these men are denied family and community support to cope with their disease.[49]

Shame, face-saving, and the taboo nature of sex for women, often make it extremely difficult for Asian American females to report sexual abuse and violence.[50] Cultural norms often still stigmatize the Asian American rape victim, holding her responsible for bringing shame to the family. Thus, after a sexual assault, she may feel shame for "losing her virginity," and blame herself for not preventing the assault.[51] In traditional Asian family systems, the future marriage prospects of a rape victim can be devalued significantly, which further serves to silence her. Additionally, the marriage prospects of her unmarried siblings and relatives are similarly devalued by her "shame." Thus, societal and cultural factors conspire to pressure the Asian female not to report the sexual assault. A review of risk and protective factors for sexual aggression among Asian Americans have suggested that the patriarchal Asian cultures may produced an increased risk for sexual aggression by Asian American men.[52]

Sometimes the concept of "loss of face" can work to protect Asian American males against interpersonal violence. A 1998 study of Asian American and white males found that loss of face served as a protective factor against sexual aggression for Asian American men, but not for whites.[53] Moreover, loss of face was positively and significantly correlated with ethnic identity among Asian Americans but not among whites, which suggests that loss of face may be more influential for Asian Americans.

Acculturation

Acculturation is a process in which behaviors, attitudes and language are changed to fit that of the host society.[54] Given that social control of the expression of sexuality comes from three primary sources—the extended family, peer group, and social environment—Asian American youths must juggle conflicting expectations. The greater the influence of traditional Asian culture on these factors, the more inhibited the Asian American teenager will feel about open expression of sexuality. In particular, first- and second-generation Asian American teenagers

feel added pressure to meet expectations of their family as they try to maintain the Asian culture while assimilating into the American culture. When culture-familial expectations clash for Asian American youths, the scuffle often centers on sexuality and its expression. Acculturation has a stronger effect on young Asian American female sexuality than on the sexuality of Asian American males.[55] Acculturated Asian American females are more likely to be sexually active and to date non-Asian males. They are also more likely to have a greater awareness about HIV and sex. Less acculturated young Asian American women, in contrast, feel more shame about sex and are, therefore, less likely to discuss sexual health needs with their partners or health providers.[56]

A 2007 study of Filipino American students in grades 9–12 and their parents in a school in Los Angeles confirmed that Filipino American students talked about sex with friends more frequently than with their parents.[57] Contradicting findings of earlier studies, surprisingly, the study found that the more acculturated students were, the less often are such parent-child sex conversations.[58] Traditional Asian immigrant parents may believe that assimilation into U.S. culture encourages teenage disrespect of parents, straining parent-child interactions, and exacerbating communication problems between them. Asian American teenagers may argue that U.S. culture merely encourages candid dialogues between "equals" in the family, which traditional Asian immigrant parents often misconstrue as a lack of respect for them, resulting in more communication failures.

Although Asian Americans may appear more sexually conservative in both attitudes and behaviors than other ethnicities, they are not without sexual risks. In some Asian American subgroups, their sexual risk behaviors may even exceed those of other ethnicities; however, because of cultural and behavioral obstacles that discourage open discussion of sexual issues between parent and child, males and females, and client and provider, Asian Americans are compelled to ignore, hide, or deny important sexual needs to the detriment of their health and happiness. Researchers and practitioners agree that open discussion of Asian American sexualities is needed to decrease sexual stigma and enhance sexual health and well-being among Asian Americans today.

FURTHER READING

Asian & Pacific Islander American Health Forum: http://www.apiahf.org.

Chng, C. L., et al. "A Model for Understanding Sexual Health among Asian American/Pacific Islander Men Who Have Sex with Men (MSM) in the United States." *AIDS Education and Prevention* 15, no. 1 (2003). 21.

Kim, Janna L., Monique L. Ward. "Silence Speaks Volumes: Parental Sexual Communication Among Asian American Emerging Adults." *Journal of Adolescent Research* 22 (2007) 3–31.

National Asian Pacific American Women's Forum. http://napawf.org.

NOTES

1. M. Schuster et al., "The Sexual Practices of Asian and Pacific Islander High School Students," *Journal of Adolescent Health* 23 (1998): 221–231.

2. Schuster et al., "The Sexual Practices of Asian," 221–231; A. Hou and K. Basen-Engquist, "Human Immunodeficiency Virus Risk Behavior among White and Asian/Pacific Islander High School Students in the United States: Does Culture Make a Difference?" *Journal of Adolescent Health* 20 (1997): 68–74; W. Kuo and J. St. Lawrence, "Sexual Behavior and Self-Reported Sexually Transmitted Disease (STDs): Comparison between White and Chinese American Young People," *Culture, Health & Sexuality* 8 (2006): 335–349.

3. J. Baldwin, S. Whitely, and J. Baldwin, "The Effects of Ethnic Group on Sexual Activities Related to Contraception and STDs," *Journal of Sex Research* 29 (1992): 189–205.

4. C. Dilorio, E. Pluhar, and L. Belcher, "Parent-Child Communication about Sexuality: A Review of the Literature from 1980–2002," *Journal of HIV/AIDS Prevention and Education of Adolescence and Children* 5 (2003): 7–32.

5. R. Jones, J. Darroch, and S. Henshaw, "Patterns in the Socioeconomic Characteristics of Women Obtaining Abortions in 2000–2001," *Perspectives of Sexual and Reproductive Health* 34 (2002): 226–235.

6. T. Raine et al., "Race, Adolescent Contraceptive Choice and Pregnancy at Presentation to a Family Planning Clinic," *Obstetrics and Gynecology* 99 (2002): 241–247; C. Dye and D. Upchurch, "Moderating Effects of Gender on Alcohol Use: Implications for Condom Use at First Intercourse," *Journal of School Health* 73 (2006): 111–116.

7. Kuo and St. Lawrence, "Sexual Behavior and Self-Reported Sexually Transmitted Disease," 335–349.

8. Kuo and St. Lawrence, "Sexual Behavior and Self-Reported Sexually Transmitted Disease," 335–349; Schuster et al., "The Sexual Practices of Asian," 221–231; Hou and Basen-Engquist, "Human Immunodeficiency Virus Risk Behavior," 68–74.

9. I. Zaidi et al., "Epidemiology of HIV/AIDS among Asians and Pacific Islanders in the United States," *AIDS Education and Prevention* 17 (2005): 405–417.

10. Hou and Basen-Engquist, "Human Immunodeficiency Virus Risk Behavior," 68–74.

11. I. Zaidi et al., "Epidemiology of HIV/AIDS among Asians," 405–417.

12. D. So, F. Wong, and J. DeLeon, "Sex, HIV Risks, and Substance Use among Asian American College Students," *AIDS Education and Prevention* 17 (2005): 457–468.

13. Kuo and St. Lawrence, "Sexual Behavior and Self-Reported Sexually Transmitted Disease," 335–349.

14. P. Horan and R. diClemente, "HIV Knowledge, Communication, and Risk Behaviors among White, Chinese, and Filipino American Adolescents in a High-Prevalence AIDS Epicenter: A Comparative Analysis," *Ethnicity and Disease* 3 (1993): 97–105.

15. H. Hahm et al., "Predictors of STDs among Asian and Pacific Young Adults," *Perspective on Sexual and Reproductive Health*," 39 (2007): 231–239.

16. J. Jacobs and T. Labov, "Gender Differences in Intermarriage among Sixteen Race and Ethnic Groups," *Sociological Forum* 17 (2004): 621–646; S. Lee, "Asian Americans: Diverse and Growing," *Population Bulletin* 53 (1998): 1–40.

17. H. Hahm et al., "Predictors of STDs," 231–239.

18. So, Wong, and DeLeon, "Sex, HIV Risks, and Substance Use," 457–468.

19. Kuo and St. Lawrence, "Sexual Behavior and Self-Reported Sexually Transmitted Disease," 335–349; Baldwin, Whitely, and Baldwin, "The Effects of Ethnic Group on Sexual Activities," 189–205.

20. J. Wiecha, "Differences in Knowledge of Hepatitis B among Vietnamese, African-American, Hispanic, and White Adolescents in Worcester, Massachusetts," *Pediatrics* 104 (1999): 1212.

21. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, *HIV/AIDS Surveillance Report, 2003*, Atlanta, GA: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention 15 (2004) 34–37.

22. Hou and Basen-Engquist, "Human Immunodeficiency Virus Risk Behavior," 68–74.

23. W. McFarland et al., "Gay Asian Men in San Francisco Follow the International Trends: Increases in Rates of Unprotected Anal Intercourse and Sexually Transmitted Disease, 1999–2002," *AIDS Education and Prevention* 16 (2004): 13–18.

24. McFarland et al., "Gay Asian Men in San Francisco," 13–18.

25. K. Choi et al., "High Levels of Unprotected Sex with Men and Women among Men Who Have Sex with Men: A Potential Bridge of HIV Transmission in Beijing, China," *AIDS Education and Prevention* 16 (2004): 19–30.

26. Hou and Basen-Engquist, "Human Immunodeficiency Virus Risk Behavior," 8–74; J. Peterson et al., "Racial/Ethnic Patterns of HIV Sexual Risk Behaviors among Young Men Who Have Sex with Men," *Journal of the Gay and Lesbian Medical Association* 55 (2001): 155–162.

27. K. Choi, N. Salazar, S. Lew, "AIDS Risk, Dual Identity, and Community Response among Gay Asian and Pacific Islander Men," in *AIDS, Identity and Community: The HIV Epidemic and Lesbian and Gay Men*, ed. G. Herek and B. Green (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 1995), 115–134.

28. Hou and Basen-Engquist, "Human Immunodeficiency Virus Risk Behavior," 68–74; Dilorio, Pluhar, and Belcher, "Parent-Child Communication about Sexuality," 7–32.

29. J. Kim and L. Ward, "Silence Speaks Volumes: Parental Sexual Communication among Asian American Emerging Adults," *Journal of Adolescence Research* 22 (2007): 3–31.

30. Kim and Ward, "Silence Speaks Volumes," 3–31.

31. Sumie Okazaki, "Influences of Culture on Asian Americans' Sexuality," *The Journal of Sex Research* 39 (2002): 34–41.

32. L. Meneses, et al., "Racial/Ethnic Differences in Mother-Daughter Communication about Sex," *Journal of Adolescent Health* 39 (2006): 128–131.

33. California Young Women's Collaborative San Francisco State University [CYWC SFSU] (2007), "Smart, Beautiful . . . Maybe It's Contraception," retrieved Aug. 9, 2007, from National Asian Pacific American Women's Forum Web site http://napawf.org/file/programs/CYWC_SFSU.pdf.

34. California Young Women's Collaborative University of California Davis [CYWC UCD] 2007), "Got Pap . . . Get Tested," retrieved Aug. 9, 2007, from National Asian Pacific American Women's Forum Web site http://www.napawf.org/file/programs/UCD.brief.report.pdf.

35. S. Rhee, J. Chang, and J. Rhee, "Acculturation, Communication Patterns, and Self-Esteem among Asian and Caucasian American Adolescents," *Adolescence* 38 (2003): 749–769.

36. C. Carlson, S. Uppal, and E. Prosser, "Ethnic Differences in Processes Contributing to the Self-Esteem of Early Adolescent Girls," *Journal of Early Adolescence* 20 (2000): 44–67; A. Roberts et al., "Perceived Family and Peer Transactions and Self-Esteem among Urban Early Adolescents," *Journal of Early Adolescence* 20 (2000): 68–92.

37. Hahm et al., "Predictors of STDs among Asian," 231–239.

38. Jacobs and Labov, "Gender Differences in Intermarriage," 621–646.

39. Schuster et al., "The Sexual Practices of Asian," 221–231.

40. C. Chng et al., "A Model for Understanding Sexual Health among Asian American/Pacific Islander Men Who Have Sex with Men (MSM) in the United States," *AIDS Education and Prevention* 15 (2003): 21–38.

41. C. Chng, "Providing Culturally Competent HIV Prevention Programs," *American Journal of Health Studies* 16 (2000): 24–33.

42. C. K. Ho, "An Analysis of Domestic Violence in Asian American Communities: A Multicultural Approach to Counseling," *Women & Therapy* 9 (1990): 129–150.

43. Meneses et al., "Racial/Ethnic Differences," 128–131.

44. S. Cho, "Converging Stereotypes in Racialized Sexual Harassment: Where the Model Minority Meets Suzie Wong," in *Critical Race Feminism,* ed. Andrien Wing (New York: University Press, 1977), 349–366.

45. L. Macabasco, "Princeton Incident Shows Extreme Case of Asian Fetish," *AsianWeek: The Voice of Asian America*, April 29, 2005.

46. C. Chng et al., "A Model for Understanding Sexual Health," 21–38; C. Chng, "Providing Culturally Competent HIV Prevention Programs," 24–33.

47. Meneses et al., "Racial/ethnic Differences in Mother-Daughter," 128–131.

48. Chng et al., "A Model for Understanding Sexual Health," 21–38.

49. Chng, "Providing Culturally Competent HIV Prevention Programs," 24–33.

50. G. Hall et al., "Sexual Aggression among Asian Americans: Risk and Protective Factors," *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology* 4 (1998): 305–318.

51. Cho, "Converging Stereotypes in Racialized Sexual Harassment," 349–366.

52. Hall et al., "Sexual aggression among Asian Americans," 305–318.

53. Hall et al., "Sexual aggression among Asian Americans," 305–318.

54. Hahm et al., "Predictors of STDs among Asian," 31–239.

55. So, Wong, and DeLeon, "Sex, HIV Risks, and Substance Use among Asian," 457–468;

56. L. Brotto et al. "Acculturation and Sexual Function in Asian Women," *Archives of Sexual Behavior* 34 (2005): 613–626.

57. P. Chung et al., "Acculturation and Parent-Adolescent Communication about Sex in Filipino-American Families: A Community-based Participatory Research Study," *Journal of Adolescent Health* 40 (2005): 543–550.

58. Okazaki, "Influences of Culture on Asian Americans' Sexuality," 34–41; Rhee, Chang, and Rhee, "Acculturation, Communication Patterns, and Self-Esteem among Asian," 49–769; Brotto, et al., "Acculturation and Sexual Function in Asian Women," 613–626.

SUBSTANCE ABUSE

Mary S. Lee and David K. Mineta

Substance abuse has adverse health, economic, and social consequences on not just individuals, but also families and communities. As a critical public health issue with a high disease burden and impact on quality of life in the United States, an estimated $428 billion in economic costs are because of substance abuse, and it accounts for 590,000 deaths and 40 million injuries and illnesses annually.[1] Yet the issues regarding Asian Americans and substance abuse are relatively obscure and difficult to discern both nationally and even locally. Historically, Asians in America were commonly excluded in governmental data collection samples because of a belief that substance abuse was not a significant problem in Asian American communities. To compound the problem, many people within these communities view substance abuse as a highly stigmatized condition that shames families and communities alike.

Typically when one thinks of someone abusing drugs and alcohol, a series of problems come to mind. For youth, such problems might be poor school performance, strained relationships with peers and family members, and involvement with the juvenile justice system. For adults, involvement with the criminal justice system, a history of unemployment/underemployment , strained marital and family relationships, financial problems, and poor health are just a few of the symptoms of substance abuse. For Asian Americans, it is believed that many of the "problems" associated with substance abuse are often hidden by both the individual, but also by family and close friends because of the painful stigma associated with drugs.

National survey results show that Asian Americans are reporting the lowest rates of substance abuse, yet when disaggregated, data reveals a range of prevalence rates for Asian Americans.[2] With illicit drug use, Asian Americans as a

whole report less use (2.7%) in comparison to other racial/ethnic groups, yet the rates for Korean Americans (6.9%) are on a par with whites and African Americans. In addition, a growing demographic category of mixed-race Americans is showing the second or third highest illegal substance use rates. Asian Americans tend to use alcohol, tobacco, and methamphetamines.

RISK AND PROTECTIVE FACTORS

The risk of starting alcohol, cigarette smoking, and illegal drug use is highest during the adolescent and young adult years. Multiple risk and protective factors influence substance use behaviors. Personality traits such as aggressiveness, antisocial behavior, and low levels of community participation may also make one more prone to abusing drugs and alcohol.[3] Among youth, for instance, favorable parental attitudes toward drugs and alcohol, low family bonding, and high family conflict would predispose the youth toward substance use. For Asian American youth, sources of family conflict often involve the intergenerational cultural gap they face with their parents, and in some cases, grandparents as well. Asian American youth from families in which parents speak little or no English may experience substantial burden from being their parents' interpreters and social navigators for the family. Such difficulties can lead to emotional distress in the forms of anxiety, loss, grief, and depression. Furthermore, these second-generation Asian American youth, in comparison to other racial and ethnic groups, possess less knowledge of their parents' languages and homeland cultures, implying greater cultural dissonance, greater risk of low self-worth and a lack of well being.[4] These stressors may place Asian Americans at greater risk for substance abuse and mental health problems.

At the same time, traits such as high self-esteem, socialization, relationship with peers and family, and low depression are protective factors. For Asian American children and adolescents, the family environment, as well as a student's level of connectedness to school, can sometimes reduce the impact of peer risk factors.[5] Additionally, participation in church or spiritual activities and athletics can offer healthy alternatives to substance use. Policies and social norms have the power to reinforce positive attitudes toward substance use or limit its acceptability and accessibility, as with age restrictions and taxation on alcohol and tobacco.

Many studies show that the most powerful and consistent predictor of substance use among mainstream youth is peer influence.[6] A 2004 study found peer influence to be significantly associated with substance use for Asian American adolescents though more empirical studies are needed.[7] There has been more interest in examining the role of acculturation in influencing health behaviors in Asian Americans. Some findings have determined acculturation to be a key predictor of adolescent alcohol use, while others have pointed to more complex social, economic, and cultural factors, beyond acculturation that determine use.[8]

STIGMA, SUBSTANCE USE, AND ACCESS TO SERVICES

Cultural norms, immigration status, and different levels of acculturation within families not only aggravate Asian Americans' substance abuse and mental health problems, but they powerfully (and usually negatively) affect the degree to which they access services. Denial has been the primary barrier of Asian Americans to seeking treatment. Stigma and shame make it difficult to identify clients as well. Similarly, because of such powerful stigma, Asian Americans often underreport their use of alcohol, tobacco, and other drugs so that problems seem unapparent. Especially strong individual, family, and community denial of the problem are all obstacles to seeking out treatment. The powerful role that such cultural considerations play in preventing or delaying an individual and his or her family from seeking help, often means that a family must be enlisted for treatment to begin and be successful.

Acculturation differences within families, moreover, usually yield no benefits in willingness to access services; the least acculturated generation (parents) needs to assent to services that their children, the more acculturated generation, may desperately need, but parents may be reluctant to access culturally unfamiliar services.

MENTAL HEALTH, SUBSTANCE ABUSE, AND CO-OCCURRING DISORDERS

Co-occurring disorders refers to the diagnosis of both a mental health and substance abuse disorder. About 50–70 percent of substance abusers also have a mental disorder, and about one-third of adults with mental illness have a co-occurring substance abuse disorder, often to self-medicate.[9] Although the incidence of co-occurring disorders is on the rise, there is, at the same time, a decline in the number of inpatient mental health services available.[10] Recent efforts to address co-occurring disorders aim to integrate treatment from both fields.

According to the American Psychiatric Association, Asian Americans are, among all ethnicities, the least likely to seek help for mental health issues. Several studies show that Asian Americans delay seeking treatment, and once they do present for services, show acute symptoms. For many Asian Americans, somatic expressions of emotional distress are the norm. Thus for treatment, they tend to seek primary care physicians rather than mental health professionals. Particularly for Asian Americans with co-occurring disorders, substance abuse treatment programs are the entry point for diagnosing and entering mental health treatment, which otherwise would remain undetected and untreated.

Asian Americans are three times less likely than Caucasians to use mental health services despite high suicide and depression rates among some sectors of the Asian Americans population.[11] A statewide study of California's mental health service usage found that Asian American children received psychiatric emergency care from California's county public mental health systems only when they experienced acute crises.[12] These treatment-seeking trends for

serious mental health issues are consistent with national observations of Asian American adult behaviors.[13] The use of emergency services by Asian American youth and their caretakers may indicate that families are postponing treatment until they are absolutely overwhelmed or until outside authorities (such as law enforcement or school staff) intervene and force the issue. Factors related to such delay in seeking treatment among Asian Americans may be reflective of cultural barriers in presenting for mental health services, including stigma, mistrust, and perceived racism of the mental health system.[14] Additionally, among immigrant and refugee families, the tendency to avoid mental health treatment until reaching an extreme crisis has been directly linked to their limited proficiency in English.[15]

OUTLOOK

Traditionally, substance abuse services have targeted behavior change only in the individual drug abuser, but recently the focus has been on community and population-level change. In the Asian American community, media campaigns and policy initiatives have been used to affect community norms on substance use. In San Mateo County in California, the Stay Safe Youth Coalition has been working collaboratively with youth and community-based organizations to create change and mobilize around local issues regarding alcohol, tobacco, and other drugs. For example, the coalition's Tobacco Retail Licensing Campaign aims to adopt a policy that would require and enforce all tobacco retailers in Daly City to obtain a license for selling tobacco products. Traditionally, substance abuse addiction has been handled through treatment; common examples are counseling services and medical detoxification treatment such as methadone clinics. For Asian Americans, these methods might be problematic because these approaches are modeled after mainstream systems of care, with little emphasis on culturally relevant services. Effective strategies for working with Asian American individuals and communities are being developed in community-based organizations across the United States to tailor models that have particular relevance to Asian Americans. Evidence-based treatment models that seem to have some success in working with Asian American populations include Motivational Interviewing, Strategic Family Therapy and Cognitive Behavioral Therapy. Motivational interviewing (MI) is a counseling style that draws motivation to change by having the client examine and resolve his or her ambivalence toward challenges and problems. Cognitive Behavioral Therapy (CBT) aims to identify the client's thoughts, feelings, and behaviors related to his or her debilitating negative emotions and restructure them into more adaptive patterns. Family-based services, such as Strategic Family Therapy and parenting classes, are effective not only because family dynamics play a significant role in an individual's susceptibility to addictive behaviors, but also because the family, rather than the individual, serves as a focal point in the lives of many Asian Americans. Therefore, families are also significant during the recovery process for Asian clients in particular. Asian American Recovery Services Inc. of the San

Francisco Bay Area incorporates the family in many of its substance abuse prevention and treatment programs and more recently has adapted Strategic Family Therapy for Asian American clients.[16]

Access and availability to culturally appropriate services remain a considerable challenge to the field of substance abuse, calling upon the imminent need for culturally based interventions. Undoubtedly, with a focus on understanding the disparities in accessing care and a stronger culturally based approach, more minorities–including Asian Americans–facing linguistic and cultural barriers, would find support for substance abuse and its related conditions.

FURTHER READING

Chow, J. "Asian American and Pacific Islander Mental Health and Substance Abuse Agencies: Organizational Characteristics and Service Gaps." *Administration and Policy in Mental Health* 30, no.1 (2002).

Inaba, Daryl. *Uppers, Downers, All Arounders: Physical and Mental Effects of Psychoactive Drugs*, CNS Publications, 2004

National Asian Pacific American Families Against Substance Abuse (NAPA*f*ASA) http://www.napafasa.org.

National Asian Pacific American Families Against Substance Abuse. (2008). *Asian American and Pacific Islander Treatment Providers Directory*. http://www.napafasa .org/resources/publications.htm#tps.

National Institute on Drug Abuse (NIDA)—Students' and Young Adults' Education resources & materials on drugs. http://teens.drugabuse.gov.

National Network to Eliminate Disparities in Behavioral Health. http://nned.net.

U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Substance Abuse & Mental Health Services Administration. http://www.samhsa.gov.

NOTES

1. D. P. Rice, "Economic Costs of Substance Abuse, 1995," *Proceedings of the Association of the American Physicians* 111 (1999): 119–125; J. M. McGinnis and W. H. Foege, "Mortality and Morbidity Attributable to use of Addictive Substances in the United States," *Proceedings of the Association of the American Physicians* 111 (1999): 109–118.

2. National Institute on Drug Abuse, *Drug Use among Racial/Ethnic Minorities* (US Department of Health and Human Services, 2003), http://www.drugabuse.gov/pdf/minorities03.pdf (accessed July 10, 2008).

3. D. J. DeWit, G. Silverman, M. Goodstadt, and G. Stoduto, "The Construction of Risk and Protective Factor Indices for Adolescent Alcohol and Other Drug Use," *The Journal of Drug Issues* 25 (1995): 837–863.

4. A. Portes and R. G. Rumbaut, *Legacies: The Stories of the Immigrant Second Generation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).

5. J. S. Brook et al., "Onset of Adolescent Drinking: A Longitudinal Study of Intrapersonal and Interpersonal Antecedents," *Advances in Alcohol and Substance Abuse* 5 (1986): 91–110; J. D. Hawkins, R. F. Catalano, and J. Y. Miller, "Risk and Protective Factors for Alcohol and Other Drug Problems in Adolescence and Early Adulthood: Implications for Substance Abuse Prevention," *Psychological Bulletin* 112 (1992): 64–105.

6. I. J. Kim, N. W. S. Zane and S. Hong, "Protective Factors against Substance Use Among Asian American Youth: A Test of the Peer Cluster Theory," *Journal of Community Psychology* 30, no. 5 (2002): 565–584.

7. H. C. Hahm, M. Lahiff and N. B. Guterman, "Asian American Adolescents' Acculturation, Binge Drinking, and Alcohol- and Tobacco-Using Peers," *Journal of Community Psychology* 32 (2004) 295–308.

8. H. C. Hahm, M. Lahiff, and N. B. Guterman, "Acculturation and Parental Attachment in Asian-American Adolescents' Alcohol Use," *Journal of Adolescent Health* 33 (2003): 119–129; W. K. Cook et al., "Rethinking Acculturation: A Study of Alcohol Use of Korean American Adolescents in Southern California," *Contemporary Drug Problems*, in press.

9. D. Inaba and W. Cohen, *Uppers, Downers, All-Arounders: Physical and Mental Effects of Psychoactive Drugs* 5th ed. (CNS Publications, Medford, OR, 2004).

10. Inaba and Cohen, *Uppers, Downers, All-Arounders.*

11. J. Matsuoka, C. Breaux, and D. Ryujin, "National Utilization of Mental Health Services of Asian Americans/Pacific Islanders," *Journal of Community Psychology* 25, no. 2 (1997): 141–145.

12. M. C. Snowden et al., "Racial/Ethnic Minority Children's Use of Psychiatric Emergency Care in California's Public Mental Health System," *American Journal of Public Health* 98 (2008): 118–124.

13. Office of the Surgeon General. "Mental Health: Culture, Race, and Ethnicity. A Supplement to Mental Health: A Report of the Surgeon General." Rockville, MD: U.S. Dept of Health and Human Services, 2001. HHS publication SMA-01-3613.

14. R. Benkert et al., "Effects of Perceived Racism, Cultural Mistrust, and Trust in Providers on Satisfaction with care," *Journal of the National Medical Association* 98 (2006): 1532–1540.

15. R. J. Lamarine, "Alcohol Abuse among Native Americans," *Journal of Community Health* 13 (1988): 143–155; L. R. Snowden, M. Masland, and R. Guerrero, "Federal Civil Rights Policy and Mental Health Treatment Access for Persons with Limited English Proficiency," *American Psychologist* 62 (2007): 109–117.

16. For other programs offering substance abuse services for Asian Americans throughout the United States see the National Asian Pacific American Families Against Substance Abuse's 2008 *Asian American and Pacific Islander Treatment Providers Directory*, http://www.napafasa.org/resources/publications.htm#tps.

SUICIDE

Eliza Noh

On the surface, Asian Americans appear to be a "model minority" population with few social or health problems. Asian Americans comprise 14.4 million or 5 percent of the U.S. population, and most are foreign-born.[1] Compared to the general population, Asian Americans have higher educational and occupational attainment rates and higher median household incomes, as well as lower poverty rates.[2] Based on this picture of educational and socioeconomic success, Asian Americans are generally not considered to be at risk, much less a suicide risk group; however, a closer look at Asian American suicide, by disaggregating mortality data into specific demographic groups, reveals that Asian Americans are experiencing a mental health crisis.

PREVALENCE AND TRENDS

Historical Trends

Data on Asian American suicide has been collected by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) only since 1980. Therefore, there is no long-term historical picture of Asian American suicide that reflects Asian American immigration patterns, at least since 1965, when the population of Asian Americans grew significantly as a result of the 1965 Immigration Act. Based on data collected during 1980–2004, however, we can see some trends in the suicide rates among Asian Americans. Among males, the suicide rate has decreased from 10.7 to 8.4 per 100,000, but among those aged forty-five to sixty-four years of age, the suicide rate increased since 2000 to 11.1.[3] Among females, the suicide rate was higher in 1980 (5.5) than in 2004 (3.5), but Asian American female suicide has been on the rise since 2000, specifically among

those aged twenty-five to sixty-four years, and since 2003, among those sixty-five years and older.[4] These historical trends demonstrate that while the Asian American suicide rate has decreased overall, there continue to be suicide risks associated with specific age and gender groups. In spite of the higher rates of Asian American suicide in 1980 and the rising suicide trend since 2000, public attention to this health issue has been relatively recent. This problem was officially recognized by the California Legislature only in 2003, through the passage of a resolution to create an Asian Pacific Islander Mental Health Awareness Month.

Trends by Race, Gender, and Age

The suicide rate among Asian American women is 3.3 per 100,000, and the suicide rate among Asian American men is 7.3. The suicide rate among the general U.S. population is 10.8, overall male suicide is 18.0, and overall female suicide is 4.4.[5] Although the aggregate suicide rate for Asian Americans is relatively low compared to that of the general population, differentiated data reveal prevalence patterns that identify certain risk groups by gender and age. A more in-depth analysis of Asian American suicide rates produces the following statistics based on the most recent data collected by the CDC for 2005: the suicide rates among Asian American men ages sixty and over (11.0) are higher than that of the total population (10.8); the suicide rate among Asian American women increases with age (3.2 to 7.1 from age twenty-five to sixty-five and over); and Asian American women sixty-five years and over have had the highest female suicide rate across race for the same age group since 1981.[6]

In terms of suicide rate patterns, both Asian American women and men appear to experience a spike in suicidality during the late adolescent and early adult years (15–24 years), after which suicide rates decline and then increase progressively with age, beginning in middle adulthood; however, the spike in adolescent-young adult suicide rates is wider for Asian American men. Whereas for Asian American women the suicide rate declines beginning in their mid-twenties, for Asian American men the rate remains relatively high until their mid-thirties. Several studies also support the bimodal phenomenon of Asian American suicide, which shows highest rates among youths, young adults, and the elderly.[7]

Trends among Lesbian, Bisexual, Gay, and Transgender (LBGT) Asian Americans

Although there are very few empirical studies on suicides among LBGT Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders, the ones that do exist suggest that these communities are experiencing high rates of suicidal behavior.[8] Because of the multiple jeopardies of racism, sexism, and homophobia, LGBT Asian Americans can experience psychological distress, including suicidality. For example, gay Asian American men are more likely to attempt suicide than heterosexual men, and Asian American lesbians are more likely to exhibit depression than heterosexual

women.[9] Often rejected by their ethnic communities because of homophobia and by the mainstream LBGT community because of racism, many LBGT Asian Americans find that they must cope with problems on their own. This has led to elevated mental health and substance abuse disorders among LBGT Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders.[10]

Trends by Ethnicity

Comprehensive comparative data about suicides among the different Asian American ethnic groups currently does not exist. Most studies focus at the community-level on one ethnic group, compare a few ethnic groups, or lump all ethnic groups together without making distinctions between Asian American ethnicities. Historically, suicide research has focused on the experiences of Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino Americans.[11] National and regional studies show that among these three groups, Japanese Americans have higher suicide rates, followed by Chinese Americans, and then Filipino Americans.[12] Furthermore, Filipino and Vietnamese American adolescents in San Diego appear to have lower self-esteem than other Asian or Latino groups, with depression particularly affecting Filipino girls at higher rates than for males in rural Hawaii, and with elevated suicidal thinking affecting Vietnamese middle-school students in Houston.[13] Other at-risk ethnic groups include South Asians and Pacific Islanders. Among South Asian Americans living in the states where Asian Pacific Islander populations are highest—California, Hawaii, Illinois, New Jersey, New York, Texas, and Washington—suicide is the leading cause of death among fifteen- to twenty-four-year-olds, and Pakistani middle-school children in Houston in particular, show elevated levels of suicidal thinking.[14] Pacific Islander suicide rates are generally higher than Asian American rates, with some Pacific Islander rates being among the highest in the world.[15] Among them, Native Hawaiian girls have higher rates of considering or planning suicide than other Pacific Islander, Asian American, and white girls living in Hawaii.[16] Finally, Korean American women in San Jose, CA, have shown to suffer from higher rates of depression than the national norm.[17]

FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO SUICIDE

There are several social, historical, and cultural factors that contribute to Asian American suicide. These factors affect various ethnic, gender, socioeconomic, generational and age groups differently.

Gender Issues

Suicide statistics point to gender differences in suicidality, with Asian American male suicides possibly being linked to socialization and biochemical factors that influence male aggressive behaviors. For example, the higher number of male suicides could reflect the choice of more lethal methods such as firearms, whereas Asian American women may prefer less violent means. As

mentioned earlier, Asian American women attempt suicide more often and exhibit depression at higher rates, which indicate a unique mental health crisis among women.

Unlike men, Asian American women deal with restrictive gender expectations because of U.S. and Asian patriarchal values, which can contribute to psychological distress. Gender expectations for Asian American women are often inseparable from racial stereotypes or ideals, evidenced in the infantilization of Asian American women as petite "China dolls," which may be responsible for pressures for thinness and body preoccupations among Asian American females, or the internalization of European standards of beauty, leading Asian American females to change their racial features through plastic surgery more than any other group.[18] Asian American women are also more likely to become victims of gender-based violence, such as sexual assault or marital violence.[19] Short of committing suicide, Asian American women may respond to distress with depression or self-destructive behaviors, such as self-cutting.[20] Among adolescents, use of cigarettes, alcohol, and marijuana is more related to high depression and low self-esteem in Asian American females than in males, and for female teens, the connection between depression and alcohol and tobacco use is significant.[21] Similarly, drinking has been found to predict suicidal thinking, plans, and attempts among Native Hawaiian youths, with girls at the highest risk.[22]

The unique issues facing Asian American women do not mean that Asian American men do not also experience distress as a result of gender expectations. Because of the racialized nature of gender images in the United States, both Asian American men and women deal with social stereotypes that can damage self-image and self-esteem. Asian American men often face racist, emasculating social images of themselves, and Asian American women are commonly objectified as either aggressively or submissively hypersexual.[23]

Age Issues

The rise in suicide rates correlating with age suggests the existence of certain suicide risk factors associated with youth and aging. Although suicide mostly affects adolescent and elderly Asian American age groups, the factors contributing to suicide for each group can be different. Younger suicides seem to be due more to interpersonal reasons, such as failed relationships or generational conflicts.[24] For instance, second-generation Filipino high school and college students most often cite their families as a source of stress leading to their depression and suicidal thoughts.[25] Whereas, for Asian American elderly, suicide risks can be caused by economic concerns or their physical, cultural and linguistic isolation. Asian American elders often live with their kin within multigenerational households instead of in senior institutions.[26] If these elders are dependent on their kin for physical mobility, communication, or social interaction and resources—particularly if they are ill, have no or limited English proficiency, or have no means of transportation—then they can become

virtual prisoners within their households when their families are not available to support them. Isolation can be longlasting within immigrant households where multiple family members work one or more jobs. As a result, Asian American elders may feel like economic burdens to their families, depressed, or alone, thereby contributing to suicidal tendencies.[27] As perhaps the opposite effect of isolation, one study suggests that living in multigenerational households can produce intergenerational conflicts between elderly and subsequent acculturated generations, leading to higher suicide rates among older Chinese Americans and Japanese Americans.[28]

Challenges Impacting Immigrants and Refugees

According to the 2000 Census, 69 percent of Asian Americans were foreign-born.[29] Since most Asian Americans are immigrants, the process of adaptation associated with immigration is a major source of stress for them. Besides acculturation issues, recent immigrants face the dilemma of adjusting to a new and unfamiliar social system. The stress of daily survival is amplified for immigrants during this transition because they may not have knowledge about or access to basic social resources or supports. There is some evidence which suggests that non–U.S.–born Asian Americans, particularly international students, are at higher risk for suicide because of the lack of supportive social networks that serve as a buffer against the negative effects of immigration adjustment and thus as a protective factor against suicide.[30] The conditions of migration also influence the difficulty of transition. For instance, Southeast Asian refugees, in contrast with voluntary immigrants, particularly professional-class occupational migrants, arrive with few financial and social resources or transferable skills that can ease their adaptation within U.S. society. Moreover, many Asian American immigrants of all ethnicities and socioeconomic classes experience unemployment, misemployment, or occupational downgrading, which can exacerbate adaptation difficulties and lead to depression.[31]

Acculturative stress, resulting from competing demands of juggling Asian and American cultures, can have a significant impact on Asian American mental health, particularly for recent immigrants and refugees with low acculturation.[32] In fact, there is significant empirical data demonstrating that less acculturated and non–U.S.–born Asian American adolescents and young adults are at higher risk for suicide.[33] The symptoms of acculturative stress include depression, anxiety, feelings of marginality, and identity confusion.[34] Some forms of acculturative stress are experienced as individual-level identity crises, which can lead to suicide, depression, and hopelessness, while others are associated with the presence of different levels of acculturation within families, which can lead to generational and cultural conflicts.[35]

Impact of Racism and the Model Minority Myth

The racialized and minoritized status of Asian Americans can greatly affect their psychological, as well as physical, well-being. Asian Americans have been the

target, historically and today, of discriminatory immigration and naturalization policies, anti-Asian laws, governmental mistreatment, racial violence, social prejudice, and stereotyping, which affect them daily in their work, family, and social and public lives.[36] Research on the impact of racism and discrimination on Asian American mental health clearly shows that they can cause depression, stress, anxiety, lowered self-esteem, and feelings of inferiority and isolation.[37] In a study of middle-school Asian American youth, experiences of racial discrimination led to depression and the inability to behave socially in appropriate and effective ways.[38] Internalized racism—in the form of racial self-hatred or anti-Asian ethnic identity attitudes—can lower self-esteem and increase depression and suicidal risk, and racism experienced long-term can produce traumatization.[39]

The ideology of the "model minority myth" represents a critical, though often overlooked, aspect of racism against Asian Americans that can influence their suicidality. The model minority image refers to the social construction of Asian Americans as successful, healthy, and free of social problems. The image is a myth, however, because it masks problems of discrimination, poverty, delinquency, low educational attainment, and poor health among many Asian Americans.[40] The blanket use of the model minority stereotype to deny Asian American experiences of racism and social disadvantage, and, thus, inclusion in research, social policy and funding considerations can create stressors that can lead to suicide, even among those with high educational and occupational attainment.[41]

Moreover, many Asian Americans internalize the model minority image because of larger social perceptions about them as high achievers and as having few social or mental problems.[42] As a result, model minority expectations may prevent Asian Americans from acknowledging and seeking help for academic or emotional difficulties.[43] The pressure to succeed associated with model minority expectations can last for generations. In one study, the number-one reason cited for suicidal thinking among first- and third-generation Asian American college students was the pressure to succeed.[44] The pressure to live up to the unrealistic model minority image can be especially stressful when experiences of racism contradict expectations of success.[45] Asian American youth suffer from peer and educational discrimination more so than institutional discrimination, which suggests the impact of the model minority myth.[46] For instance, peers and teachers generally perceive Asian Americans in stereotyped ways, as unassertive, unexpressive, lacking in leadership skills, socially ineffective, and foreign.[47] Oftentimes the pursuit of academic excellence or model minority status is paired with experiences of peer rejection and actually undermines intellectual performance, revealing the contradictory, negative effects of the model minority image on the psychological health of Asian American youth.

OUTLOOK

The lack of attention paid to Asian American suicide is in large part created by the image of Asian Americans as a relatively problem-free, model minority community, as well as the tendency to aggregate and compare Asian American

suicide rates with those of European Americans, which appear to be higher overall. However, efforts made during the past ten to fifteen years have been revealing. They have been attending to the crisis of Asian American suicides by addressing the diversity within Asian America in relation to suicide experiences and treating them within their own unique contexts. Future directions of prevention and intervention of Asian American suicide will likely entail expanding the meaning and practice of culturally appropriate services; expanding the notion and practice of healing by drawing from Asian American grass-roots alternatives to conventional therapy; and investing more efforts into Asian American suicide research, focusing on more marginalized communities.

At a minimum, culturally appropriate services require language interpreters for non–English–speakers and some level of understanding Asian American cultures, but community organizations interested in mental health issues are further developing culturally competent services in response to their clients' needs. For example, ethnic-matching between provider and client and ethnic-specific centers have been shown to produce longer duration of treatment, reduced dropout rates, and more positive outcomes.[48] As a result, centers run by and for Asian Americans are making a critical impact on suicide prevention and intervention. The Orange County Asian Pacific Islander Community Alliance (OCAPICA), a multiservice community organization, and Asian Community Mental Health Services (ACMHS) in Oakland, CA, exemplify the creative expansion of services, by providing—in addition to linguistically and culturally competent mental health counseling—services such as youth programs, basic life-skills training, peer support groups, language classes, leadership development, and education. These ethnic-specific, multiservice centers operate on the understanding that Asian American mental health is optimized when other, non-psychological factors influencing mental health are simultaneously addressed.

Notwithstanding the creativity and flexibility of pioneering mental health service centers—because Asian Americans tend not to seek the help of professional mental health care providers—a necessary direction of suicide prevention and intervention has been expanding the notion and practice of healing by drawing from alternatives to conventional therapy that Asian Americans actually use. Asian Americans tend to seek support from themselves, friends, family, or medical assistance about their mental health problems.[49] Experts agree these efforts should be fostered because family and ethnic community social support has shown to protect against depression and suicidal thinking, such as among Southeast Asian Americans and Korean Americans.[50] Furthermore, research shows that having a strong ethnic identity buffers against the negative effects of discrimination on depression, among Korean American college students in particular, and on stress and depression in Asian American young adults in general.[51]

According to public health researchers, there are still major information gaps and myths about Asian American suicides that need to be addressed. Instead of treating Asian Americans as a monolithic group, researchers have advocated for the focus on more marginalized groups, such as Pacific Islanders, South and Southeast Asians, LBGT communities, women, the elderly, and youths. For

instance, there is currently no empirical research on protective factors against suicide among Asian American youths, and there are no published evaluations of treatment approaches specifically targeting them.[52] Without reliable research on Asian American suicides, mental health practitioners find it difficult to develop appropriate prevention and intervention practices, or even to justify the need for them.

FURTHER READING

Asian American Center on Disparities Research. http://psychology.ucdavis.edu/aacdr/.

Cochran, Susan D., Vickie M. Mays, Margarita Alegria, Alexander N. Ortega, and David Takeuchi. "Mental Health and Substance Abuse Disorders among Latino and Asian American Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Adults." *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology* 75, no. 5 (2007): 785–794.

Lau, A. S., N. M. Jernewall, N. Zane, and H. F. Myers. "Correlates of Suicidal Behaviors among Asian American Outpatient Youths." *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology* 8 (2002): 199–213.

Leong, Frederick T. L., Mark M. Leach, Christine Yeh, and Elayne Chou. "Suicide among Asian Americans: What Do We Know? What Do We Need to Know?" *Death Studies* 31 (2007): 417–434.

National Suicide Prevention Lifeline: http://www.suicidepreventionlifeline.org/.

NOTES

1. U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Facts For Features: Asian/Pacific American Heritage Month: May 2007," http://www.census.gov/Press-Release/www/releases/archives/facts_for_features_special_editions/009714.html (accessed Feb. 23, 2008).

2. U.S. Bureau of the Census, "2006 American Community Survey, Selected Population Profile," http://factfinder.census.gov/servlet/IPGeoSearchByListServlet?ds_name=ACS_2006_EST_G00_&_lang=en&_ts=221855654960 (accessed Feb. 23, 2008).

3. All stated figures for suicide rates are per 100,000 individuals in the U.S. population.

4. National Center for Health Statistics (NCHS), *Health, United States, 2007: With Chartbook on Trends in the Health of Americans* (Hyattsville, MD: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2007).

5. Web-based Injury Statistics Query and Reporting System (WISQARS) Fatal Injuries: Mortality Reports, 2005 (Office of Statistics and Programming, National Center for Injury Prevention and Control, CDC), http://webappa.cdc.gov/sasweb/ncipc/mortrate.html (for Suicide Injury Deaths and Rates per 100,000, 2005, United States, accessed Feb. 22, 2008).

6. Because the CDC has been collecting Asian American suicide data only since 1980, the historical trends stated here arbitrarily begin in 1981, and do not mean to imply that trends were not significant prior to 1981; NCHS, *Health, United States, 2007.*

7. J. Shiang, R. Blinn, B. Bonger, B. Stephens, D. Allison, and A. Schatzberg, "Suicide in San Francisco, CA: A Comparison of Caucasian and Asian Groups, 1987–1994," *Suicide & Life-Threatening Behavior* 27 (1997): 80–91; K. McKenzie, M. Serfaty, and M. Crawford, "Suicide in Ethnic Minority Groups," *British Journal of Psychiatry* 183 (2003): 100–101; and A. T. Diego, J. Yamamoto, L. H. Nguyen, and S. S.

Hifumi, “Suicide in the Elderly: Profiles of Asians and Whites,” *Asian American and Pacific Islander Journal of Health* 2 (1994): 49–57.

8. Susan D. Cochran et al., “Mental Health and Substance Abuse Disorders among Latino and Asian American Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Adults,” *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology* 75, no. 5 (2007): 785–794; T. K. Pinhey and S. R. Millman, “Asian/Pacific Islander Adolescent Sexual Orientation and Suicide Risk in Guam,” *American Journal of Public Health* 94 (2004): 1204–1206; Frederick T. L. Leong, Mark M. Leach, Christine Yeh, and Elayne Chou, “Suicide Among Asian Americans: What Do We Know? What Do We Need to Know?” *Death Studies* 31 (2007): 417–434; and Eliza Noh, “Suicide Among Asian American Women: Influences of Racism and Sexism on Suicide Subjectification” (PhD diss., University of California–Berkeley, 2002).

9. Cochran et al., “Mental Health and Substance Abuse Disorders among Latino and Asian American Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Adults.”

10. Cochran et al., “Mental Health and Substance Abuse Disorders among Latino and Asian American Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Adults”; and Don Operario and Tooru Nemoto, “Sexual Risk Behavior and Substance Abuse among a Sample of Asian Pacific Islander Transgendered Women,” *AIDS Education and Prevention* 17, no. 5 (2005): 430–443.

11. S. S. Fujita, “Asian/Pacific-American Mental Health: Some Needed Research in Epidemiology and Service Utilization,” in *Mental Health of Ethnic Minorities*, ed. F. C. Serafica, A. I. Schwebel, R. K. Russell, P. D. Isaac, and L. B. Myers (New York: Praeger, 1990), 66–83.

12. David Lester, “Differences in the Epidemiology of Suicide in Asian Americans by Nation of Origin,” *Omega: Journal of Death and Dying* 29, no. 2 (1994): 89–93; and R. A. Kalish, “Suicide: An Ethnic Comparison in Hawaii,” *Bulletin of Suicidology* (December 1968): 37–43.

13. Joyce R. Javier, Lynne C. Huffman, and Fernando S. Mendoza, “Filipino Child Health in the United States: Do Health and Health Care Disparities Exist?” *Preventing Chronic Disease* 4, no. 2 (April 2007), http://www.cdc.gov/pcd/issues/2007/apr/06_0069.htm (accessed July 16, 2008); and R. E. Roberts, Y. Chen, and C. R. Roberts, “Ethnocultural Differences in Prevalence of Adolescent Suicidal Behaviors,” *Suicide & Life-Threatening Behavior* 27 (1997): 208–217.

14. D. Hoyert and H. Kung, “Asian or Pacific Islander Mortality, Selected States,” *Monthly Vital Statistics Report* 46, no. 1, Supplement (1997): 1–63; and Roberts et al., “Ethnocultural Differences in Prevalence of Adolescent Suicidal Behaviors.”

15. ‘Iwalani R. N. Else, Naleen N. Andrade, and Linda B. Nahulu, “Suicide and Suicide-Related Behaviors among Indigenous Pacific Islanders in the United States,” *Death Studies* 31 (2007): 479–501. Because the suicide rates and social and historical experiences of Pacific Islanders and Asian Americans are so different, caution should be taken so as not to conflate the two groups. This article focuses primarily on suicide among Asian Americans, making distinctions from Pacific Islander suicides whenever possible.

16. Stephanie T. Nishimura, Deborah A. Goebert, Suhasini Ramisetty-Mikler, and Raul Caetano, “Adolescent Alcohol Use and Suicide Indicators among Adolescents in Hawaii,” *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology* 11, no. 4 (2005): 309–320.

17. Hyun Ah Lee, “Korean Women in America: Gender-Role Attitude and Depression” (PhD diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2001).

18. Noh, "Suicide among Asian American Women"; Tatum Phan and Tracy L. Tylka, "Exploring a Model and Moderators of Disordered Eating with Asian American College Women," *Journal of Counseling Psychology* 53, no. 1 (2006): 36–47; Stacey J. Lee and Sabina Vaught, "'You Can Never Be Too Rich or Too Thin': Popular and Consumer Culture and the Americanization of Asian American Girls and Young Women," *The Journal of Negro Education* 72, no. 4 (Fall 2003): 457–466, http://www.findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_qa3626/is_200310/ai_n9248739 (accessed Aug. 6, 2008); Allison S. M. Lau, Sharilyn K. Lum, Krista M. Chronister, and Linda Forrest, "Asian American College Women's Body Image: A Pilot Study," *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology* 12, no. 2 (2006): 259–274; and Maria P. P. Root, "The Psychology of Asian American Women," in *Bringing Cultural Diversity to Feminist Psychology: Theory, Research, and Practice*, ed. Hope Landrine (Washington, DC: American Psychological Association, 1995), 265–301.

19. Root, "The Psychology of Asian American Women"; and Noh, "Suicide among Asian American Women."

20. Janis Whitlock, John Eckenrode and Daniel Silverman, "Self-Injurious Behaviors in a College Population," *Pediatrics* 117, no. 6 (2006): 1939–1948, http://www.pediatrics.org/cgi/content/full/117/6/1939 (accessed July 16, 2008); and Noh, "Suicide Among Asian American Women."

21. T. A. Otsuki, "Substance Use, Self-Esteem, and Depression among Asian American Adolescents," *Journal of Drug Education* 33, no. 4 (2003): 369–390; and Noh, "Suicide Among Asian American Women."

22. Nishimura et al., "Adolescent Alcohol Use and Suicide Indicators among Adolescents in Hawaii."

23. Yen Le Espiritu, *Asian American Women and Men: Labor, Laws and Love* (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 1996).

24. Robert Eugene Blinn, Jr., "Asian-American and Chinese-American Suicide in San Francisco" (PhD diss., Pacific Graduate School of Psychology, 1996).

25. D. Wolf, "Family Secrets: Transnational Struggles among Children of Filipino Immigrants," *Sociological Perspectives* 40, no. 3 (1997): 457–482.

26. B. W. K. Yee, B. D. DeBaryshe, S. Yuen, S. Y. Kim, and H. I. McCubbin, "Asian American and Pacific Islander Families: Resiliency and Life-Span Socialization in a Cultural Context," in *Handbook of Asian American Psychology*, 2nd ed., eds. F. T. L. Leong, A. G. Inman, A. Ebreo, L. H. Yang, L. M. Kinoshita, and M. Fu (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 2007), 69–86; and Blinn, "Asian-American and Chinese-American Suicide in San Francisco."

27. Blinn, "Asian-American and Chinese-American Suicide in San Francisco."

28. Diego et al., "Suicide in the Elderly."

29. Nolan Malone, Kaari F. Baluja, Joseph M. Costanzo, and Cynthia J. Davis, *The Foreign-Born Population: 2000*, Census 2000 Brief, no. C2KBR-34 (Washington, DC: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2003).

30. B. Yang and G. A. Clum, "Life Stress, Social Support, and Problem-Solving Skills Predictive of Depressive Symptoms, Hopelessness, and Suicide Ideation in an Asian Student Population: A Test of a Model," *Suicide & Life-Threatening Behavior* 24 (1994): 127–139; M. Heikkinen, H. Aro, and J. Lonnqvist, "Life Events and Social Support in Suicide," *Suicide & Life-Threatening Behavior* 23 (1993): 343–358; Yong-Beom Cho, "Suicidal Ideation, Acculturative Stress and Perceived Social Support among Korean Adolescents" (PhD diss., New School University, 2001); and Bee Eng

Soh, "The Impact of Acculturation on the Level of Depression among Chinese American Women" (PhD diss., California School of Professional Psychology, 1998).

31. Soh, "The Impact of Acculturation on the Level of Depression among Chinese American Women"; and Root, "The Psychology of Asian American Women."

32. C. J. Yeh, "Age, Acculturation, Cultural Adjustment, and Mental Health Symptoms of Chinese, Korean, and Japanese Immigrant Youth," *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology* 9 (2003): 34–48; D. Hinton and M. Otto, "Symptom Presentation and Symptom Meaning among Traumatized Cambodian Refugees: Relevance to a Somatically Forced Cognitive-Behavior Therapy," *Cognitive and Behavioral Practice* 13 (2006): 249–260; and I. Hyman, N. Vu, and M. Beiser, "Post-Migration Stresses among Southeast Asian Refugee Youth in Canada: A Research Note," *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* 32 (2000): 281–293.

33. Yang and Clum, "Life Stress, Social Support, and Problem-Solving Skills"; A. S. Lau, N. M. Jernewall, N. Zane, and H. F. Myers, "Correlates of Suicidal Behaviors among Asian American Outpatient Youths," *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology* 8 (2002): 199–213; Cho, "Suicidal Ideation, Acculturative Stress and Perceived Social Support among Korean Adolescents"; Walter Guy Davis, "Level of Acculturation of Asian American Adolescents as a Predictor of Depression and Suicidal Ideation" (PhD diss., California School of Professional Psychology, 1995), abstract in *Dissertation Abstracts International*, publ. nr. AAI9533372, DAI-B 56/05 (1995): 2859; Aruna Jha, "Depression and Suicidality in Asian Indian Students" (PhD diss., University of Illinois at Chicago, 2001); G. R. Sodowsky and E. W. M. Lai, "Asian Immigrant Variables and Structural Models of Cross-Cultural Distress," in *International Migration and Family Change: The Experience of US Immigrants*, ed. A. Booth (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1997), 211–234; and K. F. Wyche and M. J. Rotheram-Borus, "Suicidal Behavior among Minority Youth in the United States," in *Ethnic Issues in Adolescent Mental Health*, ed. A. R. Stiffman and L. E. Davis (Newbury Park, CA: SAGE Publications, 1990), 323–338.

34. Brian S. K. Kim, "Acculturation and Enculturation," in *Handbook of Asian American Psychology*, 141–158.

35. J. S. Phinney, B. T. Lochner, and R. Murphy, "Ethnic Identity Development and Psychological Adjustment in Adolescence," in *Ethnic Issues in Adolescent Mental Health*, ed. A. R. Stiffman and L. E. Davis (Newbury Park, CA: SAGE Publications, 1990), 53–72; C. Costigan and D. Dokis, "Relations between Parent-Child Acculturation Differences and Adjustment within Immigrant Chinese Families," *Child Development* 77 (2006): 1252–1267; and J. L. Tsai, Y. Chentsova-Dutton, Y. Wong, "Why and How Researchers Should Study Ethnic Identity, Acculturation and Cultural Orientation," in *Asian American Psychology: The Science of Lives in Context*, ed. G. C. Nagayama Hall and S. Okazaki (Washington, DC: American Psychological Association, 2002). The existence of acculturation differences within families is not necessarily a source of conflict and can be adaptive for Asian American families. Yee et al., "Asian American and Pacific Islander Families."

36. US Commission on Civil Rights, *Civil Rights Issues Facing Asian Americans in the 1990s: A Report of the United States Commission on Civil Rights, February 1992* (Washington, DC: Author, 1992); and J. S. Hyde, *Half the Human Experience: The Psychology of Women* (Canada: D. C. Health & Company, 1996).

37. A. G. Inman and C. J. Yeh, "Asian American Stress and Coping," in *Handbook of Asian American Psychology*, 323–339; Rosemary C. Veniegas, "The Double

Jeopardy and Minority Stress Hypotheses: Predicting Relationships among Perceived Discrimination, Stress, and Symptoms of Poor Health" (PhD diss., University of California–Los Angeles, 1999); and Neesha R. Patel, "The Role of Racial and Gender Discrimination in the Psychological Well-Being of Asian American Female College Students" (PhD diss., Ohio State University, 1998).

38. Jennifer M. Grossman, "Discrimination Distress Among Asian American Adolescents" (PhD diss., Boston College, 2005).

39. Marie Cielo B. Alarcón, "The Relationship between Womanist Identity Attitudes, Cultural Identity, and Acculturation to Asian American Women's Self-Esteem" (PhD diss., Ball State University, 1997); Jha, "Depression and Suicidality in Asian Indian Students"; Root, "The Psychology of Asian American Women"; Jennifer Chow, "The Relationship of Racial, Ethnic, and Gender Identity Attitudes to Indicators of Mental Health and Self-Esteem of Asian American Women" (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2003); Maria P. P. Root, "Women of Color and Traumatic Stress in 'Domestic Captivity': Gender and Race as Disempowering Statuses," in *Ethnocultural Aspects of Posttraumatic Stress Disorder: Issues, Research, and Clinical Applications*, eds. Anthony J. Marsella, Matthew J. Friedman, Ellen T. Gerrity, and Raymond M. Scurfield (Washington, DC: American Psychological Association, 1996), 363–387; and Maria P. P. Root, "Reconstructing the Impact of Trauma on Personality," in *Personality and Psychopathology: Feminist Reappraisals*, ed. Laura S. Brown and Mary Ballou (New York: Guilford Press, 1992), 229–265.

40. W. Chung, "Asian American Children," in *Working With Asian Americans: A Guide for Clinicians*, ed. E. Lee (New York: Guilford Press, 1997), 37–45; and Y. Ying, P. A. Lee, J. L. Tsai, Y. Hung, M. Lin, and C. T. Wan, "Asian American College Students as Model Minorities: An Examination of Their Overall Competence," *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology* 7 (2001): 59–74.

41. A. N. Alvarez and J. E. Helms, "Racial Identity and Reflected Appraisals as Influences on Asian Americans' Racial Adjustment," *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology* 7 (2001): 217–231.

42. D. Oyserman and I. Sakamoto, "Being Asian American: Identity, Culture, Constructs, and Stereotype Perception," *Journal of Applied Behavioral Science* 33 (1997): 435–453; Stacey Sinclair, Curtis D. Hardin, and Brian S. Lowery, "Self-Stereotyping in the Context of Multiple Social Identities," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 90, no. 4 (2006): 529–542; and Pensri Ho, "Performing the 'Oriental': Professionals and the Asian Model Minority Myth," *Journal of Asian American Studies* (June 2003): 149–175.

43. A. Kim and C. J. Yeh, "Stereotypes of Asian American Students," *ERIC Digest* 172 (2002): 3–4.

44. Donna Jean Akiye Kato Ida, "Depression, Hopelessness, and Suicide Ideation among Asian-American Students" (PhD diss., University of Colorado–Boulder, 1989).

45. S. Sue and S. Okazaki, "Asian-American Educational Achievements: A Phenomenon in Search of an Explanation," *American Psychologist* 45 (1990): 913–920; and Noh, "Suicide Among Asian American Women."

46. Grossman, "Discrimination Distress Among Asian American Adolescents."

47. H. Bannai and D. A. Cohen, "The Passive-Methodical Image of Asian American Students in the School System," *Sociology and Social Research* 70 (1985): 79–81; S. P. Kim, "Self-Concept, English Language Acquisition, and School Adaptation in Recently Immigrated Asian Children," *Journal of Children in Contemporary Society* 15 (1983):

71–79; and G. Kao, “Group Images and Possible Selves among Adolescents: Linking Stereotypes to Expectations of Race and Ethnicity,” *Sociological Forum* 15 (2000): 407–430.

48. M. Yeh, K. Eastman, and M. Cheung, “Children and Adolescents in Community Health Centers: Does the Ethnicity or the Language of the Therapist Matter?” *Journal of Community Psychology* 22 (1994): 153–163; and M. Yeh, D. Takeuchi, and S. Sue, “Asian American Children in the Mental Health System: A Comparison of Parallel and Mainstream Outpatient Service Centers,” *Journal of Clinical Child Psychology* 23 (1994): 5–12.

49. A. Zhang, L. Snowden, and S. Sue, “Differences between Asian and White Americans’ Help Seeking and Utilization Patterns in the Los Angeles Area,” *Journal of Community Psychology* 26 (1998): 317–326; and Y. W. Ying, “Explanatory Models of Major Depression and Implications for Help-Seeking among Immigrant Chinese-American Women,” *Culture, Medicine, and Psychiatry* 14 (1990): 201–213.

50. E. Hsu, C. Davies, and D. Hansen, “Understanding Mental Health Needs of Southeast Asian Refugees: Historical, Cultural, and Contextual Challenges,” *Clinical Psychology Review* 24 (2004): 193–213; and Cho, “Suicidal Ideation, Acculturative Stress and Perceived Social Support among Korean Adolescents.”

51. R. Lee, “Resilience Against Discrimination: Ethnic Identity and Other-Group Orientation as Protective Factors for Korean Americans,” *Journal of Counseling Psychology* 52 (2005): 36–44; Tina J. Kauh, “Ethnic Identity Developmental Process and Outcome: Implications for the Health and Well-Being of Asian American Young Adults” (PhD diss., Pennsylvania State University, 2005).

52. David B. Goldston, Sherry Davis Molock, Leslie B. Whitbeck, Jessica L. Murakami, Luis H. Zayas, and Gordon C. Nagayama Hall, “Cultural Considerations in Adolescent Suicide Prevention and Psychosocial Treatment,” *American Psychologist* 63, no. 1 (January 2008): 23.

This page intentionally left blank

TOBACCO USE

Kan Man Kenny Kwong

Tobacco is a major threat to the lives and health of many Asian Americans today. Tobacco use is the single most preventable cause of death and disease in all populations. It is well documented that smokers are at a much higher risk for numerous smoking-related diseases, including respiratory diseases, cancer, and heart diseases.[1] In the United States, smoking and smokeless tobacco use kills 430,000 people each year, more than AIDS, alcohol, illegal drugs, car crashes, firearms, murders, and suicides combined.[2] The smoke that cigarettes produce can also kill nonsmokers. Secondhand smoke alone kills about 50,000 people annually.[3] An estimated 15,000 to 20,000 Asian Americans will die each year from tobacco-related illnesses. Tobacco use among Asian Americans is the result of many factors, including cultural influences, education and income status, acculturation, lack of knowledge of dangers of smoking and environmental tobacco smoke, and targeted advertising and promotion of tobacco products in the Asian American communities. This entry will explore these factors and discuss issues Asian Americans face in combating tobacco use.

PREVALENCE

In the United States, tobacco use among Asian Americans is generally confined to cigarettes.[4] Smokeless tobacco, however, is a serious health issue in specific groups of Asian Americans. Smokeless tobacco and areca nut use are popular with South Asians and South Asian immigrants in the United States.[5] One in ten Asian Americans is a smoker, which is significantly lower than the general U.S. population and other racial/ethnic groups.[6] There is very limited published information on tobacco use among Asian Americans, especially in

terms of data disaggregated according to specific Asian American subgroups. Although data on smoking are available from annual national survey studies, the small sample size of Asian Americans in these studies has hampered precise estimates.[7] In addition, these studies were conducted in English, resulting in Asian Americans samples that are not representative of actual populations who have limited or no English proficiency. Researchers often have to pool data sets that stretch over several years or lump together disparate samples from different regions in order to obtain crude estimates of tobacco use among Asian Americans, as was done in the Surgeon General's Report on tobacco use in 1998.[8] The sample size, however, was too small to generate meaningful data for Asian American subgroups.

Tobacco use in Asian American communities varies dramatically based on gender and ethnic subgroups. Available data show marked gender differences in smoking rates among Asian Americans. The smoking prevalence estimates among Asian Americans are 6.5 percent for females and 17.5 percent for males.[9] These differences are generally observed among foreign-born adults regardless of country of origin.[10] Although the rates for smoking among Asian American males is 17.5 percent, rates for certain subgroups of Asian males such as Cambodian, Laotian, Vietnamese, Filipino, and Korean Americans are much higher.[11]

FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH USE

Health disparity in tobacco-related diseases and use of preventive health services among Asian Americans exist. It is important for tobacco control activists to recognize the disproportionate impact of tobacco use upon certain Asian American subgroups. When assessing the impact of tobacco use in the Asian American communities, it is necessary to recognize not only the equal risk of negative health consequences among all tobacco users, but also the unequal burden of death and tobacco-related health consequences on Asian American subgroups because of compounding factors such as barriers to health care access, lack of knowledge of tobacco-related health risks, low income and education, and cultural barriers.

A few studies have examined the roles of these factors in the smoking behavior of Asian Americans. In a study with a community sample of Filipino American men, smokers had lower levels of education and income compared with nonsmokers.[12] In a survey conducted in Chicago's Chinatown, those with limited education, with no knowledge about cancer, and those not seeing a medical doctor for their health care were more likely to be smokers.[13] In another survey conducted among Asian Americans, including Korean, Vietnamese, Chinese, and Cambodians, the results indicated that only 31 percent of smokers had been advised by a health care professional to quit smoking.[14]

Cultural values and perceptions about tobacco vary among Asian American communities. For example in the Hmong community, tobacco is often given as a gift during weddings where it serves a specific social function. Many Filipino

American men perceive smoking and the act of offering cigarettes as an important social exchange.[15] Smokeless tobacco and areca nut use in various forms is an integral cultural tradition in South Asian groups.[16] Beliefs about health and health practices greatly affect how people perceive tobacco and tobacco-related diseases. In some communities, a pervading sense of fatalism may overshadow the importance of health. This perception of "powerlessness" seems to have a strong influence on preventive health behavior among populations who face extreme poverty, isolation, and social stigma.[17]

Acculturation and Tobacco Use

Discrepancies between smoking rates in country of origin and those for Asian Americans suggest a possible relationship between acculturation and tobacco use. The rates of smoking among Asian American men are generally much higher in their country of origin.[18] Acculturation is a multidimensional process. In research studies, however, acculturation is often measured by a single indicator, such as language fluency, age at immigration, or length of stay in the United States. Studies of tobacco use behavior and acculturation among different ethnic groups, using a variety of indicators, have produced mixed results.[19] For example in a study with Korean American men, the results indicate a significant relationship between the number of years living in the United States and smoking prevalence, with more recent immigrants (less than ten years living in the United States) having higher smoking rates.[20] However, other studies did not find an association between smoking and years of residence in the United States.[21]

A recent study examined the relationship between acculturation and smoking behavior among several subgroups of Asian Americans (Koreans, Chinese, Vietnamese, and Cambodians) in the Delaware Valley.[22] In this study acculturation was measured by native language usage (reading and speaking) and food preference. The results indicated that for adults, the more-acculturated males were less likely to smoke than those less acculturated. In contrast, the more-acculturated females were more likely to smoke than that of less-acculturated counterparts. Similar patterns were also found in several other studies.[23] These findings suggest that gender and acculturation are important factors in identifying specific subgroups of Asian Americans who are at tobacco-related health risk.

Youth Use and Targeting

Teens make up 90 percent of all new smokers, with more than 3,000 young people becoming regular smokers every day. Seventy-five percent of adult smokers started smoking before the age of 18, and 40 percent of high school seniors who smoke daily have tried to quit and failed.[24] Data from a 2002 national tobacco survey conducted in a random sample of middle and high schools in the United States indicated that whites had the highest smoking rates (25.5%), while Asian Americans had the lowest (12.8%).[25] Although Asian American youth were less likely to smoke than other racial ethnic groups, they

had an alarming seven-fold increase in smoking from middle school (4.4%) to high school (33.1%), and those who smoked did so with greater intensity.

A review of an internal tobacco company document revealed that during the late 1980s, the tobacco industry and its marketing companies recognized the importance of Asian Americans as a potential consumer market.[26] Tobacco companies are aggressively marketing their products to Asian American communities and spend million of dollars on sophisticated marketing campaigns to make smoking cigarettes more appealing to youth. In a study conducted in San Diego, CA, the results found the highest average number of tobacco displays in Asian American stories in comparison to Hispanic and African American stores.[27] A recent survey of grocery and convenience stores in three neighborhoods in New York City found that more tobacco advertisements were located in racial/ethnic minority areas such as Chinatown than in areas where residents were primarily white and of high education and income status.[28] These studies indicated Asian American youth have a higher level of exposure to tobacco advertisements in their neighborhoods. Not only do tobacco companies target the Asian American community with tobacco advertisements, they also sponsor Asian American organizations and cultural events as a way of buying legitimacy in the community. As a result, some of these Asian American organizations may find it difficult to speak out against the targeted marketing efforts of the tobacco industry.

ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACTS

The issue of clean indoor air becomes crucial for populations that have high smoking rates. It is especially important for Asian immigrant families to ban smoking at home, as women and children are heavily exposed to environmental tobacco smoke because of high smoking rates of males in their families. A recent 2006 study conducted with a large sample of more than 2,500 Chinese American adults in New York City found that more than half of all respondents reported that smoking was strictly not allowed inside the home and more than a tenth reported no smoking ban in the home.[29] In this study, current smoking status, knowledge of the dangers of environmental tobacco smoke, and support of smoke-free air legislation were predictors of a household smoking ban. In another study conducted with Korean male smokers, all former smokers and a few current smokers agreed that banning smoking constantly reminded them of how harmful smoking is, both to smokers and nonsmokers exposed to environmental tobacco smoke.[30] Therefore, smoke-free home rules and interventions, as well as raising awareness of the dangers of environmental tobacco smoke, have the potential to significantly reduce exposure to household environmental tobacco smoke among Asian Americans.

A growing awareness of the dangers of environmental tobacco smoke has also led to increased efforts to restrict smoking in public places and workplaces. Many states and local areas in the United States have recently passed strong clean indoor air ordinances protecting workplaces and restaurants. As a large number

of Asian Americans are employed in the service industry, including restaurants and casinos, the enactment of indoor air ordinances will protect the employees' right not to be exposed to environmental tobacco smoke in their workplaces. Community education for local restaurants and workplaces is planned to complement compliance efforts to ensure that there is an understanding of nonsmokers' and workers' rights and the negative health impact of environmental tobacco smoke. Public awareness, together with changes in social norms that accompany the implementation of smoking restrictions, will increase the number of smoke-free homes, as well as decrease the rate of adult smokers.[31]

SMOKING CESSATION

The Agency for Health Care Policy and Research Smoking Cessation Clinical Practice Guideline provides specific recommendations regarding brief smoking cessation interventions, as well as system-level changes designed to promote the assessment and treatment of tobacco use in health settings.[32] A review of the literature on tobacco interventions and smoking cessation outcomes published between 1985 and 2001 found only four studies that reported quit rates for Asian/Pacific Islanders.[33] There have been studies that reported preliminary findings of their ongoing tobacco cessation treatment among Korean and Chinese Americans.[34] Other studies have also used innovative methods to reach out to Southeast Asian populations.[35] Smokers received smoking cessation materials, including videotapes containing antismoking messages and health counseling from lay-adult community members in the Southeast Asian community. Other campaigns have included a media-led smoking cessation campaign targeting Vietnamese American men in California.[36]

OUTLOOK

According to public health researchers, to successfully and effectively address these issues, a comprehensive multipronged approach designed to address tobacco disparities in diverse Asian American populations is required. This approach includes conducting more tobacco control research and gathering disaggregated data for ethnic subgroups; increasing tobacco prevention efforts targeting Asian American youth and women; increasing efforts against the tobacco industry for which Asian Americans are targeted disproportionately; implementing culturally sensitive tobacco cessation interventions; increasing awareness of the dangers of environmental tobacco smoke and enforcing smoke-free homes and workplaces; and advocating that tobacco issues that affect Asian American communities be integrated into all aspects of mainstream tobacco control activities.

FURTHER READING

Asian Pacific Partners for Empowerment, Advocacy and Leadership, "Critical Research and Data Issues on Tobacco Use, Prevention and Control for Asian Americans and

Pacific Islanders," *Asian American and Pacific Islander Journal of Health (*Winter-Spring 2001).

Asian American Youth Against Tobacco (AAYAT). http://www.aayat.org.

Asian Pacific Islander Coalition Against Tobacco (APICAT). http://apicat.org.

Asian Pacific Partners for Empowerment, Advocacy and Leadership (APPEAL). http://www.appealforcommunities.org.

National Networks for Tobacco Control and Prevention (NTCP). http://www.tobaccopreventionnetworks.org.

NOTES

1. A. H. Mondad et al., "Actual Causes of Death in the United States, 2000," *The Journal of the American Medical Association* 291, (2004): 1238–1245.

2. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, "State-Specific Prevalence of Current Cigarette and Cigar Smoking among Adults—United States, 1998," *Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report* 48 (1999): 1034–1039; B. Lynch and R. Bonnie. *Growing up Tobacco Free: Preventive Nicotine Addiction in Children and Youths* (Washington, DC: Institute of Medicine, National Academy Press, 1994).

3. Asian Pacific Partners for Empowerment and Leadership, *Making Tobacco Relevant for Asian American and Pacific Islander Communities* (Oakland, CA: Asian Pacific Partners for Empowerment and Leadership, 2000).

4. Grace X. Ma et al., "Smoking Prevention and Intervention in Asian American Communities: A Case Study," in G. X. Ma and G. Henderson, eds., *Ethnicity and Substance Abuse: Prevention and Intervention,* (Springfield, IL: Charles C. Thomas, 2002), 169–188.

5. Jyotsna Changrani and Francesca Gany, "Pann and Gutka in the United States: An Emerging Threat," *Journal of Immigrant Health* 7, no. 2 (April 2005): 103–108.

6. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, "Cigarette Smoking among Adults—United States," *Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report* 54 (2005): 509–513.

7. Elena S. H. Yu et al., "Smoking among Chinese Americans: Behavior, Knowledge, and Beliefs," *American Journal of Public Health* 92, no. 6 (June 2002): 1007–1012.

8. *Tobacco Use among US Racial/Ethnic Minority Groups—African Americans, American Indians and Alaska Natives, Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders, and Hispanics: A Report of the Surgeon General* (Atlanta, GA: National Center for Chronic Disease Prevention and Health Promotion, Office on Smoking and Health, 1998).

9. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, "Cigarette Smoking among Adults," 509–513.

10. Sun S. Kim et al., "Tobacco Use and Dependence in Asian Americans: A Review of Literature," *Nicotine & Tobacco Research* 9, no. 2 (February 2007): 169–184.

11. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, "Cigarette Smoking among Adults," 509–513.

12. Annette E. Maxwell, et al., "Understanding Tobacco Use among Filipino American Men," *Nicotine & Tobacco Research* 9, no. 7 (July 2007): 769–776.

13. Yu et al., "Smoking among Chinese Americans," 1007–1012.

14. Grace X. Ma and L. Fleisher, "Awareness of Cancer Information among Asian Americans," *Journal of Community Health* 28, no. 2 (April 2003): 115–130.

15. Maxwell, et al., "Understanding Tobacco Use among Filipino," 769–776.

16. Changrani and Gany, "Pann and Gutka in the United States," 103–108.

17. H. P. Freeman, "Cancer in the Economically Disadvantaged," *Cancer* 64, (1989): 324–334.

18. Kim et al., "Tobacco Use and Dependence in Asian Americans," 169–184.

19. Elena S. H. Yu et al., "Smoking among Chinese Americans: Behavior, Knowledge, and Beliefs," *American Journal of Public Health* 92, no. 6 (June 2002): 1007–1012; J. Wiecha et al., "Patterns of Smoking Risk Factors for Smoking, and Smoking Cessation among Vietnamese Men in Massachusetts (United States)," *Tobacco Control* 7 (1998): 27–34; E. Perez-Stable et al., "Cigarette Smoking Behavior among US Latino Men and Women from Different Countries of Origin," *American Journal of Public Health* 91, no. 9 (2001): 1424–1430.

20. Katherine K. Kim et al., "Smoking Behavior, Knowledge, and Beliefs among Korean Americans," *Cancer Practice* 8, no. 5 (September/October 2000): 223–230.

21. Yu et al., "Smoking among Chinese Americans," 1007–1012; Grace X. Ma et al., "Prevalence and Predictors of Tobacco Use among Asian Americans in the Delaware Valley Region," *American Journal of Public Health* 92, no. 6 (June 2002): 1013–1020.

22. Grace X. Ma, et al., "Acculturation and Smoking Behavior in Asian-American Populations," *Health Education Research* 19, no. 6 (2004): 615–625.

23. S. Lee et al., "Acculturation and Health in Korean Americans," *Social Science and Medicine* 51, (2000): 159–173; A. E. Maxwell et al., "Smoking Prevalence and Correlates among Chinese- and Filipino-American Adults: Findings from the 2001 California Health Interview Survey," *Preventive Medicine* 41, (2005); 693–699.

24. Asian Pacific Partners for Empowerment and Leadership, *Making Tobacco Relevant for Asian American and Pacific Islander Communities* (Oakland, CA: Asian Pacific Partners for Empowerment and Leadership, 2000).

25. "Cigarette Smoking among Youth. Results from the 2002 National Youth Tobacco Survey," American Legacy Foundation, *First Look Report* 13 (June 2004): 1–14.

26. M. E. Muggli et al., "Targeting of Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders by the Tobacco Industry: Results from the Minnesota Tobacco Document Depository," *Tobacco Control* 11, (2002): 201–209.

27. J. Elder et al., *Independent Evaluation of Proposition 99—Funded Efforts to Prevent and Control Tobacco Use in California* (San Diego State University, Graduate School of Public Health, 1993).

28. A. Shek et al., *Summer 2004 Youth Internship in Tobacco Prevention: Final Report* (New York: Charles B. Wang Community Health Center, 2004).

29. Donna Shelley et al., "Correlates of Household Smoking Bans among Chinese American," *Nicotine & Tobacco Research* 8, no. 1 (February 2006): 103–112.

30. Sun Seog Kim and Kyoung A. Nam, "Korean Male Smokers' Perceptions of Tobacco Control Policies in the United States," *Public Health Nursing* 22, no. 3 (May/June 2005); 221–229.

31. Shelley et al., "Correlates of Household Smoking," 103–112.

32. M. C. Fiore et al., *Smoking Cessation: Clinical Practice Guideline, No. 18.* (Rockville, MD: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Public Health Service, Agency for Health Care Policy and Research, Publication No. 96-0692, 1996).

33. D. Lawrence et al., "Smoking Cessation Interventions in U.S. Racial/Ethnic Minority Populations: An Assessment of the Literature," *Preventive Medicine* 36 (2003): 204–216.

34. Grace X. Ma et al., "A Culturally Enhanced Smoking Cessation Study among Chinese and Korean Smokers," *The International Electronic Journal of Health Education* 8, (2005): 1–10.

35. Moon S. Chen Jr., "The Status of Tobacco Cessation Research for Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders," *Asian American and Pacific Islander Journal of Health* 9, no. 1 (Winter–Spring 2001): 61–65.

36. S. J. McPhee et al., "Smoking Cessation Intervention among Vietnamese Americans: A Controlled Trial," *Tobacco Control* 4, Suppl. 1 (1995): S16–S24.

RESOURCE GUIDE

Further Reading

Kaiser Family Foundation. *Fact Sheet: Health Coverage and Access to Care among Asian Americans, Native Hawaiians, and Pacific Islanders.* http://www.kff.org/minorityhealth/upload/7745.pdf.

National Heart, Lung and Blood Institutes, *Addressing Cardiovascular Health in Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders.* Washington DC: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2000.

National Institutes of Health. *Diabetes in Asian and Pacific Islander Americans*. NIH Publication No. 02-4667, http://diabetes.niddk.nih.gov/dm/pubs/asianamerican/index.htm.

National Institutes of Health. "How Do Diabetes Complications Affect Asian and Pacific Islander Americans?" *in Diabetes in Asian and Pacific Islander Americans* NIH Publication No. 02-4667, http://diabetes.niddk.nih.gov/dm/pubs/asianamerican/index.htm.

Trinh-Shevrin, Chau, Nadia S. Islam, and Mariano J. Rey, eds. *Asian American Communities and Health: Context, Research, Policy and Action.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2009.

U.S. Surgeon General Report. *Mental Health Care for Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders* http://mentalhealth.samhsa.gov/cre/toc.asp.

Zane, Nolan W.S., David T. Takeuchi, and Kathleen N.J. Young, eds. *Confronting Critical Health Issues of Asian and Pacific Islander Americans*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, 1994.

Films

Our Journey, Our Documentary. 2008. Directed by Center for Pacific Asian Community Services, Inc, Atlanta, GA. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yOz0PTLxGno (10 minutes). Korean CARE (Cancer Alliances & Resources for Empowerment) is a support group of the Pacific Asian Community Services and it has put together this short documentary detailing the experiences of Korean immigrant breast cancer survivors. The dialogue is in Korean, but subtitles describe these women's experiences to healing and recovery.

Shame and Silence: Understanding the Stigma among Asian Americans. 2008. Directed by the New York Coalition for Asian American health, DVD (2 hours). A training video directed for health and social service provider that provides an in-depth look at stigma associated with mental illness among different subgroups of Asian Americans.

Unnatural Causes. A seven-part documentary series that aired on PBS explores the socioeconomic and racial inequities in health and searches for their root causes. The series crisscrosses the country, focusing on different populations to investigate the causes to understand what really makes us healthy and sick. Episode five features sto-

ries of Asian Americans on the impact of neighborhood and health. It also discusses the difficulties of researchers and advocates because of the lack of health data among the diverse subgroups.

Unnatural Causes: Is Inequality Making Us Sick? Episode 5: Place Matters. 2008. Directed by Ellie Lee. Dist. California Newsreel and Vital Pictures, Inc. (24 minutes).

Organizations

Asian American Network for Cancer Awareness Research and Training. http://www.aancart.org. A national network that provides education, networking and research on Asian Americans and cancer.

Asian Pacific Islander American Health Forum. http://www.apiahf.org. Advocates for Asian American and Pacific Islander health issues at the local, state and national levels.

Asian Pacific Islander Caucus. http://www.apicaucus.org. Site focuses on addressing public health issues impacting Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders.

Association of Asian Pacific Community Health Organizations. http://www.aapcho.org. National association representing community health organizations that service Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders.

Center for the Study of Asian American Health. http://www.med.nyu.edu/csaah/ Formally established in 2003, the New York University Center for the Study of Asian American Health (CSAAH) is the first federally funded research center devoted to increasing research, research training, and community outreach initiatives aimed at reducing health disparities in Asian American communities.

South Asian Public Health Association. http://www.sapha.net. Site provides research and information on health issues impacting South Asians.

Web Sites

Asian American Network for Cancer Awareness Research and Training. http://www.aancart.org. Site provides comprehensive information on cancer and Asian Americans.

Asian Pacific Islander American Health Forum. http://www.apiahf.org. Site has downloadable fact sheets on disease specific illnesses impacting Asian Americans and outlining key health issues impacting Asian Americans nationally.

Free National Center of Excellence in the Elimination of Hepatitis B Disparities. http://bfree.med.nyu.edu. Site contains downloadable educational brochures and a resource library of tools, resources, and activities that have been evaluated by public health researchers. These can be implemented to reduce disparities related to hepatitis B in Asian American communities.

National Asian Pacific American Women's Forum. http://napawf.org. National, multi-issue APA women's organization in the United States, the site features downloadable facts sheets on reproductive health and Asian Americans.

U.S. National Library of Medicine, Asian American Health. http://asianamericanhealth.nlm.nih.gov/. A comprehensive portal to the latest information and resource on health issues affecting Asian Americans in the United States, including heart disease, cancer, and mental health. It also has information by language on different health issues. Site features a listing of the different national and local Asian American organizations working on these various health issues.

This page intentionally left blank

Section 5:

IDENTITY

Section Editors: Barbara W. Kim and
Edith Wen-Chu Chen

This page intentionally left blank

PSYCHOLOGICAL APPROACHES TO UNDERSTANDING ASIAN AMERICAN IDENTITY

Sharon G. Goto and Jennifer S. Abe

The force of ethnic identity cannot be underestimated, as it has awakened social movements, perplexed Madison Avenue's marketing of a golf phenomenon Tiger Woods, and inspired and motivated a president, Barack Obama. Eric Liu, a speechwriter for President Bill Clinton and novelist, reflected upon his identity in relation to his immigrant father in *The Accidental Asian*, "When Chao-ua Liu came to the United States in 1955, at the age of eighteen, he was Chinese. When he died thirty-six years later, he was, I'd say, something other than Chinese, and he had helped raise a son who was Chinese in perhaps only a nominal sense. But what, ultimately, does all this mean? Where does this Chineseness reside? In the word? In the deed? In what is learned—or what is already known? And how is it passed from one generation to the next?"[1] Throughout his book, Liu tackles the difficult questions of belonging and identity. He wonders about the location of Chineseness. Is this found in language, behaviors, friendships, associations? Liu also questions the strength and the appropriateness of his cultural connections. *Is* he, *ought* he be, *can* he be more "Chinese" or less "Chinese"? These questions of "Chineseness," "Asianness," and "Americanness" are core issues facing many Asian Americans as they struggle to negotiate their identity in a complex, dynamic world.

Ethnic identity can be generally understood as an ethnic or racial minority member's "psychological relationship" to their own group.[2] The term ethnicity refers to a group based in national origin (e.g., Korea). Identity can also include

conceptions of race and culture. Race refers to socially constructed groupings based in part on phenotype (e.g., Asian or Asian American), and culture refers to groups that share behaviors, values, norms, and attitudes.[3] Hence, ethnic identity is rooted in an individual's experience as a member of a specific ethnic group that has its own historical narrative in the United States (ethnicity); as a human being with specific phenotypical features to which others react based on their perceptions (and judgments) of apparent racial and gender group membership; and an individual's level of knowledge, participation, and identification with the behaviors, values, and rituals of their group (culture).

Although the word identity is derived from the Latin *identitas,* which expresses the notion of sameness, ethnic identity itself is highly complex and dynamic: it emerges out of specific historical and political realities and is consequently socially constructed, perpetuated, and contested; it is highly relational and context-specific, reflecting individual experiences and place-based realities even as it crosses space (i.e., immigration) and evolves over time (i.e., acculturation); it is intensely personal and developmental, expressing an individual's feelings of belonging, self-expression, and self-labeling that change over a lifespan. These varied elements also reveal that ethnic identity encompasses individual, interpersonal, and collective levels of experience.

Understanding the historical and demographic context in which identity is formed is necessary to more fully understand the issues of identity and adjustment for Asian Americans. Throughout a longstanding presence in American society, Asian Americans have been racialized as "other" as their contributions, authenticity, and loyalty have been questioned. Each of these struggles has contributed to the personal and collective questions of identity for Asian Americans. Furthermore, the demographic characteristics of Asian America are ever-changing. Asian Americans are one of the fastest growing racial populations in the U.S., and now they live in communities of varying concentrations of Asian Americans, maintaining different types of connections with their "homeland." This connectivity affects the level of belongingness and identity that Asian Americans hold as they ask, "Where do I belong?"

Finally, Asian American identity is not singular. Although one may focus and place primacy on one's ethnic identity at any one point, typically other identities are incorporated or experienced in parallel. Just as a multi-racial Asian American may dually identify with cultures of both parents, individuals experience and struggle with issues of sexuality, gender, religion, and more, often simultaneously with one identity affecting the others.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The collective identity of individuals of Asian descent in America is best understood within a historical context. Tensions between countries within Asia provide an early basis for ethnic- or nation-specific identities. U.S. government policies, such as the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Laws that stopped immigration of Chinese laborers for ten years and also fed the early rise of nation specific

identities within Asian America as efforts, were made to pit ethnic labor groups against one another in a "divide-and-conquer" strategy. The prevailing anti-Asian sentiment gave rise to further political and legislative moves maltreating Asian American communities. For example, in 1922, Takao Ozawa (*Ozawa v. United States*), a Japanese man, was found ineligible for naturalization under the Naturalization Act of 1906, which granted naturalization to white persons and persons of African descent (Ozawa failed to argue that Japanese were white). A year later, in *U.S. v. Bhagat Sing Thind,* the Court found Asian Indians not eligible for naturalized citizenship. In 1942, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt issued Executive Order 9066, authorizing the Secretary of War to designate military areas that were used to detain and exclude Japanese and Japanese Americans. These and other events created an environment where Asian immigrants and their children were forced to question their "Americanness." Further, this kind of environment fostered the creation of ethnic identities embedded in ethnicity, race, and culture, that were, out of necessity, separate from mainstream America.

Eventually a panethnic, Asian American identity emerged as a form of political resistance against the societal and legislative maltreatment of Asian and Asian American communities. African American, Latino/a and other minority groups' protests of racial inequality took center stage in the Civil Rights Movement. Although Asian Americans were often pitted against these groups as a "model minority," many Asian Americans responded in solidarity alongside other minority groups. Importantly, whereas prior to this moment identities may have been ethnically based (e.g., as Japanese American or Chinese American), an Asian American, panethnic identity emerged as a political tool. Liu also connects the panethnic identity to politics. After publicly criticizing anti-Asian caricatures, Liu writes, "At that moment I began to comprehend the most basic rationale for pan-Asian solidarity: self-defense."[4]

In this context, research on ethnic identity and acculturation gained increasing attention in the academic and popular literature. During the 1960s, several movements such as the Civil Rights Movements, more personal "ethnic revitalization movements," and global indigenous movements sparked people's interest in understanding what their ethnicity meant to them, and how it affected their self-perceptions, adjustment, and behaviors.[5]

The Vincent Chin murder further solidified the Asian American panethnicity and identity movement. The 1982 Detroit murder of Vincent Chin, a Chinese American mistaken for a Japanese and scapegoated for the American automobile industry's economic downturn, served to unite the Asian American community. Asian Americans across ethnicities and organizations joined forces to pressure the federal government to pursue Vincent Chin's civil rights after the perpetrators received two lenient, plea-bargain charges.

In her essay on "LGBTQ Identities," Margaret Rhee observes that sexual and gender identities, like ethnic identity, are socially constructed and represent forms of resistance. In the contemporary era, lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) Asian Americans are asserting simultaneous identities and articulating distinctive social and political issues from Asian American and

dominant LGBTQ community groups. Rebecca Chiyoko King-O'Riain's essay, "Beauty Pageants," reveals the complex dynamics of how the production of beauty queens through cultural festivals reveals the processes through which Asian American communities define, debate, and change identities within a symbolically dense context. In another essay, Joanne Rondilla pays careful attention to the relationship between colonialism and the popularity of double-lidded eyes for Asian Americans, for example, reminding people that the collective identities (i.e., ethnic identity, sexual and gender identity) of marginalized groups are shaped by experiences of oppression.

Today, Asian America is experiencing great demographic changes, and the greater possibilities influence identity in myriad ways. Some recent Asian American immigrants, such as those from India, Taiwan and Korea, are well educated and economically empowered because of public policies that have allowed selective immigration in 1965. Other Asian groups have sought refuge in the United States, escaping war and poverty. Disparate motivations for immigration have resulted in an increasingly ethnically, socially, educationally, and geographically diverse Asian America. Those that self-define as Asian American range from fifth generation to recent immigrants. Some Asian American groups have achieved the highest levels of education, while others have received little formal education. The average earnings of some Asian Americans are on par with white Americans, while others live in poverty. Furthermore, some Asian Americans live in large ethnic enclaves where speaking English is purely optional, whereas others live in white-dominated suburbs. All of these result in different possibilities for individual ethnic and racial identification.

THEORETICAL APPROACHES

Ethnic identity is typically measured along one dimension that taps into the strength of identity. Liu's description of his father illustrates how ethnic identity can vary in strength from person to person, and even within a person from time to time. He writes that he left China "Chinese," but after decades in America became "something other than Chinese." The strength of identity can vary widely based on experiences, normative pressures, or even personality disposition, and can be conceptualized simply as ranging from high to low.

Ethnic identity is conceptualized in a manner that captures the diverse, nuanced, and multidimensional components of an individual's ethnic identity. Liu wonders whether "Chineseness" resides in "a word? A deed?" The basis for ethnic identity is more extensively and broadly reviewed in excellent review articles.[6] Ethnically identity, then, can be understood or measured in terms of strong to weak: self-labeling, sense of belonging, ethnic-related behaviors, and positive attitudes toward the group. The first marker is self-categorization or labeling. How do people see themselves as belonging or identifying with an ethnic group?[7] A pan-Asian American response ("I am Asian American") may be more common in California than in Hawai'i, where an ethnic-specific ("I am Vietnamese") or place-specific ("I am local") response would be more common.

A third- or fourth-generation individual may be more likely to identify panethnically because of direct familial experience with the Civil Rights Movement or a multiethnic heritage. Ethnic identity is also thought to reflect the individual's commitment or self-perceived sense of belonging with an ethnic group, probably the most salient aspect of identity. An individual living in an ethnic enclave is more likely to be committed to ethnic groups either as a result of or as a reason for living in a high-density Asian American neighborhood. A third dimension of ethnic identity is ethnic-related behaviors. So, an individual's choice of music, food, language, religion, and friends, for example, can vary from being very centered on ethnic food choices, for example, to being quite "mainstream." The final dimension is generally conceptualized as "ingroup attitude" or "positive attitudes about one's group and oneself as a group member," which may be held independently of (and even in opposition to) the perceptions and stereotypes of mainstream society.[8]

These dimensions of self-labeling, attachment or commitment, ethnic-related behaviors, and ingroup attitudes are in some ways overlapping, and certainly intercorrelated. For example, an individual who identifies as "Asian American" is likely to feel committed to issues affecting the Asian American community, be more likely to make ethnic or Asian food choices, and have a strong sense of pride in their Asian Americanness. Nonetheless, it is helpful to understand the construct of ethnic identity as complex, multidimensional, and affecting a broad range of behaviors and cognitions.

Some of the earliest models of ethnic identity were based on typologies that provided a framework for understanding how an individual's orientation toward their multiple cultural realities might influence their responses to mental health treatment. The earliest model was put forth during a period where the term "Asian American" was newly minted, where Asian Americans were joining together and overlooking ethnic differences to unify, create political solidarity, and develop a stronger conciousness.[9] Ethnic identity was contextualized among Chinese Americans using acculturation, values, and family upbringing to create three categories of individuals: The *Traditional* individual identified strongly with her own group; the *Marginal Man* rejected his own group and identified with the dominant culture; and the *Asian American* inhabited a more bicultural reality that was self-defined.[10] Alternatively, a typology was created based on two elements—level of assimilation and ethnic identity—that resulted in similar categories (for instance, an individual fitting a "Type A" pattern with high assimilation and low ethnic identity would be similar to the "marginal man" category).[11] Theories focused on acculturation processes, proposed that orientations toward the home and host culture were independent of each other, thus acknowledging identification with both or neither.[12]

The Minority Identity Development Model is a stage model where identity is not automatically obtained, but rather is developed through time and experiences.[13] The individual starts out in Conformity, unquestioningly preferring the values (standards of beauty, music, etc.) of the larger society. In this stage, the individual is probably influenced by the media and perhaps normative

"To P or Not to P?": Identifying P/Filipino Americans

Depending upon context, Filipino Americans may be referred to as Pilipino Americans. Although the question of "P or F" is ultimately a matter of personal choice, either usage bears distinct cultural significances in Asian American history. The word *Pilipino* is the Tagalog equivalent of the Spanish *Filipino*. During the social movements for self-determination in the 1960s and 1970s, several immigrants from the Philippines and their children declared the former term as a statement of identity.

During that time, a number of self-identified Pilipino American scholars and activists argued, by way of historical evidence, that the term *Filipino* was a Spanish word, used primarily as a title of European nobility. Prior to the 1898 Philippine Revolution, the term *Filipino* was legally used to refer to Spanish-born *peninsulares* or Philippine-born Spanish *criollos*. Filipino people, as all peoples of Philippine ancestry are known now, were known as *indios*, much like the indigenous peoples of former Spanish colonies in Latin America.

As chronicled his work *Makibaka: The Pilipino American Struggle*, Royal Morales, when addressing his self-phrased rhetorical question, "To P or not to P?", posits that the usage of *Pilipino* is upon the absence of the consonant F in the native Tagalog language.[1] Tagalog, post-Philippine Revolution, was the basis for the Philippine national language, and the reclamation of the Spanish word as *Pilipino* was, thus, a declaration of a sentient, postcolonial identity.

Other like-minded activists like author and artist Orvy Jundis justified the usage of *Pilipino* upon wit and wordplay. The term "pili" in Tagalog means "to choose," while the term "pino" (from the Spanish "fino") means "fine." Jundis and others, by virtue of claiming a Pilipino identity, "choose to be fine."

Other scholars, however, prefer the more familiar *Filipino*. Historian Fred Cordova, for instance, argues that the earliest mass-immigration wave of Filipinos during the early twentieth century identified as Filipinos;[2] ergo, a continuing embrace and employment of said identity is a proper testament to their contributions to Filipino American history and culture. Likewise, some take the "P or F" issue on a more personal basis. Author Doris Trinidad writes: "I have always found it ludicrous on spelling our national language *Pilipino* when we are perfectly able to spell and pronounce the letter F."[3]

As indicated in Filipino American history, Filipinos, transnationally speaking, tend to advocate the term *Pinoy* as an identity marker. Like the term *Chicano*, derived from the last three syllables of *Mexicano*, the term *Pinoy*

is derived from the end syllables of *Filipino*. This term gained use in the Philippines during the early twentieth century, and it certainly gained a more prolific and widespread use in America. Like the term *Chicano*, *Pinoy* initially had a somewhat negative connotation because it was used often in reference to poor migrant workers in America, but nonetheless it is used comfortably by Filipino communities worldwide.

However individuals of Philippine descent choose to self-identify, their shared identity, regardless of issues of syllables and slang terms, is certainly indicative of their intrinsic diversity and deep historical roots. The Filipino identity, however one might spell or pronounce it, is ultimately more complex than simplistic ideas or semantic matters.[4]

Notes

1. Royal Morales, *Makibaka 2: The Pilipino American Struggle* (Los Angeles: Mountainview Publishers, 1998).
2. Fred Cordova, *Filipinos: Forgotten Asian Americans* (Dubuque, IA: Kendall/Hunt Publishing, 1983).
3. Doris Trinidad, *Permutations of Love* (Manila: Anvil Press, 1996).
4. Allan G. Aquino, "To 'P' or Not to 'P'? That is the Question: Whether 'Tis More Correct to Use 'Pilipino' instead of 'Filipino'. . .," PinoyLife.com, September 16, 2008, http://pinoylife.com/2008/09/16/to-p-or-not-to-p-that-is-the-question-whether-tis-more-correct-to-use-pilipino-instead-of-filipino/.

—Allan Aquino

pressure. The second stage, Dissonance, is typically triggered by an incident, for example a racially based action that causes the person to question the values of the larger society. In this phase, an individual questions their previous assumptions and is thus ambivalent about a range of social groups, including the larger society, Asian Americans, and other ethnic minority groups. Liu writes, "I came to feel I was not normal. And obtusely, I ascribed the difficulties of that age not to my age but to my color. I came to suspect that there was an order to things, an order that I, as someone Chinese, could perceive but not quite crack."[14] In the third stage, Resistance and Immersion, the individual rejects the standards and values held by the larger society. The individual appreciates his or her Asian American or ethnic group identity, and seeks to learn more about the history, practices, values, and communities associated. This is followed by a second questioning or Introspection stage, where the individual is motivated to see the world and one's place within the world more complexly. In the final stage, Synergetic Articulation and Awareness, the individual is able to see himself or herself both as a member of the larger society and as a member of an ethnic community, see both cultural worlds objectively

while appreciating strengths and recognizing weaknesses of all cultures. Individuals in the stage are also aware of their common experience as ethnic minorities with individuals from other racial minority groups, and appreciate their identities based on sexuality, class, et cetera. This stage is thought optimal, in that a person is able to move in and out of either cultural group with fluidity, and connects with individuals along the largest identity lines of humanness.

The process of constructing an ethnic identity is also contextualized within particular physical settings—places infused with personal meaning because of experience (i.e., migration stories, close relationships, daily rituals, and cultural and spiritual practices). "Place" has been described as not only the geographic center or location for life events, but also as representing the whole of human interactions and relationships that are identified with a specific location.[15]

From a place-based perspective, constructing and negotiating an ethnic identity requires locating, or mapping, oneself in particular places or even in different places across time. Migration, for instance, involves movement from one place to another, worlds apart in terms of cultures, values, meanings, and experiences, disrupting a person's internal cognitive/spatial map of the self. Chain migration (whereby individuals follow family members in migrating to a new country) and secondary migration (with monikers such "spiral," and "double leap")—a process in which immigrants re-emigrate to a new location after already migrating once—also highlight the power of place for immigrants. R. Benedito Farrao discusses the challenges of creating a pan-South Asian American identity in the United States that encompasses, in addition to religious, ethnic, professional, and class-based affiliations, different national origins and multiple diasporic communities as a result of European colonization.

A geographer described place as the "nodes of the life biography," representing a web of events making up someone's life story.[16] Acculturation reflects an individual's level of cultural change from a traditional, immigrant culture toward the majority culture. What geographical locations and communities enable immigrants to perceive that they might successfully carve out a new life for themselves and to develop a sense of belonging and connection? For their U.S.-born children, what communities enable Asian American individuals to identify with others who look like them and who may share similar acculturation experiences, negotiating different cultural realities as part of their daily experience?

Experiences and perceptions of racism affect ethnic identity, as do familial inclusion, and geographic location. In his essay on "Asian American Identity in Hawai'i," for instance, Jonathan Y. Okamura describes the impact of being part of the dominant racial and social group, rather than a minority group as is the case in Hawai'i. In this unique state, there is no pan-Asian American ethnic identity, as there is no need to assert resistance against a dominant non-Asian group. Instead, ethnicity and place serve as the primary marker of identity, not race, with individuals asserting their identities as "locals" (versus mainlanders), and as "Filipino," "Korean," or "Chinese," for instance, rather than "Asian American."

"Cognitive frame-switching" represents another model of identity that can perhaps best capture the dynamics of place. Frame-switching refers to an individual's ability to respond to situational cues, shifting cultural frames of reference for different situational contexts.[17] This approach is not just context-specific, but also highly relational, as what is considered appropriate will depend upon the roles and the individuals involved in a particular situation. From this perspective, culture-specific cues elicit culture-specific attributions and values, enabling a person to behave in a culturally appropriate manner.[18] The development of these skills may be associated with various elements of ethnic identity—that is, one's self-identification, sense of attachment and commitment, participation in ethnic/cultural behaviors, and ingroup attitudes—as well as its strength (or weakness). In addition, the shared challenge and experience of cultural frame-switching and negotiating different cultural realities may facilitate a sense of common experience among different Asian American subgroups, despite significant differences between various Asian cultures and migration experiences.

STRUGGLES FOR IDENTITY

Beyond the context of history and demography, and the theoretical models for understanding ethnic identity are the commonly shared struggles of ethnic identity. These issues contribute to the ethnic identity questioning of 'Where do I belong?' Two struggles that are shared by many Asian Americans are individually experienced but based on how Asian Americans as a group are perceived.

The first is because of perceptions of Asian Americans as "perpetual foreigners." Since the earliest waves of immigrants in the 1800s, Asians in America have been perceived as being un-American and unassimilable. In 1999, Wen Ho Lee, a Taiwanese-born scientist who had lived in the United States for more than thirty years, was working at the Los Alamos National Laboratory for the University of California. Lee was accused by the U.S. government of selling militarily sensitive information to the Chinese government. Ultimately, he was largely exonerated, won a $1.6 million civil suit and a presidential apology. One has to wonder how much his perceived foreignness contributed to the premature and unfounded accusations of espionage. This perception remains even for descendants of immigrants who know no other home. Using the implicit association task, perceptions of Asian Americans as foreign persisted in even highly educated presumably progressive samples. Being seen as foreign can result in expressions of ethnic identity and associated behaviors that are set to prove "Americanness" in opposition to foreignness. Individuals may downplay or be embarrassed by their ethnic or racial heritage and identify as "American" to the exclusion of a minority or ethnic identity. Conversely, some may retreat into their ethnic culture and community and identify solely in their ethnicity, "Taiwanese."

A second related "struggle" experienced by many Asian Americans is based upon the model minority stereotype. This well-documented stereotype or common view portrays Asian Americans as unidimensional, hardworking people that

excel particularly in math and science. This stereotype is perhaps responsible for the media and much of the public not seeing Tiger Woods, a multiracial golf phenomenon, as Asian American.[19] When Tiger Woods was asked by a reporter from *Sports Illustrated* how he filled out forms, Tiger responded that he put down "Asian." The reporter ignored this response, and subsequently reported him as African American. It may be the case that in America, any African American heritage creates a perception of the person being entirely African American, as Anh-Luu T. Huynh-Hohnbaum observes in her essay, "Multiracial Asian and Pacific Islanders." However, the Tiger identity issue is also likely because of the stereotype "pigeon-holing" Asian American where athletics is not seen as an option. This same phenomenon is experienced by Hines Ward, a star wide receiver and MVP (most valuable player) for Super Bowl XL for the Pittsburgh Steelers. His father is African American and his mother is Korean. His Asian heritage and success as a Korean American athlete is seemingly downplayed in the United States, despite his high profile role and philanthropic work in Korea that supports multiracial children. In addition to limiting identification, some Asian Americans negotiate identities by trying to either fulfill or actively refute the stereotype. Liu, in negotiating his ethnic identity, had worked hard to defy this stereotype. Upon reflection, he wrote, "The irony is that in working so duteously to defy stereotype, I became a slave to it. For to act self-consciously against Asian 'tendencies' is not to break loose from the cage of myth and legend; it is to turn the very key that locks you inside."[20]

A third common struggle is found in the behaviors, practices, and interactions that enable individuals to successfully establish a sense of belonging and place in a different cultural community. These represent important forms of adaptation and acculturation. Religious and spiritual practices represent a form of this kind of "place-making" for immigrants, providing community support and culturally consonant solace in practices that are familiar and meaningful, grounding them in a new country. In his essay on "Religious Identity and Marginalization," Russell Jeung illumines the diverse faith practices of various Asian American groups, from Filipino Americans who are largely Catholic and Korean Americans who are largely Protestant, to the large percentages of Asian Americans who practice non-Western religions and spiritualities or who profess no religion at all. For Jeung, ethnic identity is reinforced through the practice of religion, through maintaining these familiar rituals and cultural norms, and in "authenticating" identity (Hinduism, for instance, is described as the "primordial source of Indian culture" and home faith practices as exemplars of "real" Indian-ness).

First-generation immigrants and refugees immigrate to America for specific reasons for a better economic life or for physical and emotional safety. The first generation incurs great sacrifice when they come to a new country, but in some ways there is less identity ambiguity. Being immersed in a culture that they did not grow up in, they may feel firmly and identify with people from their home country. On the other hand, the first generation may worry about their children losing culture, as the children acculturate to American ways of life, leaving behind cultural ways of their parents.

Generation and Identity

Although some Asian ethnics such as Japanese, Chinese, and Filipino Americans have been in the United States for more than a hundred years, the majority of the contemporary Asian American population did not arrive until the immigration reforms of the 1950s and 1960s overturned exclusions and national quotas that restricted Asians' ability to immigrate and become naturalized citizens. As a result, today's Asian American population—one of the fastest growing in the U.S.—is largely first (about 60 percent) and second generation (about 25 percent). In addition to other social identities (gender, sexual orientation, religion, multiraciality, etc.) and geography, generation is important to consider in the discussion of racial and ethnic identities.

The first generation is defined as foreign-born people who immigrated as adults. The second generation is defined as the U.S.-born-and-raised offspring of foreign-born parents. The "1.5 generation" refers to those who came with their families as young children, were educated and raised in both their country of origin and the United States, and are often bilingual and bicultural. The 1.5 generation is distinguished from first and second because its experiences do not fit into those categories or resemble a mix of the two. In the Korean American community, scholars have used the 1.5-generation label ("*ilchom ose*") to describe immigrants who came to the United States after junior high or in high school years, as well as those who came in primary school; but increasingly, immigration scholars use 1.5 generation to refer to those who came before the age of twelve.

Japanese Americans and Chinese Americans with earliest settlement histories have significant representation of third and higher generations. Japanese Americans, in particular, were able to establish families and communities in the early immigration years; with decreasing immigration in the post-1965 era, Japanese Americans have the highest proportion of third ("*sansei*"), fourth ("*yonsei*"), and fifth-generation ("*gosei*") Americans. The Chinese American population has grown also because of high rates of contemporary immigration.

Historically, European immigrants (even those who became naturalized U.S. citizens) were seen as people whose allegiances were to both the country of origin and their new country. As their U.S.-born children learned English and adopted dominant American cultures and customs, their descendents gradually assimilated into the white, middle-class mainstream American society and took on the affiliation and affinity of "Americans." Their ethnic identities and affiliations weakened or became "optional" for times of holidays and family gatherings. Recent studies have shown that Chinese and Japanese Americans continue to face social expectations or assumptions that they should be familiar with their ethnic roots, even though they are generations removed from their immigrant ancestors. Although many Asian and other Americans—regardless of generation—identify with and practice aspects of their immigrant or ethnic ancestry in the post–Civil Rights era, the expectations for later-generation Chinese and Japanese Americans to be "ethnic"—which later-generation European Americans do not tend to face—reveal the continued interplay of race and ethnicity in contemporary America.

—Barbara W. Kim

It is not uncommon for these second-generation children to actively embrace their American ways and reject their parents' culture. They may identify strongly as American. In Liu's words, "I realize, as well, that my route of entry has taken a certain toll. I have neglected my ancestral heritage. I have lost something. Yes, I can speak some Mandarin and stir-fry a few easy dishes. I have been to China and know something of its history. Still, I could never claim to be Chinese at the core."[21] Still, some of the second generation, while having lost many of the behavioral traditions, may identify strongly as "Asian American" or "Korean American."

For involuntary immigrants, like Cambodians, the question of ethnic identity is a strongly personal negotiation that encompasses "recovery" of a homeland culture. Some refugees may hold reluctant memories of their home country and experiences, and with these memories is an associated identification. Others may be able to embrace their ethnic identity more strategically with selective memories. For many refugees the question of ethnic identity is directly related to well-adjustment.

The process of constructing an ethnic identity is contextualized within particular physical settings—places infused with personal meaning because of experience (i.e., migration stories, close relationships, daily rituals, and cultural practices). Thus, ethnic identity encompasses one's experience of culture and race, mediated through these multiple contextual physical realities, which in turn, may impact a person's well-being and mental health.[22]

OUTLOOK

Ethnic identity is rooted in a person's complex relationship to multiple racial and cultural realities and how a person negotiates the construction of their identity across these boundaries. While the construction of an ethnic identity is a psychological process, this process is embedded in a physical reality (one's gender, appearance, and other "embodied" characteristics through which one experiences life). Humans will always be driven to define themselves either as part of different groups and/or as unique individuals. It is likely, however, that the future will bring changes to physical reality. Global economic and political changes may influence the way Asia and Asian America is seen. One saw great ethnic pride in the successful hosting of the Summer Olympics of 2008. If the Pacific Rim gains greater power and prestige as projected, or if there are expanded cross-national tensions within Asian cultures, then Asian Americans may experience pan-ethnic or ethnic-specific identity boosts. Another projected cause for change in ethnic identity is increased transnationalism, as new technology and affordable travel enable continued physical and emotional ties to Asia. In the United States, a more multicultural, multiracial society will likely enable more complex, multifaceted identities than currently exist. High-profile Asian American success along nonstereotypical avenues will expand the ways Asian Americans are perceived and relate to each other, as with the recent success of the pan Asian American dance group, JabbaWockeeZ in MTV's show America's Best Dance Crew.[23] This street dance crew is an inspiring

portrayal of a handful of young Asian American men, representing diaspora from many parts of Asia and different geographies of the United States, who broke stereotypes.

It may seem that ethnic identity will become less important as the dominant groups become less dominant; however, it is more likely that the search for ethnic identity will no longer be an end, but will be the starting point from which novel individual and community activities are launched. Paying attention to ethnic identity can enrich understanding of what it means to move through the world, at various stages in life, enabling Asian Americans to better negotiate the richness, challenge, and complexity of multiple worlds that may vary in so many ways, including by culture, class, race, and religion. Particular places and communities also hold the capacity to anchor Asian Americans' sense of belonging to the world. Awareness also equips them to identify the obstacles and pitfalls befalling those who journey across these worlds, many of which remain invisible to a society determined to keep them hidden, or perhaps worse, completely oblivious. Ethnic identity paradoxically requires that they are always on a journey, with map and frame to help them create a sense of home in their world(s).

NOTES

1. Eric Liu, *The Accidental Asian: Notes of a Native Speaker* (New York: Vintage Books, 1998), 7.

2. Jean S. Phinney, "Ethnic Identity in Adolescents and Adults: Review of Research," *Psychological Bulletin* 108, no. 3 (1990): 499–514; Laura Uba, *Asian Americans: Personality Patterns, Identity, and Mental Health* (New York: Guilford Press, 1994).

3. Harry C. Triandis, *The Analysis of Subjective Culture* (New York: John Wiley, 1972).

4. Liu, *The Accidental Asian*, 63.

5. Phinney, "Ethnic Identity in Adolescents and Adults: Review of Research," 499.

6. Richard Ashmore, Kay Deaux, and Tracy McLaughlin-Volpe, "An Organizing Framework for Collective Identity: Articulation and Significance of Multidimensionality," *Psychological Bulletin* 130, no. 1 (2004): 80–114; Jean S. Phinney and Anthony D. Ong, "Conceptualization and Measurement of Ethnic Identity: Current Status and Future Directions," *Journal of Counseling Psychology* 54, no. 3 (2007): 271–281.

7. Eun Rhee, Eun, James S. Uleman, and Hoon Koo Lee. "Variations in Collectivism and Individualism by Ingroup and Culture: Confirmatory Factory Analysis," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 71, no. 5 (1996): 1037–1054.

8. Phinney and Ong, "Conceptualization and Measurement of Ethnic Identity," 273.

9. Stanley Sue and James K. Morishima, *The Mental Health of Asian Americans* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1982).

10. Stanley Sue and Derald W. Sue, "Chinese American Personality and Mental Health," *Amerasia Journal*, 1 (1971): 36–49.

11. Harry L. Kitano, *Japanese Americans: The Emergence of a Subculture* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1969).

12. Eugene R. Oetting and Fredrick Beauvais, "Orthogonal Cultural Identification Theory: The Cultural Identification of Minority Adolescents," *The International Journal*

of Addictions. 25 (1990): 655–685; John W. Berry, “Immigration, Acculturation, and Adaptation,” *Applied Psychology*, 46, no. 1 (1997): 5–34.

13. Donald R. Atkinson, George Morten, and Derald Wing Sue, “A Minority Identity Development Model.” In Donald R. Atkinson, George Morten, and Derald Wing Sue, eds., *Counseling American Minorities,* (Dubuque, IA: W. C. Brown, 1989) 35–52.

14. Liu, *The Accidental Asian*, 40.

15. Mindy Fullilove, “Psychiatric Implications of Displacement: Contributions from the Psychology of Place,” *The American Journal of Psychiatry* 153 (1996): 12.

16. Anssi Paasi, “Deconstructing Regions: Notes on the Scales of Spatial Life,” *Environment & Planning* A. 23 (1991): 239.

17. Ying-Yi Hong, Michael W. Morris, Chi-Yue Chiu, and Veronica Benet-Martinez, “Multicultural Minds: A Dynamic Constructivist Approach to Culture and Cognition,” *American Psychologist* 55 (2000): 709–720.

18. Nairán Ramirez-Esparza, Samuel Gosling, Veronica Benet-Martinez, Jeffrey Potter, and James W. Pennebaker, “Do Bilinguals Have Two Personalities? A Special Case of Cultural Frame Switching,” *Journal of Research in Personality* 40 (2006): 99–120.

19. Larry Elder, “International Tiger,” http://www.larryelder.com/racial/tigerwoods.htm.

20. Liu, *The Accidental Asian*, 51.

21. Liu, *The Accidental Asian,* 54.

22. Doris Chang, “An Introduction to the Politics of Science: Culture, Race, Ethnicity, and the Supplement to the Surgeon General’s Report on Mental Health,” *Medicine and Psychiatry*, 27 (2003): 373–383

23. Elise Shin, “JabbaWockeeZ Wins! America’s Best Dance Crew Recap,” *Asian Week,* March 27, 2008, http://www.asianweek.com/2008/03/27/americas-best-dance-crew-asian-jabbawockeez-finale-winner-week-7/.

ASIAN AMERICAN IDENTITIES IN HAWAI‘I

Jonathan Y. Okamura

Unlike in the continental United States, the term “Asian American” is not generally used in Hawai‘i to refer to groups or individuals of Asian descent, either by Asian Americans themselves or by non-Asians. The much more common practice in the islands is to employ ethnic, rather than racial, categories to identify oneself or others, for example, Filipino American or Japanese American. The primary reason that Asian American is not invoked as a categorical term is because Chinese Americans, Japanese Americans, Filipino Americans, and Korean Americans make up major or at least significant economic, political and social groups in Hawai‘i that together constitute a majority of the population. Thus, they do not have to form alliances with one another specifically as Asian Americans to advance any interests they might share. Instead, they are viewed as distinct ethnic groups with their own identities, cultures, communities, and concerns by other groups rather than being racially categorized as Asian American.

In Hawai‘i, unlike on the continental United States, Japanese Americans and Chinese Americans hold dominant status politically as well as socioeconomically; thus, they have less of a need to establish coalitions with each other and with other groups, whether Asian American or not. In electoral politics, the notion of “Asian American voters,” “Asian American candidates” or “Asian American interests” does not have much salience in the islands. In general, the concept of Asian American has limited political significance as a basis for collective action among Asian American groups because their interests and status have diverged over the years and because coalitions can be formed along other bases. As a term, Asian American is used predominantly by academics and journalists, while the general public continues to use “Oriental” in reference to persons of Asian descent, especially

Japanese Americans, Chinese Americans, and Korean Americans but not Filipino Americans, because of ignorance of its demeaning connotations.

Besides Asian American, the related term "Asian Pacific American" is even less used in Hawai'i, despite Pacific Islanders, including Native Hawaiians, Samoans, Micronesians and other smaller groups, making up more than one-fourth of the state population, which is the highest proportion in the nation. Like Asian Americans, Pacific Islander groups have not created alliances with each other as such. This can be attributed to Native Hawaiians, the largest Pacific Islander group by far in Hawai'i, being the native people of the islands in contrast to other Pacific Islanders who are immigrants. Thus in Hawai'i, Asian Pacific American or its common acronym, APA, is not employed in reference to Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders, including by community advocacy organizations that serve these populations.

Historically, Asian American groups, along with others such as Native Hawaiians and Portuguese Americans, did join together in the multiracial labor organizing movement led by the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) that began in the late 1930s.[1] Shortly after World War II, tens of thousands of dockworkers and sugar and pineapple plantation workers had joined the ILWU. From the latter half of the 1940s through the 1950s, ILWU workers from different racial groups collaborated together in several lengthy and victorious strikes, such as that by sugar workers in 1946 and dockworkers in 1949. Asian Americans, Native Hawaiians, and Portuguese Americans also cooperated with each other, including through the ILWU, in supporting the rise to power of the Democratic Party in the 1950s and 1960s. However, whether in the ILWU or the Democratic Party, Japanese Americans, Chinese Americans, Korean Americans, and Filipino Americans did not form coalitions or otherwise collaborate with one another primarily because of their shared Asian descent. Their common economic and political interests as working class groups subject to racism and discrimination from the dominant whites were the primary factors that brought them together and with other similarly disadvantaged groups.

LOCAL IDENTITY

Instead of Asian American or Asian Pacific American, the term "local" is commonly used in Hawai'i to refer to most Asian American groups together with other ethnic minorities. Local identity is claimed and shared by islanders with an attachment to and appreciation of the land, peoples and cultures of Hawai'i. In the 1930s when the term was first applied to people from Hawai'i, local had both race and class-based meanings that differentiated nonwhite working-class groups, such as Japanese Americans, Native Hawaiians, Portuguese Americans, and Puerto Ricans, from whites who were the dominant economic and political group. Although whites, or haoles as they are generally referred to in Hawai'i, have been in the islands longer than any other group except for Native Hawaiians, they are often not considered local because of

their historical privileged status and contemporary cultural differences with local people. Given their relative recent arrival in Hawai‘i since the mid-1970s, Vietnamese Americans, Laotian Americans, Cambodian Americans, and other Asian and Pacific Islander immigrants (for example, Micronesians) are also generally not perceived as local.

Among Asian American groups with a significant proportion of post-1965 immigrants, the term “local” is often used to distinguish between group members born in Hawai‘i and those born abroad, such as “local Filipinos” and “immigrant Filipinos.” Besides Filipino Americans, this distinction is also made among Korean Americans and Chinese Americans but much less among Japanese Americans because they do not have a substantial immigrant segment. The term “local Japanese” is generally used to differentiate Japanese Americans from Hawai‘i from those in the continental United States. The distinction between locals and immigrants is not based only on place of birth or length of residence in Hawai‘i; it also emphasizes the cultural differences between these two groups insofar as immigrants are viewed as lacking a knowledge of local culture, practices, and values. The arrival of substantial numbers of Asian immigrants and refugees, including Filipinos, Koreans, and Vietnamese, in the late 1960s and mid-1970s contributed to local identity having a more significant meaning than merely being born and raised in Hawai‘i.[2] Immigrants and others arriving in the islands during this period, such as newcomers from the continental United States, tourists, foreign investors, and military personnel, were viewed as political, economic, and cultural threats to the quality of life valued by local people. Local identity then served as a means to mobilize and organize people in opposition to those external forces of development and change as was evident in community-based struggles against housing evictions and resort hotel projects. It continues to be an expression and source of resistance against more recent external threats, such as the ongoing economic and cultural globalization of Hawai‘i.

The continuing significance of local as a collective identity and status shared by most Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders in Hawai‘i is another major reason that Asian American and Asian Pacific American are not used as categorical terms of reference. As a result, in the near future it is unlikely that the latter terms will gain in their use because local identity is of far greater political importance and cultural meaning to island residents.

ASSERTION OF ETHNIC IDENTITIES

While Asian American groups and individuals in Hawai‘i do not claim an Asian American identity, they do assert their respective ethnic identities to varying degrees. The Asian American group that most actively engages in ethnic identity construction is Okinawan Americans. They do so primarily to maintain the boundary and distinguish themselves as a community from Japanese Americans, although as individuals many identify as the latter given the relatively open social and cultural boundaries between Okinawan Americans and Japanese Americans,

including intermarriage. Many Okinawan Americans express their separate identity from Japanese Americans by claiming to be *Uchinanchu* (overseas Okinawan), invoking a term from the *Hoogen* language of their ancestral homeland, although only a very small minority of them speak it.[3] As a community, Okinawan Americans differentiate themselves from Japanese Americans by having their own federated organization, the Hawai'i United Okinawa Association, community center, and annual community festival in Honolulu. Okinawan Americans also are unique among Asian American groups insofar as some members of their third and fourth generations, rather than only immigrants, maintain transnational connections with their ancestral homeland in Okinawa through periodic visits.[4]

Korean Americans, especially their "1.5" generation, are another Asian American group in Hawai'i that articulates a particular identity for themselves. The 1.5 generation refers to those who immigrated during their formative years, when they were old enough to remember living in Korea and young enough to have attended intermediate or high school in the United States.[5] Consequently, "1.5ers" become bicultural in Korean and American cultures and bilingual in the Korean and English languages. In contrast to immigrants who lack those abilities, members of the 1.5 generation are particularly well-suited to represent the Korean American community to the larger society as college educated, articulate, and community-oriented residents of Hawai'i. While this might be viewed as a model minority image, this asserted identity is intended to challenge the widespread stereotypes of Korean Americans as money-hungry, short-tempered, pushy, and sexually promiscuous (young women) immigrants employed primarily as taxi drivers, bar hostesses, and small vendors selling souvenirs to tourists.[6] These demeaning stereotypes lead 1.5ers to affirm a positive identity for the Korean American community because of the shame and embarrassment they felt about being Korean American while growing up in Hawai'i.

In contrast, Japanese Americans hold such a dominant political and socioeconomic position in Hawai'i that they are not especially concerned as a community with their identity as perceived by other groups, although individual Japanese Americans may have concerns about their ethnic identity as seen by others.[7] The Japanese American community does not engage in cultural and social processes of identity formation to the same extent as do other ethnic groups because Japanese Americans have other means to maintain themselves in their relatively high social status, such as family wealth resources that can be passed on to their children. Instead of in more substantive ways, Japanese Americans express and maintain their ethnic identity symbolically through an emphasis on annual holidays, such as New Year's Day, or on annual cultural events such as community *bon* dances in the summer. Japanese Americans in Hawai'i may be one of a limited number of nonwhite ethnic groups that express their identity symbolically through particular symbols of their culture instead of that larger culture itself.

Chinese Americans are another ethnic group in Hawai'i that does not actively create an identity for themselves because they also occupy a socioeconomically

and politically privileged position in the state.[8] However, a growing working class population of Chinese immigrants has emerged since the 1990s, although it is not yet large enough to have resulted in a significant division between local and immigrant Chinese.

As a politically and economically subordinate minority, Filipino Americans have found it especially difficult to challenge their stereotyping that is so widespread in Hawai‘i that many people do not view it as offensive or racist. However, such stereotyping as culturally backward immigrants with minimal employment skills and educational qualifications is the primary problem that Filipino Americans encounter in asserting their own understandings of their ethnic identity.[9] One of the principal sources of denigrating stereotypes of Filipino Americans is joke telling or “ethnic humor,” particularly by non-Filipino comedians who target Filipino Americans as the butt of their jokes.[10] But because ethnic humor is based on ethnic stereotypes, it reinforces and disseminates them at the expense of the Filipino Americans who are being laughed at. So-called Filipino jokes by local comedians tend to be variations on prevalent stereotypes about them as eating dogs, speaking strongly accented English, holding menial service jobs, and not being very intelligent. Such stereotyping contributes to restricting them to a subjugated position in the ethnic stratification order and results in feelings of shame about their perceived identity among some young Filipino Americans.

Filipino Americans, particularly immigrants, articulate a diasporic identity that connects them to their Philippine homeland.[11] These connections are maintained through return visits to their hometown, sending remittances and desired goods to their relatives, and long-distance telephone and other forms of communication with their relatives and friends. However, insofar as a diasporic identity expresses an immigrant rather than a local identity for Filipino Americans, it also can contribute to the social cleavage and distance between local and immigrant Filipinos, who in many respects have different identities, cultures, and languages. Hawai‘i-born Filipinos assert a local identity that represents their sense of belonging to and attachment to Hawai‘i and its peoples and cultures, while many immigrant Filipinos express a diasporic identity that affirms their continuing cultural and social ties to the Philippines as their homeland.

Among Pacific Islanders, Native Hawaiians actively construct and assert their identity as *kanaka maoli,* the indigenous people of Hawai‘i as a major component of their sovereignty movement that began in the 1970s.[12] This movement seeks self-determination for Native Hawaiians and recognition of their unique rights and claims as the native people of Hawai‘i in contrast to all other ethnic groups that have historically immigrated to the islands. As such, sovereignty advocates maintain that Native Hawaiians are not another socioeconomically disadvantaged ethnic minority like Filipino Americans or Samoans but are a colonized people in their homeland. Some Native Hawaiians thus dissociate themselves from local identity because it implies a common status and history with local groups, including Asian Americans, and therefore detracts from the uniqueness of their rights and claims as the indigenous people of

Hawai'i. Hawaiian sovereignty organizations differ in their objectives; some seek independence for Native Hawaiians and the formation of their own nation-state, while others wish to establish a relatively autonomous nation within the political dominion of the United States on the model of federally recognized Native American groups.

One means by which Native Hawaiians assert their status as the indigenous people of Hawai'i is through a much greater concern to maintain and practice their traditional (precontact) culture compared with most ethnic groups in the islands that have become largely acculturated to American culture. Following certain aspects of their traditional culture contributes to the articulation of their unique identity as the native people of Hawai'i. Thus, symbols of traditional Hawaiian culture, including language, religion and dress, are prominently featured in their political demonstrations because they represent the sovereignty that Native Hawaiians had before the arrival of Europeans and Americans.[13]

FURTHER READING

Danico, Mary Yu. *The 1.5 Generation: Becoming Korean American in Hawai'i*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004.

Fujikane, Candace, and Jonathan Y. Okamura, eds. *Asian Settler Colonialism: From Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday Life in Hawai'i*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008.

Kaneshiro, Norman. "Uchinanchu Identity in Hawai'i." *Social Process in Hawai'i* 41 (2002): 75–94.

Labrador, Roderick N. "Performing Identity: The Public Presentation of Culture and Ethnicity among Filipinos in Hawai'i." *Cultural Values*, 6 (2002): 287–307.

Okamura, Jonathan Y. "The Contemporary Japanese American Experience in Hawai'i." *Social Process in Hawai'i,* 41(2002).

Okamura, Jonathan Y. *Ethnicity and Inequality in Hawai'i*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2008.

Okamura, Jonathan Y. "Why There Are No Asian Americans in Hawai'i: The Continuing Significance of Local Identity." *Social Process in Hawai'i* 35 (1994): 161–178. www.ethnicstudies.hawaii.edu/PDF/no_asian_american.pdf.

Tengan, Ty Kawika. *Native Men Remade: Gender and Nation in Contemporary Hawai'i*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2008.

Trask, Haunani-Kay. "Settlers of Color and 'Immigrant' Hegemony: 'Locals' in Hawai'i." *Amerasia Journal* 26 (2000): 1–24.

NOTES

1. Moon Kie Jung, *Reworking Race: The Making of Hawai'i's Interracial Labor Movement* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006).

2. Jonathan Y. Okamura, "Why There Are No Asian Americans in Hawai'i: The Continuing Significance of Local Identity," *Social Process in Hawai'i,* 35, (1994), 162.

3. Norman, Kaneshiro, "Uchinanchu Identity in Hawai'i," *Social Process in Hawai'i* 41 (2002): 75–94.

4. Jonathan Y. Okamura, *Ethnicity and Inequality in Hawai'i* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2008), 152.

5. Mary Yu Danico, *The 1.5 Generation: Becoming Korean American in Hawai'i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004).

6. Mary Yu Danico, "Internalized Stereotypes and Shame: The Struggles of 1.5 Generation Korean Americans in Hawai'i," In Linda Vo and Rick Bonus, eds., *Contemporary Asian American Communities: Intersections and Divergences* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2002), 147–160.

7. Okamura, *Ethnicity and Inequality in Hawai'i*, 125–127.

8. Okamura, *Ethnicity and Inequality in Hawai'i*, 125.

9. Okamura, *Ethnicity and Inequality in Hawai'i*, 155.

10. Roderick N. Labrador, " 'We Can Laugh at Ourselves': Hawai'i Ethnic Humor, Local Identity, and the Myth of Multiculturalism," *Pragmatics*, 14, no. 2/3: 291–316.

11. Jonathan Y. Okamura, *Imagining the Filipino American Diaspora: Transnational Relations, Identities and Communities* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1998).

12. Haunani-Kay Trask, "Settlers of Color and 'Immigrant' Hegemony: 'Locals' in Hawai'i," *Amerasia Journal,* 26 (2000) 1–24.

13. Okamura, *Ethnicity and Inequality in Hawai'i,* 105.

This page intentionally left blank

BEAUTY PAGEANTS

Rebecca Chiyoko King-O'Riain

In Asian Pacific Islander (API) communities, beauty pageants have traditionally been linked to cultural festivals (Cherry Blossom Festival in Honolulu), holidays (Chinese New Year) or community efforts to bring together API communities for both cultural and financial purposes (Nisei Week in Los Angeles). For example, the San Francisco Cherry Blossom Festival Queen Pageant (started in 1968) was an attempt to draw shoppers and Japanese American community members into Japantown to celebrate the coming of spring. A queen pageant was added to draw in younger community members and a larger audience for this Japanese American celebration.

In the context of these cultural festivals, a beauty queen is a person (typically a woman) chosen by a group of people to serve as a symbolic representation of that group (often an Asian Pacific Islander ethnic group) to a larger audience. Typically, beauty queens are chosen through beauty pageants or contests, which can vary by social context, setting, and judging criteria. During her reign, a beauty queen often makes symbolic appearances at public functions wearing a tiara (crown) and sash (often emblazoned with the title she holds and/or her sponsor's name), but she is shaped, selected, and even produced within the social context of the institution of the beauty pageant.

But beauty pageants are more than just a selection process for the queen; they are also events rich in both symbolism and cultural production. Through the eligibility rules, rehearsals, judging, and selection of queens each year (often at cultural festivals), beauty pageants reveal processes that social groups go through in defining, debating, and changing their cultural identities.[1]

Most studies of beauty pageants have focused narrowly on white, middle-class, American representations of women as "beauty queens," often through

televised and mediated means; however, a growing literature on API beauty pageants highlights the process of emergence of both assimilationist tendencies and counter-hegemonic API notions of beauty in response to mainstream white American understandings of beauty.[2] In addition, there is growing concern about the global impact of beauty pageants in Asian countries from the spread of the Miss Universe (modeled on the American format of beauty pageants) franchise to the evolution of "local" nonpyramidal pageants that seemed to operate almost in response to the widening of the American beauty pageant model. Many of the studies of beauty pageants come to see them as cultural forms that produce meanings of nation, ethnicity, race, and gender.[3] For example, changing notions of Mayan ethnicity were challenged and authenticated in Guatemala's Maya Queen Contest.[4] Likewise, normative notions of gender and nationhood are played out and contested in the Miss British Virgin Islands pageant.[5]

Beauty pageants, however, are not only "texts" to be read and analyzed, but also sites of action and interaction, generating a process of cultural production that is deeply linked to claims to cultural authenticity, race, gender, and identity. Beauty pageants are not only places where queens are chosen but where they are made. In this sense, beauty pageants can be seen as cultural forms of collective self-identity, as well as embodied production points of cultural identity.

The beauty pageant, while perhaps in decline in the industrialized world, is a growing cultural institution in Asia and among Asian Americans within the United States. Interestingly, the format and the script of the pageant are amazingly similar across many different nations, cultures, and societies. Most pageants have similar components: question-and-answer, interview, evening gown, traditional dress, and talent. Often the format of the judging criteria and the "events" that make up the pageant—even the emcee performances—are arranged in a predictable and unchanging fashion. There are also similar cultural scripts that get enacted and invoked within the pageants, such as "it isn't about beauty, it's about culture" and "I don't want to win, I just want to participate to serve the community." Practices such as holding hands as the name of the winner is read and crying tears of joy are also homogeneous across many different social and cultural contexts.

The continuing valorization of "whiteness" or "lightness" and European beauty standards seem to be affecting the Miss World and Miss Universe pageants, even with an increase in the proportion of women of color named as queens; however, in relation to Asian American women, lightness still seems to be valued within API communities. In most Asian American pageants, the women who participate are keenly aware of feminist critiques of pageants and in some ethnic pageants equate feminism with "white women." Thus, they recast their own participation as a type of feminism. They argue that speaking out on stage fundamentally is a feminist move within, say, Japanese American cultural institutions because they focus the voice and platforms of women within the community. Others, in analyzing the Honolulu Japanese American Cherry Blossom Queen Pageant, explain how pageants use culture to "not offer

counter hegemonic rewards so much as reproduce conservative, gendered expectations, ideals and practices."[6] By casting themselves as "cultural pageants," the Cherry Blossom Queen pageant organizers in Honolulu hoped to sidestep the most exploitative aspects of the "beauty pageant" (bathing suit competitions and the like) and use "culture" as a rationale for how they are different from pageants such as Miss World and perhaps make the pageant more palatable to feminist critics.

Within these debates about API culture what became crucial was the "authenticity" of the culture being venerated. Often the performance of culture in the pageant (through dance routines or talent performances) was contrived and altered notions of cultural performances, for example such tourist performances as the "hula" and the like. They were attempts to give the audience a "taste" of the culture being reproduced (no matter how authentic) for the purposes of the pageant itself.

Finally, not just anyone can participate in API beauty pageants. There are eligibility rules that determine who can participate in the beauty pageant, the criteria of the selection, and who can become queen each year—not everyone can be trained to be royal. Typically, the rules require that the women participating be between 18 and 26 years of age, be unmarried, and not have had children. In most API community pageants, there are often rules about racial purity (must be of at least 50 percent Japanese ancestry) or that candidates be able to speak a particular language. There are also unspoken rules and assumptions that the queen be heterosexual. Discussions of sexuality, and even the presence of boyfriends, are very strictly controlled in some pageants.

Through API beauty pageants, it is possible to see changing notions of ethnic/racial identity, culture, and gender articulated in selection of the beauty queens in contemporary Asian and Pacific Islander communities. As such, they reflect many of the current issues facing these communities, such as trying to make claims to "Americanness" in the face of stigmatization, trying to maintain "authenticity, culture, and language" in the face of assimilation, or trying to grapple with the impact of decreasing immigration and increasing interracial marriage rates.

FURTHER READING

Cohen, Colleen Ballerino, Richard Wilk, and Beverly Stoeltje. *Beauty Queens on the Global Stage: Gender, Contests, and Power*. New York: Routledge, 1996.

King-O'Riain, Rebecca Chiyoko. "Making the Perfect Queen: The Cultural Production of Identity in Beauty Pageants" *Sociology Compass* 2, no.1 (2008): 74–83.

King-O'Riain, Rebecca Chiyoko. *Pure Beauty: Judging Race in Japanese American Beauty Pageants.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006.

Lieu, Nhi T. "Remembering 'the Nation' Through Pageantry: Femininity and the Politics of Vietnamese Womanhood." *Frontiers* 21, no. 1–2 (2000): 127–152.

Miss Chinatown U.S.A. Pageant. http://www.chineseparade.com/pageant.asp.

Northern California Cherry Blossom Queen Program. http://www.sfcherryblossom-pageant.com/.

Oza, Rupal. “Showcasing India: Gender, Geography and Globalization.” *Signs* 26, no. 4 (2001): 1067–1095.

Wu, Judy Tzu-Chun. “ ‘Loveliest Daughter of Our Ancient Cathay!’: Representations of Ethnic and Gender Identity in the Miss Chinatown USA Beauty Pageant.” *Journal of Social History* 31, no. 1 (Fall 1997): 5–31.

Yano, Christine R. *Crowning the Nice Girl: Gender, Ethnicity and Culture in Hawai'i's Cherry Blossom Festival.* Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006.

Yeh, Chiou-Ling. *Making an American Festival: Chinese New Year in San Francisco.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008.

NOTES

1. Rebecca Chiyoko King-O'Riain, “Making the Perfect Queen: The Cultural Production of Identity in Beauty Pageants,” *Sociology Compass* 2, no.1 (2008): 74–83.

2. For more on API pageants, see Lieu, Nhi T. “Remembering ‘the Nation’ Through Pageantry: Femininity and the Politics of Vietnamese Womanhood.” *Frontiers* 21, 1–2 (2000): 127–152; Judy Tzu-Chun Wu, “ ‘Loveliest Daughter of Our Ancient Cathay!’: Representations of Ethnic and Gender Identity in the Miss Chinatown USA Beauty Pageant,” *Journal of Social History* 31, no. 1 (Fall 1997): 5–31; and Christine R. Yano, *Crowning the Nice Girl: Gender, Ethnicity and Culture in Hawai'i's Cherry Blossom Festival* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006).

3. See also Colleen Ballerino Cohen, Richard Wilk, and Beverly Stoeltje, eds., *Beauty Queens on the Global Stage: Gender, Contests, and Power* (New York: Routledge, 1996); Oza, Rupal. “Showcasing India: Gender, Geography and Globalization,” *Signs* 26, no. 4 (2001): 1067–1095.

4. Carlotta McAllister, “Authenticity and Guatemala's Mayan Queen,” in *Beauty Queens on the Global Stage: Gender, Contests, and Power*, 1996, 105–124.

5. Colleen Ballerino Cohen, “Contestants in a Contested Domain: Staging Identities in the British Virgin Islands,” in *Beauty Queens on the Global Stage: Gender, Contests, and Power*, 1996, 125–136.

6. Yano, *Crowning the Nice Girl,* 38.

LESBIAN, GAY, BISEXUAL, TRANSGENDER, AND QUEER IDENTITY

Margaret Rhee

Asian and Asian American same-sex sexuality and gender variant identities have existed throughout history, however the contemporary period illustrates specific Asian American lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) identities and issues.[1] Asian American LGBTQ identities depict distinctive social and political issues from Asian American and dominant LGBTQ community groups. Although many LGBTQ Asian Americans have historically been active in LGBTQ and Asian American movements, there were challenges with asserting simultaneous identities. The Asian American movement began in 1968 with the student struggle of the Third World Strikes at San Francisco State College (now University) and then one year later at UC Berkeley.[2] Although at this time, Merle Woo, Michiyo Cornell, and Kitty Tsui identified themselves as Asian American lesbians, the recognition of both racial and sexual/gender identities was difficult.[3] Many activists such as Helen Zia and Gil Mangaoang recall homophobia within activist organizations of color that made a LGBTQ Asian American identity difficult to assert; additionally, Asian Americans were marginalized in dominant LGBTQ movements.[4]

However, the mid-1990s saw a proliferation of representations of LGBTQ Asian American issues and identities.[5] Groundbreaking anthologies such as *Asian American Sexualities: Dimensions of the Gay and Lesbian Experience* and soon after, *Q & A: Queer in Asian America* provided accounts of the LGBTQ Asian and Pacific Islander experience.[6] *Q & A: Queer in Asian America* asserts that the anthology documents the emergence of a "queer Asian America" and marks a

beginning of questioning of Asian American queer identities and the formation of community.[7] Consecutively, various cultural and artistic representations addressed issues of sexuality, gender, homophobia, family, and racism. Literary works such as R. Zimora Linmark's *Rolling the R's,* performances by Alex Mapa and Denise Uyehara, and film/video works by experimental film director Erica Cho are just a few of the many cultural productions that expressed LGBTQ Asian American issues.[8] Moreover, along with artistic and academic works, community organizations and media publications all have and continue to create, complicate, and celebrate a diverse LGBTQ Asian American community. While LGBTQ Asian Americans may still experience homophobia within mainstream and Asian American communities, and racism in dominant and LGBTQ mainstream culture, LGBTQ Asian Americans have continued to voice distinct issues and contribute to various political and cultural movements. As asserted by the nonprofit organization Gay Asian and Pacific Islander Men of New York (GAPIMNY), LGBTQ Asian Americans are both gay and Asian—and much more.[9]

FAMILY/COMING OUT

For LGBTQ Asian Americans, "coming out" is a complex process, as sexual and gender identities encompass multiple labels and racial identities.[10] In the brief 1989 survey conducted on Asian American lesbians and gay men, 77 percent had come out to a family member (usually a sister), while 25 percent had revealed their sexuality to their parents.[11] A 2004 survey of attendees at the New York's Queer Asian Pacific Legacy Conference revealed that 60 percent of respondents were "out" to their parents, while 17 percent were not "out" and 19 percent were "practically out" to their parents. A majority of respondents were out to their siblings, and most in this survey were out to their friends.[12]

However, statistics obscure the various complicated factors of "coming out" for LGBTQ of color and for Asian American LGBTQ. In particular, Asian American LGBTQ people discuss the "paradox" of being queer and Asian American and the unique experiences of "coming out" to family members. Scholar and activist Eric Wat writes about this "paradox," on his Chinese immigrant parents separating "gayness" from other identities that are ethnically cultural, such as Chinese American and familial identities.[13] Additionally, Wat and other LGBTQ Asian Americans illustrate that language barriers and feelings of shame within tight-knit Asian American communities may prove openness around sexuality and nonnormative gender identities challenging.[14] As "Western" LGBTQ identities are signified by social and political constructions, such as gay pride parades, rainbow flags, and queer specific media, the cultural roots of Asian Americans may seem far from Western "gay identity," which is socially and politically constructed. This is also illustrated in the lack of representations of Asian American LGBTQ on mainstream and queer-specific media, which complicate issues of "coming out."[15] For these various reasons, the existence and reality of LGBTQ Asian Americans may be seemingly "paradoxical."[16]

As "coming out" is a complex process involving identity, family, and community, literature on Asian Americans includes vital yet sparse discussion about the parents of LGBTQ Asian Americans.[17] Additionally, in Asian American communities, issues for "coming out" include the complex relationship of parents going into the closet and/or being outed repeatedly without consent.[18] Moreover, recognition of LGBTQ Asian Americans is specific to particular ethnic community characteristics and may be complicated by issues of assimilation, class, and religion.[19] While there is limited literature on parents of Asian American LGBTQ, the growing number of sources open up a much-needed dialogue and offer differing perspectives than the white Anglo-based model of "coming out." Nonprofit organizations such as AQUA also provide support for LGBTQ youth in San Francisco, while API Family Pride sustain support networks for API families with members who are LGBTQ. [20]

IDENTITY POLITICS

LGBTQ Asian American identities and issues are diverse and unique. For many, the term queer includes a political practice, rather than simply a sexual identity. For example, the identity "queer" attempts to go beyond the heteronormative constructions such as the heterosexual/homosexuality binary and limited constructions of gender found in dominant Western culture. Moreover, the term queer is used to refer to nonnormative gender and sexual identifications such as BDSM (bondage/discipline, dominance/submission, sadism/masochism).[21] Queer identity may include heterosexual-identified people and practices, which speaks to a fluid understanding of sexuality, gender, and politics.[22] Like other LGBTQ people, for Asian Americans who are queer-identified and/or identified with a specific label such as gay or lesbian, LGBTQ identity is a continual process and journey.[23] A 2004 report conducted at the New York's Queer Asian Pacific Legacy Conference demonstrates LGBTQ Asian American lives include multiple intersecting identities constructed of race/ethnicity, sex/gender, immigrant/citizenship status, sexual orientation, and gender identity or expression. Out of these identities, race/ethnicity heavily influences surveyed LGBTQ Asian American lives.[24] Additionally, respondents indicated the three most important issues for LGBTQ Asian Americans were immigration, hate violence/harassment, and media representation.[25]

Specific groups within the LGBTQ Asian American acronym point to diverse issues and topics specific to identity. Gay Asian American men note the significance of the "rice queen" phenomenon, where a white gay man prefers the romantic/sexual partnership of Asian American gay man and vice versa, which illuminates issues of a racial sexual hierarchy, where white men are valued for partners and men of color are characterized with sexual stereotypes within the gay community.[26] Additionally, filmmaker Richard Fung has explored eroticization of Asian American men within gay media.[27] Issues of gay Asian American men and HIV/AIDS have been written about in literature and research articles, including such topics as rates of transmission, living and surviving with HIV/AIDS, and the

stigma of HIV/AIDS in Asian American and dominant culture.[28] For Asian American LGBTQ various organizations, such as the pan-ethnic API Wellness Center in San Francisco and the Asian Pacific American AIDS Intervention Project in Los Angeles, provide support for API people living with HIV/AIDS.[29]

Representations of Asian American lesbians remain lacking and obscured within the literature and dominant lesbian publications or culture.[30] However, issues for Asian American lesbian-identified women are critical. Lack of resources for mental health, low income, and lack of political power affect Asian American lesbians. Additionally, issues of gender discrimination and racial violence based on butch and/or androgynous appearance are pressing and unique to Asian American lesbians who are rendered invisible against the "dominant images of emasculated Asian American men and hyperheterosexualized Asian American women."[31] Organizations such as the Asian Pacific Islander Queer Women & Transgender Community (APIQWTC) based in San Francisco and region-specific SAMBAL (Singaporean and Malaysian Bisexual and Lesbians) help to support and provide Asian American lesbians recognition.[32]

Asian American transgender and gender variant people have specific and diverse issues, and they are among the most invisible and marginalized of Asian Americans.[33] There are numerous struggles for resources for transgender and gender variant Asian Americans who may be at an increased risk for HIV infection because of economic, psychological, behavioral, social/situational, and access-related cofactors of vulnerability.[34] Moreover, historically, as transgendered people of color have been excluded from positions of power within mainstream and transgender organizations, needs for Asian American transgender and gender variant people may be obscured. Similarly, bisexual Asian Americans have limited representations within organizations and literature. Within popular culture, however, people such as comedian Margaret Cho have brought issues of bisexuality into dominant culture.[35] The reality of multiple identities, such as being bisexual and biracial, complicates Asian American LGBTQ sexualities and racial identities that encompass the LGBTQ Asian American community.[36]

SAME-SEX MARRIAGES

On February 12, 2004, San Francisco Assessor-Recorder Mabel Teng officiated the wedding of Phyllis Lyon and Del Martin, the first same-sex couple to get married in the United States.[37] At the same time that Asian Americans served as plaintiffs, organizers, and allies in the marriage equality movement, various Asian American religious groups protested same-sex marriage.[38] Moreover, in 2008, Proposition 8 passed in California, which amended the state constitution and stated that marriage is defined as being only between a man and a woman.[39] The issue of same-sex marriage is particularly pressing for Asian Americans in same-sex partnerships. A 2005 UCLA Williams Institute study reported that there were more than 38,000 Asian American and Pacific Islanders living with a same-sex partner, which is 3 percent of all individuals in same-sex couples in the United States.[40] Federal recognition of same-sex marriage would

grant full rights as citizens for Asian Americans concerning immigration, health, and parenting issues. Moreover, radical left critiques of same-sex marriage provide vital perspectives on the institution of marriage itself.[41] As the issue of marriage equality retains political currency within our public sphere, understanding same-sex marriage and the Asian American community is vital as governmental restrictions on marriage have historically affected and been contested and challenged by the Asian American community.[42]

IMMIGRATION AND TRANSNATIONALISM

In 1996, Congress enacted the Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA), which prohibits federal recognition of same-sex marriages and allows individual states to do the same.[43] Asian American same-sex couples are unable to sponsor a same-sex partner for immigration benefits.[44] As the LGBTQ Asian American community is transnational and disaporic, immigration and constructions of Asian gender and sexuality are imperative issues.

Moreover, constructions of gender and sexuality within Asian cultures influence identity formation within LGBTQ Asian Americans in the United States. For Filipino American gay men, there may be negotiation between Filipino and American sexual and gender traditions.[45] Specifically, the term bakla, which is an encompassing Tagalog term of sexuality, sex, gender, and gender variant identities, differs from Western construction of gender and sexuality.[46] Within Thai culture, "lesbian" identities are constructed as Tom, which refers to a masculine woman in a relationship with a Dee, a feminine identified woman.[47] There are many issues within the relationship of Western construction of LGBTQ identities within the Asian context.[48] International Asian movies, such as *Fire* by Deepa Mehta, provoke various issues of LGBTQ Asian American identities within the United States.[49] Also, as various same-sex and/or gender variant political movements in Asia surface, the mixture of Western influences is of concern to LGBTQ Asian American activists.[50] An increasingly transnational and disaporic LGBTQ Asian American community influences the construction of identities and issues.[51]

REPRESENTATION AND ACTIVISM

In 2004, Asian Pacific American, LGBTQ, and LGBTQ Asian Pacific American groups protested against a *Details* magazine feature entitled "Gay or Asian?" The feature "Gay or Asian?" combined Asian stereotypes with Asian American masculinity, gay males, and suggested you could be either "gay" or "Asian" but not both. In particular, LGBTQ Asian American organizations, along with GLAAD's People of Color Media Program, provided an analysis of the multiple oppressions the "Gay or Asian?" feature evoked, particularly around LGBTQ Asian Americans. As the negatively racialized Asian Americans, a coalition of various Asian American activist and LGBTQ Asian American organizations joined forces in letters, calls, and e-mails to *Details* magazine. After 200 people protested the "Gay or Asian?" feature, the editorial

and publishing staff of *Details* magazine met with the protesting activist groups to listen to the issues and respond with changes in their editorial content.[52] John Won, co-founder of (GAPIMNY), writes the negatively racialized and homophobic feature in *Details* magazine provided organizing and coalition building between various groups within the API community.[53] GAPIMNY and other

Tila Tequila, also known as Tila Nguyen, is Vietnamese American and the first bisexual reality star to have her own series on MTV. (AP Photo/Shea Walsh)

LGBTQ groups were able to articulate the necessity of representations, not just of gay Asian/Asian American men, but of all LGBTQ Asian Americans. The outlook for LGBTQ Asian American issues and identities insist on a close look at these representational struggles and possibilities for activism and community transformation.

OUTLOOK

Numerous scholars, artists, performers, and activists illuminate the new directions and issues for LGBTQ Asian Americans. Queer women and Women to Male (WTM) transgender-based performance groups such as Bad Asian Drivers, Mangoes with Chili, and the first Asian Pacific Islander drag king group in the Bay area, The Rice Kings, all illustrate changing expressions of Asian American LGBTQ issues.[54] The San Francisco–based organization Queer Women of Color Media Arts Project (QWOCMAP), founded by filmmaker Madeleine Lim, is committed to distributing film and video about Asian Americans and queer women of color.[55] The independent film *Saving Face* directed by Alice Wu became the first narrative feature depicting issues of Asian American lesbianism.[56] Novelists, such as Noel Alumit in *Letters to Montgomery Clift,* provide central characters that are gay and Asian American. Emerging filmmakers and artists such as Edward Gunawan have produced short films and performance works that demonstrate new perspectives for young gay Asian American male identity within the U.S. and transnational context.[57] Transgender and gender variant activists such as Pauline Park and Wily Wilkenson provide insight and advocate for issues surrounding Asian American trans people.[58] In 2007, Tila Nguyen otherwise known by her stage name, Tila Tequila, was the first bisexual reality star with her own series on MTV.[59] Issues that surround Asian American LGBTQ influence the creation of communities that sustain and support multiple issues and identities. The various movements, contributions, and struggles for Asian American LGBTQ people continue to be salient and evolving into the new century.

FURTHER READING

APAIT (Asian Pacific AIDS Intervention Team). http://www.apaitonline.org/.

API Pride. http://www.apifamilypride.org/.

Asian & Pacific Islander Pride of Chicago. http://chicagoi2i.homestead.com/.

Bao, Quang, Hanya Yanagihara, and Timothy Liu, eds. *Take Out: Queer Writing from Asian Pacific America*. New York: Asian American Writers' Workshop, 2000.

Eng, David L., and Alice Y. Hom, eds. *Q & A: Queer in Asian America*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998.

Gopinath, Gayatri. *Impossible Desires: Queer Diasporas and South Asian Public Cultures*. North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2005.

Leong, Russell. *Asian American Sexualities: Dimensions of the Gay and Lesbian Experience*. New York: Routledge. 1995.

Sueyoshi, Amy, and Russell Leong, eds. *Amerasia Journal*: *The Marriage Equality Debate.* Los Angeles: UCLA Asian American Studies Center Press. 32, no. 1: 2006.

TRIKONE. http://www.trikone.org/index.shtml.
Wat, Eric C. *Making of a Gay Asian Community: An Oral History of Pre-AIDS Los Angeles*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield. 2002.

NOTES

1. Megan J. Sinnott, *Toms and Dees: Transgender Identity and Female Same-sex Relationships in Thailand* (Manoa: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2004), 49–52; “Philippines,” in *Encyclopedia of Lesbian and Gay Histories and Cultures*, eds. George E. Haggerty and Bonnie Zimmerman (New York: Taylor & Francis, 2000), 584; Amy Sueyoshi, “Race-ing Love: The Meaning of Intimacy among Yone Noguchi’s Interracial Affairs, 1898–1909,” paper presented at the annual conference of the Association for Asian American Studies, New York, April 2007.

2. Russell C. Leong, “Home Bodies and the Body Politic,” in *Asian American Sexualities: Dimensions of the Gay and Lesbian Experience*, ed. Russell C. Leong, (New York: Routledge, 1996), 6–7.

3. Leong, *Asian American Sexualities*, 7.

4. Gil Mangaoang, “From the 1970’s–1990’s: Perspectives from a Gay Filipino Activist,” in *Asian American Sexualities*, 101; Helen Zia, “Where the Queer Zone Meets the Asian Zone,” in *Asian Americans in the Marriage Equality Debate*, eds. Amy Sueyoshi and Russell C. Leong, *Amerasia Journal* 32, no. 1 (2006): 3.

5. Sau-ling C. Wong and Jeffrey J. Santa Ana, “Gender and Sexuality in Asian American Literature.” Review essay. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 25, no. 1 (1999): 176.

6. Leong, *Asian American Sexualities*; David L. Eng and Alice Y. Hom, eds., *Q & A: Queer in Asian America* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998).

7. Eng and Hom, *Q & A*, xi.

8. R. Zamora Linmark, *Rolling the R’s* (New York: Kaya Press, 1991); Alex Mapa, “I Remember Mapa,” opened April 4, 1997, at the Taper Too, Los Angeles; Denise Uyehara, *Maps of City and Body: Shedding Light on the Performances of Denise Uyehara*, (New York: Kaya Press, 2004); *We Got Moves You Ain’t Even Heard Of* (Part One), directed by Erica Cho, 1999; *Coming Out Under Fire*, directed by Arthur Dong, 1994.

9. John Won, “Details Says ‘Gay or Asian.’ We Say Gay AND Asian,” Gay and Lesbian Alliance Against Anti-Defamation Publications, http://archive.glaad.org/publications/op-ed_detail.php?id=3666.

10. Alain Dang and Mandy Hu, “Asian Pacific American Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender People: A Community Portrait,” A Report from New York’s Queer Asian Pacific Legacy Conference, 2004 (New York: National Gay and Lesbian Task Force Policy Institute, 2005), 20, available at http://www.thetaskforce.org/downloads/reports/reports/APACommunityPortrait.pdf.

11. Connie S. Chan, “Issues of Identity Development among Asian American Lesbians and Gay Men,” *Journal of Counseling and Development* (1989): 16–20

12. Dang and Hu, “Asian Pacific American Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender People,” 20.

13. Eric C. Wat, “Preserving the Paradox: Stories from a Gay Loh,” in *Asian American Sexualities,* 74–77.

14. Eric C. Wat, “Preserving the Paradox,” 74–77.

15. “Coming Out Issues for Asian Pacific Americans,” Human Rights Commission, available at http://www.hrc.org/issues/3580.htm.

16. Joane Nagle, *Race, Ethnicity, and Sexuality*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 48; Dana Tagaki, “Maiden Voyage: Excursion into Sexuality and Identity Politics in Asian America,” in *Asian American Sexualities*, 25.

17. Alice Y. Hom, “Stories from the Homefront: Perspectives of Asian-American Parents with Lesbian Daughters and Gay Sons,” in *Asian American Sexualities,* 37.

18. Mala Nagarajan and Vega Subramaniam, “Plaintiff’s Plight: Joining the Washington State Lawsuit for Marriage Equality,” *Amerasia Journal* 32, no. 1 (2006): 67.

19. Margaret Rhee, “Towards Community: KoreAm Journal and Korean American Cultural Attitudes on Same- Sex Marriage,” edited by Amy Sueyoshi and Russell C. Leong, *Amerasia Journal*, 32, no. 1 (2006): 75–86.

20. API Family Pride, http://www.apifamilypride.org/; AQUA http://www.apiwellness.org/youth.html.

21. Eng and Hom, *Q & A*, 1.

22. Eng and Hom, *Q & A*, 1.

23. Russell Leong, “Sister Subject: In the Marriage Equality Debate,” *Amerasia Journal* 32, no. 1 (2006): iv.

24. Dang and Hu, *Asian Pacific American Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender People,* 21.

25. Dang and Hu, *Asian Pacific American Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender People,* 5.

26. Eric C. Wat, *The Making of a Gay Asian Community: An Oral History of Pre-AIDS Los Angeles*, (New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 2002), 44–45.

27. Richard Fung, “Looking for My Penis: The Eroticized Asian in Gay Video Porn,” in *How Do I Look? Queer Film and Video*, ed. Bad-Object Choices (Seattle: Bay Press, 1991), 145–168.

28. Ric Parish, James Sakakura, Brian Green, Joel B. Tam, and Robert Vazquez Pacheo, “Communion: A Collaboration on AIDS” in *Asian American Sexualities: Dimensions of the Gay and Lesbian Experience,* ed. Russell C. Leong, (New York: Routledge, 1996), 201–215; K. J. Kitano, “Perceptions of Parental Support by HIV Positive Asian and Pacific Islander American Gay Sons, *Journal of Family Social Work,* 4, no. 4 (2000): 45–60.

29. Asian Pacific Islander Wellness Center, http://www.apiwellness.org/home.html; Asian Pacific Islander AIDS Intervention Project, http://www.apaitonline.org/.

30. “Lesbian Periodicals,” in *Encyclopedia of Lesbian and Gay Histories and Cultures,* eds. George E. Haggerty and Bonnie Zimmerman (New York: Taylor & Francis, 2000) 582.

31. Eng and Hom, *Q and A*, 1.

32. Asian Pacific Islander Queer Women & Transgender Community, http://www.apiqwtc.org/; Sambal, http://www.apiqwtc.org/sambal/index.html.

33. Pauline Park and John Manzon-Santos, “Issues of Transgendered Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders” Asian Pacific Islander Wellness Center. http://www.apiwellness.org/article_tg_issues.html.

34. Park and Manzon-Santos, “Issues of Transgendered Asian Americans.”

35. *Notorious C.H.O.*, directed by Lorene Machado (2000).

36. Wei Ming Dariotis, “On Becoming a Bi Bi Grrrl,” in *Restoried Selves: Autobiographies of Queer Asian / Pacific American Activists*, ed. Kevin K. Kumashiro (New York: Haworth Press, 2003).

37. Mabel Teng, "The Right Place at the Right Time: Cultural and Political Controversy of San Francisco's Gay Marriage," eds. Amy Sueyoshi and Russell Leong, *Amerasia Journal*, 32, no. 1 (2006): 63–66 ; Wyatt Buchanan "S.F. Same-Sex Couple Ready To Be First Again" *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 10, 2008, http://www.sfgate.com/cgibin/article.cgi?f=/c/a/2008/06/09/MN51116A6H.DTL.

38. Elena Shore, "Ethnic Communities Speak Out Against Same-Sex Marriage," June 8, 2004, Pacific News Service, http://news.newamericamedia.org/news/view_article.html?article_id=c76120f9bd844ba78ddab4e4f327992a.

39. John Wildermuth, "Many Obama Supporters also Backed Prop. 8," *San Francisco Chronicle*, Nov. 6, 2008, http://www.sfgate.com/cgi-bin/article.cgi?f=/c/a/2008/11/06/MNH413UTUS.DTL&hw=prop&sn=019&sc=408.

40. Gary Gates, Holing Lau, and R. Bradley Sears, "Asian and Pacific Islanders in Same-sex Couples in the United States: Data from Census 2000," *Amerasia Journal*, 32, no. 1 (2006): 16.

41. Amy Sueyoshi, "Friday the Thirteenth—Love, Commitment, and then Catastrophe: Personal Reflections on the Marriage Equality Movement," *Amerasia Journal*, 32, no. 1 (2006): xi–xvii.

42. Russell C. Leong, "Sister Subject: In the Marriage Equality Debate," *Amerasia Journal,* 32, no. 1 (2006): iii–ix.

43. National Conference of State Legislatures, "Same-sex Marriage, Civil Unions and Domestic Partnerships," accessed November 2008, http://www.ncsl.org/programs/cyf/samesex.htm.

44. National Conference of State Legislatures, "Same-sex Marriage, Civil Unions and Domestic Partnerships," accessed November 2008, http://www.ncsl.org/programs/cyf/samesex.htm.

45. Martin F. Manalansan IV, *Global Divas: Filipino Gay Men in the Diaspora*, (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), ix.

46. Manalansan, *Global Divas*.

47. Sinnott, *Toms and Dees,* 132.

48. Tom Boellstorff, "Dubbing Culture: Indonesian Gay and Lesbi Subjectivities and Ethnography in an Already Globalized World," *American Ethnologist* 30, no. 2 (2003): 225–242.

49. Gayatri Gopinath, *Impossible Desires: Queer Diasporas and South Asian Public Cultures,* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press: 2005).

50. Pauline Park, "Lessons for the Homeland: A Korean Queer Activist Examines Stonewall," July 2, 1998, accessed January 2009, http://www.paulinepark.com/media/07_02_98.pdf.

51. Judy Ju Hui Han, "Incidents of Travel," in *Q & A: Queer in Asian America*, 397–398.

52. Won, "Details Says 'Gay or Asian.' We Say Gay AND Asian."

53. Won, "Details Says 'Gay or Asian.' We Say Gay AND Asian."

54. Good Asian Drivers, http://www.goodasiandrivers.com/about/; Mangoes with Chili, available at http://profile.myspace.com/index.cfm?fuseaction=user.view-Profile&friendID=147609863; The Rice Kings, http://thericekings.blogspot.com/.

55. Reyhan Harmanci, "Living the Dream: Madeleine Lim," *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 13, 2006, http://www.sfgate.com/cgi-bin/article.cgi?f=/c/a/2006/07/13/NSGJ7JTDIR1.DTL; QWOCMAP, http://www.qwocmap.org/.

56. *Saving Face*, DVD, directed by Alice Wu (Culver City, CA: Sony Pictures Classics, 2004).

57. Noel Alumnit, *Letters to Montgomery Clift*, (San Francisco: MacAdam/Cage, 2002); *Laundromat*, directed by Edward Gunawan (Wolfe Film and Video, 2007).

58. Sleter, Brian, "Upfronts: MTV Networks Skips A Few Letters, Dubs "Generation P" (May 9, 2008) available at: http://tvdecoder.blogs.nytimes.com/tag/mtv/; "A Shot At Love 2: Episodic Flipbook | Ep. 8," http://www.mtv.com/photos/?fid=1589089&pid=3006796.

59. Pauline Park, Willy Wilkinson, and Jessi Gan, "Pauline Park and Willy Wilkinson: A Conversation about Same-Sex Marriage," *Amerasia Journal*, 32, no. 1 (2006): 89.

This page intentionally left blank

MULTIRACIAL ASIAN AND PACIFIC ISLANDERS

Anh-Luu T. Huynh-Hohnbaum

Multiracial is defined as someone with socially and phenotypically unique racial heritages. The term "hapa" is commonly used to refer to multiracial Asian and Pacific Islanders (APIs) and originates from a Native Hawaiian word. "Hapa," which roughly translates to mean "half," refers to individuals of mixed descent and is frequently used as a label to describe API mixed-raced panethnicity, although its most common application is to multiracial Asian and white individuals.[1]

Race is socially constructed. It is not a biological fact, as there are not genetic characteristics that determine any specific racial group. In other words, race is not passed on through one's DNA nor is there one trait that is common between all members of a racial group. In fact, there are more biological differences within racial groups than between racial groups. Race is a human construct whose boundaries are mediated by history, legislation, and other political aspects.[2] Race is most often defined by the dominant group in power. For example, historical rules of hypo-descent stated that any individual with one-drop of African American blood was considered African American. This was not a biological determinant but rather a political means to segregation and discrimination.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The migration of Asian workers in the mid-1800s marked the beginning of multiracial Asian Americans in the United States.[3] Hawai'i had the largest presence of multiracial Asian Americans because of the high number of Chinese–Native Hawaiian intermarriages. While antimiscegenation laws were originally enacted to prohibit blacks from marrying whites, Asians were later

included. The only exception to the antimiscegenation laws was the War Brides Act of 1945. This act allowed American World War II military personnel to bring thousands of their Asian wives (i.e. Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino) to the United States. This period marks the first large cohort of multiracial Asian Americans. The next spike in the multiracial Asian American population came after the 1967 *Loving v. Virginia* Supreme Court decision, which declared antimiscegenation laws unconstitutional. Finally, the end of the Vietnam War brought on another increase in the multiracial Asian Americans; this population specifically referred to as Amerasians were the biracial children of American soldiers and Vietnamese women. The Homecoming Act of 1988 permitted thousands of Amerasian children to immigrate to the United States.

PROFILE OF POPULATION

According to the U.S. Census Bureau in 2007, of the 15 million Asian Americans, approximately 1.8 million are multiracial Asian Americans, which is 12 percent of the total Asian population and 0.6 percent of the total U.S. population.[4] Asian and non-Hispanic whites comprised the largest group with 881,813, or 64 percent of the multiracial Asian American population. When taking multiracial Native Hawaiian and other Pacific Islanders (e.g. Samoans, Guamanians) into consideration, there are 333,482 multiracial individuals and they comprise 0.12 percent of the total U.S. population.[5]

Multiracial Asian Americans at a Glance

In 2000, the U.S. Census Bureau added the multiracial category to the racial and ethnic tables, making this information available for the first time since the collection of U.S. Census data began. The 2000 Census found that only 2 percent of the U.S. population identified as multiracial. Asian Americans report much higher rates of being multiracial. Fourteen percent of Asians, or 1.6 million Asians, identified as multiracial, which would be only fourth in size among Asian subgroups.

- Multiracial Asian Americans in 2000: 16 percent
- Asian American group with the highest multiracial rate: Malaysian, 42 percent
- Asian American group with the highest multiracial rate among the ten largest groups: Japanese, 31 percent
- Asian American group with the lowest multiracial rate: Vietnamese, 8 percent

Source: U.S. Census Bureau 2000.

—Kimiko Kelly

The multiracial API population is on the rise, as APIs have the highest out-marriage rates (i.e., marrying a non-Asian) of any racial group.[6] Marriages between Asian Americans and whites make up the largest percentage of interracial marriages.[7] And this is usually between Asian American women and white men. According to the 1990 U.S. Census, one-third (33.9%) of all interracial marriages were between Asian Americans and non-Hispanic whites.[8] The 1990 census also indicated that more than half (58.3%) of all children of mixed race were born to Asian Americans and non-Hispanic white parents.[9] When taking married and unmarried couples into consideration, the 2003 U.S. Census reports that of the 1,271,000 interracial couples, a little more than half (655,000) were Asians and whites and 62,000 were Asians and blacks. Among interracial couples that involve one Asian, 292,000 have children under 18.[10] By year 2020, approximately 20 percent of Asian Americans will be multiracial and that figure is predicted to rise to 36 percent by 2050.

MULTIRACIAL IDENTITY FORMATION

Multiracial APIs are a unique group, and their heritage may consist of majority-minority (for example, where one parent is white and the other is Asian) or minority-minority (for example. where one parent is Asian and the other is of another ethnic minority group). Historically, because of the hypo-descent "one-drop" rule, any multiracial individual was automatically considered a member of the racial minority group.[11] This was applied primarily to biracial white/blacks and is reflective of racism and slavery that was present in the American South. Hence, biracial individuals did not have a choice in their racial identity. This is another example of the political definition of race, rather than a biological one.

The "one-drop rule" is no longer seen as relevant because multiracial individuals now have the choice in their racial identity. The 2000 U.S. Census was the first census that allowed individuals to check as many races as apply, and 6.8 million Americans did just that. There is a projected 3 percent growth within the multiracial population; this is the same growth percentage as the Asian and Latino populations and three times that of total U.S. population growth. This change in racial/ethnic identification points to a process of transformation from ascribed to self-defined racial identity.[12] Individuals are given the option of choosing their racial identity.

According to developmental psychologist Erik Erikson, the central task of adolescence is to form a stable identity in which adolescents develop a strong sense of who they are. Adolescents often go through an identity crisis fraught with confusion and instability as they choose among various options in trying to define themselves. Racial and ethnic identity is one part of an individual's identity formation; however, normative stressors to forming a stable racial identity are often heightened for multiracial individuals. Many may feel that they are not accepted by either side and thus do not feel that they belong to either side. There may also be potential conflict because of parental cultural differences in values and beliefs. For example, within the European American concepts that pervade the American society, the characteristics of individual

strengths are individualism, self-assertiveness, and autonomy. On the other hand, Asian concepts of self focus on dependency and support.[13] These differing concepts of the individual have an influence on the developmental tasks outlined for individuals. While striving for independence may be the central task of adolescence for most American youth, many traditional Asian cultures emphasize interdependence. These contradictory values can be seen within the household, as parents may hold differing beliefs. This can create conflict for multiracial Asian Americans' identity formation. In turn, this identity influences their psychological well-being, including self-esteem, and interaction with others.[14] Biracial adolescents who have explored their ethnic identity are likely to have higher self-esteem than their biracial peers who have not explored their ethnic identity.[15]

The most positive identity that multiracial individuals can have is one that is integrative, in which individuals have identified with and functioned in both reference groups in fairly equal amounts. For example, someone who is of Chinese and Mexican heritage would be exposed to traditions from both cultures. Multiracial individuals may develop unique cognitive strengths, a cognitive complexity, because of negotiations between culturally appropriate behaviors of two or more cultures.[16] They are then more likely to have a positive integrated multiracial identity. This is evident through the many famous multiracial individuals who have successfully navigated their multiracial identity. For example, Tiger Woods embraces his multiracial heritage and refers to himself as "Cablinasian," as in Caucasian-Black-Indian-Asian. Actor Keanu Reeves, whose mother is white English and father is Chinese and Hawaiian American, is another example of a multiracial celebrity. And most prominently, President Barack Obama speaks candidly about his biracial background from a Kenyan father and a white mother.

Given the importance of developing a healthy multiracial identity, a four-phase model has been proposed.[17] The first phase is "questioning and confusion." It is in this phase where multiracial children become aware of being different; this may come about from others questioning their racial background. The second phase is "refusal and suppression." This is a period of self-identification for multiracial individuals, as they are rejecting any external labeling from society. They are actively processing their identity. The third phase, "infusion and exploration," is the beginning attempt to integrate both heritages. The fourth and final phase is "resolution and acceptance." This is where multiracial individuals have been truly able to integrate all heritages and develop a positive multiracial Asian identity.

FACTORS AFFECTING IDENTITY

There are numerous factors that may affect how multiracial APIs choose to identify, including physical appearance, racial attitudes, neighborhood, and language.

Multiracial APIs often vary in their physical appearance, and it may be difficult to determine their heritage. With some, it may be easier to identify their

Asian heritage, whereas with others it is not. This often leaves them the option to identify themselves as multiracial or monoracial. Racial identification then becomes a cognitive process on behalf of the individual. On the other hand, physical attributes may limit options in the person's ability to select a racial identity. For example, multiracial APIs may identify as African American if others perceive them phenotypically as an African American rather than an Asian American. In these circumstances, racial identities are externally enforced by society, including friends and acquaintances from their respective communities.[18]

If the Asian community is approving of interracial marriages and receptive to multiracial Asian Americans, then it is more likely to acknowledge their Asian side. The number of interracial marriages and acceptance of multiracial children are related to the group's level of acculturation and assimilation and the length of time in the United States. For example, because of their longer presence in the United States and fewer recent immigrants, Japanese Americans have a large multigenerational population (third generation and up). They are less likely to speak Japanese and have the highest rate of intermarriage; in fact, the number of multiracial Japanese Americans is approaching that of monoracial Japanese Americans.[19] In contrast, multiracial Vietnamese American children (aka Amerasians) in Vietnam were considered social outcasts and suffered social and political persecution because of their American (e.g., white American, African American) heritage.[20] These children were cruelly referred to as "the dust of life." As Vietnamese are one of the most recent Asian groups to migrate to the United States, their level of acceptance of interracial marriages and multiracial children remains low; however, as with all Asian American groups, as the level of acculturation and generation of immigration for Vietnamese increase, so will their acceptance.

Neighborhood context and racial/ethnicity diversity also has an impact. Looking at the 2000 Census race data, multiracial Asian Americans were more likely to identify more with their Asian heritage than their other racial heritage where Asian populations represent greater proportions of the state population. More specifically, in Hawai'i, multiracial Asian/whites were less likely to report white as their primary race because of the high proportion of APIs in the state.[21] Between 1970 and 1990, there has been an increasing trend for multiracial Asian/white individuals to identify more with their Asian heritage.[22] Finally, language plays a role. If they speak a language other than English at home, they will more likely identify with their Asian heritage.[23]

MENTAL HEALTH

The healthiest racial identity formation is one in which multiracial individuals are comfortable with their mixed race heritage. Difficulty in forming this stable identity can be expressed through a range of psychological and behavioral symptoms. At the milder end of the spectrum, individuals may suffer from identity confusion, with mild symptoms of anxiety and depression, while those

with more severe symptoms, such as delinquency and suicidal behaviors, may suffer from a negative identity.[24]

It is seen that practitioners, such as mental health clinicians, need to form a healthy working relationship with multiracial APIs to facilitate the formation of a stable multiracial identity. Finding positive aspects of being biracial will help in this formation. Kimora Lee Simmons shared that she was very self-conscious about her biracial heritage (her mother is Japanese and her father is African American); it was not until she became a fashion model that she appreciated her unique heritage, as it helped her stand out from her peers. Working with multiracial APIs to explore such positive aspects is dependent on the practitioners' understanding of the developmental process of a multiracial identity. Experts note that practitioners must know the ethnic populations that they are working with and understand the communities' cultures, especially when serving individuals and families whose mixed cultural backgrounds may have elements that are diametrical to one another.

OUTLOOK

As recently as a decade ago, many multiracial Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders felt they had to prove that they were "Asian enough" and that they were ostracized by the Asian American community. But as the multiracial API population burgeons, they have begun to feel more recognition and acceptance by the Asian American community. This change in the community has an important effect on the multiracial API's sense of identity. This critical perspective is reflected in Pearl Fuyo Gaskins' *What Are You? Voices of Mixed Race Young People*, in which a 14-year-old boy states: "Being biracial isn't hard because we're confused about our racial identity. It's hard because everyone else is confused. The problem isn't us—it's everyone else."[25]

In addition to the Asian American community becoming more supportive of multiracial APIs, there has also been a growth in multiracial organizations, such as The Hapa Issues Form (which recently changed its name to the Multicultural Student Union), MAVIN, and AMEA (Association of Multiethnic Americans). These organizations make an impact at both the policy and individual level. On a policy level, these groups help advocate for the rights of multiracial Asian Americans. They were responsible for the inclusion of the "check all that apply" rule for racial categories in the 2000 U.S. Census. These groups also serve as a support system for multiracial people and families. For example, MAVIN publishes a magazine that explores the experiences of multiracial individuals, and AMEA, which is a national organization, has affiliates in various states and offers local social activities for members to connect with one another. There are also online forums for multiracial APIs to share their stories and concerns.

Finally, the growing number of famous multiracial APIs, including Tiger Woods, Michelle Branch, and Dwayne "The Rock" Johnson, helps to bring to light some of the issues that multiracial Asian Americans face and may take

away some of the stigma that was once associated with being multiracial. As they publicly celebrate their mixed heritage, they serve as role models to multiracial APIs.

FURTHER READING

Association of MultiEthnic Americans. http://www.ameasite.org.
MAVIN Foundation. http://www.mavinfoundation.org.
Mixed Asians. http://www.mixedasians.com.
Root, Maria P. P., and Matt Kelley, eds. *The Multiracial Child Resource Book.* Seattle, WA: Mavin Foundation, 2003. http://www.mavin.net/Res_Book.html.
Williams-Leon, Teresa, and Cynthia L. Nakashima, eds. *The Sum of Our Parts: Mixed-Heritage Asian Americans*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001.

NOTES

1. Angela S. Taniguchi and Linda Heidenreich, "Re-Mix: Rethinking the Use of 'Hapa' in Mixed Race Asian/Pacific Islander American Community Organizing," *Washington State University McNair Journal.* Fall (2005): 135–146. http://hdl.handle.net/2376/12.

2. Maria P. P. Root, "The Multiracial Experience: Racial Borders as a Significant Frontier in Race Relations," in Maria P. P. Root, ed. *The Multiracial Asian American Experience: Racial Borders as the New Frontier*, (Thousand Oakes, CA: SAGE Publications, 1996), xiii–xxviii.

3. Cuong Nguyen Le, "Multiracial/Hapa Asian Americans," *Asian-Nation: The Landscape of Asian America*, http://www.asian-nation.org/multiracial.shtml.

4. U.S. Census Bureau, "Annual Estimates of the Population by Sex, Race, and Hispanic Origin for the United States: April 1, 2000 to July 1, 2007 (NC-EST2007-03)" (U.S. Census Bureau, Population Division, 2008), http://www.census.gov/popest/national/asrh/NC-EST2007-srh.html.

5. U.S. Census Bureau, 2004 American Community Survey, Selected Population Profiles, S0201.

6. James P. Allen and Eugene Turner, "Bridging 1990 and 2000 Census Race Data: Fractional Assignment of Multiracial Populations." *Population Research and Policy Review,* 20 (2001): 513–533.

7. Jennifer Lee and Frank D. Bean, "America's Changing Color Lines: Immigration, Race/Ethnicity, and Multiracial Identification." *Annual Review of Sociology* 30 (2004): 221–242.

8. U.S. Bureau of the Census. Race of Couples: 1990. [Online, June 1998] Census Web site. http://www.census.gov/population/socdemo/race/interractab2.txt.

9. Allen and Turner, "Bridging 1990 and 2000 Census Race Data," 519.

10. U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey, Annual Social and Economic Supplement, 2003, http://www.census.gov/prod/2004pubs/p20-553.pdf.

11. Paul R. Spickard, "The Illogic of American Racial Categories," in Maria P. P. Root, ed., *Racially Mixed People in America,* (Newbury Park, CA: SAGE Publications, 1992), 12–23.

12. Karl Eschbach and Christina Gomez, "Choosing Hispanic Identity: Ethnic Identity Switching among Respondents to High School and Beyond," *Social Science Quarterly* 79 (1998): 74–90.

13. Marjorie Kagawa-Singer and Rita Chi-Ying Chung, "Toward a New Paradigm: A Culturally Systems Approach," in Karen S. Kurasaki and Sumie Okazaki et al. eds., *Asian American Mental Health: Assessment Theories and Methods* (New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, 2002), 47–66.

14. Ronald E. Hall, "Biracial Sensitive Practice: Expanding Social Services to an Invisible Population," *Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare* 28 (2001): 23–36.

15. Jeana R. Bracey, Mayra Y. Bamaca, and Adriana J. Umana-Taylor, "Examining Ethnic Identity and Self-Esteem Among Biracial and Monoracial Adolescents," *Journal of Youth and Adolescence* 33 (2004): 123–132.

16. Verónica Benet-Martínez, Fiona Lee, and Janxin Leu, "Biculturalism and Cognitive Complexity: Expertise in Cultural Representations," *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 37 (2006): 386–407.

17. J. Fuji Collins, "Biracial Japanese American Identity: An Evolving Process," *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology* 6 (2000): 115–133.

18. Joanne Nagel, "Constructing Ethnicity: Creating and Recreating Ethnic Identity and Culture," *Social Problems* 41 (1994): 152–176.

19. Root, "The Multiracial Experience: Racial Borders as a Significant Frontier in Race Relations," xiii–xxviii.

20. Robert S. McKelvey, *The Dust of Life: America's Children Abandoned in Vietnam* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999).

21. Allen and Turner. "Bridging 1990 and 2000 Census Race Data," 528.

22. Allen and Turner. "Bridging 1990 and 2000 Census Race Data," 519.

23. Rogelio Saenz, Sean-Shong Hwang, Benigno E. Aguirre, and Robert N. Anderson, "Persistence and Change in Asian Identity among Children of Intermarried Couples," *Sociological Perspectives* 38 (1995): 175–194.

24. Jewelle Taylor Gibbs and Gloria Moskowitz-Sweet, "Clinical and Cultural Issues in the Treatment of Biracial and Bicultural Adolescents," *Families in Society: The Journal of Contemporary Human Services* 72 (1991): 579–592.

25. Pearl Fuyo Gaskins. *What Are You? Voices of Mixed-Race Young People* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1999), 15.

PAN-SOUTH ASIAN IDENTITY

R. Benedito Ferrao

Pan-South Asian American identity refers to the shared collective identity of South Asian individuals living in the United States, who otherwise have distinct national origins. South Asian Americans include Bangladeshi, Bhutanese, Indian, Maldivian, Nepali, Pakistani, and Sri Lankan Americans. Despite religious, ethnic, and regional diversity within the South Asian American population, the shared experience of European colonization, displacement, and discrimination in the United States are some factors that have fostered the development of a pan-South Asian identity. Because it is a relatively new phenomenon, debates among South Asian Americans remain whether a pan-South Asian American identity is possible, whether one even exists, and how it exists within a larger Asian American rubric.

These multiple and layered identities are the result of cultural and population exchanges between regions, of arrivals of people from outside South Asia who became part of its cultural fabric, and of displacement caused by European colonization. The legacies of the colonial period continue to manifest themselves in South Asia and in diasporic communities; hence, it is not unusual to find South Asians whose migrant journeys span generations and continents, as is the case with Parsis, an Indian ethnic group of Persian origin who found employment in East Africa under the British colonial administration that also ruled India. In 1972, expelled along with other Asians by postindependence dictator Idi Amin, they may have attempted to find refuge in Canada because it is part of the British Commonwealth and, itself, a former colony. Other multiple diaspora South Asian origin groups include Indian Fijian and Siddhi (African-descended) Pakistani Americans, for example. As immigrants, South Asians

share many similarities with other Asian American groups, but they have not generally been part of the larger ethnic umbrella group.

"Desi" is a term often used to encompass pan-South Asian identity in the United States. Originally meaning "of the land," the word *desi* connotes the idea of origin and connection while also recognizing the transnational, shifting, strategic, and pieced-together identity of an otherwise diverse and often disparate group. The appearance and adoption of the term *desi*, even if not uniformly, implies a process of self-definition and a means by which to construct a multifaceted immigrant identity.

AFFILIATION AS IDENTITY

The region of South Asia has long been synonymous with India, and more specifically north India, whose historical, religious, and cultural sway have greatly influenced the area and the global imagination at large.[1] The mistaken interchangeability of India with the wider and very diverse location of South Asia adds even more confusion to questions of naming of ethnic American identities, when it comes to South Asians in the United States. Consider that the term "Indian," as used in North America, does not necessarily differentiate between those of Asian origin or Native Americans (perhaps explaining why the U.S. Census has employed the classification "Asian Indian" for clarity). Also, the term "South Asian," which has gained currency only lately and not necessarily within all ranks and generations of the community it seeks to aggregate, correctly identifies geographic and historic origin but seems phenotypically at odds with the commonly held notion that Asian Americans are only those of East and Southeast Asian origin.

In the civil rights era of the 1960s, Asian American identity centered on ethnic movements that attempted to address the lack of recognition of communities, some which traced their immigration histories back to the nineteenth century such as Chinese and Japanese Americans. In comparison, while indentured and other laborers of South Asian descent had been in the United States during this period, their numbers were far smaller and generally understudied. Increased visibility came with the arrival of greater numbers after the 1965 immigration laws changed to attract educated and skilled immigrant labor from South Asia and elsewhere.

Immigrants who arrived during the post-1965 period were thus differently skilled than those South Asians, primarily Punjabis, who settled in the Pacific Northwest and California in the early nineteenth century and onward and who took to farming, which was in keeping with their agricultural background.[2] What both sets of immigrants—nineteenth century and post-1965—had in common is that shared religious and cultural practices allowed for community formation. The Punjab region crosses the borders of what are today northern India and Pakistan and is also a multifaith area, with Sikhism being one of the religions followed. Though secular and multifaith, India's population is predominantly Hindu, as are most U.S. immigrants from that country; similarly,

Pakistan, a theocracy, is largely Muslim, as are most of its emigrés. These differences may suggest that South Asian immigrants of various ethnic and national origins limit their associations with each other in their adoptive countries, and while that possibility exists, shared histories, customs, and, in some cases, religious backgrounds, have fostered panethnic community formation for South Asians in the United States.

Professional and class-based affiliations should also be credited for the roles they play in this process. At universities, South Asian student-founded organizations, though often ethnic-specific, may also offer opportunities for multiethnic desi programs, focusing on culture or community service. These youth-based affiliations also extend into off-campus venues, such as the club scene.[3] These trends, though largely more visible among second-generation South Asians, have also aided gender-based community projects, such as South Asian women's organizations that counsel and shelter female victims of domestic abuse, including women who are first-generation immigrants.[4]

Just as pan-South Asian identity may be fostered through community design, factors external to the community can also play their part. In the wake of the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, in which the World Trade Center's "Twin Towers" were demolished by hijacked planes, many South Asians found themselves detained by authorities for interrogation or fell victim to vigilante violence by those seeking revenge against anyone thought to resemble the perpetrators of the attacks. The conflation of Muslim/Islamic, Middle Eastern/Semitic, and South Asian identities, be they in targeting individuals based on phenotypic appearance or erroneous assumptions about religious and ethnic garb, caused both the ironic possibility of pan-South Asian solidarity in protest against the violence and detentions, but also equally widespread disidentifications based on ethnic and religious differences within the larger South Asian community and against other national-origin communities, usually Muslim-identified ones. This desire for safety was thus predicated upon an appeal to American solidarity, but it also ostracized specific groups within and without the South Asian community. Some took great pains in explaining the significance of religious garb unique to their faiths to mainstream audiences in hopes of gaining acceptance and tolerance. However, these same efforts also resulted in disidentifications between various marginalized communities.[5]

PROFESSIONAL DIFFERENCES

The high visibility of U.S. South Asians in lucrative professions related to medicine, finance, engineering, and computers, among others, is often in contrast to those, equally visible, employed as taxi drivers and convenience store clerks. While the former, described as immigrants of opportunity, made their way to the United States post-1965, their sometimes less-privileged kin followed suit under family reunification provisions made in the 1980s, and they had to take on professions that did not match those of their more affluent

sponsors.[6] In some cases, it is the enterprising, earlier-arriving family members whose investment in the form of a motel or franchised convenience store has provided the possibility of employment for a newly arrived family member of lesser means. South Asian–owned franchises of popular businesses, such as fast-food restaurants and gas stations, rely on kinship networks to staff their venues, but they also attract nonfamily employees of similar ethnic origins. These kinship and ethnic-solidarity networks, while supportive, can also be fraught with the possibility of abuse, where new or undocumented immigrants may be taken advantage of because of their lack of knowledge or because of their precarious position in the eyes of the law. To protect against these and other kinds of labor abuses, including those by corporations, organizing efforts have given rise to desi organizations such as New York City's Workers' Awaaz, a nonprofit dedicated to educating South Asian women employed in domestic service about their rights, and Taxi Workers Alliance, which protects the rights of taxi drivers of South Asian origin.

In addition to class and professionally based distinctions between South Asians in the United States, there is also the added dimension of ethnic and national origin. Not all South Asians immigrate to the United States directly from South Asia. Those that come from other diasporic locations, such as the Caribbean, Guyana, Suriname, parts of Africa, or Fiji, may be differently skilled than their counterparts from South Asian countries. Even within South Asian countries, not all have the same opportunities available to future immigrants, often necessitating their departure in search of opportunities abroad. This also indicates that South Asians, of various class and ethnic backgrounds, often have transnational families and maintain ties that cross continents. Thus, while South Asians in America may regularly be identified as a model minority, this is not a uniformly panethnic trait and is a supposition that belies the class diversity and some of the issues facing these communities.

FURTHER READING

Abraham, Margaret. *Speaking the Unspeakable: Marital Violence Among South Asian Immigrants in the United States*. Piscataway, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2000.

Purkayastha, Bandana. *Negotiating Ethnicity: Second Generation South Asian Americans Traverse A Transnational World*. Piscataway, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2005.

Shankar, Lavina Dhingra, and Rajini Srikhant, eds. *A Part, Yet Apart: South Asians in Asian America*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998.

NOTES

1. Vijay Prashad, *The Karma of Brown Folk* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), 1–3.

2. Karen Leonard, *Making Ethnic Choices: California's Punjabi Mexican Americans* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992).

3. Sunaina Maira, *Desis in the House: Indian American Youth Culture* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2002).

4. Margaret Abraham, *Speaking the Unspeakable: Marital Violence among South Asian Immigrants in the United States*. (Piscataway, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2000).

5. Jasbir Puar, *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007), 166–202.

6. Chandan Reddy, "Asian Diasporas, Neoliberalism, and Family: Reviewing the Case for Homosexual Asylum in the Context of Family Rights," *Social Text* 23 (2005): 101–119.

This page intentionally left blank

RACIAL FEATURES AND COSMETIC SURGERY

Joanne L. Rondilla

In 2004, Americans spent approximately $9 billion on cosmetic plastic surgery. The top five surgical procedures were liposuction, rhinoplasty (nose reshaping), breast augmentation, blepharoplasty (eyelid surgery), and facelifts. While the number of cosmetic surgery procedures increased 11 percent between 2004 and 2005, the 2006 American Society for Plastic Surgeons (ASPS) statistical report found that within the same period, the number of procedures performed on nonwhites increased by 65 percent. The study reported 437,000 plastic surgery procedures for Asian American patients, or an increase of 58 percent from the previous year.[1]

Though this jump indicates that cosmetic surgery is becoming increasingly popular among Asians and Asian Americans, such procedures have been performed as far back as 600 B.C. in India. In its origins, plastic surgery was used to treat extreme deformities. The purpose of plastic surgery shifted when society began to place a higher economic value on public appearance. Though plastic surgery most likely existed in Asia early on, Asians did not seek out cosmetic surgery in significant numbers until the post–World War II era. American and European colonization in Asia is a major reason why more people opt to undergo cosmetic surgery. Then, as is now, the most popular surgery is blepharoplasty, followed by rhinoplasty. Because it seems that these clients want to alter features that are distinctly Asian, along with numerous risk factors involved, cosmetic surgery remains an extremely controversial topic among Asian and Asian American communities.

The history of plastic surgery can be traced as far back as 600 B.C. in India, where surgeons altered the nose by taking a part of the cheek and attached it to the tip of the nose. Italy's Gasparo Tagliacozzi is considered to be the "father of

modern plastic surgery" because in the late 1580s he was known to restore the noses of men who were involved in numerous fights and street brawls. Tagliacozzi did this by transferring skin from the upper arm to the nose. Japan notes its earliest reference to eyelid surgery in 1896 by K. Mikamo. In the Philippines, American surgeons note a similar surgery in the 1950s.

In its origins, plastic surgery was not intended to enhance one's beauty. Plastic surgery was originally intended to treat severe damage and deformities. World War I and modern warfare gave rise to plastic surgery because soldiers who were wounded in combat were prime targets for the more reputable plastic surgeons. These surgeons believed that a soldier who underwent facial reconstruction needed the surgery in order to regain his lifestyle. As a medical practice, plastic surgery was seen to heal patients.

Unlike plastic surgery, cosmetic or beauty surgery was not considered a reputable field because surgeons and the public alike believed that undergoing cosmetic surgery for vanity put healthy people at unnecessary risk for health complications. Early on, many patients were rejected from undergoing surgery when surgeons felt the procedure was unnecessary. Also, the American public believed that physical traits such as a large nose or small breasts were simple facts of life and that one's character was determined by their attitude and not necessarily their appearance.

Plastic surgery shifted to cosmetic surgery in the twentieth century for several reasons. First, the immigration from largely rural communities to urban communities affected notions of cosmetic surgery because urban identity was based more on public self-presentation as opposed to local or familial relationships. Also, by the 1920s and 1930s, Americans start to believe that one's looks have economic value and are important to social success and mental health. This became particularly significant during the 1929 Depression. When jobs were scarce, many believed that one's appearance defined one's drive and determination. Looking good helped people gain employment in an ultra-competitive job market.

In the post–World War II era, cosmetic surgery was primarily targeted at middle-class, middle-aged white women. Women were targeted because many believed that women aged faster than men because they are more emotional. Additionally, it was not acceptable for men to have cosmetic surgery unless the circumstances were extreme (such as the soldier whose face or body was deformed). For men, age made them distinct. To go under the knife meant that they were vain (and that vanity often labeled them as homosexual).

Modern cosmetic surgery was rooted in the late nineteenth century and made its way globally according to colonial expansion. While cosmetic surgery most likely existed in various parts of Asia before colonial expansion, the overwhelming popularity of cosmetic surgery happened in part because of colonialism. During the colonization of different parts of Asia, Europeans and Americans brought various types of media imagery. Local populations would then be exposed to European and American notions of beauty and eventually internalize such standards. This would then prompt many, particularly women, to opt for

surgery. Asians began to explore cosmetic surgery in significant numbers in the post–World War II era when blepharoplasty became popular in Asia and then in the United States. It is during this time that militarization, along with American television and magazines, influenced Western standards of beauty in Asia, and surgeons performed blepharoplasty in larger numbers.[2] An example of this relationship was during American military intervention in Vietnam when American soldiers brought representations of Westernized female beauty in the form of pin-up posters and magazines.[3] In a *Time* magazine interview in 1966, surgeons Pham Huu Luong and Pham Ba Vien explained that many of the Vietnamese women seeking cosmetic surgery at that time were mostly bargirls who were trying to look more attractive for the American soldiers. Having such features helped them get jobs and American husbands.

The complex history of European and American imperialism in Asia thereby contributes to Asians' and Asian Americans' unique relationship to cosmetic surgery. Early on, many Asians used surgery as a means to erase their Asian features (such as a slanted eye shape or a flatter nose with no bridge) in order to adapt a more Westernized look. In 1926, a Japanese man from Boston named Shima Kito underwent cosmetic surgery to remove the slant in his eyes. He also had a nose job and his lower lip was tightened. Kito did this because he wanted to marry his white girlfriend Mildred Ross from Iowa. While they loved each other, Ross knew her parents would not approve of the interracial match. Therefore, Kito went under the knife in hopes that Ross's parents would approve of him and their marriage despite his Japanese heritage. After the surgery, Kito and Ross were engaged, and Kito stated that he would complete his transformation by changing his name to William White.

REASONS AND RISKS

Though cosmetic surgery practices today are becoming more common among Asian Americans, the reasons why they undergo surgery vary. Many who go under the knife claim that they are not looking to erase their racialized features in the way Kito did in 1926; however, this is still up for debate. As mentioned earlier, blepharoplasty is the top surgery that Asian Americans undergo, followed by rhinoplasty. Given that, it seems to suggest that Asians opt to alter physical traits that make them distinctly Asian—the eyes and the nose. To many patients, however, these surgical procedures have less to do with unacceptable racialized features that Asians and Asian Americans possess and more to do with current beauty standards and trends.

Medical professionals often try to separate racialized reasoning from cosmetic surgery. For example, surgeons explain the necessity of blepharoplasty to their Asian patients by pointing out that Asians who have a single eyelid have excess fat on the eyelid that needs to be removed in order for the patient to look more awake, refreshed, younger, and if the patient is female, the surgery will allow her to apply makeup with more ease. Medical professionals also state that roughly half of all Asians have a double eyelid, so to alter the eyelid from a

single fold to a double fold is completely natural. At the same time, such medical reasoning suggests that having a single eyelid is abnormal. Many patients take such reasoning for granted and do not see how medical language and reasoning completely ignore racial meaning. As various studies and patient interviews have suggested, many people who do go under the knife claim that they have no desire to look more Westernized. Instead, many state that they would simply like a more refined look that maintains their Asian features. What constitutes a more refined look remains a controversial topic.

While many patients will attest that their surgeries helped them feel better about themselves, there are some definite health risks involved in such surgeries. Some of the physical side effects of plastic surgery include bleeding and hematoma. Although post-operation bleeding is natural, excessive bleeding can be dangerous. Seventy-two hours after surgery, the body is most susceptible to infection. In severe cases, such infections can lead to death. Seroma, which is fluid collection that happens when the skin has been separated, is another side effect that is most common in procedures such as tummy tucks. It is also possible for the patient to have suture reactions. As foreign objects to the body, sutures can be rejected and the body can push them out. If untreated or unnoticed, the area can get a serious infection. Cosmetic surgery patients are also at risk for skin reactions, wound separation, necrosis (which is tissue death caused by a lack of oxygen), and nerve damage. Severe nerve damage can cause muscle weakness or even paralysis. The darker aftermath of cosmetic surgery usually results in prolonged health or psychological problems, for example when patients realize that even after surgery, they still did not gain the self-confidence they were expecting. In rare occasions, when a patient does not gain the expected self-confidence, the patient can become depressive or emotionally unstable.

OUTLOOK

Cosmetic surgery is popular all over the world. In China, cosmetic surgery is a $2.4 billion industry and is growing at a rate of 20 percent per year. In 2004, China hosted its first annual Miss Plastic Surgery contest, "the world's first pageant for artificial beauties." In that same year, the Philippine Department of Tourism launched a partnership with the Belo Medical Group, a private and well-known Philippine-based cosmetic surgery practice. The Belo Medical Group has numerous offices around the archipelago. Targeting Americans, Europeans, and Filipinos living abroad, there are high hopes of turning the Philippines into a premiere destination for medical tourism by offering vacation packages that include cosmetic surgery and a stay at a luxury resort for recovery. These packages cost 30 to 70 percent less than having surgery in Europe or the United States. Clients can indulge in high-quality services, using the most up-to-date technology by skilled surgeons who were trained in the U.S. or Europe. Additionally, the doctors know English and understand European and American cultural customs. The low cost of these beauty tourist packages make

cosmetic surgery accessible to a greater number of people from various income levels. What used to be available only to the wealthy and middle class can now be obtained by virtually everybody. While nonwhites comprise only 15 percent of cosmetic surgeries in the U.S., statistics do not account for those who travel overseas to undergo lower–cost surgery. Factors such as these suggest that perhaps the number of Asian Americans who undergo plastic surgery is much higher than statistics report. Additionally, statistics do not take into account those who have surgery performed by doctors who are not board certified.

FURTHER READING

Blum, Virginia. *Flesh Wounds: The Culture of Cosmetic Surgery.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003.

Davis, Kathy. *Dubious Equalities and Embodied Differences: Cultural Studies on Cosmetic Surgery.* Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003.

Haiken, Elizabeth. *Venus Envy: The History of Cosmetic Surgery*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997.

Kaw, Eugenia. “Medicalization of Racial Features: Asian American Women and Cosmetic Surgery,” *Medical Anthropology Quarterly* 7, no. 1 (1993): 74–89.

NOTES

1. Michelle Man, “Nip, Tuck . . . Asians Under the Knife,” *BN Magazine,* June 3, 2006, *New American Media,* http://news.newamericamedia.org/news/view_article.html?article_id=7c14ed6d4c1a4b750271890673d66c22.

2. Elizabeth Haiken, *Venus Envy: The History of Cosmetic Surgery* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997).

3. Haiken, *Venus Envy.*

This page intentionally left blank

RELIGIOUS IDENTITY AND MARGINALIZATION

Russell Jeung

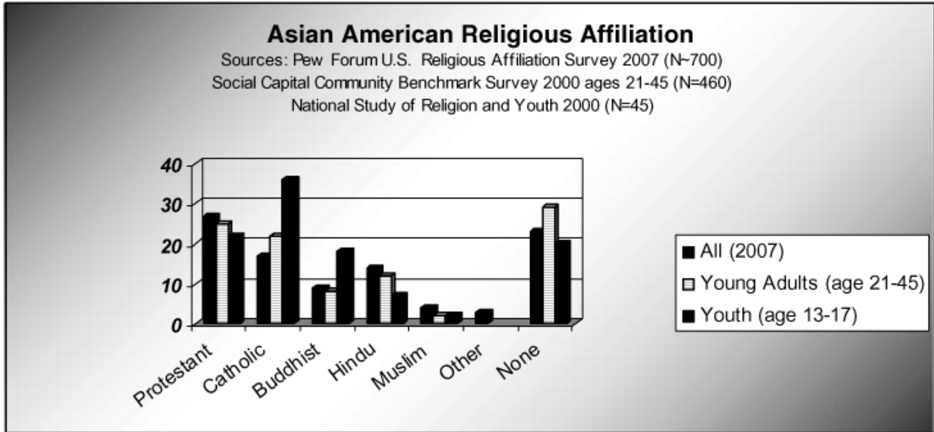
Religion is a significant influence in the lives of Asian Americans, including their ethnic and racial identities. Almost two-thirds of Asian Americans say that religion plays a very important role in their lives, and they are more involved with religious congregations than any other type of voluntary association.[1] Through both personal spiritual practices and group religious gatherings, Asian American religions provide multiple resources for identity development. Along with meaning and values, it offers historic and ethnic ties, social support, and opportunities to engage the local community.[2]

According to the most recent and largest surveys of Asian Americans, 27 percent of Asian Americans were Protestant Christians, 17 percent were Catholic, 9 percent were Buddhist, 14 percent were Hindu, and 4 percent were Muslim.[3] In addition, 20 percent of Asian Americans stated that they had no religion. These significant populations of Asian Americans who are non-Christian or nonreligious distinguish them from other racial groups in the United States (Figure 1).[4]

Asian Americans affiliate most as Christians, either Protestant or Catholic.[5] Among Chinese Americans (20% of this population), Japanese Americans (37%) and Korean Americans (68%), Protestant Christianity has the most adherents compared to other religions. Catholicism is the top-ranked religion of Filipino Americans (68%), and the second most popular religion of Vietnamese Americans (20%) and Korean Americans (11%).

With the high immigration rate of South Asians in the past decade, Hinduism has overtaken Buddhism as the second most popular religion among Asian Americans. Among South Asian Americans, 46 percent identify as Hindus.

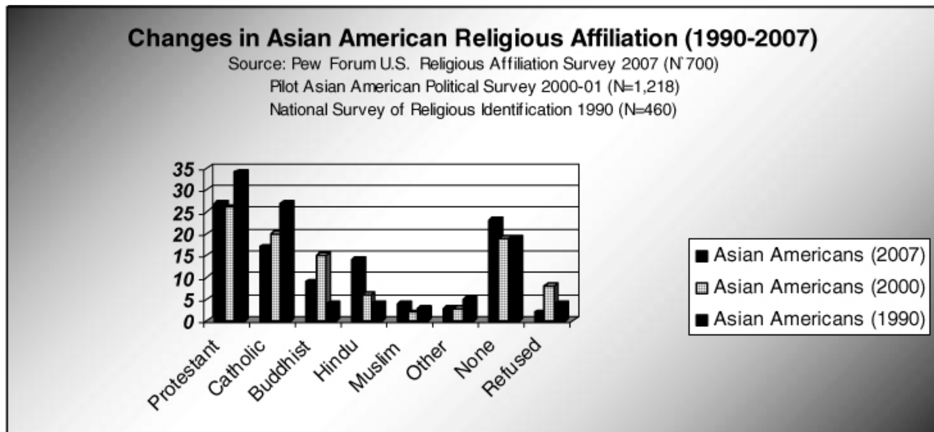
Figure 1. Asian American religious affiliations, 2007



Buddhism is most widely adhered to by Vietnamese Americans (49%) and Japanese Americans (24%), as well as other Southeast Asian groups.

Asian Americans are thus a major source of religious diversity in the United States, as they comprise 20 percent of the Muslims, 32 percent of the Buddhists, and 88 percent of the Hindus in this country.[6] Indeed, the numbers of Asian Americans professing non-Christian religions (Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam, and Sikhism) have almost tripled with the influx of new immigrants in the last two decades (Figure 2). Throughout the country, the establishment of Buddhist temples, Muslim mosques, Hindu mandirs, and Sikh gurdwaras physically alter the local environments. These religions and their icons also have influenced American popular culture, as martial arts masters, yoga gurus, and religious body markings become ubiquitous.[7] Religion and spirituality from Asia have also contributed to the growth of the New Age movements and the emerging culture of "new spirituality" in the 21st century.[8]

Figure 2. Changes in Asian American religious affiliation, 1990–2007



IMMIGRANT BACKGROUNDS AND RELIGIOSITY

Asian Americans have high rates of religiosity, in terms of personal practices and congregational involvement. More Filipinos (94%) and Koreans (87%) affiliate with religious groups than other Americans, and both groups have high attendance rates at churches or temples as well (71% and 87%, respectively, attend services at least once a month).[9]

Higher religiosity among Asian Americans might be attributed to the immigrant background of most Asian Americans. The process of immigration itself uproots and destabilizes the lives of immigrants, so that they are likely to seek sources of security, social support, and meaning.[10] Asian American congregations, then, become more than sites of worship for immigrant communities; they are also sources of information and referral for immigrant adaptation, as well as ethnic maintenance and transmission.[11] For instance, Asian American Christians are much more likely to attend religious services, especially within ethnic congregations, than the rest of U.S. Christians. Even among 21- to 45-year-old Asian Americans, 46 percent attend services weekly compared with 36 percent of 21- to 45-year-olds in the total U.S. population at large.[12]

PROFESSIONAL BACKGROUNDS AND SECULARISM

Asian Americans exhibited a bifurcated pattern of religiosity, in that some are highly spiritual and others are highly secular. Asian Americans are the most likely racial group to state they have no religion. Roughly 23 percent of Asian Americans have no religion, compared with 16 percent of all Americans.[13] Chinese (39%) and Japanese (26%) are much less likely to claim a religious identity than other American ethnic groups. Asian Americans also claim to be the most secular of any racial group (11% vs. 6% of the total U.S. population).

One explanation for Asian American self-reported nonreligiosity is that the nature of Asian religions differs from that of Western Christianity, which shapes sociological categories of religion. While Western concepts of religion tend to focus on exclusive doctrinal tenets, Asian religious traditions center more heavily on inclusive beliefs and on spiritual practices.[14] In like manner, Westerners assume worship as a weekly congregation-based activity, but Asians also engage in various home rituals. Because of such differences, Chinese might not affiliate with just one religion but with multiple traditions, such as Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism, and Chinese folk religion. Consequently, they might be less likely to claim one tradition in a survey and have high percentages identifying with no religion. This bias in religious concepts leads to an incomplete understanding of the Asian American religious experience, and it also reinforces the stereotype of Asians as pagan or heathen.

Also, the selective emigration of Asians with science backgrounds contributes to this population's more secular outlook, in contrast to those who say their outlook is "religious." Since the Immigration Act of 1990, a higher percentage of Asians have entered through employment visas and H-1B visas, so that the 44 percent of this racial group have obtained a bachelor's degree or more.

Concurrently, 45 percent of Asian Americans work in management or professional occupations, as compared with 34 percent of the total United States population. Because scientists are much more likely to claim no religious affiliation (52%) than the general American population (14%), Asian Americans as a group are also more likely to be less religious.[15]

ETHNIC IDENTITY AND RELIGIONS

Asian Americans' religious identity affects whether they feel more assimilated as Americans or more marginalized in the United States. Similarly, it affects whether they feel more authentically ethnic within their own communities or more marginalized within them.[16] For the two-thirds of Asian Americans who say that religion has a very important role in their lives, one of these roles is to establish their sense of identity. The relationship between religion and ethnicity is complex, as religious identity can stand for, reinforce, or even supersede ethnic identity. As ethnic identity consists of many elements and develops over time, religion is a significant source for establishing Asian Americans' sense of self.

One's ethnic identity may be conflated with one's religious identity. The authenticating and foundational role of religion relates to the perception that religion is transcendent and permanent.[17] For example, many Indian Americans, who view their parents' home faith as exemplars of real Indian-ness, see Hinduism as the primordial source of Indian culture. Similarly, to be Khmer or Thai is to be Buddhist, according to Cambodian and Thai Americans.[18] Consequently, those who practice religious rituals are seen as more truly ethnic.

The ethnoreligious community also reinforces ethnic identity by preserving and maintaining ethnicity through its practices and activities.[19] Many Asian American ethnic congregations sponsor language programs to teach children their parents' native tongue.[20] Ethnic celebrations and religious festivals hosted by congregations promote pride among ethnic community members and represent the multicultural diversity to the broader community.[21] Socialized by peers and adults in structured and unstructured activities, youth also learn taken-for-granted cultural behaviors and norms, such as how to treat elders or gender roles.[22]

While strengthening one's ethnic identity, religion also paradoxically can also foster one's American identity. Asian Americans who are religious—no matter what the religion—are more civically and politically engaged.[23] In general, becoming a citizen, registering to vote, and voting are all correlated with religious affiliation, as well as church attendance.

For religious Asian Americans, their spiritual identity may act as their primary identity, superseding even their ethnic one. Religious conversion or renewal increases the salience of faith to an individual, so that one's entire identity is recast through that religion's worldview.[24] Often, transcendent religions demand full allegiance, so that worldly commitments and relationships are to be renounced or made subservient. This desire for more authentic, otherworldly

faith, versus one with cultural baggage, motivates a recent trend in which Asian Americans leave ethnic congregations for other ones.[25]

CRITICAL RELIGIOUS ISSUES

Ethnic Marginalization

In response to marginalization by immigrant generations, second-generation Asian Americans have developed specific patterns. Because they feel alienated from the language, traditionalism, gender inequality, and hierarchy of the first generation, these Asian Americans have left their parents' congregations. First, they no longer affiliate with any religion or faith community. This trend has been called the silent exodus, as large percentages of young adults have left their home churches.[26] Second, they have established their own ethnic, second-generation congregations.[27] While their schools might be predominantly white and their homes might be viewed as more traditionally ethnic, these Asian Americans can develop their own ethnic identities at their local congregations.[28] At these places, younger Asian Americans socialize with peers with similar appearances, backgrounds, and experiences as ethnic Americans. The safety and comfort they have with one another often stems from their upbringing with Americanized popular culture, their complicated relationship with their parents' more "traditional" values, and their shared religious and linguistic heritage. These socialized experiences of comfort and extended family ties, then, establish a group identity as ethnic Americans.

Third, another response to ethnic marginalization is the development of pan-Asian or Asian American–led multiethnic congregations, especially evangelical ones. In the 1990s, many ethnic-specific congregations and ministries transitioned to Asian American panethnic ones, whose membership was made up of multiple Asian heritages.[29] In these cases, Asian Americans claimed their racial identity as a means to organize themselves religiously. They noted that their common symbolic experiences as minorities in the United States, or their similar familial backgrounds, established a solidarity that made congregating together reasonable and sustainable. In particular, evangelical Christians saw that panethnic social networks as useful in growing churches and evangelizing.

Racism

Along with the second generation's estrangement from their parents' faith, another critical issue facing the Asian American religious community is racism. Three particular types of racism have historically oppressed Asian Americans, and continue to affect them today.

Orientalism is a perspective that Asia, its people and its religions, are exotic, foreign, and the polar opposite of the West.[30] Despite claims that the United States has gone from a "Christian country" to the world's most religiously diverse nation, Asian Americans remain religious "others."[31] In the 1870s and 1880s, anti-Chinese sentiment that led to the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882

included charges that the Chinese were pagan, as represented by Bret Harte's well-received poem, "The Heathen Chinee."[32] More recently, in 2002, Abercrombie and Fitch marketed a T-shirt of a smiling Buddha that read "Buddha Bash—Get your Buddha on the Floor," which Asian Americans felt to be degrading.[33] Asian American student groups organized a boycott in response, stating that these images were "stereotypical" and "trivializing."[34]

Ethnocentrism, a biased perspective toward other cultures, is another mainstream response toward Asian American religious communities. One example is the 1923 Supreme Court case of *U.S. v. Thind*, which barred Asian Indians from naturalizing on the basis of their unassimilability. This decision argued that the "group characteristics of Hindus renders them readily distinguishable." In contrast, "the children of English, French, German, Italian, Scandinavian and other European parentage quickly merge into the mass of our population."[35] Another contemporary example occurred in 2007, when neighbors opposed the development of a new Buddhist temple in their neighborhood in Fort Wayne, IN. Reacting to parking problems caused by one Buddhist temple next to her home, resident Donna Davis complained, "If they want to live here, why can't they start acting American?" Kelli Lawson, another neighbor to a new temple explained, "I can't stand them. [Their Buddhist ways] are strange to us, so we don't like it." To avoid more NIMBYism, the Jetavan Burmese Temple had to buy land on the outskirts of Fort Wayne to build a temple large enough for its needs.[36]

Rev. Chon Quang, left, The Most Rev. Thich Van Dam, center, and Sister Hedue, who are all from the Buddhist Monastery and College in Yeagertown, Pennsylvania, shopping. (AP Photo/Carolyn Kaster)

Religious oppression—prejudice and discrimination on the basis of religion—is the third form of racism against Asian American religious adherents. Days after the Pearl Harbor bombing, the FBI arrested Japanese American Shinto, Buddhist, and Christian leaders. Even before mass internment orders, these religious leaders were held as "dangerous alien enemies" without notification to their families.[37] Government and public response to Muslims, Sikhs and Hindus since 9/11 parallel the World War II hysteria against Japanese Americans. Since the tightening of airport security after 9/11, Sikh Americans have clashed with airport security when wearing their religious swords.[38] In at least thirty cases, Sikhs have been arrested for concealing a weapon, even though their religion requires that they carry a Kirpan, a 3- to 6-inch sword. Because of the security officers' ignorance and fear of these religious symbols, Sikhs have had to mobilize to educate the U.S. Department of Homeland Security.

FURTHER READING

Chen, Carolyn. *Getting Saved in America: Taiwanese Immigration and Religious Experience*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008.

Institute for Leadership Development and the Study of Pacific and Asian North American Religion. http://panainstitute.org/.

Institute for the Study of Asian American Christianity. http://isaacweb.org/.

Jeung, Russell. *Faithful Generations: Race and New Asian American Churches.* New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2004.

Joshi, Khyati. *New Roots in America's Sacred Ground: Religion, Race, and Ethnicity in Indian America.* New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2006.

Kim, Rebecca. *God's New Whiz Kids?: Korean American Evangelicals on Campus.* New York: New York University Press, 2006.

Kurien, Prema. *A Place at the Multicultural Table: The Development of an American Hinduism.* New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2007.

L2 Foundation. http://www.l2foundation.org/.

Suh, Sharon. *Being Buddhist in a Christian World: Gender and Community in a Korean American Temple.* Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2004.

NOTES

1. Pei-te Lien and Tony Carnes, "The Religious Demography of Asian American Boundary Crossing," in Tony Carnes and Fenggang Yang, eds., *Asian American Religions: The Making and Remaking of Borders and Boundaries* (New York: New York University Press, 2004), 39.

2. Russell Jeung, *Faithful Generations: Race and New Asian American Churches* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2004).

3. Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life, "U.S. Religious Landscape Survey. Religious Affiliation: Diverse and Dynamic" (Washington, DC: Pew Research Center, 2008). http://religions.pewforum.org/pdf/report-religious-landscape-study-full.pdf.

4. Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life, "U.S. Religious Landscape Survey," 44.

5. Lien and Carnes, "The Religious Demography," 44–50.

6. Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life, "U.S. Religious Landscape Survey," 45.

7. Jane Iwamura, "The Oriental Monk in American Popular Culture," in Bruce Forbes and Jeffrey Mahan, eds., *Religion and Popular Culture in America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).

8. Catherine Albanese, *A Republic of Mind and Spirit: A Cultural History of American Metaphysical Religion* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007).

9. Lien and Carnes, "The Religious Demography," 44–50.

10. Carolyn Chen, *Getting Saved in America: Taiwanese Immigration and Religious Experience* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008).

11. Carolyn Chen and Russell Jeung, "Creating and Sustaining our Communities: Asian American Religious Institutions." in Esther Gyhmn, ed., *Asian American Studies: Identity, Images, and Issues—Past and Present,* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing), 231–254.

12. Social Capital Community Benchmark Survey, 2000, http://www.cfsv.org.

13. Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life, "U.S. Religious Landscape Survey."

14. Anna Sun, "A New Approach to the Classification of Chinese Religions," paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association, New York, NY, Aug. 11, 2007.

15. Elaine Howard Ecklund and Christopher P. Scheitle, "Religion among Academic Scientists: Distinctions, Disciplines, and Demographics," *Social Problems* 54 (2007): 289–307.

16. Sharon Suh, *Being Buddhist in a Christian World: Gender and Community in a Korean American Temple* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2004).

17. Khyati Joshi, *New Roots in America's Sacred Ground* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2006).

18. Nancy Smith Hefner, *Khmer American: Identity and Moral Education* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

19. Kwang Chung Kim and Shin Kim, "Ethnic Roles of Korean Immigrant Churches in the United States," in Ho-Youn Kwan, Kwong Chung Kim, and R. Stephen Warner, eds., *Korean Americans and Their Religions: Pilgrims and Missionaries from a Different Shore* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001).

20. Fenggang Yang, *Chinese Christians in America: Conversion, Assimilation, Adhesive Identities* (College Park: Penn State University Press, 1999).

21. Jeung, *Faithful Generations*.

22. Sheba George, *When Women Come First: Gender and Class in Transnational Migration* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).

23. Pei-te Lien, Margaret Conway, and Janelle Wong, *The Politics of Asian Americans: Diversity and Community* (New York: Routledge, 2004).

24. Chen, *Getting Saved in America*.

25. Kathleen Garces-Foley, *Crossing the Ethnic Divide: The Multiethnic Church on a Mission* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007).

26. Helen Lee, "Silent Exodus: Can the East Asian church in America reverse the flight of its next generation?" *Christianity Today,* 40, no. 9 (1996): 50–53.

27. Rebecca Kim, *God's New Whiz Kids? Korean American Evangelicals on Campus* (New York: New York University Press, 2006); Sharon Kim, "Replanting Sacred Spaces: The Emergence of Second Generation Korean American Churches," in David Yoo and Ruth Chung, eds., *Religion and Spirituality in Korean America* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2008), 151–171.

28. Joshi, *New Roots in America's Sacred Ground.*

29. Jeung, *Faithful Generations: Race and New Asian American Churches.*

30. Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Penguin Classics, 2003).

31. See Diana Eck, *A New Religious America: How a Christian Country has Become the World's Most Religiously Diverse Nation* (New York: HarperOne, 2001).

32. Ron Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore: A History of Asian Americans,* (New York: Penguin Books, 1990).

33. Jenny Strasburg, "Abercrombie and Glitch: Asian Americans Rip Retailer for Stereotypes on T-shirts," San Francisco Chronicle, April 18, 2002, http://www.sfgate.com/cgi-bin/article.cgi?file=/c/a/2002/04/18/MN109646.DTL.

34. San Diego Channel.Com, "Abercrombie & Fitch Asian T-Shirts Trigger Boycott: Shirts Depict Stereotypes of Asians," April 18, 2002, http://www.10news.com/news/1405909/detail.html.

35. Angelo Ancheta, *Race, Rights and the Asian American Experience* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2006), 67.

36. Christopher Maag, "A Growing Buddhist Population Tests the Neighborliness of a City," *New York Times*, April 21, 2007.

37. Brian Hayashi, *Democratizing the Enemy: The Japanese American Internment,* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004).

38. Matthew Artz, "Sikhs Clash with Airport Screeners over Holy Sword," *Oroville Mercury Register,* Nov. 22, 2006.

RESOURCE GUIDE

Suggested Reading

Eng, David L., and Alice Y. Hom, eds. *Q & A: Queer in Asian America*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 1998.

Haiken, Elizabeth. *Venus Envy: The History of Cosmetic Surgery*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997.

Jeung, Russell. *Faithful Generations: Race and New Asian American Churches.* New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2004.

King-O'Riain, Rebecca Chiyoko. *Pure Beauty: Judging Race in Japanese American Beauty Pageants.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006.

Le, C. N. "Assimilation & Ethnic Identity," *Asian-Nation: The Landscape of Asian America*. 2009. http://www.asian-nation.org/assimilation.shtml.

Liu, Eric. *The Accidental Asian: Notes of a Native Speaker*. New York: Vintage Books, 1998.

Min, Pyong G., and Rose Kim, eds. *Struggle for Ethnic Identity: Narratives by Asian American Professionals.* Lanham, MD: Rowman AltaMira Press, 1999.

Okamura, Jonathan. *Ethnicity and Inequality in Hawai'i*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2008.

Purkayastha, Bandana, *Negotiating Ethnicity: Second Generation South Asian Americans Traverse A Transnational World*. Piscataway, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2005.

Root, Maria P. P., and Matt Kelley, eds. *The Multiracial Child Resource Book*. Seattle, WA: Mavin Foundation, 2003. http://www.mavinfoundation.org/projects/resource_book.html.

Shankar, Lavina Dhingra, and Rajini Srikhant, eds. *A Part, Yet Apart: South Asians in Asian America*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1998.

Sueyoshi, Amy, and Russell Leong, eds. *Amerasia Journal*: *The Marriage Equality Debate.* Los Angeles: UCLA Asian American Studies Center Press 32, no. 1: 2006.

Williams-Leon, Teresa and Cynthia L. Nakashima, eds. *The Sum of Our Parts: Mixed-Heritage Asian Americans.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001.

Films

The Grace Lee Project. DVD/VHS/iTunes. Directed by Grace Lee (Women Make Movies, 2005) (68 minutes). http://www.gracelee.net/. Second-generation Korean American filmmaker Grace Lee, born and raised in Columbia, MO, moved out to New York and California and discovered everyone she met knew another Grace Lee. Hearing similar descriptions of women who share her name, Lee sets out to investigate what other Grace Lees are really like. This humorous and poignant documentary examines the intersection of racial and gender identities and stereotypes through voices and lives of different Grace Lees.

Monkey Dance. DVD/VHS. Directed by Julie Mallozzi. (Berkeley Films and Center for Asian American Media. 2004) (65 minutes). http://www.monkey-dance.com. The importance of traditional and modern dance serves as the backdrop in director Julie Mallozzi's documentary of three Cambodian American high school seniors in Lowell, MA. The film portrays the intergenerational relationships and conflicts between the three teenagers and their parents, survivors of Khmer Rouge genocide, and how these second-generation Asian American youth in an urban, working-class city negotiate and make sense of academic, social, and cultural pressures and messages for themselves, families, and communities.

Ping Pong Playa. DVD. Directed by Jessica Yu. (Image Entertainment, 2007). (95 minutes). http://www.pingpongplaya.com/us/index.html. Chinese American Christopher "C-dub" Wang dreams of becoming a pro basketball player while working at a dead-end job, playing video games, testing get-rich quick schemes, and living at home with his parents and in the shadow of his doctor/ping-pong champion older brother. When his mother and brother get into a car accident and are sidelined as ping-pong coach and tournament contender respectively, C-dub must rethink his disdain for the sport and the future of the family legacy. This witty and outrageous comedy both pokes fun at and endearingly portrays C-dub's life and aspirations in immigrant and multicultural suburbia.

Organizations

API Pride. http://www.apifamilypride.org/. Based in northern California, seeks to recognize and support Asian and Pacific Islander families with lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender members. The Web site provides links to recent articles, resources, and other organizations.

Association of Multiethnic Americans. http://www.ameasite.org/about.asp. International alliance of groups that educate and advocate on behalf of multiethnic, multiracial, and transnationally adopted individuals, identities, and families.

Institute for Leadership Development and the Study of Pacific and Asian North American Religion. http://panainstitute.org/. Ecumenical and inter-faith organization affiliated with the Pacific School of Religion. Its programs and activities seek to foster leadership development, intellectual discourse, and discourse on social issues for faith and scholarly communities.

MAVIN Foundation. http://www.mavinfoundation.org/. Based in Seattle, WA, the MAVIN Foundation is a nonprofit organization whose projects explore and raise awareness about the experiences of mixed heritage people and families.

Web Sites

APAIT (Asian Pacific AIDS Intervention Team). http://www.apaitonline.org/. Organization that supports API, particular those living with and/or at risk for HIV/AIDS, based in southern California.

Asian & Pacific Islander Pride of Chicago. http://chicagoi2i.homestead.com/. Organization that provides a community space for Asian/Pacific Islanders who identify as Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Questioning or Queer in the Chicago area.

Asian-Nation: The Landscape of Asian America. http://www.asian-nation.org/index.shtml. C. N. Le, a professor of Sociology and Asian American Studies, writes, blogs, and provides links to articles for a general audience. Provides information, overviews, and commentaries on historical, demographic, political, and social issues related to Asian American communities and population.

Institute for the Study of Asian American Christianity. http://isaacweb.org/. Founded by theological educators and pastors, it connects Asian Pacific North American (APNA) Christians to the church, academy, and public life in mainstream North America and the world through research, resource/curriculum development, and building professional/social networks.

L2 Foundation. http://www.l2foundation.org/. Provides support and resources in order to develop the leadership and legacy of innovative and progressive Asian Americans who serve in ministries and other professional fields.

Mixed Asians. http://www.mixedasians.com/. This on-line community provides a place for people of mixed Asian and Pacific Islander discuss, post, and share information on racial and ethnic diversities, and in particular, the blurring of racial groups and affiliations as rigid social categories.

Okamura, Jonathan Y. http://www2.hawaii.edu/~okamuraj/. Provides access to Okamura's publications on race, ethnicity, popular culture, identities, and communities in Hawai'i.

TRIKONE. http://www.trikone.org/index.shtml. Founded in 1986, Trikone supports, empowers, and promotes awareness and visibility of LGBT people of South Asian descent who can trace their ancestry to the following places: Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Myanmar (Burma), Nepal, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, and Tibet.

This page intentionally left blank

Encyclopedia of
Asian American Issues Today

This page intentionally left blank

Encyclopedia of Asian American Issues Today

VOLUME 2

Edith Wen-Chu Chen and
Grace J. Yoo,
Editors

GREENWOOD PRESS
An Imprint of ABC-CLIO, LLC

Santa Barbara, California • Denver, Colorado • Oxford, England

Copyright 2010 by Edith Wen-Chu Chen and Grace J. Yoo

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise, except for the inclusion of brief quotations in a review, without prior permission in writing from the publisher.

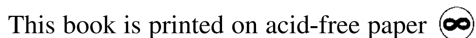
Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Encyclopedia of Asian American issues today / Edith Wen-Chu Chen, Grace J. Yoo, editors.
v. cm.
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 978-0-313-34749-8 (set : alk. paper) — ISBN 978-0-313-34751-1 (v. 1 : alk. paper) — ISBN 978-0-313-34753-5 (v. 2 : alk. paper) — ISBN 978-0-313-34750-4 (set ebook) — ISBN 978-0-313-34752-8 (v. 1 ebook) — ISBN 978-0-313-34754-2 (v. 2 ebook)
1. Asian Americans—Encyclopedias. 2. Asian Americans—Social conditions—Encyclopedias. I. Chen, Edith Wen-Chu, 1966- II. Yoo, Grace J.
E184.A75E53 2009
305.895'073—dc22 2009046475

14 13 12 11 10 1 2 3 4 5

This book is also available on the World Wide Web as an eBook.
Visit www.abc-clio.com for details.

ABC-CLIO, LLC
130 Cremona Drive, P.O. Box 1911
Santa Barbara, California 93116-1911



This book is printed on acid-free paper
Manufactured in the United States of America

In honor of our parents,
Flora Huang Chung-Hsia and Mo-Shing Chen
and
Wendy Wangsook and Frank Sungkung Yoo

This page intentionally left blank

Contents

Preface *xv*

Introduction *xvii*

Volume 1

Section 1: Diversity and Demographics
Section Editors: Edith Wen-Chu Chen and Kimiko Kelly 1

Demographic Overview: Diverse, Growing, and Ever-Changing 3
Kimiko Kelly
Sidebar: Asian Americans by the Numbers 6
Sidebar: Census Data Accuracy 13
Chinese Americans 15
Peter Kwong and Edith Wen-Chu Chen
Sidebar: Notable Chinese Americans 21
Filipino Americans 25
Allan Aquino
Sidebar: Notable Filipino Americans 30
Japanese Americans 33
Brian Niiya
Sidebar: Notable Japanese Americans 38
Korean Americans 41
Edward Taehan Chang and Barbara W. Kim
Sidebar: Notable Korean Americans 47
South Asian Americans 51
Bandana Purkayastha and Ranita Ray
Sidebar: Notable South Asian Americans 60
Southeast Asian Americans 65
Khatharya Um
Sidebar: Notable Southeast Asian Americans 77

Thai Americans 81
R. Varisa Patraporn
Sidebar: Notable Thai Americans 86

Section 2: Economy and Work
Section Editor: Don Mar 89

Overview of Economic Issues 91
Don Mar
Accent Discrimination 99
Daniel Phil Gonzales
Glass Ceiling 107
Marlene Kim
Globalization 111
Andrew Hom
H-1B Visas 117
Jayanti Mallick
Housing 123
Mike Chan
Impact of Asian Immigrants on the U.S. Economy 131
Don Mar
Labor Unions 135
Kim Geron
Sidebar: Organizing Immigrant Taxi Drivers 138
Nadia Islam
Low-Income Workers 143
Ambrose H. Lee
Poverty 149
Jocyl Sacramento and Aristel de la Cruz
Small Businesses 157
Don Mar
Sidebar: Contributing in Big Ways 159
Grace J. Yoo
Resource Guide 162

Section 3: Education
Section Editors: Shirley Hune and Julie J. Park 167

Educational Trends and Issues 169
Shirley Hune and Julie J. Park
Affirmative Action 181
Julie J. Park
Asian American Studies 185
Sophia Lai
Bilingual Education 191
Hyeyoung Kwon and Eunai Shrake

College Campus Climate 201
Julie J. Park
Sidebar: Pipeline for Asian American Faculty and Higher Education Administrators 204
Shirley Hune
Community College Students 207
Jonathan W. Lew and Winnie W. Wang
Cram Schools 211
Eunai Shrake
Freedom Schools 217
Glenn Omatsu
Model Minority Myth 221
Hyeyoung Kwon and Wayne Au
Sidebar: Filipino American Youth and Students 226
Allyson Tintiangco-Cubales
Parental Pressure and Expectations 231
Hyeyoung Kwon
Retention of College Students 237
Tracy Lachica Buenavista
Standardized Testing 245
Wayne Au
Student Groups 249
Tracy Lachica Buenavista and Dimpal Jain
Undocumented Immigrant Students 253
Tracy Lachica Buenavista and Tam Tran
Resource Guide 258

Section 4: Health
Section Editors: Ranjita Misra, Simona C. Kwon, and Grace J. Yoo 261

Overview of Health: Understanding Wellness and Disease 263
Ranjita Misra, Simona C. Kwon, and Grace J. Yoo
Sidebar: Bringing Needed Health Research and Advocacy to Asian American Communities 273
Simona C. Kwon
Cancer 277
Mai-Nhung Le, Jennifer Garcia, Mavis Nitta, and Roxanna Bautista
Sidebar: From Cancer Patient to Asian American Cancer Advocate/Activist 282
Grace J. Yoo
Cardiovascular Health 289
Candice Chin Wong and Jyu-Lin Chen
Complementary and Alternative Medicine 301
Laureen D. Hom and Simona C. Kwon
Diabetes 307
Ranjita Misra and Joan Jeung

End of Life 317
Jennifer Nazareno
Gambling 323
Timothy Fong
Health Care Access 329
Grace J. Yoo, Joan Jeung, and Ivy Wong
Infectious Diseases 337
Kejia Wan, Yu Wan, and Henry Pollack
Mental Health 345
Grace Michele V. Alba, Mabel Lam, and Alvin Alvarez
Sexual Health 357
Chwee-Lye Chng
Substance Abuse 367
Mary S. Lee and David K. Mineta
Suicide 373
Eliza Noh
Tobacco Use 387
Kan Man Kenny Kwong
Resource Guide 394

Section 5: Identity
Section Editors: Barbara W. Kim and Edith Wen-Chu Chen 397

Psychological Approaches to Understanding Asian American Identity 399
Sharon G. Goto and Jennifer S. Abe
Sidebar: "To P or Not to P?": Identifying P/Filipino Americans 404
Allan Aquino
Sidebar: Generation and Identity 409
Barbara W. Kim
Asian American Identities in Hawai'i 413
Jonathan Y. Okamura
Beauty Pageants 421
Rebecca Chiyoko King-O'Riain
Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer Identity 425
Margaret Rhee
Multiracial Asian and Pacific Islanders 437
Anh-Luu T. Huynh-Hohnbaum
Sidebar: Multiracial Asian Americans at a Glance 438
Kimiko Kelly
Pan-South Asian Identity 445
R. Benedito Ferrao
Racial Features and Cosmetic Surgery 451
Joanne L. Rondilla
Religious Identity and Marginalization 457
Russell Jeung
Resource Guide 465

Volume 2

Section 6: Immigration, Refugees, and Citizenship
Section Editor: Bill Ong Hing 469
Overview: Examining Key Issues 471
Bill Ong Hing
Citizenship and Naturalization Rates 483
Kyung Jin Lee
Detention and Deportation 491
Bo Han Yang, Angie Junck, and Sin Yen Ling
Sidebar: From Fleeing Persecution to Life on the Streets 494
Bill Ong Hing
Family Immigration 503
Joren Lyons
Sidebar: Victims of the Backlog 506
Bill Ong Hing
Human Trafficking 511
Pahole Yotin Sookkasikon
Public Benefits 519
Jonathan Blazer and Tanya Broder
South Asians in a Post–September 11th Environment 527
Deepa Iyer
Southeast Asian Refugees 535
Helly Lee, Catherina Nou, Naomi Steinberg, and Doua Thor
Undocumented Immigrants 541
Rodolfo-Jose Blanco Quiambao
Women Immigrants 547
Eun Sook Lee
Resource Guide 556

Section 7: Law
Section Editor: Angelo Ancheta 559
Legal Issues, Past and Present 561
Angelo Ancheta
Affirmative Action 573
Angelo Ancheta
Civil Rights and Community Legal Advocacy 579
Angelo Ancheta
Sidebar: Lawyers, Judges, and Law Students 582
Angelo Ancheta
Cultural Defense 585
Angelo Ancheta
Domestic Violence and Immigrant Women 591
Angelo Ancheta
Homeland Security and Racism 597
Peter Chua

Language Rights and Language Discrimination 603
Angelo Ancheta
Prisoners 609
Angela E. Oh and Karen Umemoto
Racial Violence and Hate Crimes 619
Angelo Ancheta
Sidebar: The Murder of Cha Vang: A Hate Crime? 620
Daniel Phil Gonzales
Sidebar: Racial Profiling 627
Mitchel Wu
Resource Guide 630

Section 8: Media
Section Editors: Valerie Soe, Allan Aquino, and Edith Wen-Chu Chen 633

Portrayals in Film and Television 635
Timothy P. Fong, Valerie Soe, and Allan Aquino
Sidebar: Who is Harlemm Lee? 640
Timothy P. Fong and Allan Aquino
Directors in Hollywood 651
Valerie Soe
Sidebar: Mira Nair 654
Valerie Soe
Independent Film 657
Valerie Soe
News Coverage 663
Paul Niwa
Sidebar: Hurricane Katrina News Coverage 664
Paul Niwa
Sidebar: Ethnic Press 668
Paul Niwa
Popular Music 673
Allan Aquino
Rappers and "Turntablists" 677
Allan Aquino
Resource Guide 679

Section 9: Politics
Section Editor: Andrew L. Aoki 683

Voting Behavior and Political Participation 685
James S. Lai
Asian American Movement 703
Diane C. Fujino

Coalition Politics 707
Andrew L. Aoki
"Donorgate" and Wen Ho Lee 713
Michael Chang
Naturalization and Voting 717
Don T. Nakanishi
Sidebar: 2008 Presidential Election 721
Christine Chen
Racial Attitudes in the Twenty-First Century 725
Natalie Masuoka
Women's Activism and Politics 733
Diane C. Fujino and Chrissy Lau
Resource Guide 741

Section 10: War
Section Editors: Wei Ming Dariotis and Wesley Ueunten 745

Overview of War and Its Effects: Past and Present Issues Unresolved 747
Wei Ming Dariotis and Wesley Ueunten
Sidebar: On the Bases: U.S. Military Occupation and the Future 756
Wei Ming Dariotis and Wesley Ueunten
Comfort Women 759
Annie Fukushima
Sidebar: Bringing Public Recognition to War and Asian Americans: Mike Honda 764
Wei Ming Dariotis and Wesley Ueunten
Continuing Impact of Genocide on Cambodian Americans 771
Cathy J. Schlund-Vials
Continuing Impact of the Korean War on Korean Americans 781
Raina Han
Filipino World War II Veterans 795
Ben de Guzman
Hmong and Lao American Vietnam Veterans 803
Davorn Sisavath
The Iraq War 809
Wei Ming Dariotis, Wesley Ueunten, and Kathy Masaoka
Japanese Latin American Redress for World War II Internment 815
Grace Shimizu and Wesley Ueunten
Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder in Refugees and War Veterans 821
Meekyung Han and Julian Chun-Chung Chow
Post–Vietnam War Tensions in the Vietnamese American Community 829
C. N. Le
Resource Guide 835

Section 11: Youth, Family, and the Aged
Section Editors: Alan Y. Oda and Grace J. Yoo 839

Overview: Understanding Generations 841
Alan Y. Oda and Grace J. Yoo
Sidebar: Increases in the Divorce Rate 850
Alan Y. Oda
At-Risk Youth 857
Roderick Daus-Magbual and Jonell Molina
Children as Language and Cultural Brokers 865
Nina H. Wu and Su Yeong Kim
Disabilities within Families 873
Rooshey Hasnain
Elderly Poor 881
Barbara W. Kim
Family Violence 889
Hee Yun Lee
Filial Piety and Caregiving 901
Grace J. Yoo and Barbara W. Kim
Sidebar: Taking Care of Elders 905
Grace J. Yoo
Intergenerational Relations 909
Linda P. Juang
Interracial and Interethnic Dating and Marriage 919
Sachiko K. Wood
LGBTIQ People Coming Out 927
Anneliese A. Singh
Same-Sex Marriages 935
Raymond San Diego and Margaret Rhee
Transnational Families 943
Yeon-Shim Lee and Melissa-Ann Nievera
Transracial Adoption 953
Mia H. Tuan, Elizabeth S. Rienzi, and Jiannbin Lee Shiao
Resource Guide 960

Index 963

About the Editors and Contributors 997

Section 6:

IMMIGRATION, REFUGEES, AND CITIZENSHIP

Section Editor: Bill Ong Hing

This page intentionally left blank

OVERVIEW: EXAMINING KEY ISSUES

Bill Ong Hing

Immigration and refugee policies have shaped Asian American communities since the 1800s. Asian immigrants were always welcomed in some quarters, but they were vilified by many detractors. Long before the Page Law of 1875, when Chinese women were excluded under the pretext that they were prostitutes, or the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, local ordinances and state laws sought to regulate immigration outright or discourage Asian immigrants from settling for long, even as they were recruited by some employers. The tension between welcome and exclusion has left its imprint on every Asian American community in the United States.

Key aspects of the Asian American profile are attributable to immigration and refugee policies. How the Asian American population is distributed across the country, gender ratios, educational achievement, income, and political views can all be linked to these policies. Chinese American and Filipino American populations are the largest subgroups because of family immigration policies. The existence of Hmong, Cambodian, and Vietnamese communities, who relied on public assistance upon arrival, is attributable to refugee policies. Within Asian American communities, except for Japanese Americans, most people are foreign-born. That means that immigration and refugee selection criteria affect the continuing development of Asian America.

Asian America today is not simply a West Coast story or even a West Coast–East Coast bifurcated phenomenon. The story of Asian America, which is very much a story about immigration policy, includes the story of Vietnamese American victims of Hurricane Katrina; Hmong vendors at farmers markets in

Minnesota and Wisconsin, Indian entrepreneurs in Louisville, KY, Korean store owners in Denver, CO, and youth violence and gangs in many locations. Compared with the pre-1965 era, the relative generosity of U.S. immigration policies makes the Asian America story more diverse and more complex.

Today, the range of immigration-related issues faced by Asian Americans is vast. A sampling provides a taste for the many ways that immigrant and immigration policies affect Asian America. Immigration and refugee policies explain much about Asian America. This section features essays on some of the most important aspects of Asian America that are related to these policies that have affected Asian Americans in the last decade. They include descriptions and commentary on family immigration, naturalization, integration, Asian American women, the effects of 9/11, deportation, undocumented immigration, public benefits, human trafficking, and Southeast Asian refugees.

THE POST-9/11 ERA

September 11, 2001, marked a major turning point in U.S. immigration policies. Like 1882, 1917, 1924, and 1965, "9/11" represents the beginning of an era that has affected Asian Americans in important ways. Not long after the tragic terrorist attacks, immigration and deportation enforcement strategies were stepped up, the USA PATRIOT Act was enacted, and discussions of progressive immigration reforms were placed on the back burner. Harsh immigration laws were enacted in 1996, but it took the tragedy of 9/11 to fuel the enforcement of these laws and policies in a manner that began to include Asian Americans in the target—often in the name of combating terrorism.

Profiling and Hate Crimes

Perhaps the failure of the use of immigration policies to catch terrorists is best illustrated by the results of the special registration program. The call-in program required male noncitizens from twenty-five mostly Arab and Muslim countries to register with immigration authorities between November 2002 and April 2003. In addition to nationals of North Korea and the Middle East, the domestic call-in registration program included those from Pakistan, Indonesia, and Bangladesh. About eighty-three thousand men came forward, and nearly thirteen thousand were placed in deportation proceedings. Many (the actual number is unknown) were, in fact, deported for minor immigration violations, but no one was charged with crimes related to terrorism.

These officially sanctioned efforts have provided the impetus for many private citizens to commit hate crimes against those who they think do not meet the racial profile of a true American. Within hours of the terrorist attacks, Americans of Muslim, Middle Eastern, and South Asian descent found themselves targets for acts of hate and racial profiling. In Huntington, NY, a seventy-five-year-old man tried to run over a Pakistani woman in the parking lot of a shopping mall. He then followed the woman into the store and threatened to kill her for "destroying my country." Near San Diego, a Sikh woman was attacked by a knife-wielding man, shouting, "This is what you get for what you've done

to us." Another Sikh, a truck driver in the Phoenix area, was shot by two young men who were driving by, yelling, "Go back to where you belong." These are the acts of vigilante racists who are emboldened by the government's own marginalization of these victims through profiling.

After 9/11, hate crimes against Muslims soared, rising more than 1,500 percent. Discrimination in the workplace climbed as well. So overwhelming was the number of complaints that the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, which monitors job discrimination, created a new category to track acts of discrimination against Middle Eastern, Muslim, and South Asian workers after 9/11.

Deportation

Kim Ho Ma was a happy man on July 9, 1999. After more than two years in state prison and several more months in the custody of immigration authorities, Kim Ho was released by court order. In his own words, "I can work. I pay the taxes. I just want to live the American life."[1] Within three years, however, the United States would deport Kim Ho to a country he had left at the age of two, where he would be unable to speak the language and be ill-equipped for a completely foreign environment.

Kim Ho was born in Cambodia in 1977, in the midst of the Khmer Rouge regime's sinister oppression and genocide. Kim Ho's mother, eight months pregnant, was sentenced to dig holes in one of Pol Pot's work camps. The idea was to teach her humility, and when she collapsed from exhaustion, she expected to be killed. Instead, the guards walked away. When Kim Ho was two, his mother carried him through minefields, fleeing the oppression of the Khmer Rouge, first to refugee camps in Thailand and the Philippines, and eventually to the United States at the age of seven.

Kim Ho's first home in America was a housing project in Seattle, where he and other Cambodian refugees had the misfortune of being resettled in the middle of a new war—one between black and Latino gangs. Both sides taunted Kim Ho and his friends, beating them up for fun. His mother, still affected by the trauma she experienced in Cambodia and preoccupied with two minimum wage jobs, did not understand what was happening to her son. Determined that they would not be pushed around, Kim Ho and his friends formed their own gang.

In 1995, at age seventeen, Kim Ho and two friends ambushed a member of a rival gang; Kim Ho was convicted of first-degree manslaughter. With no previous criminal record, Kim Ho was sentenced to thirty-eight months imprisonment. Earning time off for good behavior, Kim Ho served twenty-six months and was released into the custody of immigration officials.

His conviction for an "aggravated felony" led to a removal (or deportation) order. Upon entry of a final order of deportation, the Immigration and Nationality Act directs the Attorney General to deport the individual from the United States within ninety days. The Immigration and Naturalization Service ("INS") could not effectuate Kim Ho's deportation to Cambodia within the ninety-day removal period, however, because the United States and Cambodia did not have a repatriation agreement. The ninety-day removal period expired in early 1999,

but the INS continued to keep Kim Ho in custody. The INS's rationale was that, in light of his former gang membership, the nature of his crime, and his planned participation in a prison hunger strike, it was unable to conclude that Kim Ho would remain nonviolent.

Kim Ho challenged the custody order in federal court, and eventually he was released. The lower courts and the Supreme Court ruled that there was no realistic chance that Cambodia, which had no repatriation treaty with the United States at the time, would accept Kim Ho. The law did not permit indefinite detention. The Supreme Court stated that preventive detention should be limited to especially dangerous individuals, and Kim Ho was not such a person.

That all changed when the Cambodian government signed a repatriation memorandum of understanding in March 2002 to facilitate the return of removable Cambodian refugees. Kim Ho was among the first deported on October 2, 2002. The deportation of other Cambodians have followed—most of whom entered the United States as infants and toddlers—and approximately 1,500 other Cambodians await deportation. In 2008, a similar repatriation agreement was signed between Vietnam and the United States, opening the door to the deportation of Vietnamese Americans who have been convicted of aggravated felonies, even though they, too, may have grown up in the United States after entering at a young age.

CRIMINALITY

The deportation of Cambodians and other Asian noncitizens who are products of U.S. society demonstrates the challenges that young immigrants and their newcomer parents have in their new environment. While most appear to do fine, many others are caught in the middle of the tensions between their own culture and tradition and that of their new home. For many, their environment is overwhelming and can lead to violence and crime. Consider the path of Duc Ta, a young man whose parents entered as refugees from Vietnam and settled in Los Angeles.

As Duc grew up, he often got into fights at school or at the park. Other children would taunt him for wearing the same clothes nearly every day and for his breath smelling like onions. At first, he did not fight back. He would just run or curl up on the ground as he was getting pummeled. When he arrived home with bruises, his father would punish Duc for fighting at school, and the father would beat him. Eventually, Duc got tired of the daily beatings from the other kids and from his own father. He thought to myself, "I'm gonna get beat by my father anyways, might as well fight these kids." He fought nearly every day after that until he was expelled in the fourth grade.

After that, Duc's parents would not let him attend any neighborhood schools. The streets were always full of drug dealers, gangsters, and hookers. So his parents signed him up for elementary school in San Fernando Valley. Duc rode the school bus every day more than an hour each way. The school was predominantly white and middle class. The first day there he was quickly labeled the "poor kid."

He was teased and called names. Kids would stretch their eyes and mock the way he talked. It did not take long for his first fight at the new school. Duc had no sense of belonging at that school; his grades were low and he was suspended several times.

Duc's father would beat him endlessly for getting into fights. His mother would stand on the side cheering on. All the while, Duc would try and run away from his father, screaming and pleading for him to stop. Duc would try to explain that the fights were not his fault, that others would initiate the conflicts. That never worked, and the beatings continued. Duc would close the bedroom door, lock it, and look at himself in the mirror. Teary-eyed with a body covered with bruises, he would ask God why he was in such a family. His father would tell him to open the door to let him in. The father would tell Duc that he beat him because he loved him.

The years went by and things got worse. Duc got kicked out of school after school after school. He flunked eighth grade and ended up in an alternative school. There was racial tension between the Asians and the Latinos; the Asians hung out together watching each others' backs. They hung out in school and eventually gave each other rides home to avoid getting shot or stabbed.

One day, just like any other day, Duc drove to his friend's home; Duc was not in a gang, but his friends were. While driving, they saw two guys from another gang, and they decided to pull up to fight them. But, when they pulled up, Duc heard four or five shots coming from his car. Everything happened quickly, in a blink of an eye, they were all in handcuffs sitting on the sidewalk. No one was injured.

Even though they were only 16 years old, Duc and his friends were charged as adults with first-degree attempted murder and personal use of a firearm with a gang enhancement. Even though Duc did not fire the shots and was not a gang member, they all received the same sentence: 35 years to life.

TRAFFICKING

One of the ugly sides of immigration law relates to the human trafficking of immigrants to the United States through smuggling and other methods of circumventing immigration restrictions. Attracted by promises of high-paying jobs, the victims often pay exorbitant down payments and agree to additional fees, only to find themselves trapped in slave-like conditions in low-wage jobs from which they are unable to extract themselves. Trafficking situations are about coercion, force, fraud and exploitation for money. These forced situations can involve labor or sexual exploitation and may include debt bondage, forced labor or slavery. Victims have been found in low-wage industries but also in the commercial sex industry and even in private homes.

Seventy-one Thai garment workers at a sweatshop in a suburb of Los Angeles, CA. They were discovered in August 1995. They had been held in a two-story apartment complex with seven units, where they were forced to work, live, eat, and sleep for seven years. A ring of razor wire and iron inward-pointing spikes

surrounded the complex to ensure that workers would not escape. The workers, sixty-seven of whom were women, lived under the constant threat of harm to themselves and their families. They were told that if they tried to resist or escape, their homes in Thailand would be burned, their families murdered, and they would be beaten. As proof, the captors caught a worker trying to escape, beat him, and took of picture of his bruised and battered body to show the other workers. They also were told that if they reported what was happening to anyone, they would be sent to immigration authorities for deportation. The workers were not permitted to make unmonitored phone calls or write or receive uncensored letters. Armed guards imposed discipline.

Although eighteen-hour days were the norm, sometimes the workday was longer depending on how quickly the manufacturers and retailers wanted their orders. Sleep arrangements were on the floor, with up to ten people in a room, and often infested with rats and cockroaches. Because of the poor housing and work conditions, workers became ill with respiratory illnesses and eye problems, and the lack of proper medical attention often resulted in untreated dental conditions and even cancerous growths.

After the situation was exposed to police and immigration authorities, the workers were taken into immigration custody. With the aid of community lawyers, eventually the workers were released, and most were allowed to remain in the country as they pursued legal remedies against their captors. In the process, their plight helped to transform California law to enable recovery for past wages and to amend immigration laws to allow certain victims of trafficking to be issued special visas.

Incidents of human trafficking are on the increase. Estimates on the scope and magnitude of modern-day slavery cover a wide range. Worldwide, there are more than 12 million people in forced labor, bonded labor, forced child labor, and sexual servitude. The majority of these trafficked victims are women, girls, and minors. Trafficked women are often promised a better life, including work opportunities, marital prospects, and even educational opportunities. Women are promised work as babysitters, housekeepers, waitresses or models—but most often they end up sent into commercial sexual exploitation.[2] Fraudulent recruiters, employers, and corrupt officials seek to reap unlawful profits through those trafficked.

WELFARE REFORM

In its final incarnation, the "welfare reform" bill enacted in the summer of 1996 was as much or more about immigrant policy reform and budget savings as it was about improving the welfare system. Almost half of the money saved as a result of the 1996 Personal Responsibility Act came out of the pockets of immigrants. Congress' stated purpose in barring immigrants from receipt of federal and state benefits was to encourage self-sufficiency and to remove incentives for legal and undocumented migration to the United States. The structure of the bill and the resulting political fallout revealed, however, that a fundamental reason for the legislative choice was economic: eliminating cover-

age for immigrants saved an estimated $23.7 billion over the first six years, and constituted 44 percent of the total $53.4 billion savings package.

Policy reform involving immigrants and welfare was in large measure a battle waged through popular images. The image advanced by anti-immigrant forces, particularly with regard to the Asian American community, was of the wealthy immigrant professional who rips off the welfare system on behalf of his or her foreign-born parents. Advocacy groups countered with an image of a despondent, elderly legal immigrant contemplating suicide at the prospect of losing his or her benefits.

Accounts of purported immigrant welfare abuse carried the day in the summer of 1996. Such images gave Congress, frustrated by delays in the reform of immigration, a politically convenient way to target immigrants in welfare policy. Even while signing the welfare reform bill, however, President Bill Clinton acknowledged its disproportionate impact on immigrants. Within a year, Congress partially relented, agreeing to restore most benefits to needy refugees and immigrants. By that time, Congress had been heavily lobbied with a different set of images: suicides, sympathetic refugees, and elderly immigrants who had not abused the system. But for future immigrants, the message remained clear: the familiar, poetic inscription upon the Statue of Liberty—"Give us your poor, your tired, your huddled masses"—cannot be taken as the invitation it appears to be.

By eliminating a federal commitment to provide even a minimal level of assistance to America's poorest, the 1996 legislation carried harsh consequences for a range of economically vulnerable individuals and families. Since the act specifically targeted immigrants for major cuts, its effects were felt quickly and severely by noncitizen immigrants in economic need. In the wake of the 1996 Act, many legal immigrants began the process of naturalization because citizens would still be eligible for benefits. Some who failed or who were not eligible for naturalization had access to local cash assistance programs, such as General Assistance. Others who were frightened by the prospect of losing benefits committed or contemplated committing suicide.

The Personal Responsibility Act makes legal immigrants ineligible to receive a number of federally funded public benefits. It similarly authorizes state and local governments to deny locally funded benefits to legal immigrants, transgressing the long-held constitutional requirement that states treat citizens and legal immigrants alike in terms of public benefits eligibility.

By August 5, 1997, a year after the passage of the welfare reform legislation, the Clinton administration and congressional leaders compromised and restored most disability benefits to immigrants who were in the country and covered before the initial legislation. Restrictions on most programs, however, were retained. Even after the second wave of reform, counties and states were still confronted by major cost increases.

Public discourse ignores the fact that a significant portion of welfare dispensed to immigrants actually benefits refugees. In fact, if the class of "immigrants" is defined so as to exclude people from certain refugee-originating countries, the

evidence indicates that, nationwide, use of all public programs (e.g., low-income assistance, social insurance, education, and health services) or services (e.g., fire and police protection) by immigrants does not impose any unusual fiscal burden.

Refugees have strong equitable claims to welfare receipt, which justifies excluding them from calculations of immigrant welfare use. The higher rate of welfare use among refugees is understandable because they are fleeing persecution and have fewer economic or family ties in the United States than other immigrants. As a matter of refugee policy, under the Immigration and Nationality Act, the United States admits migrant refugees only after they have established that they have a "well-founded fear of persecution on account of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion." In the last two decades, most refugees who were granted admission have fled persecution from Southeast Asia, Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, and the Middle East. The injustices that they and their families have suffered have left them tormented by the scars of war, violence, torture, and economic oppression. They generally have been able to flee their homes with little more than the clothes on their backs. Given a national policy of admitting individuals so in need of shelter, it is irrational to assume that they will never need welfare, even for transitional purposes.

In fact, statistics for the second generation of refugees specifically demonstrate that refugee welfare use is transitional rather than permanent. A telling sign of what use refugees who seek welfare make of their assistance is the minuscule welfare rate among their offspring who have reached adulthood. Thus, although refugee parents and families may have used welfare at some point, that use was transitional and a cycle of dependency was not established. More specifically, second-generation Asian Pacific Americans, including refugees, are one-third as likely to use welfare as first-generation immigrants. The rate of welfare use for second-generation Asian families is less than half that for all white American families. All second-generation Asian Pacific Americans have a low Supplemental Security Income participation rate of 1.5 percent compared with 10.5 percent for all Asian Pacific Americans and 3.3 percent for all white Americans.[3]

INTEGRATION AND REFUGEE IDENTITY

Asian newcomers to the United States face the challenge that most immigrants face: how to become integrated into a society that is vastly different from where they came. The response to this challenge varies from group to group. The responses by Asian newcomers, such as young members of the Hmong and Iu Mien communities, are unique.

Shortly after the U.S. military withdrawal from the Vietnam War in April 1975, Iu Mien and Hmong refugees began arriving in the United States. For those individuals and families, the challenge to their traditions of cultural retention appears impossible to withstand. Many of the children of these refugee groups—some born in Laos or in Thai refugee camps, others born in

the United States—are now young adults facing questions of cultural identity that have challenged the children of immigrants and refugees before them.

The Americanization experience for the children of Iu Mien and Hmong refugees is unique. Certainly their experience bears some resemblance to the experience of other immigrants and refugees. After all, other refugees and immigrants have resettled in a variety of settings and enclaves that can be hostile or friendly; however, the Iu Mien and Hmong were part of a Southeast Asian refugee program that presented the largest numerical challenge that the U.S. government ever faced, and officials responded with special resettlement policies. The Iu Mien and Hmong refugee communities are relatively small in size, and they do not have a geo-political "homeland" nation the way that other immigrants, and even Vietnamese, Cambodian, and Laotians, might claim. Other refugees may find it logistically difficult to travel to homelands to renew cultural awareness, but Iu Mien and Hmong refugees face an even bigger hurdle without a country that was ever their own. And unlike other Asian immigrant groups such as Chinese, Filipinos, Indians, and Koreans, who have significant numbers of new immigrant members each year fueling those communities culturally, relatively few Iu Mien and Hmong refugees enter the United States each year. Thus, the cultural identity formation process for Iu Mien and Hmong children is likely quite different from the process the children of the larger Asian American groups go through.

Much can be learned from the process of listening to the voices of those affected by refugee policies. Because few new Hmong and Iu Mien refugees enter each year, questions of intergenerational tension, identity, and cultural and language retention that arise in every group of new Americans are particularly acute in these two communities. Government policies have laid the foundation for environmental effects on their Americanization, but their voices show that Iu Mien and Hmong young adults are active participants in the development of their cultural identities. They are exercising choices affected by the policies that brought them to this country, the cultural identities of their parents, pop culture, interaction with other Asian Americans, the attitudes of other Americans, and a range of other factors.

These two ethnic groups from the mountains of Laos—the Hmong and the Iu Mien—originated from China. The Hmong are better known in the United States. Unlike most new Americans, Hmong refugees are involuntary migrants. The Hmong left China in the nineteenth century to "resist assimilation," and they fled to the United States for the same reason. They came not only to save their lives but also to save their Hmong ethnicity. They wanted to be "left alone to be Hmong," to be self-sufficient, and to grow their own crops. Some carried farming tools with them upon arrival.

Everywhere the Iu Mien have migrated, they have been a minority. This has been true in China, Vietnam, Laos, Thailand, and Burma. They are a small group that has preserved its ethnicity relative to the dominant Chinese, Vietnamese, Lao, Shan (in Burma), Thai, and French. In some respects, this position relative to larger and more organized groups seems to be, by definition, part of Mien

ethnicity. Throughout the Iu Mien cultural history, revolt has been common. Despite the inclination to revolution, there are few reported attempts of political organization by the Iu Mien. These attempts were primarily reliant on the coercive powers of a Mien patron and not founded on any incipient form of Mien state structure. In essence, the Mien have been a colonized people for some 2,000 years. While this status has certainly not been without bloodshed, the Iu Mien mostly have dealt with their subordinate position through a combined process of selective assimilation and political manipulation within the context of patron-client relationships.

Like refugees who have entered before, Iu Mien and Hmong refugees who entered the United States as adults face some very serious cultural and social adjustment challenges. Uprooted by war and devastation, they have resettled in societies that are completely foreign. The languages and customs they encountered on arrival could not have been more different. They were unfamiliar with modern conveniences like refrigerators, stoves, and even toilets. The assimilation process for many of the adults has been very slow. And given the history of how the Hmong and Iu Mien were recruited to fight for the United States during the Vietnam War, how they fought heroically for the cause, and how promises of protection were made to them, a case can be made that they should be allowed to live in the United States in peace, free from overbearing pressure to assimilate.

The assimilation story for the Iu Mien and Hmong children is different. The 1.5 generation (born abroad, but entering as children) and second generation are caught between their parents' generation and the world outside their homes. This results in a tension-filled dynamic over identity and culture. In college, they react in a variety of ways to this tension; the formation of their cultural identity does not necessarily fit within standard visions of assimilation.

The cultural identity being developed by Iu Mien and Hmong young adults is based on their experience as the children of refugees, most of whom were on public assistance. They may identify with other Asian Americans with whom they interact, but without that interaction race alone may not be a sufficient marker to bridge a common identity with Chinese, Japanese, and Koreans. Real and perceived class differences with Chinese, Japanese, and Koreans may compel Iu Mien and Hmong children to see commonalities with African Americans and perhaps other low-income groups. Of course they are aware of the subordination that their own communities face racially and classwise in the United States, but they may not see themselves in the same boat as other Asians, especially those driving the model minority image.

In the process of cultural identity formation, some Iu Mien and Hmong are choosing to incorporate aspects of their culture out of respect for and in tribute to their elders and centuries of tradition, but on their own terms. For them, the development of cultural identity is a statement of individualism. Theirs is a statement of dissent and independence from mainstream culture, Asian American culture dominated by Chinese American and Japanese American life, and their own parents' cultures. Yet their unique identities may be influenced by

each other. They adamantly refuse to be essentialized as Southeast Asian refugees, much less as simply Asian Americans.

FAMILY IMMIGRATION

Promoting family reunification has been a major feature of immigration policy for decades. Prior to 1965, allowing spouses of U.S. citizens, relatives of lawful permanent residents, and even siblings of U.S. citizens to immigrate were important aspects of the immigration selection system. And after the 1965 reforms, family reunification is the major cornerstone of the immigration admission system.

Over time, Asian and Latin immigration came to dominate most of the immigration to the Untied States. By 1976, a worldwide preference system (which included the Western Hemisphere) quota of 270,000 was in place that continued to reserve 80 percent for kinship provisions, and the category of immediate relatives of the United States citizens remained numerically unlimited. The effects of this priority were demonstrated vividly in the subsequent flow of Asian immigration, even though nations such as those in Africa and Asia, with low rates of immigration prior to 1965, were handicapped. In other words, the nations with large numbers of descendants in the United States were expected to benefit from a kinship-based system, and in 1965, fewer than a million Asian Americans resided in the country. Although the kinship priority meant that Asians were beginning on an unequal footing, at least Asians were on par numerically, in terms of the per-country quotas. Gradually, by using the family categories to the extent they could be used and the labor employment route, Asians built a family base from which to use the kinship categories more and more. By the late 1980s, virtually 90 percent of all immigration to the United States—including Asian immigration—was through the kinship categories. And by the 1990s, the vast majority of these immigrants were from Asia and Latin America.

Once Asian and Latin immigrants began to dominate the family immigration categories, the kinship system was attacked. Arguing that the system was nepotistic or that the country would be better off with a skills-based system became a popular claim. Without an empirical foundation for attacking the entry of some family immigrants with low job skills, critics of the current system simply argue that there is a better way of doing things. These critics are not satisfied that immigration fills needed job shortages and aids economic growth as a result of the entry of ambitious, hard-working family immigrants and their children, many of whom are professionals as well as unskilled workers with a propensity for saving and investment.

The economic data on today's kinship immigrants are favorable for the country. The entry of even low-skilled immigrants leads to faster economic growth by increasing the size of the market, thereby boosting productivity, investment, and technological practice. Technological advances are made by immigrants who are neither well-educated nor well-paid in addition to those by

white-collar immigrants. Moreover, many kinship-based immigrants open new businesses that employ natives as well as other immigrants; this is important because small businesses are now the most important source of new jobs in the country. The current system results in designers, business leaders, investors, and Silicon Valley-type engineers. And much of the flexibility available to American entrepreneurs in experimenting with risky labor-intensive business ventures is afforded by the presence of low-wage immigrant workers. In short, kinship immigrants contribute greatly to this country's vitality and growth.

Beyond the obvious economic benefits of the current system, advocates have suggested that a thorough consideration of the benefits of the family-based immigration system includes the psychic values of such a system. The psychic value of family reunification is generally overlooked by empiricists, perhaps because of the difficulty in making exact calculations.

Immigration and refugee policies explain much about Asian America. This section features entries on some of the most important aspects of Asian America related to these policies. They include descriptions and commentary on family immigration, naturalization, integration, the effects of 9/11, women, deportation, undocumented immigration, public benefits, human trafficking, and Southeast Asian refugees. Many believe that Asian America needs to pay close attention to immigration policy and enforcement debates. The outcomes of those debates will continue to shape who Asian Americans are, how they define themselves, and how others define Asian Americans.

NOTES

1. Morning Edition, NPR radio broadcast, June 29, 2001.

2. Briefing on the Eighth Annual Trafficking in Persons, Ambassador Mark P. Lagon, Director of the Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons, http://www.america.gov/st/texttrans-english/2008/June/20080604195900eaifas0.7583429.html&distid=ucs.

3. Thomas MaCurdy and Margaret O'Brien-Strain, *Who Will Be Affected by Welfare Reform in California*. San Francisco: Public Policy Institute of California, Feb. 1997, http://www.ppic.org/content/pubs/report/R_297TMR.pdf.

CITIZENSHIP AND NATURALIZATION RATES

Kyung Jin Lee

Immigrants who have become naturalized have involved themselves in civic participation through voting and running for office. With the historic elections of 2008, Asian Americans, including a high number of naturalized citizens, came out in record numbers to participate in elections, as 62 percent voted for President Barack Obama, and 35 percent voted for Republican candidate John McCain, which constituted 2 percent of the total vote.[1] For immigrants, the benefits of obtaining U.S. citizenship through naturalization are significant. A citizen has greater access to civic participation through voting and even running for political office. Federal civil service jobs and many state and local government jobs are limited to citizens. Citizenship also enables broader family reunification through immigration laws, permits greater and longer access to public benefits, and protects against the threat of deportation.

In 2007, a total of 660,447 people naturalized as U.S. citizens. Among those from Asia, Filipinos had the highest rate for citizenship and naturalization followed by immigrants from China and Vietnam.[2] Women naturalized at a higher rate than men, and married people naturalized at higher rates than those who were single.[3] California led all states in naturalization rates for all immigrants. Asian immigrants from states such as Illinois, Hawaii, New York, Texas, and Massachusetts came in second and third for Vietnamese immigrants.[4] Filipino and Chinese immigrants who have naturalized were more often employed in the management and professional sections. For Vietnamese immigrants, those who naturalized were more often employed in the production, transportation, and service industries.[5]

Historically, the passage of the nation's immigration laws in 1965 resulted in exponential growth of Asian immigration from the 1970s to the 1990s. In 1970, 64 percent of all legal permanent residents naturalized. That figure declined to 51 percent in 1980, then further dipped to 38 percent by 1990.[6] Among those who naturalized, 33.5 percent were of Asian descent between 1971 and 1980, but then the figure rose to 48.8 percent between 1981 and 1990.[7]

The percentage has continued to grow in recent years. Individuals have their own reasons for seeking citizenship, but there are several major factors that drove individuals, families, and communities to seek permanent allegiance to the United States. This entry examines the rates of naturalization for different Asian American groups and discusses various trends. Case studies and statistics are used to examine those trends. While individuals may have their own unique reasons for seeking citizenship, a dramatic increase in naturalization among Asian immigrant and refugee communities correlates with factors such as welfare and immigration legislation reform, as well as fee hikes implemented by the United States Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS), the federal government agency within the Department of Homeland Security that overseas lawful immigration to the United States.

NATURALIZATION PRE-1996

Between 1952 and 1965, there was a strict quota system that allotted one hundred immigrant visas to the countries of South and East Asia, through the passage of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 (The McCarran-Walter Act). In 1943 and 1946, racial restrictions against nationals of China, India, and the Philippines had been repealed, and the 1952 law repealed the legal bars for those from other Asian countries, but added that any "individual with one or more Asian parent, born anywhere in the world and possessing the citizenship of any nation, would be counted under the national quota of the Asian nation of his or her ethnicity or against a generic quota for the 'Asian Pacific Triangle.'"[8]

The 1965 amendments repealed the quota system, and each country was given the same immigration numerical limitation of 20,000 immigrant visas, in addition to special quota free visas for immediate relatives of U.S. citizens. So after 1965, many Asian immigrants were motivated to naturalize in order to petition for family members in their homeland. Family petitions for legal permanent residents are restricted to spouses and unmarried children, while U.S. citizens are allowed to petition parents, spouses, married and unmarried children, and siblings.[9] In order to become eligible to become a citizen, one must be at least 18 years old and have lived in the United States continuously for five years. They must be able to read, write, and speak English and answer questions that demonstrate knowledge of U.S. government and history. They must also take an oath of citizenship.

1996 ACTS

In August and September of 1996, President Bill Clinton signed the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWOR) and the Ille-

gal Immigration and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRAIRA), which drastically changed the rights and protections for immigrants. Under PRWOR, only U.S. citizens would be eligible for certain public benefits, including Supplemental Security Income (SSI), and other restrictions were placed on recent legal permanent residents seeking other public benefits including Medicaid. IIRAIRA expanded the likelihood of deportation for legal permanent residents who commit criminal offenses. The consequences of these new laws changed the landscape for immigrants. Since 1996, the rates of legal permanent residents seeking naturalization have surged. Fee hikes implemented by the USCIS in 2007 resulted in another spike in naturalization applications prior to the increase.

These welfare changes threatened loss of a safety net and protections provided by the public welfare system. While proponents described the PRWOR as "a comprehensive bipartisan welfare reform plan that will dramatically change the nation's welfare system into one that requires work in exchange for time-limited assistance," there was also much public outcry and criticism from immigrant rights, labor, women's rights, and religious organizations throughout the country.[10] The legislation replaced the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) program to the Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF), which is administered through individual states via block grants from the federal government. This radical change to the welfare system eventually removed from aid millions of families in need and required those who were eligible to remain on the rolls to find work within two years of receiving the temporary aid.

IIRAIRA made immigrants convicted of an "aggravated felony" ineligible for relief from deportation. Furthermore, the classification of aggravated felonies was expanded. Between 1988 and 1996, aggravated felony offenses included only murder, drug trafficking, and firearms trafficking; however, after 1997, the definition grew to include relatively minor offenses that could result in a year in prison.[11]

Within the Asian American population, the Southeast Asian community was most adversely affected by the 1996 legislation. Many refugees from Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos who had fled to the United States after 1975 did not naturalize and remained legal permanent residents after IIRAIRA passed. Those immigrants who were convicted of aggravated felonies were ordered removed (deported), but because of the lack of diplomatic relations, they could not be deported, although many were kept in immigration detention for lengthy periods. The U.S. State Department now has signed repatriation agreements with the governments of Cambodia and Vietnam, and the deportation of former Cambodian refugees has gone on for many years.

The passage of IIRAIRA in 1996 was the culmination of anti-immigration sentiment during that time. Even prior to 1996, states passed restrictive laws, such as California's Proposition 187, which would have denied undocumented immigrants access to social services, public health, and education. These new punitive measures drove millions of permanent residents to apply for naturalization, which created a huge backlog in naturalization applications.

In 1995, Asian immigrants (as well as Middle Easterners) accounted for 190,205 of those naturalized; however, in 1996, that figure jumped to 307,451. Within the Asian population, Filipino immigrants ranked first in naturalization

numbers, followed by Vietnamese immigrants. Third were Chinese immigrants, followed by Indian immigrants and Korean immigrants. The overall naturalization numbers for all immigrants were 488,088 in 1995 and 1,044,689 in 1996.[12] Other factors for the dramatic increase in naturalization numbers were the streamlined naturalization exam process called the Citizenship USA initiative in 1995, as well as increased interest in participating in the 1996 presidential election.[13]

CHALLENGES TO CITIZENSHIP

On January 31, 2007, the USCIS announced a proposal for increased fees for those seeking immigration benefits, beginning July 30, 2007. Naturalization fees rose 80 percent, from $330 to $595, plus $80 for biometrics (fingerprints); all other immigration application fees also rose significantly. This dramatic increase in service fees motivated 1,383,275 residents to file for naturalization that year, marking the second largest spike in USCIS/INS history, just behind the 1996 surge.[14] In July 2007 alone, more than 460,000 residents filed for naturalization, an increase of more than seven times the number from the previous year.[15] The USCIS claimed it needed to increase fees so it could improve customer service, delivery, and processing time and meet national security.[16]

Just after the fee increase, however, the overwhelming numbers of applications drove the processing time back for all applications, including naturalization. At the end of 2007, almost one million naturalization cases were still awaiting adjudication by the USCIS.[17]

In 2000, the USCIS announced plans to launch a new naturalization test re-design because of the inconsistencies of the test's contents, administration, and scoring throughout the local CIS offices in the country.[18] These new changes include a complete overhaul of the reading and writing portion of the exam, as well as a newly designed list of one hundred U.S. history and government questions. The new exam was officially introduced on September 27, 2007, and was fully implemented by October 1, 2008. Many immigrants, especially limited English speakers such as the elderly, have expressed hesitancy and anxiety over the redesigned exam.

There are many barriers that prevent Asian immigrants and refuges from applying for citizenship. Several of the requirements for attaining citizenship—specifically, the need to be able to speak, write, read and understand basic English, and to answer questions that demonstrate knowledge of U.S. government and history—are especially challenging for recent, elderly or disabled immigrants. The most recent cost of $675 for the application fee is also prohibitive for low-income immigrants with very little disposable income.

While there are specific English waivers provided by U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services with regard to long-time elderly residents (these waivers are given to those who are older than fifty-five years and have been a legal permanent resident for more than fifteen years; or more than fifty years old and have retained their resident status for at least twenty years), others who apply

have felt intimidated by the process of attaining citizenship as well as by the individual officers who conduct interviews. Once someone files for citizenship benefits, this gives consent to the United States government to go through his or her immigration history and files, and allows the officers to ask historical and personal questions about the applicant when deemed necessary. For those with limited English skills and/or those with minor criminal convictions, this can be very intimidating, especially when the officer is curt or unfriendly.

In addition to the fear and intimidation of the process of obtaining citizenship, there are many who consciously refuse to become a U.S. citizen, even after twenty, thirty or even forty years of residing in the United States. Again, the reasons are as varied as the individuals themselves, but anecdotal evidence suggests that national pride for their home countries is a big factor not to naturalize. Other factors include material reasons, such as specific laws in their countries of birth that prohibit foreigner nationals from owning property or that levy heavy taxes on foreign ownership of land, lasting thoughts of returning to their homelands in the future, or for political reasons. This is especially true for the Southeast Asian refugee communities, where a small but significant number remain stateless after migrating to the United States in the early 1980s.

Hind Makki, left, with the Council of Islamic Organizations of Greater Chicago, and Soo Ji Min, executive director of the Korean American Community Services, listen during a news conference February 21, 2005, in Chicago as Alfonso Aguilar, chief of the U.S. Office of Citizenship in Washington, outlined Illinois' New Americans Initiative. The $3 million program was to help legal immigrants attain U.S. citizenship, with money going for ads and a network of agencies to help those negotiating the complex process. (AP Photo/Nam Y. Huh)

Throughout the past fifteen years, many Asian immigrants chose to naturalize because of external forces, such as dramatic changes in immigration laws and fee hikes imposed by the USCIS. There are also thousands of immigrants who chose to naturalize to reunite family members and to fully participate in the civic life in the United States and/or a combination of both internal and external factors. Within the Asian subgroups, Filipino, Vietnamese, Chinese, Indian and Korean immigrants were naturalized at the highest numbers, respectively. The reasons why are as varied as the communities they represent; however, one common theme why Asian immigrants choose to naturalize is to further integrate into their adopted homeland. National and local immigration organizations continue to struggle over reducing the growing backlog of pending family immigration cases, bringing the nearly 2 million Asian immigrants who remain without proper documents out of the shadows, and providing children of undocumented immigrants in-state tuition for public universities.

FURTHER READING

Asian American Legal Defense and Education Fund Voting Rights Project. http://www.aaldef.org/voting.php.

Banks, Jeremy and Bergeron, Claire. *Behind the Naturalization Backlog: Causes, Context, and Concerns* [Online, February 2008]. Migration Policy Institute. http://www.migrationpolicy.org.

Department of Homeland Security Immigration Data & Statistics. http://www.dhs.gov/ximgtn/statistics/data/.

Passel, Jeffrey S. "Growing Share of Immigrants Choosing Naturalization" [Online, March 2007]. Pew Hispanic http://www.pewhispanic.org.

NOTES

1. CNN Politics.com, "Local Exit Polls—Election Center 2008," http://www.cnn.com/ELECTION/2008/results/polls/#val=USP00p1.
2. Annual Flow Report 2007, "Naturalizations in the United States: 2007," http://www.dhs.gov/xlibrary/assets/statistics/publications/natz_fr_07.pdf.
3. Homeland Security Web site, "Profiles on Naturalized Citizens: 2007," http://www.dhs.gov/ximgtn/statistics/data/DSNat07c.shtm.
4. Homeland Security Web site, "Profiles on Naturalized Citizens: 2007," http://www.dhs.gov/ximgtn/statistics/data/DSNat07c.shtm.
5. Homeland Security Web site, "Profiles on Naturalized Citizens: 2007," http://www.dhs.gov/ximgtn/statistics/data/DSNat07c.shtm.
6. Homeland Security Web site, "Profiles on Naturalized Citizens: 2007," http://www.dhs.gov/ximgtn/statistics/data/DSNat07c.shtm.
7. Naturalizations Fiscal Year 1999: http://www.dhs.gov/xlibrary/assets/statistics/yearbook/1999/Natz99text.pdf.
8. USCIC; Service & Benefits; Permanent Residence (Green Card); Immigration Through a Family Member: http://www.uscis.gov/portal/site/uscis/menuitem.5af9bb95919f35e66f614176543f6d1a/?vgnextoid=0775667706f7d010VgnVCM10000048f3d6a1RCRD.
9. Department of State Visa Bulletin Web site: http://travel.state.gov/visa/frvi/bulletin/bulletin_4252.html.

10. *Source Watch Encyclopedia*, "1996 Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act," http://www.sourcewatch.org/index.php?title=1996_Welfare_Reform_Act.

11. American Immigration Lawyer's Association IIRIRA Fact Sheet: http://www.aila.org/content/default.aspx?bc=6714%7C6729%7C11769%7C3545.

12. *Department of Homeland Security: 2004 Yearbook of Immigration Statistics:* Table 32. Persons naturalized by region and country of birth: fiscal years 1986–2004.

13. Naturalization Fiscal Year 1999: http://www.dhs.gov/xlibrary/assets/statistics/yearbook/1999/Natz99text.pdf.

14. *Department of Homeland Security: 2004 Yearbook of Immigration Statistics Table 31*: Petitions for Naturalizations Filed, Persons Naturalized , and Petitions for Naturalization Denied: Fiscal Years 1907-2004; http://www.dhs.gov/ximgtn/statistics/publications/YrBk04Na.shtm.

15. Migration Policy Institute Immigration Facts series, Feb. 2008.

16. *Federal Register* 72, no. 21, (Feb. 1, 2007), http://edocket.access.gpo.gov/2007/pdf/E7-1631.pdf.

17. Migration Policy Institute Immigration Facts series Feb. 2008, http://www.migrationpolicy.org/pubs/FS21_NaturalizationBacklog_022608.pdf (accessed on July 21, 2009).

18. "The Redesigned Naturalization Test," Office of Citizenship, USCIC, M-685, Sept. 2007.

This page intentionally left blank

DETENTION AND DEPORTATION

Bo Han Yang, Angie Junck, and Sin Yen Ling

The Asian immigrant community is often overlooked when issues of deportation and detention are raised. The common misperception is that only Latinos—and mostly Mexicans—are in the United States unlawfully and therefore they are the only ones in danger of deportation. In fact, among Asian immigrant communities, Chinese, Filipinos, Cambodians, Laotian, and Vietnamese immigrants experience high rates of deportation. Exact figures on how many Asian immigrants are subject to detention and deportation every year are unavailable; however, in 2006, it was estimated that 9,967 Asian noncitizens were deportable, compared with 3,507 African noncitizens and 3,255 European noncitizens.[1]

Detention and deportation are the two primary means through which the U.S. government enforces its immigration law. If a person is found to have violated the immigration laws of the United States, he or she may be held in detention until deportation (physical removal) from the United States, or until a U.S. immigration judge decides to grants permission to stay in the country.

In 1996, a series of anti-immigrant bills were signed into law, including the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRIRA), which drastically changed United States immigration law ("the 1996 laws"). This legislation increased the reasons for which noncitizens could be detained and deported from the United States, and in many instances made deportations mandatory. The legislation severely restricted the ability of noncitizens to seek asylum and to immigrate to the United States to reunify with their families. The 1996 laws also eliminated important legal rights to challenge deportation and due process protections that helped ensure that the government was treating immigrants fairly and justly under the law.

Since 1996, the federal government has been aggressively enforcing immigration laws resulting in the deportation of more than 1.5 million people. Many people believe that noncitizens are being deported as a result of laws passed after the events of September 11, 2001. However, no new laws regarding deportation and detention were passed in the wake of 9/11. Instead, 9/11 had the effect of increasing enforcement of the 1996 laws. Now, with the collapse of comprehensive immigration reform to legalize the 12 million undocumented people in the country, coupled with emphasis on enforcing our existing immigration laws, the government aims to detain and deport all deportable noncitizens in the United States.

The United States government, through the Department of Homeland Security (DHS), arrests, detains, and deports immigrants, including Asian noncitizens, for violations of immigration law. The DHS operates through two sub-agencies: Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), which enforces immigration laws within the interior of the United States, and Customs and Border Protection (CBP), which enforces immigration laws at the border and all ports of entry, such as airports.

DEPORTATION

Deportation is the forced return and exile of an individual to one's country of origin at the government's expense. Anyone who is not a U.S. citizen can be subject to deportation. This includes refugees who were invited by the U.S. to participate in refugee resettlement programs from Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. Student visa and business visa holders can also be deported. Regardless of their individual circumstances, even longtime legal residents with green cards can be deported if they are convicted of a first-time, minor criminal offense that does not result in any jail time. The fact that deportees have a spouse and children who are U.S. citizens, have been in the United States since they themselves were children, or can demonstrate rehabilitation is not relevant in deportation proceedings. Asian noncitizens are found deportable from the United States for any immigration violation ranging from overstaying a visa to be being convicted of a criminal offense.

The deportation process typically begins when an ICE or Border Patrol agent discovers and arrests a person who has violated an immigration law. Either agency generally will place the noncitizen in detention and give him or her the opportunity to have the case heard before an immigration judge. The immigration judge will render a decision as to whether the noncitizen will be deported. In some circumstances, such as where a person who is found at a port of entry with no documentation, the person will not get a hearing before an immigration judge prior to being deported.

IMMIGRATION ENFORCEMENT

Many noncitizens are arrested and subject to deportation as a result of ICE immigration raids. These raids can occur at homes, on the street, or in the

workplace. While the majority of noncitizens targeted by these raids are Latinos, in some instances, Asian noncitizens are targeted as well.

Raids are planned operations by the DHS to find and arrest certain deportable individuals within the United States. DHS investigates and gathers information about those who have violated immigration laws and then prioritizes who it believes to be the most serious offenders. Current high ICE priorities target those who have evaded deportation orders or orders to appear, those with criminal records, and those who previously or currently are alleged to be affiliated with street gangs. Because many Asian noncitizens fall within the latter two categories, they are significantly affected. For instance, ICE has arrested and deported large numbers of Vietnamese, Cambodian, Hmong, and Filipino immigrants, including youths, who are thought to be affiliated in some way with street gangs. In the San Francisco Bay Area, ICE also targeted the homecare industry, arresting a number of homecare givers who are predominantly undocumented Filipino workers. Many of these Filipina workers were live-in caregivers providing care for senior citizens, the disabled and displaced young people. Arresting these Filipino workers had broad ramifications on this area of the health industry. Each worker was responsible for several patients at a time for a 24-hour period. When ICE arrested the workers, patients faced a shortage of care while the workers sat in detention centers or were too afraid to return to work. ICE also targeted many Asian noncitizens, who have been ordered deported without even knowing they had deportation orders against them. Asian noncitizens who have committed criminal offenses have also been arrested.

While communities are aware of these raids because they are so visible, ICE often enforces immigration law through lesser-known tactics. One of these tactics is to simply wait for noncitizens to appear before them. In fact, this is the primary way that ICE and the Citizenship and Immigration Services agencies identify the majority of Asian noncitizens for detention and deportation. Noncitizens can come into contact with either agency voluntarily or mandatorily—and when they do, the agency will use the opportunity to initiate detention and deportation. This happens when unsuspecting noncitizens apply for a status change (such as citizenship, permanent residency, or a green card), when they go to an immigration office to renew a green card, when they appear before CBP at borders or airports as they return from travel abroad, or when they come into contact with ICE agents who patrol the criminal justice system (including for those arrested or stopped for a traffic violation).

If noncitizen have any immigration violation on their record, they are probably susceptible to arrest and deportation. This is true regardless of how minor the violation seems to be or how long ago it occurred. For example, if a person is a legal permanent resident and committed a minor crime years ago, he could still be in jeopardy today. Arrests and deportations can happen at any time. Some individuals have gone through the entire citizenship process only to be arrested during their citizenship interview. Others have repeatedly traveled abroad to visit family and re-enter every year and then are suddenly

From Fleeing Persecution to Life on the Streets

At the age of seven, Many Uch, his mother, and two older brothers came to the United States under horrific conditions. Under the brutal Pol Pot–led Khmer Rouge regime, Many's family was captured by the Khmer Rouge army. Separated from their father and forced from their home into the jungle, Many's family was found by Red Cross workers among the sick and the dead and placed them in a refugee camp. Many's family eventually came to the United States as refugees and settled in Seattle, WA.

Many was placed in a school that had a high crime rate. Riding the bus home from school, students would make fun of Many for getting off in the "projects." They would also tell him to "go back to his country." In his elementary school English as a Second Language (ESL) class, Many befriended a group of guys from similar backgrounds who had similar problems. If other kids picked on one, the rest would stand up for that person. To him, they were a much–needed support group, but to police, they were a gang.

As Many grew older, life in the street got more intense; he found himself committing crimes to get by. Fighting and stealing became a way of life. When Many was 18, he was convicted of robbery and sent to prison.

Ironically, it was in prison where he would have the opportunity to improve himself in a manner that he was unable to in his neighborhood. In prison he read books, went to school, and learned the law. He used this knowledge to petition for his release. After a tough battle, Many eventually won his freedom.

Since 2002, when Cambodia signed a repatriation agreement, the U.S. government has deported many refugee youth such as Many; however, Many has not let this threat stop him from working to improve the lives of others and moving on with his life, including getting married and raising a family. Yet because of his conviction, he may still be deported, even though he already served time for the crime.

—Bill Ong Hing

arrested at the airport on one particular trip home. Still others were at the immigration office to renew a green card or apply for some other immigration benefit. Chinese senior citizens who immigrated to the United States to reunite with their citizen adult children may face deportation problems. These senior citizens often return to their home country to seek health care subsidized by

the Chinese government. Because they are unable to find suitable health care in the United States, many Chinese seniors are placed in removal proceedings after being absent from the United States for more than a year. ICE alleges that they have abandoned their U.S. residence.

The result of these enforcement efforts is an increase in the detention and deportation Asian immigrants.

REASONS FOR DEPORTATION

Asian noncitizens are deportable from the United States for many different reasons. They overstay their student or tourist visas; they may misrepresent an important fact to immigration officials or engage in marriage fraud to get legal immigration status; they use false documents to enter the United States; they commit and/or are convicted of certain criminal offenses, even minor nonviolent offenses for which they have already served a criminal sentence many years ago.

Overstaying a Visa

Many people believe that all undocumented noncitizens in the United States have crossed the border illegally. Many undocumented noncitizens from Mexico, Canada, and Central America do cross the border without inspection; however, most Asian noncitizens do not cross the border in that manner. Instead, the vast majority of Asian noncitizens enter the United States with immigrant visas or with temporary visas, such as tourist or student visas. Those with temporary or nonimmigrant visas often overstay the time permitted on their visas. Once their visas expire, they become undocumented like those who crossed the border without inspection.

Many Asians arrive in the United States from the Philippines, China, India, and Korea as student visa holders. After 9/11, pursuant to the new program called SEVIS (Student Exchange Visitor and Information System), students' failure to comply with their student visa restrictions requires their university to report them to ICE. Noncompliance can include many things, from failure to pay tuition to failure to carry the required credits for the semester. If a university fails to report noncompliant student visa holders to ICE, it risks accreditation problems. Students reported to ICE often face a home raid and are subsequently taken into ICE custody.

Asians are the second largest subgroup of undocumented immigrants in the United States because of these visa overstays. These overstays amount to approximately 13 percent (about 1.5 million) of the estimated 12 million undocumented individuals in the United States.[2] In the San Francisco Bay Area alone, for example, it is estimated that there are approximately 80,000 to 180,000 undocumented Asian immigrants, with Chinese individuals accounting for 23 percent, followed by Filipinos at 17 percent, Asian Indians at 14 percent, and Koreans at 11 percent.[3]

Document and Marriage Fraud

People may be deported if they defraud the government. Specifically, individuals who are found to have committed document or marriage fraud to enter or stay in the United States may be deportable.

Tongans, Fijians, Southeast Asians, Filipinos, and Chinese have often been denied entry to the United States at airports because of their use of falsified visas and passports. Some Filipinos, for instance, have attempted to enter the country with another person's U.S. passport. If detected by the DHS, the person is immediately sent back to the home country or detained, pending a legal proceeding.

Some prospective immigrants are parties to "fake marriages" between citizens and noncitizens so that the noncitizen can become a legal permanent resident and then ultimately, a U.S. citizen. A "fake" or "sham" marriage constitutes fraud and can result in the noncitizen's deportation.

Criminal Convictions

A noncitizen may be deported for the conviction of a variety of crimes. These can range from minor offenses such as shoplifting to more serious ones such as assault and drug trafficking. Asian noncitizens are quite affected by the criminal grounds of deportation. In 2006 alone, the DHS deported 272,389 people based on criminal grounds. Of those individuals, 4,614 were deported to Asian countries. In comparison, 3,101 were deported to European countries and 1,921 to countries in Africa.[4] The majority of Asian noncitizens affected by the criminal grounds of deportation are refugees from Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, or the Philippines.

The 1996 laws significantly changed the deportation and detention provisions relating to criminal convictions, and this has had a devastating impact on Asian noncitizens. Specifically, the laws dramatically increased the number and kinds of offenses for which noncitizens could be mandatorily detained and deported. In addition, many of the changes are retroactive; they apply to crimes that were committed long ago and can now trigger deportation. Many offenses that were misdemeanors or nonviolent offenses were designated "aggravated felonies" under immigration law, resulting in mandatory detention and deportation from the United States without any hope of a pardon. These provisions restricted a judge's power to hear cases of longtime legal residents and to consider whether the immigrants deserve to remain in the United States with their families.

These radical legal changes have sharply increased the number of longtime Asian permanent residents being deported and separated from their families. Many were their family's breadwinners and were refugees who fled persecution from Cambodia, who came to the United States as children and know no other home. These individuals often have spouses and children who are U.S. citizens and have no ties to the countries to which they are being deported. Many have no family, no knowledge of the language and culture, and no financial means to

fend for themselves in the countries to where they are deported. Although they may have committed crimes, they have completed their criminal sentences and have rehabilitated themselves, but they find themselves facing permanent banishment from the United States.

Consider the story of Loeun Lun, a Cambodian refugee who fled the Khmer Rouge regime in Cambodia while an infant and went from labor camp to labor camp until he ultimately arrived in the United States at age six. Loeun, like many other impoverished Cambodian refugees, did not receive adequate services from the U.S. refugee resettlement program that brought him to the United States; he grew up in a crime-ridden housing project in Tacoma, WA. Eventually, Loeun dropped out of high school so that he could work full time to support his mother, who suffered from depression and trauma.

In 1995, at age nineteen, Loeun was convicted of two counts of assault for shooting his gun into the air after being harassed by other kids. No one was hurt, but Loeun served 11 months in jail. After he served his sentence, Loeun married a U.S. citizen and had two daughters. From 1996 to 1999, he changed his life around and held a factory job to provide for his family. He paid off his debts and rebuilt his credit, became the primary caretaker for his mother, and had no other trouble with the law. In 1999, thinking his past was behind him, Loeun applied for U.S. citizenship.

In 2002, seven years after his conviction, Loeun inquired about the status of his citizenship application but was arrested by ICE. DHS had discovered Loeun's 1995 conviction for an "aggravated felony," triggering mandatory deportation with no possibility of a relief from deportation. The immigration judge was forced to order Loeun deported because the 1996 laws do not allow judges to consider the individual's extenuating circumstances when it comes to deportation based on an aggravated felony. The judge could do nothing, even though Loeun had lived lawfully in the United States for most of his life, had a wife and two daughters who are U.S. citizens, and had rehabilitated himself. Loeun was deported to Cambodia in 2003, leaving his wife and infant daughters behind.

In recent years the United States established repatriation agreements with Cambodia and Vietnam as a means of immigration enforcement to effectuate deportation of Asian noncitizen refugees for criminal convictions. These agreements resulted from considerable pressure by the U.S. government on the governments of those countries to accept deportees from the United States. Many of these refugees who are subject to deportation came to the United States at an early age, have been legal residents of the United States for the majority of their lives, have U.S. citizen families, and have long since been rehabilitated.

While the Vietnamese repatriation agreement is in the early stages of implementation, the Cambodian agreement has resulted in the deportation of at least 150 individuals, while another 1,500 are still waiting to be deported. Many of these individuals have been waiting since 2002 and do not know when they will be scheduled for deportation. Currently, the only Asian country that lacks a repatriation agreement with the United States is Laos. Laotians who are ordered

deported are allowed back into the community on supervised release. They have no official legal status in the United States and must check in regularly with DHS.

Terrorism

People may be deported if they are deemed to be a threat to the security to the United States. Since the 9/11 terrorist attacks, the DHS has focused on the monitoring and removal of individuals with possible Muslim terrorist connections or perceived connections.

A post-9/11 program called the National Security Exit-Entry Registration System (NSEERS) requires that certain nationals report to the former Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) for interrogation, fingerprinting, and deportation. Of the twenty-four Muslim countries involved, several are Asian countries, including North Korea, Bangladesh, Indonesia, and Pakistan. According to a report by the Asian American Legal Defense and Education Fund, 77 percent of those who have registered reported spending longer than 5 hours at ICE and 59 percent spent more than 10 hours at ICE. Those who spent more than 10 hours at ICE were denied access to counsel. Nationwide, of the 83,000 individuals who reported for the program, approximately 13,000 were placed in deportation proceedings. In New York City, the disproportionate impact of the program meant that entire communities were eliminated, such as Pakistanis in Brooklyn and Indonesians in Queens.

Years after 9/11, these policies continue to be selectively enforced against certain nationals, many from India, Pakistan, and the Philippines. In 2007, male Filipinos over the age of 18 were increasingly being targeted for deportation because of their possible ties to Muslim militias in the southern Philippines. Many people from a Muslim minority in western China face a similar predicament. The DHS justification for this is that men older than 18 who are originally from these regions are more likely to be involved with the Muslim militias and therefore pose a greater threat to the security of the United States. For example, in 2007, a Pakistani national was detained for approximately five months at California's Santa Clara County Jail, because of claims that he had provided material support to an International Muslim organization. He was a Silicon Valley worker, married to a U.S. citizen, and had two U.S. citizen children. Five years after filing his adjustment application, he was taken into ICE custody when his application was denied. His application was denied on the basis that he was a board member of a U.S. domestic Muslim nonprofit organization that provides services to inner city Muslim youth.

DETENTION

Immigration detention is the lock-up of noncitizens in facilities equivalent to jails or prisons while they await a final determination on their deportation cases. Many Asian noncitizens who are deportable because of document fraud or criminal convictions are detained. These individuals include asylum-seekers

and long-term legal U.S. residents. The time spent in detention can last a few years, many years, or, for some, indefinitely.

The 1996 laws vastly increased the number of noncitizens eligible to be detained pending deportation from the United States. When combined with recent aggressive immigration enforcement, this has resulted in a sharp increase in the number of immigrants being housed in detention centers across the country. These detention centers often are located in remote places, far from the detainees' home states where their families and communities are located. These increased mandatory detention requirements have resulted in an explosion of the U.S. immigration detention system. According to current statistics, ICE holds about 32,000 people in detention each day and about 300,000 each year. This is more than a 300 percent increase since 2001, while the former INS detained about 9,500 people each year. To accommodate this sudden surge of ICE detentions, DHS has converted medium security prisons into immigration detention centers, created "family detention centers," and contracted with private prisons. Currently, the government allocates ICE more than $1.2 billion per year to operate more than 440 detention centers and to contract with private prison corporations such as the Corrections Corporation of America (CCA) to manage these facilities. Detainees are now generally held in one of three places: local county jails, CCA-managed private prisons, or federal immigration detention centers.

As a result of this burgeoning system, which is often run for profit, immigrants' rights are frequently violated during detention. While detainees have the right to be represented by counsel, immigrants are often sent to remote locations far from their counsel—and frequently far from any counsel at all. While detainees should have the right to visit with family members, the detention center rules and locations often make it difficult. Detention centers often have unhealthy food, and inadequate medical care. In fact, the conditions in many of the detention facilities are so poor that there have been many reports of detainee deaths as a result of inadequate medical care. Detainees also consistently face problems such as overcrowding, lack of recreational or educational programs, and little access to phones, legal materials, and fresh air.[5]

According to the 2006 Yearbook of Immigration Statistics, approximately 10,000 immigrants deported are from Asian countries. An unknown percentage of these are detained in immigration facilities or local county jails. Individuals are detained while they are facing deportation or going through their deportation hearings. Chinese nationals are detained for a variety of reasons: minors who are smuggled in by Chinese gangs to work as indentured servants, for example, are detained, and others are detained for white-collar crimes. Southeast Asians, including Cambodians, Vietnamese, and Laotians, are detained for criminal convictions related to socioeconomic challenges facing refugees in the United States. Filipinos are detained for perceived terrorist activities, prior criminal convictions, entering the United States with fake documentation, and as individuals with final orders of removal. Pacific Islanders such as Tongans and Fijians are detained for overstaying their visa and face

Sarath Suong shouts chants through a bullhorn as Cambodian children surround him before a rally in Providence, Rhode Island, in August 2002. Members of the Cambodian Society of Rhode Island and Providence Youth Student Movement held the rally to protest the deportation of convicted Cambodians. (AP Photo/Victoria Arocho)

indefinite detention because they, more often than other Asian ethnic groups, are unable to post bail or bond out of detention.

Long-term legal residents with criminal convictions (mostly Cambodians, Laotians, Vietnamese, and Filipinos) are often subject to mandatory detention until their cases are completed. Previously, Cambodians and Vietnamese only stayed in detention long enough to sign their deportation order because they could not be physically returned to their countries of origin. Now they must stay in detention as long as necessary to fight their case. Laotians, on the other hand, still cannot be removed to their country and, as a result, are likely to stay in detention for shorter periods of time. Prolonged detention, which can last up to several years, is a common problem for these Asian noncitizens. Many give up hope and simply accept the deportation order even though they have a right to fight or appeal their case. Many choose deportation over the prospect of being locked up because the process could mean several years in immigration detention.

FURTHER READING

Asian American Legal Defense and Education Fund. http://www.aaldef.org.

Detention Watch Network. http://www.detentionwatchnetwork.org.

Hing, Bill Ong. *Deporting Our Souls: Values, Morality, and Immigration Policy* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Press, 2006).

Hing, Bill Ong. "Detention to Deportation—Rethinking the Removal of Cambodian Refugees." *University of Davis Law Review* (2005), 38 University of California–Davis Law Review, 891.

Human Rights Watch. "Forced Apart: Families Separated and Immigrants Harmed by United States Deportation Policy" [online, July 2007]. Human Rights Watch Web site. http://www.hrw.org/reports/2007/us0707/.

Immigrant Justice Network. www.ilrc.org/immigrantjusticenetwork/.

Southeast Asia Resource Action Center: http://www.searac.org.

NOTES

1. DHS Yearbook of Immigration Statistics, 2006, http://www.dhs.gov/ximgtn/statistics/publications/YrBk06En.shtm.

2. Vanessa Hua, "Amnesty Touches Home for Bay Area Asians," *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 18, 2006, citing the Pew Hispanic Report, April 2006, http://www.sfgate.com/cgi-bin/article.cgi?f=/c/a/2006/05/18/MNG7JITSJA1. DTL&hw=Filipinos%2BFor%2BAffirmative%2BAction&sn=001&sc=1000.

3. Hua, "Amnesty Touches Home for Bay Area Asians."

4. DHS 2006 Yearbook of Immigration Statistics, http://www.dhs.gov/ximgtn/statistics/publications/YrBk06En.shtm.

5. Amnesty USA International. "Jailed without Justice: Immigration Detention in the USA," http://www.amnestyusa.org/uploads/JailedWithoutJustice.pdf.

This page intentionally left blank

FAMILY IMMIGRATION

Joren Lyons

From 1924 to 1965, immigration to the United States was regulated by a complex national origins quota system, in which each country had a different annual immigration quota based on the proportion of individuals in the 1890 census with ancestors from that country.[1] As a result, Asian immigration via this system was almost impossible, even when not blocked by other specific bans or agreements (although in 1952 a token yearly quota of 2,000 was set for immigrants from the former Asiatic Barred Zone, renamed the Asia-Pacific Triangle).[2] By 1965, the growing domestic civil rights movement and the need to present a more positive international image planted the seeds of change.[3] The foundation of the United States' current family immigration system was laid that year with the passage of the Hart-Celler Act.[4] This bill abolished the national origins quota system, and in its place created a system in which a U.S. citizen or permanent resident (green card holder) can file a petition requesting permission for close family members to immigrate to the United States and be granted permanent resident status here. The same bill established employment-based immigration categories under which an American employer can sponsor a worker for permanent resident status, as long as the company can show the Department of Labor that a fair wage is being offered and that no qualified American worker is available to do the job.

DRAMATIC INCREASE IN IMMIGRATION

While supporters of the Hart-Celler Act recognized that it would place immigrants from non-Western countries on a more equal footing, even key backers

such as Senator Ted Kennedy (D-MA) failed to appreciate the magnitude of the shift in the ethnic composition of immigration that would take place once the new law took effect in 1968. Senator Kennedy remarked during the debate over the bill that "the ethnic mix of this country will not be upset. . . . Contrary to the charges in some quarters, [the new system] will not inundate America with immigrants from any one country or area, or the most populated and deprived nations of Africa and Asia."[5]

Such predictions proved completely wrong as far as Asians were concerned. In fiscal year 2007, 383,508 people born in Asia were granted permanent resident status in the United States, making up 36.4 percent of the 1,052,415 total new permanent residents for the year.[6] Of these Asian-born immigrants, 240,447, or 62.7 percent were family-based immigrants, roughly in line with the 65.5 percent of all 2006 immigrants who were family-based. Asians are also major beneficiaries of the employment-based categories; 24 percent of Asian immigrants in 2006 received their permanent resident status via an employer, as compared to 15.4 percent of all immigrants that year. Asians made up 56.8 percent of all employment-based immigrants for the year. Despite this heavy usage of employment-based immigration, Asian family immigrants continue to outnumber employment-based immigrants by more than 2.5 to 1.

Major contributions to the number of Asian-born immigrants came from mainland China (76,655), the Philippines (72,596), India (65,353), Vietnam (28,691), and South Korea (22,405), all of them among the top ten countries of birth among new permanent residents in 2007. While in the 1970s and 1980s, most arrivals from Southeast Asian countries came as refugees, in recent years family immigration from the region has far surpassed new refugee admissions. In fiscal year 2006, there were 3,039 new Vietnamese refugee arrivals, by far the largest number from any Asian country, but still dwarfed by the 27,910 Vietnamese immigrants that received their green cards via the family immigration system that year.[7]

"IMMEDIATE RELATIVES" AND FAMILY PREFERENCE CATEGORIES

Under the family immigration system enacted in 1965 and still in effect, U.S. citizens can petition for "immediate relatives" (spouses, unmarried children under age 21, and parents) without being subject to an annual cap or quota, meaning that an immigrant visa can be obtained fairly quickly, often in less than a year.[8] All other family petitions fall into various "preference" categories subject to annual limits that have resulted in substantial waiting lists. Citizens can use these categories to petition for their adult unmarried or married children and their siblings, while permanent residents are limited to sponsoring spouses and unmarried children of any age.[9] While immediate relatives can receive their immigrant visas fairly quickly, they cannot bring their spouses or children with

them; each immediate relative must have a direct relationship with a petitioning U.S. citizen.[10] Those in the preference categories must wait much longer to immigrate, but they are entitled to issuance of "derivative beneficiary" immigrant visas to allow their spouses and unmarried, minor children to obtain permanent resident status together with the principal beneficiary.[11]

Through the years, a number of legislators have sought to eliminate various family preference categories. Senator Alan Simpson (R-WY) teamed up with Rep. Romano Mazzoli (D-KY) in multiple efforts to eliminate the sibling category in the early 1980s, galvanizing the Asian American community in opposition and leading to a successful campaign to defend the category.[12] More recently, in 2007 a proposal to scrap most of the family immigration system (in favor of a skills-based point system similar to that used in Canada and Australia) emerged from the Senate's negotiations with the Bush administration as part of a larger immigration reform effort, but the larger reform effort was attacked by both the left and the right and failed to win enough votes to move forward.[13] Thus the family immigration categories today essentially remain the same as those established in 1965.

ANNUAL QUOTAS AND THE GROWTH OF BACKLOGS

Within each preference category, the length of the waiting list is governed by the Visa Bulletin, a monthly report issued by the State Department's Visa Office in which officials determine, to the best of their ability, how many immigrant visas can be issued each month while staying within the annual quota set by law.[14] These limits are of two types: the annual number of visas that can be issued for each family category, and the number that can be issued to natives of any single country (20,000 per year, with no more than 7 percent of total combined employment and family preference visas going to immigrants born in any one country).[15]

Congress can set the annual limits wherever it chooses, but the current numbers have remained unchanged since 1990, despite several attempts to slash them over the years. Notably, Senator Alan Simpson (R-WY) tried to greatly reduce family immigration quotas in the 104th Congress of 1995–96, but failed when his proposal was split into two bills, one dealing with legal immigration levels and the other with undocumented immigrants and noncitizens convicted of crimes.[16] This latter bill eventually became the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 and was signed into law by President Clinton; Simpson's effort to cut legal immigration found little traction once separated from the larger bill. As a result, present levels of legal immigration remain as fixed in 1990, with no limit for a citizen's spouse, parent, or unmarried child under 21 and at least 226,000 immigrant visas available yearly for the family preference categories, divided as follows:[17]

Family Visa Petition Filed by a U.S. Citizen	Family Visa Petition Filed by a Legal Permanent Resident
First preference (adult unmarried son or daughter): 23,400 per year	Preference 2A (spouses and unmarried children under 21): 87,934 per year
Third preference (married son or daughter): 23,400 per year	Preference 2B (unmarried son or daughter over age 21): 26,266 per year
Fourth preference (brother or sister, married or single): 65,000 per year	

Victims of the Backlogs

Many immigration categories for prospective immigrants from Asia are seriously backlogged. Siblings of U.S. citizens must wait more than twenty years in the case of the Philippines, and relatives of lawful permanent residents (often called "green card holders") from other Asian countries must wait from four to twelve years. The delay in family reunification can result in severe emotional impact on the family. Consider Annie Soo Hoo. She was able to emigrate from China in the 1930s as the wife of a U.S. citizen. She left behind a sister, with whom she was very close. Within ten years of immigrating, Soo Hoo was able to become a U.S. citizen because the prohibition against Chinese immigrants becoming naturalized citizens was repealed in 1943. When Soo Hoo first began the process attempting to help her sister immigrate, she ran into paperwork problems. In rural parts of China, standard documents such as birth certificates and marriage certificates were not issued. So Soo Hoo had to go through a long time-consuming process of gathering supporting statements from people who knew they were sisters, finding old family photographs that pictured her with her sister, and translating letters they had written to each other to prove that they were indeed sisters. After the 1965 immigration law amendments, the processing time for the sibling category gradually grew longer and longer. The People's Republic of China also made it difficult for residents of China to obtain travel documents out of China in the 1970s. When Soo Hoo received word that her sister had passed away in the late 1970s still on the waitlist, she cried for weeks; she had endured pain for decades being separated from her sister.

—Bill Ong Hing

Where there are more applicants than available visas, the cases are handled in the order in which they were filed by the petitioning relatives in the United States. The date that the petition (Form I-130) was filed with U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services or its predecessor, the Immigration and Naturalization Service, is known as the priority date. The State Department's monthly Visa Bulletin lists the priority date that is current for each category; potential immigrants with visa petitions filed before that date are eligible for an interview and visa issuance. Because U.S. citizens and permanent residents from particular countries have filed more petitions than others, backlogs for natives of those countries are longer. (The "country of chargeability" is determined by country of birth of the prospective immigrant, rather than country of current nationality or citizenship.)

In the most extreme case, Philippines-born siblings of U.S. citizens must wait twenty-two years to immigrate. Over the past decade, the most dramatic growth in the backlog has been in the first preference (unmarried adult sons and daughters of U.S. citizens) and third preference (married sons and daughters of U.S. citizens) categories, which respectively grew from fifteen months to six and a half years, and from three and a half years to more than eight years.[18] In fact, the first preference category of unmarried adult sons and daughters of U.S. citizens could immigrate without any delay at all as late as September 1996.

In 2000, Congress took special note of the lengthy backlog for spouses and minor children of permanent residents, which had already reached four and half years, and authorized a temporary "V-visa" program that allowed these family members to travel to the United States once their petition had been pending for

Victims of the Backlog

To understand the sometimes harsh effects of the growth in family immigration backlogs, it may help to look at a particular family. Minh Tran emigrated from Saigon, Vietnam, to San Francisco in 1998, under a fourth preference petition filed in 1988 by his sister Thao, a former refugee who had passed the naturalization test and become a U.S. citizen. Minh was accompanied by his wife, Hanh, and their nineteen-year-old daughter, Vi. Their son, Giang, was forced to remain in Vietnam because he had just turned twenty-one and was no longer considered a part of Minh's immediate family under the law at the time. As soon as the family settled in San Francisco, Hanh filed a petition for Minh under the 2B preference. But after nine years of waiting, just before the priority date was ready for Giang to immigrate, Hanh died suddenly, and her petition for her son was canceled. Now, twenty years after the original petition was filed for his family's immigration, Giang has been forced to begin waiting all over again, this time with Minh (now a U.S. citizen) petitioning for him under the first preference.

three years.[19] While the program did not speed up the actual granting of permanent resident status, it did reunite families during the latter part of their waiting period. The V-visa program is rarely useful today, however, because of its built-in closing date: it was available only to beneficiaries of 2A-preference family visa petitions filed before December 21, 2000.

In 2002, Congress addressed a long-standing problem with the preference categories: because of the mechanics of the annual quotas and the relative number of people waiting to immigrate in each category, Philippines-born unmarried sons and daughters of U.S. citizens must wait longer than those of permanent residents. For many years, this "naturalization penalty" made Filipinos reluctant to apply for U.S. citizenship because their children's immigration would be delayed. As part of the Child Status Protection Act of 2002, Congress remedied this situation by allowing the unmarried son or daughter of a permanent resident to opt out of the conversion from the 2B preference to the first preference that would normally result from the naturalization of the petitioning parent.[20]

FINANCIAL SPONSOR FOR FAMILY IMMIGRANTS

Until the passage of welfare reform legislation in 1996, family immigrants needed a financial sponsor, but the required paperwork was limited in scope. The 1996 amendments created a legally binding contract that the petitioning relative signs, promising to provide adequate support to the new immigrant.[21] This "affidavit of support" allows the immigrant to sue the sponsor for support if necessary, and also provides that the federal, state, or local government can sue the sponsor for reimbursement if the immigrant receives any "means-tested public benefits" (primarily monthly cash assistance programs available only to low-income individuals). The necessary level of support is set at 125 percent of the federal poverty guidelines, and the petitioning relative must show enough income or assets to support both existing household members and the new arrivals. When the petitioner's income and assets fall short, a co-sponsor may be used. The support obligation lasts until the sponsored immigrant becomes a U.S. citizen, is credited with 40 quarters of work under Social Security rules, dies, or permanently leaves the United States and gives up permanent resident status. While this law created a requirement that some families struggle to meet, it has not noticeably slowed immigration from Asia or other regions during the past decade.[22]

OUTLOOK

During the past forty years, family immigration has been and continues to be the primary growth engine of the Asian American community. Such notable Asian Americans as Jerry Yang, former CEO of Yahoo, arrived via the family preference system.[23] Even for those immigrants who originally arrived here via an employer's sponsorship or as refugees, the family petitioning process has enabled them to gradually reunite their families here in the United States, an

opportunity that is very limited under other countries' immigration systems, such as those in Australia and Canada. As a result, the inevitable future efforts to alter the U.S. family immigration system will merit close attention from all segments of the Asian American immigrant community.

FURTHER READING

Hing, Bill Ong. *Making and Remaking Asian America through Immigration Policy, 1850–1990*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993.

Office of Immigration Statistics, U.S. Department of Homeland Security. *2007 Yearbook of Immigration Statistics*. Washington, DC: National Technical Information Service, U.S. Department of Commerce, 2008. http://www.dhs.gov/ximgtn/statistics/publications/yearbook.shtm.

Tamayo, William R. "Asian Americans and Present U.S. Immigration Policies: A Legacy of Asian Exclusion." In *Asian Americans and the Supreme Court*, Hyung-Chan Kim, ed., 1105–1130. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1992.

NOTES

1. David Weissbrodt, *Immigration Law and Procedure,* 4th ed. (St. Paul, MN: West Publishing Group, 1998), 10–17.
2. Hing, Bill Ong, *Making and Remaking Asian America through Immigration Policy, 1850–1990* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993) 37–38.
3. Weissbrodt, *Immigration Law and Procedure,* 17; Hing, *Making and Remaking Asian America through Immigration Policy,* 79.
4. Pub. L. No. 89-236.
5. U.S. Senate, Subcommittee on Immigration and Naturalization of the Committee on the Judiciary, Washington, DC, Hearing Transcript of Feb. 10, 1965, pp. 1–3.
6. Office of Immigration Statistics, U.S. Department of Homeland Security, *2007 Yearbook of Immigration Statistics* (Washington, D.C: National Technical Information Service, U.S. Department of Commerce, 2008), http://www.dhs.gov/ximgtn/statistics/publications/yearbook.shtm. Figures cited in this paragraph and the following one are from this source.
7. Office of Immigration Statistics, U.S. Department of Homeland Security, *2006 Yearbook of Immigration Statistics* (Washington, D.C: National Technical Information Service, U.S. Department of Commerce 2007), http://www.dhs.gov/ximgtn/statistics/publications/yearbook.shtm.
8. 8 USC § 1151(b)(2)(A)(i).
9. 8 USC § 1153(a).
10. 8 CFR § 204.2(a)(4).
11. 8 USC § 1153(d).
12. Tamayo, William R., "Asian Americans and Present U.S. Immigration Policies: A Legacy of Asian Exclusion," in *Asian Americans and the Supreme Court,* ed. Hyung-Chan Kim (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1992), 1115–1118.
13. Dana Bash and Andrea Koppel, "Senate Immigration Bill Suffers Crushing Defeat" (June 28, 2007), http://www.cnn.com/2007/POLITICS/06/28/immigration.congress/index.html.
14. The Visa Bulletin http://travel.state.gov/visa/frvi/bulletin/bulletin_1360.html.
15. 8 USC § 1152(a)(2).

16. Schmitt, Eric, "Bill to Limit Immigration Faces a Setback in Senate," *New York Times*, March 14, 1996, http://www.nytimes.com/1996/03/14/us/bill-to-limit-immigration-faces-a-setback-in-senate.html?n=Top%2FReference%2FTimes%20Topics% 2FSubjects%2FI%2FIllegal%20Aliens.

17. 8 USC § 1153(a).

18. The Visa Bulletin Archive, http://travel.state.gov/visa/frvi/bulletin/bulletin_1360.html.

19. 8 USC § 1101(a)(15)(V).

20. Section 6, Pub. L. No. 107-208.

21. 8 USC § 1183a.

22. Office of Immigration Statistics, U.S. Department of Homeland Security, *2007 Yearbook of Immigration Statistics* (Washington, DC: National Technical Information Service, U.S. Department of Commerce, 2008), http://www.dhs.gov/ximgtn/statistics/publications/yearbook.shtm.

23. "Benefits to the American Economy of a More Educated Workforce," Hearing before the House Immigration Subcommittee, 106th Congress, 1st Session (March 25, 1999), Serial No. 35, p. 137 (remarks of Rep. Zoe Lofgren).

HUMAN TRAFFICKING

Pahole Yotin Sookkasikon

Human trafficking occurs when people are attained, drafted, or brought in by coercion, force, and/or fraud for the ultimate purposes of subjection to commercial sex, forced labor, and/or indentured servitude. Worldwide, human trafficking brings in an estimated $32 billion to $44.3 billion per year. Sex trafficking—seen more often among victimized Asian immigrants—alone generates $7 billion to $8 billion per year.[1] Internationally, it is estimated that 4 million to 27 million people have been forced into this universally illegal and underground trade.[2] Of this annual number, the majority of victims are women and girls, and many are young children. In the United States, 45,000 to 50,000 individuals per year are brought into the country under various guises and for different purposes. Approximately 30,000 of those people smuggled into the United States are from Asia—primarily from Thailand, Vietnam, China, and other Asian nations where poverty levels are high.[3]

General consensus defines human trafficking as the illegal movement of people(s) across national borders. U.S. law defines human trafficking as the following: "a) sex trafficking in which a commercial sex act is induced by force, fraud, or coercion, or in which the person persuaded to perform such an act has not attained 18 years of age; or b) the recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for labor or services, through the use of force, fraud, or coercion for the purpose of subjection to involuntary servitude, peonage, debt bondage, or slavery."[4]

Human traffickers prey on individuals who are quite vulnerable, recruiting victims through coercion and manipulation. These victims tend to come from impoverished nations—at times called "source countries"—and typically travel

to states with greater economic opportunities and higher levels of income—“destination countries.”[5] Those trafficked from Asian countries are usually forced and manipulated into services such as involuntary sex work; domestic servitude; labor and child exploitation; as well as the more recent, servile marriages—a marriage that a woman was promised or given into without her consent, specifically seen in mail-order brides. Often these migrant sufferers face unwilling servitude because of various abuses, which include the misuse of a working contract; inadequate local laws that govern the recruitment and employment of migrant laborers; and the intentional imposition of debts that continuously incur while remaining in their captors' possession.

HUMAN TRAFFICKING CASES

On August 2, 1995, it was discovered that seventy-two Thai workers were held captive as slave labor in an apartment-based sweatshop in the southern Californian suburb of El Monte. The Manasurangkun family, fellow Thai immigrants, was held responsible for holding migrants captive while enforcing and abusing laborers with constant deadlines, inhumane treatment, little time off, and corrupt work ethics. Like many stories that involve illegal trafficking, most of the individuals—predominantly ethnic Thai women, and some men—were introduced to the prospect of a better economic opportunity by word-of-mouth or an acquaintance in their native homeland. These men and women typically came from a rural socioeconomic background and were in need of an economic alternative. They then migrated to the United States under fabricated documents and fake identities, assuming an entirely new life concocted and controlled by their traffickers. Many of them did not second-guess or run from their captors during the process of migration because they did not suspect or know they were being trafficked until it was too late. Those who have testified against the Manasurangkun family said that, upon arrival, their rights and freedoms were restricted; conversation to and with other workers was closely monitored; work was thoroughly enforced; and they were held captive from the outside world—locked inside the seven-unit complex, with barbed-wired fences.

From its earlier stages in 1988 to the final raid in August 1995, the operators of the El Monte sweatshop intimidated their victims by making them work sixteen-hours a day seven days a week, increased their debts, made threats of physical harm to them and to their families in Thailand, and kept them under tight surveillance to prevent them from escaping. Workers were forced to sew garments for large, brand-name clothing lines—such as High Sierra, B.U.M., and Anchor Blue, which were sold at Miller's Outpost, Nordstrom's, Target, and Sears—for less than $2 an hour.[6] Although they sewed for many well-known clothing lines, the men and women of El Monte rarely saw any profit. Malinan Radomphon, an El Monte interviewee, recalled that on a monthly basis, laborers would receive $400 to $500 per month.[7] For the most part, a high

percentage of their earnings were stripped away and used to pay off the increasing debt that each individual owed. With the little money left over, laborers had no choice but to use those earnings to purchase food or personal products through the Manasurangkun family at extorted prices.

When law enforcement finally raided the sweatshop, acting on a tip from the boyfriend of an escaped worker, they arrested eight of the garment shop operators and the Immigration and Naturalization Service detained the seventy-two workers in their custody. Nine days after being detained, the INS released the workers and granted them temporary residency in the United States as material witnesses to testify against the operators of El Monte. By 1999, eleven companies—Mervyn's, Montgomery Ward, Tomato, Bum International, L. F. Sportswear, Miller's Outpost, Balmara, Beniko, F-40 California, Ms. Tops, and Topson Downs—agreed to pay more than $3.7 million to the 150 workers who labored in the El Monte sweatshop and its storefront operation. As in most cases involving the exploitation of undocumented laborers and large-clothing companies, these large corporations argued that they had no knowledge of the type of labor used to sew their apparel and were just fooled by the contractors. After this ordeal many of the workers were granted legal residency. Most are expected to apply for legal citizenship in the United States.

SEX TRAFFICKING

The most prominently known form of human trafficking is illegal sex work, which is generally defined as an exchange of capital and goods for sexual services. Out of the 30,000 Asian individuals—commonly women—who are trafficked into the United States annually, a large percentage of them consequently end up taking this route of human barter. These victims are chiefly exported from developing nations such as the Philippines, Sri Lanka, Thailand, and are emerging in Vietnam and Cambodia. Similar to the case of El Monte, individuals involved in sex trafficking were and are lured by the promises of better economic options for the possibility of a more thriving and successful livelihood.

It is estimated that 10,000 Asian women are trafficked into the Los Angeles underground sex trade yearly.[8] About twenty to thirty Thai women are illegally imported into Canadian and U.S. brothels (typically disguised as a massage parlor) a month.[9] Along with these women, approximately 25,000 Filipinas have been brought into the United States to work in numerous states, in different forms of the sex trade, as well as near U.S. military bases and camps.[10] Furthermore, the women typically are locked inside the place of business and forced to have sex with as many as a dozen men a day. Sometimes victims are forced to live in the brothel where five or six "co-workers" are crammed into one room.[11]

Generally, most of the victims are promised work as hostesses, waitresses, models, and other small jobs to pay debts.[12] Upon arrival to the U.S., many

awake to the reality of enforced sexual servitude with little hope of escape until expenses—travel costs, housing, visas and passports, food, and personal hygiene products—are paid off. In one case, a Korean woman who was trafficked was told that she owed her employers $11,000 for her journey—$4,000 more than she had originally agreed to. This woman was sold into an escort service where women were sold into brothels, massage parlors, and strip clubs.[13] Being forced to navigate herself throughout the underground sex industry of California, she ended up in the Tenderloin district of San Francisco, where she eventually saved enough money to pay off expenses and buy her freedom; she gave $30,000 plus a $1,200 fee to her employer.[14]

Individuals who free themselves from their traffickers are able to use many resources that are available to them and usually qualify for the government-issued T-1 visa, allowing them to stay in the country for three years and eventually apply for a green card if it is proved that they were a victim of enforced sexual servitude. Although the U.S. government allots 5,000 visas annually for victims, typically only 1,000 are issued because those who apply must first testify against their trafficker, which many are not prepared to do, fearing physical harm to their family and themselves. This becomes problematic, and both the authorities and traffickers know it. Because of the lack of evidence to convict traffickers, the penalty that they face is minimal compared with the amount of distress and trauma they have caused victims. For example, in San Francisco, only a handful of problem massage parlors have been fined $2,500 for health code violations and threatened with 60- and 90-day permit suspensions if more violations are discovered.[15]

ADVOCACY FOR VICTIMS

Although at times reparation sometimes seems like a fleeting dream to victims, many organizations have begun to advocate and provide substantial services for victimized individuals during and after their ordeal. For example, the U.S. government—in most cases—is able to adjust the immigration and citizenship status of most trafficked laborers, obtain local and federal assistance for individuals, and begin to rebuild fractured lives through rehabilitation. Additionally, the government—through the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (HHS)—facilitates federally funded relief to victims who are of non-U.S. residency and status. Victims are also able to access services through HHS such as federal and government-mandated health care, food provisions, and assistance in finding occupations and employment. Most importantly, with more to offer than the basic necessities given to victims, the HHS connects reluctant parties who are fearful of deportation and incarceration with nonprofit organizations that exclusively handle situations such as these.

Asian American nonprofit and grassroots organizations such as the GABRIELA Network, Asian Pacific Islander Legal Outreach (APILO), the Coalition to Abolish Slavery and Trafficking (CAST), Asian Pacific American

Legal Center, Asian Law Caucus, and others are organized to campaign and raise awareness so others can fully understand the scope of this international problem. Some of their main goals are to provide cohesion—through networking, recognition, and similar aspirations—among groups and individuals, which help empower and give voice to those victimized. Groups also advocate civil rights, produce educational tools and awareness, and in some cases, provide legal services that assist victims ascertain some sense of security.

The services they offer are sometimes seen as legal routes that help educate community-based organizations, government offices, social and legal providers, and shelters to give more resources to victims in the United States. Through this awareness and action as a middleman, grassroots Asian American organizations and policy groups play an important role by providing culturally appropriate direct services, community education, policy research and legislative advocacy that are sensitive to the particular needs of trafficked persons.[16]

Many organizations and people refuse to ignore the problem and answer the call of victims because this is not just an international issue, but a domestic one

Garment industry worker Nantha Jaknang, right, embraces Rini Chakraborty of the Asian Pacific American Legal Center (APALC). Jaknang, who was involved in the 1995 El Monte raid where Thai workers were taken as prisoners, spoke about the difficulty she had trying to exercise her rights under California's anti-sweatshop law at a news conference at the APALC in Los Angeles, 2005. (AP Photo/Reed Saxon)

as well. As the number of Asian and Asian American people trafficked continues to increase, so do the organizations that help advocate on their behalf and bring attention to this undercover and unlawful occurrence. For many, it is the desire to bring attention that allows individuals to understand and follow the signs that aid and heal the trauma for those who struggle silently. It is the desire for an end to this modern-day slavery that makes people take action.

FURTHER READING

American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), http://www.aclu.org/ and http://www.aclu.org/womensrights/index.html.

Asian Anti Trafficking Collaborative (AATC), http://endtrafficking.wordpress.com/.

Foo, Lora Jo. *Asian American Women: Issues, Concerns, and Responsive Human and Civil Rights Advocacy*. New York: iUniverse, Inc., 2003.

Gabriela Network (GABNet), http://www.gabnet.org/.

Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons, http://www.state.gov/g/tip/.

Rebugio, Liezl Tomas. *Rights to Survival & Mobility: An Anti-Trafficking Activist's Agenda*. [Online, 2008]. National Asian Pacific American Woman's Forum Web site. http://www.napawf.org/file/events/AT_Agenda.pdf.

Sweatshop Watch, http://www.sweatshopwatch.org/.

NOTES

1. U.S. Department of State, *Trafficking in Persons* Report (*TIP Report*), available at http://www.state.gov/g/tip/rls/tiprpt/2008/index.htm (June 4, 2008); American Civil Liberties Union, *Human Trafficking: Modern Enslavement of Immigrant Women in the United States*, http://www.aclu.org/womensrights/humanrights/34683res20070531.html (May 31, 2007).

2. U.S. Department of State, *Trafficking in Persons Report*.

3. Lora Jo Foo, *Asian American Women: Issues, Concerns, and Responsive Human and Civil Rights Advocacy* (New York: iUniverse, Inc., 2003).

4. *Trafficking Victims Protection Act* ("*TVPA*") of 2000, 22 U.S.C. § 7102(8).

5. Ivy O Suriyopas, "Toll on Human Trafficking," *Filipino Reporter* 36, no. 13 (2008): 55.

6. Liezl Tomas Rebugio, "Rights to Survival & Mobility: An Anti-Trafficking Activist's Agenda," *National Asian Pacific American Woman's Forum,* 2008, http://www.napawf.org/file/events/AT_Agenda.pdf.

7. Peter Leibhold and Harry R. Rubenstein, *Between a Rock and a Hard Place: A History of American Sweatshops, 1820–Present* (Los Angeles: UCLA Asian American Studies Center and Simon Wiesenthal Center Museum of Tolerance, 1999), 78.

8. Foo, *Asian American Women*. 2003.

9. Foo, *Asian American Women*, 2003.

10. Gabriela Network, "Trafficking in the United States," *The Purple Rose Campaign: Against Trafficking Filipino Women and Children*, 2005–2009, http://www.gabnet.org/campaigns.php?page=2.2.

11. Meredith May, "Diary of a Sex Slave," *SFGate.com*, Oct. 6–10, 2006, http://www.sfgate.com/sextrafficking/.

12. May, "Diary of a Sex Slave."

13. May, "Diary of a Sex Slave."

14. May, "Diary of a Sex Slave."
15. May, "Diary of a Sex Slave."
16. Liezl Tomas Rebugio, "Rights to Survival & Mobility: An Anti-Trafficking Activist's Agenda," *National Asian Pacific American Woman's Forum,* 2008, http://www.napawf.org/file/events/AT_Agenda.pdf.

This page intentionally left blank

PUBLIC BENEFITS

Jonathan Blazer and Tanya Broder

The availability of public benefits is an important matter for many Asian Americans. The vast majority of Asian Americans are foreign-born, and a substantial number—particularly among those who entered the country as refugees—rely on public assistance as they adjust to life in the United States. Many Asian Americans are denied access to critical services, however, because of immigrant restrictions imposed in many benefits programs. Since the inception of federal programs providing food, cash assistance, and health insurance to low-income persons, undocumented immigrants and immigrants with temporary visas generally have been ineligible for assistance. However, enactment of 1996 welfare and immigration laws marked an unprecedented new era of restrictionism.[1] Prior to the 1996 laws, lawfully residing immigrants generally were eligible for assistance in a similar manner as citizens. Thereafter, most lawfully residing immigrants were barred from receiving assistance under the major federal benefits programs for five years or longer. Even where eligibility for immigrants was preserved by the 1996 laws or restored by subsequent legislation, many immigrant families hesitate to enroll in critical health care, job-training, nutrition, and cash assistance programs because of fear and confusion about these laws. As a result, the participation of legal immigrants in public benefit programs decreased sharply since passage of the 1996 law, leaving many poor and low-income families in severe hardship, lacking even the minimal support available to other low-income families.[2]

Many states have worked to fill in the significant gaps in noncitizen coverage created by the 1996 laws. In fact, more than half of the states spend their own money to cover at least some of the immigrants who are ineligible for federally funded services. A growing number of states or counties provide

health coverage to children and/or pregnant women, regardless of their immigration status. State-funded programs are often temporary or subject to state budget battles. In determining an immigrant's eligibility for benefits, it is important to understand both the federal rules and the rules of the individual state in which an immigrant resides.

POVERTY AND IMMIGRANTS

Although only one in eight persons living in the U.S. is foreign-born, immigrants comprise one-fifth of the nation's low-wage workforce. Although many immigrants do well economically, many others work long hours at low-wage jobs with no health insurance or other benefits. In fact, nearly half of immigrant workers earn less than twice the minimum wage, and only 26 percent of immigrants have job-based health insurance.[3]

In recent decades, the population of immigrants from Asian countries living in the United States has grown dramatically, increasing by 65 percent between 1990 and 2000 alone. In 2000, these immigrants comprised more than a quarter of the foreign-born, second only to Latin American immigrants in foreign-born population by world region. Among the top five countries sending refugees to the United States from 1983–2004, three are Southeast Asian countries.[4]

Although, as a broad category, Asian immigrants have higher earnings and lower rates of unemployment and poverty than the overall foreign-born population, there is a great deal of variation among immigrants based on their country of birth. Approximately one in every seven Asian immigrants lives in poverty, which indicates that many are financially eligible for federal public benefit programs that assist low-income persons. There is wide variation in poverty rates among foreign-born Asian populations, ranging from 6 percent (Philippines) to 43.2 percent (Mongolia), and of course there is also enormous variation among individual persons within country populations.[5]

Overall, approximately 18 percent of all Asian Americans lack health insurance, compared to 11 percent of non-Hispanic whites. Two factors help explain the discrepancy. First, despite their high rates of employment, Asian Americans are less likely to work in jobs providing employer-sponsored coverage. For example, Korean Americans and Southeast Asians, nearly half of whom are uninsured, are also the least likely to have employment-based coverage. Second, Asian immigrants are often excluded from the public health programs intended to assist low-income persons who lack job-based insurance because of the various eligibility restrictions and other barriers described in this article. Indeed, Asian Americans use Medicaid and Medicare relatively infrequently (18.3% vs. 26.1% for whites) despite their higher poverty rates and lower rate of employer-sponsored coverage. That said, public programs play a critical role in providing health care access for many Asian American groups. For example, Asian American children are somewhat more likely than white children to have government health insurance, such as Medicaid, SCHIP, or military health care (22.4% vs. 18.4%).[6]

IMMIGRANT ELIGIBILITY RESTRICTIONS

The 1996 welfare law created two categories of immigrants for benefits eligibility purposes: "qualified" and "not qualified." The qualified immigrant category includes lawful permanent residents, refugees, asylees, and other more specialized categories.[7] All other immigrants, ranging from undocumented immigrants to many people who are lawfully present in the United States, are considered "not qualified." The federal law prohibits "not qualified" immigrants from enrolling in most federal public benefit programs.[8] Federal public benefits include a variety of safety net services paid for by federal funds.[9]

Congress restricted eligibility even for many qualified immigrants by arbitrarily distinguishing between those who entered the United States before or "on or after" the date the law was enacted, August 22, 1996. The law bars most immigrants who entered the United States on or after that date from "federal means-tested public benefits" during the five years after they secure qualified immigrant status.[10] Federal agencies clarified that "federal means-tested public benefits" are Medicaid (except for emergency care), SCHIP, TANF, Food Stamps, and Supplemental Security Income.[11] "Humanitarian immigrants"—refugees, people granted asylum or withholding of deportation/removal, Cuban/Haitian entrants, certain Amerasian immigrants, and victims of trafficking—are exempt from the five-year bar, as are "qualified" immigrant veterans, active duty military, and their spouses and children.

States can receive federal funding for TANF, Medicaid, and SCHIP to serve "qualified" immigrants who have completed the federal five-year bar.[12] Approximately half of the states use state funds to provide TANF, Medicaid, and/or SCHIP to some or all of the immigrants who are subject to the five-year bar on federally funded services, or to a broader group of immigrants.[13] Although the 1996 law severely restricted immigrant eligibility for food stamps, subsequent legislation restored access for many of these immigrants. Other "qualified" immigrant adults, however, must wait until they have been in qualified status for five years before their eligibility for food stamps can be considered.

Congress imposed its most severe restrictions on immigrant seniors and immigrants with disabilities, who seek assistance under the SSI program.[14] Although advocacy efforts in the years following the welfare law's passage achieved a partial restoration of these benefits, significant gaps in eligibility remain. SSI, for example, continues to exclude "not qualified" immigrants who were not already receiving the benefits, as well as most "qualified" immigrants who entered the country after the welfare law passed and seniors without disabilities who were in the United States before that date.[15]

"Not qualified" immigrants remain eligible for emergency Medicaid, if they are otherwise eligible for their state's Medicaid program.[16] The 1996 law does not restrict access to public health programs providing immunizations and/or treatment of communicable disease symptoms (whether or not those symptoms are caused by such a disease). School breakfast and lunch programs remain open to all children regardless of immigration status, and every state has opted

to provide access to the Special Supplemental Nutrition Program for Women, Infants and Children (WIC).[17] Also exempted from the restrictions are in-kind services necessary to protect life or safety, as long as the program is not conditioned on a person's income or resources.[18]

OTHER BARRIERS IMPEDING ACCESS TO BENEFITS

Asian American immigrants confront numerous barriers when attempting to secure public benefits. Confusion about eligibility rules pervades not only benefit agencies but also Asian American and immigrant health and service providers.[19] The confusion stems from the complex interaction of the immigration and welfare laws, differences in eligibility criteria for various state and federal programs, and a lack of adequate training on the rules as clarified by federal agencies. Consequently, many eligible immigrants have assumed that they should not seek services, and eligibility workers mistakenly have turned away eligible immigrants. Asian immigrants and their families are often confused by these federal laws and wary of applying for public benefits because they do not want to jeopardize their immigration status. The failure of benefits and other agencies to provide linguistically appropriate information has compounded the problem.

Many Asian immigrants fear that use of public benefits could jeopardize their immigration status.[20] Current immigration laws allow officials to deny applications for permanent residence if the authorities determine that the immigrant seeking permanent residence is "likely to become a public charge." In deciding whether an immigrant is likely to become a public charge, immigration or consular officials look at the "totality of the circumstances," including an immigrant's health, age, income, education and skills, and affidavits of support. In May 1999, the Immigration and Naturalization Service issued helpful guidance and a proposed regulation on the public charge doctrine.[21] The guidance clarifies that receipt of health care and other noncash benefits will not jeopardize the immigration status of recipients or their family members by putting them at risk of being considered a public charge.[22] Nevertheless, after the issuance of this guidance, confusion and concern about the public charge rules remain, deterring many eligible immigrants from seeking benefits for which they are eligible.

In the Asian American community, immigrants and their families also have been deterred from using public benefits because they fear that their use of benefits will have negative repercussions for their "sponsors."[23] Under the 1996 welfare and immigration laws, family members who file a petition to help a person immigrate must become financial sponsors of the immigrant by signing a contract with the government (an affidavit of support). Under this affidavit, the sponsor promises to support the immigrant and to repay certain benefits that the immigrant may use. The particular federal benefits for which sponsors may be liable have been defined to be TANF, SSI, food stamps, nonemergency Medicaid, and SCHIP. Recently issued regulations on the affidavits of support make clear that

states are not obligated to pursue sponsors and that states cannot collect reimbursement for services used prior to public notification that they are considered means-tested public benefits for which sponsors will be liable. Most states have not designated the programs that would give rise to sponsor liability. The specter of sponsor liability, however, has deterred some eligible immigrants from applying for benefits, based on concerns about exposing their sponsors to government collection efforts.

Many Asian immigrants face significant linguistic and cultural barriers to obtaining benefits. As a group, Asian immigrants are somewhat more likely to be proficient in English than the overall foreign-born population; however, more than one-third of Asians Americans do not speak English "very well." These limited English proficient (LEP) residents cannot effectively apply for benefits or meaningfully communicate with a health care provider without language assistance. Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibits recipients of federal funding from discriminating on the basis of national origin, and such discrimination can include failure to address language barriers that prevent LEP individuals from securing assistance. Compliance with this nondiscrimination requirement has been limited. In August 2000, the White House issued an executive order directing federal agencies, by December 11, 2000, to submit to the U.S. Department of Justice (DOJ) plans to improve language access and to publish guidance for programs receiving federal financial assistance regarding compliance with the Title VI requirement to take "reasonable steps" to assure "meaningful access" to federally funded services.[24] The DOJ published final guidance to its recipients on June 18, 2002.[25] Several agencies, including HHS, developed and published guidance for public comment, but many remain delinquent.[26]

As a result of federal welfare law changes and the confusion that ensued, many local, statewide and national Asian American organizations such as the Asian Pacific Islander American Health Forum, the Asian American Justice Center, the National Korean American Service and Education Consortium, the Southeast Asian Resource Center, and National Asian Pacific Women's Forum have made it a priority to engage in education and continued advocacy in many Asian immigrant communities to address the various barriers preventing immigrants from securing public benefits.

OUTLOOK

The 1996 welfare law produced sharp decreases in public benefits participation, particularly among immigrants. Proponents of welfare reform see that fact as evidence of the bill's success, noting that a reduction of welfare "dependency," particularly among immigrants, was precisely what the legislation intended. Critics question, among other things, the fairness of excluding immigrants from programs that are supported by the taxes that the immigrants themselves pay. In Asian American communities, the 1996 welfare law marked a time to challenge policy makers on their decisions to curtail immigrants access to benefit programs. Working in coalitions with other local and national organizations, they worked to

advocate that immigrants—regardless of their citizenship or immigration status—deserved essential services such as preventive health care.[27] Later, after the passage of the federal welfare law, many of these groups worked together to challenge and to restore many of the lost benefits. Today, national Asian American organizations continue to collaborate with other organizations to engage with local and statewide groups and policy makers in addressing the inequalities and barriers that prevent immigrants from participating in benefit programs.

FURTHER READING

Asian Pacific Islander American Health Forum. http//:www.apiahf.org.

National Immigration Law Center, *Guide to Immigrant Eligibility for Federal Programs*, 4th ed. Washington, DC: National Immigration Law Center, 2002.

National Immigration Law Center, *Federal Guidance on Public Charge: When is it safe to use public benefits?* http://www.nilc.org/ce/nilc/Public_Charge_Nat-06-01-05.pdf.

National Immigration Law Center, *Sponsored Immigrants and Benefits* http://www.nilc.org/ce/nilc/sponsoredimms&bens_na_2006-07.pdf.

Southeast Asia Resource Action Center, http://www.searac.org.

NOTES

1. Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 (hereinafter "welfare law"), Pub. L. No. 104–193, 110 Stat. 2105 (Aug. 22, 1996); and Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 (hereinafter "IIRIRA"), enacted as Division C of the Defense Department Appropriations Act, 1997, Pub. L. No. 104–208, 110 Stat. 3008 (Sept. 30, 1996).

2. Michael Fix and Jeffrey Passel, "The Scope and Impact of Welfare Reform's Immigrant Provisions." *Assessing the New Federalism* Discussion Paper No. 02-03. Washington, DC: The Urban Institute, 2002.

3. Leighton Ku and Shannon Blaney, "Health Coverage for Legal Immigrant Children: New Census Data Highlight Importance of Restoring Medicaid and SCHIP Coverage," (Washington, DC: Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, October 2000).

4. Audrey Singer and Jill H Wilson, "Refugee Resettlement in Metropolitan America," Migration Policy Institute, March 2007.

5. David Dixon, "Characteristics of the Asian Born in the United States," Migration Policy Institute, March 2006 (compiling data from the 2000 Census).

6. Asian & Pacific Islander American Health Forum, "Health Coverage: Asian American and Pacific Islanders" (December 2006) (summarizing primary source data), http://www.apiahf.org/resources/pdf/AAPI_Insurance_coverage_Fact_Sheet.pdf.

7. The following groups are defined as "qualified" immigrants: lawful permanent residents; refugees, persons granted asylum or withholding of deportation/removal, Cuban and Haitian entrants and conditional entrants; people granted parole by the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) for a period of at least one year; and certain abused immigrants, their children, and/or their parents. Victims of trafficking and their derivative beneficiaries, while not technically "qualified" immigrants, are eligible for benefits to the same extent as refugees. Some states continue to provide services to a broader range of immigrants using state or local funds.

8. Welfare law § 401 (8 U.S.C. § 1611).

9. "Federal public benefit" is defined in the 1996 welfare law as any grant, contract, loan, professional license, or commercial license provided by an agency of the United States or by appropriated funds of the United States, and any retirement, welfare, health, disability, public or assisted housing, postsecondary education, food assistance, unemployment, benefit, or any other similar benefit for which payments or assistance are provided to an individual, household, or family eligibility unit by an agency of the United States or appropriated funds of the United States; see http://www.acf.hhs.gov/programs/ocs/liheap/guidance/special_topics/im98-25.html.

10. Welfare law § 403 (8 U.S.C. § 1613).

11. HHS, Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 (PRWORA), "Interpretation of 'Federal Means-Tested Public Benefit,'" 62 FR 45256 (August 26, 1997); U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA), "Federal Means-Tested Public Benefits," 63 FR 36653 (July 7, 1998); Health Care Financing Administration, "The Administration's Response to Questions about the State Child Health Insurance Program," Question 19(a) (Sept. 11, 1997).

12. The Children's Health Insurance Program Reauthorization Act of 2009 granted states the option to provide federally funded Medicaid and CHIP to "lawfully residing" children and pregnant women, regardless of their date of entry into the United States. Public Law 111-113.

13. See *Guide to Immigrant Eligibility for Federal Programs*, 4th ed. (Los Angeles: National Immigrant Law Center, 2002), and updated tables at http://www.nilc.org/pubs/Guide_update.htm.

14. Welfare law § 402(a) (8 U.S.C. § 1612(a)).

15. Most new entrants cannot receive SSI until they become citizens or secure credit for 40 quarters of work history (including work performed by a spouse during marriage, persons "holding out to the community" as spouses, and by parents before the immigrant was 18 years old).

16. Emergency Medicaid covers the treatment of an emergency medical conditions, which is defined as: " a medical condition (including emergency labor and delivery) manifesting itself by acute symptoms of sufficient severity (including severe pain) such that the absence of immediate medical attention could reasonably be expected to result in: (A) placing the patient's health in serious jeopardy, (B) serious impairment to bodily functions: or (C) serious dysfunction of any bodily organ or part." 42 U.S.C. §1396b(v); Welfare law § 401(b)(1)(A) (8 U.S.C. § 1611(b)(1)(A)).

17. Welfare law § 742 (8 U.S.C. § 1615).

18. U.S. Department of Justice (DOJ), "Final Specification of Community Programs Necessary for Protection of Life or Safety under Welfare Reform Legislation," A.G. Order No. 2353–2001, published in 66 FR 3613–16 (Jan. 16, 2001).

19. L. S. Park and G. J. Yoo, "Impact of 'Public Charge' Policy on Immigrant Women's Access to Medi-Cal," *Policy Report to the California Policy Research Center's California Program on Access to Care* (2002).

20. Park and Yoo, "Impact of 'Public Charge' Policy."

21. DOJ, "Field Guidance on Deportability and Inadmissibility on Public Charge Grounds," 64 FR 28689–93 (May 26, 1999); see also DOJ, "Inadmissibility and Deportability on Public Charge Grounds," 64 FR 28676–88 (May 26, 1999); U.S. Department of State, INA 212(A)(4) Public Charge: Policy Guidance, 9 FAM 40.41.

22. The use of all health care programs, except for long-term institutionalization (e.g. Medicaid payment for nursing home care), was declared to be irrelevant to public charge determinations. Programs providing cash assistance for income maintenance purposes

are the only other programs that are relevant in the public charge determination. The determination is based on the "totality of a person's circumstances" and therefore the past use of cash assistance can be weighed against other favorable factors, such as a person's current income or skills or the contract signed by a sponsor promising to support the intending immigrant.

23. Park and Yoo, "Impact of "Public Charge" Policy".

24. Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996.

25. Fix and Passel, "The Scope and Impact of Welfare Reform's Immigrant Provisions."

26. Ku and Blaney, *Health Coverage for Legal Immigrant Children.*

27. Yoo, "The Fight to Save Welfare for Low-Income Older Asian Immigrants: The Role of National Asian American Organizations," *Asian Americans & Pacific Islanders Policy, Practice and Community* 1, No. 1: 85–103.

SOUTH ASIANS IN A POST–SEPTEMBER 11TH ENVIRONMENT

Deepa Iyer

The post-September 11th environment has been framed as a watershed moment for South Asian community members and organizations in the United States. During the months and years that followed the September 11th attacks, South Asians experienced unprecedented levels of harassment, targeting, profiling, and discrimination from members of the general public, entities such as employers or businesses, and governmental entities.

More than 2.7 million South Asians reside in the United States. South Asians trace their backgrounds to Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, the Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, and the diaspora that includes the Caribbean, Africa, and Europe. South Asians are diverse in terms of national origin, languages spoken, economic status, and religious affiliation. The majority of South Asians who live in the United States are foreign-born, with more than 75 percent of the population born outside of the United States. The metropolitan areas with the largest South Asian populations include New York/New Jersey, the San Francisco Bay Area, Chicago, Los Angeles, and the Washington, DC, metropolitan area.[1]

For South Asian communities, the post–September 11th backlash was a wakeup call in many ways. While South Asians had experienced discrimination, violence, and profiling prior to September 11th, the general feeling of comfort and security that many community members enjoyed was shaken like never before.

The post September 11th backlash occurred as a result of either action by private actors and entities, or of policies implemented by legislative or executive

branches of government. While the post–September 11th backlash manifested in different ways, it stems from the scapegoating of South Asian, Muslim, and Arab American communities and suspicions of disloyalty about them. It results from the belief that South Asians, Muslims, and Arab Americans—and anyone who is perceived as being part of those communities—could be potential terrorists or have links to terrorist activities simply because they either resemble or come from the same countries as those who masterminded the September 11th attacks.

PUBLIC BACKLASH

In the wake of September 11th, South Asians, Arab Americans, Sikhs, Muslims, and anyone perceived to be connected to those communities were targeted by members of the general public and private entities. The backlash ranged from hate crimes and streetside assaults to refusals of service at places of accommodation (such as restaurants and hotels), workplace harassment and discrimination to bullying or teasing at schools and on university campuses. In 2001, the Federal Bureau of Investigation reported a 1600 percent-plus increase in anti-Muslim hate crimes (from 28 in 2000 to 481 in 2001).[2] The Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and the U.S. Attorney's Office have investigated more than 750 incidents involving violence, threats, vandalism, and arson against Arabs, Muslims, South Asians, and Sikhs between September 11th and March 2007.[3]

At least three individuals—and potentially four more —were murdered as a result of anti-Arab or anti-Muslim backlash.[4] These individuals include Balbir Singh Sodhi, a forty-nine-year-old turbaned Sikh and father of three, who was shot and killed while planting flowers at his gas station on September 15, 2002. His killer, Frank Roque, earlier said that he intended to "kill the ragheads responsible for September 11th."[5] After shooting Sodhi, Roque also allegedly fired shots into the home of an Afghani American and at two Lebanese gas station clerks. Other victims of the post-9/11 backlash included Waquar Hassan, a forty-six-year-old Pakistani man, who was killed while he worked at his grocery store near Dallas, TX, on September 15, 2001.[6]

In addition to hate crimes, South Asians experienced verbal harassment, ethnic and religious slurs, and assaults in cars and on streets. The violence also extended to places of worship, including the Islamic Center of El Paso Mosque, where an individual threw a "Molotov Cocktail," and the Islamic Center Mosque in Tallahassee, FL, where an individual crashed his truck into the building.[7] In Bedford, OH, an individual threw three Molotov cocktails into the Guru Gobind Singh Sikh Gurdwara.[8]

South Asians also confronted discrimination in the workplace and at public places of accommodation. The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), a federal agency that investigates complaints of workplace discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin, reported receiving in 2003 more than 800 complaints of backlash discrimination since

September 11th.[9] In most cases, these complaints involved discharge or workplace hostility from coworkers or supervisors. An example of a lawsuit filed by the EEOC was that against the Plaza Hotel and Fairmont Hotel and Resorts in New York City, where a class of employees claimed that they were subjected to hostile conditions and harassment at the workplace. South Asian, Muslim, and Arab employees claimed that they were called "Dumb Muslim," and "Taliban" and were accused of perpetrating the 9/11 attacks.[10]

As the backlash began to spread across the country, South Asians joined with friends, families and allies at vigils and rallies to remember the victims of the September 11th attacks and to remind Americans of the country's commitment to racial, religious, and ethnic diversity. Even though bias attacks lessened in frequency, they would continue over subsequent years, and they would be further compounded as federal agencies began to target certain communities through enforcement policies and initiatives.

GOVERNMENT ENFORCEMENT ACTIONS

Through legislation such as the USA PATRIOT Act and a number of far-reaching executive orders and internal policies, federal government agencies obtained expanded surveillance and enforcement powers in the months and years after September 11th. As a result, South Asians, Arab Americans, Sikhs, and Muslims have reported increased incidents of profiling, detentions and deportations, and denials of basic constitutional due process rights.

Since September 11th, South Asians have reported high incidents of profiling, which is a law enforcement tactic that connects individuals to crimes based on certain characteristics that are unrelated to the criminal conduct under investigation. After September 11th, airport security personnel, immigration enforcement agencies, and state and local law enforcement have singled out South Asians for additional scrutiny and investigation based on characteristics related to national origin, ethnicity, religious affiliation, and perceived immigration status—with no relation to terrorist activities or links with terrorism. For example, many South Asians have been prevented from flying because their names are identical or similar to those on "no-fly" lists maintained by the Transportation Security Administration. South Asians have also reported experiencing excessive screenings and questioning by U.S. Customs and Border Protection (CBP) agents when returning from trips abroad.[11] In addition, Sikh travelers who wear turbans and Muslim women who wear headscarves are frequently subjected to additional secondary screenings simply based upon their attire.[12]

Other government-sponsored actions after September 11th were related to the use of immigration laws to investigate and detain individuals suspected of having connections to terrorist activities. Shortly after September 11th, more than 1,200 individuals were secretly arrested and detained after nationwide sweeps in connection with terrorism investigations.[13] More than 750 of these detainees were designed as "special interest" detainees.[14] For the most part, the detainees were men from South Asian or Middle Eastern nations with the largest number

of detainees (33%) coming from Pakistan.[15] In many circumstances, FBI agents and local police identified and detained individuals based not on evidence of potential ties to terrorism but on tips from the public and chance encounters. For example, on November 25, 2001, a resident in Torrington, CT, informed police that he had heard two “Arabs” talking about anthrax. Police followed the two suspects and arrested them, along with an Indian businessman who had been working at the gas station, as well as another man from Pakistan who happened to be at the station at the same time. Police did not offer explanations for the detention of the Indian businessman and detained him for 18 days before releasing him on bond.[16]

Detainees discovered that once detained, government officials could use administrative rules to hold them for longer periods of time without charging them with any crimes. In fact, on September 20, 2001, the U,S. Department of Justice issued an interim rule that allowed the detention of noncitizens for 48 hours or longer if necessary—without pressing any charges against them.[17] In fact, of the 752 special interest detainees, 317 were held without charge for more than 48 hours, 36 were held for 28 days or more without charges, 13 were held for more than 40 days without charges, and 9 were held for more than 50 days without charges.[18] In addition to being held for long periods of time with no charges, many special interest detainees reported that they were subjected to verbal and physical abuse inside detention centers. Many did not receive adequate medical attention and could not comply with religious customs related to diet and prayer.

In addition, the detainees were often unable to exercise basic fundamental rights that are guaranteed to all people (regardless of citizenship status) under the U.S. Constitution. These due process rights include the ability to challenge one’s detention, receive information about the charges being brought, and present oneself before a neutral judge in a timely fashion. Many of these rights effectively disappeared for detainees in the post–September 11th environment.[19] In addition, hundreds were subjected to secret immigration hearings where the public, media, and even family and friends were excluded. More than half of the special interest detainees were charged with immigration violations, but no special interest detainees were charged in relation to the 9/11 attacks, and almost no special interest detainees were charged with terrorism-related offenses.[20]

In addition to the nationwide sweeps and arbitrary detentions, the U.S. government implemented several policies that officials claimed were related to protecting national security. One of the most disturbing policies was called Special Registration in 2002. The Department of Justice required under this policy that nonimmigrant males sixteen years and older from twenty-five designated countries would need to report to the immigration agency upon arrival; 30 days after arrival; every 12 months after arrival; upon events such as a change of address, employment or school; and upon departure from the country.[21] The government justified Special Registration through a national security argument (related to needing knowledge about the movement of nonimmigrants

in and out of the United States), although only individuals from countries with significant Muslim populations were required to comply. The twenty-five countries included: Afghanistan, Algeria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Egypt, Eritrea, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, North Korea, Oman, Pakistan, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, and Yemen.[22]

Between December 2002 and early 2003, 83,000 individuals from these countries complied with the program.[23] When Special Registration was completed, 13,000 men of the 83,000 who complied were set to be deported.[24] Thirty-five percent of those who have been or will be deported are of Pakistani descent.[25]

IMPACT

Governmental policies and actions after September 11th compounded the public backlash against South Asians. At its core, the post–September 11th backlash stems from the assumption that individuals from countries in the Middle East or South Asia are prone to disloyalty and anti-American sentiment, and places the burden on these individuals to prove their loyalty—a concept that is in stark contrast to the United States' legal safeguard of "presumed innocent until proven guilty."

The type of profiling that occurred after September 11th is also a reminder of the U.S. government's internment of more than 100,000 individuals of Japanese descent based on presumed disloyalty. Policies implemented since September 11th bear an eerie similarity to those that led to the Japanese American internment.[26]

Even with the passage of time, South Asians continue to experience the impact of the post–September 11th backlash, and the post–September 11th backlash is far-reaching. For example, community members are less inclined now to turn to law enforcement to report crimes for fear of being investigated for unrelated issues, such as immigration status or links to terrorism. In addition, many South Asian families have left their neighborhoods and jobs to find other lands of opportunity. For example, in Brooklyn, NY, where more than 120,000 Pakistanis used to live, approximately 15,000 have left for Canada, Europe, or Pakistan.[27]

In the wake of September 11th, many South Asian communities that had previously been separated along religious, ethnic, or linguistic lines came together to address the impact of the post–September 11th backlash. South Asian organizations around the United States have been working with community members to address immediate needs stemming from the backlash through social service provision, referrals, advocacy, organizing, and community education. In fact, some South Asian organizations were formed as a direct response to the post–September 11th backlash. South Asians have also developed partnerships with Arab American organizations since September 11th to address common issues and concerns.

Bangladeshi immigrant Abdul Mosobbir, now of Brooklyn, prays on a bridge overlooking the World Trade Center site in New York, Sept. 11, 2003, before the start of ceremonies on the second anniversary of the attacks. Mosobbir lost his brother Shabbir Ahmed, who worked at the restaurant Windows on the World in the World Trade Center attacks. (AP Photo/Kathy Willens, Pool)

FURTHER READING

Asian American Legal Defense and Education Fund. “Special Registration: Discrimination and Xenophobia as Government Policy.” 2004. http://www.aaldef.org.

Council on American-Islamic Relations. http://www.cair.com/.

Desis Rising Up and Moving. http://www.drumnation.org.

Gohil, N., and Sidhu, D., “The Sikh Turban: Post 9/11 Challenges to this Article of Faith.” *Rutgers Journal of Law and Religion* 9 (2008), 10.

Hing, Bill Ong. “Vigilante Racism: The De-Americanization of Immigrant America.” *Michigan Journal of Race and Law* 441 (2002).

Muslim Advocates. http://www.muslimadvocates.org.

Muslim Public Affairs Council. http://www.mpac.org.

National Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium. “Backlash: 2001 Audit of Violence Against Asian Pacific Americans.” 2002. http://www.advancingequality.org.

Sikh American Legal Defense and Education Fund. http://www.saldef.org.

Sikh Coalition. http://www.sikhcoalition.org.

South Asian Americans Leading Together. http://www.saalt.org.

South Asian Network. http://www.southasiannetwork.org.

UNITED SIKHS. http://www.unitedsikhs.org.

NOTES

1. All statistics and content in this paragraph derived from *A National Action Agenda*, The National Coalition of South Asian Organizations (online, June 2008), http://saalt.org/national_coalition.html.

2. Tanya Schevitz, “FBI Sees Leap in Anti-Muslim Hate Crimes,” *San Francisco Chronicle* (online, Nov. 26, 2002), http://www.sfgate.com/cgi-bin/article.cgi?f=/c/a/2002/11/26/MN224441.DTL.

3. All statistics and content in this paragraph derived from *A National Action Agenda.*

4. Human Rights Watch, “We are Not the Enemy: Hate Crimes Against Arabs, Muslims, and Those Perceived to be Arab or Muslim after September 11th,” *Human Rights Watch* 14, no. 6 (online, November 2002), http://www.hrw.org/reports/2002/usahate/.

5. Human Rights Watch, “We Are Not the Enemy.”

6. Human Rights Watch, “We Are Not the Enemy.”

7. U.S. Department of Justice, Civil Rights Division, *Enforcement and Outreach Following the September 11 Terrorist Attacks* (online, May 2008), http://www.usdoj.gov/crt/legalinfo/discrimupdate.htm.

8. Human Rights Watch, “We Are Not the Enemy.”

9. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, *EEOC Sues Plaza Hotel and Fairmont Hotels and Resorts for Post–9/11 Backlash Discrimination* (online, September 2003), http://www.eeoc.gov/press/9-30-03b.html.

10. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, *EEOC Sues Plaza Hotel.*

11. Complaint for Injunctive Relief for *Violation of the Freedom of Information Act*, Asian Law Caucus and Electronic Frontier Foundation v. U.S. Department of Homeland Security (N.D. Cal. 2008).

12. The Sikh Coalition, *The TSA Report Card: A Quarterly Review of Security Screenings of Sikh Travelers in the U.S. Airports* (April 2008); Council on American-Islamic Relations, *The Status of Muslim Civil Rights in the United States* (2007).

13. Rights Working Group, *Equal Treatment Denied: United States Immigration Enforcement Policies,* A Shadow Report to the U.N. Committee on Elimination of Racial Discrimination (March 2008).

14. Rights Working Group, *Equal Treatment Denied.*

15. Office of the Inspector General, *The September 11 Detainees: A Review of the Treatment of Aliens, Held on Immigration Charges in Connection with the Investigation of the September 11 Attacks* (June 2003).

16. Human Rights Watch, “Presumption of Guilt: Human Rights Abuses of Post–September 11 Detainees,” *Human Rights Watch* 14, no. 4(G) (Aug. 2002).

17. 66 Fed. Reg. 48, 334 (Sept. 20, 2001).

18. Rights Working Group, *Equal Treatment Denied.*

19. Nancy Chang, “How Democracy Dies: The War on Civil Liberties,” in *Lost Liberties: Ashcroft and the Assault on Personal Freedom*, ed. Cynthia Brown (New York: The New Press, 2003), 34–35, 48.

20. Rights Working Group, *Equal Treatment Denied.*

21. 67 Fed. Reg. 52584 (Aug. 12, 2002).

22. 67 Fed. Reg. 52584.

23. Nurith C. Aizenmann and Edward Walsh, “Immigrants Fear Deportation After Registration,” *Washington Post* (July 28, 2003), http://www.alakhbar-usa.com/AAguide/immgration.html.

24. Executive Order No. 13166, “Improving Access to Services for Persons with Limited English Proficiency,” 65 FR 50121 (Aug. 16, 2000).

25. “Guidance to Federal Financial Assistance Recipients Regarding Title VI Prohibition against National Origin Discrimination Affecting Limited English Proficient Persons,” 67 FR 41455 (June 18, 2002).

26. See the federal interagency language access Web site, http://www.lep.gov.

27. Michael Powell, “An Exodus Grows in Brooklyn,” *Washington Post* (May 29, 2003), http://www.google.com/url?sa=t&source=web&ct=res&cd=1&url=http%3A%2F%2Fciapnyc.org%2Fuploads%2FExodusGrowsinBrooklyn.pdf&ei=XtpUSubpDIfgswOnmLSODw&rct=j&q=An+Exodus+Grows+in+Brooklyn&usg=AFQjCNHIijGFW1gpZrmwJ8C6zjrrsHTckg

SOUTHEAST ASIAN REFUGEES

Helly Lee, Catherina Nou, Naomi Steinberg, and Doua Thor

In the aftermath of the Vietnam War, Southeast Asians from Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam became the largest group of refugees to resettle in the United States.[1] Between 1975 and 2002, more than 145,000 refugees from Cambodia, 241,000 from Laos, and 759,000 from Vietnam arrived in the United States. Today, with a national population of nearly 2 million according to the 2000 census, Southeast Asian Americans are a significant thread in the diverse fabric of America. They have established themselves and created homes in every state across the nation, most notably in California and Texas, where Southeast Asian Americans number more than 700,000 and 160,000, respectively.[2]

Despite many community successes since their first arrival in the United States, many Southeast Asian refugees still face numerous challenges as new Americans. Having fled oppressive government regimes, they were unfamiliar with the participatory governmental style of the United States. They are now beginning to realize the importance of becoming civically engaged and empowered, in order to build relationships and exchange ideas with government officials and agencies. They understand that creating systemic changes through the engagement of communities and the enactment of public policy is necessary to ensure that the needs of Southeast Asian American communities are not overlooked.

INTEGRATION AND CITIZENSHIP

As new Americans, issues of integration and full civic participation through citizenship are priorities for Southeast Asian Americans; however, increasing naturalization fees remains a barrier for many who have low incomes. In July

2007, naturalization fees increased from $400 to $675. In addition, the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS) implemented a new citizenship test on October 2008. The new test includes revised, open-ended and multiple-choice questions that many community members and advocates contend make it more difficult, especially for the elderly and English language learners.[3]

IMMIGRATION

Immigration issues and policies have a great impact on Southeast Asian American communities. For many who were separated from their family members as they were fleeing their country in times of war and conflict, a robust family-based immigration system is one of the very few ways refugees in America can be reunited with long-lost family members. Family-based immigration allows former refugees who have obtained lawful permanent residence (LPR) status to petition for their spouse or unmarried son or daughter to be reunited with them in the United States. Those who become naturalized citizens may petition to be reunited with their spouse, child (unmarried or married), sibling, or parents. Given the backlog in many family immigration categories, however, this method of reunification results in lengthy waiting periods.

The issue of deportation is also a concern within Southeast Asian American communities. Immigration laws demand the deportation of individuals who are not citizens who have committed certain crimes, especially "aggravated felonies." This means that refugees who arrived in the United States who do not yet possess their citizenship, even if they have LPR status, can be deported.

In 1996, Congress passed the Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act (AEDPA) and the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRIRA). These laws dramatically increased the numbers of the kinds of offenses for which noncitizens can be detained and deported. The laws were made retroactive, which means that an LPR who was convicted of an "aggravated felony" prior to the passage of the law can still be removed. In addition, the laws severely restrict the ability of immigration judges to consider the individual circumstances of a person before ordering deportation.

Since May 3, 2002, when the United States and Cambodia signed a repatriation agreement to send Cambodians who have been convicted of crimes back to Cambodia, approximately 187 have been deported out of an estimated 1,400 who have received notice of potential deportation.[4] On January 22, 2008, the Vietnam government followed suit and signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) with the United States to accept deportable Vietnamese nationals who arrived in the United States on or after July 12, 1995. Until 2008, the Vietnamese government did not have a formal agreement with the United States to accept deportees from this country.[5] According to a statement released by Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), approximately 1,500 Vietnamese nationals will potentially be affected.[6] Laos remains one of the few countries in the world that does not have a repatriation agreement with the United States.

As refugee communities, deportation is an issue of particular concern because individuals are being returned to the very countries they fled. Many arrived in the United States as infants and young children, grew up as Americans, and have little to no knowledge of the countries in which they were born.[7] There are no safeguards for how these former refugees will be treated once they are deported, and there are very limited resources, if any, to assist with integration in their countries of origin.[8]

Southeast Asian Americans recognize how their communities are affected by deportation and have been instrumental in further educating their communities, the general public, and lawmakers about these issues. For example, after the signing of the repatriation agreement between Vietnam and the United States in early 2008, college students in California organized statewide teach-ins and rallies to educate others about the impact of deportation in their communities. Local youth-led groups such as Khmer In Action (KIA) in Seattle, WA, and the Providence Youth Student Movement (PrYSM) in Providence, RI, have been successful in engaging young Southeast Asian American community members in education and organizing around the issue of deportation, as well as providing a supportive space for individuals affected by the deportation of a family member.

EDUCATION

Education is key to ending the cycle of poverty for all communities, including Southeast Asian American communities. The educational needs of many Southeast Asian American students, however, are often overlooked because of the "model minority" myth that all Asian Americans excel academically. Although available data shows that Asian Americans overall do well academically, when Southeast Asian Americans are viewed separately, the disparities are apparent. For example, while more than 80 percent of the overall U.S. population age 25 and over hold at least a high school degree, individual data reveals that only 47 percent of Cambodian, 41 percent of Hmong, 51 percent of Laotian and 62 percent of Vietnamese Americans hold a high school degree or higher.[9]

In the realm of higher education, Asian Americans are touted as the exemplary minority group with outstanding achievements. According to the 2000 U.S. Census, however, while more than 40 percent of Asian Americans collectively possess an undergraduate degree, only 9.1 percent of Cambodian Americans, 7.4 percent of Hmong Americans, 7.6 percent of Lao Americans and 19.5 percent of Vietnamese Americans have attained a bachelor's degree. To address this and other disparities, in 2007 Congress enacted the College Cost Reduction Act, which established Asian American and Native American Pacific Islander Serving Institutions (AANAPISI) (for two years from the date of enactment). Like the Historically Black Colleges and Universities and Hispanic Serving Institutions, the law designates discretionary grants to eligible institutions of higher education serving large populations of low-income Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders.[10] Subsequently, in August 2008, the Higher

Education Opportunity Act was enacted, helping to expand provisions and funding opportunities for AANAPISI. These laws represent a positive movement toward alleviating higher education disparities for Southeast Asian Americans through funding allocated to outreach, retention, and research of underrepresented Asian American groups. They also increased opportunities for partnering with community-based organizations to be a part of these activities.[11]

ECONOMIC WELL-BEING

As new Americans, Southeast Asian Americans are some of the most economically disadvantaged populations in the United States. The 2000 Census reveals that 29 percent of Cambodians, 37 percent of Hmong, 19 percent of Laotians and 16 percent of Vietnamese Americans live below the poverty level, compared with 12 percent of the total U.S. population.

In addition, elderly and disabled Southeast Asian individuals have a higher risk of poverty, which is especially significant given the high rates of disability within these communities. For example, in California the disability rates for those age 65 and over range from 63 percent for Laotians, to 68 percent for Cambodians, and 71 percent for Hmong compared to approximately 42 percent for all Californians.

For many elderly and disabled refugees, Supplemental Security Income provides the bare means for survival—no more than $623 per month for an individual or $934 for a couple.[12] As part of the 1996 Federal Welfare Reform law, SSI was restricted to a seven-year limit for elderly and disabled refugees and humanitarian immigrants who are not able to obtain their citizenship within that time frame. This change has been particularly harmful because new refugees must wait one year before obtaining their LPR status. Once having done so, individuals must wait five years before applying for citizenship, which constitutes six of the seven years during which elderly and disabled refugees are expected to obtain citizenship in order to maintain their SSI benefits. Many refugees are unable to obtain citizenship within that short time frame for a variety of reasons, including limited availability of English language courses, increasing citizenship fees, lengthy backlogs in processing citizenship applications, advanced age, and physical or mental health issues. The challenge to obtain citizenship within seven years is also great for many Southeast Asian American elders, many who have arrived in the United States with little to no formal schooling.[13] Moreover, overcoming this barrier with advancing age becomes extremely difficult as the ability to learn and retain new information becomes less likely and often impossible.[14] As a result, many Southeast Asian Americans were among the 20,000 refugees projected to lose their SSI by 2008.[15]

For many years, advocates and Congress have tried to provide a temporary fix to the seven-year SSI cutoff through legislation that would extend the number of years refugees and humanitarian immigrants may receive SSI to nine years. In July 2007, the U.S. House of Representatives passed legislation that

would provide a temporary two-year extension to the seven-year cutoff. In July 2008, the Senate also passed the temporary two-year extension to SSI for elderly and disabled refugees. There continues to be a need, however, for a long-term solution because the current legislation only provides the two-year extension until 2010 (those with pending citizenship applications may extend their SSI eligibility until 2011).[16]

OUTLOOK

Southeast Asian Americans face many challenges, including the rising costs associated with becoming naturalized citizens, stalled immigration reform efforts, deportation, limited access to sustainable benefits, and limited access to high-quality educational opportunities. As daunting as these challenges may seem, Southeast Asian American communities are poised and ready to address these issues through civic engagement and developing strong community organizations and leaders. The vast majority of Southeast Asian American community-based organizations, also known as mutual assistance associations (MAAs), identified by the Southeast Asia Resource Action Center (SEARAC) offer citizenship or civic engagement class.[17] Through the combined efforts of community-based organizations, policy makers, university researchers and broad-based advocacy coalitions, Southeast Asian Americans will continue to break barriers and contribute to American society.

FURTHER READING

Igasaki, Paul, and Max Niedzwiecki. *Aging among Southeast Asian Americans in California: Assessing Strengths and Challenges, Strategizing for the Future*, 2004. http://www.searac.org/aging-seaamer-fin.pdf.

Niedzwiecki, Max, and T. C. Duong. *Southeast Asian American Statistical Profile*. Washington, DC: Southeast Asia Resource Action Center (SEARAC), 2004. http://www.searac.org/seastatprofilemay04.pdf.

Southeast Asia Resource Action Center (SEARAC). http://www.searac.org.

Um, Khatharya. *A Dream Denied: Educational Experiences of Southeast Asian American Youth*. Washington, DC: Southeast Asia Resource Action Center (SEARAC), 2003. http://www.searac.org/ydfinal-2_03.pdf.

NOTES

1. Here, Southeast Asians refer to those with history from Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam. The Office of Refugee Resettlement also includes Burmese in this calculation of the largest group of refugees admitted to the U.S. Office of Refugee Resettlement, *2005 Annual Report to Congress*, http://www.acf.hhs.gov/programs/orr/data/05arc7.htm.

2. T. Duong and M. Niedzwiecki, "Southeast Asian American Statistical Profile," (Washington, DC: Southeast Asia Resource Action Center, 2004): 1–30.

3. Refugee Women's Alliance, Naturalization Services for Refugees and Immigrants on Public Assistance, http://www.rewa.org/files/position-paper-citizenship-2008-legislative-day.pdf.

4. This number includes the additional thirteen deported on August 12, 2008. Immigration and Customs Enforcement. 2006, http://www.ice.gov/pi/nr/0808/080814seattle.htm; Southeast Asia Resource Action Center, "Deportation of Cambodians from the United States," http://searac.org/cambdeptactalt6_02.html.

5. U.S. Embassy, Vietnam, "United States Signs Historical Agreement with Vietnam," http://vietnam.usembassy.gov/pr012208.html.

6. U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement, "ICE Assistant Secretary Myers signs historical MOU with Vietnam," http://www.ice.gov/pi/news/newsreleases/articles/080122washington.htm.

7. PBS Documentary, "Sentenced Home," http://www.pbs.org/independentlens/sentencedhome/immigration.html.

8. PBS Documentary, "Sentenced Home."

9. Duong, *Southeast Asian American Statistical Profile*.

10. Committee on Education and Labor, "College Cost Reduction and Access Act," http://edlabor.house.gov/micro/ccraa.shtml.

11. Committee on Education and Labor, "Chairman Miller Statement on signing of the Higher Education Opportunity Act," http://www.house.gov/apps/list/speech/edlabor_dem/BushHEOA081408.html.

12. U.S. Social Security Administration, "SSI Monthly Statistics, January 2007," http://www.ssa.gov/policy/docs/statcomps/ssi_monthly/2007-01/table07.html.

13. K. Mathavongsy, "Southeast Asian American Elders in California: Barriers to Accessing Social Services," Southeast Asia Resource Action Center, http://www.searac.org/tst-helpkham6-15-06.pdf.

14. S. Earm, M. Niedzwiecki, and K. Yang, *Southeast Asian American Elders in California: Demographics and Service Priorities Revealed by the 2000 Census and a Survey of Mutual Assistance Associations (MAAs) and Faith-Based Organizations (FBOs)* (Washington, DC: Southeast Asia Resource Action Center, 2003).

15. Zoe Neuberger, "Loss of SSI Aid is Impoverishing Thousands of Refugees: Congress Could Prevent Further Hardship," Center on Budget and Policy Priorities http://www.cbpp.org/2-8-07ssi.htm, 2007.

16. At the time of the writing of this document, the House and Senate have yet to reconvene to finalize changes that were made to the SSI extension bill, (HR 2608), and the bill has not been signed into law.

17. B. King et al., *Directory of Southeast Asian American Community-Based Organizations 2004: Mutual Assistance Associations (MAAs) and Religious Organizations Providing Social Services* (Washington, DC: Southeast Asia Resource Action Center, 2004).

UNDOCUMENTED IMMIGRANTS

Rodolfo-Jose Blanco Quiambao

An undocumented immigrant is any person whose presence in the United States is deemed unlawful, and the term is commonly used to describe someone who has entered the country without authorization. Undocumented immigrants enter the country in two ways: by physically crossing over U.S. borders without an immigrant visa, or by remaining in the U.S. after their nonimmigrant visa has expired, also known as "overstaying." Nonimmigrants such as students and tourists obtain visas through an application process that determines their eligibility based on several admissible categories. Nonimmigrant visas are only issued for a certain period and must be renewed. If nonimmigrants allow their visa to expire without renewal, they are "overstaying" their visa, and are thus considered undocumented.

Discussion on undocumented immigrants focuses primarily on people of Mexican or other Hispanic origin. While the majority of undocumented immigrants originate from Latin America and South America, 12 percent of undocumented immigrants are Asian.[1] Most of the undocumented Asian population is Filipino, with a 2006 estimation of 280,000, making up roughly 2 percent of the total undocumented immigrant population. Asian Indians, Koreans, Chinese, and Vietnamese also have large numbers of undocumented individuals.[2] Undocumented Asian immigrants usually enter the country through overstaying.[3] This method of entry is common because of the distance and geographical barriers that separate the United States and Asia, leaving travel by air or sea—which is heavily monitored—as the most plausible routes. Asian immigrants must first obtain a visa permitting their stay in the United States, meaning they initially qualify for entry based on family or employment-based preferences for

admission. Contemporary immigration laws are designed to exclude aliens who are "likely to become a public charge," or dependent on public assistance. Because of these regulations, Asian immigrants tend to be educated or skilled, have family who will support them, or possess the financial resources to convince immigration officials they will not become reliant on public assistance.

Undocumented Asian immigrants may also be physically smuggled into the United States. Human smuggling can be a lucrative, albeit illegal, enterprise. Smugglers typically transported their human cargo by boat. In 1993, a ship carrying 286 undocumented Chinese ran aground off the coast of New York. This event is commonly referred to as the "Golden Venture incident." It brought attention to seaborne human trafficking, and as a result, land-based smuggling operations through Mexico or the United States are more common. In 2008, the U.S. Border Patrol detained 837 Chinese immigrants attempting to cross the Mexico border, and 500 were caught between January and August.[4] Within Chinese and Chinese American communities, smugglers are referred to as "snakeheads." More than half of all snakeheads are also undocumented, and almost 30 percent are employed as small business owners.[5] Other strategies for circumventing immigration laws, including the forgery or procurement of visas and passports, bribery of immigration officials, and false marriages to U.S. citizens, are mediated by smugglers as well.

ACCESS TO SOCIAL SERVICES, HEALTH CARE, AND EDUCATION

All undocumented immigrants, including those of Asian descent, are severely limited from accessing social services, health care, and education. The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Act (PRWORA) of 1996 was passed by President Bill Clinton as part of an initiative to wean the U.S. population off welfare. Research revealed the number of immigrants relying on public assistance had doubled between 1986 and 1994, totaling approximately $4 billion. Furthermore, about half of all immigrants became reliant on welfare within four years of entry.[6] After studies showed immigrants were indeed becoming a public charge, PRWORA made welfare temporary for noncitizens, setting their eligibility for only five years. PRWORA also denied public assistance, Social Security, and Medicaid for undocumented immigrants, as a means of discouraging their entry.

Denying undocumented immigrants social services as a preventative measure was a trend set at the state level. California, the state with the highest population of both documented and undocumented immigrants, passed Proposition 187 in 1994, two years before PRWORA. Proposition 187, which was declared unconstitutional, made undocumented immigrants ineligible for public services, containing nativist language stating that society "suffers economic hardship caused by illegal aliens" and "citizens have a right to the protection of their government from any person or person entering the country."[7]

Undocumented immigrants, already an underprivileged, undereducated class, are essentially denied social mobility because they are not eligible for most public assistance programs.

Many U.S. cities, however, have passed ordinances that do not require a declaration of legal status in exchange for services and are referred to as "sanctuary cities." Sanctuary cities offer services without reviewing legal status, and when legal status must be disclosed, immigrants are not reported to Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE). Aside from its economic advantages, sanctuary cities assist local law enforcement in apprehending criminals within immigrant communities, because undocumented noncitizens may come forward with information leading to an arrest without fear of leaving themselves vulnerable. Sanctuary cities increase opportunities for undocumented immigrants. The University of California system has reported that approximately 40 to 44 percent of their undocumented student population is Asian.[8] Berkeley, Los Angeles, Santa Cruz, and San Diego are designated sanctuary cities with a University of California campus. Stigma and shame are associated with undocumented status, causing many undocumented Asians to be silent. Combined with the possible limited English skills of first-generation immigrants, undocumented Asians may not be aware of available privileges and be reluctant to ask for help.

ENFORCEMENT

For the undocumented immigrant, the consequence of being caught is deportation. Deportation proceedings are expedited under current immigration laws, essentially denying immigrants many basic rights such as right to counsel at government expense or the right to bail in many cases. Any immigrant suspected of being undocumented can be arrested and detained without a warrant. Furthermore, although deportation proceedings are expedited, the actual hearing could take place months after the arrest, meaning that immigrants could be imprisoned without a trial for many weeks or months. Undocumented Asians may not understand the intricacies of U.S. immigration law, or they may avoid seeking counsel because of the associated stigma or in fear of being discovered. Regardless, deportation can be a devastating punishment. The following deportation cases have put undocumented Asian immigrants in the spotlight.

Hui Lui Ng immigrated to the United States in 1992 from Hong Kong on a tourist visa. When his visa expired, he applied for asylum. In the meantime, Ng went to school, obtained a degree, found work, and married, although his plea for asylum was later rejected. After getting married, he and his spouse filed requisite papers for his green card. In 2001, a subpoena for Ng to appear at an immigration hearing was delivered to a nonexistent address, and when he failed to show, the judge ordered his deportation. On July 19, 2007, Ng and his wife went to his green card interview, where ICE officials were waiting for him, and he was immediately arrested and detained. Over the next year, his family hired lawyers seeking his release. In April 2008, Ng's health began to fail, and he

began complaining of extreme lower back pain. His condition steadily worsened, and he eventually became too weak to stand. On July 30, 2008, guards forcefully dragged the shackled, ailing Ng from a detention center in Rhode Island and drove him two hours to a lockup in Hartford, CT, where he was pressured by an immigration official to withdraw his appeals. They then took him back to Rhode Island, on the same day, to prove he was faking his illness. A judge heard his petition for habeas corpus on August 1st and insisted that Ng receive medical treatment. Ng was diagnosed with terminal cancer and a fractured spine. He died five days later.[9]

In June 2004, the Cuevas Family was deported to the Philippines after living in the United States for nearly twenty years.[10] Delfin Cuevas immigrated to the United States in December 1984 on a tourist visa, escaping the economic and political turmoil of the Philippines under Ferdinand Marcos. Within a year, he was joined by his wife, Lily, and their three children, Donna, Dale, and Dominique. The Cuevas family overstayed their visas and lived in undocumented status, residing in California's Bay Area. Incorrectly believing their chances of gaining discretionary relief would increase the longer they stayed in the United States, they waited to resolve their status until the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility (IIRIRA) Act of 1996 was passed, which changed the qualifications for eligibility. The Cuevas Family was unable to meet these new standards and sought help from an immigration lawyer to secure a hearing before IIRIRA came into effect. Because of the heavy backlog of applications from others who hoped to do the same, a judge did not rule on their case until 2000. The judge ruled the Cuevas Family should be deported, and his decision was upheld in appeal hearings in 2002 and December 2004. Their children were not aware of their undocumented status until they received their deportation orders in the mail. The Cuevases were forced to sell their home and other possessions and move to the Philippines. Although their case is not uncommon, they were one of only a few to publicly speak on their situation.

Recently, ICE raids have become an increasing problem within the Asian American community. ICE has quadrupled the numbers of their Fugitive Operation Teams, who conduct the raids. In 2007, ICE reported more than 100,000 arrests of fugitive aliens.[11] In September 2008, ICE led a high-profile raid within California's Bay Area, targeting Chinese restaurants and resulting in the arrest of twenty-one undocumented immigrants, including nine from China, two from Indonesia, and one from Singapore.[12] ICE is also known for aggressively pursuing the undocumented in their homes and detaining occupants regardless of status, with nothing more than a deportation order. Such tactics intimidate undocumented immigrants, further adding to their apprehension in seeking assistance.

REFORM

The Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors (DREAM) Act first appeared unsuccessfully as an amendment to IIRIRA, seeking to grant undocumented immigrant children a path toward legal citizenship. In order to

qualify for citizenship under the stipulations of the DREAM Act, children had to have lived in the United States before the age of fifteen and be under the age of twenty-one, with no criminal history, and either enlist in military service or enroll into college.[13] Introduced again in 2003, the DREAM Act languished in Congress for years. If it had passed, Hui Lui Ng, the children of the Cuevas family, and other undocumented Asian students would have had the opportunity to remain in the United States, rather than being deported. The Comprehensive Immigration Reform Act of 2007 sought to form a compromise between undocumented immigrant supporters and opponents, including a provision that resurrected the original DREAM Act in its entirety. The bipartisan bill would have granted amnesty to undocumented immigrants currently living in the United States by adjusting the definition of "legal permanent resident" to any alien who can prove a continuous physical presence in the country, ongoing employment, tax payment, and proficiency of basic citizenship skills.[14] The tradeoff for amnesty involved a profound increase in border security and the elimination of visa backlogs. Clearing visa backlogs would bring an end to the current system of family-reunification immigration. Asian Americans, who rely on family-reunification preferences for emotional and economic support, would be heavily affected if visa backlogs were eliminated; however, the Comprehensive Immigration Reform Act was not enacted.

Various Asian American advocacy groups work with undocumented immigrants because immigration is a constant within the Asian American community. Most support comes at the local level because of the sensitivity around legal status. The San Francisco-based Asian Law Caucus is a primary resource for legal immigration assistance, representing a number of immigrants in removal proceedings and providing free immigration clinics, as well as working toward reforming current policies. Asian Pacific Islander Legal Outreach (formerly Nihonmachi Legal Outreach) provides similar services of representation and community education. The Asian Pacific American Legal Center (APALC) provides assistance to the undocumented in Los Angeles and Southern California. In New York, Asian American Legal Defense (AALDef) is also a major advocate for immigrant rights. Nationally, groups such as the Organization of Chinese Americans, the Asian American Justice Center (AAJC), and the Southeast Asian Refugee Action Center (SEARAC) work toward reform through community education and fostering civic engagement.

FURTHER READING

Asian American Justice Center. http://www.advancingequality.org/.

Asian Law Causus. http://www.asianlawcaucus.org/.

Critical Filipina and Filipino Studies Collective. "Resisting Homeland Security: Organizing Against Unjust Removals of U.S. Filipinos," San Jose, CA: Critical Filipina and Filipino Studies Collective, December 2004.

Park, Edward J. W., and John S. W. Park. *Probationary Americans: Contemporary Immigration Policies and the Shaping of Asian American Communities.* New York: Routledge, 2005.

NOTES

1. Jeffrey F. Passel and D'Vera Cohn, "Trends in Unauthorized Immigration: Unauthorized Inflow Now Trails Legal Inflow," Pew Hispanic Center, Oct. 2, 2008.

2. David Seminara, "No Coyote Needed: U.S. Visas Still an Easy Ticket in Developing Countries," Center for Immigration Studies. (March 2008): 4.

3. Pew Hispanic Center, "Modes of Entry for the Unauthorized Migrant Population," Fact Sheet. May 22, 2006. A 2003 report from the U.S. Government Accountability Office states, "There is no accurate list of visa overstays" because of the lack of departure and arrival forms being collected, and the difficulty of matching the forms together. Robert Warren, formerly of the INS, developed a method of estimating the number of visa overstays. As of 1996, an estimated 91 percent of undocumented migrants outside of Mexico and Latin America entered the country through overstaying.

4. Jeff McShan, "Illegal Chinese immigrants slip into Texas," khou.com, Dec. 24, 2008. http://www.khou.com/news/local/stories/khou081223_mp_asian-aliens.39f0f80.html.

5. National Institute of Justice, "Characteristics of Chinese Human Smugglers," U.S. Department of Justice, August 2004.

6. Edward J. W. Park and John S. W. Park, *Probationary Americans: Contemporary Immigration Policies and the Shaping of Asian American Communities* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 66.

7. *Statutes of California*, 1993–1994. A-317.

8. Beleza Chan, "Undocumented Asian Students Face Stigma," *AsianWeek*. Oct. 13, 2008, http://news.newamericamedia.org/news/view_article.html?article_id=dadc30476b263a037ac68c65f32704c6.

9. Nina Bernstein, "Ill and in Pain, Detainee Dies in U.S. Hands," *The New York Times*, Aug. 12, 2008, http://www.nytimes.com/2008/08/13/nyregion/13detain.html.

10. Cicero Estrella, "Exiles of the American Dream: 'All-American' Exiles," *San Francisco Chronicle.* July 1, 2004, http://www.sfgate.com/cgi-bin/article.cgi?f=/c/a/2004/07/01/MNGV47EUPF1.DTL&type=printable.

11. U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement, *ICE Fiscal Year 2007 Annual Report*.

12. Henry K. Lee, "21 Illegal Immigrants Arrested in North Bay," *San Francisco Chronicle.* Sept. 20, 2008, http://www.sfgate.com/cgi-bin/article.cgi?f=/c/a/2008/09/20/BACP131843.DTL.

13. Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors Act of 2003 (DREAM Act) Sponsored by Senator Orrin G. Hatch, S. 1545 108–224.

14. Comprehensive Immigration Reform Bill of 2007.

WOMEN IMMIGRANTS

Eun Sook Lee

The primary means of entry to the United States for Asian American women has been overwhelmingly through dependent relationships, such as family sponsorship visas, including international marriages as war brides, mail-order brides, fiancés, or simply brides. Additionally, a significant number of women have arrived as refugees and asylees fleeing wars or persecution. With the exception of those women who work in traditionally female professions such as nursing, few women have had the resources or educational training to legally enter the United States independent of men.

MIGRATION OF WOMEN

At 90 million, women now make up close to half of the world's migrants, from 46 percent in 1960 to 49 percent in 2000.[1] The population of women who migrate out of Asia has grown significantly, from 13.5 million in 1960 to close to 19 million in 2000.[2] Comparatively, the United States is home to the largest number of international migrants, 35 million in 2000.[3] The forms of migration vary, from legal immigration as dependent family members or as principal wage earners to forced migration as asylees or victims of human trafficking.

Not surprisingly, economics is a primary impetus for women to migrate. The desire and need to provide economic stability and sustainability for self and family are common themes for all immigrants, but women are affected in significantly different ways than men. With today's globalized economy, more men and women seek jobs abroad. Additionally, the countries of origin benefit from remittances to the families who remain there. For example, the total amount of remittances to countries in Asia ballooned from $8.6 billion in 1990

to $35.8 billion in 2003.[4] Although migrant women generally earn less than migrant men, women are believed to remit a greater share of their income to their families abroad.[5]

Another impetus for women to migrate is the desire to leave behind traditional patriarchal expectations in the home country in search of greater independence and equality. Yet, these women often find that the destination country, because of similarly entrenched notions of patriarchy, perpetuates gender stereotypes and limits their employment opportunities to stereotypical and undervalued female roles, such as childcare, cleaning, or sewing. Women are disproportionately underrepresented in high-skilled, degreed professions, with the exception of the health care industry (for example, nursing).

RACE AND GENDER PROFILE OF U.S. IMMIGRATION LAWS

Historically, U.S. immigration laws have intentionally discriminated against and restricted access of women and people of color, including Asian Americans. The first naturalization laws of the United States, the 1790 Naturalization Act, granted citizenship to only "free white persons," and excluded Africans, indentured servants, and women. Women could only be granted citizenship as dependents of their husbands. A female U.S. citizen also could lose her citizenship if she married an immigrant man. Female U.S. citizens could not file an immigration petition for their foreign-born husbands, but the same was not true for male U.S. citizens.[6]

In 1875, Congress enacted the Alien Prostitution Importation Act or "Page Law," the first immigration law that excluded the entry of a specific group of people: women from China, Japan or any "Oriental" country for the alleged purpose of prostitution.[7] Although the Page Law and many other discriminatory laws were repealed or eliminated with the Immigration and Nationality Act (INA) of 1952 and the 1965 immigration amendments, gender discrimination in immigration policies did not end.[8] For example, the 1986 Immigration Marriage Fraud Amendment Act (IMFA) required immigrant spouses, who are disproportionately women, to reside as conditional residents for two years before being granted legal permanent resident status. Domestic violence advocates opposed the IMFA because it granted petitioners the "license to abuse" their spouses.[9]

IMMIGRATION OF WOMEN TO THE UNITED STATES

Consistent with the recent "feminization" of global migration, immigrant women now make up a greater percentage of the legal immigrants admitted to the U.S. from 49.8 percent in 1985 to 54.6 percent in 2004.[10] Women in the U.S. comprise slightly more than 50 percent of the foreign-born population since 1970. This figure dropped slightly from a high of 53.9 percent in 1980 to 51.9 percent in 1990, and 50.4 percent in 2000, largely attributable to the surge in the undocumented, predominantly male population.[11] Immigrant women mostly are from the same countries as immigrant men, but with some

differences. The top Asian countries of origin for immigrant women are China, Philippines, India, Vietnam, South Korea, Japan, Laos, Pakistan, Thailand, and Cambodia.[12] The first five also are part of the top countries of origin for all immigrants.

FAMILY SPONSORSHIP AND INTERNATIONAL MARRIAGES

The primary channel for entry into the United States for women has been through family sponsorships beginning with the 1945 War Brides Act, which enabled foreign spouses of U.S. servicemen to immigrate into the United States. Enacted following World War II, the law shifted the dominance of men as the legal immigrant population. From 1945 to 1948 for example, 25 percent of all legal immigrants were women married to U.S. soldiers. In total, 200,000 women from throughout Asia have entered the U.S. as war brides since the end of World War II.[13] Following the Korean War (1950–1953), women from Korea began to arrive in large numbers. From 1950 to 1989, 40,278 women from Korea arrived, representing the second immigration wave for Korean Americans. In fact, Korean war brides are seen as a primary engine of growth for the Korean American community, with 40 percent of all Korean immigrants as either descendants of or sponsored by Korean war brides.[14]

The family-oriented immigration amendments of 1965, which now account for two-thirds of permanent immigration to the United States, led to the dominance of immigrant women in family-based immigration, particularly as spouses or parents of U.S. citizens or legal permanent residents.[15] In 2005, women made up 54.6 percent of all legal immigrants to the U.S. and dominated entry through the immediate relative category.[16] Six million or 76 percent of the immigrants from Asia entered the U.S. within the last twenty-five years and 4.3 million or 43 percent entered within the last fifteen years.[17]

Another form of family sponsorship that has grown rapidly is immigration through fiancé visas. From 1998 to 2002, the number has doubled, and this has been largely attributed to the rising number of marriages between American men and foreign women, brokered by third party, for-profit matchmaking businesses.[18] International marriages are part of the global phenomenon of women who are trafficked from developing countries in Asia and the former USSR to industrialized Western countries. In response to high-profile cases of abuse and violence by U.S. citizen men against foreign spouses, Congress enacted the International Marriage Brokers Regulation Act of 2005 (IMBRA). Although IMBRA is written in gender-neutral language, the undeniable reality is that international marriages are by and large between male U.S. citizens and female foreign spouses. The inherent power imbalance results in abuse and exploitation of the female spouses.

In summary, immigration through family sponsorship is generally the male sponsorship of female spouses into the United States. This real or perceived dependency of immigrant women to their male sponsor/spouse can aggravate the relationships of power between men and women. Such an imbalance is

more apparent and expected in the case of war brides who marry U.S. soldiers or with international marriages involving the "purchase" of an Asian wife by a U.S. citizen husband through an International Marriage Broker because of the clear race distinctions.

In all cases, immigrant women, as war brides, mail-order brides, or simply brides have faced multiple barriers of race, language, culture, and even class in adjusting to life in the United States. Moreover, the circumstances leading to their immigration into the United States as dependents of male sponsors can prohibit their ability to speak freely or exercise their full rights. A clear example is in the case of domestic violence, which cuts across race, class, and culture and is considered the single greatest health risk for women.[19] Immigrant women are often trapped in abusive relationships because exiting would mean imperiling their lawful immigration status.

In the context of today's substantial immigration backlogs, family reunification is a primary concern for both Asian Americans and women. An estimated 1.5 million Asian American family members of U.S. citizens and lawful permanent residents are forced to wait years, even decades, to be reunited with their family members. Historically, three of the top four countries with the longest backlogs are from Asia—China, India, Korea, and the Philippines. For example, a Korean legal permanent resident must wait at least 5 years to be reunited with a spouse or minor child. The longest estimated wait time is faced by Filipino American U.S. citizens, who may have to wait more than 20 years to be reunited with a sibling.[20] The wait time is painful, particularly for women left in the country of origin, often with the economic and emotional burdens of raising children alone and maintaining the family household.

EMPLOYMENT-BASED IMMIGRATION

Family-based immigration typically consists of women who reunite with the men who typically migrate for labor and employment. Conventional gender roles in the United States and Asian countries make it less likely that women would immigrate as independent immigrant workers. In time, this trend is expected to change with shifting attitudes that no longer restrict the immigration of women to the United States. Today, however, compared with men, women make up a smaller percentage of the recipients of employment-based visas. In 2004, 26.8 percent of women and 65.3 percent of men received employment-based visas as principal visa holders (compared with 73.2 percent of women and 34.7 percent of men who were dependents of a principal visa holder).[21] In contrast, in 1979, women represented 3 percent of primary beneficiaries of employment-based immigrant visas.[22]

With the exception of traditionally female professions, men dominate employment-based immigration visas. The 1948 Exchange Visitors Program (EVP), created after World War II to fill labor shortages in certain professions, allowed an increased number of female nurses from the Philippines, who made up 80 percent of the participants by the 1960s. Many of these EVP participants

remained in the United States after they had stayed their maximum two years. The 1965 immigration law subsequently allowed an additional increase in female nurses from the Philippines and South Korea. For this reason, immigrant women from the Philippines (59%) and South Korea (56%) outnumber immigrant men from the two countries today.[23] The global disparity in the educational opportunities for women compared to men, coupled with prevailing perceptions of social and economic roles for women, has confined the majority of immigrant women to low-wage and domestic employment.

ADOPTEES

Immigration through overseas adoption is noteworthy because of the predominance of adopted female Asian babies. Today, China is now the leading "exporter" of children sent abroad for overseas adoption.[24] Girls far outnumber boys in overseas adoption. The 2005 figures from the U.S. Department of Homeland Security report 14,982 or 66 percent of the 22,710 children adopted were girls. Of that total, 10,558 children were from Asia and 8,753 (83%) were girls. Thus, 7,545 (95%) of the 7,939 children adopted from China were girls.

UNDOCUMENTED WOMEN

Of the 10 percent to 15 percent of the undocumented population in the United States that is estimated to be from Asia, there is limited data on the number of undocumented immigrant women from Asia. Perhaps 44 percent are women and one out of five are single women.[25]

Undocumented immigrant women have the lowest employment rate at 56 percent compared with 64 percent for legal immigrant women and 73 percent for U.S. citizen women. As a point of reference, undocumented immigrant men have the highest rate of employment at 92 percent, compared with 86 percent for legal immigrant men and 83 percent for native-born men. In the case of women, the low figure is attributed to two realities: the likelihood that most are the caregivers in the home and the difficulty of finding employment without documentation.[26]

In general, undocumented immigrants are concentrated in low-wage occupations and earn a family income that is 40 percent less than that of legal immigrants or native-born citizens. They are overrepresented in domestic work, and the leisure and hospitality, and construction and manufacturing industries. Twenty-seven percent live in poverty, and 59 percent of the adults do not have health insurance.[27]

REFUGEES AND ASYLEES

Women and children make up 80 percent of the world's refugees, and in 2003, refugees and asylees who adjusted their status comprised 6.4 percent of all legal permanent residents.[28] The U.S. recognizes refugees and asylees as individuals fearing persecution on the basis of race, religion, membership in a social group, political opinion, or national origin.

The largest group of refugees from Asia are those from Southeast Asia, primarily Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam. From 1975 to 2002, close to 1,146,650 Southeast Asians arrived as refugees. In 2005, 53,813 people were admitted into the United States as refugees, and the leading countries of origin were Somalia, Laos, and Cuba. In 2005, of the total refugee admittance population, 15,048 were from the countries of East Asia and Near East/South Asia. Another 25,257 were granted asylum, and the leading countries of origin were China, Colombia, and Haiti. After September 11, 2001, the U.S. refugee program was tremendously affected, and the admittance of refugees decreased from 69,304 in 2001 to 27,110 in 2002. In 2006, the program increased to admitting an estimated 50,000 refugees a year. Additionally, the rate of asylum cases granted has fallen significantly. In 2001, 43 percent of asylum cases were granted, whereas, in 2003, 29 percent were granted.[29]

In the past twenty years, immigration laws have made it more difficult for asylum seekers by placing a one-year time limit for application, denying work authorization and implementation of expedited removal procedures. For example, a woman seeking asylum as a rape or domestic violence survivor may be deported because of the summary expedited removal process. Asylum seekers are granted only a cursory review by an immigration officer at the port of entry rather than a full legal hearing. For those who pass the initial screening, they are still subject to indefinite and mandatory detention.

DETENTION AND DEPORTATION

Since the 1980s, the INS and later the DHS reversed policy on detentions by making it a central enforcement tool. Aggravating this situation was the 1996 Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act, which introduced sweeping changes to the immigration laws and led to the increasing number of people subject to deportation and mandatory detention. In 1995, the daily capacity of the detention program was 7,000 beds, and this has tripled to 20,000 today.[30] The estimated total is now close to 24,000 detained throughout the year. Given this tremendous expansion, the industrial prison complex has greatly profited from the incarceration of 60 percent of all immigration detainees.[31]

In addition to those who committed violent crimes, asylum seekers and legal permanent residents are detained and placed into deportation proceedings because they committed minor and nonviolent crimes, some several years earlier. The U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services has been unwilling to release information on the detainee population by country of origin or by gender. However, the Southeast Asia Resource Action Center has compiled and published data regarding the number of Southeast Asians who have orders of removal (those detained, detained and released, or deported): 1,400 from Cambodia, 1,900 from Laos and 4,000 from Vietnam. It is also estimated that 5 percent of those held are asylum seekers, 7 percent are women and 3 percent are children.[32] Because women make up a smaller por-

tion of the total detainee population, they are more likely to be kept with the general criminal population.[33]

Given the very reason why many refugee and asylum seekers came to the United States, there is tremendous concern about returning to a country that had persecuted them. While there are unjust and unfair practices occurring because of deportation, what is overlooked is the direct impact on refugee women as wives and mothers. Often those who are deported had been the sole financial provider for their families. Women are left without a financial network to support and raise their children. More gravely, refugee women had risked their lives to bring their children to the United States only to face more loss and suffering.

With respect to detentions, in 2002, the Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children released its report on the conditions at the Krome Detention Center in Florida that reveal "widespread sexual, physical, verbal and emotional abuse of detainees, especially women." Sexual abuse from rape to molestation was particularly prevalent, as were cases of prolonged detention and failure to provide legal access or address language needs of detainees who were Limited English Proficient, particularly non-English or non-Spanish speakers.

POST–SEPTEMBER 11

Immigrant women faced a myriad of consequences in the wake of September 11. South Asian women were the indirect victims of the policies that primarily targeted men of Middle Eastern and South Asian descent. As their fathers, brothers, and sons were being detained, questioned, and even deported, women had to assume the roles of sole breadwinners in their families, as well as raise children and maintain the family unit. Another consequence of the post-9/11 targeting is more complicated. For women suffering in abusive situations, the government's targeting of the abusers in their lives may have led to some amount of relief.

One of the most pressing issues affecting women and all refugees in the aftermath of September 11 is the "Material Support" admission bar. Because of broad interpretation of anti-terrorism provisions in the PATRIOT Act and other laws, refugee status is now denied to anyone who has provided "material support" to a terrorist organization. Unfortunately, refugees who are deemed to have provided material support—any financial, physical, or material assistance, no matter if the amount was insignificant or given inadvertently without direct intent to help an armed resistance group against a country's government—are barred from entering the United States. For example, there are large numbers of prodemocracy Burmese living in refugee camps in Thailand, waiting for resettlement in a third country. Given this broad definition of "material support," a Burmese woman found to provide "material support," even under duress, to an individual or group defined in the PATRIOT Act as a "terrorist" and/or "terrorist organization" or committed a "terrorist activity" would not be eligible to be resettled as a refugee in the United States, even if her resettlement has been cleared by the United Nations High Commission for

Refugees. The denial rate on the basis of the Material Support bar means that almost one-quarter of the refugee population would not be eligible for resettlement in the United States.[34]

OUTLOOK

According to national advocates, Asian American women's data, voices, and perspectives have been underacknowledged in the description of the immigrant experience, public research, and political discourse. Immigration policies and prevailing global patriarchal norms, long have had a discriminatory impact on Asian American women. The primary means of entry to the United States for Asian American women have been overwhelmingly through dependent relationships, such as family sponsorship visas, including adoptions, and international marriages as war brides, mail-order brides, fiancés or simply brides. Significant numbers arrive as refugees and asylees as well. Scholars and advocates agree that understanding the role that Asian American women have played in the community's immigrant experience is critical if we are to understand the effects of public policy on Asian American communities in the past and in the future.

FURTHER READING

Department of Economic and Social Affairs Division for the Advancement of Women. "2004 World Survey on the Role of Women in Development: Women and International Migration." New York: United Nations, 2006.

Fitzpatrick, Joan. "The Gender Dimension of U.S. Immigration Policy." *Yale Journal of Law and Feminism* 9, no. 1 (1997).

Pearce, Susan. "Immigrant Women in the United States: A Demographic Portrait Special Report, Summer 2006." Washington, DC: Immigration Policy Center, 2006.

Strum, Philippa, Danielle Tarantolo, and Woodrow Wilson, eds. "Women Immigrants in the United States." Washington, DC: International Center for Scholars and Migration Policy Institute, 2002.

NOTES

1. Department of Economic and Social Affairs Division for the Advancement of Women (DAW), "2004 World Survey on the Role of Women in Development: Women and International Migration," United Nations, New York (2006): 9.
2. DAW, "2004 World Survey on the Role of Women in Development," 10.
3. DAW, "2004 World Survey on the Role of Women in Development," 8.
4. DAW, "2004 World Survey on the Role of Women in Development," 20.
5. DAW, "2004 World Survey on the Role of Women in Development," 21.
6. Susan Pearce, "Immigrant Women in the United States: A Demographic Portrait Special Report, Summer 2006," Immigration Policy Center, Washington, DC (2006): 3.
7. Jennifer M. Chacon, "Misery and Myopia: Understanding the Failures of U.S. Efforts to Stop Human Trafficking," *Fordham Law Review* (2006).
8. Pearce, "Immigrant Women in the United States," 3; Sucheng Chan, *Asian Americans: An Interpretive History* (New York: Twyane Publishers, 1991), 145.

9. Joan Fitzpatrick, "The Gender Dimension of U.S. Immigration Policy," *Yale Journal of Law and Feminism* 9, no.1 (1997): 31.

10. Pearce, "Immigrant Women in the United States," 1.

11. Pearce, "Immigrant Women in the United States," 4–6.

12. Pearce, "Immigrant Women in the United States," 8.

13. State of Washington Commission on APA Affairs, http://www.capaa.wa.gov.

14. Bonnie Demrose Stone and Betty Sowers Alt, *Uncle Sam's Brides: The World of Military Wives* (New York: Walter and Company, 1990), 128–129.

15. Ramah McKay, "Family Reunification," *Migration Policy Institute,* Washington, DC (2003): 1.

16. Pearce, "Immigrant Women in the United States," 7; 47.3 percent of women entered through the immediate family category compared to 37.6 percent of men. At the same time, family-sponsored preference categories of third and fourth preference (adult children or siblings of U.S. citizens) showed minor differences between women at 22.4 percent and men at 23.0 percent.

17. Department of Homeland Security, *Annual Flow Report: April 2006*, page 5 http://www.uscis.gov/graphics/shared/statistics/publications/USLegalPermEst_5.pdf; Department of Homeland Security, *2005 Yearbook of Immigration Statistics*, Table 9, page 26. http://www.dhs.gov/xlibrary/assets/statistics/yearbook/2005/OIS_2005_Yearbook.pdf18. H.R. 3657, International Marriage Broker Act, 109th 1st session, Section 1.

19. Aardvarc.org, "Commonly Used Domestic Violence Citations," http://www.aardvarc.org/dv/statistics.shtml#cites.

20. Mary A. Nies and Melanie McEwan, *Community Health Nursing: Promoting the Health of Populations,* 3rd ed., Elsevier Saunders, 2001.

21. Pearce, "Immigrant Women in the United States," 7.

22. Fitzpatrick, "The Gender Dimension of U.S. Immigration Policy," 25.

23. Pearce, "Immigrant Women in the United States," 9–10.

24. Koreans and Amerasians also comprise a significant portion of the U.S. adoptee population. Of the more than 150,000 children adopted overseas, 100,000 were adopted into U.S. homes. Adoptees from Korea make up 10 percent of today's Korean American population and are part of the second immigration wave of Korean Americans. (U.S. Census) The other significant entry of children from Asia was "Amerasian" children (children born in Vietnam to Vietnamese women and U.S. servicemen). Since the Vietnam War (1957–1975) close to 100,000 Amerasians entered the United States. (http://www.searac.org).

25. Jeffrey S. Passel, "Unauthorized Migrants: Numbers and Characteristics," Pew Hispanic Center, June 2005, p. 18, http://pewhispanic.org/files/reports/46.pdf.

26. Passel, "Unauthorized Migrants," 25.

27. Passel, "Unauthorized Migrants," 26–30,

28. Jeanne Batalova, "Spotlight on Legal Immigration to the United States," Migration Policy Institute, Washington, DC (June 2005): 4.

29. The number of asylum cases that have been filed has dropped dramatically from 123,884 in 1994 to 27,704 in 2004. Kelly Jefferys, "Annual Flow Report—Refugees and Asylees: 2005, Office of Immigration Statistics, Department of Homeland Security, pages 1–5.

30. Wendy Young, "Behind Locked Doors: Abuse of Refugee Women at Krome," *Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children*, New York (October 2000): 2.

31. "Immigration Detention—An Overview," Detention Watch Network, 2006. Washington, DC (2006): 2.

32. Young, "Behind Locked Doors" 2.
33. Immigration Detention, 2.
34. Refugee Council USA, "The Stories: Refugees Hurt by the Material Support Bar on Admission," April 5, 2006, http://www.rcusa.org/uploads/pdfs/ms-caseexamples-2006.pdf.

RESOURCE GUIDE

Suggested Reading

California Alliance to Combat Trafficking and Slavery Task Force, Human Trafficking in California (2007).

Hing, Bill Ong. *Defining America through Immigration Policy*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2004.

Hing, Bill Ong. *Deporting Our Souls: Values, Morality, and Immigration Policy.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Hing, Bill Ong. "Detention to Deportation—Rethinking the Removal of Cambodian Refugees." *U. C.–Davis Law Review* 38 (2005): 891.

Hing, Bill Ong. "Don't Give Me Your Tired, Your Poor: Conflicted Immigrant Stories and Welfare Reform." *Harvard Civil Rights-Civil Liberties Law Review* 33 (1998): 159.

Hing, Bill Ong. *Making and Remaking Asian America through Immigration Policy*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford Press, 1993.

Hing, Bill Ong. "Refugee Policy and Cultural Identity: In the Voice of Hmong and Iu Mien Young Adults." *Hastings Race & Poverty Law Journal* 1 (2003): 111.

Hing, Bill Ong. *To Be an American: Cultural Pluralism and the Rhetoric of Assimilation*. New York: NYU Press 1997.

Su, Julie. "Making the Invisible Visible: The Garment Industry's Dirty Laundry." *Journal of Gender, Race and Justice* 1 (1998): 405.

Films

Becoming American: The Chinese American Experience. 2003. Bill Moyers. PBS. (360 minutes). This documentary focuses on the history of Chinese Americans from the California Gold Rush to the present. It also explores generation and the personal journeys around history, racism and identity of Chinese Americans.

Juvies. 2004. Dir. Leslie Neale. Chance Films. DVD (66 minutes). A documentary focusing on the lives of twelve juveniles, tried as adults and facing long-term sentences. The juveniles were taught basic video production and interviewing skills that are featured in the film. Duc Ta is one of the twelve juvenile participants.

Sentenced Home. 2005. Dir. Nicole Newnham and David Grabias. IndiePix. DVD (76 minutes). This documentary focuses on three Cambodian-American immigrants living in Seattle. In the early 1980s, these children were among multitudes of Cambodian refugees given shelter from the genocidal Khmer Rouge in Seattle's housing projects. Now, their teenage rebellions have caught up with them in a horrific way, and the confluence of their noncitizenship (they are "permanent residents") and post 9/11 anti-terrorism laws lead to their immediate deportation. The film follows the men back to their native Cambodia, a country that is unfamiliar and fearsome to them.

Organizations

Asian American Justice Center. http://www.advancingequality.org/. An organization working to advance Asian American human and civil rights through advocacy, public policy initiatives, public education and litigation.

Asian American Legal Defense and Education Fund. https://www.aaldef.org/. National organization focused on key issues impacting Asian American civil rights and provides litigation, legal resources, education and training.

Asian Law Caucus. http://www.asianlawcaucus.org/site/alc_dev/. Serves low-income Asian Pacific American communities in promoting, advancing and representing their legal and civil rights.

Immigrant Legal Resource Center. http://www.ilrc.org/. Provides information on immigration law and current publications that educate and inform immigrants and their advocates.

Southeast Asian Refugee Action Center. http://www.searac.org/. National organization features information about Cambodian, Laotian, and Vietnamese Americans and relevant issues impacting these communities.

Web Sites

ACLU Immigrant Rights Project. http://www.aclu.org/immigrants/index.html. Discussion of the most pressing constitutional challenges faced by immigrants and other noncitizens in the United States.

American Immigration Lawyers Association. http://www.aila.org/. Immigration on the rights of immigrants and available legal services across the nation.

Detention Watch Network. http://www.detentionwatchnetwork.org/. advocates on behalf of immigrants who are held in custody under unreasonable conditions and procedures.

DHS Immigration Statistics. http://www.dhs.gov/ximgtn/statistics/. Regular reports from the Department of Homeland Security on immigration, refugee, and deportation data in the United States.

Immigration Policy Center. http://www.immigrationpolicy.org/. Policy and advocacy position papers on a variety of current immigration issues.

ImmigrationProf Blog. http://lawprofessors.typepad.com/immigration/. Daily coverage of immigration and refugee issues from a legal and community-based perspective.

Law Offices of Carl Shusterman. http://www.shusterman.com/. Comprehensive Web site on immigration procedures, requirements, visa backlogs, and current immigration legal issues.

National Immigration Forum. http://www.immigrationforum.org/. Up-to-date information on legislative and policy proposals affecting immigrants in the United States.

National Immigration Law Center. http://www.nilc.org/. Devoted to policy relevant information impacting immigrants and refugees, including education, public assistance, and labor rights.

National Network for Immigrant & Refugee Rights. http://www.nnirr.org/. Advocacy information on immigrant and refugee rights from a grassroots and community-based perspective.

This page intentionally left blank

Section 7:

LAW

Section Editor: Angelo Ancheta

This page intentionally left blank

LEGAL ISSUES, PAST AND PRESENT

Angelo Ancheta

Law and the legal system have had strong and lasting effects on the lives of Asian Americans since the founding of the nation. During most of American history, Asian Americans have faced various racially discriminatory laws, and guarantees of civil rights have been elusive. Social movements and revisions in federal and state policies have brought important changes in the law in recent decades, but discrimination in the law and insufficient civil rights protections remain leading issues. Both historical discrimination against Asian Americans and contemporary legal issues reflect recurring problems rooted in race, ethnicity, immigration and citizenship status, and language access. In many instances, the discrimination reflects racism that is intertwined with nativism and anti-American sentiment—where Asian Americans, even those whose families have been in the U.S. for generations, are treated as if they are foreigners.

HISTORICAL IMMIGRATION AND DISCRIMINATION

The history of Asians in the United States dates back to the founding of the country, and the waves of immigrant laborers who entered the country in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries produced significant Asian populations in Hawai‘i and several western states. Chinese immigrants first arrived in the mid-1800s to work on plantations in Hawai‘i , as well as in the mining and railroad industries on the West Coast; Japanese, Filipino, Korean, and Asian Indian workers entered in later decades as demands for low-wage labor increased. In time, however, economic downturns and overt racism led to serious discrimination

against immigrant populations. Anti-Asian laws came in three major forms: federal citizenship laws that created racial barriers for Asians seeking naturalized citizenship, federal immigration laws that severely limited the number of immigrants from Asian countries, and state and local laws that discriminated against Asians, often based on their ineligibility for American citizenship.

RACE AND NATURALIZED CITIZENSHIP

In 1790, Congress passed the Nationality Act of 1790, which stated that "any alien, being a *free white person* who shall have resided within the limits and under the jurisdiction of the United States for a term of two years, may be admitted to become a citizen thereof."[1] The act was originally intended to exclude blacks and Native Americans from citizenship, but as immigrant populations grew in the 1800s, the law was used to deny citizenship to Asians as well. Even after the addition of the Fourteenth Amendment to the federal Constitution, which guaranteed that any person born in the United States would be an American citizen, the naturalization laws excluded Asians from eligibility. Federal legislation amended the naturalization laws in 1870 to grant "aliens of African nativity and persons of African descent" the right to become naturalized citizens, but Congress rejected legislation to make Chinese immigrants eligible for citizenship.

Restrictions on naturalized citizenship also cast doubt on the birthright citizenship of American-born children of Asian immigrants, and the basic issue was not resolved until 1898 in the case of *United States v. Wong Kim Ark*.[2] Wong Kim Ark had been born in San Francisco to Chinese immigrant parents, but after returning to the United States from a trip to China, he was prevented from entering the country based on the government's allegation that he was not an American citizen. The Supreme Court ruled in favor of Wong and held that all people born in the United States, even those born to parents ineligible for citizenship, become citizens under the Fourteenth Amendment. At the same time, however, the Court reaffirmed Congress' power to deny naturalized citizenship to Wong's parents.

During the 1920s the Supreme Court confirmed that various Asian immigrant groups were ineligible for naturalization. In *Ozawa v. United States,* the Court ruled that Japanese immigrants were ineligible for naturalized citizenship. Ozawa, who had spent almost his entire life in the U.S, argued that Japanese were included within the category of "free white persons" because of their skin color.[3] The Court rejected his argument, proposing that the words "white person" were not based on skin color; instead, the term was meant to include only members of the Caucasian race. In *United States v. Thind,* the Supreme Court ruled that Asian Indians were ineligible for citizenship, even though anthropological science at the time classified Indians as Caucasian.[4] Popular conceptions of Caucasian, the Court concluded, did not include Indians because their physical characteristics made them "readily distinguishable from the various persons in this country commonly recognized as white."[5]

Federal citizenship laws even went so far as to take away American citizenship from women who married Asian immigrants. The Cable Act, passed in 1922, stated that any woman citizen who married an alien ineligible to citizenship would cease to be a citizen of the United States. At the time, the citizenship of a husband and a wife was considered identical, and the husband's citizenship took precedence over the wife's citizenship; thus the government could strip away American citizenship from a woman who married an immigrant subject to the racial bar.

The federal courts never overturned the racial bar on naturalization as unconstitutional, and it was not until the 1940s and 1950s that Congress removed the prohibition, largely in response to World War II alliances between the United States and Asian countries. Chinese immigrants became eligible to naturalize in 1943, and Asian Indians and Filipinos became eligible in 1946. It was not until 1952 that the racial limitation on naturalized citizenship was finally removed altogether from the law.

EXCLUSIONARY IMMIGRATION LAWS

While racial barriers to naturalization prevented Asian immigrants from gaining citizenship, race-based immigration restrictions prevented Asians from entering the country in the first place. Congress passed a series of laws limiting Asian immigration during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in response to calls to curtail the flow of Asian labor during economic recessions. The laws first sought to end Chinese migration, but they were extended in time to include all Asian groups in the United States.

Among the earliest laws was the Page Law of 1875, a law designed to prevent the entry of prostitutes but was applied almost entirely against Chinese women, who were routinely classified as prostitutes. In 1882, Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act, which excluded Chinese laborers from entering the United States for a full decade; as a result, the number of Chinese who entered the country declined from over 39,000 in 1882 to just ten in 1888. The Scott Act of 1888 extended Chinese exclusion by prohibiting the entry of Chinese laborers who left the United States temporarily and failed to return by a set date.

The Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the Scott Act in *Chae Chan Ping v. United States (The Chinese Exclusion Case),* ruling that Congress had broad powers to regulate immigration and that if the government considered "the presence of foreigners of a different race in this country, who will not assimilate with us, to be dangerous to its peace and security, their exclusion [would] not to be stayed."[6] The Geary Act of 1892 extended Chinese exclusion for an additional ten years and added the requirement that any Chinese immigrant who failed to register with the government within a year would become subject to deportation. In *Fong Yue Ting v. United States,* the Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the Geary Act as consistent with Congress' powers.[7] Congress renewed the exclusion laws in 1902 and in 1904 passed legislation that extended exclusion indefinitely.

With the decline of Chinese migration, renewed calls for low-wage labor led to increased migration from Japan. The Japanese government tightly regulated early migration and focused on sending laborers to Hawai'i and California for agricultural work. In time, however, calls for immigration restrictions abounded on the West Coast. Diplomatic solutions to address anti-Japanese sentiment led to a "Gentleman's Agreement," which was first negotiated in 1907 to voluntarily limit Japanese migration. Under the agreement, the Japanese government ceased issuing travel documents to U.S.-bound workers; in exchange, the spouses and children of Japanese laborers were allowed to enter the United States.

Racist sentiment against Korean and Indian immigrants grew in the early twentieth century as well. Congress passed the Immigration Act of 1917, which created an "Asiatic barred zone," which covered South Asia from Arabia to Indochina, and included India, Burma, Siam, the Malay states, the East Indian islands, Asiatic Russia, the Polynesian islands, and parts of Arabia and Afghanistan. Congress later passed the Immigration Act of 1924, an immigration law that established national origin quotas that were heavily biased in favor of migrants from Northern and Western Europe. The 1924 act also excluded any "alien ineligible to citizenship," which targeted Asian migration through the racial bar on naturalization.

Filipinos, who were U.S. nationals for many years because of the Philippines' status as an American colony in the early twentieth century, were not directly affected by the first restrictive immigration laws. Although initially welcomed as laborers, Filipinos were eventually targeted for immigration restrictions, resulting in Congress' passage of the Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1934. The law granted commonwealth status to the Philippines, which eventually became independent in 1946, but it stripped Filipinos in the United States of their status as nationals and made them deportable. Filipinos became subject to the immigration laws, and annual quotas limited the entry of Filipinos to the United States to approximately fifty per year.

Because of the immigration laws, Asian migration was drastically reduced and some immigrant populations in the United States even declined over time. The McCarran-Walter Act of 1952 revised much of the federal immigration system, but it kept the basic quota system that limited Asian immigration. The 1952 act also created an "Asia-Pacific triangle" that allowed only two thousand immigrants to enter the country each year; moreover, annual quotas for each Asian country typically allowed only one hundred migrants per year. It was not until 1965 that the laws were amended to remove overtly race-based exclusions from the federal immigration laws.

STATE AND LOCAL LAWS

Racially discriminatory laws at the state and local level had the most powerful effects on Asian Americans. Many of the laws discriminated through explicit language based on race or ethnicity, but other laws relied on the racial bar on naturalized citizenship to target Asian immigrants. Laws designed to deny legal

rights to "aliens ineligible to citizenship" had the unmistakable effect of discriminating against Asian immigrants and their family members. In 1852, for example, California enacted a foreign miners' license tax, which imposed a three-dollar monthly tax on every foreign miner who could not become an American citizen. Until it was overridden by federal statute, the tax generated from one-fourth to one-half of California's total state revenue. In 1855, the California legislature passed a law entitled "An Act to Discourage the Immigration to this State of Persons Who Cannot Become Citizens Thereof," which imposed a landing tax of fifty dollars per person on ship owners transporting Asian immigrants.

State courts also actively engaged in discrimination against Chinese immigrants. In 1854, for example, the California Supreme Court in *People v. Hall* overturned the criminal conviction of a white man whose conviction for murdering a Chinese man was based in part on the testimony of Chinese witnesses.[8] The court ruled that a Chinese witness could not testify based on a state law which stated that "[n]o Black or Mulatto person, or Indian, shall be allowed to give evidence in favor of, or against any white person." The court ruled that the law included Chinese because Indians and Chinese were from the same racial stock, because the word "black" included all individuals other than whites, and because accepting the testimony of unassimilated Chinese immigrants would be unwise public policy.

Local laws also imposed discriminatory burdens on Chinese immigrants and immigrant-owned businesses. A San Francisco ordinance, for example, imposed a tax schedule of $1.25 on laundries with one horse-drawn vehicle, $4 on laundries with two horse-drawn vehicles, $15 on laundries with more than two horse-drawn vehicles, and $15 on laundries with no horse-drawn vehicles at all. The law targeted Chinese laundries because practically no Chinese laundry operated a horse-drawn vehicle. San Francisco also enacted a "Cubic Air Ordinance," which mandated that living areas have a minimum of five hundred cubic feet of space per person; the law was enforced only in Chinatown.

One of the rare instances in which an ordinance was struck down as unconstitutional was in the landmark 1886 case of *Yick Wo v. Hopkins,* in which the Supreme Court struck down a San Francisco ordinance that prohibited wood-constructed laundries.[9] The government denied renewal licenses to Yick Wo and hundreds of Chinese laundry owners under the ordinance, even though they had been operating their laundries for more than two decades. Almost all non-Chinese laundries, including ones with wooden buildings, were granted renewals. The Court held in favor of Yick Wo, ruling that noncitizens were protected by the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, and that even a law that was not racially discriminatory on its face could violate the Equal Protection Clause if it was administered in a discriminatory manner.

The property rights of Asian immigrants were also limited through state "alien land laws." For example, the Alien Land Law of 1913 targeted Japanese farmers in California by prohibiting aliens ineligible for citizenship from purchasing land and by limiting lease terms to no more than three years. The

California law was expanded in the 1920s to prevent American-born Asian children from gaining title to land and having their parents act as guardians. The U.S. Supreme Court upheld alien land laws against constitutional challenge in the 1920s, ruling in *Terrace v. Thompson* that Asian immigrants did not enjoy the same rights as citizens.[10] The Court concluded that because a noncitizen lacked sufficient interest in the welfare of the state, the state could properly deny him the right to own and lease real property.

Another common form of discrimination came in the form of school segregation laws. In 1860, California barred Asians, blacks, and Native Americans from attending public schools altogether. In the 1880s, after the law banning minority students was declared unconstitutional, the laws established racially segregated schools. For example, Chinese and other Asian students in cities such as San Francisco were often sent to "Oriental schools" and other minority-only schools. In 1927, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Gong Lum v. Rice* that requiring a Chinese American student to enroll in a Mississippi school designed for the "colored races" was constitutional.[11] *Gong Lum* remained in place until it was overruled by the Supreme Court in 1954 in *Brown v. Board of Education.*

Antimiscegenation laws that banned many interracial marriages were also widely used to discriminate against Asian Americans. In the 1880s, for example, California enacted an antimiscegenation law that prohibited marriages between whites and "Negroes, mulattoes, or Mongolians"; the law was extended in the 1930s to include Filipinos, who had been ruled by the courts to be members of the "Malay race." As reflections of white supremacy—intermarriage between nonwhites was allowed but intermarriage between whites and nonwhites was banned—antimiscegenation laws against blacks and Asians were common in western states, and many laws remained on the books until the U.S. Supreme Court declared them unconstitutional in 1967.

WORLD WAR II INTERNMENT OF JAPANESE AMERICANS

Among the most serious acts of discrimination against an Asian American population was the relocation and internment of Japanese Americans during World War II. After the attack on Pearl Harbor, longstanding sentiment against Japanese immigrants led to calls for the removal of Japanese Americans from the West Coast. On February 19, 1942, President Franklin D. Roosevelt issued Executive Order 9066, which authorized the creation of military areas from which all persons could be excluded in the interest of national defense. Although also applicable to individuals of German and Italian origin, the executive order was targeted almost entirely against Japanese Americans, and military plans to evacuate all people of Japanese descent from the West Coast soon followed. More than 110,000 Japanese Americans, most of whom were American-born citizens, were placed into internment camps in the interior of the United States for the duration of the war.

Four Japanese Americans challenged the military orders and appealed their cases in the courts. Gordon Hirabayashi, Minoru Yasui, and Fred Korematsu

were each arrested and imprisoned for violating military orders, and challenged their convictions as violations of due process and equal protection under the law; Mitsuye Endo, who had been interned in both California and Utah, filed a writ of habeas corpus arguing that her detention was illegal. In 1943, in *Hirabayashi v. United States*, the Supreme Court ruled that a curfew order restricting the movement and presence of Japanese Americans was constitutional.[12] The Court noted that Hirabayashi's conviction was based on a racial classification, but concluded that military necessity justified the conviction. In *Yasui v. United States,* the Supreme Court employed similar reasoning and overturned a lower court ruling that the curfew order was unconstitutional as applied to American citizens.[13]

In 1944, in *Korematsu v. United States*, the Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the military's exclusion order.[14] The Court wrote that while "all legal restrictions which curtail the civil rights of a single racial group are immediately suspect," some restrictions could be constitutional because "[p]ressing public necessity must sometimes justify the existence of such restrictions." In *Ex Parte Endo,* the Court provided Endo with a personal victory but did not confront the constitutionality of the internment itself.[15] The Supreme Court limited its decision to whether Endo's detention was valid, and after finding Endo's loyalty to be unquestioned, the Court ordered her release. The exclusion orders were eventually rescinded by the military near the end of World War II, allowing Japanese Americans to return to the West Coast.

Nearly forty years after the internment, documents showing that the government had altered key reports and had suppressed evidence of Japanese American loyalty were used to vacate the original convictions of Hirabayashi and Korematsu. In both instances, the courts concluded that the federal government had committed prosecutorial misconduct. Yasui's conviction was also vacated, but without a court finding of misconduct; Yasui passed away during the course of his appeal. The Civil Liberties Act of 1988, which issued a governmental apology for the internment and granted redress payments to former internees, was later enacted to provide compensation and a measure of closure on the internment.

POST–WORLD WAR II REFORMS

Notwithstanding the government's discriminatory treatment of Japanese Americans during the war, the fight for democracy abroad during the 1940s helped usher in a period of legal reform and increased civil rights protections for Asian Americans. For example, in *Oyama v. California,* the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in 1948 that California's alien land law was unconstitutional because it violated the equal protection rights of an American citizen who was a child of Japanese immigrants.[16]

The Supreme Court also held in 1948 that racially restrictive housing covenants, provisions within deeds and other real estate contracts that had been used to prevent Asian Americans from owning homes, were unconstitutional

and could not be enforced by the courts. And the Supreme Court's landmark decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954 prohibited public school segregation and led to the dismantling of "separate but equal" schools for Asian Americans.[17] During the late 1940s and 1950s, state legislatures and state courts also began reversing earlier laws that discriminated against Asian Americans. The Oregon Supreme Court declared the state's alien land law unconstitutional in 1949, followed by the California Supreme Court in 1952. In 1948, in *Perez v. Sharp*, the California Supreme Court declared California's antimiscegenation law to be unconstitutional.[18]

The federal government's reversal of discriminatory immigration and naturalization laws began in the 1940s and culminated with the passage of the Immigration Act of 1965. The Chinese exclusion laws were repealed in 1943, and Chinese immigrants were also allowed to become naturalized citizens. Asian Indian and Filipino immigrants gained the right to naturalize in 1946, and the 1952 McCarran-Walter Act fully removed the racial bar to naturalization. The Immigration Act of 1965 abolished the Asia-Pacific triangle put into place by the McCarran-Walter Act and removed the discriminatory national origin quotas dating back to the 1924 act, which limited visas for most Asian countries to one hundred per year. The 1965 act established a much higher allocation of visas per country and turned to a preference system based on reuniting families and meeting the needs of the American economy through the entry of professional and skilled workers.

CONTEMPORARY LEGAL ISSUES

Along with major civil rights legislation of the 1960s—including the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965—the Immigration Act of 1965 marked a significant shift in the federal government's commitment to antidiscrimination law and racial equality. As a result, Asian Americans began benefiting directly from governmental prohibitions on discrimination in employment, education, housing, public accommodations, and voting. Moreover, Asian Americans began being included in a range of affirmative action programs designed to remedy past discrimination in areas such as public contracting and public employment, as well as in many programs designed to promote diversity in employment and higher education. Nonetheless, there are still ongoing problems tied to overt racial discrimination, immigration, immigrant rights, language access, national security and racial profiling, and full inclusion in civil rights programs. The legal system provides rights and remedies for many victims of discrimination, but in many cases the law itself plays a central role in the discriminatory treatment of Asian Americans.

Racial Violence

One area of racial discrimination that continues to pose problems for Asian American communities as a whole—one that is tied both to lingering problems of nativism and to inadequate civil rights enforcement—revolves around racial

violence. Anti-Asian violence is deeply rooted in the history of Asian immigrant communities that endured acts of violence, ranging from assaults and killings to property damage and harassment to race rioting. In more recent decades, prominent incidents of racial violence, such as the killings of Vincent Chin in Detroit in 1982, Jim (Ming Hai) Loo in North Carolina in 1989, Joseph Ileto in Southern California in 1999, and Cha Vang in Wisconsin in 2007, have reflected nativist racism motivated by antagonisms rooted in economic competition with Asian countries, lingering hostilities related to the Vietnam War and other military conflicts, and overt racism. In the post–September 11th environment, violence against individuals of South Asian and Muslim origin, as well as individuals perceived to be members of those groups, has been a particularly serious problem.[19] Anti-Asian violence is especially threatening to entire communities because many incidents of violence cut across ethnic boundaries and reflect discrimination based on the victims' perceived status as a foreigner.

Civil rights organizations monitoring anti-Asian violence nationwide have tracked a wide variety of crimes in recent years, including graffiti, vandalism, cross burnings, property damage, arson, hate mail, intimidation, physical assaults, homicides, and police misconduct.[20] Data collection is incomplete, however, and problems of underreporting, particularly among limited-English-speaking immigrants, makes accurate monitoring and enforcement difficult. And even with national reports and prominent incidents of anti-Asian violence, there are ongoing problems related to the recognition of anti-Asian violence as a serious issue, the weak enforcement of civil rights laws, and inadequate punishment for many hate crimes.

Racial Profiling and National Security

Since the 1990s and after the terrorist attacks of September 11th, national security policies and antiterrorism efforts have had important effects on Asian American populations. For example, the attempted prosecution of nuclear scientist Wen Ho Lee in 1999 highlighted racial profiling by the federal government against Asian Americans whose basic loyalties to the United States were questioned. The government's case against Lee, a Taiwanese American who had resided in the United States since the 1960s, fell apart as evidence demonstrated that he had not stolen classified information and passed it on to the Chinese government. But the adverse effects of racial profiling on Asian Americans, particularly those seeking work in technology and defense industries, became clear as individuals were often discouraged from applying for jobs or asked to comply with higher standards for security clearances. (For more on racial profiling, see the sidebar on page 627.)

The war on terrorism has further generated problems of anti-Asian sentiment—by the government and by private sector actors who have engaged in discrimination ranging from limitations in airline travel and airport security to harassment on the job and in public life. South Asians, along with Arab Americans and Muslims, have borne the brunt of many of these acts. Government rhetoric has not been as overtly discriminatory as during the time of the Japanese American internment, but

the federal government has also implemented significant immigration and criminal justice policies with powerful effects on Asian Americans. For example, policies such as the Absconder Apprehension Initiative, a deportation policy begun in 2002 that targeted individuals from countries with significant Al Qaeda activities, led to the removal of hundreds of individuals with unsubstantiated links to terrorism, including dozens of individuals from Asian countries such as the Philippines and Indonesia.

Immigration Restrictions and Anti-Immigrant Legislation

Anti-immigrant legislation enacted since the 1980s in response to the large number of immigrants from Asia and Latin America has created programs that have caused discrimination against Asian Americans or produced changes in the law affecting significant numbers of Asian immigrants. In 1986, for example, Congress passed the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) to address undocumented migration to the United States. The law created programs to legalize qualified undocumented immigrants, but it also established a system of employment verification and employer sanctions for hiring unauthorized workers. Because of employer sanctions, discrimination against Asian Americans and Latinos increased significantly after IRCA went into effect.

State and local laws affecting immigrants have also been enacted. In 1994, for example, the voters of California passed Proposition 187, a ballot initiative designed to address immigration by denying basic rights and government services to undocumented immigrants. Under Proposition 187, undocumented immigrants would have been denied access to public school education, nonemergency health care, and social services. Although the courts declared most of its provisions unconstitutional, Proposition 187 had immediate effects on immigrants, who removed their children from schools and avoided seeking health and social services. Similar ballot initiatives were unable to qualify for the ballots of other states, but efforts in Congress led to the passage of measures further limiting the rights of immigrants.

In 1996, Congress passed the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act, a law intended to overhaul the nation's welfare system. The legislation contained provisions that discriminated against lawful permanent residents living in the United States by removing their eligibility for public entitlements, including Food Stamps and Supplemental Security Income for the elderly, blind, and disabled. Like earlier law that discriminated against "aliens ineligible to citizenship," the welfare reform law was race-neutral on its face, but its impact fell most heavily on the Asian American and Latino immigrant communities. Recent immigration laws such as the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 that limited the rights of undocumented immigrants to receive federal entitlements, that cut back on the due process rights of applicants for political asylum, and that increased immigration enforcement by local officials have also had significant effects on Asian immigrant populations.

Language Access and Language Discrimination

Because two-thirds of the Asian American population is foreign-born, many of whom have limited English-speaking abilities, language access and language discrimination issues have long been core civil rights issues for Asian Americans, and Asian Americans have been at the forefront of advancing language rights. In 1974, for example, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Lau v. Nichols*[21] that the San Francisco Unified School District violated Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 when the district discriminated against limited–English-speaking Chinese students by failing to provide equal educational opportunities through bilingual or supplemental instruction in English. The *Lau* case, in turn, led to expansions in bilingual education throughout the country and to increased guarantees for language assistance in a wide range of government services.

Nevertheless, with the growth of Asian immigrant populations and dozens of individual language groups, issues of language access still pose significant problems for limited–English-speaking Asian Americans, including some of the largest immigrant communities such as the Chinese, Vietnamese, and Korean communities, in key areas such as education, voting, criminal justice, and social and health care services. Bilingual education and bilingual ballots, for example, are not always available to smaller Asian language populations, and the result is unequal educational opportunities and even the denial of basic rights such as the right to vote. In critical areas such as health care, the lack of access to language assistance can often have dire consequences.

English-only policies, both by government and private-sector employers, have presented another source of language discrimination. During the 1980s and 1990s, a number of state and local governmental bodies enacted laws that made English the official language of government, which often curtailed key services for limited–English-speaking Asian immigrants. Although a number of English-only laws have been ruled unconstitutional or in violation of civil rights laws by the courts, many laws and policies continue to send symbolic signals to limited–English-speaking populations that they are not entirely welcome within political communities or within particular workplaces.

RECURRING THEMES OF LAW AND HISTORY

Patterns of discrimination involving nativism and anti-immigrant scapegoating have been recurring themes in the statutes and court cases of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, just as they were in the nineteenth century. Even during economic upturns, Asian Americans have been treated as perpetual foreigners, and even today, many of the anti-Asian court decisions from earlier eras—including *The Chinese Exclusion Case* and the *Korematsu* case—continue to be cited as valid legal precedents. The legal history of Asian Americans shows that Asian Americans must continue to be vigilant about protecting their civil and human rights.

NOTES

1. *Statutes at Large* 1 (1790): 103 (emphasis added).
2. 169 U.S. 649 (1898).
3. 260 U.S. 178 (1922).
4. 261 U.S. 204 (1923).
5. *United States v. Thind* at 215.
6. 130 U.S. 581, 606 (1889).
7. 149 U.S. 698 (1893).
8. 4 Cal. 399 (1854).
9. 118 U.S. 356 (1886).
10. 263 U.S. 197 (1923).
11. 275 U.S. 78 (1927).
12. 320 U.S. 81 (1943).
13. 320 U.S. 115 (1943).
14. 323 U.S. 214 (1944).
15. 323 U.S. 283 (1944).
16. 332 U.S. 633 (1948).
17. 347 U.S. 483 (1954).
18. 32 Cal.2d 711 (1948).
19. National Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium, *2002 Audit of Violence Against Asian Pacific Americans: Tenth Annual Report* (Washington, DC: National Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium, 2004).
20. National Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium, *2002 Audit of Violence Against Asian Pacific Americans.*
21. 414 U.S. 563 (1974).

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

Angelo Ancheta

Affirmative action policies that consider an individual's race or ethnicity in employment, government contracting, or higher education admissions are commonly used to remedy past racial discrimination or to promote diversity within institutions. Affirmative action programs remain controversial, however, and have been subject to legal and constitutional challenges. In recent years, some race-conscious programs have been upheld as constitutional, but a number have been struck down by the U.S. Supreme Court and other federal courts. In addition, a number of states have chosen to eliminate racial preferences in various areas of government decision-making, including public employment, public contracting, and admissions at public universities.

Asian Americans have been at the center of many of these controversies because they are not treated as underrepresented minorities in some affirmative action programs, particularly in higher education, and they are frequently perceived to be victims of discrimination because of affirmative action. Because programs designed to assist members of other racial minority groups might lead to the denial of positions to members of other racial groups, Asian Americans are sometimes seen as beneficiaries of policies or court rulings that eliminate affirmative action. Indeed, there are significant differences of opinion among Asian American advocates regarding the constitutionality and soundness of affirmative action policies, and in many leading court cases and policy debates, Asian American advocates can often be found on both sides of the issue. Nevertheless, Asian Americans have achieved progress in a wide range of fields because of affirmative action and can be expected to be included in many race-conscious programs in the future.

LEGAL LIMITS

Because of numerous court challenges to race-conscious programs, the scope of affirmative action has been limited in recent years. In the area of private-sector employment, the Supreme Court has recognized that carefully crafted affirmative action programs can, consistent with Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, attempt to address longstanding racial imbalances in traditionally segregated jobs. In areas involving governmental action, such as public-sector employment, government contracting, and higher education admissions at state universities, the Supreme Court has been more restrictive and has recognized only two compelling interests that can justify race-conscious affirmative action: remedying the effects of an institution's past discrimination and promoting educational diversity in higher education. Moreover, even if one of these interests is used to justify a particular program, the policy must be "narrowly tailored" to the government's interest; this means that the use of race must be limited and flexible, that nonminorities must not be unduly burdened by the policy, that policies must be subject to time limits or regular review, and that race-neutral alternatives must be considered before adopting race-conscious policies.

In the area of higher education admissions, for example, the U.S. Supreme Court's 2003 decisions in *Grutter v. Bollinger*[1] and *Gratz v. Bollinger*[2] make clear that race-conscious admissions policies designed to promote student body diversity can employ race as a "plus" factor among many factors considered in a competitive admissions process. Thus, race can be considered in an applicant's file, along with factors such as grade-point average, standardized test scores, work and life experiences, geography, special skills or talents, athletic contributions, and past social or economic disadvantage. A lawful admissions policy, however, must not employ race mechanically or weigh race so heavily that the policy guarantees admission to minorities. Quotas or special admissions tracks for minority applicants are prohibited in diversity-based admissions, and the use of race cannot be inflexible and cannot be overly burdensome for nonminority students.

Although the courts have defined the constitutional limits of affirmative action policies in recent years, there is no constitutional requirement that government must employ affirmative action policies. A number of states, including California, Washington, Florida, and Michigan, have recently enacted laws and policies that prohibit racial preferences in areas such as public employment, public contracting, and public education. These policies have eliminated many governmental affirmative action programs, and participation by racial minorities, including Asian Americans, has declined in a variety of sectors within those states. At the same time, however, in some sectors such as higher education, Asian American representation has been expected to increase because of the elimination of some affirmative action policies. These changes have led to increased enrollments of Asian American students at a number of universities, but they continue to generate controversy because of the perception that Asian Americans are gaining seats in colleges and universities at the expense of other racial and ethnic minorities.

UNDERREPRESENTATION

The "model minority" stereotype that suggests that Asian Americans do not suffer from discrimination and have achieved success comparable to whites has often led to proposals to exclude Asian Americans from affirmative action programs. Yet, the underrepresentation of Asian Americans in a range of areas supports their inclusion in affirmative action policies that address both past and ongoing discrimination. In the employment arena, for example, Asian Americans often face a "glass ceiling" that prevents their advancing to upper-level management positions, even though Asian Americans, on average, may have higher education levels and may fill the professional ranks of businesses in proportionately greater numbers than whites.[3] For example, wage disparities between whites and Asian Americans are also persistent, with Asian Americans possessing the same levels of education and comparable jobs often receiving lower salaries than whites. The failure to command equal wages or to obtain promotions to management and other high-level positions can often be attributed to negative stereotypes about Asian Americans—such as being passive or unassertive, lacking effective communication skills, or possessing inadequate preparation for leadership roles. In some sectors of public employment, such as police and firefighting, Asian Americans have often been underrepresented, and the statistical disparities can be striking. In Southern California during the 1990s, for example, Asian Americans constituted more than 10 percent of the population in both Los Angeles County and Orange County, but just more than 2 percent of the Los Angeles County firefighters and Orange County firefighters were Asian American. Percentages were even lower among county sheriffs—just more than 1 percent of the Orange County sheriff's officers were Asian American—and several departments in the Southern California area had no Asian American officers or firefighters at all.[4]

In other areas of government activity, such as public contracting, Asian American business owners have often been unable to gain access to competitive processes because of discrimination. In many instances, local government agencies have employed inconsistent bidding and contract procedures and have withheld information from minority contractors; in addition, there is often little or no outreach to minority-owned and women-owned businesses. Asian American businesses may already carry serious disadvantages in accessing capital and credit resulting from discrimination, and as a result of unequal access, these businesses may be unable to bid on government contracts at all. In San Francisco during the 1980s, for example, Asian American construction firms received less than 1 percent of the city's construction contracts, even though Asian American firms constituted 20 percent of the available pool.[5]

Affirmative action programs designed to remedy past discrimination have employed various forms of race-conscious outreach and recruitment, and have set specific goals and timetables that have enabled Asian Americans and other racial minority groups to gain significant ground. For example, under a 1988 court-enforced settlement agreement, the San Francisco Fire Department initiated a race-conscious and gender-conscious hiring and promotion policy, with

goals designed to remedy past discrimination against racial minorities and women.[6] Because of affirmative action, the number of Asian American firefighters increased fivefold during a ten-year period.

HIGHER EDUCATION AND DIVERSITY

In the area of higher education admissions, race-conscious policies are frequently employed to promote diversity within college and university student bodies. Historically, Asian Americans were included with other racial and ethnic minority groups in many higher education affirmative action programs, whether those programs were designed to remedy past discrimination or to promote diversity. In more recent years, however, Asian Americans have not been treated as underrepresented minorities in many affirmative action programs because they have become numerically well represented within student bodies. Indeed, many believe that race-conscious affirmative action programs in higher education are detrimental to Asian Americans because they prevent many Asian American students with strong grades and standardized test scores from being admitted to elite universities.

The assertion that Asian Americans are adequately represented or even overrepresented within college student bodies has generated a number of difficult questions. During the late 1980s and 1990s, for example, the federal government investigated a number of admissions programs, including a number of Ivy League schools and major research universities such as UCLA and the University of California–Berkeley, that were alleged to be discriminating against Asian American applicants because of the perception that there were too many Asians within undergraduate and graduate student bodies.[7] Although most of these programs were found not to be discriminating against Asian American students, a handful of practices were problematic. The graduate mathematics program at UCLA, for example, was found by the Department of Education's Office for Civil Rights to be illegally favoring white applicants over Asian American applicants, and the admissions policy was subsequently revised.

The exclusion of Asian Americans from affirmative action programs is even more complicated because some Asian ethnic groups continue to suffer economic and social disadvantage and are not well represented within college student bodies. For example, Southeast Asian groups, including Vietnamese, Cambodian, Laotian, and Hmong, have lower levels of grade completion and fall below the national average for high school graduation and college completion. Yet because Asian Americans are typically treated as a single racial group for affirmative action purposes, members of underrepresented Asian American subgroups are often omitted from university affirmative action programs.

Debates within the Asian American community itself have also complicated the picture. Many civil rights groups continue to be strong advocates for the inclusion of Asian Americans in higher education affirmative action programs, but some organizations have taken the position that Asian Americans have been harmed by affirmative action because they have been denied seats in selective

colleges and universities that have gone to other racial minority applicants. For example, during the litigation of the University of Michigan affirmative action cases in the Supreme Court in 2003, the Asian American Legal Foundation, based in northern California, submitted a friend-of-the-court brief in support of the plaintiffs who were challenging the university's affirmative action policies; leading civil rights organizations such as the Asian American Justice Center, however, took the position in support of the university's affirmative action programs.[8]

The questions generated by Asian American admissions in higher education have led to calls for adopting other types of admissions policies, including class-based affirmative action policies that focus on family income and socioeconomic status rather than on race. Yet, class-based affirmative action policies have been shown to be less effective than race-conscious policies in promoting racial diversity, and the benefits of diversity achieved through race-conscious admissions have been fully recognized by the Supreme Court. Race-conscious policies are thus likely to be used for many years at selective universities. Whether Asian Americans as a whole will continue to be excluded from programs, or whether specific Asian subgroups, based on socioeconomic disadvantage as well as racial and ethnic considerations, will be included in affirmative action programs remains an open question.

OUTLOOK

Affirmative action programs can be expected to generate controversy as the nation continues to struggle with racial inequality and denials of equal opportunity. Opponents of affirmative action can be expected to challenge policies that push the legal limits set by the Supreme Court in recent years, and attempts to eliminate affirmative action at the state and local level—whether through legislation or ballot initiatives—are expected to continue in many parts of the country. Controversies within the Asian American community concerning affirmative action, especially in the arena of higher education, will no doubt remain prominent as well. Yet, affirmative action has led to genuine progress for Asian Americans in a host of arenas, and its supporters can be expected to continue to fight for its retention.

FURTHER READING

Asian American Justice Center. http://www.advancingequality.org.

Kidder, William C. "Situating Asian Pacific Americans in the Law School Affirmative Action Debate: Empirical Facts About Thernstrom's Rhetorical Acts," *Asian Law Journal* 7 (2000): 29–68.

Takagi, Dana Y. *The Retreat from Race: Asian-American Admissions and Racial Politics.* New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1992.

United States Commission on Civil Rights. *Civil Rights Issues Facing Asian Americans in the 1990s.* Washington, DC, February 1992.

Wu, Frank H. *Yellow: Race in America Beyond Black and White.* New York: Basic Books, 2002.

Yamamoto, Eric, Margaret Chon, Carol L. Izumi, Jerry Kang and Frank Wu. *Race, Rights and Reparation: Law and the Japanese American Internment*. Gaithersburg: Aspen Law & Business, 2001.

NOTES

1. 539 U.S. 306 (2003).
2. 539 U.S. 244 (2003).
3. United States Commission on Civil Rights. *Civil Rights Issues Facing Asian Americans in the 1990s.* (Washington, DC, February 1992).
4. American Civil Liberties Union of Southern California, *Of the Community and For the Community: Racial and Gender Integration in Southern California Police and Fire Departments* (Los Angeles: American Civil Liberties Union of Southern California, 1994).
5. City and County of San Francisco, *Progress Report: Minority/Women/Local Business Enterprise Ordinance II* (San Francisco: City and County of San Francisco, 1990), 14.
6. *United States v. City and County of San Francisco,* 696 F. Supp. 1287 (N.D. Cal. 1988).
7. Dana Y. Takagi, *The Retreat from Race: Asian-American Admissions and Racial Politics* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1992), 102–139.
8. David G. Savage, “Affirmative Action Case Splits Asian Americans; University’s Policy, Set for Debate in High Court, Is Seen as Limited and Needed, Lawyers Say,” *Los Angeles Times,* March 30, 2003, A13.

CIVIL RIGHTS AND COMMUNITY LEGAL ADVOCACY

Angelo Ancheta

Civil rights advocacy has a long history within Asian American communities, and lawyers and legal organizations have played key roles in advocacy efforts, beginning with the earliest challenges to racial segregation and anti-Asian immigration laws in the nineteenth century and moving forward into this century. Contemporary legal advocates continue to address an array of civil rights issues, such as racial violence, immigrants' rights, language access, citizenship and political empowerment, and affirmative action. National organizations such as the Asian American Justice Center, as well as local, state, and regional organizations throughout the United States, employ an array of strategies, including litigation, community education, community organizing, legislative advocacy, media advocacy, and community-based research and training to address ongoing civil rights issues.

LEADING ISSUES

During multiple decades, Asian Americans have challenged racially discriminatory laws and policies through litigation in the federal and state courts, including the U.S. Supreme Court. Lawsuits contesting exclusionary immigration laws, the internment of Japanese Americans during World War II, and segregation laws involving education, housing, marriage, and other key areas of American life were all actively litigated. Although many early cases challenging anti-Asian laws were unsuccessful, the litigation of key issues helped pave the way for groundbreaking changes in the laws. For example, landmark cases

such as *Yick Wo v. Hopkins,* the 1886 case which established basic constitutional protections for noncitizens under the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, grew out of legal challenges to racial segregation and violations of Asian Americans' rights.[1]

With the shift in constitutional norms following the Supreme Court's *Brown v. Board of Education* decision in 1954, the emergence of civil rights movements in the 1950s and 1960s, and the development of antidiscrimination laws protecting racial minorities—coupled with the growth of Asian American immigrant populations in more recent years—civil rights advocacy has confronted not only problems involving explicit racial discrimination but expanded to include a broad range of problems affecting Asian Americans:

- Immigration Status and Citizenship: Addressing the rights of Asian American immigrants, both lawful and undocumented, who are more vulnerable to discrimination and abridgments of their rights because of their noncitizen status.
- National Security Discrimination: Challenging overinclusive or unconstitutional policies that abridge the rights of individuals who are members of groups that have been targeted for antiterrorism and other national security efforts.
- Language Access: Seeking increased accommodations and language access for immigrants who are limited English proficient through the provision of interpreters, translated materials, and other forms of assistance.
- Glass Ceiling Issues: Promoting private- and public-sector employment policies that address the underrepresentation of Asian Americans in positions of leadership and management.
- Political Empowerment: Enforcing election and redistricting policies that promote voting rights and greater access to the political process.
- Accurate Census Counts and Data Collection: Advocating for thorough and accurate data collection related to Asian American communities to address problems of undercounting and to ensure proper political representation and allocation of government resources.
- Interracial and Interminority Relations: Pursuing policies that promote interracial harmony and improved relations between racial and ethnic minority groups.
- Defense of Race-Conscious Policies: Promoting policies that provide greater opportunities for Asian Americans and other minorities, such as affirmative action and voluntary school desegregation.

Nonetheless, problems of overt racial discrimination, such as hate violence and discrimination in housing and employment, continue to afflict Asian American communities, and advocacy to strengthen government enforcement and the prosecution of civil rights violations remains a high priority for many organizations and advocates.

MODELS OF ADVOCACY

Litigation and court-centered strategies have dominated the agendas of many civil rights organizations, and law reform efforts pioneered by leading groups such as the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, whose work culminated in *Brown v. Board of Education,* have served as a basic model for advocacy on behalf of Asian Americans and other minority groups. For example, in *Lau v. Nichols,* the 1974 case establishing educational rights for limited–English-proficient students under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, community-based advocates and parents worked closely with legal aid lawyers to challenge school policies that had ignored the learning needs of Chinese American students with limited English proficiency; the school district had denied the students additional instruction to learn English and to develop competency for learning other subjects.[2] The *Lau* case, in turn, established broader frameworks for the civil rights of English-language learners that eventually led to federal legislation, as well as state and local policies, promoting bilingual education and other forms of supplemental language instruction.

Litigation has been only one element, however, that legal advocates have employed in contemporary civil rights work. Because the U.S. Supreme Court and other federal courts have become increasingly conservative in recent years, strategies that focus on public education, community organizing, lobbying, and other forms of policy advocacy have become important supplements to litigation. During the 1970s, for example, legislative advocacy to expand the federal Voting Rights Act to include explicit coverage for language minority groups and to establish new requirements for multilingual assistance for limited–English-proficient voters came on the heels of the *Lau* case, but it was cemented by the lobbying and educational work of civil rights organizations in the Asian American, Latino, and Native American communities.

Multipronged strategies that combine litigation, education and organizing, media relations, and lobbying are typically employed in tandem to advance civil rights issues. During the 1980s, for example, efforts to gain redress and reparations for Japanese Americans who were interned during World War II took on multiple dimensions over the course of the decade. Public education and organizing efforts were developed within Asian American communities and through coalitions with various civil rights, labor, and social justice groups. A government-sponsored commission engaged in fact-finding and developed public education strategies and policy recommendations for redress. Litigation seeking internment-related monetary damages through the courts was initiated, as was litigation challenging the wartime convictions of key individuals who violated curfew and exclusion orders during the war. These multiple efforts combined with strong legislative advocacy to culminate in the enactment of the Civil Liberties Act of 1988, the federal legislation that granted redress payments to each surviving internee and created an educational fund to inform the public about the internment and to prevent future occurrences.

Lawyers, Judges, and Law Students

The number of Asian Americans in law schools and in the legal profession has increased steadily since the 1960s, when opportunities to obtain a legal education and to move into the profession were expanded through equal opportunity programs and affirmative action.

Law school enrollments, for example, rose from 1.2 percent of the nation's students in the 1977–78 academic year to 2.2 percent in the 1987–88 year, and to 6.0 percent in the 1997–98 year.[1] In the 2003–04 year, Asian Americans constituted 7.3 percent of the law students nationwide. Much of this growth has occurred even though Asian Americans are now excluded from many affirmative action programs designed to increase the representation of racial minority groups.

Asian Americans have entered the legal profession in increasing numbers as well. In 2000, Asian Americans comprised 2.3 percent of the lawyers nationwide, up from 1.4 percent in 1990. In 2002, Asian Americans made up 7.9 percent of the federal government lawyers, and in 2003, Asian American law firm associates comprised more than 48 percent of the minority associates at the nation's 250 largest law firms.

Still, Asian American representation in the legal profession falls below Asian American representation in other professions. In 2000, for example, while 2.3 percent of the nation's lawyers were Asian American, 3.6 percent of the civilian workforce was Asian American, and 14.9 percent of physicians/surgeons, 10.3 percent of computer scientists, 7.4 percent of accountants, and 8.8 percent of dentists were Asian Americans.

Progress has been even slower in some key sectors of the law, where Asian Americans constitute a minute percentage of the membership. For example, among federal judgeships, which include some of the most prestigious judicial positions, such as the U.S. Supreme Court and the U.S. Courts of Appeals, Asian Americans are seriously underrepresented. There has never been an Asian American on the U.S. Supreme Court, and Asian Americans fill less than 1 percent of the more than 800 active federal judgeships in the country. Similarly, only 1.8 percent of the full professors at the nation's law schools were Asian American in 2001–02, and less than 1 percent of the law school deans were Asian American.

Yet, as the population of Asian Americans increases nationwide and the number of Asian American law school graduates grows as well, one can expect that the disparities and gaps in some of these important positions will be bridged, and Asian Americans will fill the ranks of judgeships, professorships, and other key positions in increasing numbers.

1. Statistics are from Elizabeth Chambliss, *Miles to Go: Progress of Minorities in the Legal Profession* (Chicago: American Bar Association, 2004).

—Angelo Ancheta

LEGAL ORGANIZATIONS

Legal organizations play a central role in civil rights advocacy on behalf of Asian Americans. While they are not the sole source of civil rights activity, legal organizations focusing on Asian American communities often play key positions in developing civil rights initiatives, coordinating strategies, and implementing legal reforms when those strategies require use of the courts and litigation.

A number of community-based legal organizations founded in the 1970s, such as the San Francisco–based Asian Law Caucus, the New York City–based Asian American Legal Defense and Educational Fund, and the San Jose–based Asian Law Alliance, have long histories of civil rights advocacy focusing on racial discrimination, immigrant rights, labor rights, hate violence, and political empowerment. The Los Angeles–based Asian Pacific American Legal Center of Southern California, founded in the 1980s, has developed similar programs and has expanded its activities to include areas such as community-based research initiatives and leadership training in interethnic relations. Coalitions of organizations are also key elements in implementing civil rights strategies: in California, for example, Asian Americans for Civil Rights and Equality has been a joint project of Chinese for Affirmative Action, the Asian Law Caucus, and the Asian Pacific American Legal Center that focuses on legislative advocacy in the state capital of Sacramento.

On the national level, civil rights legal organizations play an important role in coordinating national strategies and working with coalitions focusing on major litigation or federal legislation. Founded in the mid-1990s, the Washington, DC–based Asian American Justice Center (formerly the National Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium) has become a leading national organization for both policy advocacy, strategy development and research, and cooperative activities with regional affiliates such as the Asian Law Caucus, the Asian Pacific American Legal Center, and the Chicago-based Asian American Institute, as well as an array of community partner organizations throughout the country. Working in conjunction with social justice groups involved in the DC-based Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, the Asian American Justice Center is also a leading advocate for federal civil rights legislation addressing Asian American interests and the interests of other groups suffering discrimination.

FURTHER READING

Ancheta, Angelo N. *Race, Rights, and the Asian American Experience.* 2nd ed. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2006.

Asian American Institute. http://www.aaichicago.org.

Asian American Justice Center. http:// www.advancingequality.org.

Asian American Legal Defense and Educational Fund. http://www.aaldef.org.

Asian Law Alliance. http://www.asianlawalliance.org.

Asian Law Caucus. http:// www.asianlawcaucus.org.

Yamamoto, Eric, Margaret Chon, Carol L. Izumi, Jerry Kang and Frank Wu. *Race, Rights and Reparation: Law and the Japanese American Internment*. Gaithersburg, MD: Aspen Law & Business, 2001.

NOTES

1. 118 U.S. 356 (1886).
2. 414 U.S. 563 (1974).

CULTURAL DEFENSE

Angelo Ancheta

A "cultural defense" refers to the use of evidence related to a criminal defendant's culture that attempts to excuse or to lessen a criminal charge against the defendant. A cultural defense can also be used to attempt to reduce the defendant's sentence after pleading guilty to a crime or after being convicted. While no American jurisdictions formally recognize a cultural defense, cultural evidence has been introduced in a number of prominent criminal cases involving Asian immigrant defendants, with mixed success.

Assertions of a cultural defense have been controversial. Proponents suggest that accepting a cultural defense in appropriate cases recognizes legitimate cultural differences among immigrant groups and demonstrates a commitment within the legal system to a pluralistic society. Opponents of cultural defenses, however, have proposed that they promote stereotypes of immigrants and that they violate antidiscrimination principles and constitutional requirements of equal protection under the law by favoring immigrants and ethnic minorities over other Americans.

Opponents have also argued against admitting evidence of cultural difference because it can further harm a victim of violence, who is often a woman or a child; in cases involving male defendants who have injured or killed female victims, accepting a cultural defense may appear to condone the violence. Despite their controversial nature, cultural defenses can be expected to appear in future criminal cases involving immigrants whose home-country cultural norms differ in significant ways from American cultural norms.

CONTEXT

Because most criminal offenses require proof of both an illegal act and a particular mental state, defendants may offer evidence of cultural differences to show that they lacked the necessary mental state required to be convicted of a particular crime. A cultural defense can also be used to strengthen a traditional legal defense, such as self-defense or insanity. A defendant may also offer cultural evidence in support of obtaining a more lenient sentence.

In *People v. Chen,* for example, a Chinese immigrant killed his wife by striking her multiple times with a claw hammer after discovering her marital infidelity. Chen was charged with second-degree murder for the killing.[1] At trial, Chen's attorney called on the testimony of a cultural anthropologist who argued that the defendant's violent reaction to his wife's confession of infidelity was not unusual, given his Chinese cultural background. The anthropologist proposed that in traditional Chinese culture, a man might threaten to kill his wife upon learning of her infidelity, but community safeguards would stop him from carrying out his threat; because Chen was in the United States, the community safeguards were not in place to prevent the killing.

The judge in the case accepted the expert testimony and acquitted Chen of murder; instead, the judge found Chen guilty of the lesser charge of manslaughter and sentenced him to five years of probation. The judge explained that if the defendant had been born and raised in America, or if he had been born elsewhere and raised in America, even in the Chinese American community, then the manslaughter conviction would have been inappropriate. According to the judge, the cultural evidence did not excuse the defendant's actions, but it did justify reducing the charge and the sentence.

Although cultural defenses have become most prominent in homicide and assault cases involving Asian immigrants, they can also be asserted in a wide range of cases. Another area where cultural conflicts and criminal defenses have prominence is in the area of animal cruelty law enforcement. Conflicting interests have developed around food preparation and eating customs among Asian immigrants, where preparation of certain dishes that feature fish or amphibians or the consumption of certain animal meats, such as dog meat, has led to charges of animal cruelty. In San Francisco, for example, for a number of years animal rights activists called for the passage of specific animal cruelty laws that would have targeted vendors in the Chinatown area in order to prevent businesses from selling live animals or engaging in particular practices.[2]

PROMINENT CASES

There is little empirical research on the cultural defense because of the lack of systematic data on its use in criminal cases; however, cultural defenses have appeared in a number of well-known cases involving Asian immigrants. For example, in cases involving Asian immigrant women who have attempted to kill themselves and their children in response to a husband's infidelity, cultural evi-

dence has been employed to show that the defendants lacked the necessary mental state to be convicted of murder.

In *People v. Kimura,* a Japanese immigrant woman who had discovered that her husband had been having an extramarital affair attempted to kill herself and her two young children by walking into the Pacific Ocean.[3] Kimura was rescued, but her children drowned. In Japan, the act of parent-child suicide, known as *oyako shinju*, is justified as a practice that can rid a parent of shame and spare children from being left behind without a parent. Kimura was originally charged with first-degree murder and felony child endangerment, but after Japanese American community pressure to acknowledge the cultural basis for *oyako shinju,* she was later allowed to plead guilty to manslaughter and received a sentence of one year in prison and five years probation.

Similarly, in *People v. Wu,* a Chinese immigrant woman killed her nine-year-old child and then tried to kill herself.[4] Wu initially received a murder conviction and was sentenced to a prison term of fifteen years to life. On appeal, she argued that the trial judge had erred by failing to instruct the jury on how her cultural background as a Chinese immigrant might have affected her state of mind when she killed her child. The appeals court agreed and ordered a new trial requiring that the jurors be instructed to consider Wu's cultural background in assessing whether she had the mental state necessary for a murder conviction. Wu was eventually convicted of the lesser charge of voluntary manslaughter and sentenced to eleven years in prison.

Another set of cultural defense cases has involved Hmong American men who have been charged with rape, but who have argued that the acts of sexual intercourse were consensual because of the Hmong custom of "marriage by capture." In *People v. Moua,* a Hmong man was charged with both kidnapping and rape after he took a Hmong woman from her college dormitory room to a family member's house and then engaged in sexual intercourse with her.[5] Moua defended his actions as consistent with the custom of *zij paj niam,* in which a Hmong man takes his future bride from her home, brings her to his home, and then consummates the marriage by engaging in sexual intercourse over her protests.

Moua argued that his cultural background led him to believe honestly and reasonably that the woman had consented to the sexual acts. Because such a belief could serve as an affirmative defense to a rape charge, Moua was eventually allowed to plead guilty to a lesser charge of false imprisonment, for which he received three months in jail and was ordered to pay $1,000 in restitution. "Marriage by capture" cultural defenses have been rejected in other cases involving Hmong men, however, resulting in rape convictions against the defendants; moreover, the practice is no longer widely accepted in the Hmong American community and has been condemned by many Hmong community and religious organizations.

Another well-known case of cultural conflict occurred in Long Beach, CA, when two Cambodian Americans were charged with animal cruelty for bludgeoning a puppy that they eventually ate as part of a meal.[6] The case raised a

number of cultural questions about the practice of dog eating, anti-Asian stereotypes, and tensions between traditional cultural belief systems and American legal standards and practices. The defendants asserted that their actions were rooted in culturally specific norms, because dog eating was an acceptable, albeit atypical, practice in Cambodia. Ultimately, the charges of animal cruelty were dismissed, but California law was changed to prohibit the practice.[7] Asian American groups also played a role in ensuring that the law did not reinforce stereotypes about Asian Americans by advocating for the inclusion of a wide range of pet animals, and not only dogs, in the ban.

PROBLEMS

Recent cases provide examples of successful cultural defenses, but they also show how cultural defenses can raise serious problems in obtaining justice for victims of crime and in reinforcing negative racial and sexual stereotypes about Asian Americans. As the leading cases involving cultural defenses show, innocent victims of crime (including spouses, children, and unconsenting partners) are harmed by acts of violence, regardless of the cultural norms and customs that may be driving the defendants to act.

In addition, cultural defenses can undergird incorrect and negative stereotypes about Asian Americans, whether those stereotypes involve the perception that all Asian Americans are foreigners, that Asian cultures are vastly and irreconcilably different from American culture, that Asian women are submissive and subservient, and that extreme and brutal forms of violence are tolerated—and perhaps even encouraged—in some Asian cultures. At the very least, the use of cultural defenses in criminal cases suggests that defendants and their lawyers, while seeking the best outcomes for their clients, must be mindful of the implications of cultural evidence both for the case at hand and for Asian American communities more generally.

FURTHER READING

Ly, Choua. "The Conflict Between Law and Culture: The Case of the Hmong in America," *Wisconsin Law Review* 2001 (2001): 471–499.

Renteln, Alison Dundes. *The Cultural Defense.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Volpp, Leti. "Cultural Defenses in the Criminal Legal System." http://www.apiahf.org/adidvinstitute/CriticalIssues/volpp.htm.

Volpp, Leti. "(Mis)Identifying Culture: Asian Women and the 'Cultural Defense,'" *Harvard Women's Law Journal* 17 (1994): 57–101.

NOTES

1. No. 87-7774 (Supreme Court, N.Y. County, Dec. 2, 1988).

2. "Assembly Bill Threatens Traditional Markets," May 25, 2000, at http://www.asianweek.com/2000/05/25/assembly-bill-threatens-traditional-markets/.

3. No. A-091133, Superior Court, Los Angeles County, April 24, 1985.
4. 286 Cal. Rptr. 868 (Ct. App. 1991).
5. No. 315972-0, Superior Court, Fresno County, CA, Feb. 7, 1985.
6. Frank H. Wu, *Yellow: Race in American Beyond Black and White* (New York: Basic Books, 2001), 218–226.
7. California Penal Code section 598a.

This page intentionally left blank

DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AND IMMIGRANT WOMEN

Angelo Ancheta

Domestic violence is a serious problem cutting across all sectors of American society, but issues affecting Asian immigrant women can be especially challenging because of barriers rooted in culture, language ability, socioeconomic status, and immigration status. Domestic violence is often portrayed within Asian American communities as a nonexistent or marginal problem, and can be treated as if part of a "traditional" element of a community's patriarchal culture. Cultural pressures can also prevent victims of domestic violence from seeking assistance, and the legal system and service providers that help victims of domestic violence are often inadequately equipped to address some of the special problems of language access and cultural difference facing Asian immigrants. Nevertheless, agencies that focus specifically on Asian immigrant women have provided support in many parts of the country, and, increasingly, federal, state, and local government have paid greater attention to problems such as gaining lawful immigration status for women who are victims of domestic violence and related crimes such as human trafficking.

NATURE AND EXTENT OF THE PROBLEM

Statistics on domestic violence among Asian Americans are difficult to obtain and incomplete, but compilations of studies suggest a significant prevalence of domestic violence in many communities. One survey conducted in the late-1990s, for example, found that nearly 13 percent of Asian and Pacific Islander women reported experiencing physical assault by an intimate partner

at least once during their lifetime, and that rate was considerably lower than might be expected, likely because of underreporting.[1] Community surveys of individual Asian ethnic groups suggest even higher rates of between 40 and 60 percent of respondents reporting some form physical or emotional abuse during their lifetimes.[2] For example, a 2002 study of South Asian women who were married or in a heterosexual relationship living in the greater Boston area found that more than 40 percent of the women sampled had been physically or sexually abused by the male partners in their lifetime, and more than 36 percent reported having been victimized in the previous year; a study by the Asian Task Force Against Domestic Violence in Boston found that 47 percent of Cambodians, 44 percent of South Asians, and 39 percent of Vietnamese surveyed knew a woman who had been physically abused or injured by her partner.

Although domestic violence transcends lines of race, economic class, religion, education, and immigration status, research suggests that the dynamics of domestic violence in Asian American communities carry added dimensions.[3] Cultural and community pressures may lead both victims and abusers to see abandonment of a relationship and divorce as options that cannot be pursued. Additionally, although spousal abuse is typically seen as the primary source of domestic violence, in many Asian American households there may be multiple abusers within a home, including various in-law relatives, adult siblings, and ex- or new wives; multiple perpetrators can cause increased blame and shame for a victim of domestic violence and can further compound the devaluation of a victim.

Gender roles are often defined much more restrictively within many Asian American households, making it difficult for many women to exercise full control over their own lives. Added problems such as forced marriages, threats to immigration status because a women is dependent on her spouse for lawful status, and problems of sexual violence associated with young women who are victims of human trafficking (including mail-order brides, sex workers, or indentured workers) further complicate the picture.

Domestic violence–related homicides pose another difficult and troubling problem. Homicides include a broader range of deaths carried out through honor killings (killings by family members of a woman or girl who has shamed the family), contract killings, and suicides resulting from longstanding abuse by spouses or in-laws. For example, in July 2008, a Pakistani American living in the Atlanta, GA, area was accused of strangling and killing his twenty-five-year-old daughter because she sought to get out of an arranged marriage that had been initiated in Pakistan but to which she had not fully agreed.

BARRIERS TO SEEKING ASSISTANCE

Community norms can often exacerbate problems of gender violence and domestic abuse.[4] For example, in many Asian American communities, gender discrimination can be directed against girls beginning in early childhood by withholding proper nutrition and nourishment, education, and health care.

Support for batterers, whether implicit or explicit, and the lack of community-based sanctions for domestic violence, can embolden abusive spouses or other members of a victims' household. And community norms can further lock in patterns of domestic violence through blaming and shaming of a victim, through silencing or ignoring calls for help, and through rejecting and even ostracizing victims from a particular community.

Asian immigrants who do seek assistance from the legal system can face additional barriers because of cultural conflicts and access limitations based on their limited English proficiency. Distrust of the police can deter women from seeking official intervention, and difficulties in navigating the family law system to obtain restraining orders, divorces, and child and spousal support payments can further deter victims from continuing with procedures within the legal system. Although jurisdictions with significant Asian and Pacific Islander populations have been providing interpreter services, written translations of materials, and other forms of language assistance to victims of domestic violence, problems often arise when immigrant populations are relatively small and there are limited language resources among law enforcement, the courts, and service providers.

For several years, organizations such as the San Francisco-based Asian Women's Shelter have focused on providing culturally competent and linguistically appropriate services involving safety, food, shelter, advocacy, and other resources for Asian immigrant women.[5] Comprehensive services can be essential because many immigrant women can fall between the cracks in navigating the multiple governmental agencies that address elements of domestic violence, and many agencies may lack the cultural competence and language assistance that immigrants require. Nonprofit legal organizations focusing on Asian American populations also play a key role in providing help in obtaining restraining orders against batterers, processing divorces, and obtaining financial support through child support payments. Yet, resources such as shelter space and long-term transitional services are very limited, and the demand for services can greatly exceed the supply of services among these organizations.

IMMIGRATION STATUS

Asian immigrants who are victims of domestic violence may also face a variety of problems because they lack lawful immigration status or because their continuing lawful status is dependent upon an abusive spouse. For example, a spouse may threaten to withdraw a petition for lawful immigration status in order to maintain control over a domestic violence victim, leaving the victim the difficult choice of either remaining in an unsafe situation in the home or losing lawful immigration status if she decides to seek shelter elsewhere. In other situations, an abuser may threaten to report an undocumented immigrant to the federal authorities and use the threat of removal from the United States as a bargaining tool in an abusive relationship. Options for obtaining lawful immigration status are even more limited when neither the abuser nor the victim

possesses lawful status and potential removal from the country becomes a real danger.

With the passage of the federal Violence Against Women Act (VAWA) in 1994, immigration laws have contained more options for victims of domestic violence. For example, under VAWA the spouses and children of U.S. citizens or lawful permanent residents may "self-petition" to obtain lawful permanent residency. The self-petitioning process allows certain battered immigrants to file for immigration relief without a spouse's assistance or knowledge, thus making it possible to seek safety and independence from an abusive spouse. Newer immigration laws have also provided possibilities for obtaining temporary lawful status for immigrants who have suffered abuse because of criminal activities and who can provide assistance to law enforcement. The "U-visa" was created by the Victims of Trafficking and Violence Prevention Act of 2000, and it is available to immigrants who have suffered substantial physical or mental abuse resulting from a wide range of criminal activity and who have been helpful or are likely to be helpful with the investigation or prosecution of a crime. The U-visa provides eligible immigrants with an authorized stay in the United States and employment authorization allowing them to work in the United States.

ADDRESSING PROBLEMS

Reforms within the legal system will continue to focus on strengthening criminal justice enforcement of crimes of domestic violence, improving language and cultural accessibility for Asian immigrants seeking restraining orders and divorces, and addressing issues of lawful immigration status for victims of domestic violence. For example, the U-visa, which is available to some noncitizen victims of domestic violence who assist with criminal investigations and prosecutions, has an extensive list of requirements that can pose challenges for limited–English-speaking immigrants unfamiliar with the legal system and does not guarantee long-term immigration status. Making the process more accessible and clearing paths to lawful permanent residency are important improvements that can aid victims of crimes of domestic violence.

Comprehensive reforms that expand immigrants' ability to access the criminal justice system, the civil justice system to obtain court orders and divorces, and the immigration law system will no doubt provide longer-term solutions for Asian immigrant women who struggle against domestic violence. Yet the root causes and contributing factors of culture and family roles that often complicate domestic violence within Asian immigrant communities will continue to pose challenges both within and outside the legal system. The problems of domestic violence in Asian American communities are longstanding ones that do not have easy or ready solutions. Organizations focusing on domestic violence issues remain committed to advancing agendas that can address the multiple dimensions of domestic violence in immigrant communities.

For example, the Asian & Pacific Islander Institute on Domestic Violence has offered an extensive set of goals and strategies, all of which may be necessary to address the many problems of domestic violence in immigrant communities: raising awareness in Asian and Pacific Islander communities about the damaging effects of domestic violence on individuals, families, and communities; addressing the root causes of violence, the various forms of violence employed, and community complicity in violence; promoting cultural transformation and new social norms; expanding leadership and expertise within communities about prevention, intervention, advocacy, and research; promoting culturally relevant programming, research, and advocacy by identifying promising practices; formulating national policies that foster state and local initiatives to address violence; and strengthening an anti-violence movement by forging links with other communities and organizations.[6]

FURTHER READING

Asian & Pacific Islander Institute on Domestic Violence. http://www.apiahf.org/apidvinstitute/.

Asian & Pacific Islander Institute on Domestic Violence. *National Directory, Asian American, Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islander Domestic Violence Agencies and Programs* (San Francisco: Asian & Pacific Islander American Health Forum, 2008), http://www.apiahf.org/apidvinstitute/PDF/Directory_API_Programs.pdf.

Foo, Lora Jo. *Asian American Women: Issues, Concerns, and Responsive Human and Civil Rights Advocacy* (New York: Ford Foundation, 2003).

NOTES

1. Tjaden, Patricia, and Nancy Thoennes, *Extent, Nature, and Consequences of Intimate Partner Violence,* (Washington, DC: National Institute of Justice and the Centers for Disease Control, July 2000), available at http://www.ncjrs.gov/txtfiles1/nij/181867.txt.

2. Dabby, Firoza Chic, *Gender Violence in Asian & Pacific Islander Communities* (San Francisco, CA: Asian & Pacific Islander American Health Forum, Asian & Pacific Islander Institute on Domestic Violence, 2007), 10–12, available at http://www.apiahf.org/images/stories/Documents/publications_database/Gender_Violence_2-2007.pdf.

3. Dabby, 7–9.

4. Dabby, 9.

5. http://www.sfaws.org/ (Web site of San Francisco–based Asian Women's Shelter, a comprehensive domestic violence shelter and community building program that provides shelter, food, advocacy, and other resources to women and children affected by domestic violence).

6. http://www.apiahf.org/index.php/programs/domestic-violence.html (Web site of Asian & Pacific Islander Institute on Domestic Violence, a national resource center and clearinghouse based at the Asian & Pacific Islander American Health Forum focusing on gender violence in Asian American, Native Hawaiian, and Pacific Islander communities).

This page intentionally left blank

HOMELAND SECURITY AND RACISM

Peter Chua

In 2002, the U.S. government reorganized its Immigration and Naturalization Services agency to be part of the new Department of Homeland Security (DHS) to manage and coordinate more effectively antiterrorism, national security, and immigration activities. This reorganization formally ushered in racism in homeland security. This novel form of institutional racism has negatively and disproportionably targeted particular racial and ethnic heritage groups for social exclusion, harassment, and violence, thereby maintaining white racial supremacy. These groups include U.S. Asians such as Pakistanis, Filipinos, Cambodians, and Chinese, in addition to Middle Easterners, Latinos, and Africans who have been typically known to be targets of government monitoring and civil liberties curtailment.

BACKGROUND AND CONTEXTS

The September 11, 2001, events in New York City and other U.S. areas brought destruction, social misery, and the national crystallization of homeland security racist policies. Months after these events, mass media depicted images of government agents searching, interrogating, and detaining individuals as possible so-called foreign terrorists and undesired residents. Those affected ranged from Pakistanis and other Asian individuals with Muslim or Middle Eastern–sounding surnames, and Filipinos working as checkpoint agents and baggage handlers at airports to Chinese immigrant scientists working at national defense laboratories.

The logic and apparatus of homeland security racism draws from earlier anti-nativist practices that consider certain racial and ethnic groups as national

outsiders.[1] For example, the U.S. government enacted the Chinese Exclusion Act, criminalized particular "Asian" cultural practices, interned people of Japanese background, and deported U.S. Filipino labor organizers as suspected communists. These antinativist and Eurocentric practices asserted the inadmissibility of cultural group traits common to certain Asian and other groups and the impossibility of assimilation based on these cultural traits.

While earlier legal gains in the Asian American immigrant movement gave the pretense of national openness and societal inclusion of Asians in the United States, restrictive and racist state policies have reemerged since the 1990s. In particular, the 1996 Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRAIRA), implemented by President Clinton, dramatically derailed immigrant rights by seeking to curtail unauthorized residence in the United States and removing undesirables, including those with legal permanent U.S. residence status.[2]

With the September 11, 2001, events and the 2002 enactment of the Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism (USA PATRIOT) Act, the Homeland Security Act, and other similar legislation, President George W. Bush sought to subsume immigration into national security under the pretext of capturing suspected al-Qaeda–linked terrorists. This newer legislation provided the mechanisms and procedures to implement IIRAIRA on a broad national scale under the new DHS. The policy underlying these legislations assumes undesired "foreigners," such as those from Asian Muslim communities, are terrorist suspects and that a broad entrapment net is the optimal approach to safeguard the nation.

PROLIFERATION

Institutional racism results from DHS policies, procedures, and programs that systemically and selectively target particular racial-ethnic communities for harassment, detention, and mass removal.[3] These policies, procedures, and programs have not been enforced uniformly, without regard to racial-ethnicity, cultural heritage, and national origins. Instead, DHS and other government agencies monitor personal cues drawn from physical bodily appearances (such as clothing), markers of group identification (such as birth place, first name, and last name), and racial-ethnic and national-cultural practices (such as food preferences on air travel) to profile and determine the possible conduct of political activities to destabilize governmental institutions. Based on such personal cues, the U.S. government targets individuals and communities for harassment, mass detention, and mass removal.

U.S. Asian communities have been severely affected. The full scope of homeland security racism on these communities has not been fully determined because of the secretive aspects of homeland security activities. Mass media accounts and the release of limited government records demonstrate the extensive network of selected surveillance with the intent to harass, detain, and remove particular racial-ethnic groups.

For example, the government has contracted private air carriers to transport possible terrorists, criminals, and undesirables from national security "immigration" detention centers to their countries of origin or ancestry. These contracts were arranged prior to the capturing of the "criminals." Furthermore, formal agreements with receiving countries have allowed these private carriers to transport the individuals and their families, to land, and to grant those removed some form of legal status of residence in the receiving countries. Cambodian young men who entered the United States as refugees and who had legal resident status provide a notable example of this. These men—many of whom spent their lives in the United States, are not fluent in the Cambodian language, and have no relatives in Cambodia—were deported for suspected gang activities. They were transported to Cambodia via private air carriers, and placed indefinitely in Cambodian prisons for suspected criminal activities in the United States. In this way, the Cambodian government becomes a strong ally of the United States in its war against global terror and, as a result, garners favorable economic and humanitarian benefits from the United States.

Removal is one of the severe examples of racism in homeland security. Formally, DHS considered inadmissibility and deportation as two forms of removal. Inadmissibility usually occurs at the port of entry when DHS officers do not allow tourists, U.S. legal residents, or U.S. citizens to enter or return to the U.S. because of violation of federal laws, certain "inadmissible" convictions, or suspected security, criminal and health reasons. These officers rely on government electronic databases—which bring together demographic characteristics, corporate information (involving credit cards, banks, air travel, and so on), and governmental details (from DHS, the Internal Revenue Service, Social Security, public schools, employment records, public library, and so on)—to flag people who would be inadmissible. Once inadmissible, an individual has to initiate the challenge of database errors from outside the United States.

Regardless of legal resident status, individuals can be deported because of certain criminal convictions, procedural violations, or deemed security risks. The USA PATRIOT Act expands grounds for deportation and detention to include U.S. citizens. Detention during the processes of inadmissibility and deportation can be short-term, extended, or indefinite.

The post–September 11, 2001, effect of homeland security racism can be seen in the analysis of DHS removal data from 2001 to 2003. Filipinos and Pakistanis residing in the United States were systematically targeted for deportation. Filipinos were ranked seventh for "noncriminals" removed, with one hundred people removed in 2001 and increases of more than fifty each year in the following two years; Pakistanis were ranked ninth. The others at the top of the list include those with Lebanese, Egyptian, Jordanian, and Moroccan heritage. In the case of U.S. Filipinos, there was a 65 percent increase of removal. In contrast, for all groups combined, there was only a 5 percent increase. This is significant because it shows that the U.S. Filipinos are removed at a greater rate than the overall removal rate. A significant number of U.S. Filipinos who were removed were permanent residents. More than 42 percent had legal

documents, and they were removed because of felony convictions. DHS stopped making public these figures after 2003. In total in 2003, DHS expected to remove 85,000 Filipinos.

The experiential impacts of racism in homeland security have been far-reaching. Many who have been targeted for mass removal face greater uncertainty. They have been caught by surprise with immediate deportation, inadmissibility, and detention, without a sense of their human rights and without economic resources to respond adequately. Since the implementation of these, they have lacked adequate understanding, capable legal counsel, and adequate due process.

Individuals and families have faced greater economic and social hardships. Some, if not all, family members have lost jobs, homes, and economic security. Their careers and schooling are interrupted. They have lacked support from friends and neighbors because of racial, religious, and political stigmas. While isolated, they have lacked family and community networks, forcing spouses and children to rebuild their lives alone. Some have sought greater support and services from public assistance and underfunded local agencies.

As a result, racism in homeland security has made it difficult for Asians living in the United States, regardless of citizenship status. They have been

Amardeep Singh, left, legal director of the Sikh Coalition, discusses a new policy by the Metropolitan Transit Authority (MTA) that requires Sikh employees to wear MTA logos on their turbans, during a news conference in 2005 in New York. Five Sikh station agents announced their intention to file discrimination charges against the MTA. The Sikh workers charge that a post-9/11 policy requiring them to brand their turbans with an MTA logo amounts to religious discrimination, and to put an MTA logo on their turban would be equivalent to asking a Christian to put the logo on the cross. (AP Photo/Julie Jacobson)

unduly targeted for unjust mass detention and removals and placed under detrimental legal uncertainties. They have faced greater family hardships and have been living through legislatively generated fear and harassment.

While racism in homeland security remains invisible to many, some grassroots community organizations have been transforming themselves from simply focusing on immigrant rights and citizenship advocacy to more broadly addressing homeland security criminalization, incarceration, and racism. Instead of simply demanding comprehensive immigration reform, the organizations have been considering the need to demand for the dismantling of DHS and termination of racist practices. They have been forging a broader struggle against the increasing suspension of civil liberties by the U.S. government and organizing for social justice and their human rights and security.

FURTHER READING

Bâli, Ash Ü. "Scapegoating the Vulnerable: Preventive Detention of Immigrants in America's 'War or Terror.' " In Austin Sarat, ed, *Studies in Law, Politics, and Society*, 38, Greenwich, CT: JAI Press, 2006: 25–69.

Criminal and Deportation Defense. The National Immigration Project. http://www.nationalimmigrationproject.org/CrimPage/CrimPage.html.

Hing, Bill Ong. *Defining America through Immigration Policy*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2004.

Puar, Jasbir K. and Amit Rai. "Monster, Terrorist, Fag: The War on Terrorism and the Production of Docile Patriots." *Social Text* 72 (2002): 117–148.

NOTES

1. See Mae M. Ngai, *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America.* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004), 1–14.

2. See Edward W. Park and John W. Park. *Probationary Americans: Contemporary Immigration Policies and the Shaping of Asian American Communities.* (New York: Routledge. 2005), 45–62.

3. See Critical Filipina and Filipino Studies Collective, *Resisting Homeland Security: Organizing Against Unjust Removal of U.S. Filipinos* (San Jose, CA: Critical Filipina and Filipino Studies Collective and the National Alliance for Filipino Concerns, 2004).

This page intentionally left blank

LANGUAGE RIGHTS AND LANGUAGE DISCRIMINATION

Angelo Ancheta

For many Asian Americans, lacking proficiency in the English language poses a serious barrier to full participation in American life. The inability to communicate well in English implies having difficulty in school, lacking access to many jobs and areas of business, facing serious barriers in accessing the range of public services, including emergency services and health care, and limitations in exercising basic political rights, such as the right to vote. Providing equal language access to Asian immigrants poses an especially significant challenge for government and other institutions because of the multiplicity of Asian languages; there is no single Asian language, and members of some Asian ethnic groups often speak entirely different dialects and languages.

Consequently, the protections of the law and the legal system for limited–English-speaking individuals are often incomplete, and various forms of discrimination have emerged because of the growth of immigrant communities. Federal civil rights laws guaranteeing degrees of language assistance can be found in areas such as public education, criminal justice, and voting, but there are also gaps in many key areas such as health care and social services. In addition, resentment and hostility to immigrants has generated various types of language discrimination, including "Official English" laws making English the official language of government, English-only policies at workplaces, and accent-based discrimination.

LANGUAGE ACCESS AND LANGUAGE RIGHTS

The U.S. Supreme Court's landmark case of *Lau v. Nichols,* decided in 1974, signaled a major shift in the interpretation of civil rights laws and the recognition

of language difference as a basis for violations of federal rights.[1] In *Lau,* the Supreme Court addressed the question of whether the failure of the San Francisco Unified School district to offer significant language assistance to nearly 3,000 limited–English-speaking Chinese American students violated Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which prohibits discrimination based on race or national origin by programs receiving federal funding. The Court ruled that the school district's refusal to take appropriate action to help the students overcome language barriers was a form of national origin discrimination that deprived them of equal educational opportunity.

The *Lau* decision did not require specific types of instruction, such as bilingual education, but it helped usher in language assistance programs in the nation's public school systems and led to reforms in a number of areas of law, including the criminal justice system and in voting. For example, because of legislation first added to the federal Voting Rights Act during the mid-1970s, many U.S. counties with sizable language minority populations are required to provide language assistance in Asian languages based on satisfying a triggering formula and census data requirements. After the 2000 Census, the County of Los Angeles, for example, was required to provide translated ballots and election materials, as well as oral assistance, to five large Asian language minority groups (Chinese, Filipino, Japanese, Korean, and Vietnamese).

Similarly, Executive Order 13166, issued by President Clinton in 2000, requires federal agencies to assess services provided to limited–English-proficient individuals and to develop adequate plans and guidelines to ensure meaningful access to agency services. Executive Order 13166 also requires that federal agencies ensure that recipients of federal funding, including many state and local government agencies, provide meaningful access to limited–English-proficient applicants and beneficiaries. Consequently, service providers in areas such as health care, social services, and criminal justice must provide language assistance through translated materials and interpreter services.

Yet, many guarantees of language rights are incomplete because of limitations in the law and because of the difficulty of covering the wide array of languages spoken in Asian American communities. The guarantees of *Lau* have not been extended to all areas of law, and national policies such as Executive 13166 can still have gaps in individual agency guidelines and services. And even with the requirements of *Lau* and federal law, supplemental language instruction in public education is not applied consistently across the country. Some states have even enacted laws that mandate pedagogically questionable "immersion" methods as the required form of instruction for limited–English-proficient students. For example, Proposition 227 was passed in 1998 by the voters of California, and similar ballot measures were passed in Arizona in 2001 and in Massachusetts in 2002; these initiatives adopt a one-size-fits-all model of instruction that requires English-language acquisition within the course of a year, even though acquiring the necessary English language skills to perform on the same level as native speakers can take a much longer amount of time and many Asian American students can be left behind their classmates.

The problem of multiple Asian languages also results in the underaddressing of language needs. For example, many Asian American students who belong to smaller language groups are not able to gain access to full bilingual education services that are available to larger language groups. Language assistance in voting is only mandated for language groups that meet certain thresholds; groups below the thresholds are not required to receive language assistance, and the right to vote can be compromised. For example, in Los Angeles County, groups such as Cambodians and Laotians have sizable populations in some areas of the county, but in the aggregate may not have sufficient numbers to trigger the language assistance requirements of the Voting Rights Act. And assistance for key government services such as medical care can be abridged because institutions lack the capacity to address the needs of smaller language groups, particularly among populations such as the Hmong, who lack a written language tradition.

LANGUAGE DISCRIMINATION

Language-based discrimination is also a common problem associated with limited English proficiency. For example, the differential treatment of individuals who are non–English-speaking or limited–English-speaking can lead to unlawful discrimination in situations where a certain degree of English proficiency is not necessary—such as when a high level of proficiency is required for a job in which English communication skills are not truly essential. In recent years, language discrimination has also come in the form of English-only laws and policies that limit the use of languages other than English in particular settings, as well as policies that discriminate on the basis of language-related characteristics such as accent.

Beginning in the 1980s, a number of states and localities began enacting "Official English" laws in response to concerns that the increasing use of foreign languages in immigrant communities had diminished both the stature of the English language and the acquisition of English by immigrants. Although the laws varied in content—ranging from the merely symbolic to establishing significant limits on the use of non-English languages by government employees and curtailing the development of government materials in other languages—they were designed largely to assert the primacy of English over other languages. For example, in 1986, the voters of California enacted Proposition 63, which made English the official language of the state but did not prohibit the use of languages other than English in the provision of government services or in government workplaces. On the other hand, in 1988 the voters of Arizona enacted Proposition 106, which required all levels of state and local government to "act in English and no other language." Because of the severe restrictions on the use of languages other than English by the government, the Arizona law was challenged in federal and state court and ultimately struck down as unconstitutional by the Arizona Supreme Court.[2]

Some jurisdictions with large numbers of Asian American businesses also developed laws that limited the uses of Asian languages on business signs;

although motivated in part to ensure access for emergency police and fire services, English-mandated signage laws represented attempts to suppress Asian languages in those business areas dominated by Asian immigrants. For example, in the late 1980s, the Southern California city of Monterey Park, a largely suburban community with a sizable Asian American population, passed an ordinance requiring that business signs be posted in English, along with a moratorium on new construction that effectively blocked the building of many Asian American businesses. The law was enacted largely in response to the influx of Chinese American businesses and the use of signs written in Chinese. A change in the membership of the city council that included Chinese Americans who opposed the ordinance led to the law's eventual repeal.

Legal challenges based on the First Amendment and other constitutional grounds have also tempered some of the harsher laws. In *Asian American Business Group v. City of Pomona,* for example, a federal court struck down a city ordinance that required local businesses displaying "foreign alphabetical characters" to also devote one-half of the area of a sign to advertising in English.[3] The court ruled that the Pomona law violated both the First Amendment and the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment because the choice of language is an expression of national origin and culture, the ordinance discriminated on the basis of national origin, and the city's interest in providing emergency services could just as easily have been accomplished through a requirement that a street number be posted rather than requiring that half the sign contain English. Nonetheless, many Official English laws remain on the books, and proposals to adopt new laws continue to be circulated.

English-only policies also commonly appear in employment settings, where employers limit the uses of other languages to serve a core business need such as preventing accidents, as well as to maintain employer interests in workplace harmony and positive employee relations. Federal regulations have linked English-only policies to national origin discrimination under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964; English-only rules are considered illegal in most instances, unless they serve a business necessity designed to promote workplace safety, efficiency, or effective communications with customers. English-only rules that impose a complete ban on the use of other languages, even during break hours, are likely to be illegal. Still, some employment policies limiting the use of languages other than English have been upheld; for example, in *Dimaranan v. Pomona Valley Hospital Medical Center,* a "no-Tagalog" rule that targeted Filipino nurses was ruled not to be national origin discrimination because the court concluded that limits on Tagalog were necessary to maintain communication and conformity within the workplace.[4]

Accent discrimination has also been a common form of discrimination against Asian Americans, even those who are fully fluent in English but still possess a non-American accent because English is their second or third language. In *Carino v. University of Oklahoma Board of Regents,* for example, a federal court concluded that a Filipino American who was unlawfully demoted from his position as a supervisor and was not considered for a position in a new

facility suffered discrimination based on his Filipino accent.[5] Nevertheless, accent discrimination has been upheld as a legitimate employer decision when oral communication skills are necessary to perform job duties and the person's accent materially interferes with the ability to perform job duties.

Language rights and language discrimination issues are expected to be ongoing civil rights issues for Asian Americans as immigrant populations continue to grow. Community organizations, as well as national advocacy groups such as the Asian American Justice Center and the Asian and Pacific Islander American Health Forum, have made language access a high priority and continue to advocate for the expansion of language rights and the elimination of English-only laws and policies. As immigrant language groups increase in size and number, their inclusion in programs that guarantee language access and assistance should also expand, but racial and ethnic tensions may also make language discrimination more problematic as governmental bodies and private-sector institutions impose policies that limit the use of languages other than English.

FURTHER READING

Asian American Justice Center. http://www.advancingequality.org.

Asian and Pacific Islander American Health Forum. http://www.apiahf.org.

Crawford, James. *Hold Your Tongue: Bilingualism and the Politics of "English Only."* Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1992.

Crawford, James, ed. *Language Loyalties: A Source Book on the Official English Controversy.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.

Magpantay, Glenn D. "Asian American Access to the Vote: The Language Assistance Provisions (Section 203) of the Voting Rights Act and Beyond," *Asian Law Journal* 11 (2004): 31–56.

NOTES

1. 414 U.S. 563 (1974).
2. Ruiz v. Hull, 191 Ariz. 441, 957 P.2d 984 (1998).
3. 716 F. Supp. 1328 (C.D. Cal. 1989).
4. 775 F. Supp. 338 (C.D. Cal. 1991).
5. 750 F.2d 815 (10th Cir. 1984).

This page intentionally left blank

PRISONERS

Angela E. Oh and Karen Umemoto

Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders (API) have been among the growing prison population in the United States. From 1980 to 1999, the national prison population increased fourfold, from 330,000 to nearly 1.4 million, and the incarceration rate during that same time increased from about 140 to 476 per 100,000 residents.[1] By the early 2000s, 600,000 to 700,000 individuals were being released annually from state and federal prisons.[2] Many prisoners who return home often have difficulties reconnecting with jobs, housing, and their families or have substance abuse and health problems. Many are returned to prison for new crimes or parole violations. Within three years of release, nearly two-thirds of released prisoners are rearrested for a felony or serious misdemeanor. Such high recidivism rates translate into new victimizations each year. While incarcerated, few gain the skills and rehabilitative treatment needed to successfully reintegrate upon their release. Public health data also show that reentering prisoners are disproportionately afflicted with chronic health problems and communicable diseases.

INMATE ESTIMATES

There are different estimates of the number of API prisoners due to varied methods of documentation and data collection. According to the "1997 Survey of Inmates in State and Federal Correctional Facilities" conducted for the U.S. Department of Justice, API male inmates comprised 3.4 percent of the California state prison population and 1.3 percent of the total U.S. state prison population.[3] According to the 2000 U.S. Census, APIs comprise approximately

13 percent of the California population and 4.5 percent of the U.S. population.[4] The proportion of APIs among the imprisoned population in the U.S. as a whole is lower than their representation in the overall population, when grouped as one single racial category of "Asian American and Pacific Islander." In Hawai'i, however, the proportion of API prisoners is close to their share of the overall population, comprising two-thirds of the inmate population. According to the 2000 Census, Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders (both full and part) comprise approximately 70.8 percent of the Hawai'i state population.[5]

In Hawai'i, there is a disproportionate number of Native Hawaiians in prison (Table 1). This number is somewhat inflated because of the fact that, unlike other ethnic groups, anyone who has any Native Hawaiian ancestry is counted fully as Native Hawaiian despite the fact that almost all are of mixed ancestry. Disproportionate confinement cannot be separated from the effects of colonialism and the displacement of Hawaiians from their native lands. Native Hawaiians, like other indigenous peoples, score lowest on the major indicators of economic and physical well-being among the various ethnic groups in the state. In a study of criminal justice and Hawaiians in the 1990s, Hawaiians comprised nearly 40 percent of prison admissions while at that time comprising only 18.6 percent of the state's males aged 19 to 35. During the 1980s, the prison population in Hawai'i had been rising approximately 18 percent per year. The study also found that the odds in favor of incarceration, longer sentences, and rearrests were greater for Hawaiians for most felony offense types.[6]

Table 1. Number and Percentage of Prisoners in Hawai'i by Race or Ethnicity, 2004

Ethnic or Racial Group	Number	Percentage
Hawaiian (full or part)	1,708	41.2
Caucasian	884	21.3
Filipino	513	12.4
Samoan	216	5.2
Japanese	202	4.9
African American	180	4.3
Hispanic	107	2.6
Chinese	42	1.0
Other Pacific Islander	23	0.6
Native American	22	0.5
Korean	21	0.5
Unknown/Other	228	5.5
Total	4,146	100

Source: State of Hawai'i, Department of Public Safety, 2004.

REENTRY IMPACT ON COMMUNITIES

In the continental United States, immigrant and refugee communities often bear the biggest impact of API prisoner reentry. In California, for example, 64.6 percent of API prisoners are immigrants and refugees. Among API prisoners in California, the largest percentages of inmates are Vietnamese (21.9%) and Filipino (19.8%), followed by Pacific Islander (9.9%) and Laotian (8.5%).[7] The concentrated nature of the prison population in California magnifies the impact that the release of prisoners has on already-distressed ethnic enclaves and counties. Almost two-thirds of all API prisoners come from six counties (Table 2).[8]

This distribution concurs with state parole figures. According to the California Department of Corrections, parole units with the highest number of API parolees include San Jose, Sacramento, Los Angeles, Chula Vista, El Monte, Fresno, Long Beach, Orange County, San Diego, and San Francisco.[9]

In contrast to the continental U.S., the API prisoner population in Hawai'i is largely U.S.-born. The vast majority of those with Asian, Native Hawaiian and other Pacific Islander ancestry were born in the United States or the U.S. territories. Those born in the Philippines are the largest immigrant group, comprising less than 4 percent of the API inmate population.[10] Following Native Hawaiians and Caucasians in numbers, inmates of Philippine ancestry, including both U.S.- and Philippine-born, comprise 12.4 percent of the total prison population.

Table 2. Top 10 California Counties with API Prisoners

	TOTAL		MALE		FEMALE	
	Number	**%**	**Number**	**%**	**Number**	**%**
Santa Clara	403	24	382	22	21	1
Los Angeles	269	16	233	14	36	2
San Diego	131	8	111	6	20	1
San Mateo	111	6	106	6	5	0
Orange	110	6	94	5	16	1
Sacramento	101	6	97	6	4	0
Alameda	79	5	77	5	2	0
San Francisco	64	4	62	4	2	0
San Joaquin	59	3	55	3	4	0
Solano	52	3	49	3	3	0
Total and Percentage of All Counties*	1711	81	1266	74	113	7

*All percentages are based on the number of inmates out of the total API inmate population of 1,711.

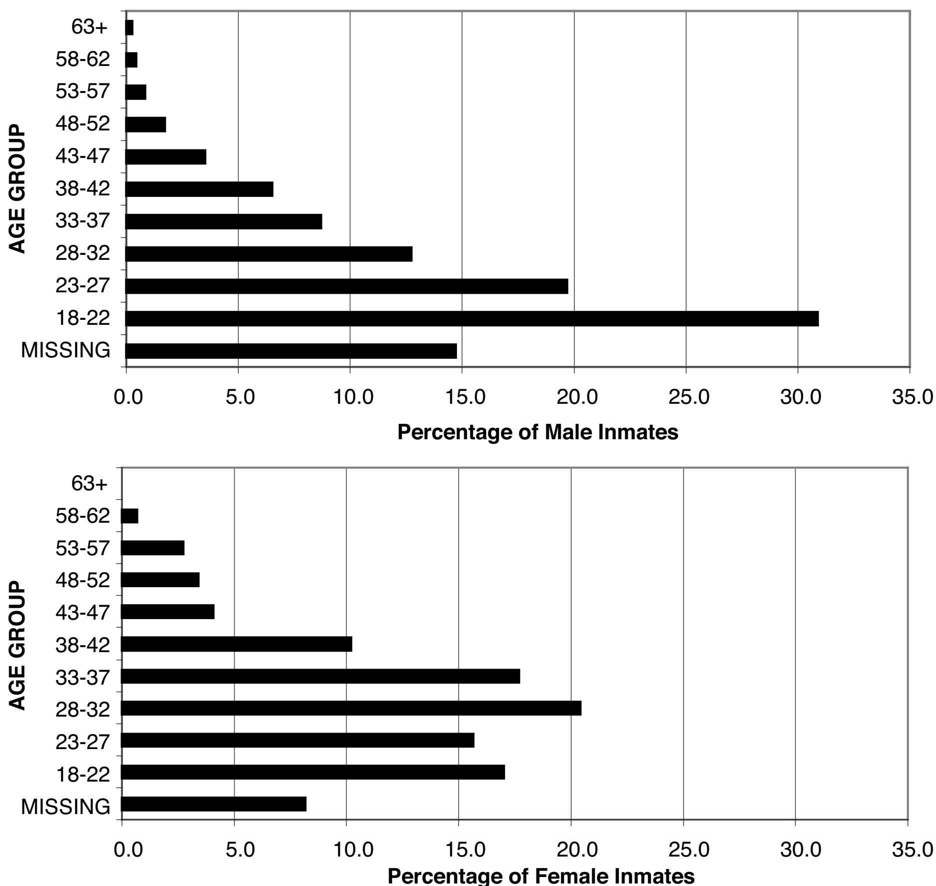
Source: State of California, Department of Corrections, Offender Information Service Branch, May 2004.

AGE AT INCARCERATION

In California, Asian and Pacific Islander prisoners are incarcerated at a younger age than prisoners of other racial backgrounds. Half of all API prisoners were age twenty-seven and younger (Figure 1), while that age group accounted for 37.8 percent of African American prisoners and 28.3 percent of Caucasians prisoners. Similar to API prisoners in their age distribution, nearly half of Latinos were twenty-seven and younger.[11] In contrast, the API prisoners in Hawai'i are generally older. The largest commitment age group in California was age eighteen to twenty-two (30.9 percent of API prisoners) while the largest age group in Hawai'i was age thirty to thirty-five (24.8 percent of API prisoners).

The young age of many of the API prisoners in California is indicative of the growing number of API youth also incarcerated in youth correctional facilities. According to a 2004 study of API wards under the supervision of the California

Figure 1. Age at Incarceration of API Male and Female Prisoners in California, 2004



Source: State of California, Department of Corrections, Offender Information Service Branch, May 2004.

Youth Authority (CYA), API youth comprised 5 percent of the wards under the CYA in 2002.[12] The API youth group shows the following breakdown: Laotian (26%), Vietnamese (20%), and Cambodian (15%), with Filipino, Thai and Pacific Islander at 10 percent each. If these youth remain in the criminal justice system into adulthood, Southeast Asian inmate numbers in California prisons will likely continue to increase.

TYPES OF OFFENSES

API inmates in the United States had the highest proportion of violent crime offenses compared to other racial groups. Violent offenses include murder, manslaughter, assault, robbery and other crimes against people. According to the "1997 Survey of Inmates in State and Federal Correctional Facilities," 56 percent of API inmates were incarcerated for violent offenses compared with 48 percent for all state prisoners. Conversely, API inmates had among the lowest proportions of offenses for property and drug offenses (Table 3). This difference is more pronounced in California than in the United States as a whole: 64 percent of Californian API inmates were incarcerated for violent offenses compared with 39 percent for all Californian prisoners.[13] More recent data from the California Department of Corrections show that in 2004 more than two-thirds of API inmates were charged with violent offenses compared to two-fifths for all other groups.

The severity of offenses between API male inmates in Hawai‘i and California varies considerably (see Table 3). Among API prisoners in Hawai‘i, a much smaller proportion of Asian Americans (48.9%) and Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders (49.3%) were incarcerated for violent offenses compared to API inmates in California (67.7%) and the rest of the nation (55.8%). Also, a greater proportion of API prisoners in California were charged with violent offenses compared to other racial groups. While more than two-thirds of API prisoners had violent offenses, only half of those identified with other racial groups fell in the same summary offense category. This relatively high proportion of violent offenses among API prisoners can be seen in other states, according to a 1997 survey. This marked variation in California may reflect a more serious pattern of offending among API males, or it may reflect a higher rate of arrest for property and drug-related crimes for other groups. Disproportionate sentencing of African Americans under California's Three Strikes law may also account for some of this variation.[14]

Regardless of the offense, prisoners are released into society with the same amount of preparation, which is very little, across all racial groups. Those who have committed more serious violent crimes, however, may have to overcome greater social and psychological challenges to successfully reintegrate. In tighter knit communities, relations with victims and their families may still remain a salient factor in the reintegration process. Also, those charged with more serious crimes tend to serve longer sentences. More than one-fifth of API inmates in California serve sentences of twenty-five or more years and serve the longest sentences compared with all other racial groups.[15] Those who spend

Table 3. Offense Type by Race

	U.S.[a]		California[b]		Hawai‘i[c]		
	APIs	All Other Groups	APIs	All Other Groups	Asian American	Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islander	All Other Groups
Violent	55.8	47.8	67.7	50.2	48.9	49.3	50.7
Property	15.2	21.5	16.9	21.2	20.6	24.2	24.0
Drug	17.8	19.5	10.0	21.4	25.9	19.9	18.8
Other or missing	11.1	11.1	5.3	7.2	4.6	6.5	6.5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

[a]Survey of Inmates in State and Federal Facilities, 1997.
[b]California Department of Corrections, Data Analysis Unit, Offender Information Branch, May 2004.
[c]Hawai‘i Department of Public Safety, June 2004.

more time in prison are at greater risk of becoming more deeply steeped in criminal lifestyles, as criminologists suggest.[16]

RECIDIVISM

Among API inmates, the recidivism rate appears to be lower than other racial groups, according to a study of state prisoners released in 1994 and tracked over a three-year period. In California, slightly more than two-fifths of API inmates were rearrested within three years of release compared with almost three-quarters of all those released. Less than one fifth of API inmates were reconvicted and less than one in ten were sent to prison for a new offense within three years of release. For the overall population, the percentage rates of reconviction and resentencing were 49.9 and 27.9, respectively (Table 4). There is no conclusive evidence that spending more time in prison leads to higher rates of recidivism.[17] Recidivism studies have shown that those who committed more serious violent crimes had somewhat lower rates of recidivism than those sentenced for robbery, various property, or drug offenses.[18]

PARTICIPATION IN PROGRAMS

The demand for comprehensive prisoner reentry programs has increased. As the prison and parole population has grown during the past twenty years, the demand for comprehensive prisoner reentry programs has also increased. Yet, most prisoner reentry programs do not have specific components to address the linguistic or cultural needs of API ex-offenders. Current information about the participation of the general prison population shows the need for mental health services, education, and job training.

Table 4. Survey of California Male Inmates Rearrested, Reconvicted, and Resentenced to Prison within Three Years of 1994 Release from Prison by Race

	Released[a]	Re-Arrested	Re-Convicted	Re-Sentenced[b]	Returned to Prison[d]
White	62,261	42,324 (68)[c]	29,790 (47.8)[c]	16,585 (26.6)[c]	39,762 (63.9)[a]
Black	31,223	24,989 (80.0)	17,280 (55.3)	9,752 (31.2)	23,088 (73.9)
American Indian/ Aleutian	567	345 (60.8)	254 (44.8)	94 (16.6)	417 (73.5)
Asian/ Pacific Islander	904	386 (42.7)	161 (17.8)	73 (8.1)	424 (46.9)
Unknown	182	24 (13.3)	21 (11.6)	20 (11.0)	51 (28.2)
Total	95,137	68,068 (71.5)	47,506 (49.9)	26,524 (27.9)	63,742 (67.0)

[a]Weighted sample size for California male inmates released in 1994 was 95,136.
[b]Prisoners only returned to prison for technical violations of his/her parole are not included.
[c]Numbers in parentheses represent the percentage of those released within each racial category.
[d]Percentage returned to prison also includes those returned for technical violation of their release, such as failing a drug test or failing to report to their parole officer.
Source: U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, Recidivism of Prisoners Released in 1994.

FUTURE TRENDS

A growing concern is the fate of API juveniles who are entering the juvenile justice system. The youth prison population presents a separate set of problems and potential reentry issues. According to the report by the National Council on Crime and Delinquency, API youth were one of the smaller racial groups, accounting for 5 percent of the total juvenile justice system population in 2002.[19] They are increasing in number, however, and if these trends continue, a continued increase in the API adult prison population will likely be seen. Better data collection on each of the specific API ethnic groups will be important in tracking these trends.

The API community has a long and proud tradition of advocating for and working to meet the needs of its most vulnerable members. Ex-offenders and their families, seeking to reestablish their lives after a prison term, are among those in most need. An early assessment of the process of prisoner reentry will likely maintain and strengthen the Asian and Pacific Islander community. In

addition, foundations and other social institutions have an opportunity to invest in programs to address some of the root causes of criminality and give those caught in the system a second chance. This support can help break the cycle of poverty and violence that erode the social capital and well-being of communities, especially those in greatest distress.

FURTHER READING

Braithwaite, J. *Restorative Justice and Responsive Regulation.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Le, Thao. "Delinquency among Asian/Pacific Islanders: Review of the literature." *The Justice Professional* 15 (2002): 57–70.

National Council on Crime and Delinquency. "Promising approaches: A nationwide resource guide to Asian/Pacific Islander youth organizations and programs." Oakland, CA: National Council on Crime and Delinquency, 2007.

Petersilia, Joan. *When Prisoners Come Home: Parole and Prisoner Reentry*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.

U.S. Dept. of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics. Survey of Inmates in State and Federal Correctional Facilities, 2004 [Computer file]. ICPSR04572-v1. Ann Arbor, MI: Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research [producer and distributor], 2007-02-28. doi:10.3886/ICPSR04572. [Online, Jan. 2009]. http://www.icpsr.umich.edu/NACJD/sisfcf/.

NOTES

1. James P. Lynch and William. J. Sabol. "Prisoner Reentry in Perspective," *Crime Policy Report*. 3 (Washington, DC: Urban Institute, 2001).

2. The Bureau of Justice Statistics estimates that 585,400 prisoners were released in 2000. Allen J. Beck, "State and Federal Prisoners Returning to the Community: Findings from the Bureau of Justice Statistics." (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2000).

3. The "1997 Survey of Inmates in State and Federal Correctional Facilities" conducted for the U.S. Department of Justice used a weighted sample of the prison population. For California, the weighted sample represented 4,824 of 141,667 inmates while the U.S. sample represented 12,445 of 992,968 inmates.

4. U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, "1997 Survey of Inmates in State and Federal Correctional Facilities." U.S. Bureau of the Census, The Asian Population: 2000. Census 2000 Brief, 2002. This estimate appears to corroborate with data from the Offender-Based Transaction Statistics (OBTS) administered by the California Department of Corrections that APIs comprised 2 percent of those sentenced in California to prison in 2002. Since API inmates tend to serve longer prison terms due to more serious offenses, their proportion of the prison population would likely be higher than 2 percent. There seems to be some discrepancy in the California data. Routine reports from the California Department of Corrections categorize APIs along with Native Americans as "other," which in February 2004 comprised 5.7 percent of the inmate population. See California Department of Corrections, Data Analysis Unit, Offender Information Services Branch, "Characteristics of Inmate Population," February 2004, http://www.corr.ca.gov/OffenderInfoServices/Reports/Quarterly/Strike1/STRIKE1d0406.pdf, accessed November 22, 2004. In a data set by the California

Department of Corrections, Data Analysis Unit, Offender Information Services Branch, generated in May 2004, which included API and American Indian categories, the proportion of API and Native American inmates were counted as 1.1 percent and 1.0 percent respectively. This adds up to less than the 5.7 percent categorized as "other" in the February report.

5. U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, "1997 Survey of Inmates in State and Federal Correctional Facilities." U.S. Bureau of the Census, The Asian Population: 2000. Census 2000 Brief, 2002. See also Brian Niiya and Karen Umemoto, "A Demographic Profile of Asian Pacific Americans in Hawai'i," in Eric Lai and Dennis Arguelles, eds. *The New Face of Asian Pacific America: Numbers, Diversity and Change in the 21st Century* (San Francisco: *Asian Week*, 2003).

6. Gene Kassebaum, "Criminal Justice and Hawaiians in the 1990s: Ethnic Differences in Imprisonment Rates in the State of Hawai'i," October 1993, unpublished report.

7. California Department of Corrections, Data Analysis Unit, Offender Information Services Branch, May 2004. These data were similar to the "1997 Survey of Inmates in State and Federal Facilities," which reported the place of birth of California inmates. According to this survey, 58 percent of API inmates were born outside of the U.S. Among these, 40 percent were born in Vietnam, 13.7 percent in the Philippines, 16.7 percent in the Pacific Islands, and 9.7 percent in Laos.

8. State of California, Department of Corrections, Offender Information Services Branch (May 2004).

9. State of California Department of Corrections, Statewide Parolee Database, June 2004.

10. State of Hawai'i, Department of Public Safety, July 2004.

11. Data from California Department of Corrections, Data Analysis Unit, Offender Information Branch, May 2004 (see Appendix I).

12. National Council on Crime and Delinquency, *Asian American and Pacific Islander Youth in the California Youth Authority (CYA)*, 2004, unpublished report.

13. Data from "Survey of Inmates in State and Federal Correctional Facilities, 1997" (see Appendix I).

14. In 2002, about 25 percent of the prison population in California was subject to sentencing enhancements under the Three Strikes law. African Americans, who comprise 30 percent of the California prison population, have received a greater number of second and third strikes relative to their population in California. See *Second and Third Strikers in the Institution Population: December 2002.* (Sacramento: California Department of Corrections: Data Analysis Unit, 2003).

15. In contrast, most API females (51.7 percent) serve sentences of 2 years or less, with only 11 percent serving sentences of 15 years or more. California Department of Corrections, Data Analysis Unit, Offender Information Services Branch, May 2004.

16. See Joan Petersilia, *When Prisoners Come Home: Parole and Prisoner Reentry.* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 21–53.

17. Patrick A. Langan, and David. J. Levin, "Recidivism of Prisoners Released in 1994." Special report. (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, 2002).

18. Langan and Levin, "Recidivism of Prisoners Released in 1994."

19. National Council on Crime and Delinquency, *Asian American and Pacific Islander Youth in the California Youth Authority (CYA)*, 2004.

This page intentionally left blank

RACIAL VIOLENCE AND HATE CRIMES

Angelo Ancheta

Racial violence has been a longstanding problem facing Asian American communities. Discriminatory acts of violence, including vandalism, property damage, assaults, and killings, have been unfortunate hallmarks of Asian American history, and laws and the legal system have often been unresponsive to problems of hate violence. Incidents of contemporary anti-Asian violence typically reveal not only overt racism but close connections between race and the perception of Asian Americans as foreigners. Epithets such as "Go home!" or "Why don't you go back to your own country?" often accompany anti-Asian violence, and many acts of violence have been tied to anti-immigrant sentiment, economic competition, past military conflicts with Asian countries, and national security and anti-terrorism efforts by the U.S. government.

MAJOR EXAMPLES OF ANTI-ASIAN VIOLENCE

Anti-Asian violence has a history dating back to the earliest Asian immigrant communities in the United States and has even been sanctioned by law. During the nineteenth century, for example, the California Supreme Court ruled that Chinese Americans could not testify against white defendants in criminal cases, which had the practical effect of licensing racial violence against Chinese immigrants. Individual crimes of violence, as well as race riots, were frequent occurrences, ranging from multiple attacks on Chinese laborers during the nineteenth century to race riots against Filipino immigrants in agricultural areas of northern California in the 1930s. More recent incidents of anti-Asian violence continue to reflect anti-immigrant sentiment, but problems of economic competition with countries such as Japan and past military conflicts with countries such as Vietnam have generated especially violent crimes against Asian Americans.

The Murder of Cha Vang: A Hate Crime?

Cha Vang, 30, a Hmong factory worker from Green Bay, WI, was found dead from stabbing and shotgun wounds and partially hidden under brush in the Peshtigo Harbor Wildlife Area on January 6, 2007. He had been reported missing on January 5, after failing to return from his weekend hunting trip to the 5,000-acre reserve.

James A. Nichols, 28, of Peshtigo was subsequently targeted as a person of interest after he sought medical care for two gunshot wounds, one to each hand. He was also in custody as an ex-felon (a convicted burglar) in possession of a firearm. Marinette County Sheriff James Kanikula told reporters that Vang and his killer met accidentally in the woods, where they were involved in an altercation that obviously turned violent. Nichols claimed that Vang was the aggressor and that Nichols acted in self-defense. There were no witnesses to the confrontation.

The death of Cha Vang followed the 2004 slayings of six white men by a Hmong hunter in Rice Lake, WI. Chai Soua Vang of St. Paul, MN, shot eight hunters who had accused him of trespassing on private land and who had tried to force him away from the area. During his trial, Vang said that the white hunters had shouted racial slurs and then began to shoot at him. The surviving wounded denied that they shouted racial slurs and said that Chai Soua Vang was the aggressor who fired first. Chai Soua Vang was convicted and sentenced to life in prison.

The effect of all the slayings fed more fuel to continuing racial tensions in the area. Since the late 1970s, the region has been immersed in an often-fierce political and judicial argument over treaties that reserve Native Americans' rights to spearfish to the exclusion of others. In the late 1980s, there were several violent attacks on Native Americans during a time of open conflict with whites over hunting rights. Many residents of the area believe that the conflicts will certainly worsen as more Hmong immigrants from Southeast Asia arrive.

Hmong men are traditional hunters. Their skills were an important asset in the harsh and remote refugee camps of Thailand and Laos after the retreat of the United States and its allies from Vietnam. Thousands of Hmong evacuated from the last of the refugee centers in Asia that had been set up after the evacuation of Westerners and a significant number of the social and economic elite of South Vietnam, the departure of U.S. and allied military forces, and the rapid fall of South Vietnam that followed.

On their arrival in the United States, government-run refugee resettlement programs distributed Hmong to areas with low Asian populations, such as

northern Minnesota and Wisconsin, as a method of hastening their adjustment to and acceptance into American society. According to local newspaper accounts, the approximately six thousand Hmong in Wisconsin's northwoods have had very limited interaction with the white majority, who are predominantly farmers and long-term and often multigenerational residents. Negative stereotypes of the Hmong—who are viewed as invaders—run rampant. Academics at the University of Wisconsin with expertise in both media and racial issues believe that lack of interaction nurtures stereotypes. In 2007, a high school in Minocqua, about 140 miles northwest of Peshtigo, was locked down after racial threats were found written in graffiti on school property and violence broke out between white and Native American students. Some white residents have begun to address what they have been forced to recognize as open, generational racism in their communities by offering cultural diversity programs.

Prosecution of James Nichols

Despite pressure from the Hmong community, Wisconsin Attorney General J. B. Van Hollen and Marinette County District Attorney Brent DeBord did not add hate crime charges to the prosecution of Nichols in January 2007 for the killing of Cha Vang. Their decision to exclude hate crime provisions brought immediate and forceful criticism from the Hmong community, which was joined by a broad range of supporters, including Asian American legal service and legal rights advocacy groups, community service agencies, and local and national organizations and associations with interests in civil and human rights issues.

Controversy

The argument about how this crime should have been prosecuted sheds light on how state laws define hate crimes, and what evidence is needed to secure a conviction for a hate crime. Those who argue that the case should have been tried as a hate crime point to the degree of violence shown in the physical evidence of the killing, the number and nature of the victim's wounds, the condition of Vang's body when it was found, and the defendant's own statements before and after the homicide as indicators of racial hatred. The autopsy of the victim revealed that Nichols had shot Vang at close range with a shotgun, wounding him in the right arm, neck and torso while he was turned away. Nichols also stabbed Vang six times, five wounds to the front of his neck and one to his left cheek. Vang also suffered a laceration behind his right ear, and his body was found with a 4-inch wooden stick protruding from his mouth. According to the official police report, Nichols made disparaging racial comments throughout their initial interview about Hmong people and about the victim.

Wisconsin hate crime statutes (Wisconsin Statute 939645) provide for increased fines and sentences when the crimes charged were committed because the defendant "intentionally selects the person against whom the crime is committed" and because of his or her "belief or perception" about "the race, religion, color, disability, sexual orientation, national origin or ancestry" of the person or property harmed by the crime.

Given the specific language of the applicable state code regarding the requirement of an "intentional selection" of the victim of a crime, two reasonable prosecutorial concerns arise: is there sufficient evidence that would convince a jury to convict with the hate crime enhancement attached, and should the jury conclude that enhancement of the criminal punishment does *not* apply, is there a risk that they might convict for a lesser offense—manslaughter rather than murder, for example—and then assess much less than a maximum penalty? Defense counsel could easily argue that the initial encounter between the victim and his killer—both hunters in a reserve—was by chance rather than design and thus rebut the "intentional selection" of Cha Vang because of his race or ethnicity.

Epilogue and Lessons Learned

Nichols was convicted for second-degree intentional homicide (known as second-degree murder in some states) on October 7, 2007, for the killing of Cha Vang. He received the maximum sentence of sixty-nine years on November 28, 2007. According to Wisconsin news media, the Hmong community was heartened by the maximum sentence despite the lack of hate crime enhancement.

The Asian Law Caucus (ALC) of San Francisco has been providing legal services and law-related political advocacy on a local and national basis for nearly four decades. In a 2004 report, the ALC cited frequent resistance from law enforcement, including district attorneys, to giving serious consideration to victims' descriptions of actions consistent with racist motivations on the part of their attackers. Resistance or reluctance on the part of the police to investigate whether racial or other forms of hate crime may have been committed might be the result of weak institutional policy, procedures or protocols. It may also be attributable to law enforcement culture or a combination of these factors.

The ALC report also cites underreporting of hate crimes as a continuing problem. An annual audit of violence against Asian Americans conducted jointly by the National Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium, the Asian Pacific American Legal Center and the ALC showed 35 percent more incidents of racial hatred perpetrated against Asians and Pacific Islanders

per year than stated in the official report constructed and published by the California Attorney General's office (2004).

Legislatures and courts will continue to further define standards for intent and underlying motivation. As is often the case, the specific language of the laws is key to ready and effective enforcement of penalties against any crimes, including those motivated by racial hatred. What is clear from the overall history of hate crime is that, throughout the nation, prosecutions and positive policy reform usually come only after close monitoring, firm advocacy politics, and continuous pressure, including media coverage, from the victims' communities and their allies.

—Daniel Phil Gonzales

Perhaps the best-known incident of anti-Asian violence was the killing of Vincent Chin in 1982, a case that generated national attention and helped galvanize social and political movements against anti-Asian violence. Chin, a twenty-seven-year-old Chinese American, was celebrating at his bachelor's party at a Detroit bar when he was initially confronted by Ronald Ebens and Michael Nitz, two white autoworkers. Ebens and Nitz believed that Chin was Japanese and blamed him for the loss of jobs in the Detroit-area automobile industry. After another confrontation involving racial epithets, Ebens and Nitz caught Chin in a parking lot and beat him repeatedly with a baseball bat. Chin died from severe head injuries a few days later.

The Vincent Chin case led to widespread community organizing among Asian Americans in both the Detroit area and across the country, especially after Ebens and Nitz pleaded guilty to manslaughter but received only probation and a fine. Ebens was later convicted of federal civil rights violations, but his conviction was overturned on appeal and he was acquitted on retrial. Thus, despite the severity of their crime and the notoriety of the case, neither Ebens nor Nitz spent any time in prison for the killing. The case did, however, bring national attention to the problem of anti-Asian violence, particularly its linkages to economic competition and nativist sentiment.

Another prominent killing occurred in Raleigh, NC, with the murder of Ming Hai "Jim" Loo in 1989. Loo had been playing pool with several friends when he was approached by Robert Piche and his brother Lloyd. They began calling Loo and his friends "chinks" and "gooks" and blaming them for the death of Americans in the Vietnam War. Robert Piche pistol-whipped Loo on the back of the head, which eventually led to Loo's death a few days later. Piche was convicted and sentenced to more than thirty years in prison, while his brother was sentenced to both a state prison term and federal prison term for civil rights violations.

Another major incident in 1989 involved multiple killings of Asian American children at the Cleveland Elementary School in Stockton, CA. The assailant, Patrick Purdy, used an AK-47 assault rifle to shoot bullets into a schoolyard,

killing five children and wounding several others before turning the gun on himself. A state government report concluded that the shooter had focused on the school because it was heavily populated by Southeast Asian children.

Perpetrators who are known to be white supremacists or are affiliated with organized hate groups have also been responsible for serious anti-Asian crimes. During the early 1980s, for example, tensions erupted between Vietnamese immigrant fishermen and native-born fishermen along the Gulf Coast of Texas, and the Ku Klux Klan engaged in extensive harassment and violence against the Vietnamese fishermen. In 1999, Joseph Ileto, a Filipino American postal worker, was gunned down in Southern California by a white supremacist who had also riddled a Jewish community center with bullets from a semi-automatic weapon and wounded several individuals. The killer shot Ileto nine times and admitted that he had targeted Ileto because he thought Ileto was "a chink or a spic"; the killer was eventually sentenced to multiple life sentences without the possibility of parole.

Other instances of racial violence have occurred where there have been ongoing racial tensions among groups. For example, the 2007 killing of Cha Vang, a Hmong American who was shot and stabbed multiple times by a white individual while hunting in northern Wisconsin, came in the aftermath of the fatal shootings of six white hunters by a Hmong American in 2004. Tensions among whites and the Hmong community had been strained for an extended period of time, and the Cha Vang killing was especially brutal because a wooden stick had been placed in his clenched teeth, and his body was hidden in a ditch covered by wood and other debris. Hmong American and other community leaders, who feared that the Cha Vang killing was retaliation for the earlier shootings, called for racial violence prosecutions in the case, but the government declined to prosecute a hate crime; ultimately, Cha Vang's killer was convicted of second-degree homicide and sentenced to sixty-nine years in prison.

Serious incidents of anti-Asian violence have also arisen from conflicts among racial minorities. For example, the rioting that occurred in Southern California after the verdicts in the Rodney King police brutality cases revealed deep interracial and interethnic tensions. It led to the destruction of many businesses owned by Korean Americans and other Asian Americans in the region. Another example from the early 1990s occurred in San Francisco's public housing projects, where many Southeast Asian families were subjected to harassment and violence by African American tenants. Poorly developed institutional policies, including flawed security and integration strategies, exacerbated conflicts among the tenants and led to numerous assaults.

DOCUMENTING AND ADDRESSING HATE CRIMES

Reports by both the government and civil rights organizations have attempted to document the extensiveness of anti-Asian violence in recent decades. For example, a 1986 report by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights concluded that anti-Asian activity in the form of violence, harassment, intimi-

dation, and vandalism was a problem across the nation.[1] The Asian American Justice Center (formerly known as the National Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium) has monitored anti-Asian violence during the 1990s and 2000s and has tracked a wide variety of crimes, including vandalism, graffiti, property damage, arson, intimidation, hate mail, cross burnings, assaults, homicides, and even police misconduct.[2]

Calculating accurate figures can be difficult because of victims' underreporting of crime; the problem can be especially serious for crimes involving recent immigrants who face English language barriers or are afraid to report crimes to law enforcement. The figures that are available are troubling. During the eight-year period from 1995 to 2002, audits of anti-Asian violence by the Asian American Justice Center compiled a nationwide total of 3,581 incidents against Asian Americans, with more than 400 incidents logged for almost every year during the period.[3] A sample of incidents drawn from a 2002 audit illustrates a wide range of problems that highlight the treatment of Asian Americans as immigrants, foreigners, and even as terrorists:

- A Japanese American man in Rancho Santa Margarita, CA, was attacked in his front yard by a perpetrator who threw eggs at him and shouted, "You dirty Jap!" while leaving the scene.
- In a supermarket parking lot in Fort Lee, NJ, a Korean American woman was verbally assaulted by a couple, one of whom yelled: "Where did you learn to drive? You chink!" After confronting the couple, the woman was threatened by another customer who yelled, "Yeah, go back to your own country!"
- While leaving a casino in Lake Tahoe, NV, three Chinese American families were verbally and physically assaulted by an individual who, after already having confronted a security guard, shouted out: "This is America, you fucking Chinks. Do you want some of me?" During the perpetrator's detention by security guards, he told one of the guards: "Hey man, I can respect you. Not like these fucking spics and slant-eyes who are just there to take our money."
- At a business in Los Angeles, a perpetrator brandished a knife and told a South Asian American victim, "I don't like Indians or Pakistanis and if you don't go back to your country, I'll kill you."
- In Beverly Hills, CA, a South Asian American man working as a restaurant valet was accosted by an individual who called the man an "Indian motherfucker" and asked "Are you a terrorist?" before attempting to assault the victim.[4]

Hate crimes laws on the national level, such as the Hate Crimes Statistics Act of 1990 and federal civil rights laws addressing violence and criminal conspiracies, as well as various state laws that track hate crimes and increase punishment for bias-motivated acts, provide the legal foundation for addressing anti-Asian violence. In addition, state civil rights laws often allow civil lawsuits to be filed so that

victims of racial violence can obtain monetary damages. The U.S. Supreme Court in *Wisconsin v. Mitchell* has also upheld the constitutionality of criminal penalty enhancement laws designed both to deter and to punish hate violence.[5]

Nevertheless, several problems remain unaddressed by government and the law. These include: insufficient monitoring by law enforcement; incomplete or weakly written hate crimes laws; inadequate training of law enforcement; and major barriers to reporting, including the absence of language-appropriate services for limited–English-speaking immigrants. For example, immigrants who are unable to speak or understand English may be subjected to racial violence, but language and cultural barriers may occur at several points: in understanding the nature of a crime (not comprehending the racial insults or epithets accompanying an attack), in contacting and explaining the crime to law enforcement, and in properly characterizing the crime as a hate crime. Thus, law enforcement may not receive a crime report at all, or, even if a report is filed, may not consider the act of violence a true hate crime. The lack of culturally relevant training for law enforcement in assessing hate crimes against immigrants only compounds the barriers.

Even where reporting mechanisms and laws are in place, prosecuting hate crimes can be problematic: inadequately trained officers may not collect sufficient evidence, and government attorneys may be reluctant to prosecute hate crimes cases because of the difficulty of proving discriminatory intent by the perpetrator. Hate crimes laws have often been on the books for years in many states, but the number of prosecutions remains relatively small; evidence of a defendant's intention to commit an act of violence because of the victim's race or ethnicity may only come through racial epithets or obvious racial hostility accompanying the act of violence, and this type of evidence may be missing or ambiguous in a particular case, despite the actual intent of the perpetrator. This can be a serious problem because even though a perpetrator may be convicted under a non–hate-crime law for a crime such as homicide or assault and receive a significant punishment, the preventive role of the prosecution will be more limited. Unless a hate crime is prosecuted and the public is made aware of the serious nature of an offense, hate crimes laws will have little deterrent effect on future hate crimes.

Because racial violence remains an issue for organizing communities, Asian American civil rights groups and community-based organizations no doubt will continue to advocate for stronger laws and better tracking of bias-motivated incidents, and to push local law enforcement and prosecutors to address racial violence through appropriate prosecutions and just sentences. The Asian American Justice Center, for example, works with a nationwide network of local community organization to track hate crimes against Asian Americans and advocates for stronger laws at the national, state, and local levels; the organization also employs rapid-response strategies to call attention to incidents of racial violence and works with attorneys in many parts of the country to assist victims in asserting their legal rights. As a result of longstanding advocacy efforts, many police departments and local district attorney offices now have designated officers or special units that focus on hate crimes.

Chou Vang, sister of Chai Soua Vang, reacts as she talks outside the Sawyer County Courthouse in September 2005, in Hayward, Wisconsin. A jury found Chai Soua Vang guilty of murdering six deer hunters and wounding two others during a confrontation over trespassing, rejecting his claims he shot in self-defense after one hunter used racial slurs and another fired at him. At right is Chai Soua Vang's mother Sao Hang. (AP Photo/Morry Gash)

RACIAL PROFILING

Racial profiling is basing racial or ethnic traits as a source of reasoning when suspecting individuals involved in crime. Historically, occurrences such as the internment of Japanese Americans during World War II, the unlawful persecution of Chinese Americans during the McCarthy/Cold War era, and the recent treatment of South Asian Americans post-9/11 all are examples of unjust racial profiling. These issues occur because of mainstream society's and policy makers' inadequate comprehension of the Asian American experience. There are still everyday occurrences of such practices, especially for urban Asian Pacific Islander youth. Many in Southeast Asian communities, as well as other concentrated community enclaves such as "Chinatowns" and "Koreatowns," encounter harassment for being "prospective" gang members.

For the Asian American community, racial profiling has meant harassment as well as unlawful arrests and even fatalities committed by law enforcement officers. As the Asian populations in the United States have grown in the past

few decades, there have been many instances of police brutality, wrongful incarceration and wrongful death in the Asian American community. For many Asian immigrants who have been convicted wrongfully or otherwise of criminal charges, they also have to face the issue of deportation from U.S. soil.

Police Brutality

March 2008, Milwaukee, WI: Thirty-nine-year-old Hmong immigrant Koua Moua was beaten after officers claimed that Moua was being non-compliant after being pulled over for drunk driving. Supporters of Moua argue that he does not speak English and that what happened to him was excessive force by the officers. Moua is about 4 foot, 10 inches in height.

Wrongful Incarceration

December 2004, Clinton, NY: David Wong, a Chinese immigrant, having served 17 years for a crime he did not commit, had the murder charges against him dropped after years of struggle from his lawyers and others. In 1987, David Wong was tasked with a 25 year jail sentence when he was charged with second-degree murder. He had been serving an 8-to-25-year sentence at Clinton Correctional Facility in New York when this occurred.

March 2006, Queens, NY: Shih-Wei Su, a Taiwanese-born immigrant who had served 12 years for a murder charge that he did not commit, intends to sue the Queens prosecutors for withholding evidence and providing false testimony for his wrongful conviction. His case was overturned in 2003 after his lawyer successfully uncovered documents that proved prosecutorial misconduct. Su was 18 when he started his sentence. He stated that his lack of English prevented him from understanding his initial court trials.

Wrongful Death

July 2004, Minneapolis, MN: Nineteen-year-old Fong Lee (Hmong) was gunned and killed by police officers at a local elementary school yard. Although the police reported that Lee had attacked first with a loaded weapon, evidence from eyewitnesses and video surveillance make those claims highly unlikely. Members of the community respond with anger and called out for the erroneous evidence filed by the police department. Lee's fingerprints were not found on the weapon that was claimed to be the one that was in his possession.

July 2003, San Jose, CA: Twenty-five-year-old mother of two, Cau Tran (Vietnamese) was fatally shot in the chest inside her own home. A neighbor had called the police concerned that Tran's toddler was playing unsupervised outside their apartment. By the time the police arrived, Tran was

standing in the kitchen with a utensil in her hand. The officer later testified that he thought she was waving a cleaver at him and that he instructed her twice to drop it. He estimated that he shot Tran within five to seven seconds of entering her apartment. The utensil that was in her hand turned out to be a "dao bao," a vegetable peeler commonly used in Asia. Her children were in the next room, as her husband witnessed the murder in a state of disbelief. The officer was later cleared of all charges.

August 2005, Dublin, CA: After a call to the police because of a domestic disturbance, officers arrived at the home of Richard Kim (Korean). His brother-in-law Kwang Tae Lee was visiting from Korea. When police arrived, Lee had a knife in hand and was threatening to get into the room where Kim had been hiding. When Lee did not comply with the officers' demands to drop his weapon, he was shot five times and killed. During the shootout, a bullet penetrated the bedroom door and injured Kim; he died three days later. The district attorney's report was released 9 months later, claiming that the officers reacted in self defense and no liability charges were to be filed. Many Korean American organizations in the Bay Area voiced their call for justice in these deaths and attested that the shootings were unjustified.

Controversy of Deportation

Under the Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act (AEDPA) and the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRAIRA) passed in 1996, many convicted and incarcerated Asians face the issue of deportation. The law is retroactive and affects permanent legal residents regardless of the amount of time they have resided in the United States. A felony, misdemeanor, or first-time offense can lead to removal from the United States.

—Mitchel Wu

FURTHER READING

Asian American Justice Center. http://www.advancingequality.org.

Kang, Jerry. "Racial Violence Against Asian Americans," *Harvard Law Review* 106 (1993) 1926–1943.

National Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium. *2002 Audit of Violence against Asian Pacific Americans: Tenth Annual Report*. Washington, DC: National Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium, 2004.

United States Commission on Civil Rights. *Civil Rights Issues Facing Asian Americans in the 1990s.* Washington, DC, February 1992.

Yamamoto, Eric, Margaret Chon, Carol L. Izumi, Jerry Kang and Frank Wu. *Race, Rights and Reparation: Law and the Japanese American Internment*. Gaithersburg, MD: Aspen Law & Business, 2001.

NOTES

1. United States Commission on Civil Rights, *Recent Activities against Citizens and Residents of Asian Descent*, Clearinghouse Publication No. 88 (Washington, DC, 1986), 5.

2. National Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium, *1995 Audit of Violence against Asian Pacific Americans* (Washington, DC: National Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium, 1996).

3. National Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium, *2002 Audit of Violence Against Asian Pacific Americans: Tenth Annual Report* (Washington, DC: National Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium, 2004), 11.

4. National Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium, *2002 Audit of Violence Against Asian Pacific Americans: Tenth Annual Report* (Washington, DC: National Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium, 2004), 14–23.

5. 508 U.S. 476 (1993).

RESOURCE GUIDE

Suggested Reading

Ancheta, Angelo N. *Race, Rights, and the Asian American Experience.* 2nd ed. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2006.

Foo, Lora Jo. *Asian American Women: Issues, Concerns, and Responsive Human and Civil Rights Advocacy* (New York: Ford Foundation, 2003).

Kim, Hyung-chan, ed. *Asian Americans and the Supreme Court: A Documentary History.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1992.

Okihiro, Gary Y. *Margins & Mainstreams: Asians in American History and Culture.* Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1994.

Takagi, Dana Y. *The Retreat from Race: Asian-American Admissions and Racial Politics.* New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1992.

Takaki, Ronald. *Strangers from a Different Shore: A History of Asian Americans.* Boston: Little, Brown & Company, 1989.

United States Commission on Civil Rights. *Civil Rights Issues Facing Asian Americans in the 1990s.* Washington, DC, February 1992.

Wu, Frank H. *Yellow: Race in America Beyond Black and White.* New York: Basic Books, 2002.

Yamamoto, Eric, Margaret Chon, Carol L. Izumi, Jerry Kang and Frank Wu. *Race, Rights and Reparation: Law and the Japanese American Internment*. Gaithersburg, MD: Aspen Law & Business, 2001.

Films

Of Civil Wrongs and Rights: The Fred Korematsu Story, DVD, directed by Eric Paul Fournier. (San Francisco: National Asian American Telecommunications Association, 2000) (60 min.). Examines the life Fred Korematsu, one of a number of Japanese Americans who challenged the orders requiring the evacuation and internment of Japanese Americans on the West Coast during World War II. The film covers his U.S. Supreme Court case, as well as his legal victory nearly forty years later in having his original conviction overturned.

Unfinished Business: The Japanese American Internment Cases, DVD, directed by Steven Okazaki. (San Francisco: Mouchette Films, 1986). (58 min.). Focuses on three

Japanese Americans—Fred Korematsu, Gordon Hirabayashi, and Min Yasui—who resisted military orders targeting Japanese Americans on the West Coast during World War II and took their cases to the U.S. Supreme Court.

Who Killed Vincent Chin? VHS, directed by Christine Choy. (New York: Filmakers Library, 1988). (82 min.). Documentary examining the killing of Vincent Chin in Detroit in 1982, as well as community responses to the crime. The film examines themes of racism in working-class America, Asian American activism, and social justice.

Organizations

Asian American Justice Center. http://www.advancingequality.org. The Asian American Justice Center (formerly the National Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium) is a Washington, DC–based organization that advances the civil rights of Asian Americans through advocacy, public policy, publication, education, and litigation. Its affiliates include the Asian Law Caucus (San Francisco), the Asian Pacific American Legal Center (Los Angeles), and the Asian American Institute (Chicago).

Asian Law Caucus. http://www.asianlawcaucus.org. Nation's oldest legal and civil rights organization serving the low-income Asian Pacific American communities, with a mission to promote, advance and represent the legal and civil rights of the Asian and Pacific Islander communities.

National Asian Pacific American Bar Association. http://www.napaba.org. National association of Asian Pacific American attorneys, judges, law professors, and law students, providing a national network for its members and affiliates. NAPABA advocates for the legal needs and interests of the Asian Pacific American community and represents the interests of more than 40,000 attorneys and approximately fifty-seven local bar associations, with practice settings ranging from solo practices to large firms, corporations, legal services organizations, nonprofit organizations, law schools, and governmental agencies.

Web Sites

Asian American Justice Center. http://www.advancingequality.org. Washington, DC–based organization that advances the civil rights of Asian Americans through advocacy, public policy, publication, education, and litigation. The Web site offers readings, resources, and policy briefings on key civil rights issues.

Asian American Institute. http://www.aaichicago.org. Established in 1992 as a pan-Asian not-for-profit 501(c)(3) organization. Its mission is to empower the Asian American community through advocacy, using research, education, and coalition building. Specifically, the institute works to improve cooperation and mutual understanding by bringing ethnic Asian American communities together; raises the visibility of the Asian American community and spotlights its concerns so that elected officials, policy makers and the general public will understand; and gathers and disseminates data about Asian American communities.

Asian American Legal Defense and Education Fund. http://www.aaldef.org. Founded in 1974, the Asian American Legal Defense and Education Fund (AALDEF) is a national organization that protects and promotes the civil rights of Asian Americans. By combining litigation, advocacy, education, and organizing, AALDEF works with Asian American communities across the country to secure human rights for all. AALDEF focuses on critical issues affecting Asian Americans, including immigrant rights, civic participation and voting rights, economic justice for workers, language access to

services, Census policy, affirmative action, youth rights and educational equity, and the elimination of anti-Asian violence, police misconduct, and human trafficking.

Asian Americans for Civil Rights and Equality. http://www.aacre.org. Progressive voice advocating for justice in California. As the first and only project based in California's capital with a focus on state legislative and budget advocacy for Asian and Pacific Islander Americans, AACRE fights for critical legislation and funding on behalf of our diverse communities, and empowers APIAs to be an active and effective force in advancing civil rights and social justice.

Asian & Pacific Islander Institute on Domestic Violence. http://www.apiahf.org/apidvinstitute. National network of advocates; community members; professionals from health, mental health, law, education, and social services; survivors; scholars; researchers; and activists from public policy, community organizations, youth programs, immigrants' rights networks, communities of color, women's groups, lesbian/gay/bisexual/transgender communities, and other social justice organizations. It serves as a forum for, and clearinghouse on, information, research, resources and critical issues about violence against women in Asian and Pacific Islander communities.

Asian Law Alliance. http://www.asianlawalliance.org. Founded in 1977, the San Jose–based Asian Law Alliance is a nonprofit law office addressing the needs of Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders in Santa Clara County through multilingual legal services, preventative community legal education, and community organizing and impact work.

Asian Pacific American Legal Center. http://www.apalc.org. The Asian Pacific American Legal Center of Southern California (APALC) is the nation's largest legal organization serving the Asian and Pacific Islander (API) communities. Founded in 1983, APALC provides traditional legal services as well as civil rights advocacy through litigation. These include landmark and key civil rights cases involving English-only workplace policies, education inequity at public high schools and universities, sweatshop abuse, redress for Japanese American internees, and racially discriminatory employment practices.

Asian Pacific American Legal Resource Center. http://www.apalrc.org. The Asian Pacific American Legal Resource Center (APALRC) is a nonprofit organization dedicated to advancing the legal and civil rights of Asian Americans in the Washington, DC, metropolitan community through direct services, education, and advocacy. Through its innovative programs and strategic partnerships, the APALRC's main goals are twofold: to address the individual legal needs of low-income and limited-English proficient Asian Americans, particularly in the areas of workers' rights, domestic violence, and immigration, and to advocate for broad-based systemic change on civil rights issues impacting Asian Americans.

CivilRights.org. http://www.civilrights.org. A collaboration of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights and the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights Education Fund. Its mission is to serve as the site of record for relevant and up-to-the minute civil rights news and information.

National Asian Pacific American Law Student Association. http://www.napalsa.org. A national law student organization whose goals include educating, representing, and advocating on a national level in the interests of APA law students and Asian Pacific Americans in America; educating and promoting a deeper understanding of the political, financial, social and historical role, contributions, and status of Asian Pacific Americans in America; and serving as a national network of communication among the APA law student community for fostering the exchange of ideas and information.

Section 8:

MEDIA

Section Editors: Valerie Soe, Allan Aquino, and Edith Wen-Chu Chen

This page intentionally left blank

PORTRAYALS IN FILM AND TELEVISION

Timothy P. Fong, Valerie Soe, and Allan Aquino

Today's images of Asian Americans in popular culture have improved and provide more breadth than in the past. In earlier days popular images of Asians and Asian Americans were predominantly mediated by non-Asian studio executives and writers—as a consequence, Hollywood's earlier characterizations of Asians and Asian Americans were often quite negative and demeaning. Some of these images are still perpetuated today, and Asian American media watchers and critics continue to complain about racist stereotypes that emerge in popular culture. Many film scholars argue that Hollywood films and television programs are not merely harmless entertainment, but are reflective of race, class, and gender ideologies and pressing social and political concerns.[1]

HISTORICAL IMAGES

Images of Asians in mainstream Hollywood motion pictures can be traced back to the mid-to-late 1800s when Asian migrants first arrived in large numbers to the United States.

Popular comic strips such as "The Yellow Kid" and "The Ting-Ling Kids" emerged in the 1890s and depicted racial caricatures of Chinese Americans for mass audiences. Throughout the ensuing decades, Asians were commonly portrayed in the press as the "Yellow Peril," an invasion of faceless and destructive Asiatics who would eventually overtake the nation and wreak social and

economic havoc. The dominant ideology of Western superiority versus Eastern inferiority eventually led to the passage of the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Law, as well as a multitude of other anti-Asian legislation.

Silent films included early moving images of Asian Americans such as *Tsing Fu, the Yellow Devil* (1910), where the sinister Chinese wizard plots revenge against a white woman who rejects his lecherous intentions. The rise of Japan as a military and industrial power following the 1905 Russo-Japanese War was the inspiration for *The Japanese Investigation* (1909), which prominently featured the threat of U.S. involvement in an Asiatic war. For decades Hollywood films have consistently played on the theme of "Orientals" as the "other."

YELLOWFACE

Popular Asian characters such as Charlie Chan and Fu Manchu were created by white writers and producers and usually portrayed by white actors grotesquely made up to look Asian. All of the Asian characters in Fu Manchu movies were played by non-Asian actors. The first two Charlie Chan movies hired Japanese American actors for the lead role, but as the films gained popularity, they were quickly replaced by white actors who colored their hair jet black and used scotch tape to alter the shape of their eyes.

This practice, commonly known as yellowface, entails non-Asian performers playing Asian characters. Yellowface is a variation on the term "blackface," the practice popular in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries of white performers darkening their faces in order to impersonate African Americans. As with blackface performers, actors in yellowface take on the most exaggerated and stereotypical attributes of the race they are imitating. In the case of Asians, this includes buck teeth, slanted eyes and accented English. Yellowface has a long tradition in Hollywood films. Its popularity is partly because of several factors, including overt racism and discrimination against Asian American performers. One of the main institutionalized causes of the use of yellowface was the United States Motion Picture Production Code of 1930, or the "Hays Code," Hollywood's self-censoring doctrine that forbade, among many other things, portrayals of miscegenation, or intimate relationships between performers of different races. Because of this, non-Asian actors could not be depicted in romantic relationships with Asian actors—when the plot of the film called for this aspect, non-Asian performers were cast as Asian characters in yellowface, with their eyes cosmetically masked, their skin darkened and their teeth made prominent with prosthetics.

In classic yellowface performances, Paul Muni and Louise Rainer, both Austrian Jews, played the lead roles in the epic *The Good Earth* (1937), the film adaptation of Pearl Buck's classic novel about heroic Chinese peasants. Other well-known actors played roles in yellowface that were simply not available to Asian Americans. For example, Katharine Hepburn played a feisty Chinese

peasant woman in *Dragon Seed* (1941), and Marlon Brando played a Japanese interpreter in *Teahouse of the August Moon* (1956). Another famous yellowface character was Charlie Chan, depicted by non-Asians including Warner Oland, Sidney Toler, and Roland Winter in the *Charlie Chan* film series (1931–44). In *Breakfast at Tiffany's* (1961), Mickey Rooney plays perhaps the most infamous example of a yellowface role, as a Japanese photographer with thick glasses, squinty eyes, and buck teeth. *The Year of Living Dangerously* (1983), starring Mel Gibson and Sigourney Weaver also holds another notable yellowface performance, in which actress Linda Hunt plays Billy Kwan, a male Chinese-Australian photographer. Other well-respected actors who have performed in yellowface include Shirley MacLaine, Peter Sellers, Nicolas Cage, and Eddie Murphy, among others.

Television also has a famous example of yellowface in the series, *Kung Fu* (1972–1975). The program was originally conceived by Bruce Lee, who desperately wanted to play the lead role of a Shaolin priest who escapes China in the late nineteenth century after avenging the death of his mentor, and finds adventure wandering around the American West. It would have been the perfect vehicle for Lee to fully demonstrate his potent martial arts prowess in front of a national audience that wanted more after his debut in *The Green Hornet*. When *Kung Fu* eventually premiered on television, the starring role was given to actor David Carradine. In addition, the character was changed from Chinese to half-Chinese, half-white. Lee was terribly embittered by this rejection, and it was at this point he left the United States to make his mark in Hong Kong martial arts films.

Yellowface fell out of general practice by the 1990s, although recent films including *Grindhouse* (2007), *Balls of Fury* (2007), and *I Now Pronounce You Chuck And Larry*, (2007) continue this unfortunate tradition. However, a more subtle form of yellowface, known as whitewashing, in which characters that are originally Asian are changed to white characters, took place with the casting of the film *21* (2008). Based on the best-selling book *Bringing Down the House*, the story focused on the MIT Blackjack Team that used sophisticated card-counting techniques to win thousands of dollars at casinos across the country. Most of the team members featured in the book were Asian American, but producers of *21* changed the ethnicity of these characters, including main character Jeff Ma, to white. Asian Americans protested the whitewashing of the characters but the producers were unapologetic, stating, "most of the film's actors would be white, with perhaps an Asian female." Similarly, the live-action version of the popular animated series *Avatar: The Last Airbender* (2010), which is set in Asia, was cast entirely with white leading actors, further prompting protest from the Asian American community. In response to the complaints, actor Jackson Rathbone stated, "I think it's one of those things where I pull my hair up, shave the sides, and I definitely need a tan. It's one of those things where, hopefully, the audience will suspend disbelief a little bit."[2] Though not as flagrantly offensive as classic yellowface

performances, whitewashing continues decades-old practices of excluding and erasing Asian American roles from Hollywood screens.

PORTRAYALS OF ASIAN MEN

Evil Villains

Asian American men have often been portrayed as evil villains, bad guys and enemy combatants. Typical representations include despotic, cruel villains such as Ming the Merciless, from the popular *Buck Rogers* film series (1939); Fu Manchu (*The Mask of Fu Manchu*, 1932), first popularized in Sax Rohmer's pulp fictions of the early 20th century; and the buck-toothed, fanatical Japanese kamikazes and enemy soldiers found in World War II films propaganda films from the United States. Popular media images of Asian males have historically been depicted as either uncontrollably lustful or completely asexual. Fu Manchu's lasciviousness toward white women was, of course, never directly acted upon on screen, but the threat was always there, which only served to enhance the most negative images of Asians and the Yellow Peril. On one hand, Fu Manchu possessed superhuman intellect and ambition, and on the other, he was subhuman in his immorality and ruthlessness.

These portrayals have continued in the last couple of decades. Chow Yun-Fat appeared in *Pirates of the Caribbean 3: At World's End* (2007) as Sao Feng, a Singaporean pirate described as "an unscrupulous and honour-less coward who will do anything to join with the winning, even if it means betraying his best friends." He wears a queue, a Fu-Manchu style mustache, and long, "mandarin" fingernails and meets his violent demise while attempting to rape the film's heroine, Elizabeth. When the film was released in China, ten minutes of footage of Sao Feng were cut from the film, presumably because its stereotypical nature was offensive to the Chinese people.[3]

Jet Li also portrayed an evil villain character, in *The Mummy: Tomb of the Dragon Emperor* (2008), in which the martial arts superstar played Emperor Han, a malevolent resurrected mummy who "threatens to plunge the world into his merciless, unending service."

These characterizations perpetuate the stereotype of Asian men as inhuman killers bent on fanatical destruction, with an unnatural lust for white women and, in many cases, desiring world domination and the destruction of Western civilization. Such portrayals depict Asians as subhuman, perhaps as a justification for World War II atrocities such as Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and later conflicts such as the Korean and Vietnam wars.

Emasculated Males

In another recurring Hollywood stereotype, Asian American men are emasculated, sexless males who are clumsy rather than threatening in their attraction to white women. Charlie Chan, the cherubic and inscrutable Chinese

American detective from Honolulu, originated in a series of novels by Earl Derr Biggers and quickly made it into the movie houses, with almost fifty Charlie Chan movies released between 1926 and 1949. Chan exemplified the completely asexual Asian male character. Although he was married and had a large family, the films only introduced two of his sons. Audiences never saw his wife and Chan was never enticed by other women nor were any women enticed by him.

This stereotype came to full fruition in the character of Long Duk Dong in John Hughes's teen comedy *Sixteen Candles* (1984). In this popular film, Gedde Watanabe portrayed a nerdy, socially inept, and decidedly unsexy Japanese exchange student nicknamed "The Donger," who uttered comical phrases such as "What's happenin', hot stuff?" and "No more yanky my wanky!" As Eric Nakamura, editor of *Giant Robot*, notes, "It's like every bad stereotype possible, loaded into one character."[4] Even virile Bruce Lee in his megahit *Enter the Dragon* (1972) was precluded from having any interest in women, unlike his white and black costars. Lee may have been one of the very few sexually chaste action heroes in Hollywood. A similar example can be found in Chow Yun-Fat's first Hollywood feature film, *The Replacement Killers* (1998), where at the end he says goodbye to his female costar, Mira Sorvino. In the theater version of the film, Chow touches Sorvino's face, and they both walk away in opposite directions, assuring no sexual tension or contact. In the alternative ending that is included in the DVD release of the film, Chow passionately kisses Sorvino before the two separate. As they walk away in opposite directions they both turn around and look longingly at each other, creating at least an image of sexual attraction, albeit unrequited.

Further enforcing this stereotype, *Fargo* (1996) included a scene where a nerdy Japanese American male made inappropriate romantic overtures to the main female character. Other iterations of the emasculated, sexless Asian American male appeared in *Anna and the King* (2000), in which the romance between the lead characters played by Jodie Foster and Chow Yun-Fat culminated in a chaste dance, and in *Romeo Must Die*, (2000), which concluded with leads Jet Li and Aaliyah, as the modern-day Romeo and Juliet, sharing not a kiss but a platonic embrace. In *Deuce Bigalow: European Gigolo* (2005), an Asian male prostitute further perpetuates the stereotype of the emasculated, poorly endowed Asian male, stating, "I take my three inches elsewhere!"

Even the most famous Asian American male on television, Lt. Sulu (George Takei), in the original *Star Trek* series (1966–1969), was an obvious sexless character. While all the primary male members on the starship *Enterprise* had intergalactic encounters with women—human and alien—Lt. Sulu was almost always left alone.

However, the Jackie Chan film, *The Medallion* (2003), does end with Chan and his female costar, Claire Forlani, running off together as a couple ready for the next fight. This was a genuine rarity for an Asian man in Hollywood.

Who is Harlemm Lee?

In the summer of 2003, Harlemm Lee (born Gerry Woo) won the national television talent show *FAME*. Aired on the NBC-TV network, *FAME's* contestants gave live vocal performances on a weekly basis. Audience viewers telephoned their votes for who among the featured singers performed best; singers with the most votes would return to compete in the following week's broadcast. Lee, 35 at the time, had struggled for years in the recording industry, yet bested a number of his younger fellow competitors. Week after week, primetimes viewers voted for Lee and, as a result, he won a management deal from a top music manager, a year of training at the Debbie Allen Dance Academy, and free accommodations at the W Hotel in Los Angeles to help him launch his career. Soon after this victory, Lee would fall into obscurity.

By November 2003, Lee released his album, *Introducing Harlemm Lee*, which, despite positive reviews, moved only five hundred copies and was pulled from shelves because of low sales. In June 2004, Lee posted a message on his Web site thanking fans for his support, admitting his disappointment at the state of his post-*FAME* career. "I have been completely invisible since winning *FAME* and unable to capitalize from all my hard work and national exposure," he wrote. "If it weren't for my unemployment checks and my year-long stay at the W Hotel, I would be completely penniless and homeless." Lee stated that he was denied the most basic promotion and marketing resources, with justification given to him by industry executives was that his story was not "compelling enough." In his Web site message, Lee added "without [the industry's] machinery behind you, you will definitely not be seen or heard."

By contrast, Lee's story could not be more different (or as well known) as singer William Hung's. In January of 2004, Hung, then a 21-year-old engineering student from University of California–Berkeley, gained instant notoriety with his performance of the Ricky Martin song "She Bangs" for the enormously popular *American Idol* talent show. Accompanying his off-key vocals with an odd jig, Hung completed only the first chorus when judge Simon Cowell stopped him. After Hung questioned Cowell's intensely adamant disapproval, Cowell replied, "You can't sing, you can't dance, so what do you want me to say?"

With complete sincerity, Hung declared that he had no professional vocal training and had "no regrets at all." Perhaps it was in his grace in the face of his rejection that captured attention, but Hung became an instant comic pop star. He was featured in numerous television talk shows, news programs, commercials, music videos, and print articles; he has his own fan Web site, has given concerts across the U.S. and Asia, and has released three CDs.

Unlike Harlemm Lee, William Hung's first CD, *Inspiration*, sold more than 3,000 units on the day of its release. He has since sold tens of thousands more. According to Chi-hui Yang, director of the San Francisco International Asian American Film Festival, Hung's popularity was based upon his image: "What informs that kind of humor is something that is deeply rooted in the American depiction of Asian men as ineffective, effeminate, or wimpy, and I think William Hung fits right into it." Hung's popularity has persisted, much to the chagrin of many who view him as a racial caricature reflecting previous decades of stereotypes. Primary among these is the image of the asexual and buffoonish foreigner often exploited as a comic device—in Hung's case, a clumsy "oriental" with a discordant accent. "On the other hand," Yang continues, "someone like Harlemm Lee, who is enormously talented, has not gone very far. [Hung] feeds back into the people with the marketing dollars and knowing what the American public wants to see or what is familiar."

—Timothy P. Fong and Allan Aquino

Servants and Sidekicks

One of the most common roles for Asian American males in Hollywood was as domestic servants to whites. Easily the most famous Chinese domestic servant was Victor Sen Yung, who was the character Hop Sing in the *Bonanza* series that ran for fourteen years (1959–1973). Even Bruce Lee got his start on television as the faithful houseboy Kato in the show *The Green Hornet* (1966–1967).

Drawing from the Charlie Chan stereotype, police detectives are another common role for Asian American males on television. A recent example is seen in the San Francisco–based show, *Nash Bridges* (1996–2001) starring Don Johnson, where Cary-Hiroyuki Tagawa had a reoccurring role as Lt. A. J. Shimamura. Except for Sammo Hung in *Martial Law* (1998–2000) and Pat Morita starring in his own short-lived series, *Ohara* (1987–1988), all Asian American detectives have played sidekick roles to white males. For example, Jack Soo as Sergeant Nick Yemana had a secondary role in the program *Barney Miller* (1975–1982). In the popular television show *Hawaii Five-0* (1968–1980), actors Jack Lord and James MacArthur led a group of Asian American detectives to solve crimes in the aloha state. Asian American actors Kam Fong and Zulu, among others, played silent background roles, rushing off when orders were given. In the series *Midnight Caller* (1988–1991), actor Dennis Dun played Billy Po, the assistant to the show's lead star, Jack Killian (Gary Cole), a radio talk show host who worked to solve crimes in his spare time. Although Dun's character was much more developed than the standard Asian detective sidekick, his role was clearly the helper to the hero.

Asian Actors in Hollywood

The best-known Asian actors in Hollywood all came to the United States following phenomenal success in Asia and nearly all are limited to martial arts/action hero roles. Of these, the most well-known are Jackie Chan, Chow Yun-Fat, and Jet Li. Chan was born in Hong Kong and was formally trained at the China Drama Academy, where he learned martial arts, acrobatics, singing, and acting. His breakthrough Hong Kong martial arts movie was *The New Fist of Fury* (1976), which was a remake of the original Bruce Lee classic of the same name. For the next two decades Chan made numerous action/comedy films in Asia, where he became widely popular; however, it wasn't until the Hong Kong–made *Rumble in the Bronx* (1996) that Chan caught the eye of Hollywood producers. Chan's first major U.S.-made movie was *Rush Hour* (1998), which was unique in the sense that it combined Chan's martial arts/comedy skills together with a culture clash with his partner, an African American cop (Chris Tucker). The film was a smash hit, and Chan went on to star in a string of other comedies of the same general formula that feature his marital arts prowess, including *Shanghai Noon* (2000), *Rush Hour 2* (2001), *The Tuxedo* (2002), *Shanghai Knights* (2003), *The Medallion* (2003), and *Around the World in 80 Days* (2004). Although his movies are popular and make lots of money, Chan yearns to move on beyond his typecast roles. "It's all the same, cop from Hong Kong, cop from China," Chan admits. "Jet Li, Chow Yun-Fat and I all face the same problem. Our roles are limited."[5]

Chow Yun-Fat made more than seventy films and was Asia's biggest star before making his film debut in the United States. His first two Hollywood films, *The Replacement Killers* (1998) and the *Corruptor* (1999), were both full of action but empty in plot. His third film, *Anna and the King* (2000), was a big-budget extravaganza that also starred Jodie Foster. This film provided him the opportunity to temporarily break out of the action film mold, but he returned to the action-film genre in *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon* (2000) and again in *Bulletproof Monk* (2003). His recent roles have been more varied, and he has appeared in both action-adventure films, such as *Curse of the Golden Flower* (2006), *Pirates of the Caribbean: At World's End* (2007), and *Dragonball Evolution* (2010), and dramatic films, including *The Children of Huang-Chi* (2007) and *Shanghai* (2009). Chow, however, has still not replicated his enormous popularity in Asia in the many years since his move to Hollywood.

As a child, Jet Li was a national martial arts champion in China before beginning his film career. After becoming one of the most popular movies stars in Asia in films such as *Once Upon A Time In China* (1991) and *Fist Of Legend* (1994), Li made his Hollywood debut in the first villainous role of his career, in *Lethal Weapon 4* (1999). He has since had martial arts–related starring roles in several Hollywood films, such as *Romeo Must Die* (2000), *Kiss of the Dragon* (2001), *Unleashed* (2005), and *War* (2007). In 2007 Li

returned to Asia to star in the historical epic *The Warlords* (2008) and teamed up for the first time with his main martial-arts movie star rival, Jackie Chan, for a Hollywood version of the legend of the Monkey King, *The Forbidden Kingdom* (2008).

Because of the visibility of these three Hong Kong imports who work primarily in action films, as well as the success of Bruce Lee in the 1970s, martial art roles still predominate for Asian men in Hollywood. Recent examples include *Batman Begins* (2005), which includes martial arts training sessions by a mysterious Asian master and the animated film *Kung Fu Panda* (2008). Asian martial artists also frequently appear as antagonists in films by white action stars such as Jean Claude Van Damme (*Kickboxer*, 1989), Chuck Norris, (*Missing In Action*, 1984) and Stephen Seagal (*Out For A Kill*, 2003; *Into The Sun,* 2005). These roles also update the evil villain stereotype, portraying Asians as inhuman killing machines who are therefore expendable.

Asian American Actors in Hollywood

Asian American men with talent but without accents have had a much more difficult time in Hollywood than their compatriots from Hong Kong. In *La Bamba* (1987), Lou Diamond Phillips portrayed rock star Ritchie Valens, a romantic lead, and soon after gained fame playing Mexican American or Native American characters in popular films like *Stand and Deliver* (1988) and the *Young Guns* series (1988–1990). Though Phillips is Filipino American, his film career has been largely based upon non-Asian roles. Phillips notably wrote and starred in the 1991 thriller *Ambition*, which cast Dr. Haing S. Ngor as a character called "Tatay" (Tagalog for father). In 2008 he played Bolivian Socialist Mario Monje in *Che*: *Part Two—Guerilla*, whose character dialogue was entirely in Spanish. Likewise, Enrique Iglesias, known primarily as an international "Latin Pop" recording artist, has played non-Asian characters in films like *Once Upon a Time in Mexico* (2003) and television shows such as *Two and a Half Men* (2007). Unbeknownst to the public at large, Enrique and his brother, Julio Iglesias Jr., are of Filipino *mestizo* descent.

In the early 1990s Jason Scott Lee emerged as another Asian American actor cast as a romantic lead with broad major market appeal, paralleling the career of Japanese American actor Sessue Hayakawa in the early silent screen era. Hayakawa was a short-lived and extremely rare exception to the more typical evil Asian male stereotype in films made in the past. Lee starred in *Map of the Human Heart* (1992), *Dragon: The Bruce Lee Story* (1993), and *Jungle Book* (1994). He also provided his voice to animated cartoons *Lilo & Stich* (2002) and *Lilo & Stich 2* (2005). Paolo Montelban, the handsome Filipino American singer and actor best known for his role as Prince Charming in the Disney movie, *Cinderella* (1997), has also learned the limits of casting for Asian American men. Following his critically acclaimed film debut in *Cinderella*, he was immediately cast as the lead in the short-lived television martial arts show *Mortal Kombat* (1998–1999).

He was not seen on the big screen again until he appeared in the Filipino American independent film, *American Adobo* (2001) and in a small role in *The Great Raid* (2005).

Dwayne "The Rock" Johnson, a multiracial Samoan American, emerged as a popular World Wrestling Federation personality in the late 1990s. He soon built a significant film resumé, starring in big-budget action vehicles, such as *The Scorpion King* (2001), and comedies, such as *Get Smart* (2008). His characters are typically of nondescript racial or ethnic backgrounds, and his roles depend upon his large, muscular phenotype for physical spectacle.

Korean American actor John Cho made his film debut in the independent Asian American film *Shopping for Fangs* (1997). Cho later appeared in other Asian American films, including *Yellow* (1998) and *Better Luck Tomorrow* (2002), while also taking small roles in Hollywood productions including *American Pie* (1999) and *American Beauty* (1999). His breakout Hollywood role was in the stoner comedy *Harold and Kumar Go to White Castle* (2004). He was then cast as Mr. Sulu, one of the lead characters in the 2009 big-screen installment of *Star Trek* (2009), and was also named one of People Magazine's 2006 Sexiest Men Alive, which belies the stereotype of the emasculated Asian male. It remains to be seen whether Cho will continue on to dramatic or romantic leading-man roles in Hollywood.

PORTRAYALS OF ASIAN AMERICAN WOMEN

Asian American women have two dominant stereotypes in mainstream American film and television. The dragon lady stereotype originated in the early twentieth century and was codified in several roles by Chinese American actress Anna May Wong (*Thief of Bagdad*, 1924; *Shanghai Express*, 1932; *Daughter of the Dragon*, 1931). The dragon lady stereotype typically portrays an Asian woman who is sneaky, untrustworthy, and devious, and who uses her sexuality as a weapon to deceive and ensnare unfortunate men. More recent variations on the dragon lady stereotype include several portrayed by Lucy Liu in films such as *Payback* (1999), *Kill Bill: Vol. 1* (2003), and the television series *Ally McBeal*, in which Liu plays the scheming lawyer Ling Woo, whose theme music was from the Wizard of Oz's Wicked Witch of the West. Liu's role in the animated film *Afro Samurai: Resurrection* (2009) has the actress voicing Sio, "a seductive and sadistic mastermind out to destroy (the) samurai."

The other prevalent stereotype of Asian American women is known variously as the lotus blossom, geisha girl, china doll, or Suzie Wong (for the seminal title character in the 1957 Richard Quine film *The World of Suzie Wong*). This characterization presents Asian women as passive, sexually compliant and easy to seduce, often as willing partners to European American men. A continuation of long-held stereotypes of Asian women as prostitutes (see the Page Act, 1875), the popularity of these roles grew exponentially after World War II, during which many U.S. servicemen in the Pacific Theater first encountered Asian populations. Films such as *Love Is a Many Splendored Thing*

(1955), *Teahouse of the August Moon* (1956), *Sayonara* (1957*), The World of Suzie Wong, A Girl Named Tamiko* (1962), and *You Only Live Twice* (1967) engraved the image of sexy, submissive Asian woman into the American consciousness. Later films such *as Full Metal Jacket* (1987), *Braddock: Missing in Action 3* (1988), and *Balls of Fury* (2007) continued to perpetuate this stereotype. In *I Now Pronounce You Chuck and Larry* (2007), several Asian women (including Tila Tequila) are seen as scantily clad "Hooters" girls, who sexually perform for the white male protagonists.

The Asian Girlfriend

Another common representation of Asian American women portrays characters who are romantically involved with white men. Asian American film scholars suggest that this practice reflects white male privilege, in which white men enjoy the license to sexually, politically, and socially dominate women of color.[6] The last year of the hit program *M*A*S*H* (1972–1983) featured a female Asian character, Soon-Lee (Rosalind Chao), who eventually married the cross-dressing corporal Max Klinger (Jamie Farr). Their marriage continued into a post-*M*A*S*H* spinoff, *AfterMASH* (1983–1984). Chao also regularly appeared in the show *Star Trek: The Next Generation* (1987–1994) and its spinoff *Star Trek: Deep Space Nine* (1993–1999) as botanist Keiko Ishikawa, wife of Transporter Chief Miles O'Brian (Colm Meaney). In the hit comedy series, *Friends* (1994–2004) Lauren Tom had a recurring role from 1995 through 1996 as Julie, the girlfriend of one of the show's main characters, while Ming-Na played a sharp-talking gallery owner, social butterfly, and love interest in the show *The Single Guy* (1995–1997).

OTHER STEREOTYPES

Perpetual Foreigner

Asian Americans have often been portrayed as "perpetual foreigners," non-native interlopers into American culture. Characteristics of this stereotype include camera-wielding Japanese tourists (*Armageddon*, 1998), hostile Korean merchants and shopkeepers speaking strongly accented English (*Falling Down*, 1993*; Menace II Society*, 1993; *Do The Right Thing*, 1989), unethical bad drivers (*Crash*, 2006), and other depictions that emphasize the "foreign-ness" of Asians in the United States. The hit independent film *Juno* (2007) further reinforced the perpetual foreigner stereotype—its only Asian character is a girl found protesting outside of a family-planning clinic. The character proclaims that "babies want to be borned," in broken yet unaccented English, suggesting that even American-born Asians are unable to speak English correctly. By inference, Asians can never fully belong in this country, are not fully American, and are undermining American culture with their barbaric, backward customs and manners. The perceived inability of Asians to acculturate in the United States thus prevents their full acceptance into mainstream American life.

Model Minority

Asian Americans are perceived as the model minority: successful, well-behaved, assimilated members of mainstream American society who have overcome prejudice and racism. In mainstream media this manifests itself in guises such as Asian Americans in high-paying professions—doctors, lawyers, and accountants. These roles are often supporting characters with little depth or development. These portrayals also contradict the reality that many Asian Americans, notably Southeast Asians and Pacific Islanders, live near or below the poverty line and often struggle to survive in the United States.

Another version of the model minority is the Asian geek, often a computer nerd, who is a straight-A student who brings up the bell curve. A recent characterization of this type is Hiro Nakamura of the television series *Heroes* (2006-present, NBC-TV), a nerdy, bespectacled Japanese office worker who loves science fiction and "manga," or Japanese comic books. However, because Hiro is a featured character on the show, his character has been much more layered and developed than previous, more one-dimensional representations such as those mentioned above. Another film that both exploits and deconstructs the model minority stereotype is *Harold and Kumar Go to White Castle* (2004). The title characters at first appear to be typical model minorities—Harold, a Korean American, is an investment banker, and Kumar, of Indian descent, is applying for medical school. Most of the film, however, centers on their getting stoned, pursuing women, and searching for White Castle hamburgers, activities that counter the model minority myth.

PROGRESS IN REPRESENTATIONS

Canadian born Sandra Oh began her career acting in independent Asian Canadian and Asian American films, winning two Best Actress Genies (the Canadian equivalent of the Academy Awards) for her roles in those films. Her breakout role in the award-winning film *Sideways* (2004) led to a recurring role in the television drama *Grey's Anatomy*, for which she has won a Golden Globe award as well as several Emmy nominations. Oh's character, Cristina Yang, is multilayered and complex and evades the simplistic characterizations and stereotyping too often found in roles for Asian women in Hollywood.

In the fall of 1994, Korean American comedian Margaret Cho was the first Asian American woman to star in her own situation comedy, *All-American Girl*. The show floundered creatively, however, and was canceled after one season. It was also somewhat controversial in the Asian American community, as some Asian Americans thought that the program perpetuated stereotypes, notably of Asian American men.

Following the cancellation of the series, Cho concentrated on her stand-up comedy career and her one-woman stage shows, including *I'm The One That I Want* (in which she chronicled her misadventures with *All-American Girl*), *Notorious C.H.O.* (2002), and *Assassin* (2005), which became popular and

Margaret Cho poses for a portrait at the Gay Pride Parade in San Francisco, June 2008. (AP Images for VH1/Kevin Sam)

critical successes. In 2008 Cho launched a new television series, a reality show on cable channel VH1 titled *The Cho Show,* over which, as writer and producer, she maintained creative control. A combination of unscripted elements and set-up situations, the series followed Cho in her daily life as a comedian in Los Angeles. The show was a success and presented a much more realistic and interesting view of Cho than her earlier sitcom, in part because of the program's focus on her strong, unconventional personality.

In 2008, Clint Eastwood directed and co-starred in *Gran Torino*, the first mainstream film to feature a Hmong American cast. In the film, Eastwood portrays Walt Kowalski, a Korean War veteran and former Detroit autoworker who is compelled to resolve his guilt and racial prejudice after being welcomed into his Hmong neighbors' social circle. The film pushes beyond the typical stereotypes of other Hollywood portrayals of Southeast Asians as "chinks" or "commie gooks" and provides cursory insights about this otherwise invisible Asian American group. Casualties of the CIA's secret, illegal war in Laos, the Hmong characters are depicted with complexity and humanity as they struggle with their new lives in the United States.[7]

LACK OF PRESENCE IN TELEVISION

Despite these gains, Asian Americans still lack a solid presence in the television mainstream. A 2007 analysis of Asian Americans on television from the National Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium (NAPALC) shows 2.5 percent Asian Pacific Islander American (APIA) representation on television, which is only

slightly more than the representation a decade ago. In total, there were eighteen APIA actors on prime-time television. Out of 113 prime time programs, only thirteen featured at least one reoccurring Asian American, Pacific Islander, or multiracial Asian American/Pacific Islander character. Only three programs on television in fall 2004 had more than one APIA character (*ER*, *Hawaii*, and *Lost*).

Other findings were as follows:

- Of the thirteen television programs, APIA actors were featured far less than non-APIA actors. White actors took up 83.3 percent of the screen time on these thirteen specific programs, while APIA characters consistently had the lowest screen time. The multiracial APIA actors, some of whom played white characters, received significantly more screen time than nonmultiracial APIA actors. In this study, male APIA actors (11) outnumbered female APIA actors (7).
- A number of television programs were located in cities such as Honolulu, San Francisco, Queens (New York), Seattle, and New York City that have large APIA populations, but had no regular APIA cast member. For example, the programs *Half and Half* on UPN and *Charmed* on WB were set in San Francisco but neither had an APIA cast member. There were seven television programs set in Los Angeles that had no regular APIA cast member. Two shows set in Honolulu, *Hawaii* on NBC and *North Shore* on FOX, had relatively high APIA representation on the cast (27 percent), although APIAs represent 63 percent of the city's population.

The characterizations of APIAs on television are not as stereotypical and limited as in the past. Of the eighteen APIA characters on television, five were in the medical field (two doctors, one medical examiner, one forensic psychologist, and one paramedic), three were in law enforcement (one captain and two officers). There was one linguistic specialist, one bartender/nightclub owner, one "brainy student," and two whose occupation is unknown because they are survivors of a plane crash forced to live on a remote island (*Lost*).

ORGANIZING FOR CHANGE

Because their representation in Hollywood has often been negligible or distorted, Asian Americans have organized in various ways to speak out against and take action in support of more realistic images. Founded in 1992, the Media Action Network for Asian Americans (MANAA) monitors television, motion pictures, print, advertising, and radio, advocating for balanced, sensitive, and positive portrayals of Asian Americans.

Since 1999 NAPALC has led the Asian Pacific American Media Coalition, a group of nineteen organizations, in a campaign against the lack of diversity in television programming. More recently, Web sites such as AngryAsianMan.com have been effective loci for Asian Americans organizing to protest inaccuracies

and stereotypes in representations of Asians in Hollywood. These include campaigns against the whitewashing of the film versions of *Avatar: The Last Airbender* and *21.*

OUTLOOK

In recent years, the medium of cyberspace has played an influential role, especially in terms of mass audience access for Asian American artists. Internet-only performers Happy Slip (Filipina American Christine Gambito), KevJumba, and David Choi have thousands of subscribers on their YouTube channels, bypassing traditional means of distribution to directly reach their target audiences. Because they maintain complete creative control over their output, these performers are not subject to the stereotyping that is prevalent in conventional mainstream media.

Asian Americans have also found success in television's reality and talent shows, where unscripted programming allows them to represent themselves on their own terms. In 2003, Dat Phan was the winner of *Last Comic Standing*, the popular NBC stand-up comedy competition reality show. Much of his material is based upon his experience growing up as a Vietnamese American and pokes fun at Asian stereotypes. Filipino American comedian Jo Koy (Joseph Glenn Herbert) also has gained notoriety with his edgy observational humor and original insights. Recent appearances include *BET's Comic View, Showtime at the Apollo,* and *The Tonight Show with Jay Leno.*

In 2006, Korean American Yul Kwon became the first Asian American to win *Survivor*, the popular CBS-TV reality show. On the show Kwon was a strong, intelligent, and empathetic leader, whose negotiating skills led to his victory. Because of his famously toned physique and good looks, he also became an object of desire and was named one of *People* Magazine's Sexiest Men in 2006, countering the stereotype of the emasculated Asian male. In 2009, Filipino American Lou Diamond Phillips was the winner on ABC-TV's *Survivor*-like series *I'm a Celebrity . . . Get Me Out of Here!*

In 2007, the dance crew JabbaWockeeZ, with several Asian American members, won MTV's *America's Best Dance Crew* competition. (Kaba Modern, another Asian American crew, also competed on the show). Jabbawokeez has achieved mainstream success and recognition, and its widespread appeal offers hope for the further dissolution of barriers for Asian Americans in mass media. Crew members notably danced with Shaquille O'Neal in an exhibition performance during the 2009 NBA All-Star Game. As one admirer notes, "I'm an African American woman who has always had an eye on hip-hop internationally, so when my friends act shocked about Asians in hip-hop, I just tell them the Asian community has been bringin' it for years." [8]

Outside of the Hollywood mainstream, Asian American independent filmmakers are also making their mark on the screen, as discussed further in the Independent Film entry.

NOTES

1. Darrell Y. Hamamoto, *Monitored Peril: Asian Americans and the Politics of TV Representation* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), 3.

2. Larry Carroll, "'Twilight' Star Jackson Rathbone Hopes To 'Show His Range' In 'Last Airbender'," *MTV*, Jan. 15, 2009.

3. "China Gives Bald Pirate the Chop," Associated Press. June 15, 2007, http://www.cnn.com/2007/SHOWBIZ/Movies/06/15/china.pirates.ap/index.html.

4. Alison MacAdam, "Long Duk Dong: Last of the Hollywood Stereotypes?" *All Things Considered,* National Public Radio, March 24, 2008.

5. "Chan Complains of Limited Roles," *AsianWeek*, Oct. 7, 2004, http://www.committee100.org/publications/outsourcing/jackychan.htm (accessed on August 3, 2009).

6. Darryl Hamamoto, *Monitored Peril* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), 46.

7. Kurashige, Scott. "Living for Change: An American Icon Looks in the Mirror". *Michigan Citizen*. January 11–17, 2009, http://www.boggscenter.org/fi-scott_kurashige-01-17-09_grand_torino.html.

8. "Letters to the Editor: Chol Soo Lee, AZN TV, R.I.P., JabbaWockeeZ Love" *AsianWeek*. April 9, 2008.

DIRECTORS IN HOLLYWOOD

Valerie Soe

Prior to the 1990s very few Asian American filmmakers had directed mainstream Hollywood films. Since then, several Asian Americans have become successful studio film directors. This is significant because Asian Americans have been historically mis- or underrepresented in Hollywood, both on-screen and behind the camera. Asian American scholars note that until recently Asian Americans have been systematically excluded from positions of influence in mainstream film production in the United States.[1] Overt institutional racism, such as the Chinese Exclusion Act (in effect until its repeal in 1943) and the internment of Japanese Americans during World War II, as well as more subtle forms of discrimination, barred most Asian Americans from succeeding in the film industry.[2] By the 1990s, conditions for Asian Americans in Hollywood had improved somewhat.

One of the earliest Asian American directors to break through in Hollywood was Wayne Wang. Born and raised in Hong Kong, Wang went to film school in the United States. His earliest feature films were independent productions, often dealing with Asian American stories and with primarily Asian American casts, including *Chan Is Missing* (1981), *Dim Sum: A Little Bit Of Heart* (1985), and *Eat A Bowl Of Tea* (1989). In 1993 Wang directed the film version of Amy Tan's bestselling novel *The Joy Luck Club*, which was a surprise hit despite focusing on an Asian American story and having no movie stars in the cast. He followed this with a pair of successful independent films, *Smoke* (1995) and *Blue In The Face* (1995), which did not deal with Asian American themes, with actors including Harvey Keitel, William Hurt, and Forest Whitaker. Since then Wang has gone on to

direct several Hollywood studio pictures with bankable stars, including *Anywhere But Here* (1999), with Susan Sarandon and Natalie Portman; *Maid In Manhattan* (2002), with Jennifer Lopez; and *Last Holiday* (2006), with Queen Latifah. However, Wang has also retained his interest in independent films, often with Asian and Asian American-themed stories, such as *Chinese Box* (1997), a psychological drama set during the handover of Hong Kong in 1997. In 2007 he directed a pair of low-budget independent feature films on digital video, *The Princess Of Nebraska* and *A Thousand Years Of Good Prayers*, which were based on the short stories of Chinese American writer Yiyun Li.

Another Asian American director who has succeeded in Hollywood is the Taiwanese American Ang Lee. Like Wang, Lee was born in Asia but went to film school in the United States, at New York University. His films often deal with issues of self and the search for identity in the face of discrimination or societal disapproval. His first feature film, *Pushing Hands* (1992), about a Chinese immigrant to New York City, was an independent production, as was his second, *The Wedding Banquet* (1993), which dealt with a gay New Yorker's struggle to hide his sexuality from his Taiwanese parents. This film, however, was a critical and commercial success and was the highest-grossing film of the year in relation to its production costs. Lee followed *The Wedding Banquet* with *Eat Drink Man Woman* (1994), which followed the story of a Taiwanese family's various interpersonal struggles and which was the third of what he calls his "father knows best" trilogy, so named for its focus on family conflicts and challenges to traditional Chinese patriarchal values. He then directed a very popular and well-received adaptation of Jane Austen's *Sense and Sensibility* (1995), set in England and starring Emma Thompson and Hugh Grant.

Following this, Lee has directed both Asian-themed and non-Asian themed films to great success. In 2000 he directed the martial-arts fantasy film *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon*, which was a critical and commercial success. It was the highest-grossing foreign-language film in the United States and was nominated for four Academy Awards, including Best Foreign Language Film, for which it won the Oscar. Lee then directed *The Hulk* (2003), based on the Marvel Comic book, which flopped critically and at the box office.

Following the disappointment of *The Hulk*, Lee directed *Brokeback Mountain* (2005), which became his most acclaimed film to date. The story of two male Wyoming ranch hands who fall in love, *Brokeback Mountain* won more than seventy awards, including three Academy Awards. One Oscar was for best director for Lee, the first Asian to receive this honor. The film was heavily favored to also win the Oscar for Best Picture but was upset by Paul Haggis's *Crash*.

Lee returned to an Asian-themed story with *Lust, Caution* (2005), which outlined the relationship between an actress and an official in 1950s China. The

film's explicit sex scenes earned it an NC-17 rating in the United States, which prevented its screening in some theaters, yet it grossed more than $4 million in limited release. It was also a great success in Asia, as one of the top-grossing films of the year in China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan. It won the Golden Lion award at the Venice Film Festival, as well as several Golden Horse awards in Taiwan.

Although India has longstanding, thriving film industry, it is dominated by "Bollywood," the Hindi-language film production center based in Mumbai, as well as smaller commercial film centers in the South and other regions. Some independent Indian directors such as Deepa Mehta have gained prominence as well. Mehta and British-born Gurinder Chadha, as well as Mira Nair, are among some of the well-known diasporic Indian filmmakers. Mira Nair has had success in directing both independent and Hollywood films. Her work is discussed further in the sidebar.

Born in India and raised in a suburb of Philadelphia, M. Night Shyamalan graduated from New York University's Tisch School of the Arts, where he directed and starred in his first feature, *Praying with Anger* (1992), which looked at an Indian American's struggle to reconcile with his family and his culture. He came to prominence after his third feature, *The Sixth Sense* (1999), became a box office hit. Starring Bruce Willis and Haley Joel Osment, with a supernatural story and ending plot twist, the film was one of the top grossing pictures of the year in the United States and was nominated for six Academy Awards. Shyamalan has since directed several thrillers in Hollywood, including *Unbreakable* (2000), *Signs* (2002), *The Village* (2004), and *Lady in the Water* (2006), all of which are known for their surprise endings.

Chinese American director Justin Lin was born in Taiwan and raised in Orange County, CA. After attending film school at UCLA, Lin co-directed *Shopping for Fangs* (1997) with fellow UCLA alumnus, Quentin Lee. The film, which linked several characters, including a man who thinks he is turning into a werewolf, an amnesiac housewife and a mysterious Chinese American lesbian waitress in a blonde wig and sunglasses, was well-received on the festival circuit and went on to limited theatrical release. His next feature, *Better Luck Tomorrow* (2002), which looked at the shadow lives of several Asian American teenagers in Orange County, caused a sensation at the Sundance Film Festival and was subsequently picked up for distribution by MTV films and went on to commercial and critical success. Lin's next film *Annapolis* (2006), set in the Naval Academy with a multiracial cast including James Franco, Tyrese Gibson, and Roger Fan, was less popular in its theatrical release but has since had a successful DVD release. Lin was then hired to direct *The Fast and the Furious: Tokyo Drift* (2006), the third installment of the action car racing franchise, which has grossed more than $158 million to date. Lin followed this with another independent release, *Finishing the Game* (2007), which traced the fictional account of the search

Mira Nair

South Asian filmmaker Mira Nair has directed several mainstream commercial films in the United States. Born and raised in India, Nair attended Harvard University and lives in New York City. One of the few women of color who has succeeded as a director in Hollywood, she is known primarily for films that examine the connections and conflicts between Indian and Western culture.

Nair started out as a documentary producer, then directed several well-received independent films including *Salaam, Bombay!* (1988), which was nominated for an Academy Award for Best Foreign Film; *Mississippi Masala* (1991), about an interracial relationship between an Indian woman and an African American man in the South; *The Perez Family* (1995), which looked at a group of Cuban refugees in the U.S., and *Kama Sutra: A Tale of Love* (1996), based in part on the famous Indian text. She then directed *Monsoon Wedding* (2001), a love story set in India that was a commercial success in the United States and abroad. She followed this with *Vanity Fair* (2004), based on the novel by English author William Thackeray, which starred Reese Witherspoon, and *The Namesake* (2006), which was set in India and Boston and featured Indian actors Tabu and Irfan Khan as well as Indian American actor Kal Penn (*Harold and Kumar Go To White Castle*). Her latest production is *Shantaram*, starring Johnny Depp, which will shoot in India and the United Kingdom.

Nair has also directed films for television, including *My Own Country*, from the true story and the book of the same name about Dr. Abraham Verghese, a South Asian physician who moves to rural Tennessee and becomes a specialist in AIDS and other infectious diseases. Like *Mississippi Masala*, film deals with relationships between South Asians and African Americans. Additionally, she directed the TV film *Hysterical Blindness*, starring Uma Thurman, Gena Rowlands, and Juliette Lewis, which examines the romantic lives of three women in New Jersey. Nair also returned to documentary production with short film *The Laughing Club of India* (2002). She also produced short segments of the omnibus films *New York, I Love You* and *11'09"01—September 11.*

Nair also mentors emerging international filmmakers, most significantly through the Maisha Film Lab, which she founded in 2004. Based in Uganda, Maisha selects South Asian (India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, and Bangladesh) and East African (Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania, and Rwanda) filmmakers for extensive training in screenwriting, storytelling, and film production. According to Maisha's mission statement, "Maisha is motivated by the belief that a film which explores the truths and idiosyncrasies of the specifically local often has the power to cross over and become significantly universal."[1]

Nair is well regarded in her home country of India and in 2007 was given the "Pride of India" award at the ninth Bollywood Film Awards. Upon receiving the award Nair noted the influence of Indian arts and culture on her work, saying, "To those who worry about filmmakers becoming more international than Indian, I say this—it is because my roots are so strong that I can fly."[2]

FURTHER READING

Muir, John Kenneth, *Mercy in Her Eyes: The Films of Mira Nair,* Applause Theatre and Cinema Books (2006)

Notes

1. Maisha Film Lab, http://www.maishafilmlab.com/.
2. Press Trust of India, "Bollywood to Honour Mira Nair with 'Pride of India' Award," Hindustan Times, Feb. 4, 2007.

—Valerie Soe

for a successor to Bruce Lee. Lin is also the director for *Fast and Furious 4,* released in 2009.

Other Asian Americans who have recently directed films in Hollywood include Joan Chen (*Autumn in New York*, 2000), Joseph Kahn (*Torque*, 2003), Gregg Araki (*Mysterious Skin*, 2004), and James Wong (*Dragonball Evolution*, 2009; *The One*, 2001).

Justin Lin arrives at the premiere of *Fast and Furious 4* in Los Angeles on March 2009. (AP Photo/Matt Sayles)

FURTHER READING

Dilley, Whitney Crothers. *The Cinema of Ang Lee: The Other Side of the Screen, Directors' Cuts.* London: Wallflower Press, 2007.

Muir, John Kenneth. *Mercy in Her Eyes: The Films of Mira Nair*. Applause Theatre and Cinema Books (2006).

NOTES

1. Darrell Hamamoto, *Countervisions: Asian American Film Criticism* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2000), 1.

2. Yoshio Kishi, "Final Mix: Unscheduled," *Moving The Image: Independent Asian Pacific American Media Arts* (Los Angeles: UCLA Asian American Studies Center and Visual Communications, 1991), 157.

INDEPENDENT FILM

Valerie Soe

Asian American independent film has thrived since the early 1970s, when Asian Americans began making work in large numbers. Work by Asian American producers intersects with and reflects issues of the Asian American community, such as self-definition, self-determination, and empowerment, and Asian American independent films are often tools for social change and political activism. These films reflect the diversity of the Asian American community, with its many different nationalities and languages, from new immigrants to American-born Asians, living in many different parts of the United States. The films bring to light stories not found in mainstream film and television, from an Asian American perspective, by Asian American people.

The Asian American independent film movement was part of the broader social and political activism of the 1960s, which included the civil rights and antiwar movements of the 1950s and 1960s and the 1968 Third World Strike at San Francisco State University. As young people and people of color began to rise up and take their struggle to the streets, Asian American filmmakers began to voice the concerns of the Asian American community. Culture, identity, racism, activism, and equal rights all became subjects for the nascent Asian American film movement.

Early Asian American films from the 1970s and 1980s often reflected this activism through community-based, grassroots production. As film historian Russell Leong notes: "We did not see ourselves as making art for others to consume. We did not separate ourselves from everyday activities of eating, drinking, working or making love in our neighborhoods. Rather, community collaboration was integral to planning, producing and presenting our works."[1] Films such as *Hito Hata: Raise The Banner* (1970), which chronicled the

struggles of first-generation Japanese Americans, *The Fall of the I-Hotel* (1984), which looked at community efforts to save a landmark Manilatown institution, and *Who Killed Vincent Chin?* (1988), which outlined the circumstances of the infamous 1982 murder of a Chinese American man in Detroit, all reflected issues significant to the Asian American community at the time.[2] Although several Asian American documentaries screened on public television, many other of these earlier productions were primarily exhibited within the Asian American community, at film festivals and other community gatherings.

The first Asian American Film Festival took place in New York City in 1976. Since then, more than a dozen Asian American film festivals have been established across the country, in cities including San Francisco (where the ten-day festival presents more than 120 films), Los Angeles, Seattle, Austin, Chicago, Washington, DC, and Vancouver and Toronto in Canada. These festivals provide important support and visibility for Asian American independent films and aid producers and directors in finding theatrical, broadcast, and educational distribution for their films.

Many early Asian American independent films sought to clarify and illuminate Asian American history and identity. Eddie Wong's short documentary *Wong Sinsaang* (1971) paid tribute to the simple, iconic life of his laundryman father. Loni Ding's two-part series *Ancestors In America* traced the story of the Chinese in America—Ding also produced *The Color of Honor*: *The Japanese American Soldier in WWII* (1987). Steven Okazaki's documentaries *Survivors* (1982) and *Unfinished Business* (1985) examined the Japanese American experience during World War II. Okazaki later won an Academy Award for his short documentary *Days of Waiting: The Life and Art of Estelle Ishigo* (1990).

Wayne Wang's *Chan Is Missing* (1982) is notable for being the first Asian American film to receive theatrical distribution and to screen extensively outside of the Asian American community. *Chan Is Missing* premiered at the New York Film Festival and was shown theatrically in several U.S. cities. An offbeat, humorous and idiosyncratic look at San Francisco's Chinatown, *Chan Is Missing* challenged stereotypes about the homogeneity of the Asian American community and helped to bring Asian American films to a broader audience. *Chan Is Missing* has since been followed by several successful independent Asian American feature narratives, including *A Great Wall* (1984), *Mississippi Masala* (1991), *The Wedding Banquet* (1993), *Picture Bride* (1994), and *Better Luck Tomorrow* (2002), all of which were nationally distributed and screened.

The 1990s saw an increase in the diversity of the demographics of Asian American community. In addition, video production equipment became widely accessible with the introduction of lower-cost, portable video cameras and desktop media editing. Correspondingly, many Asian American film productions from that period used the new, affordable technology to address personal and cultural identity. *AKA Don Bonus* (1993) used a diaristic, first-person approach to follow a Cambodian American teenager's daily tribulations. Narrated by co-director Sokly Ny (whose pseudonym is Don Bonus) and shot with a Hi8 palmcorder, this personal documentary revealed the everyday

challenges of a low-income teen immigrant's life, including struggles with crime, the lure of gangs, and an indifferent public education system.

My America, or Honk If You Love Buddha (1997) used as its framework director Renee Tajima-Pena's nationwide travels in search of Asian Americans. As she journeyed around the United States, Tajima-Pena visited a cross-section of the Asian American community, including a New York Chinatown entrepreneur with four jobs, Seattle-based Korean American rappers known as The Seoul Brothers, and white-identified Filipino sisters in New Orleans, among many others. She also profiled older Asian American activists Bill and Yuri Kochiyama and actor Victor Wong, as well as younger members of the community, including Korean American community organizer Allyssa Kang and a self-defined "queer South Asian," half-German woman nicknamed Madds. Throughout the film Tajima-Pena encompassed an inclusive rather than exclusive criterion of Asian American identity, community, and culture. As with many Asian American productions of the time, the film attempted to expand the definition of Asian American identity, reflecting the increased diversity of the Asian American community at large.

Since the turn of the twenty-first century, Asian American independent film has further reflecting the community's growth and change. Some Asian American films continue to champion political causes. *Muni to the Marriage* (2004) examined marriage equality, drawing parallels between racism and homophobia through director Stuart Gaffney's attempts to wed his longtime male partner. *Saigon USA* (2004) looked at the controversy surrounding the display of a poster of Communist leader Ho Chi Minh in the Vietnamese American enclave of Westminster, CA. Tad Nakamura's short documentary *Pilgrimage* (2006) traced the history and significance of the annual trek to the site of the Manzanar concentration camp in California's Owens Valley. Spanning nearly one hundred years, Arthur Dong's *Hollywood Chinese* (2007) examined stereotypes, discrimination, identity politics, and the mysteries of yellowface in its detailed look at the experiences of Chinese and Chinese Americans in mainstream American films.

Other recent Asian American films continue to examine and expand the definition of Asian American identity. Deann Borshay-Liem's personal documentary *First Person Plural* (2000) followed an adopted Korean American woman's painful journey of self-discovery. *The Flipside* (2000) satirically looked at a teenager's attempts to reconcile his Filipino and American cultural backgrounds. Souchata Poeuv's lyrical, poignant personal documentary *New Year Baby* (2007) traced the director's attempts to place her family's history in relation to the tyranny of the Khmer Rouge.

Ham Tran's film *Journey from the Fall* (2007) provides an interesting example of community-based film production. This feature-length narrative recounts the story of a Vietnamese family's struggles following the 1975 fall of Saigon—most the family flees to the United States as refugees, with the father remaining in a re-education camp in Vietnam. According to the film's Web site, *Journey from the Fall*'s entire $1.6 million production budget was raised from within the Vietnamese American community. The film's producers also

independently distributed it, targeting cities with large Vietnamese populations, including Westminster, CA, New York City, and San Jose, CA. In the opening weekend, playing in just four theaters, the film earned $87,442, giving the film the largest per-theater average of any film that weekend ($21,861).

A newer development in Asian American productions is films that use conventional genres with an Asian American twist. *Undoing* (2007) and *East 32nd* (2008) reworked the gangster film; *Shanghai Kiss* (2007) and *Charlotte Sometimes* (2002) are relationship films; *American Zombie* (2007) revisited the monster movie.

However, some newer Asian American films differ from earlier films in that they do not specifically examine issues of identity or culture. *Colma: The Musical* (2006) used song and dance to outline the story of three youthful residents of Colma, CA. Though not explicitly about identity formation, two of the three main characters are Filipino American and the story takes place in a city with a large Filipino population. The story, however, focuses primarily on universal rites of passage, such as relationship problems, party-crashing, and the difficulties of leaving home. *The Motel* (2005) is a coming-of-age film about a pubescent Chinese American boy working in his family's run-down motel off of an unidentified stretch of highway. Though its main characters are of Chinese descent, the story makes little overt reference to themes of culture, race relations, or other concerns common to earlier Asian American films. Gina Kim's *Never Forever* (2007), dealt with a love triangle involving a white woman and two Korean American men, yet focused not on race and identity but instead on less culturally specific themes such as desire, marriage, and loyalty. The Korean Americans in the film possess some culturally related characteristics (devout Christianity, illegal immigration) while also exhibiting some more universal qualities (success at business, sensitivity, and empathy). The most racially significant element of the film may be extraneous to the main story—both of the Korean American males are virile and desirable, in opposition to the common stereotype of the emasculated Asian male.

Another recent development in Asian American independent films has been the rise of creative distribution strategies that bypass traditional, mainstream distribution and advertising channels. Instead, these films extensively use new media such as e-mail and the Internet to identify and focus on a narrow target audience. Several of these techniques were first successfully used by *The Debut* (2000), a narrative set amid the backdrop of a Filipino American "debut" party. The film deftly paired traditional and contemporary Filipino and Filipino American arts—a kulintang orchestra and turntablism, and tinikling and break dancing—reflecting the Filipino American arts explosion of the 1990s.

The Debut was the closing night film at the 2001 San Francisco International Asian American Film Festival. Immediately following this screening the producers "four-walled," or rented out, the AMC Kabuki 8, a commercial San Francisco movie theater, to screen the film daily. They also targeted the large Filipino American community in the Bay Area, visiting Filipino and Asian American Studies programs, community groups, churches, and classes at

colleges and high schools to publicize the film, distribute posters and placards, and to sell T-shirts and soundtracks. At each screening throughout the run of the film, either the producer, the director or cast members made personal appearances and answered questions before and after screenings. The filmmakers also compiled a large e-mail contact list to notify interested parties of the film's future bookings and to encourage repeat viewings of the film. Through this aggressive, viral word-of-mouth campaign the film sold out nearly all of its shows during the first weekend of its run. It went on to play for three months at eleven theaters in the San Francisco Bay Area, as well as fifteen other cities nationwide. As noted on the film's official Web site: "The movie ultimately expanded to other parts of the Bay Area with theater venues in Milpitas, Union City, Fairfield, Vallejo, Oakland, South San Francisco, Santa Clara, and Pittsburg. At one point, eight theaters were playing *The Debut* simultaneously. In Milpitas alone, *The Debut* lasted an amazing 10 weeks at the Century Great Mall Theater."

In later bookings the producers specifically picked cities with high Filipino American populations such as Seattle, New York, and Honolulu. Noting the success of this targeted, grassroots distribution campaign, director Gene Cajayon stated, "You shore up core constituency and once your core is buzzing and excited first, the other communities on the periphery hear about it and want to check it out, too." The film eventually grossed $1.8 million without the benefit of a traditional, well-funded advertising and distribution budget and was released in Manila in August 2003. Because of its surprising success among its target audience, in 2003 the film received DVD distribution from Columbia/Tristar. *The Debut's* unorthodox distribution methods, including Q & A sessions by cast and crew, targeted demographics and extensive use of e-mail and the Internet, have been emulated by several other Asian American independent films, including *The Flipside, The Motel,* and *Red Doors* (2006), to bypass more costly conventional distribution and advertising campaigns.

For decades, many of these developments in independent Asian American film production have relied on Asian American organizations for exposure and support. By contributing funding, screening, and distributions opportunities, Asian American media arts centers have provided key assistance for independent Asian American filmmakers. Visual Communications (VC), founded in 1971 in Los Angeles, helped produce several early Asian American independent films, such as *Hito Hata: Raise the Banner* and *Cruisin' J-Town*, in addition to mounting an enormously popular annual film festival. Asian Cinevision (ACV) was founded in New York 1976 to produce a Cantonese-language news program. It later expanded its operations to include the New York Asian American Festival. San Francisco's National Asian American Telecommunications Association (NAATA), later renamed the Center for Asian American Media (CAAM), was founded in 1980. CAAM identifies as "a non-profit organization dedicated to presenting stories that convey the richness and diversity of Asian American experiences to the broadest audience possible [through]

funding, producing, distributing and exhibiting works in film, television and digital media."

Asian American independent films in the twenty-first century can perhaps best be characterized by the description "anything goes." Although many continue exploring similar themes and issues as earlier Asian American films, the sheer number of productions ensures a wide range of subject matter, stylistic approaches, and intended audiences. This reflects the increasingly diverse demographics of the Asian American community at large.

FURTHER READING

Asian American Film. http://www.asianamericanfilm.com/.

Center for Asian American Media. http://asianamericanmedia.org/.

Feng, Peter. *Identities in Motion: Asian American Film & Video*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002.

Garcia, Roger, ed. *Out of the Shadows: Asians in American Cinema*. Olivares Press, 2001.

Hamamoto, Darrell, and Sandra Liu, eds. *Countervisions: Asian American Film Criticism.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2000.

Leong, Russell, ed. *Moving The Image: Independent Asian Pacific American Media Artists.* Los Angeles: UCLA Asian American Studies Center Press, 1992.

NOTES

1. Russell Leong, ed. *Moving the Image: Independent Asian Pacific American Media Artists.* Los Angeles: UCLA Asian American Studies Center Press, 1992.

2. Oliver Wang, "History" and "Mission," http://asianamericanmedia.org/who-we-are/history.

NEWS COVERAGE

Paul Niwa

REPRESENTATION IN MAINSTREAM NEWS

Before the 1980s, Asian Americans were a relatively small proportion of the general population, and the mainstream news media barely covered them; however, the community has grown considerably during the past two decades and has expected a greater share of the headlines. In some media markets such as San Francisco, Fremont, CA, and Honolulu, Asian Americans comprise 32.6 percent, 39.8 percent and 67.7 percent of the regional population respectively.[1] They have become a demographic group that is hard for newsrooms to ignore.

Although Asian American news coverage has improved during the past twenty years in print and broadcast news media, the community's issues are often overshadowed in the overall media landscape. Some prominent examples of "missing" Asian American coverage include the destruction of Vietnamese American neighborhoods by Hurricane Katrina, the economic hardship on New York's Chinatown following the attacks of 9/11 or the intimidation of South Asians as a part of the War on Terror.

A study of Asian American neighborhood coverage in metropolitan daily newspapers found that only .3 percent of articles published by the Boston Globe in 2006 contained the word "Chinatown." Boston's Chinatown is arguably newsworthy considering its large population, large percentage of residents living in poverty, and importance in the city's urban redevelopment plan.[2] Most other journalistic studies have found that articles broadcast or published on Asian Americans are so infrequent that it is statistically difficult to perform meaningful analyses.[3]

Hurricane Katrina News Coverage

Hurricane Katrina was one of the most important domestic news events of 2005. The images of the storm's devastation opened a discussion about poverty and race in America. But, Asian Americans were virtually invisible in the mainstream media, even though 53,000 of them were caught in the six parishes and counties most severely hit by the hurricane.

Most of the 12,000 Vietnamese Americans in the New Orleans area lived in a housing complex known as Versailles. The community was evacuated, but dozens of seniors were left stranded. More than 24,000 Vietnamese Americans, 7,000 Indian Americans, and 6,500 Chinese Americans lived in the worst hit areas. U.S. Census data indicates that about 70 percent of Asian Americans in the area were immigrants, further complicating their escape from the hurricane and their access to services to help rebuild their lives.

Journalists have largely praised each other for their coverage of the disaster. Journalistic trade publications have recounted stories of heroic reporters and their sensitive and intelligent stories about race. Columbia University awarded the *Times-Picayune* of New Orleans and the *Sun Herald* of Biloxi and Gulfport, Alabama, the 2006 Pulitzer Prize for Public Service, the most prestigious award in journalism for coverage of Hurricane Katrina.

However, out of the nearly 2,500 news articles published by the two newspapers in 2005 about the storm, only six stories (0.25%) were about Asian American Communities. The news coverage was proportionally well below the 2.8% of the population that Americans of Asian ethnicities comprise in the worst hurricane-hit areas.

Journalists rarely acknowledge this disparity of content. None of the industry's major trade journals have mentioned the lack of hurricane coverage of Asian American neighborhoods. Only one sentence in the influential journalism ethics website poynter.org mentions that reporters forgot Asian American communities during Hurricane Katrina.

Ethnic media often filled the hunger for hurricane information. A priest in Versailles gave an interview to Saigon Television Broadcasting Network from a flooded church that was a shelter for dozens of stranded seniors. The sewage-filled waters had reportedly risen four meters and were precariously close to the survivors on the second floor of a building. *KoreAm* wrote about a church in Baton Rouge that became a refuge for Korean Americans and a focal point for donations from Korean American churches around the country. India West reported about a group of Sikhs who hired a private security company to rescue a sacred book and other relics in New Orleans.

> Mainstream media overlooked many dramatic stories involving Asian Americans that could have appealed to a broader audience. Lack of general media coverage can influence access to governmental services and the ability to garner charitable donations. However, mainstream newsrooms have reported that Vietnamese Americans returned to rebuild their communities at higher rates than African Americans and that Asian American business were among the first to reopen in New Orleans.
>
> —Paul Niwa

When Asian Americans do appear in the news, they are often framed as foreigners. After Virginia Tech student Seung-Hui Cho killed thirty-two people and himself in April 2007, CNN and other news organizations went to Korean American Churches on the night of the attack to ask people for their reaction to the attack.[4] Koreans in Seoul were shown apologizing for the shooting, saying "our reputation is ruined." A CNN reporter described the country as having "collective guilt."[5] Journalists interviewed psychologists to ask whether Korean culture had some relationship to mass killings.[6]

Shrimp fisherman Dung Nguyen sits on a dock next to shrimp boats destroyed by Hurricane Katrina in D'Iberville, Mississippi, September 2005. (AP Photo/Darron Cummings)

These kinds of story angles have not been pursued in white neighborhoods when whites have perpetrated similar mass shootings. Journalists did not investigate the ethnicities of former Northern Illinois University student Steven Phillip Kazmierczak or Columbine shooters Eric Harris and Dylan Klebold. No questions were raised about whether their ethnic cultures were related to the school shootings they perpetrated.[7]

The mass media has made efforts to stop exoticizing Asian Americans and other ethnic groups. Journalism industry groups have convinced their members to stop sending reporters to ethnic restaurants to get someone to comment about events occurring in the restaurant's ethnic homeland. Today, it would be considered absurd for a newsroom to send a reporter to a Chinese restaurant to get an informed perspective on an earthquake in Sichuan.

ASIAN AMERICAN JOURNALISTS

The most common technique to improve coverage of ethnic minorities is for newsrooms to hire more journalists of color. Organizations like the Asian American Journalists Association (AAJA) have made it easier for news managers to find qualified Asian American employees. AAJA also runs programs to improve the skills of Asian American journalists. AAJA organizes dozens of workshops at its national convention on writing, editing, and multimedia skills.

Asian American reporters have been found to be more effective in reporting on their racial group. A study of metropolitan daily newspapers found that Asian American reporters are 139 percent more likely to quote an Asian Americans than a non-Asian reporter when covering Asian American neighborhoods.[8] Another study found that newsrooms with Asian Americans are more likely to report on Asian American topics.[9]

However, it is far more likely that a non-Asian journalist will be assigned to write about an Asian American neighborhood than an Asian American journalist.[10] Part of this may be caused by Asian American reporters being reluctant to be "pigeonholed" into covering their own racial group. The lack of Asian Americans covering their community could also be caused by the lack of Asian Americans in positions of influence who can change newsroom culture.[11]

It is extremely difficult to find an Asian American news manager in print, broadcast, or online newsrooms. Only 2.4 percent of newsroom supervisors were Asian American in 2008. Asian Americans are also less likely to be promoted to senior editor positions. One out of four editorial employees are supervisors in newspaper newsrooms. However, only one out of five Asian American newspaper journalists are in a supervisory position.[12]

Virtually all Asian American editors were found at large newspapers. Gaining experience at a small or midsized newspaper is an important employment track for newspaper journalists. So, this lack of representation in smaller newsrooms limits the pool of qualified Asian American news managers.[13]

Overall, 3.2 percent of newspaper journalists were Asian American in 2007, compared to 2.3 percent in 1999. Although their proportion of newsroom

employment is growing, representation is still weak considering that Asian Americans comprise 4.5 percent of the U.S. population.[14]

Representation within television newsrooms has been traditionally stronger than in newspaper newsrooms because of federal employment regulations that were imposed following the Kerner Commission's recommendation to prevent a repeat of the 1967 riots. Deregulation and a history of lack of enforcement, however, have largely removed the threat of regulation. The Federal Communications Commission has never revoked a broadcast license because a station failed to comply with a requirement to employ a workforce similar to the audience it serves. Asian American representation in local television newsrooms declined to 2.7 percent from 3 percent between 2008 and 2000. Asian Americans are virtually nonexistent in radio news, comprising only .4 percent of editorial employees.[15]

Asian Americans are rarely found in positions to influence what television stories are selected and how the stories are framed for the public. Only 1.7 percent of local television news directors in 2008 were Asian Americans, compared to 2 percent in 2000.[16]

Newspaper editors and TV news managers in large media markets say that Asian Americans are underrepresented in management because of the small pool of Asian American applicants and the lack of Asian Americans in their audience. Among television managers, Asian Americans were perceived to be more interested in working on-air than on the production-management track or more interested in higher-paying jobs outside of journalism.[17]

The Asian American Journalists Association has been trying to increase the number of Asian American newsroom supervisors. It has a program called the Executive Leadership Program (ELP) to train midlevel newsroom managers.

AAJA has also been trying to raise the number of Asian American males in visual, on-air positions. A 2003 survey found that in the top twenty American broadcast markets, 81 percent of the Asian Americans in on-air positions were female. Only one Asian American male out of 104 Asian American on-air employees was an anchor, and he was assigned to a minor newscast. Research indicates that low starting salaries, lack of community support, and a lack of applicants were likely factors for the gender imbalance.[18] Asian Americans are also well placed in the fastest-growing segment of mainstream newsrooms. A survey showed that Asian Americans are well represented in newsroom Web site positions.[19] As the revenue of news Web sites grows, Asian Americans could find themselves in influential roles.

Another prominent strategy to increase news coverage of Asian American issues is to make the community more accessible to journalists. Services like New American Media, New York Voices, and New England Ethnic News gather stories from ethnic newspapers so that journalists can go to a single source to look for stories about ethnic communities. Newsrooms have become more interested in stories produced by ethnic newspapers and broadcasters because it is one of the three growth areas in journalism.[20] Mainstream journalists often troll the ethnic press for story ideas that they can rewrite for a broader audience.

Ethnic Press

The ethnic press serves an important function in Asian American communities. Newspapers and newscasts provide information to Asian Americans that is overlooked by mainstream media, and they help Asian Americans find and support businesses and services within their own community. Ethnic newspapers can also become important research documents because they chronicle the lives of Asian Americans.

The first Asian American newspapers, such as the Kim Shan Jit San Luk, Chinese Daily News and Nichibei Shimbun, started publishing in the nineteenth century. Ethnic newspapers often start as newsletters from an organization and develop as journalists gain editorial independence. They are also started by entrepreneurs or as North American expansions of newspapers based in Asia.

The more established an immigrant group becomes, the more likely the community members prefer to read, listen, and watch media in English. Because U.S. Census data shows that virtually all Asian Americans speak English competently, Asian American media is expected to eventually become primarily English-based instead of "in-language." Gidra, Bridge, and AsianWeek are several examples of influential English language Asian American newspapers that are no longer published.

Handling the transition from in-language to English publication can be financially difficult. Some "early adopters" like AZN Television, A. Magazine, and AsianWeek struggled to convince media buyers to access Asian Americans through English language ads.

Asian American media are also sensitive to economic recessions due to limited access to advertising revenue. Ethnic media are reputed to inflate their unaudited viewership and circulation numbers, making them less likely to attract high paying national advertisers and more reliant on cheaper, less sophisticated local advertisers.

Tables 1, 2, and 3 list major Asian American newspapers, radio broad casters, and television broadcasters, respectively.

Table 1. Major Asian American Newspapers

Publication	**Frequency**	**Circulation**	**Established**	**Ethnicity**
World Journal	Daily	462,000	1975	Chinese
The Korea Daily	Daily	320,000	1972	Korean
Philippine News	Weekly	150,000	1961	Filipino
Little India	Monthly	143,322	1991	Indian
Ming Pao Daily	Daily	142,000	1997	Chinese

Note: These circulation figures are claimed by the publishers and unaudited. Compare with the Audit Bureau of Circulations' September 2008 figures for the *New York Daily News* (465,779), *Boston Globe* (319,508), and *Riverside Press-Enterprise* (149,608).
Source: Asian American Yearbook 2008/2009.

Table 2. Major Asian American Radio Broadcasters

Call Letters	Antenna	Owner	Frequency	kW	Programming
KMRB-AM	San Gabriel, CA	Multicultural Broadcasting	1430	50	Cantonese
WNWR-AM	Philadelphia, PA	Global Radio	1540	50	Chinese
KGOL-AM	Humble, TX	Entravision Holdings	1180	50	Asian
KAZN-AM	Pasadena, CA	Multicultural Broadcasting	1300	5	Mandarin
KVNR-AM	Santa Ana, CA	LBI Radio License	1480	5	Vietnamese
KNDI-AM	Honolulu, HI	Broadcast House of the Pacific	1270	5	Multicultural
WZRC-AM	New York, NY	Multicultural Broadcasting	1480	5	Cantonese
KREH-AM	Pecan Grove, TX	Bustos Media Holdings	900	5	Vietnamese
KYND-AM	Cypress, TX	Matthew Provenzano	1520	3	Vietnamese

Source: Asian American Yearbook 2008/2009, FCC.

Table 3. Major Asian American Television Broadcasters

Call Letters	Antenna	Owner	kW
WMBC-TV	Newton, NJ	Mountain Broadcasting	5000
KSCI-TV	Long Beach, CA	KSLS	2583
KTSF-TV	San Francisco, CA	Lincoln Broadcasting	2510
KXLA-TV	Rancho Palos Verdes, CA	Rancho Palos Verdes Broadcasters	2354
KMTP-TV	San Francisco, CA	Minority Television Project	1320
KIKU-TV	Honolulu, HI	KHLS	215
KBFD-TV	Honolulu, HI	The Allen Broadcasting	145

Source: Asian American Yearbook 2008/2009, FCC.

—Paul Niwa

ETHNIC AND COMMUNITY NEWS OUTLETS

There are more than 700 Asian American media outlets compared to 200 newsrooms a decade ago.[21] Advertisers have identified Asian American English-language radio and English-language magazines as the strongest

mediums for growth. Radio is considered promising because of the medium's ability to target audiences and because Asian Americans are clustered in coastal cities. Magazines are considered to have potential because of the ability to target demographics that are geographically dispersed. There are also relatively few magazines written for Asian Americans compared with the size of the population.[22]

However, the closures of AZN, MTV's Asian American Channels, and *AsianWeek* and the financial struggles of Imaginasia's iaTV and *KoreAm Magazine* indicate the difficulty of creating information content for Asian American in mass communication mediums. Many newsrooms are dependent on foreign parent companies like United Daily News, China Press, and Global China Group for both financial backing and content to fill their pages.[23] Giant Robot, a magazine on pop "otaku" culture, relies on the interest of non-Asians to supplement its Asian American readership.

Asian American media is also limited by the lack of advertising infrastructure. Asian Journal is the only community newspaper that regularly audits its circulation. The small size of the Asian American population also makes national media buying impractical for large advertising agencies. Asian American media have been unable to adapt to commoditized media buying models, so they are unable to access the larger streams of advertising money. Advertising revenues for the top five Asian American newspaper groups is estimated to be well below $100 million.[24]

Distribution on traditional mass media may be too broad and too commercially challenging for Asian America. Recently, the community has embraced the Internet to distribute information, and it uses Web sites, personal digital assistants and cell phones more frequently than other racial groups.[25] Blogs like Angry Asian Man, Asian-Nation and Jeff Yang's Instant Yang review cultural trends and events. E-mail listservs create micro-communities to share information and mobilize members.

The effective use of the Internet by Asian America can be illustrated in its response to a remark by celebrity Rosie O'Donnell in December 2006. Asian Americans instantly debated online whether the O'Donnell's remark about people in China saying "ching chong," was racist. Internet users quickly posted the video on YouTube so that other members of the community could see the remark for themselves.[26]

The lively Internet discussions caught the attention of several newspapers, and O'Donnell made an acknowledgement on ABC's *The View* within days of her remark.[27] However, Asian American discussions groups were largely unsatisfied. In February 2007, Chinese American poet Beau Sia posted a commentary on YouTube that was produced by Viacom's MTV Chi channel.[28] Within days, the video was viewed more than 250,000 times, which is more viewings than the average major market newscast in America. One viewer believed to be O'Donnell posted a lengthy apology on Beau Sia's YouTube page.[29]

Since the O'Donnell remarks, Asian Americans have used the Internet to spread information on the Virginia Tech shooting, remarks by Don Imus, and

the LPGA's English rule. Asian America has filled the void in news coverage left by mainstream media, and it is creating news with its own citizen-based reporting on the Internet.

FURTHER READING

All American: How to Cover Asian America. http://www.aaja.org/resources/apa_handbook/2000aaja_handbook.pdf. Book written to help journalists cover Asian America with sensitivity.

New America Media. http://news.newamericamedia.org/news/view_category.html?category_id=521. Aggregates news from the Asian American ethnic press.

Poynter's Diversity at Work Blog. http://www.poynter.org/column.asp?id=58. Weblog gives tips to journalists on how to cover communities of color.

Society of Professional Journalists Diversity Guide. http://www.spj.org/divguidelines.asp. Contains guidelines for reporting on diverse communities.

NOTES

1. Jessica S. Barnes and Claudette E. Bennett, *The Asian Population: 2000* (Washington, DC: U.S. Census Bureau, 2002).
2. Paul Niwa, *Source Diversity Within a Reporter's In-Group: Metropolitan Daily Newspapers and Sourcing Within Asian Pacific Communities* (Washington, DC: AEJMC National Meeting, 2007).
3. Paula M. Poindexter, Laura Smith, and Don Heider, "Race and Ethnicity in Local Television News: Framing, Story Assignments and Source Selections," *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media* 47 (2003): 524–536.
4. John King, Gary Tuchman, Tom Foreman, et al., "Deadliest Shooting; Massacre at Virginia Tech," *CNN*, April 17, 2007, http://www.lexisnexis.com.proxy.emerson.edu/us/lnacademic/frame.do?tokenKey=rsh-20.34184.03813022264&target=results_listview_resultsNav&reloadEntirePage=true&rand=1232479996262&returnToKey=20_T5575801732&parent=docview.
5. Susan Lisovicz, Allan Chernoff, John Zarrella, et al., "Virginia Tech Victims Remembered; Interview With Deepak Chopra; Warning Signs Missed in Virginia Tech Massacre?; Democrats Speak to President Bush About Iraq Funding," *CNN*, April 18, 2007, http://www.lexisnexis.com.proxy.emerson.edu/us/lnacademic/frame.do?tokenKey=rsh-20.327362.4271932963&target=results_listview_resultsNav&reloadEntirePage=true&rand=1232480223274&returnToKey=20_T5575826563&parent=docview.
6. David Mattingly, Anderson Cooper, Randi Kaye, et al., "Massacre at Virginia Tech; Deadliest Shooting," *CNN*, April 20, 2007, http://www.lexisnexis.com.proxy.emerson.edu/us/lnacademic/frame.do?tokenKey=rsh-20.486741.0563430021&target=results_listview_resultsNav&reloadEntirePage=true&rand=1232478473897&returnToKey=20_T5575611975&parent=docview.
7. Yang, Jeff. "Killer Reflection," April 19, 2007, http://www.salon.com/opinion/feature/2007/04/19/cho_shooting/.
8. Niwa, *Source Diversity.*
9. Denis Wu and Ralph Izzard, *Representing the Total Community: Relationships between Asian-American Staff and Asian-American Coverage in US Newspapers* (Baton Rouge, LA: Manship School of Communication, 2005).
10. Niwa, *Source Diversity.*

11. C. A. Steele, "Newspapers' Representations of Tolerance and Intolerance," *Mass Communications Review* (1994): 173–186.

12. American Society of Newspaper Editors, "ASNE—Newsroom Employment Census," *ASNE.org.* April 3, 2008. http://www.asne.org/index.cfm?id=1138 (accessed Sept. 24, 2008).

13. Larry Stuelpnagel, *Asian Americans in Newsroom Management* (Evanston: Medill School of Journalism, Northwestern University, 2004).

14. American Society of Newspaper Editors, "SNE—Newsroom Employment Census."

15. Bob Papper, "The Face of the Workforce," *RTNDA Communicator* (July/August 2008): 10–12.

16. Papper, "The Face of the Workforce."

17. Stuelpnagel, *Asian Americans in Newsroom Management.*

18. Patricia Riley and Cynthia Kennard, *Asian American Male Broadcasters on TV: Where Are They?* Survey for AAJA (Los Angeles: Annenberg School, University of Southern California, 2003).

19. American Society of Newspaper Editors, "ASNE—Newsroom Employment Census."

20. Projects for Excellence in Journalism, *The State of the News Media* (New York City: Project for Excellence in Journalism, 2005).

21. Bill Imada, *The State of Marketing to Asian Americans* (New York: IW Group, 2008).

22. Magna Global, *The Pollo or the Dan: An Overview of Multicultural Media,* (New York City: Magna Global, 2005).

23. Global, *The Pollo or the Dan.*

24. Global, *The Pollo or the Dan.*

25. Imada, *The State of Marketing to Asian Americans.*

26. ptrinh123. *Rosie O'Donnell's Racist 'Ching Chong' Chinese SLUR.* Dec. 13, 2006. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=A0HtTReGt08 (accessed Sept. 24, 2008).

27. Vanessa Hua, "Asian American Advocates Decry Parody by TV's O'Donnell," *The San Francisco Chronicle*, Dec. 14, 2006: A5.

28. Beau Sia, *YouTube,* Feb. 27, 2007. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v =VJCkHu3trKc (accessed Sept. 24, 2008).

29. Guest Contributor, *Racilicious.* March 1, 2007. http://www.racialicious.com/ 2007/03/01/rosie-finally-seems-to-get-it-all-because-of-beau-sia/ (accessed Sept. 24, 2008).

POPULAR MUSIC

Allan Aquino

During the first half of the twentieth century, countless Asian American artists avidly engaged popular music by way of jazz ensembles and rock 'n' roll bands. Access to the fledgling American recording industry was limited, so Asian Americans were primarily known for their live performances. In the 1950s, Mexican American Ritchie Valens, on the strength of his hit single "La Bamba," opened the doors for people of color in rock 'n' roll music. While Valens is a pioneer in that regard, he first began as a lead guitarist and covocalist of a Los Angeles–based garage band called The Silhouettes, which featured Japanese American bandmates throughout its early years.

Since the emergence of the "Asian American" paradigm in the 1960s and 1970s, music has been an integral part of Asian American life. Bound much more by parallel social and historical experiences than culture, Asian American activists shared chants and protest songs, along with common musical tastes. Musicians who were involved with the Asian American movement of the 1970s included the Japanese American jazz-fusion group Hiroshima, and the trio of Chris Iijima, Charlie Chin, and Nobuko Miyamoto, whose seminal recording, *A Grain of Sand* (1973), set to music many themes and issues in the Asian American community. The presence and contributions of Asian American artists in popular music is deeply rooted in history and has grown tremendously in the present day.

A number of contemporary popular music groups feature prominent Asian American members. Beginning in the 1980s, Metallica, icons of the heavy metal movement, became known for the edgy compositional choices of lead guitarist Kirk Hammett, who is of Irish and Filipino descent.[1] Alternative rockers The Pixies are similarly defined by the distinctive "mellow verse/hard

chorus" sensibilities of lead guitarist Joey Santiago, a Filipino American whose style has directly influenced more widely known bands like Nirvana.

By the 1990s, popular rock bands featured more and more prominent Asian American bandmates. One of the most recognized is James Iha, a Nisei native hailing from suburban Chicago, who was lead guitarist of the enormously popular Smashing Pumpkins. Iha's original songs and vocals were featured on some of Smashing Pumpkins' bestselling albums, and Iha himself, prior to forming his own independent record label, Scratchie Records, released a well-received solo album, *Let It Come Down*, in 1998.

Audiences could often and easily overlook the ethnicities of these musicians because, as guitarists, their ethnicity was secondary to their musical abilities. Even in Iha's solo effort, he wrote songs with more universal and archetypal themes, rather than dealing directly with his Japanese American roots. But by the early twenty-first century, via cyberspace-based media, a fast-growing number of independent Asian American artists have emerged in the popular American music scene.

Because growing numbers of music consumers acquire music through online downloads (rather than via CD purchases), many recording artists now choose these media tools in lieu of more conventional distribution methods. Resources like YouTube and social networking sites such as Facebook and MySpace also greatly aid the exposure and publicity of these artists.

It is also through the Internet that consumers can indulge in the diversity of styles and genres of Asian American artists. While singer-songwriters like Corrinne May, a Singapore-born Chinese American from Los Angeles, may be known for her tender, pop-friendly, and universally appealing ballads, artists such as Boston's Kevin So tackle ethnicity and social issues head-on. Early in her career May reached a large audience with her song "If You Didn't Love Me" a songwriting collaboration with the illustrious Carol Baker Sayer.[2] Kevin So, on the other hand, gained notice by the strength of his catchy "Average Asian American" a funk-inflected number that tackles anti-Asian stereotypes with wit and humor.

Vietnamese American Tila Nguyen, better known as Tila Tequila, became enormously popular through her personal MySpace Web site. An import-car model, singer, and television personality, Tequila's Internet success propelled her into her own MTV show and record deal. Though controversy surrounds the creative merit and moral appropriateness of her work, Tequila is one of the most visible and well known of popular Asian American music artists.

Likewise, Japanese American Marié Digby gained notice and popularity by way of YouTube posts. Though Digby had been signed to a label, she was fairly obscure until she posted her homemade acoustic renditions of songs by more popular artists on YouTube. Much like Tila Tequila, her cover of Rihanna's chart-topping "Umbrella" garnered for her a large and swiftly growing fan base, and on the strength of her YouTube ventures, Digby has produced successful national tours and music videos.

The most notable YouTube "recognition miracle" is the story of Arnel Pineda, a Filipino émigré who for years, had struggled as an independent rock

vocalist in the Philippines. Enter Neal Schon, lead guitarist and founder of Journey, the popular U.S. rock 'n' roll band.

After the unceremonious departure of lead singer Steve Perry, Journey had struggled for years to secure a competent lead vocalist. Out of frustration, Schon turned to YouTube, browsing it for days in search of potential vocalists who might carry on Steve Perry's mantle. Upon discovering Arnel Pineda singing covers of songs by The Police, Led Zeppelin, and Journey, Schon immediately consulted his fellow bandmates, and, in late 2007, Pineda flew to the United States for a quick audition process. Pineda was immediately hired as Journey's lead vocalist. Amid a successful 2008 world tour, Journey released an album of new material entitled *Revelation*, which has sold well despite its limited Wal-Mart Exclusive release. In addition to featuring more than a dozen new songs, the album comes with a supplemental disc featuring Arnel Pineda's vocal interpretations of Journey's heyday hits.

Behind the scenes, Asian Americans have also played influential roles as producers. Chad Hugo, one half of the creative duo known as The Neptunes, has produced, cocomposed, and coarranged hit songs for an eclectic array of artists including Britney Spears, Gwen Stefani, Justin Timberlake, and Snoop Dogg. While Asian American recording artists have thus made inroads in rock and pop music, they have also had considerable influence in the roots of hip-hop culture as well.

FURTHER READING

Hess, Mickey, ed. *Icons of Hip-Hop: An Encyclopedia of the Movement, Music, and Culture.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2007.

Model Minority: A Guide to Asian American Empowerment, www.modelminority.com.

Murray, Derek Conrad. "Hip-Hop vs. High Art: Notes on Race as Spectacle." *Art Journal* 63, no. 2 (2004).

Wei, William. *The Asian American Movement*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1999.

Yellow Buzz: Exploring and Documenting Asian American Music Production, www.yellowbuzz.com.

NOTES

1. Metallica Web site, http://www.metallica.com.
2. Corrinnemay Web site, http://www.corrinnemay.com.

This page intentionally left blank

RAPPERS AND "TURNTABLISTS"

Allan Aquino

Asian Americans, like many artists of color, often negotiate the margins of mainstream media production. "Making it" as a media artist inevitably concerns gaining access to, and popularity in, mainstream institutions. The musical element of American hip-hop culture—known worldwide primarily through rap music—is rooted in the historical experiences of socioeconomically marginalized peoples of color. Hip-hop "wears its alterity like a badge of honor," a whole and dynamic culture founded by poor and working-class black and Latino youth in the Bronx during the 1970s.[1] Unbeknownst to many, the growth and cultivation of hip-hop and its international and transnational appeal has always involved the contributions and innovations of various Asian American artists, most notably in the elements fields of rapping and turntablism.

Grand Wizard Theodore, inventor of "scratching" (the manual rhythmic and melodic manipulation of vinyl records in hip-hop music), succinctly defines hip-hop-as-culture as consisting of "four elements": rapping, deejaying, breakdancing, and graffiti art. The earliest known Asian American artist to record a hip-hop recording was Joe Bataan, a Harlem-based singer, bandleader, and "godfather" of the Salsoul movement, a melodic syncretism of soul music with Puerto Rican and Cuban salsa music from Harlem. A self-identified "mestizo" (one of his albums was aptly titled *Afrofilipino*), Bataan released "Rap-O Clap-O" in 1979, around the same time as the Sugar Hill Gang's iconic "Rapper's Delight." In keeping with the positive, original mission of hip-hop ("peace, love, unity, havin' fun"), "Rap-O Clap-O" was a pure party jam where Bataan's, through vocal rhyming, backed by disco rhythms, calls upon all peoples of the world to dance and clap their hands to the beat. Bataan prophesies the fast-growing transnational appeal of hip-hop culture.

By the mid-1980s, with the worldwide popularity of rap music by artists like Run-DMC and The Beastie Boys, the first Asian American rap star emerged as a member of the controversial 2 Live Crew of Miami. Chris Wong Won-War, known by his rapper alias Fresh Kid Ice, was one of 2 Live's lead rappers. Despite a hurricane of social and legal controversies over the apparent obscenity of their second album, 2 Live Crew maintained an undeniably strong fan base. Fresh Kid Ice, well-aware of popular media stereotypes of the emasculated, asexual Asian man, embodied the uber-confident braggadocio so expected of rappers at the time—his image, like many of his non-Asian ilk, bespoke a gangster's toughness, coupled with a boldly hypersexual party-animal sensibility. In 1992 he released a self-titled solo album as a new rapper persona known as The Chinaman.

As rap music gained exposure and popularity in mainstream media through the 1990s and early 2000s, other Asian American "emcees," as hip-hop vocalists are often known, emerged. Allan Pineda, known by the stage name apl.de.ap., made a name for himself as one of the lead vocalists of the enormously popular Black Eyed Peas (also known as BEP). In the independent hip-hop scene, groups with Asian American members such as Blue Scholars, Far East Movement, The Visionaries, and Native Guns emerged as reaction to the stereotypically violent and misogynist "gangsta" aesthetic propagated in the corporate commodification of hip-hop. Such groups, featuring well-respected emcees and DJs, also created music that called for social consciousness and activism, especially in light of the post-9/11 world. Rapper Jin Auyeung, known simply as Jin, gained an internationally known reputation as a highly skilled "freestyle" emcee. After working with highbrow hip-hop producers like Wyclef Jean, with whom he recorded his most well-known hit "Learn Chinese," Jin founded his own record label, Crafty Plugz. During his independent years, Jin has recorded songs intended to inspire awareness of anti-Asian stereotyping in popular media; in particular, his music has addressed the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina and the Virginia Tech shootings. In 2008, Jin was an avid supporter of Senator Barack Obama's presidential campaign.[2]

Asian American hip-hop artists have been most innovative through the art form of DJing, most notably "turntablism." While Asian American communities in metropolitan centers, notably in California, have had a steady presence in the mobile DJ business since the early 1980s, many modern "turntablists" credit "Rockit," Herbie Hancock and Grandmixer DST's postmodern jazz hit, as a catalyst for the rise of internationally renowned Asian American DJ "crews" such as The World Famous Beat Junkies and The Invisibl Skratch Piklz. "The Piklz," as they are known by various fans and fellow artists, swept a number of prestigious DJ "battle" competitions during the 1990s, most notably the international Disco Mix Club (DMC) competition. The Piklz's pioneering performance dynamics entailed each member scratching as if he were a member of a band. DJ QBert was the "drummer" while Mix Master Mike emulated a trumpet soloist. Their raw skills and crowd-pleasing showmanship were so cutting edge that they were requested by the DMC organizers to "step

down" from competition, to give their fellow artists a more competitive chance to win. They then served the competition as honorary judges.

FURTHER READING

Hess, Mickey, ed. *Icons of Hip-Hop: An Encyclopedia of the Movement, Music, and Culture.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2007.

Model Minority: A Guide to Asian American Empowerment, www.modelminority.com.

Murray, Derek Conrad. "Hip-Hop vs. High Art: Notes on Race as Spectacle." *Art Journal* 63, no. 2 (2004).

Wei, William. *The Asian American Movement*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1999.

Yellow Buzz: Exploring and Documenting Asian American Music Production, www.yellowbuzz.com

NOTES

1. Mickey Hess, ed., *Icons of Hip-Hop: An Encyclopedia of the Movement, Music, and Culture* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2007).
2. MySpace Music, "Ayojin," http://www.myspace.com/therealjin.

RESOURCE GUIDE

Suggested Reading

Chan, Jachinson. *Chinese American Masculinities: From Fu Manchu to Bruce Lee.* New York: Routledge, 2001.

Feng, Peter. *Identities in Motion: Asian American Film & Video*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002.

Hamamoto, Darrell Y. *Monitored Peril: Asian Americans and the Politics of TV Representation.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994.

Hamamoto, Darrell and Sandra Liu, eds. *Countervisions: Asian American Film Criticism.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2000.

Lee, Robert G. *Orientals: Asian Americans in Popular Culture.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1999.

Leong, Russell, ed. *Moving the Image: Independent Asian Pacific American Media Arts.* Los Angeles: UCLA Asian American Studies Center, 1991.

Marchetti, Gina. *Romance and the "Yellow Peril": Race, Sex, and Discursive Strategies in Hollywood Films*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.

Mimura, Glen M., *Ghostlife of Third Cinema: Asian American Film and Video,* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009.

Ono, Kent, and Vincent N. Pham. *Asian Americans and the Media*. Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 2009.

Xing, Jun. *Asian America through the Lens*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 1998.

Films

Hollywood Chinese: The Chinese in American Feature Films, directed by Arthur Dong, Los Angeles: DeepFocus Productions, 2008. (60 min.). An encyclopedic documentary looking at Chinese Americans in Hollywood, including interviews with actors,

directors, writers, and film scholars, and featuring rare and significant clips from many important films.

Picturing Oriental Girls: A (Re) Educational Videotape, directed by Valerie Soe, San Francisco; Center for Asian American Media Distribution, 1991. (14 min.). A brief, impressionistic examination of stereotypes of Asian women in U.S. film and television.

The Slanted Screen, directed by Jeff Adachi, San Francisco: Center for Asian American Media Distribution, 2007. (56 min.). Documentary that discusses roles and stereotypes of Asian American men in mainstream American film and television, with interviews with more than two dozen actors, directors, and producers.

Slaying The Dragon, directed by Asian Women United, San Francisco: Center for Asian American Media Distribution, 1988. Documentary critiquing roles of Asian women in Hollywood film and television.

Organizations

Asian American Justice Center. http://www.advancingequality.org/tv%5Fdiversity/. AAJC and the Asian Pacific American Media Coalition work closely with the major networks—NBC, ABC, CBS, and FOX—to ensure diversity both on and off camera. They produce a nationally recognized annual report card grading the networks on their diversity efforts.

Center for Asian American Media. http://asianamericanmedia.org/. Advocates for Asian American representation in media through exhibition, distribution, and funding of independent Asian American film, television, and digital media.

Media Action Network for Asian Americans. http://www.manaa.org/. Dedicating to monitoring the media and advocating balanced, sensitive, and positive coverage and portrayals of Asian Americans.

Web Sites

All American: How to Cover Asian America. http://www.aaja.org/resources/apa_handbook/2000aaja_handbook.pdf. Book written to help journalists cover Asian America with sensitivity.

Angry Asian Man. http://www.angryasianman.com. Clearinghouse for news and information about Asian American arts and culture, as well as activism in support of fair representations of Asians in the media.

Asian American Film. http://www.asianamericanfilm.com/. Information about Asian American films and filmmakers, with many links to film festivals, screenings, and other news and opportunities.

Asian American Justice Center. http://www.advancingequality.org/tv%5Fdiversity/. Produces a nationally recognized annual report card grading the networks on their diversity efforts, which has yielded initiatives by the networks to heighten opportunities for Asian Americans.

Asian Americans in the Television Media: Creating Incentives for Change. http://www.bc.edu/schools/law/lawreviews/meta-elements/journals/bctwj/24_2/05_FMS.htm. This Web site looks at race, representation, and other issues pertinent to the study of Asian Americans in mass media.

Center for Asian American Media. http://asianamericanmedia.org/. Media arts organization that provides funding, exhibition, networking, and distribution for Asian American films.

Media Action Network for Asian Americans. http://www.manaa.org/. Organization dedicated to monitoring the media and advocating balanced, sensitive, and positive coverage and portrayals of Asian Americans.

Media Representations of Asian Americans. http://sitemaker.umich.edu/psy457_tizzle/home. Summarizes the various stereotypes and representations of Asian Americans in mainstream U.S. media and suggests further research on the topic.

Model Minority: A Guide to Asian American Empowerment. http://www.modelminority.com. Dedicated to Asian American empowerment, through a collection of research articles, commentaries, stories, poems, pictures, and other documents on the Asian American experience.

New America Media. http://news.newamericamedia.org/news/view_category.html?category_id=521. Aggregates news from the Asian American ethnic press.

Restrictive Portrayals of Asians in the Media and How to Balance Them. http://www.manaa.org/asian_stereotypes.html. Outlines various stereotypes of Asian Americans in Hollywood and suggests strategies for countering those stereotypes.

Visual Communications, http://vconline.org. Visual Communications promotes intercultural understanding through the creation, presentation, preservation, and support of media works by and about Asian Pacific Americans.

Yellow Buzz: Exploring and Documenting Asian American Music Production. http://www.yellowbuzz.org. Blog that looks at Asian American music production.

This page intentionally left blank

Section 9:

POLITICS

Section Editor:
Andrew L. Aoki

This page intentionally left blank

VOTING BEHAVIOR AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

James S. Lai

Asian Americans have been labeled as the "next sleeping giant" in American politics in key geopolitical states such as California, Texas, New York, New Jersey, Maryland, and Washington.[1] Much of this perception is fueled by the dramatic growth of Asian American communities in these and other states as a result of federal immigration reforms beginning in 1965. This section highlights the major areas of Asian American political participation and behavior that will likely determine whether Asian American politics will live up to this label. These include voter behavior and turnout in local, state, and federal elections as recently as the 2008 presidential election, their roles in multiracial and panethnic coalition-building, historical and contemporary social movements, and recent trajectories in local politics.

The partisanship of Asian American voters has traditionally been limited to the Democratic Party because of the predominantly working-class backgrounds of the early immigrants in the United States and the salient issues that matter to them. Recent scholarship has found an upswing of both Republican and independent voters in Asian American immigrants who have arrived since 1965 because of their higher socioeconomic statuses, immigrant experiences, and political ideologies.[2] As a result, the Asian American vote is seen as a potential racial voting bloc and subsequently a swing vote in states with large Asian American populations in a two-party system during important statewide elections, ranging from the state legislature to the U.S. presidency.

While the potential for Asian American politics is great at the state level in key geopolitical states such as California, it is even greater at the local level. For example, Asian Americans comprise nearly 14 percent of California's state population and nearly 1.1 million voters, and there are currently six Asian American–majority cities in California (where they account for more than 50 percent of the city's population).[3] In comparison, in 1980, only one Asian American majority city (the suburb of Monterey Park in Los Angeles County) existed in the continental United States. All of these Asian American–majority cities are small- to medium-size suburbs, with populations between 25,000 to 100,000. They have witnessed tremendous demographic shifts and subsequent local political incorporation efforts as Asian Americans have chosen to live in these cities because of their high-quality public schools, established ethnic networks, growing economic opportunity because of globalization patterns, and gravitational migration based on these factors. While many challenges exist both within and outside of the Asian American community in attaining political power in these suburbs, the pathways to political incorporation, beginning with elected representation of Asian Americans, are moving faster in the suburban context than in traditionally large urban metropolitan cities, such as San Francisco, Los Angeles, and New York City.

Beyond these recent Asian American–majority suburbs, even more suburbs in California exist where Asian Americans are the plurality population, the largest racial group where no racial majority is present, and those suburbs where Asian Americans are a substantial population base of greater than 20 percent of the city population. Such findings are in stark contrast to the pre-1965 era in which a majority of Asian Americans lived in self-contained ethnic enclaves, such as Chinatowns and Little Tokyos, in major metropolitan cities that served as gateways for predominantly working-class immigrants. Currently, a broader socioeconomic range of Asian American immigrants are moving directly to the suburbs at a rate of nearly 40 percent in recent years.[4]

In California state and local electoral districts that contain these Asian American–influenced suburbs, Asian American–elected representation has gradually followed. In California state level politics, after the June 2008 state primary elections, a historic eleven Asian American state representatives will serve in the state capitol, in comparison to the period of 1980–1993 when no Asian American served in the state legislature. A majority of these newly elected Asian American state representatives are emerging from electoral districts of suburban cities that include significant Asian American populations, such as California Assemblyman Michael Eng (D-49th Assembly District, which contains large portions of suburbs like Monterey Park, Rosemead, San Marino, and Alhambra), who was elected in November 2006, and California Assemblyman Paul Fong (D-22nd Assembly District, which contains large portions of suburbs like Cupertino, Sunnyvale, Milpitas, and Santa Clara), who was elected in November 2008.

Attorney Linda Nguyen, left, gestures during a debate with school board member Madison Nguyen, right, in San Jose, CA, August 2005. The city council race between two candidates named Nguyen marks the political awakening of San Jose's Vietnamese community, a fast-growing immigrant group that began arriving three decades ago as political refugees from war-ravaged Vietnam. (AP Photo/Paul Sakuma)

Even more impressive than Asian American candidates' recent successes in California state level elections has been their electoral success in small to medium suburbs, where they are not only winning city council elections, but are also sustaining and building on Asian American–elected representation in their respective local governments, an important measuring stick for group political power. One of the most important challenges that Asian Americans have faced historically has been matching their minority counterparts in replacing Asian American representatives with other coethnics at the state level. One study found that among the thirteen Asian American state-level officials who served in the California State Legislature during 1960–2004, none was replaced by a coethnic. In comparison, 81.3 percent of Latino Democrats and 85 percent of black Democrats were replaced by co-ethnics during this period.[5] Reasons for this inability to sustain Asian American–elected officials include intense competition for limited seats with other racial groups, entrenched party interests that make it extremely difficult for recent immigrants to gain their support, a low voter-turnout rate of Asian American immigrants because of low U.S. naturalization rates among the majority foreign-born population, districts that contain few heavily concentrated Asian American populations that can serve as a base, and the lack of a formal pipeline to develop experienced candidates.[6]

The inability to sustain Asian American–elected representation at the state level is not as acute of an issue in small to medium suburbs for the following reasons: local elections are typically citywide, which allows for the racial mobilization of Asian American voters and contributors to support Asian American candidates' campaigns; and the emergence of various political loci, such as panethnic community-based organizations and the ethnic media, in the Asian American community that facilitate group political mobilization. For example, in California suburbs like Cupertino (Santa Clara County), Gardena (Los Angeles County), and Westminster (Orange County), where Asian Americans account for 46 percent, 27 percent, and 31 percent of their respective city populations and many of these community loci are civically engaged around Asian American candidates' campaigns, Asian Americans have achieved a majority or near majority representation on their respective city councils. In Gardena, for two successive generations a majority of Japanese American city council members have served on the five-person council. In Cupertino, Asian Americans will likely attain a majority of the city council in the next local election cycle in 2009. Asian American majority–led local governments had occurred only in cities in Hawai'i, but they are now beginning to happen slowly in California.

While California leads the charge in the suburbanization of Asian American politics, it is certainly not alone. In suburbs throughout the United States, such as Bellevue (outside of Seattle, WA), Sugar Land (outside of Houston, TX), and Eau Claire (in Wisconsin, near the Minnesota border), Asian American immigrants and refugees are building on elected representation in their respective local governments. In the case of Eau Claire, Hmong Americans are defying the belief that low socioeconomic status determines low political participation, as this Asian American refugee community has elected four different Hmong

Americans to its city council over the past decade. Two primary reasons for Asian American electoral success in these suburbs are the socioeconomic backgrounds that Asian American candidates share with whites and other racial groups and the significant Asian American populations that serve as a base for their electoral support.

At the forefront of group political mobilization efforts in these transformed suburbs are Asian American immigrants, who are beginning to awaken politically, going beyond the well-documented campaign contributions to seeking and running for elected positions in these cities, from school boards to the mayor's office. Those Asian American immigrants who decide to run for elected office are typically educated professionals who have been in the United States for several decades, who want to give back to the larger community. It is this stage of Asian American immigrant political behavior, often reserved for later generations, that is challenging the traditional assumption that immigrants do not participate extensively in electoral politics beyond voting.

The electoral successes of Asian Americans running for local offices in such cities beget future Asian American candidates. In California, multiple Asian American candidates running for the same seat is becoming more common. For example, at the state level, during the 2008 California State Assembly, District 22 election (located in Santa Clara County), three of the four candidates running in the Democratic primary were Asian American, with one of them eventually winning. A local election example occurred recently in the city of San Jose, the third largest city in California and home to the largest Vietnamese American community in any major U.S. city. In a 2005 election for the San Jose City Council, District 7 seat, two Vietnamese Americans (Madison Nguyen and Linda Nguyen) ran against each other in an attempt to become the city's first Vietnamese American city council member. The concern, as has been historically the case, is that the Vietnamese American vote would be split with multiple candidates, but what eventually happened was that the Vietnamese American community's voter turnout was so great that it propelled both Vietnamese American candidates into the general election, ensuring that history would be made. In many ways, these recent examples illustrate that Asian American candidates are not only running for elected positions more frequently, but that they are also more politically sophisticated than previous ethnic candidates who solely relied on their Asian ethnic constituencies. One recent study of successful Asian American candidates found that they focus on both multiracial and pan-Asian American ethnic coalition strategies in the areas of voters and contributors.[7]

MULTIPLE STAGES

Asian American suburban transformations do not occur overnight but instead are shaped by historical and contemporary community settlement patterns, as well as the formation of important community political agents (e.g., community-based organizations and the ethnic media) and networks that

provide the necessary institutional infrastructure for local political incorporation efforts. Similar to Latinos, who were labeled as the previous political sleeping giant in California and the Southwest, Asian Americans face unique challenges that are reflective of their community's demographics and experiences in the United States. As a result, the current state of Asian Americans in American politics is the culmination of multiple stages of their experiences in the United States, beginning with their legal challenges of racial exclusionary laws to the contemporary suburbanization of Asian American politics. To understand better the current and future political trajectories of Asian Americans in politics, these multiple stages of Asian American political behaviors, which extend beyond traditional forms such as voting, must be examined closely. In doing so, a comprehensive understanding of the major contemporary issues can be fully ascertained and addressed as this community comes of political age in the near future.

Early Forms of Political Participation, Late 1800s to the 1950s

The history of Asian Americans in the United States is long and rich, encompassing more than 160 years and beginning with the arrival of the first wave of Chinese gold miners to California in 1848.[8] Since this period, many political events have affected their citizenship and political rights in the United States. Such elderly Asian American immigrants in the mid-nineteenth century have been perceived as "apolitical" in the traditional sense of political participation, defined as voting, but they were unable to vote because they could not become naturalized U.S. citizens. Although early Asians in America could not vote, they did practice other forms of political participation in order to protect themselves against discriminatory laws.

Because of anti-Asian sentiments in the form of discriminatory laws, early Asian leaders used avenues that were available to them, such as the U.S. court system.[9] Chinese immigrants during this period were outsiders to mainstream political institutions because they could neither vote nor testify in court. Nevertheless, early Chinese community leaders were able to use the U.S. court system with the help of white lawyers to contest for constitutional rights, such as equal protection under the Fourteenth Amendment. Many of the late nineteenth century Chinese leaders arose from labor associations such as the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (CCBA), also known as the Chinese Six Companies in San Francisco. Often, their interests would have to be pursued in the courts. One important case decided in 1886 by the U.S. Supreme Court was *Yick Wo v. Hopkins* (118 U.S. 356), in which the majority ruled that the San Francisco Ordinance requiring wooden laundry facilities to obtain permits unfairly discriminated against Chinese businesses and therefore was a violation of their Fourteenth Amendment equal protection status. This case stands as an important case today and is often cited as a precedent. *Yick Wo* illustrates one historical

instance where early Chinese in America challenged discriminatory laws through the U.S. court system. Moreover, it illustrates that early Asians in America were indeed politically conscious despite—or perhaps because of—their lack of basic constitutional rights. This form of political activity was not only practiced among early Chinese in America, but among other Asian ethnic groups as well.

Another example of nontraditional political participation can be seen with Japanese American community leaders who also struggled for constitutional rights and protections. Perhaps the most famous historical examples are the World War II internment cases decided by the U.S. Supreme Court, where individual Japanese Americans challenged curfew and removal orders issued by government authorities. In the 1944 case, *Korematsu v. U.S.* (323 U.S. 214), the U.S. Supreme Court used the strict scrutiny standard for the first time in addressing an equal protection violation of the Fourteenth Amendment. The U.S. Supreme Court's majority decided that Executive Order 9066 did not violate equal protection status of American citizens of Japanese ancestry, and thus required them to report to relocation centers across the west. Almost fifty years later, President George Bush signed the Civil Liberties Act of 1988, which issued a formal apology to Japanese American survivors and a sum of $20,000 to all internment camp survivors. This act resulted from the efforts of Japanese American national and local leaders who lobbied to rectify this past civil rights injustice by framing the issue of Japanese American internment as a civil liberty issue, and by their building multiracial coalitions with whites and African Americans, in particular, that extended this civil rights issue beyond the Japanese American community.[10]

A final example of early Asian American political participation through the U.S. court system for greater civil protections was the Japanese American community's successful overturn of the discriminatory California Alien Land Laws of 1913 and 1920, which prevented those with alien status from owning land and limited the length of leases. These land laws were a direct threat to the burgeoning Japanese American–owned agricultural businesses and were eventually overturned in a series of California State Supreme Court cases during the 1930s.[11]

The ability for Asian Americans to sustain a viable second generation of U.S.-born offspring who could participate in U.S. civic institutions would be delayed by state and federal antimiscegenation laws that forbade interracial marriages with whites, and the National Origins Act of 1924, which prevented immigrants from national origins that were declared "ineligible for citizenship" by the U.S. Constitution. Only Japanese Americans saw a substantial second generation emerge in the early twentieth century, because the Gentlemen's Agreement had enabled Japanese immigrants to bring spouses from Japan, despite restrictions otherwise preventing immigration from Asia. Other Asian Americans, however, found marriage prospects very limited by the combination of antimiscegenation laws and immigration restrictions. For Asian Americans

during this period of anti-Asian sentiment, the idea of becoming full partners in the American society was a distant dream.

Asian American Movement and Immigration Reform

The 1960s and 1970s represent a crucial period in the formation of the political identity of Asian Americans today. This is when the second generation of Asian Americans came of age politically in the era identified as the "Asian American Movement." On the continental United States, particularly along the West Coast, Asian American activists, students, community leaders began to form multiracial and panethnic coalitions to achieve greater social and economic opportunities for its largely immigrant population. This was a microcosm of the civil rights and the antiwar movements of this era. For Asian Americans, like their minority counterparts, a new group consciousness as "Asian Americans" emerged out of these struggles. As community-based organizations and its leadership emerged and developed in the subsequent decades, so did their political vision regarding the Asian American community. In particular, the pursuit for greater Asian American–elected representation at all levels of American government would be a logical extension of the Asian American movement in the subsequent decades. However, this goal would be challenged by the very root of this community's potential—the contemporary formation of the Asian American community as a result of immigration reform that would change the face and politics of this community.

Social movements involving Asian and Pacific Islander groups were not limited to the U.S. mainland. In Hawai'i, for those who identified as whole or in part as Native Hawaiian or as Hawaiian nationals, the Hawaiian Sovereignty movement would begin to take shape and coincide with the social movements of the 1960s and 1970s, such as the Red Power Movement of Native Americans on the continental United States. Its goals, similar to the Red Power Movement, emphasized self-determination, sovereignty, and self-governance primarily for Native Hawaiians who had their lands stripped from them illegally as part of the United States' annexation of Hawai'i in 1898. The issue of how to address this issue varies among activists, ranging from the idea of a "nation within a nation" status proposed by U.S. Senator Daniel Akaka (D-HI), to monetary reparations from the U.S. government for their economic grievances, to complete independence of Hawai'i from the United States.

The current national Asian American population on the continental U.S. is a young and foreign-born community with the majority arriving in the United States during the past three decades. This trend was the result of dramatic reforms to immigration laws by the U.S. Congress that would allow for inclusion rather than exclusion of Asian immigrants to the United States. Particularly key was the monumental Immigration Act of 1965, which allowed a second generation of Asian Americans to develop because families could arrive en masse after forty years of racial exclusion by the National Origins Act of 1924. Along with the opportunity to immigrate after 1965 was the

opportunity for immigrants from Asia to become naturalized U.S. citizens as soon as the standard waiting period was fulfilled, an opportunity that some earlier generations of Asian immigrants did not have until 1956. These two monumental developments would usher in a second stage of Asian American political participation that would provide the foundation for the contemporary period and subsequent stages of Asian American politics. During this stage, established U.S.-born Asian American political leadership and community leaders would attempt to naturalize and bring together their growing and diverse immigrant population.

The term Asian and Pacific Islanders encompasses more than twenty-five different ethnic groups, all with unique cultures and histories of migration and settlement in the United States. In 2000, more than 2 million Asian Americans were biracial or multiracial. As multiracial and ethnic Asian Americans become more politically involved, one of the primary challenges for the general Asian American community will be to create inclusive political organizations that can represent the diverse interests of Asian Americans, as well as can reach out and build viable coalitions with other communities. Underlying this challenge is the shift from the traditional biracial, black-white paradigm that has historically defined American race relations to a multiracial one that includes Latinos and Asian Americans.[12]

If the political maturation of Asian Americans is to signal a new era in racial politics, then the group will have to overcome at least two major challenges. First, Asian Americans have comparatively low voter registration and turnout rates.[13] Second, they are the most geographically dispersed and residentially integrated minority group.[14] Both of these conditions have tended to deflate the impact that their recent population increases might suggest. On the other hand, the rapid population growth of Asian Americans during the 1990s has laid the foundation for increased representation, particularly in the formation of political districts with substantial Asian American populations. According to the Democratic National Committee, for instance, congressional districts with an Asian American population of 5 percent or more have increased from sixty-three districts in 1990 to ninety-six in 2000. While California is leading the charge, it is certainly by no means alone. This population growth is also occurring in states such as New Jersey, Minnesota, Oregon, Nevada, and Pennsylvania. In New Jersey, during the last decade, the number of congressional districts with an Asian American population of 5 percent or more increased from one to eight.[15] As a result, Asian American voters have the potential to play a greater role in future state and federal politics on the continental United States, and it is more likely that more Asian American candidates will also emerge.

EMERGENCE OF ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES

For Asian Americans, the decades after the 1960s symbolized a period of increased political activity.[16] The struggle for Asian American–elected officials is very much a continuation of the goals of the Asian American Movement,

which sought self-empowerment in the electoral political arena. This was evident with the emergence of Asian American–elected officials at the federal level, particularly from Hawai'i and California. In Hawai'i, where Asian Americans represent the majority population, the first Asian American federal elected officials were U.S. Senators Spark Matsunaga (D-HI) and Daniel Inouye (D-HI), who were both elected in 1962. The late Patsy T. Mink (D-HI) would be elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1964.

While Asian American representation grew in Hawai'i, Asian Americans were relatively underrepresented on the continental United States. A majority of the Asian American elected federal officials on the U.S. mainland were from California. S. I. Hayakawa (R-CA) served as a U.S. Senator from 1976 to 1982. Norman Mineta (D-CA) served in U.S. House of Representatives from 1974 to 1996. The late Robert Matsui (D-CA) was first elected in the U.S. House of Representatives in 1978 and eventually served 13 full terms. One Asian American (Mike Honda from District 15) from California serves in the U.S. House of Representatives, after being elected in 2000.

Despite these pioneer Asian American–elected officials at the federal level, Asian American political representation has been extremely limited in the major metropolitan cities where many substantial Asian American communities were forming. For example, in the large gateway cities of Los Angeles and New York City, only two Asian American city council members have ever been elected in their respective histories. Michael Woo became the only Asian American to be elected to Los Angeles' fifteen-person city council in 1985, and most recently, John Liu, was elected to the New York City's fifty–one–person city council in 2001. Given the large Asian American immigrant populations and the lack of mainstream civic institutions engaging this community, Asian American community-based organizations would play an important role in providing social services and a political voice.

Differences exist in regard to the political experiences for Asian American–elected officials on the continental United States compared with those in Hawai'i, where Asian Americans have historically attained the most elected representation. The first difference is that Asian Americans in Hawai'i represent the majority, whereas this is not the case on the continental United States. Therefore, for Asian American candidates running on the continental United States, it would be an unwise political strategy to rely solely on this racial group's bloc vote. Successful Asian American candidates must pursue two-tiered campaign strategies that involve mandatory cross-racial alliances with white voters and contributors, the first tier, and strategic targeting of Asian American resources within and outside of their districts, the second tier.

A second difference is that Asian American–elected officials and candidates on the continental United States tend to rely more heavily than their Hawaiian counterparts for support by Asian American community elites (namely community-based organization leaders, community activists, and the ethnic media) for access to political resources.[17] One of the most important among these political resources is campaign contributions, an area where Asian

Americans on the continental United States have historically wielded their political muscle in local, state, and federal politics.[18] In 1996, Asian Americans were at the center of a campaign contribution scandal that involved allegations of foreign interests gaining access to the White House through illegal campaign contributions to former Vice President Al Gore and the Democratic National Committee. This prompted a bipartisan Senate investigation into the matter, and a federal civil rights investigation fueled by Asian American community leadership who declared it to be a second invocation of the "yellow peril" image.[19]

The experiences of Asian American–elected officials on the continental United States are also different from African American and Latino elected officials in one important aspect—they tend to be nonethnic representatives in state districts.[20] State level Asian American–elected officials on the continental United States emerge from non-Asian districts that are either heavily white or multiracial. African American and Latino elected officials at the local, state, and federal levels tend to emerge from political districts in which they represent the majority or a substantial portion of the total population.[21] At the federal level, twenty-three of thirty-nine African American House Representatives represented districts in 1998 where this group's voting age population was 50 percent or more of the population.[22] For Latinos, seventeen of nineteen members of Congress were in districts where the Latino population was at least 50 percent.[23] In contrast, Asian American–elected officials on the continental United States typically represent non-Asian majority districts at all three levels of government where Asian constituents are a minority or nonexistent. A vivid example is U.S. Representative David Wu (D-OR), who is one of three Asian Americans elected to the U.S. Congress from the mainland and whose district contains less than 5 percent Asian Americans. One notable exception to this trend is U.S. Representative Mike Honda (D-CA) who is elected from a congressional district in Santa Clara County that contains many suburbs with large Asian American populations.

Community Political Leaders and Mobilization

Asian American community-based organizations and other community elites undertake a variety of roles in group political mobilization such as get-out-the-vote drives to organizing candidate forums and training sessions. These roles depend on the geographic context of the cities they are located within and the type of political district. For Asian Americans in large metropolitan gateway cities on the continental United States, the lack of ethnic representation has led to a political void as seen with gateway cities such as Los Angeles and New York City, where the two largest Asian American aggregate populations reside. As a result of this electoral void in such large metropolitan cities, Asian American community leaders, organizations, and activists have played a significant role in representing and advocating Asian American interests to local and state representatives through a variety of ways.

Asian American community-based groups can act as a conduit with mainstream elected officials and institutions, particularly in large metropolitan gateway cities with large Asian American populations. For example, in Los Angeles Koreatown, the commercial and organizational focal point for the largest population of Korean Americans in the nation, Korean American community-based organizations have provided their substantial ethnic community with a political voice in expressing their concerns to mainstream elected representatives and institutions. One such organization is the Korean American Coalition (KAC), which is nonprofit and nonpartisan, representing the interests of more than 500,000 Korean Americans living in Southern California. During its existence, KAC has conducted an annual legislative luncheon in Southern California with local and statewide elected officials and legislative aides, who are invited to Koreatown to meet with Korean American community leaders/organizations. In the past, the elected officials who have been invited to their legislative luncheons included a formidable list of former local, state, and federal elected officials including California Governor Gray Davis, former Governor Pete Wilson, U.S. Senator Barbara Boxer, U.S. Congressman Xavier Bacerra, and Los Angeles Mayor Richard Riordan. Their luncheons have served as a forum to present and discuss issues affecting Korean Americans in Southern California.

Community-based organizations have helped to recruit and to train potential Asian American candidates with the hope of establishing a formal pipeline of candidates in key regions throughout the United States. At the local level, the Japanese American Citizens' League chapter in Los Angeles has held candidate training workshops led by Asian American–elected officials, who worked hand in hand toward the goal of increasing elected representation. These workshops usually feature current and past Asian American–elected officials, campaign strategists, and political researchers. At the national level, the Asian Pacific American Institute for Congressional Studies, the only national Asian American public policy institute in Washington, DC, and the University of California at Los Angeles Asian American Studies Center, a leading research center on Asian Americans, annually co-sponsor a National Leadership Academy for Asian American–elected officials in Washington, DC. Various Asian American candidates and elected official participants from across the country attend the three-day workshops. This event includes training sessions with current and former Asian American–elected officials, Congressional staffers, political and public relations consultants, fundraisers, and print and broadcast journalists. Such events are certainly not limited to California and Washington, DC, as emerging Asian American political mobilization is taking shape in other major states. Most recently, in March 2008, a one-day Asian American candidate training session sponsored by the Washington, DC, nonprofit, community-based organization Progressive Alliance took place in the emerging suburb of Bellevue, WA, where Asian Americans represent more than a quarter of the city population and where two Asian American city council members (Conrad Lee and Patsy Bonincontri) serve on the five-person council.

The success of the inaugural 1999 Leadership Academy for Asian American Elected Officials resulted in the formation of the Asian American Political Education Institute in California. The cosponsors of this political education institute are two of the most visible Asian American community and academic organizations in Los Angeles County, the Chinese Americans United for Self-Empowerment (CAUSE) and the University of California at Los Angeles' Asian American Studies Center. According to their press release, the mission of the institute was "to gather top notch political consultants, elected officials, community leaders, and media together with individuals who are interested in seeking elected offices for two days of interactive panel discussions and training. . . . Through this institute we strive to enhance the success rate of Asian American candidates by discussing issues facing these candidates . . . and provide our community with a better understanding of the mechanics of political campaigns."[24]

Another important Asian American community resource in the continental United States is the emergence of transnational Asian American ethnic media, which caters to the large bilingual and transnational Asian American immigrant communities. In Los Angeles and Orange Counties alone, it is estimated that there were nearly 200 different Asian and Pacific Islander media outlets ranging from newspapers and journals to radio and television programs.[25] Besides providing immigrants bilingual and unilingual information on United States and international news in their respective homelands, the ethnic print media can also provide Asian American candidates who chose to target them with important media exposure to a large segment of Asian foreign-born, bilingual population of potential voters and donors. Given this strong presence in the Asian and Pacific Islander foreign-born population, it was no surprise that high-profile candidates such as Republican Matt Fong, a Chinese American and son of former California State Secretary March Fong-Eu, targeted the Chinese American print media, in order to get his message out to prospective Chinese American voters and contributors during his closely contested 1998 bid in California for the U.S. Senate against incumbent Senator Barbara Boxer.

The advantage of targeting the ethnic media was that it provided Fong a cost-effective medium to advertise his campaign to potential Asian American voters and contributors, who could tip the balance of a close election in his favor. During the Republican primary election, Fong's greatest challenger Darrell Issa spent $2 million dollars in radio advertisements alone. While Fong targeted the mainstream media during his campaign, he also focused his limited resources on the Asian ethnic media. An example of the cost-effectiveness of advertising in Asian ethnic print media versus mainstream print media can be seen in the following: a full-page advertisement in the *San Francisco Chronicle* costs $55,000 compared with $1,200 for a full-page advertisement in *Sing Tao*, a Bay Area Chinese language newspaper with a national circulation of 60,000. Fong used the Chinese American print media to his advantage, and even credited them with helping him win his Republican primary election.[26]

These organizations, with the support of community leaders and activists through many grass-roots activities, attempt to educate and influence local and

statewide elected officials. An example can be seen in Santa Clara County in California with the Asian Pacific American Silicon Valley Democratic Club (APASVDC), which has been successful in helping elect more than thirty Asian American candidates, the most for any continental U.S. county region, since 2002.[27] Historically focused on local elections, this political organization has begun to support Asian American candidates running for statewide positions with the most recent one being Paul Fong's 2008 California Assembly District 22 campaign. Fong is one of the founders of APASVDC and an important Asian American community player in Santa Clara County local politics.

PANETHNIC CHALLENGE

The challenges to constructing and maintaining any type of political coalition in American politics are many. One such challenge is the salience of race and ethnicity in today's political arenas. In regard to ethnic salience, one contemporary trend in California politics is for ethnic groups to "go it alone."[28] This is particularly the case among recent immigrant Asian ethnic groups (post-1965) who do not necessarily identify with issues that marked the political struggles of more established Asian American groups during the social movements of the sixties and with current movements that espouse similar group ideologies. As a result, panethnic coalitions among Asian Americans are difficult to construct and tend to be short-lived, given the contemporary characteristics of Asian Americans. Other factors that diminish the potential for a pan-Asian identity among recent Asian immigrants include differences in socioeconomic background such as education and income, generation issues, and homeland politics.[29]

One of the primary barriers to whether Asian Americans can form a racial bloc vote in key swing states stems from the very root of their potential, such as their extraordinary diversity and growth. One recent national survey of Asian American public opinions in several major metropolitan cities, it was found that a panethnic identity is gradually emerging in the first-generation Asian American community, in terms of the public opinion survey measure of "linked group fate" (what happens to another Asian ethnic group adversely affects their own ethnic group), although not when measured by other survey measures such as "shared cultured."[30] Such a measure of panethnic identity is likely to increase over time particularly among the latter generations, which bodes well for future panethnic coalitions.

For Asian Americans, their political success is not only defined by their ability to form panethnic coalitions within its ethnically diverse community and cross-racial coalitions with whites, but also to develop positive race relations with African Americans and Latinos. In many racially commingled cities such as Los Angeles, the challenges are there as exemplified by the 1991 Los Angeles uprisings that represented the nation's first multiracial riots in which Korean American–owned businesses suffered the greatest losses, estimated at $400 million during the several days of burning, looting, and rioting.[31] In a telling 1993

Los Angeles Times survey of southern Californians, 45 percent of African American respondents identified Asian Americans as the second most prejudiced group, only behind whites at 65 percent, which represented a 19 percent increase from a similar 1989 survey. Moreover, African American respondents most frequently identified Asian Americans as the one racial group that is gaining economic power that is not good for Southern California.[32] The challenges within such contexts are to find the common interests that exist but that are overshadowed by zero–sum–based racial politics.[33] Hate crimes in the post-9/11 era have seen increased targeting of Asian Indians and Pakistani Americans at local, state, and national levels that raise future concerns for race relations in multiracial cities, while at the same time serves as a salient issue that can potentially unite the diverse Asian American community.

OUTLOOK

Politics is an increasingly important issue for Asian Americans as they continue to participate in U.S. mainstream and community-based civic institutions. As new and old members of this community enter the political arena and participate through a myriad of ways, the trajectory of Asian Americans in politics remains extremely optimistic. Asian American–elected leadership has begun to emerge in the continental United States, primarily at the local and state levels, that rivals the number of those in Hawai‘i; however, many contemporary political challenges exist for Asian Americans as they seek to naturalize and vote consistently, and attempt to build cross-racial and panethnic coalitions around both Asian and non-Asian American candidates. Whether this can be achieved and sustained in the near future remains to be seen.

If in fact the Asian American community is to sustain a positive trajectory of political growth and influence in future statewide and national elections, a triangulation must occur among the following three Asian American community loci: community-based and national organizations, Asian American candidates and elected officials, and the emerging and influential Asian American media. Concomitantly, the two major parties must legitimately focus on recruiting and incorporating Asian American voters, contributors, and candidates. This process is most evident in the South Bay of northern California and Orange County in southern California, where Asian Americans are emerging as legitimate coalition partners with whites and Latinos, and where Asian American candidates are receiving the necessary party support from both Democrats and Republicans in winning key political offices. Grassroots mobilization efforts involving these three community loci around a progressive ideology will allow Asian Americans to achieve greater political incorporation in small to medium cities in these important regions. The formation of this important political infrastructure within the regional Asian American communities has been gradually taking shape over the past three decades and will play an important role in determining whether Asian Americans can live up to their “sleeping giant status” in American Politics.

NOTES

1. Holly Kernan, "San Francisco's 'Sleeping Giant' Awakes." National Public Radio. 2002. Retrieved from http://www.npr.org/programs/atc/features/2002/aug/california/asian/index.html;UCLA Asian American Studies Center Press Release. "The New Sleeping Giant in California Politics." Nov. 7, 2006. Retrieved from http://www.aasc.ucla.edu/archives/sleepgiants.htm; Cindy Chang. Feb. 27, 2007. "The Sleeping Giant in California Politics." *International Herald Tribune* Online. Retrieved from http://www.iht.com/articles/2007/02/27/news/asians.php.

2. J.A. Garcia, "Asian American Party Dynamics: Partisan and Non-Partisan Identities," Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Marriott Wardman Park, Omni Shoreham, Washington Hilton, Washington, DC. Online. September 2005. Retrieved from http://www.allacademic.com/meta/p41297_index.html.

3. These six Asian American majority cities in California are the following according to the 2000 U.S. Census findings: Daly City (50.8 percent Asian American), Cerritos (58.4 percent), Milpitas (51.8 percent), Monterey Park (61.8 percent), Rowland Heights (50.3 percent), and Walnut (55.8 percent).

4. Sam Roberts, "In Shift, 40% of Immigrants Move to Suburbs," *New York Times* Online. Oct. 21, 2007. http://www.nytimes.com/2007/10/17/us/17census.html.

5. Fernando Guerra, Center for the Study of Los Angeles Handout. Presented at the 100th Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association. September 2004.

6. James Lai, Wendy Tam-Cho, Thomas Kim, and Okiyoshi Takeda. "Asian Pacific American Campaigns, Elections, and Elected Officials," *PS: Political Science and Politics* 36 no. 3 (2001): 611–619.

7. James S. Lai and Kim Geron, "When Asian Americans Run: The Suburban and Urban Dimensions of Asian American Candidates in California Local Politics," *California Politics & Policy* 10 (June 2006): 62–68.

8. Sucheng Chan, *Asian Americans: An Interpretive History* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press), 1991.

9. Charles McClain, *In Search of Equality: The Chinese Struggle against Discrimination in Nineteenth-Century America* (Berkeley: University of California Press), 1994.

10. Mitch Maki and Harry Kitano. *Achieving the Impossible Dream: How Japanese Americans Obtained Redress* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press), 1999.

11. Chan, *Asian Americans.*

12. Paul M. Ong, "The Asian Pacific American Challenge to Race Relations," in *The State of Asian Pacific America: Transforming Race Relations,* ed. Paul M. Ong (Los Angeles: LEAP and UCLA Asian American Studies Center, 2000), 13–39.

13. Don T. Nakanishi, "The Next Swing Vote? Asian Pacific Americans and California Politics," in *Racial and Ethnic Politics in California,* vol. 1, eds. Byran O. Jackson and Michael B. Preston (Berkeley, CA: Institute of Governmental Studies Press, 2001), 25–54; Don T. Nakanishi and Paul M. Ong, "Becoming Citizens, Becoming Voters: The Naturalization and Political Participation of Asian Immigrants," in *Reframing the Immigration Debate,* eds. Bill Ong Hing, et al. (Los Angeles, CA: LEAP and UCLA Asian American Studies Center, 1996), 275–305; Don T. Nakanishi, "When the Numbers Do Not Add Up: Asian Pacific Americans in California Politics," in *Racial and Ethnic Politics in California,* eds. Michael B.

Preston, Bruce E. Cain, and Sandra Bass (Berkeley, CA: Institute of Governmental Studies Press, 1998), 3–44.

14. Gregory Rodriguez, "Minority Leader: Matt Fong and the Asian American Voter," *The New Republic*, Oct. 19, 1998, 21–24; Raphael Sonenshein, "Do Asian Americans Count in L.A.?" *Los Angeles Times*, Feb. 28, 2005, B9.

15. Office of Asian American Outreach, Democratic National Committee Press Release, Oct. 13, 1999.

16. William Wei, *The Asian American Movement* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992); Steve Louie and Glenn Omatsu, eds., *The Movement and the Moment* (Los Angeles: UCLA Asian American Studies Center Press, 2001).

17. James S. Lai, "Asian Americans and the Panethnic Question," in *Minority Politics at the Millennium,* eds. Richard A. Keiser and Katherine Underwood (New York: Garland Publishing, 2000), 157–178.

18. Judy Tachibana, "California's Asians: Power from a Growing Population," *California Journal* 17 (1986): 534–543; Nakanishi, "When the Numbers Do Not Add Up."

19. Robert Lee, *Orientals: Asian Americans in Popular Culture* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1999); Frank Wu, *Race in America: Beyond Black and White* (New York: Basic Books, 2002).

20. Bruce E. Cain, Roderick Kiewiet, and Carole J. Uhlaner, "The Acquisition of Partisanship by Latinos and Asian Americans," *American Journal of Political Science* 35, no. 2 (1991): 390–422.

21. Rufus P. Browning, Dale Rogers Marshall, and David H. Tabb, "Introduction: Can People of Color Achieve Power in City Government? The Setting and the Issues," in *Racial Politics in American Cities*, eds. Rufus P. Browning, Dale Rogers Marshall, and David H. Tabb (New York: Longman Press, 1990), 3–14.

22. David A. Bositis, *Redistricting and Minority Representation* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1998).

23. Bositis, *Redistricting and Minority Representation.*

24. Asian American Political Education Institute, Press Release, Aug. 20, 1999.

25. *1998-99 Asian and Pacific Islander Community Directory for Los Angeles and Orange Counties* (Los Angeles, CA: Asian American Studies Center Press, 1998).

26. Sam Chu Lin and Bob Galbraith, "Fong Wins First Round: What His Victory Means for Boxer, for Asian Americans, for GOP," *AsianWeek*, June 4–10, 1998.

27. Katherine Corcoran, "Valley Political Group Sets Sights Higher: Asian American Club Turns to State Race After Local Success," *San Jose Mercury News*, Jan. 25, 2004, 4B.

28. Bruce Cain, "The Contemporary Context of Ethnic and Racial Politics in California," in *Racial and Ethnic Politics in California* (Vol. 1), eds. Byran O. Jackson and Michael B. Preston (Berkeley, CA: Institute of Governmental Studies Press, 1991), 9–24.

29. Yen Le Espiritu, *Asian American Panethnicity: Bridging Institutions and Identities* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992); Yen Le Espiritu and Paul M. Ong, "Class Constraints on Racial Solidarity among Asian Americans," in *The New Asian Immigration in Los Angeles and Global Restructuring*, eds. Paul M. Ong, Edna Bonacich and Lucie Cheng (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994), 295–322; Pei-te Lien, *The Political Participation of Asian Americans: Voting Behavior in Southern California* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1997).

30. Pei-te Lien, M. Margaret Conway, and Janelle Wong, *The Politics of Asian Americans: Diversity & Community* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 41–56.

31. Edward T. Chang, "America's First Multi-Racial Riot," in *Asian American Politics: Law, Participation, and Policy*, eds. Don T. Nakanishi and James S. Lai (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003), 431–440.

32. Paula McClain and Joseph Stewart, *Can We All Get Along? Racial and Ethnic Minorities in American Politics* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2005).

33. Manning Marable, "Building Coalitions among Communities of Color," in James Jennings, ed., *Blacks, Latinos, and Asians in Urban America: Status and Prospects for Politics and Activism* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1994), 29–46.

ASIAN AMERICAN MOVEMENT

Diane C. Fujino

In 1968, activist-scholars Yuji Ichioka and Emma Gee approached Asian Americans, many strangers, to invite them to form an Asian caucus of the Peace and Freedom Party in Berkeley, CA. An independent organization, Asian American Political Alliance (AAPA), emerged. In 1969, Kazu Iijima and Minn Matsuda lamented the lack of any Asian organization for their college-aged children in New York City. They invited Asian Americans they saw at Vietnam War rallies to the first meeting of what became Asian Americans for Action (AAA, or Triple A). In the midst of antiwar protests and fists raised in Black Power, Asian Americans on both coasts were craving new identities, new formations, and new solidarities. When Ichioka introduced the term, "Asian American" in an AAPA meeting, he, perhaps only with partial consciousness, helped launch a new identity and new social movement.

Social factors help explain why the Asian American Movement (AAM) developed in the late 1960s and not earlier. Chinese and Japanese American youth, and to a lesser extent Filipinos and others, came of age influenced by American schools, media, and culture; spoke a common language; and often came together on college campuses. Beyond demographics, the AAM emerged in the midst of vibrant U.S. protest movements and worldwide anticolonial liberation struggles. While some lament the demise of the civil rights and early New Left movements, others celebrate the racial pride and radical freedom dreams that broke forth in the mid-1960s with the Black Power, Asian American, Chicana/o, and American Indian movements.

While those who initiated AAPA and AAA had long activist histories, the development of a widescale, multisited *Asian American* social movement was new. A hallmark of this AAM was its pan-Asian focus, developed to express a

unity grounded in common experiences with racism and a need to unite numerically small communities. Panethnicity was a political strategy for increasing power rather than an assumption about common cultures. From its start, this new identity also produced tensions—a coming together across differences and ethnic hierarchies that were not easily resolved.

Though never a monolithic movement, the AAM was heavily influenced by the ideology of Black Power, with its focus on self-determination, third world unity, militancy, and dreams of radical transformations. AAM activists emphasized unity among U.S. third world peoples in opposing racism and in connecting racial and colonial domination nationally and internationally. AAM activists were responding, in part, to the model minority image of Asian Americans, popularized in two 1966 magazine articles, and to the assimilationist aspirations of many in their parents' generation.[1] In a widely read article in *Gidra*, a UCLA AAM publication, Amy Uyematsu criticized Asian Americans who "try to gain complete acceptance by denying their yellowness" and "form an uneasy alliance with white Americans to keep the blacks down." Yellow Power symbolized "a rejection of the passive Oriental stereotype" and "the birth of a new Asian, one who will recognize and deal with injustices."[2]

One of the clearest expressions of third world solidarity emerged in the struggle for ethnic studies. Stressing the idea of a shared oppression, Asian American, black, Chicano, and Indigenous students, through the Third World Liberation Front (TWLF) at San Francisco State College, waged the longest student strike in U.S. history and birthed the first school of ethnic studies in the nation.[3] Early on in the AAM, activists discussed the previously obscure history of Japanese American incarceration during World War II. AAPA and AAA made connections across time and race, alerting their newspaper readerships to the existence of six concentration camps, under Title II of the McCarran Internal Security Act of 1950, for the detention of black militants, radicals, and anyone who "might possibly" be engaged in subversive activity.[4] Asian Americans with activist credentials, primarily in the Black Power movement, were looked to for leadership, particularly Yuri Kochiyama, best known for working with Malcolm X, and Richard Aoki, a leader of AAPA, TWLF at UC–Berkeley, and the Black Panther Party (BPP).

AAM activists strongly opposed the Vietnam War. Beyond "bringing the boys home" (interpreted as saving white American lives), they condemned U.S. imperialism, connected anti-Asian racism abroad and at home, and supported self-determination for the Vietnamese people. Their opposition to U.S. imperialism also led to struggles to end the U.S. military occupation of Okinawa and to commemorations of Hiroshima Day each year with a call to stop nuclear proliferation.

Influenced by the BPP's survival programs and Mao's ideas, AAM activists emphasized "serve the people" programs. More than simply "helping people," which activist Mo Nishida asserts creates another dependency, they sought to create community institutions and simultaneously developed "knowledgeable, humane and enlightened individuals."[5] One of the best known among the many

AAM struggles for jobs, housing, health care, education, etc., was the decade-long struggle to save the International Hotel, home to working-class Filipino and Chinese elderly men. Many activists were already familiar with these Filipino *manongs* from their support of Filipino and Chicano farmworkers organizing with Cesar Chavez, Delores Huerta, and Philip Vera Cruz. Within the I-Hotel campaign, AAM groups with differing goals and ideologies struggled over whether human rights (affordable housing), racism, or capitalist exploitation (corporate gentrification) should be the main campaign goal.

This reflected differences between what William Wei, in a useful though problematic dichotomy, calls reformers versus revolutionaries.[6] Reformers tended to provide direct social services, particularly to working-class Asian Americans, without an explicit call for radical societal transformation. Groups like Chinese for Affirmative Action fought for fair employment and the Asian Law Caucus provided legal services. Revolutionaries also provided "serve the people" programs, but did so while critiquing racial capitalism and seeking far-reaching change. The Red Guard Party, organized in San Francisco's Chinatown in 1969, closely patterned itself after the BPP in ideology and street youth membership. That same year in New York City, I Wor Kuen (IWK) was formed. In 1971, these two groups merged to form the first national Asian American revolutionary organization, IWK. Their politics were both pan-Asian and third worldist, demanding "self-determination for all Asian Americans" and "all Asians" and the "liberation of all Third World peoples." IWK desired human rights and provided "serve the people" programs, but also opposed sexism and called for "a socialist society."[7]

Cultural productions flourished, inspired by and in turn helping to develop the AAM. The Kearney Street Workshop, a storefront in the I-Hotel, produced political posters, held community art classes, and ran an art gallery. Frank Chin, Janice Mirikitani, Al Robles, and others created powerful writings, poetry, and plays, exposing Asian American oppression and resistance. In the early 1970s, A Grain of Sand set powerful lyrics to folk music to become the symbol of AAM music, and a decade later, Fred Ho, Mark Izu, Jon Jang, and others developed an Asian American jazz scene that combined traditional Asian instrumentation with African American jazz to create a new hybrid form of politically explosive music.

Asian American activism still continues, with efforts to support educational reform, combat sweatshops, struggle for immigrant rights, and oppose the "war on terrorism," among other issues. The AAM of the 1960s and 1970s uncovered hidden histories of Asian American activism, created a political consciousness and pan-Asian identity, produced generations of activists, and continues to inspire resistance today.

FURTHER READING

Asian American Movement Ezine. www.aamovement.net. Progressive, radical, and revolutionary Asian American perspectives.

Fujino, Diane C. "Who Studies the Asian American Movement?: A Historiographical Analysis." *Journal of Asian American Studies 11* (2008): 127–169.

Ho, Fred, ed. *Legacy to Liberation: Politics and Culture of Revolutionary Asian Pacific America.* San Francisco: AK Press, 2000.

Liu, Michael, Kim Geron, and Tracy Lai. *The Snake Dance of Asian American Activism: Community, Vision, and Power* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2008).

Louie, Steve and Glenn Omatsu, eds. *Asian Americans: The Movement and the Moment*. Los Angeles: University of California–Los Angeles, Asian American Studies Center Press, 2001.

Wei, William. *The Asian American Movement.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993.

NOTES

1. William Petersen, "Success Story, Japanese-American Style." *New York Times Magazine* (January 9, 1966): 20–21, 33, 36, 38, 40–41, 43; "Success Story of One Minority Group in U.S.," *U.S. News & World Report* (December 26, 1966): 73–76.

2. Amy Uyematsu, "The Emergence of Yellow Power in America," *Gidra* 1, no. 7 (October 1969): 8–11; reprinted in Amy Tachiki, Eddie Wong, and Franklin Odo, eds., *Roots: An Asian American Reader* (Los Angeles: Continental Graphics, 1971), 9–13.

3. Social movement historiography virtually ignored Asian American participation in the San Francisco State College strike until *Amerasia Journal* published a special issue commemorating the strike. Asian Americans comprised three of the six groups of the Third World Liberation Front. Karen Umemoto, "'On Strike!' San Francisco State College Strike, 1968–69: The Role of Asian American Students," *Amerasia Journal,* 15 (1989): 3–41.

4. Yuji Ichioka, "Would You Believe Concentration Camps for Americans?" *AAPA Newspaper* (November–December 1968): 3; "Infamous Concentration Camp Bill: Title II-Emergency Detention Act," *Asian Americans for Action Newsletter* (October 1970): 8.

5. Mori Nishida, "Serve the People," in Steve Louie and Glenn Omatsu, eds., *Asian Americans: The Movement and Moment* (Los Angeles: UCLA Asian American Studies Press, 2001), 305–306.

6. Diane C. Fujino, "Who Studies the Asian American Movement?: A Historiographical Analysis," *Journal of Asian American Studies* 11 (2008): 127–169.

7. I Wor Kuen, 12-Point Platform and Program, http://www.dartmouth.edu/~hist32/Hist33/I%20Wor%20Kuen.pdf.

COALITION POLITICS

Andrew L. Aoki

Coalition building is essential for political success. Building effective alliances is challenging, however. Larger coalitions tend to be more influential but difficult to form and maintain, requiring a continual effort to balance widely varying interests. This problem is particularly acute for Asian Americans because of their tremendous diversity.

Nevertheless, Asian Americans have formed alliances around many issues, including civil rights, immigration, and economic opportunity. Many of the successful coalition-building efforts owe much to the groundwork laid by activists who created organizations and events that helped nurture connections between groups. Future coalitions will likely face substantial challenges, however, because of the economic and cultural diversity of Asian Americans.

COALITIONS BETWEEN ASIAN AMERICAN GROUPS

Although the term "Asian American" implies a single identity, Asian Americans in fact are a very diverse subpopulation that itself must be united through coalition building. Shared ethnicity may provide a common identity for new immigrants—for example, Hmong may identify with other Hmong—but ancestral roots in the same continent is not enough to create a common bond.[1] Pakistani immigrants, for instance, are unlikely to identify with Japanese Americans simply because Pakistan and Japan both happen to be in Asia.

There is very little scholarly research about the process of coalition building between Asian American groups, but some of this can be inferred by observing pan-Asian American groups.[2] While shared views can obviously fuel alliances, equally important factors appear to be key linkages between groups and

opportunities for groups to interact. Panethnic organizations strive to attract members of different ethnic backgrounds, who then become key nodes linking together Asian American subgroups. Through their activities, panethnic groups can bring together more individuals of different ethnic backgrounds, building interethnic understanding and laying the groundwork for stronger panethnic coalitions.

An example of this is Asian Americans United (AAU) in Philadelphia.[3] When it began, AAU's membership was primarily well-educated Chinese and Japanese Americans; however, they did not want to limit their focus to their own ethnic communities, so they worked to help the city's Southeast Asian community with housing, education, and youth programs. As a result, the AAU increasingly attracted immigrant and working-class members, creating ties that connected the Philadelphia Asian American community. In 1991, when some Asian American youth were involved in a violent incident and racial tensions flared, Philadelphian Asian Americans saw the AAU as the group to lead a pan-Asian American effort to combat media bias and to present a more balanced depiction of the incident.

Although this type of coalition building is likely to be difficult, evidence from the Pilot National Asian American Political Survey (PNAAPS) suggests that there may be an emerging panethnic identity, which would make it easier to bring Asian American subgroups together. The PNAAPS found that approximately 75 percent of its respondents usually thought of themselves in ethnic-specific terms, such as Filipino, or Filipino American. But the PNAAPS also found that more than half thought of themselves as Asian American at least some of the time, and almost half felt that what happened to Asian Americans in general would affect them personally.[4]

Currently, however, Asian Americans appear to be more likely to ally with coethnics than with Asian Americans of other ethnic backgrounds. One study of Federal Election Campaign data found that there is relatively little cross-ethnic giving in congressional races where an Asian American is running, although Asian Americans appear to be more willing to contribute cross-ethnically in Hawaii.[5] And, other research has uncovered some willingness to contribute across ethnic lines in California state and local races, once again implying that there is some potential for panethnic coalition building among Asian Americans.[6]

COALITIONS BETWEEN ASIAN AMERICAN AND NON-ASIAN AMERICAN GROUPS

Asian American groups have been active in interracial coalitions. For example, the Asian American Justice Center (AAJC) is currently the chair of the Rights Working Group, which seeks to protect civil rights and civil liberties that have become weakened by efforts to combat terrorism. Among the Rights Working Group members are the Arab-American Anti-Discrimination Committee, the Mexican American Legal Defense & Education Fund (MALDEF), the Muslim Public Affairs Council, the National Council of La Raza, the Southeast

Asia Resource Action Center (SEARAC), the Sikh American Legal Defense and Education Fund (SALDEF), the National Korean American Service & Education Consortium (NAKASEC), and many other organizations (including the AAJC). Another coalition that includes many Asian American organizations is the Leadership Conference for Civil Rights, an alliance of more than 190 members representing a wide range of communities.

Individuals are often the critical links in networks that help form interracial coalitions. When the Alhambra school district in Southern California was troubled by violence between Latino and Asian American groups, local activists who had worked across ethnic lines helped to bring participants together into a new organization which came to be called the Multi-Cultural Community Association. The association successfully pushed for changes in the school district's policy for handling conflicts and for the creation of programs to help prevent future conflicts from erupting.[7]

In some cases, coalition building is driven by elected officials or candidates. In Houston, Lee Brown successfully appealed to Asian Pacific American activists in his 1997 mayoral campaign.[8] Brown's outreach to APA groups was so effective that he was able to maintain support in those communities even when some prominent APA elected officials threw their support to his opponent.

MASS ELECTORAL COALITIONS

Assessing Asian American participation in larger electoral coalitions requires a very different approach. While activists or elected officials build coalitions with each other through negotiation and much individual interaction, mass electoral coalitions are often created through mass media and other impersonal messages. Coalitions of activists or elected officials are generally composed of individuals who know each other and are conscious of their alliance with others. In contrast, many of those in mass electoral coalitions have little or no sense of being part of a larger alliance, and they often know little or nothing about others in that coalition. Many of the members of mass electoral coalitions are tied together only by their common support of a candidate or political party. Because of this, we evaluate these types of coalitions by examining survey data on political attitudes and preferences.

Some have hoped that people of color and liberal whites might rally around common candidates; however, evidence for this is mixed. While many Asian Americans appear to have joined African Americans and Latinos in helping to provide critical support for Democrats, especially in California, Asian American partisan preferences still may be divided.

Furthermore, surveys have found some significant areas of distrust or distaste between African Americans, Latinos, and Asian Americans. For example, a New American Media survey found a majority of African American respondents agreed that most Asian American business owners did not treat them with respect, and a narrow plurality of Asian respondents agreed that they are afraid of African Americans because African Americans were responsible for most

crimes. In addition, for each group, respondents were far more likely to be comfortable doing business with whites than with the other two groups.[9]

Scholar George Yancey has drawn on survey and census data to argue that Latinos and Asian Americans are becoming more similar to and gaining greater acceptance from whites, while African Americans are once again being left on the margins of society.[10] Yancey's evidence does not demonstrate that Asian Americans and Latinos are natural allies, but his data show that many Asian Americans may be developing political perspectives that are increasingly different from those of black Americans.

These obstacles to interracial understanding should not be overemphasized, however. The New American Media poll noted above also found many areas of agreement between African Americans, Asian Americans, and Latinos. Overwhelming majorities in all three communities agreed that each group had similar problems and should work together to solve them, and substantial majorities of Asian Americans and Latinos agreed that they had all been helped by the African American leadership in the civil rights movement.[11] A "rainbow" electoral coalition can still exist, but it will require leaders skilled at managing the many sources of tension that can emerge between the different groups.

CHALLENGES

Coalitions face constant challenges. Affirmative action has the potential to create stress for interracial coalitions that include Asian Americans, although, given their diversity, it seems most likely to divide Asian Americans from each other. One important challenge to panethnic coalition building is the issue of Native Hawaiian self-determination, but economic issues can also create fissures in pan-Asian alliances.

While most Asian American groups continue to support affirmative action, some feel that it is contrary to their interests. In the late 1990s in San Francisco, a group of Chinese American parents challenged a program which sought to create some racial balance at prestigious Lowell High School, and in 2008, an Asian American student's complaint about Princeton's admissions policies triggered a U.S. Department of Education investigation that could further undermine affirmative action in higher education.[12] In education and hiring, affirmative action programs can create a zero-sum game, which may lead growing numbers of Asian Americans to oppose it, if they feel that they are no longer beneficiaries.[13]

Most pan-Asian American groups seek to include Pacific Islander Americans (including Native Hawaiians), and organization names usually reflect that—e.g., the Asian Pacific American Legal Center of Southern California; however, native Hawaiians' efforts to win greater political empowerment and sovereignty (political control over territory in Hawai'i) presents a major challenge to efforts to build an Asian and Pacific Islander American coalition in Hawai'i. There, the Asian American dominance of politics in the islands means that they make up much of the power structure that is denying native Hawaiians greater control. Cooperation still occurs, but tensions over this issue are unlikely to go away.

Although the issue of native Hawaiian sovereignty is not as likely to divide Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders residing on the mainland, economic issues might. In the Houston case described above, some Asian American–elected officials argued that their communities would benefit more from Republican pro-business policies—but this was a plea clearly aimed at more prosperous Asian Americans, not at the many still struggling with poverty and economic opportunity.

OUTLOOK

It is difficult to predict the composition of the future coalitions that Asian Americans will join, but it seems likely that they will continue to participate actively in broader alliances. As groups gain political experience, they learn that they will be more successful when they can gain the support of other groups.

It has been argued that political involvement has helped build an Asian American identity. Separate ethnic groups have found it beneficial to work together in their battles for their rights. As these coalitions form, the sense of a panethnic—an Asian American—identity has grown.[14]

Broader coalition building is likely to help Asian Americans become more deeply embedded in American society. Alliances are usually built on reciprocity, and so Asian American groups will gain support by giving it. Ample evidence of this exists already. For example, the National Association of Korean Americans warned of threats to civil liberties in the "war on terror," although Korean Americans were not among those most likely to be targeted.[15] As coalition building grows, Asian Americans will become more familiar with groups that had previously been foreign to them, and other groups will develop a greater understanding of Asian Americans. This will not always happen easily, and the benefits will not always be evenly distributed, but the long-term result will likely be a society more open to all.

FURTHER READING

Asian American Justice Center. http://www.napalc.org/.

Fuchs, Lawrence H. *The American Kaleidoscope: Race, Ethnicity, and the Civic Culture*. Hanover, NH: Wesleyan University Press, 1990.

Kim, Claire Jean. *Bitter Fruit: The Politics of Black-Korean Conflict in New York City*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000.

Lien, Pei-te. *The Making of Asian America through Political Participation*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001.

Rights Working Group. http://www.rightsworkinggroup.org.

NOTES

1. Ethnic groups can be defined in different ways. Here they are defined as groups of people who see themselves as sharing common traditions and cultural patterns, and who usually originate in the same nation-state—for instance, Chinese Americans, Filipino Americans, or Korean Americans—however, some, such as the Hmong, do not have

geographical origins that can be easily connected to a single nation state. In addition, in other contexts, some ethnic groups could be seen as panethnic entities. China, for example, can be seen as containing many different ethnic groups, so "Chinese" would be a panethnic identity.

2. The term "panethnic group" is usually used to refer to entities that bring together people of different ethnicities. A list of panethnic groups in the United States would be very similar to a list of racial groups: for example, both would include African Americans, American Indians, and Asian Americans.

3. This section draws on Scott Kurashige, "Pan-Ethnicity and Community Organizing: Asian Americans United's Campaign Against Anti-Asian Violence," *Journal of Asian American Studies* 3, no. 2 (June 2000): 169–190.

4. Pei-te Lien, M. Margaret Conway, and Janelle Wong, *The Politics of Asian Americans: Diversity & Community* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 41–53.

5. Wendy K. Tam Cho, "Tapping Motives and Dynamics Behind Campaign Contributions: Insights from the Asian American Case," *American Politics Research* 30, no. 4 (2002): 347–383.

6. James S. Lai, "Asian Pacific Americans and the Pan-Ethnic Question," in *Minority Politics at the Millennium*, eds. Richard E. Keiser and Katherine Underwood (New York: Garland Publishing, 2000), 203–226.

7. Leland T. Saito and Edward J. W. Park, "Multiracial Collaborations and Coalitions," in *The State of Asian Pacific America: Transforming Race Relations,* vol. IV, ed. Paul M. Ong (Los Angeles: LEAP and UCLA Asian American Studies Center, 2000), 435–474.

8. Saito and Park, "Multiracial Collaborations and Coalitions," 444–448.

9. New American Media, "Deep Divisions, Shared Destiny," December 2007. PowerPoint summary available at http://media.newamericamedia.org/images/polls/race/poll_presentation.ppt.

10. George Yancey, *Who Is White? Latinos, Asians, and the New Black/Nonblack Divide* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2004).

11. New American Media, "Deep Divisions, Shared Destiny."

12. For the Lowell case, see Bill Ong Hing, "Asians Without Blacks and Latinos in San Francisco: Missed Lessons of the Common Good," *Amerasia Journal* 27, no. 2 (2000): 19–27. For the Princeton case, see "Education Department Investigating Allegations of Racial Discrimination Against Asian American Applicants to Princeton University," *The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education Weekly Bulletin*, June 19, 2008, http://www.jbhe.com/latest/index061908.html.

13. See Paul M. Ong, "The Affirmative Action Divide," in Paul M. Ong, ed., *The State of Asian Pacific America: Transforming Race Relations,* vol. IV (Los Angeles: LEAP and UCLA Asian American Studies Center, 2000), 313–361.

14. Pei-te Lien, *The Making of Asian America through Political Participation* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001), 42–197.

15. National Association of Korean Americans, " 'War on Terrorism': Fundamental Civil Liberties Must be Preserved," no. 2 (Feb. 2002), http://www.naka.org/news/news.asp?prmid=3.

“DONORGATE” AND WEN HO LEE

Michael Chang

In 1996, top-level Asian American Democratic National Committee (DNC) fund-raisers were indicted for violating Federal Election Commission (FEC) laws. The experience demonstrated the tenuous political status of Asian Americans, and their vulnerability to being labeled disloyal foreigners. Asian American activists argued that the “Donorgate” discourses served to “denaturalize” Asian Americans, reinforcing an already deeply seated perception of Asian Americans as aliens in the United States. Battles over campaign finance are likely to continue to involve concerns over race, rights, and citizenship.

From one perspective, the Asian Donorgate controversy was about allegations of illegal campaign finance fund-raising practices in the fall of 1996. But, if viewed from a broader context of globalization and the related concern of the growing economic and political power of China, the Donorgate discourses continued for several years, culminating in allegations of Chinese nuclear espionage in the winter of 1999.

Prior to the unfolding of “Asian Donorgate,” 1996 was viewed in the Asian American communities as a watershed year in terms of mainstream national-level political attainment by Asian Americans.[1] John Huang had been named head fund-raiser for the Democratic National Committee, seen by many as a sign that the Democratic Party was serious about its Asian American constituency. But soon after the first charges of DNC fund-raising irregularities emerged, it became clear that these gains were greatly susceptible to partisan politics and sensationalist media coverage.

In September 1996 during the re-election campaign of President Bill Clinton, the *Los Angeles Times* published a story charging that DNC fund-raiser Huang

had collected an illegal $250,000 donation from John K. H. Lee, a South Korean businessman. Soon after this, Republican politicians and media outlets began to scrutinize the fund-raising practices of the DNC, those of Huang in particular. Of most concern were allegations that the DNC had accepted foreign campaign contributions, a violation of the Federal Election Committee rules. The DNC tried to distance itself from the scandal, hiring the accounting firm of Ernst & Young, which called all Asian surnamed donors on the DNC's donor lists and asked them about their citizenship status, among other questions.

Huang, the vice chair of finance at the DNC, came under suspicion for his connection to his former employer, the Indonesian-based Lippo Group conglomerate. As Bob Woodward (of Watergate fame) and Brian Duffy reported in the *Washington Post*, the Lippo Group sold 50 percent of its holdings in Hong Kong Chinese Bank (where Huang worked in the mid-1980s) in 1993 to a corporation run by the Chinese government.[2] This circumstantial information suggested to reporters that the Lippo Group, owned by the Riady family, was acting in the interests of the Chinese government, and that Huang was their point man. Woodward and Duffy's reporting was highly influential and gave validity to accusations from the Republican Party of a "China connection" to the fund-raising scandal.

Republican representative Gerald B. H. Solomon (R-NY), chairman of the powerful House Rules Committee, requested an FBI investigation of Huang for "potential economic espionage against the United States by a foreign corporation having direct ties to the People's Republic of China."[3] Representative Solomon claimed that he had "new information" that was the "smoking gun," proving Huang was a spy for China.[4] Solomon told reporters that he had received "reports from government sources that say there are electronic intercepts which provide evidence . . . that John Huang committed economic espionage and breached our national security by passing classified information [to Lippo Group]."[5] Solomon's charges made front-page news and helped to propel the Huang investigation in the direction of espionage.

When the FBI later questioned Solomon about the "electronic intercepts," Solomon told them that he never had actual intercepts, only information from a Senate staffer who had told him that "a Department of Commerce employee had passed classified information to a foreign government."[6] Solomon only assumed that the staffer was speaking about Huang and that the foreign government was China. During FBI interviews Solomon could not name the staffer, and he admitted that the Senate staffer did not make the very specific comments (about wire intercepts) that Solomon had claimed.

In a common cycle of news media coverage and political partisanship, the Senate's Committee on Governmental Affairs investigation (led by Fred Thompson, R-TN) used media accounts and still unreleased classified information to piece together its claim of a link between fund-raising infractions and espionage. The conclusions of the Thompson committee's final report were then used to validate the original news stories.[7] This circular reasoning continued throughout the Asian Donorgate controversy.

The Woodward article used the questionable claims of Representative Solomon, and helped to generate intensive media and political concentration on a "China connection." These allegations elevated the fund-raising controversy to a much more serious level, giving the Justice Department investigation a "foreign counterintelligence component."[8]

In March 1998, the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* gave front-page coverage to allegations that the Clinton administration had allowed a leak to China of important military technology by giving the Loral and the Hughes Aerospace Corporations (major Democratic donors) the right to have their satellites launched from Chinese rockets. After several Loral and Hughes satellites had been destroyed in failed Chinese rocket launches, both companies gave technical advice to the Chinese to improve their launching technology.

The *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* alleged that these transferences of knowledge greatly improved China's ability to launch long-range ground-based nuclear weapons.[9] Representative Christopher Cox (R-CA), who chaired a House select committee investigation on Chinese military espionage, saw connections between these allegations and DNC fund-raisers Huang and Johnny Chung. The Cox Committee searched for evidence for this "China connection," concluding that nuclear arms miniaturization technology had been given to China by a government scientist most likely based at Los Alamos National Laboratory in New Mexico. Led by the Thompson and Cox committees and high-profile reporting by the *New York Times*, the narrative of illegal foreign campaign money morphed from campaign finance reform and DNC fund-raisers peddling influence with foreign dollars into an issue of heightened national security.

In Asian Donorgate, the interests of people and governments in Asia were seen as the same as the interests of Asian Americans. Asian Donorgate was described in ways that portrayed Asian Americans as foreigners, leaving them more vulnerable to charges of disloyalty.

Wen Ho Lee experienced the consequences of that vulnerability.

Lee was incarcerated in December 1999 after allegations that he had helped give the "crown jewels" of U.S. nuclear technology, the miniaturized W-88 nuclear warhead technology, to the Chinese government. Under political pressure, and without a trial, Lee was fired from his job at Los Alamos National Laboratory, after having been employed as a nuclear scientist there for twenty-five years. Lee was placed in solitary confinement and required to wear shackles on his hands and feet during his daily one hour of exercise.[10] He was released from federal prison on September 13, 2000, after nine months of solitary confinement. The federal judge who released him, James A. Parker, strongly criticized the prosecution for having misled him into believing that Lee was a great security risk, and he apologized to Lee.[11] Although Lee was released, and the judge recognized that the prosecution had exaggerated its case, the Donorgate scandal and the experiences of Wen Ho Lee demonstrate the political vulnerability of Asian Americans, and the ease with which they can be depicted as dangerous foreigners.

FURTHER READING

Chang, Michael. *Racial Politics in an Era of Transnational Citizenship: The 1996 "Asian Donorgate" Controversy in Perspective*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2004.

Stober, Dan, and Ian Hoffman. *A Convenient Spy: Wen Ho Lee and the Politics of Nuclear Espionage.* New York: Simon and Schuster, 2001.

NOTES

1. Until 2002, federal campaign finance laws made a distinction between "hard money" and "soft money." In 2002, the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act was passed, essentially outlawing soft money. But during the Asian Donorgate events, the Asian American DNC fund-raisers raised large amounts of soft money, unregulated funds from corporations, unions, and wealthy individuals, which were donated to political parties. Soft money became the primary source of funding for the all important political party television ads. Brennan Center for Justice, "Unregulated Soft Money Now Pays for Most Party Electioneering Ads," Brennan Center for Justice, New York University, March 28, 2001, www.brennancenter.org/cmagpdf/cmag2000.03.28.01.pdf (8/11/01).

2. Bob Woodward and Brian Duffy, "Chinese Embassy Role in Contributions Probed; Planning of Foreign Donations to DNC Indicated," *Washington Post*, Feb. 13, 1997, A01.

3. Woodward and Duffy, "Chinese Embassy Role."

4. Al Kamen, "How a Story Changed Its Shape," *Washington Post Sunday Magazine*, Feb. 6, 2000, W04.

5. Art Pine and Alan C. Miller, "FBI Notes Dispel 'Evidence' of Security Breach by Huang; Allegation: Casual Remark, Not Intelligence Reports, Called Basis of Ex-Congressman's Widely Publicized Claim of 'Economic Espionage,' " *Los Angeles Times*, Dec. 17, 1999, A36.; Kamen, "Story Changed," 2000.

6. Kamen, "Story Changed," 2000.

7. Chapter 18 of the Senate investigation's final report, titled "The China Connection: Summary of the Committee's Findings Relating to the Efforts of the People's Republic of China to Influence U.S. Policies and Elections," describes the committee's use of early media accounts of "alleged foreign activities" in conjunction with briefings by the FBI in 1996 to members of Congress and the White House as primary sources for its claim of Chinese espionage. USSCGA, *Summary of Findings*, 2502.

8. Woodward and Duffy, "Chinese Embassy Role."

9. U.S. House of Representatives Select Committee (USHRSC), *U.S. National Security and Military/Commercial Concerns with the People's Republic of China*, vols. 1–3, Redacted/declassified version (Washington, DC: GPO, May 1999), xiv–xxiii.

10. Robert Scheer, "No Defense: How the *New York Times* Convicted Wen Ho Lee," *The Nation* (Oct. 23, 2000): 11–20.

11. James Sterngold, "A Judge's Indignation," *New York Times*, Feb. 15, 2000, A1.

NATURALIZATION AND VOTING

Don T. Nakanishi

Becoming naturalized and acquiring citizenship in the United States represents a critically important stage in the incorporation of an immigrant into American society. Naturalization is not merely a paper change in status. It requires a level of acculturation defined by a basic command of the English language, and knowledge of U.S. history and its political institutions. In becoming a citizen, in most instances, immigrants forgo allegiance to their country of origin while pledging loyalty to the United States.

In order to gain full political and social membership in the United States, acquiring citizenship is a key step. U.S. citizenship provides an important opportunity to vote and to participate in the electoral process. Naturalization and political participation also have significant implications for groups. The political strength of a largely immigrant population, such as Asian Americans, within the American electoral system hinges on three interrelated, but distinct processes: first, the group's naturalization rate, that is, the relative proportion of immigrants with citizenship; second, the rate by which naturalized and native-born citizens register to vote; and finally, the rate by which those who are registered to vote actually vote during elections. Low rates of naturalization, voter registration, and voting dilute an immigrant-dominated group's potential electoral power, thereby diminishing its influence on legislation, public policy, and the selection of leaders. At the same time, attaining citizenship and participating in society are seen by the general public as markers of a group's ability and willingness to assimilate and to be "Americanized" rather than remain as permanent aliens. While high rates of naturalization and political participation do not guarantee that all members of a group will be fully accepted as equals, low rates foster political and social isolation and may provide fodder for nativist movements.

Although becoming a citizen and becoming a voter are usually viewed as nearly simultaneous processes, they are distinct and temporally distant forms of membership and participation in American life and society. Asians and other immigrants and refugees, especially those who migrated as adults, oftentimes acquired their fundamental political values, attitudes, and behavioral orientations in countries that have sociopolitical systems, traditions, and expectations different from those of American politics. Indeed, many came from countries where voting was not permitted, limited to a privileged few, or was widely viewed as being inconsequential because of the dominance of a single political party. As such, they must undergo a process of political acculturation, which goes beyond the rudimentary exposure to the basic facts of American governmental institutions that they are required to learn in preparing for naturalization examinations through citizenship classes. Becoming a voter, and more generally becoming a participant in American electoral politics, can be a prolonged and complicated process of social learning for immigrants as much as it is for native-born citizens.

NATURALIZATION AND CITIZENSHIP

As of 2006, the nearly 15 million Asian Americans comprised approximately 5 percent of the total U.S. population, with ten states having more than 5 percent of their population Asian Americans. Many of these states, particularly California, New York, Texas, Illinois, and Florida, have the largest Congressional delegations and the most Electoral College votes, and as a result wield considerable national political influence in federal legislative decision-making and in presidential elections. For Asian Americans, what is most important in terms of their potential political impact is the percent of those who are eligible to register to vote. What is noticeable is the substantial decline in the proportion of Asian American as the analysis moves from total population to either those with citizenship or adult citizens (eighteen years and older), which can be seen in Table 1. Nationally, the declines are 1 or more percentage points. This means that one in twenty people who live in the United States may be Asian, but between one in twenty-five and one in thirty adult citizens of the country is Asian. These figures vary among the states. Asians constitute a majority of adult citizens in Hawaii. Four additional states listed in Table 1 have percentages higher than the national average (California, New York, New Jersey, and Washington).

The primary reason for the difference in the Asian American share of the total population and the Asian American share of adult citizens is the fact that this is a predominantly immigrant population. In 2006, 61 percent of all Asian Americans of all age groups were immigrants, and 76 percent of all Asian American adults were born abroad. The percent of immigrants varies greatly among the ten states listed in Table 2. They comprise a small minority of those in Hawaii, and three-quarter of those in California. The highest fraction is in New Jersey, where seven in eight are immigrants. This difference can influence the political issues that Asian Americans are most concerned about because immigrants and U.S.-born share many, but not all, issue concerns. Equally important is the naturalization rate among the immigrants. Nationally, a majority of immigrants has

Table 1. 2006 Asian American Population Estimates

Area	Total Population	Asian Population	Percent Asian	Percent Asian, Citizens	Percent Asian, 18+ Citizens
United States	299,398,485	14,656,608	4.9%	3.9%	3.6%
California	36,457,549	4,896,851	13.4%	12.2%	12.3%
New York	19,306,183	1,391,510	7.2%	5.4%	5.2%
Texas	23,507,783	859,588	3.7%	2.8%	2.7%
Hawai‘i	1,285,498	725,436	56.4%	55.3%	54.0%
New Jersey	8,724,560	685,013	7.9%	5.9%	5.4%
Illinois	12,831,970	583,538	4.5%	3.5%	3.3%
Washington	6,395,798	497,782	7.8%	6.4%	6.1%
Florida	18,089,889	460,641	2.5%	2.1%	1.8%
Virginia	7,642,884	409,035	5.4%	4.0%	3.7%
Massachusetts	6,437,193	334,954	5.2%	3.8%	3.3%

Source: 2006 American Community Survey.

acquired citizenship, but there is still a substantial minority who are not citizens; the rates tend to be lower outside the West Coast states.

VOTER REGISTRATION AND VOTING PATTERNS

Even after achieving citizenship, there are two additional steps required to become fully politically engaged—registering to vote and turning out to vote. According to estimates from the Voter Supplement to the November 2006 Current Population Survey, Asian American adult citizens have a substantially lower voter

Table 2. Citizenship Status of Asian Americans

State	Adults (× 1,000)	Born Citizen	Naturalized	Not Citizen	Naturalization Rate
United States	10,951	24.1%	43.4%	32.5%	57.2%
California	3,722	25%	47%	28%	63%
New York	1,090	15%	46%	38%	55%
Texas	625	17%	46%	37%	56%
Hawai‘i	551	70%	19%	11%	63%
New Jersey	515	12%	49%	39%	56%
Illinois	440	19%	46%	35%	57%
Washington	376	29%	44%	27%	62%
Florida	337	19%	48%	33%	59%
Virginia	303	18%	48%	34%	58%
Massachusetts	255	20%	39%	41%	49%

Source: 2006 American Community Survey, Public Use Microsample (PUMS).

registration rate than non-Asians, a difference of 19 percentage points (Table 3). With the exception of Hawaii, registration rates among Asian Americans by different states and regions are lower than for non-Asians. On the other hand, the voter registration rate for naturalized Asian Americans is only slightly lower than for naturalized non-Asians, which indicates that most immigrants, regardless of race, tend to register to vote at lower rates. Thus, the lower registration rate among Asian American adult citizens is partly because of the large number of naturalized immigrants. At the same time, the voter registration rate for U.S.-born Asian American citizens is lower than that of all other U.S.-born citizens, a finding that has been observed for many years. This may be because many factors, including the lingering effects of the historic disenfranchisement of early Asian immigrants who were barred from becoming naturalized citizens and therefore could not vote, as well as the lack of interest and oftentimes hostility that the major political parties exhibited toward Asian Americans in the past.

Table 3 also reports voting rates. Nationally, 15 percent fewer Asian American citizens turned out to vote in 2006 than non-Asian Americans. Only in Hawai'i did Asian American citizens vote at a higher rate than others in the population. On the other hand, the differences in voter turnout rates were substantially smaller among Asian Americans and others who were registered to vote. The differences were only 3 percentages points for Asian American registered voters, whether they were those who were born in the United States, those who were naturalized or other registered voters, reflecting a considerable narrowing of the voting gap, compared with earlier studies.

Table 3. Registration and Voting Rates, 2006

	Registered		**Voted**	
	Asians	**Non-Asians**	**Asians**	**Non-Asians**
U.S. Adult (18+)				
Citizens	49%	68%	33%	48%
Citizens by birth	46%	69%	31%	49%
U.S. naturalized	52%	55%	34%	38%
California	49%	64%	34%	49%
Hawaii	56%	53%	47%	39%
New York/New Jersey	51%	64%	29%	44%
All other regions	48%	69%	30%	49%
U.S. Registered				
Voters			66%	71%
Citizen by birth			68%	71%
U.S. naturalized			65%	68%
California			71%	77%
Hawai'i			83%	72%
New York/New Jersey			57%	68%
All other regions			62%	71%

Source: November 2006 Current Population Survey Voter Supplement.

2008 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

According to an eleven-state multilingual exit poll of 16,665 Asian American voters conducted by the Asian American Legal Defense and Education Fund (AALDEF) in collaboration with sixty national and local community groups, Asian American voters favored President Barack Obama by a 3-to-1 margin (76% to 22%) and supported other Democratic candidates in the November 2008 elections.[1] A clear majority (58%) of Asian Americans were registered Democrats, 26 percent were not enrolled in any political party, and 14 percent of Asian Americans were registered Republicans. This poll was conducted at 113 poll sites in twelve Asian languages and dialects: Chinese, Korean, Vietnamese, Japanese, Tagalog, Khmer, Arabic, Bengali, Hindi, Punjabi, Urdu, and Gujarati.

First-time voters favored Obama by greater margins. Among first-time Asian American voters, 82 percent voted for Obama, 17 percent voted for John McCain, and 1 percent for other candidates.

Although one in five (20%) identified English as their native language 35 percent of Asian Americans polled said that they were limited English proficient. A number of poll sites were mandated to provide bilingual ballots and interpreters under the federal Voting Rights Act; other jurisdictions voluntarily provided language assistance. In the 2008 elections, 18 percent of all respondents preferred to use some form of language assistance to vote.

This nonpartisan poll provides a unique snapshot of voter preferences in 30 cities with large and growing Asian American populations in New York, New Jersey, Virginia, Maryland, Michigan, Illinois, Nevada, Louisiana, Texas, and Washington, DC.

Interestingly, Asian American voters seem roughly reflective of their states. Where McCain had strong support among the general voting population, he also won over Asian American voters. The six largest Asian ethnic groups polled in 2008 were Chinese (32%), Asian Indian (16%), Korean (14%), Bangladeshi (8%), Vietnamese (7%) and Filipino (5%). Four out of five (79%) of those polled were foreign-born. More than one-third (35%) described themselves as limited English proficient, and 21 percent had no formal U.S. education. Nearly one-third (31%) were first-time voters.

Asian Americans shared common political interests across ethnic lines, with the economy/jobs cited as the most important issue in their vote for president.

Notes

1. The exit polls conducted by the National Election Pool (NEP) found that 62 percent of Asian Americans reported voting for Obama, and 35 percent for McCain. The NEP poll was a true national sample, so its sample should be more representative of the entire population. The AALDEF poll sampled areas that include most of the Asian American population, but a significant minority is not included in the sampling frame. However, the AALDEF poll was better able to interview respondents, because of its use of multilingual interviewers, so it is difficult to know which poll presents the more accurate picture of the Asian American vote for president.

—Christine Chen

FUTURE POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

It is seen that the political incorporation of Asian naturalized (and native-born citizens) into the American electoral system needs further acceleration. Some believe that the contemporary remnants of the political exclusion and isolation that Asian Americans experienced in the past must be fully confronted and eliminated not only by Asian American groups, but also by the two major political parties and others who believe that citizens should be able to fully exercise their right of franchise. Unfair redistricting of Asian American communities, lack of bilingual voter registration application forms and ballots, and opposition to the implementation of legislation such as the National Voter Registration Act of 1993 (otherwise known as the Motor Voter Act) are seen to perpetuate so-called political structural barriers, which must be challenged and replaced by fair and inclusive political practices and policies. Asian immigrants have much to contribute to all aspects of American political life—as voters, campaign workers, financial donors, policy experts, and elected officials—and advocates believe they must be allowed to and encouraged to participate fully. By doing so, Asian Americans will continue the political tradition as old as the nation itself of benefiting from the special leadership talents and contributions of individuals who came to the United States from all corners of the world, and shaped its domestic and international programs and policies.

In recent years, the incentive and necessity for Asian immigrants and their native-born counterparts to naturalize and become more involved in electoral politics have been greatly enhanced in both obvious and unexpected ways. Politicians and the major political parties, which had long neglected to address the unique public policy interests and quality-of-life concerns of Asian Americans, have become increasing responsive and attentive, especially to the growing sector of the Asian American population that contributes sizable amounts to political campaign coffers. Less interest, however, has been shown toward augmenting the long-term voting potential of Asian Americans, and few attempts have been made by the Democratic or Republican parties to finance voter registration and education campaigns in Asian American communities. The increasing number of Asian Americans, however, especially those of immigrant background, who are seeking public office appears to be stimulating greater electoral participation among Asian Americans at the grassroots level. For example, it is becoming a common practice for Asian American candidates to make special efforts in seeking monetary donations and in registering new voters among Asian Americans in the jurisdictions in which they are running for office. These activities provide Asian immigrants with important and direct vantage points from which to understand the workings of the American political system, thereby facilitating their political acculturation. At the same time, a wide array of advocacy and social services groups have formed in Asian American communities across the nation, and a number of outreach campaigns have been launched to promote citizenship and to register individuals, particularly those who have just become citizens at naturalization ceremonies. And finally, disastrous events like the civil unrest in Los

Angeles in 1992, in which more than 2,000 Korean American and Asian-owned businesses were destroyed, have underscored the need for immigrant-dominant communities to have greater organizational and leadership activities that will augment their access to and influence in local government and other policy arenas, as well as to increase their representation in voter registration rolls.

For Asian Americans, the twenty-first century is often viewed in glowing and optimistic terms because of seemingly positive demographic trends, and it will be a significant period to witness because of the extraordinary challenges and opportunities that it will undoubtedly present for Asian Americans to realize their full potential as citizens and electoral participants. The level of success that they will achieve in the future, however, will not be solely determined by the Asian American population, or its leaders and organizations. Experts see that it will require the assistance and intervention of a wide array of groups and leaders in both the private and public sectors. Whether Asian Americans become a major new political force in the American electoral system is nearly impossible to predict with any precision. But, given the history of disenfranchisement and exclusion that Asian Americans have faced, even to raise and seriously entertain such a question is quite revealing.

FURTHER READING

Asian American Justice Center. http://www.advancingequality.org/.

Asian American Legal Center of Southern California. http://www.apalc.org/.

Asian American Legal Defense and Education Fund. https://www.aaldef.org/.

Asian Law Caucus. http://www.asianlawcaucus.org/site/alc_dev/.

Chang, Gordon. *Asian Americans and Politics: Perspectives, Experiences, Prospects.* Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2001.

Lien, Pei-te, Conway, M. Margaret, and Wong, Janelle. *The Politics of Asian Americans: Diversity and Community.* New York: Routledge, 2004.

Nakanishi, Don T. and Lai, James S. *Asian American Politics: Law, Participation, and Policy*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2003.

Nakanishi, Don T. and Lai, James, eds. *National Asian Pacific American Political Almanac.* 13th ed. UCLA Asian American Studies Center Press, 2007.

This page intentionally left blank

RACIAL ATTITUDES IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

Natalie Masuoka

As a central feature in American life, race represents an important social dimension that individuals use as a proxy to determine their attitudes and preferences about a variety of political issues and policies. Indeed, one's racial background generally predicts one's outlook on the trajectory of race relations in the United States, with whites being more optimistic and minorities being more pessimistic. Furthermore, how one perceives members of another racial group—whether they are based on correct or incorrect assumptions—influences how one understands the merits of socially redistributive policies, such as affirmative action, and the types of target populations that are considered deserving of such benefits. Existing scholarship has found that individual racial attitudes generally do not influence attitudes on non-racialized issues, such as abortion. However, because race is intricately entwined with so many features of American politics, the range in which racial attitudes influence an individual's politics is extensive.

While the literature on racial attitudes is well developed, the majority of that literature describes the contours of white racial prejudice and has focused on white attitudes about African Americans. As the American population grows increasingly diverse, however, the question remains whether the theories that appropriately describe white attitudes about African Americans can explain racial attitudes more generally. Many scholars acknowledge that an accurate gauge of racial attitudes today should incorporate the perspectives of white and minority respondents and that studies on racial prejudice should recognize that racial resentment may also be aimed at other minority groups besides African

Americans. The existing research on white racial attitudes may provide an important foundation to understand the role of racial attitudes on individual political attitudes, but more recent research demonstrates that the dynamics of individual racial attitudes is much more complex than what this foundational literature suggests. Most importantly, this new research demonstrates that white Americans and racial minorities have very distinctive viewpoints about race, which, in turn, influence their individual political attitudes. Thus, the application of past research on racial attitudes to a racial context that includes more than only black-white relations may be limited.

PERCEPTION OF RACE RELATIONS

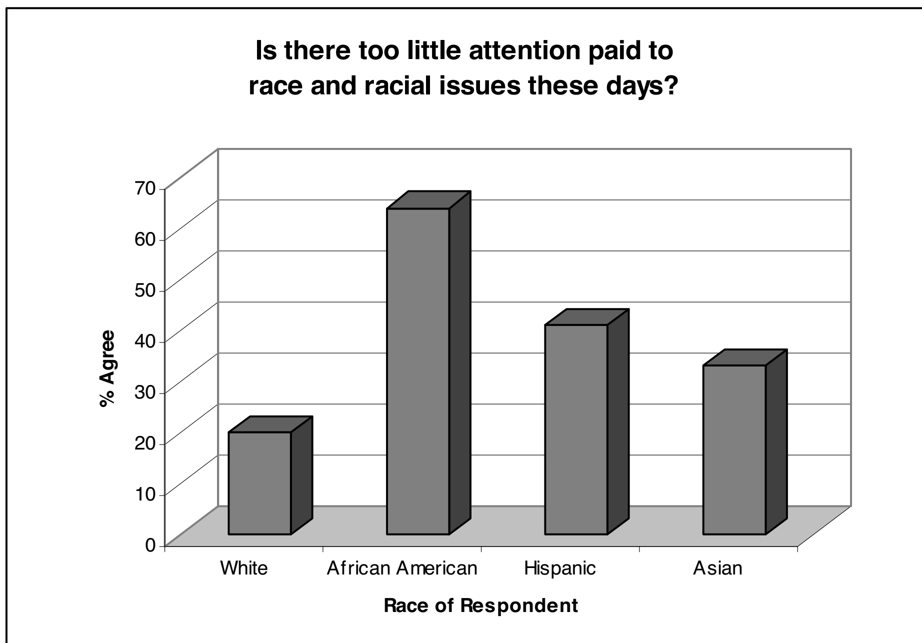
The first dimension in the study of racial attitudes is how individuals perceive the state of race relations and how race influences their own individual life chances. When it comes to viewpoints about race relations, the most significant distinction exists in how whites and minority groups view American liberal democratic norms and their levels of optimism toward societal change. While white Americans embrace the ideal of the American Dream—the belief that hard work leads to individual personal success—African Americans are more likely to identify structural barriers that inhibit individual social mobility, such as racial status.[1] Thus, African American political attitudes generally reflect skepticism toward ideas of improving race relations. Early research on African American racial attitudes suggests that because African Americans witness the personal experience as being part of a marginalized minority group, African American perspectives on race relations are governed by a different set of considerations than that of whites. Because African Americans are normally perceived as the target group in any reference about race, they are more likely to understand how race influences their personal life chances, whereas for whites, race is not perceived to be a direct personal barrier. This also explains why African Americans have strong perceptions of racial group consciousness that encourages an individual to remain committed to the causes of the racial group and are supportive of policies aimed to service their racial community.[2] Thus, as a collective group, African Americans tend to be more unified on their perceptions about race relations and are much more willing to acknowledge the persistence of racial inequality in today's society as compared with whites, which as a group is much more divided on racial issues.

Research on Asian Americans' outlook about race relations is less developed. Some research suggests that when it comes to racial issues, Asian Americans are more likely to report attitudes closer to those of whites than to African Americans.[3] Scholars contend that there are two major factors that influence perceptions about race relations and racial group attachment: one's economic status and perceptions about social mobility. For some scholars, racial group attachment strengthens when individuals continue to perceive rigid barriers to economic mobility. Their findings reveal that because Asian Americans, on average,

have higher levels of income and are relatively less constrained by their racial status as compared with African Americans, they are less likely to view the world in racial terms. Thus, Asian Americans are more optimistic about the state of race relations and are less likely to identify structural barriers that inhibit individual agency.

However, Asian American attitudes toward race relations should not be conflated with white attitudes. Although Asian Americans may not depict similar perspectives about race relations as African Americans, it does not mean that Asian Americans fail to recognize the role of race in society. Figure 1 presents an example of how the four major racial and ethnic groups compare with one another on race issues. As shown, on the issue of whether race is an important issue in American society, white Americans are the least likely to view race as an important issue, whereas African Americans are the most likely to want to address racial issues. Asian American and Hispanic ratings on the question fall between white and black attitudes. This pattern, which depicts whites and African Americans on two opposing poles with Asian Americans (and Hispanics) falling somewhere in between, can be found on a number of public opinion questions about race, suggesting that each of the major racial/ethnic groups view race relations through their own unique lens.[4]

Figure 1. Comparison of Racial Groups on Attitudes toward Racial Issues



Source: Washington Post/Kaiser/Harvard, "Race and Ethnicity in 2001: Attitudes, Perceptions and Experiences."

RACIAL ATTITUDES AND INTERGROUP RELATIONS

The second dimension in the study of racial attitudes falls in the area of political psychology. This literature focuses on the formation of racial prejudice and how prejudice influences intergroup relationships. Longitudinal trends on white public opinion demonstrate that racial prejudice against African Americans has declined since the civil rights era, leading many to conclude that white racism is slowly disappearing and no longer dictates intergroup relations in the United States.[5] Others argue, however, that white racial prejudice continues to persist but rather is expressed in a form that conforms to today's norm of "colorblindness."[6] One well-documented debate in this literature is over how to explain the nature of this new racism. One position posits that ideology and other personality traits, such as authoritarianism, explain an individual's position on racial issues, while the opposing position argues that whites express their racism indirectly and through their opposition to policy issues implicitly coded as racial issues, such as school busing.[7]

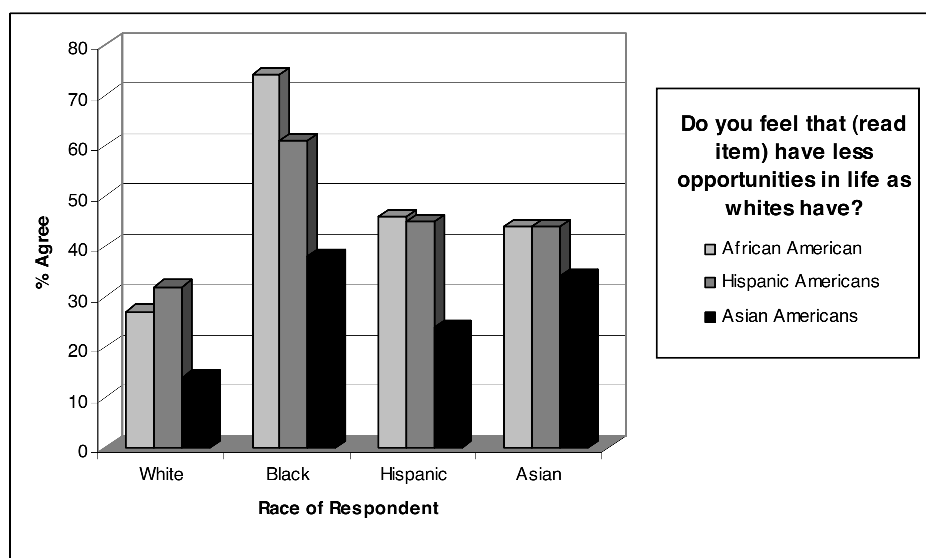
Although less is known about racial prejudice among minorities, psychological studies using implicit attitude tests show that, for example, African Americans report negative affect toward other African Americans, demonstrating how strong racial tropes persist through society and how even those who are themselves marginalized develop racial animosity toward their own in-group.[8] Studies on African American public opinion also offer some information on how African Americans view other minority groups, although the majority of this work examines African American views about Latinos.[9] A significant share of this research relies on the theory of realistic group conflict, which argues that intergroup relations are best described in terms of the competitive relationship between one or more groups.[10] When members of an in-group perceive that an out-group threatens their position on the social hierarchy or that the out-group has a monopoly on the benefits that they perceive to be rightfully theirs, they begin to express resentment and hostility toward that out-group and intergroup hostility ensues. Thus, although all racial and ethnic minority groups share a marginalized status on the racial hierarchy in relation to whites, studies have found that minorities express resentment toward other minorities.

The prevailing example of intergroup relations involving Asian Americans is the black-Korean conflicts that occur in urban areas. Since the 1970s, there have been numerous documented incidents involving violence or conflicts between Korean immigrant merchants and African American customers. According to scholar Claire Kim, the conventional wisdom describes black-Korean conflict as a story of "racial scapegoating."[11] Korean immigrants are pictured as hard-working and industrious, while blacks are described to be resentful toward Koreans who African Americans perceive as monopolizing the service economy that should rightfully belong to African American entrepreneurs. This story mirrors a similar sentiment as the realistic group conflict theory described above. Kim offers a contrasting position to the realistic group conflict theory by arguing that contrary to the racial scapegoating story, intergroup relations between Koreans

and African Americans is better described as a byproduct of white racial dominance and racial ordering. By using the frame of the racial scapegoat, minorities are effectively misdirected away from the heart of the problem—their social marginalization by whites—and aim their frustrations toward each other. Kim points to the structural barriers that prevent African Americans from owning their own businesses, which explains their racial antagonism. Further, the persistent framing of Koreans as foreign outsiders forces them to become merchants in poor urban areas rather than as competitive professionals in white society.

While two competing theories seek to describe intergroup relations today, one important conclusion is that racial attitudes are strongly determined by the dominant racial stereotypes and tropes (evocative images) that are used to frame minority groups.[12] Although theorists propose that Asian Americans are strongly governed by two competing racial tropes—the perpetual foreign outsider and the model minority—public opinion studies suggest that the most predominant stereotype is the model minority image today. Like the racial scapegoat frame identified by Kim, other racial groups view Asian Americans as a relatively privileged group whose race does not impair their individual life chances. As Figure 2 demonstrates, white, African Americans, and Hispanic respondents are all more likely to view Asian Americans as having similar opportunities in life as whites in contrast to the two other minority groups, African Americans and Hispanic Americans. Interestingly, Asian Americans also believe that they are less disadvantaged than African Americans or Hispanics.

Figure 2. Attitudes toward Opportunity among U.S. Racial Groups



Source: Washington Post/Kaiser/Harvard, "Race and Ethnicity in 2001: Attitudes, Perceptions and Experiences."

What must be acknowledged, however, is that scholars have limited understanding about racial prejudice toward Asian Americans. The pattern demonstrated in Figure 2 can be misleading because some pundits may interpret these patterns as evidence that no prejudice against Asian Americans exists. Yet, evidence from public opinion polls only measure explicit racial attitudes, those attitudes that individuals are comfortable expressing openly because they feel these attitudes do not violate existing societal norms of racial equality. Most of the political psychology literature on racial prejudice uses experimental methods that can identify and measure hidden or implicit prejudices. However, no such studies include a manipulation using Asian Americans. Until a study is conducted, scholars cannot make relative assessments on the degree of racial prejudice aimed at Asian Americans nor how that racial prejudice influences public opinion.

FURTHER READING

APIAVote.org. http://www.apiavote.org/.

Asian American Legal Defense and Education Fund (AALDEF) Voting Rights. http://www.aaldef.org/voting.php.

Kim, Claire. *Bitter Fruit: The Politics of Black-Korean Conflict in New York City*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000.

Lien, Pei-te, M. Margaret Conway, and Janelle Wong. *The Politics of Asian Americans: Diversity and Community.* New York: Routledge, 2004.

Sears, David, Jim Sidanius and Lawrence Bobo. *Racialized Politics: The Debate About Racism in America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000.

NOTES

1. Jennifer Hochschild, *Facing Up to the American Dream: Race, Class and the Soul of the Nation* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995).

2. Darren Davis and Ronald Brown, "The Antipathy of Black Nationalism: Behavioral and Attitudinal Implications of an African American Ideology," *American Journal of Political Science* 46 (2002): 239–252; Michael Dawson, *Behind the Mule: Race and Class in African American Politics* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994); Katherine Tate, *From Protest to Politics: The New Black Voters in American Elections* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1993).

3. Dennis Chong and Dukhong Kim, "The Experiences and Effects of Economic Status Among Racial and Ethnic Minorities," *American Political Science Review* 100 (2006): 335–351.

4. de la Garza, Rodolfo, Louis DeSipio, F. Chris Garcia, and Angelo Falcon, *Latino Voices Mexican, Puerto Rican and Cuban Perspectives on American Politics* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1992); Lien, Pei-te, M. Margaret Conway and Janelle Wong, *The Politics of Asian Americans: Diversity and Community.* (New York: Routledge, 2004); Tate 1993.

5. Howard Schuman, Charlotte Steeh, Lawrence Bobo, and Maria Krysan, *Racial Attitudes in America: Trends and Interpretation* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997); Steven Tuch, Lee Sigelman, and Jason Macdonald, "Trends: Race Relations and American Youth, 1976–1995," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 63 (1997): 109–148.

6. Lawrence Bobo and James Kluegel, "Opposition to Race-Targeting: Self-Interest, Stratification Ideology or Racial Attitudes?" *American Sociological Review* 58 (1993): 443–464; David Sears and Donald Kinder, "Racial Tensions and Voting in Los Angeles," in *Los Angeles: Viability and Prospects for Metropolitan Leadership*, ed. Werner Hirsch (New York: Praeger, 1971), 51–88; Paul Sniderman and Edward Carmines, *Reaching Beyond Race* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997).

7. Sniderman and Carmines, *Reaching Beyond Race*; Donald Kinder and Lynn Sanders, *Divided by Color: Racial Politics and Democratic Ideals* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1990); Donald Kinder and David Sears, "Prejudice and Politics: Symbolic Racism versus Racial Threats to the Good Life," *Journal of Personality & Social Psychology* 40 (1981): 414–431; John McConahay, "Modern Racism and Modern Discrimination: The Efforts of Race, Racial Attitudes, and Context on Simulated Hiring Decisions," *Personality & Social Psychology Bulletin* 9 (1986): 551–558.

8. Gordon Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice* (Cambridge, MA: Addison Wesley, 1958); Paul M. Sniderman and Thomas Piazza, *The Scar of Race* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993); Margaret Spencer and Carol Markstrom-Adams, "Identity Processes among Racial and Ethnic Minority Children," *Child Development* 61 (1990): 290–310; Jim Sidanius and Felicia Pratto, *Social Dominance: An Intergroup Theory of Social Hierarchy and Oppression* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

9. Claudine Gay, "Seeing the Difference: The Effect of Economic Disparity on Black Attitudes Toward Latinos," *American Journal of Political Science* 50 (2006): 982–997; Kenneth Meier, Paula McClain, J. L. Polinard, and Robert Wrinkle, "Divided or Together? Conflict and Cooperation Between African Americans and Latinos," *Political Research Quarterly* 57 (2004): 399–409.

10. Herbert Blumer, "Race Prejudice as a Sense of Group Position." *Pacific Sociological Review*. 1 (1958): 3–7; Lawrence Bobo and Vincent L. Hutchings, "Perceptions of Racial Group Competition: Extending Blumer's Theory of Group Position to a Multiracial Social Context," *American Sociological Review* 61 (1996): 951–972.

11. Claire Kim, *Bitter Fruit: The Politics of Black-Korean Conflict in New York City* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000).

12. Jane Junn and Natalie Masuoka, "Asian American Identity: Racial Status and Political Context," *Perspectives on Politics* 6 (2008), 729–740.

This page intentionally left blank

WOMEN'S ACTIVISM AND POLITICS

Diane C. Fujino and Chrissy Lau

While Asian American women have long participated in struggles for labor rights, homeland politics, and racial equality, it was only in the late 1960s that an Asian American women's movement developed. Women held rap sessions and wrote about sexism, gender equality, and women's issues; formed Asian American women's organizations; created Asian American women's classes; and developed women's grassroots leadership. Many Asian American women felt alienated from the mainstream women's movement and instead worked largely within the Asian American Movement (AAM). Drawing from black and Chicana feminism, the Asian American women's movement promoted a politic of intersectionality to simultaneously address sexism, racism, class inequality, and colonialism. By the 1980s and 1990s, there was greater focus on professional and leadership development, electoral politics, immigration issues, and sexuality and gay rights.

EARLY ORGANIZING

Until the 1960s, Asian American women's political participation was hampered by widespread racial and economic discrimination, political disenfranchisement, linguistic barriers, and patriarchal ideas relegating women to domesticity. Still, Asian American women—mostly Chinese and Japanese and mostly working-class—worked within their own ethnic communities for labor rights, homeland politics, and racial equality.

In Hawai'i in the early 1900s, labor strikes abounded, as Japanese women worked alongside their husbands on sugar cane plantations. Though men predominated as workers and activists, women supported the strikes and

women-centered issues such as maternity leave were included in the labor demands. In 1938, Chinese immigrant and U.S.-born women engaged in their first collective struggle against labor exploitation in the garment industry, the largest employer in San Francisco's Chinatown. Their strike against the National Dollar Stores was the longest strike in Chinatown's history up to that point. After 105 days, the workers won a contract that included higher wages, a closed union shop, and a forty-hour workweek, reduced from forty-eight hours. Significantly, the women gained a sense of their own political and economic power, organizing skills, and an awareness of race, class, and gender dynamics in Chinatown and American labor unions.[1]

Asian American and immigrant women also actively supported homeland struggles. There were few Koreans in the United States and Hawai'i in the early 1900s. Men and women alike worked with fierce determination to support the Korean independence movement. In the 1930s, when Japan invaded Manchuria and North China, numerous Chinese women's organizations were formed throughout the United States to aid China's war relief. Moreover, when Japanese Americans were placed in concentration camps during World War II, women participated as journalists and editors of camp newspapers, rallied support for Japanese American soldiers, and participated in the camp's self-governance.

WOMEN'S MOVEMENT, 1960s–1970s

Still, it wasn't until the advent of the AAM in the late 1960s that large numbers of Asian American women became politically active and a widespread, sustained pan-Asian women's movement emerged. This movement developed within the overall AAM, influenced by the ideas and achievements of the Black Power, civil rights, and New Left movements. As Asian American women activists struggled for racial equality, they were confronted with other forms of inequality. They held consciousness-raising rap sessions, where Asian American women told moving stories about the ways sexism affected their lives and shared frustrations, anger, hopes, and struggles in safe and supportive spaces. They developed small and intensive study groups, where participants examined the historical roots of women's oppression. As they protested being relegated to so-called women's roles within the movement and marginalized from leadership, they pushed several AAM publications, notably *Gidra*, *Bridge*, and *East Wind*, to devote special issues to women's liberation. Articles focused on women leaders and rank-and-file activists, working-class women, labor resistance, and women's experiences historically. They offered feminist analyses of Asian American women's subordination and liberation. *Gidra*'s special issue on women's liberation included a script depicting two male activists demanding that a female activist get their coffee, type a leaflet, and book rooms, while repeatedly interrupting her and ignoring her ideas.[2] One particularly poignant moment occurred at an AAM meeting during a period of self introductions when one man introduced himself and then said, "[T]his is my wife; she has nothing to say."[3] The women exploded—a response that likely would

not have occurred outside of this developing collective feminist consciousness. Some Asian American women came to identify as feminists. Others rejected the term, wanting to distance themselves from white feminism, militant politics, or what they perceived as a call for separation from men. Still, regardless of whether or not they used the term feminism, Asian American woman developed an ideology that viewed sexism as intricately linked to racism and classism and advocated a multi-issue approach to equality.

Most Asian American women chose to work alongside their Asian "brothers" within the AAM challenging racism, economic exploitation, and sexism in society, even as they protested male chauvinism within the AAM. Their analysis viewed sexism as arising from systemic structures, rather than individual men's ideas and actions per se. Their experiences growing up in a society organized by race—segregated residences, churches, organizations, communities, marriage and dating practices—created a stronger ethnic/racial than gender identity. Moreover, the women's movement of the 1960s had only a few years earlier popularized the idea of "the problem that has no name" and introduced a vocabulary to address sexism.[4] While initiating a new feminist consciousness, the women's movement simultaneously alienated women of color. In universalizing women's experiences, liberal or mainstream feminism assumed middle-class white women's issues represented the concerns of all women and thereby neglected the issue of racism, economic exploitation, and the continuing discrimination against third world men. Black feminism's focus on triple oppression, or the idea that women's inequality needed to be analyzed in relation to racism and class inequality, strongly influenced the development of Asian American feminism. The idea of examining the intersection of race, class, and gender oppression is contained in a 1971 article on "G.I.'s and Asian Women." The article began by focusing, not on women as the title implies, but on Asian American men—on how the draft consigns "our brothers" to face racism in the U.S. military and the killing other Asians. The author denounced the stereotypic images of Asian women as dolls and sex toys, not only because they objectify Asian women, but also because they dehumanize all Asians, rendering them easier to kill. The article advocates opposition to not only the Vietnam War, but also to the racism, sexism, and imperialism contained in U.S. militarism.[5]

In the early phase of the Asian American women's movement (late 1960s to mid-1970s), activists tended to focus on three interrelated types of activities: education and consciousness raising, community service, and radical politics. One major focus of the early AAM was educational transformation and the establishment of ethnic studies. Though men predominated, Asian American women were also active in the struggles for ethnic studies. At San Francisco State College, the birthplace of the first school of ethnic studies in the nation, Penny Nakatsu was a key leader of the Asian American Political Alliance and Third World strike. Participating in that strike transformed the political and racial consciousness of poet-activist Janice Mirikitani. Mirikitani went on to edit *AION*, one of the first Asian American cultural and political magazines, and

today is a primary organizer of community service programs at Glide Memorial church in San Francisco. Emma Gee was already active with the Peace and Freedom Party when she cofounded the Asian American Political Alliance at UC–Berkeley. In 1970, students in her Asian women course at UC–Berkeley lamented the dearth of materials on Asian American women and decided to publish a journal. The *Asian Women* journal became a classic text in Asian American women's courses and played an influential role in shaping the Asian American women's movement. Through the process of producing this journal, the *Asian Women* staff discovered that "personal experiences are not private but common to all women" and that "out of common experiences political struggle is created."[6] They were moving away from individual expressions of sexism to structural analyses of patriarchy. Their views of women's liberation also promoted third world radicalism and internationalism, and they forged solidarities with U.S. black, Chicana, and indigenous women and with women in Asia. They charged the U.S. government with genocide based on its use of toxic chemicals in Vietnam and the sterilization of third world women. They also highlighted a conference in Montreal on Vietnamese women's liberation and profiled Pat Sumi, who developed anti-imperialist politics after traveling to North Korea, North Vietnam, and China on a delegation led by Black Panther leader Eldridge Cleaver.

As women talked and studied, they felt a need to provide direct services to ameliorate the social problems facing Asian American women. By the late 1960s, drug use had become a significant problem in the Japanese American community in Los Angeles, but it was ignored by middle-class parents and their ethnic organizations. Self-help drug abuse groups such as Asian Hardcore had recently formed to serve Asian American men. Asian Sisters was established in 1971 to deal with Asian American women's drug use and the gendered manifestations of drug addiction and recovery, including sexual abuse and suicide. The following year, Asian Sisters helped to found the Asian Women's Center in Los Angeles, with funding from the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. The organization provided health, counseling, childcare, and education services. To the Asian Sisters, service delivery was intricately linked to political consciousness raising and collective structures. Their program explicitly promoted self-determination, self-defense, third world solidarity, and a democratic centralist organizational structure emphasizing collective decision-making.

The emergence of Black Power in the mid-1960s exerted a radicalizing influence on the AAM. I Wor Kuen (IWK), a socialist organization in New York, was known for its women's leadership. IWK's twelve-point platform and program, patterned after but extending beyond the Black Panther Party's, included the explicit goal of women's liberation: "We want an end to male chauvinism and sexual exploitation." IWK not only had women in top leadership positions, it also implemented collective child care, where men and women, parents and nonparents rotated as care providers, so that parents, particularly mothers, could attend meetings and assume leadership roles. Influenced by the Black Panther Party and Mao's essay, "On Practice," IWK promoted "serve the people" pro-

grams to directly address social needs. Working with the working-class and immigrant community in New York's Chinatown, IWK launched afterschool childcare programs and organized Chinese mothers to develop bilingual language programs, developed an extensive door-to-door tuberculosis testing campaign, and organized draft counseling services for Asian American youth. As members developed direct services, they also worked to develop a critique of capitalism, racism, sexism, and imperialism among their community base. In the late 1970s, when IWK merged into the League of Revolutionary Struggle, Carmen Chow and other IWK women continued to exert key leadership in the new multinational formation.

While students and youth predominated, the AAM also involved multiple generations of activists. The few older, more experienced Asian American women activists, notably Yuri Kochiyama, Grace Lee Boggs, and Kazu Iijima, were sought after as political leaders. Based on her interactions with Malcolm X and activist experience gained in the black movement in Harlem, Kochiyama was viewed as one of the most influential political mentors to the predominantly young activists in the AAM. Her commitments to Asian American, black, and Puerto Rican liberation influenced the focus on third world solidarity, internationalism, and radicalism emerging in the AAM. Like Ella Baker, Kochiyama embodied a "centerperson" leadership model, elevating networking and nurturance in struggle to leadership qualities.[7] Boggs helped shape political theory and social movement activity through her writings. After earning a PhD in the 1940s, Boggs turned away from academics to become a fulltime activist, working in the socialist, black labor, and black radical movements, particularly in Detroit. Iijima was among the small cadre of Japanese Americans who became leftists in the 1930s and helped found the Japanese American Committee for Democracy in postwar New York City. In the late 1960s, she cofounded one of the first AAM community organizations, Asian Americans for Action, and later was active with the Organization of Asian Women.

CONTEMPORARY ORGANIZING

Since 1980, major demographic changes, including a post-1965 surge of middle-class Asian immigrants and increased educational and professional opportunities for Asian American women, resulted in a growing middle-class within Asian America. Moreover, writings by and about U.S. third world women abounded in the 1980s, enabled by the gains of the Black Power, Asian American, women's, and gay rights movements. As a result, a sharp rise in the number of Asian American women's organizations emerged. Compared with the early years of the Asian American women's movement, these organizations focus on career goals and electoral politics, immigrant issues, and/or the intersection of gender and sexuality.

There has been a substantial rise in the number of organizations that support the career and leadership development of middle-class, professional Asian American women. These groups tend to be more formal in structure, with

bylaws, elected officials, and steering committees, and they tend to have larger membership with national networks, compared with the smaller, local activist groups of the 1960s and 1970s. These professional women's groups include the Asian Pacific Women's Network, the National Network of Asian and Pacific Women, and Asian Women in Business. The gains of multiculturalism in the 1980s and 1990s have filtered into corporate America, with, for example, Price Waterhouse supporting a South Asian Women's Leadership Forum. While these professional organizations work to counter racial and gender barriers to career advancement—known as the glass ceiling—some activists charge that such professional organizations focus on individual enhancement at the expense of collective progress for the most marginalized.

Asian American women's political participation in voting has also increased over time. Decades of political disenfranchisement, along with linguistic barriers and normative constructions of gender that placed women outside of the political arena, diminished Asian American women's participation in electoral politics. But Asian American women's voting rates have risen and in 2004, for the first time, slightly exceeded the voting rates of Asian American men.

Two prominent Asian American women politicians are Patsy Takemoto Mink and March Fong Eu. As early as 1956, Mink was elected to the Hawai'i state legislature, and in 1965, became the first Asian American–elected to the U.S. Congress. Eu was elected to the California Assembly in 1966 and became Cal-

Democratic presidential hopeful, Senator Hillary Rodham Clinton (D-NY) is introduced by Rep. Doris Matsui (D-CA) at a gathering of the Asian American and Pacific Islanders in Washington, 2007. (AP Photo/Manuel Balce Ceneta)

ifornia's Secretary of State in 1974. While the Asian American women's movement spurred substantial grassroots activism and contributed to women's political participation in voting, it has had mixed success as a catalyst to electoral office. After Eu in 1966, it was not until 2000 that another Asian American woman was elected to California Assembly (Wilma Chan and Carol Liu in 2000 and Judy Chu in 2001). In 2001, Elaine Chao, as U.S. Secretary of Labor, became the first Asian American woman given a Cabinet-level appointment. Asian American women, like other minorities and women, have had more success at running for local offices, such as school boards and boards of supervisors. But barriers remain at higher levels. Of the eighty-eight women in the 110th Congress, only two are Asian American, Doris Matsui (D-CA) and Mazie Hirono (D-HI), and of the 1,749 women in state legislatures, only thirty are Asian American, mainly from Hawai'i.

Asian American women continue to participate in a variety of grassroots activism as labor union organizers, student-activists, community workers, and artists and cultural workers. With demographic and social movement changes, two areas—immigrant rights and queer rights—have taken on greater prominence. With the sharp rise in Asian immigration since the 1965 Immigration Act and with the increased attention on globalization, it is not surprising that Asian American women's groups focus on issues affecting immigration women. Since the mid-1980s, when Manavi was established in suburban New Jersey, the growth of South Asian women's organizations has been striking. While many groups formed to address general issues facing South Asian women immigrants, the urgency of domestic violence in South Asian communities demanded that this become a priority issue. As they organized to provide support and services to abused women, South Asian Women's Organizations (SAWOs), especially the more politically transformative groups like Manavi, Sakhi for South Asian Women, and South Asian Women for Action, developed an analysis of domestic violence that connects violence in the home with the violence of racism, patriarchy, capitalism, and state policies that keep women, especially immigrant women, subordinated and vulnerable to abuse.[8]

In the 1980s, the Asian Pacific Lesbian Bisexual Transgender (APLBT) movement developed out of the influences and the limits of race-based and gay organizing. The gay rights movement exploded on the scene after the 1969 Stonewell rebellion, but it often ignored issues of race. The AAM assumed heteronormativity and often ignored issues of sexual identity. The first Asian American lesbian organization, Asian American Feminists, formed in San Francisco in 1977 as a support group that also fostered discussions of politics and family issues. The late 1970s and 1980s became a period of path-breaking cultural work for Asian American lesbians, including the formation of Unbound Feet, the first Chinese American feminist performance group. Open lesbians comprise half of the group. By the 1980s and 1990s, there was a visible Asian American gay and lesbian community. Asian/Pacific Sisters in San Francisco countered the invisibility of Asian lesbians by creating a contingent in the city's annual Gay Pride Parade and fostered a sense of belonging and cohesion among

Asian American lesbians and bisexuals through rap sessions. The national Asian/Pacific Lesbian Network (APLN) for the first time brought together a community of Asian Americans from across the nation. When the Broadway musical sensation *Miss Saigon* hit the stage in the 1990s, it was Asian American lesbians and gay men who organized protests of the play's racial and sexual stereotypes of Asian women and racially problematic hiring practices. This issue, as well as the naming of groups like Asian American Feminists and Asian/Pacific Sisters, reveals the intersectional politics of the APLBT movement and ways the APLBT movement aligns itself with the AAM.

The Asian American women's movement, while remaining small, continues to the present. Perhaps the most significant gain of the various women's movements, including Asian American feminism, is the change in ideology. The idea of thinking about race, class, gender, and now sexuality as intersecting rather than separate issues is well established. There has been an explosion of scholarship on women of color feminism and Asian American gender and sexuality. University courses on Asian American women are now regularly, if sparingly, offered, mostly in Asian American Studies. In the 1990s, the successful campaign of the Asian Immigrant Women's Advocates in the Bay Area in support of Chinese American garment workers who sewed for Jessica McClintock helped to make a new generation of youth aware of labor struggles and capitalist exploitation. In part because of the 1960s and 1970s AAM, more nonprofit agencies and institutions now support Asian American women's organizing. Today's Asian American feminism draws on ideas generated in the 1970s and remains a contested and developing construct.

FURTHER READING

Asia Pacific Online Network of Women in Politics, Governance and Transformative Leadership. http://www.onlinewomeninpolitics.org/.

Asian Women. Berkeley: Asian American Studies, University of California Berkeley, 1971; reprinted by AASC, UCLA, 1975.

Asian Women United of California, ed. *Making Waves: An Anthology of Writings by and About Asian American Women*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1989.

Ling, Susie. "The Mountain Movers: Asian American Women's Movement in Los Angeles," *Amerasia Journal* 15 (1989): 51–67.

Shah, Sonia, ed. *Dragon Ladies: Asian American Feminists Breathe Fire.* Boston: South End Press, 1997.

NOTES

1. Judy Yung, *Unbound Feet: A Social History of Chinese Women in San Francisco* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 209–222.

2. Killer Fawn, "In the Movement Office," *Gidra*, (January 1971): 13.

3. Susie Ling, "The Mountain Movers: Asian American Women's Movement in Los Angeles," *Amerasia Journal* 15 (1989): 54.

4. In her immensely influential *The Feminist Mystique*, Betty Friedan discussed women's dissatisfaction the Cold War constructions of gender that confined them to

domesticity (New York: W. W. Norton, 1963). Whereas Friedan's analysis aligned with liberal feminism's focus on middle-class white women's housebound confinement, given that most poor women and women of color were forced by economic circumstances to do double duty, working outside and inside their homes. See also Rebecca E. Klatch, "The Formation of Feminist Consciousness among Left- and Right-Wing Activists of the 1960s," *Gender & Society*, 15 (2001): 791–815.

5. Evelyn Yoshimura, "G.I.'s and Asian Women," *Gidra* (January 1971) 4, 15.

6. *Asian Women* (Berkeley: Asian American Studies, University of California Berkeley, 1971); reprinted by AASC, UCLA, 1975, 6.

7. Diane C. Fujino, "Grassroots Leadership and Afro-Asian Solidarities: Yuri Kochiyama's Humanizing Radicalism," in *Want to Start a Revolution: Women in the Black Revolt*, eds. Jeanne Theoharis, Dayo Gore, and Komozi Woodard (New York: NYU Press, 2009).

8. Monisha Das Gupta, *Unruly Immigrants: Rights, Activism, and Transnational South Asian Politics in the United States* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006); Margaret Abraham, *Speaking the Unspeakable: Marital Violence among South Asian Immigrants in the United States* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2000).

RESOURCE GUIDE

Suggested Reading

Aoki, Andrew, and Okiyoshi Takeda. *Asian American Politics*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2009.

Chang, Gordon, ed. *Asian Americans and Politics: Perspectives, Experiences, Prospects*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001.

Fujino, Diane C. "Who Studies the Asian American Movement?: A Historiographical Analysis," *Journal of Asian American Studies* 11 (2008): 127–169.

Junn, Jane, and Natalie Masuoka. "Asian American Identity: Shared Racial Status and Political Context." *Perspectives on Politics* 6, no. 4 (December 2008): 729–740.

Lien, Pei-te. *The Making of Asian America through Political Participation*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001.

Lien, Pei-te, M. Margaret Conway, and Janelle Wong. *The Politics of Asian Americans: Diversity and Community.* New York: Routledge, 2004.

Nakanishi, Don T., and James S. Lai, eds. *Asian American Politics: Law, Participation, and Policy*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2003.

Tam, Wendy. "Asians—A Monolithic Voting Bloc?" *Political Behavior* 17 (1995) 223–249.

Watanabe, Paul Y. "Global Forces, Foreign Policy, and Asian Pacific Americans." *PS: Political Science & Politics* 34, no. 3 (September 2001): 639–644.

Wong, Janelle. *Democracy's Promise: Immigrants and American Civic Institutions*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006.

Films

Golden Venture. 2006. Peter Cohn. New Day Films. DVD, VHS. Documentary about unauthorized immigrants from China who became national symbols when their ship ran aground near New York City.

Vincent Who? 2008. Curtis Chin and Tony Lam. An updated look at the Vincent Chin case, and the important ways it shaped the Asian American community.

Who Killed Vincent Chin? 1987. Christine Choy and Renee Tajima-Pena. Filmakers Library. DVD, VHS. Documentary exploring the landmark events around the murder of Vincent Chin, a watershed for pan-Asian American political efforts.

Organizations

Asian Pacific American Institute for Congressional Studies. http://www.apaics.org/. One of the leading groups working to increase Asian Pacific American political participation.

Japanese American Citizens League (JACL). http://www.jacl.org/. The oldest Asian American civil rights organization, formed in 1929, now with an expanded focus that takes in concerns across all Asian Pacific American communities.

Leadership Education for Asian Pacifics (LEAP). http://www.leap.org/. One of the most prominent organizations providing leadership training and education for Asian Pacific Americans.

National Association of Korean Americans (NAKA). http://www.naka.org/index.asp. Contains considerable useful information on Korean Americans and issues of concern to them.

Organization of Chinese Americans (OCA). http://www.ocanational.org/. One of the major Asian American organizations working on greater political inclusion and other issues; like the JACL, the OCA has expanded its focus to encompass all Asian Pacific Americans.

Web Sites

APIAHF. http://www.apiahf.org/. A key source of information on health concerns facing Asian Americans, and public policy efforts to address those concerns.

APIAVote. http://www.apiavote.org/. This organization played a leading role connecting the major parties to Asian American communities during the 2008 election campaign, and its Web site provides a wealth of information on national political developments relevant to Asian Pacific Americans.

Asian American Justice Center (AAJC). http://www.advancingequality.org/. A leading Asian American civil rights organization which is also part of major civil rights coalitions, the AAJC maintains a Web site that gives information on these larger alliances, as well as on some of the key issues facing Asian Pacific Americans.

Congressional Asian Pacific American Caucus (CAPAC). http://honda.house.gov/capac/. Composed of members of Congress (House and Senate); an excellent source of information on national legislative proposals important to Asian Pacific Americans.

http://www.aamovement.net. Asian American Movement Ezine—progressive, radical, and revolutionary Asian American perspectives.

National Federation of Filipino American Associations. http://www.naffaa.org/main/. Umbrella organization for a long list of groups, its Web site offers extensive resources for information on Filipino Americans.

Office of Hawaiian Affairs. http://www.oha.org/. Contains a large volume of information that can serve as an excellent introduction to Native Hawaiian issues, which are unknown to most on the mainland.

Sikh American Legal Defense and Education Fund (SALDEF). http://www.saldef.org/. Evolved out of the Sikh Mediawatch and Resource Task Force (SMART); works to protect civil rights of Sikh Americans; contains great deal of information on religious freedom cases.

South Asian Americans Leading Together (SAALT). http://www.saalt.org/. Site with links to many South Asian American groups and wide range of information on South Asian Americans and their public policy concerns.

Southeast Asia Resource Action Center. http://www.searac.org/index.html. Probably the best collection of links to information and issues of importance to Cambodian, Laotian, and Vietnamese Americans.

UCLA Asian American Studies Center. http://www.aasc.ucla.edu/. The most important Asian American research center; Web site offers an overview of the Center's many activities, including how its scholarship serves community needs.

This page intentionally left blank

Section 10:

WAR

Section Editors: Wei Ming Dariotis
and Wesley Uenten

This page intentionally left blank

OVERVIEW OF WAR AND ITS EFFECTS: PAST AND PRESENT ISSUES UNRESOLVED

Wei Ming Dariotis and Wesley Ueunten

Because of the model minority myth, which is the stereotype that Asian Americans have few social problems and have high rates of success and achievement, and because of a general lack of historical knowledge about Asian Americans, the issue of war in context of contemporary Asian American communities is often invisible to most Americans and even to many Asian Americans. Even those who remember the wars personally may make no connection between those wars and current issues and circumstances that continue to affect Asian American communities. Yet these issues are in fact relevant, not only to those who directly experienced the wars themselves, but also for other Asian Americans—and on many levels, from the intimately personal to the broadly political. Asian Americans of all generations are affected by the ghosts of wars in Asia, the Pacific, and Europe in myriad ways that vary distinctly by community. For example, Asian American veterans of World War II, the Korean War, the Vietnam War, the first Gulf War, and the war in Iraq, especially those who were asked to fight other Asians, have had very particular experiences, including being racialized as "enemies." They and their spouses, children, extended families, and communities are still dealing with the aftereffects and continuing resonances of these wars. Other Asian Americans once were Asians living in countries at war with the United States. They and their families and communities have complex relationships with these and other wars.

Previous attempts to write about these wars have often been in the form of memoirs about the drama of wartimes themselves, and they have often focused

on presenting these stories to dominant audiences rather than on offering a more balanced view. This section focuses on the continuing effects of these wars on various Asian American communities, and by doing so, suggests how these wars relate to important contemporary issues for Asian Americans. Some of the lingering effects of these wars include post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), legislation relating to such issues as reparations and redress, ongoing family issues related to silences, crises in Asian/Asian American male masculinity, and the violent and violating sexualization of Asian/Asian American women. All of these specific and concrete issues have their overarching logic in the construct of Orientalism, as described by postcolonial theorist Edward Said. Said criticized the construction of a romanticized image of an exotic, foreign, and feminized Asia and Middle East (collectivized as "the Orient") that has validated and continues to justify European and U.S. colonialism and imperialism in these regions.

The Philippine-American War (officially 1898–1902) set up the pattern for military colonization against the will of the local population, patterns of immigration following war and colonization, maintenance of subsequent continuous U.S. military presence, and a racialization of the Asian as enemy in ways that have constructed both the image of Asian women as the spoils of war and the image of Asians in America as being more than just the perpetual foreigners of the past—with U.S. imperialism, Asians in the United States become perpetual enemy spies, the fifth column. These patterns have been subsequently mirrored in the Pacific theater of World War II, the Korean War, the Vietnam War, and the two Gulf Wars. Contemporary historians have called the Philippine-American War the United States' first Vietnam, in reference to what has been seen as the U.S. military's slash and burn genocidal policies against a local population that often had to resort to guerrilla tactics to respond to the numerical and military superiority of the United States.

Asian Americans who are affected by these issues include Asian American veterans of the U.S. military, Asian ally veterans who are now in the U.S., civilian victims of war who have come to the U.S. as refugees, Asian Americans who have been viewed and treated as enemy aliens, and the children, grandchildren, and larger communities of the aforementioned groups. By this count, nearly every Asian American has been and continues to be directly or indirectly touched by these histories of war.

Asian Americans have now begun to consider the lingering presence of war in Asian American individual, familial, and community psyches. Until recently, too frequently Asian Americans have been silent on these issues, even within the privacy of Asian American families and communities. Asian Americans have only just begun to make public how individuals and communities of Asian Americans have resisted, demanded redress and recognition, and engaged in both legislative and community activism to support each other through the difficult process of recuperating suppressed histories and thus healing the wounds caused by the original traumas that have been exacerbated by continuing suppression. Asian American community leaders and members, as well as Asian American Studies scholars, have begun to articulate the importance of understanding how these

histories of war continue to affect Asian Americans and how they are linked to contemporary issues, including post-traumatic stress disorder tied to U.S. military service; North Korean refugees; Iraq war resistance; redress and recognition for Japanese Latin Americans relocated and imprisoned during World War II; Filipino World War II *veteranos* who had their veterans benefits rescinded and are still struggling for their rights; the contemporary struggles of Southeast Asian veterans of the Vietnam War; Korean "comfort women" and issues of contemporary rape and sex slavery related to militarism; the politics of communities in diaspora; and contemporary legislative activism. The following entries also explore contemporary issues of community advocacy, the relationships of diasporic communities to their homelands, silences around histories of violence, and post-9/11 "anti-terrorism" racial profiling. All of these current concerns of Asian American communities are inextricably related to Asian American communities' histories with war.

It is also important to consider how the general population views Asian Americans in the context of war. For the most part, histories of wars are written by the victors—and the victims' stories are written only in a language of silence. But Asian American stories have also been silenced through misrepresentations in the mass media. Asians in war movies are largely limited to roles as screaming hordes of suicidal enemy combatants; weak, helpless peasants; or sexually available women. The heroes of these stories are inevitably European American men. For Asian Americans to recenter their own stories in relation to war thus requires a massive effort—not only to overcome the inclination to bury painful memories, but also to push back against inaccurate, Orientalist media portrayals.

The lens of Asian Americans and contemporary issues related to war provides a unique view through which to understand Asian American migration, history, and identity development, as reflected in the Asian American Movement slogan, "we are here because you were there." Most of Asian America would not exist if it had not been for the push-pull effect exerted by the destabilization of Asian homelands through U.S. military actions, pushing Asians out of Asia (beginning with the mid–nineteenth–century Opium Wars that destabilized southern China) and the related increased wealth the U.S. enjoys that pulls Asians to the United States. This overview also provides another way to review Asian Americans in the context of histories of war. It helps provide a broader context for Asian immigration to the United States, contemporary issues of violence and pain in Asian America, and struggles by Asian Americans for social justice.

Too often, writing about war focuses only on the details of the war itself, rather than on the continuing human effects of that war—what remembering or trying to forget that war does to human beings. By looking at the issues tied to multiple wars in connection with one another, it is possible to see beyond the specifics of any one war.

The entries in this section reflect contemporary issues for Asian Americans that are rooted in war. In these histories there are connections to 9/11 and the current war in Iraq, issues with racial profiling by Immigrations and Customs

Enforcement (ICE), questions around human rights related to immigration and war, and the need to provide justice to those who have not received recognition or redress. Ultimately, these issues are contemporary because as long as justice is not served, the wars are not over.

FORGOTTEN WARS/FORGETTING WARS

From the time of the Mexican-American War of 1846–1848, the U.S. has justified wars through an injunction to remember: Remember the Alamo! Remember the Maine! Remember Pearl Harbor! Remember 9/11! These declarations of collective memories situate the United States as a victim of attacks on U.S. soil, and they provide an impetus to war. Simultaneously, aggressive actions by the U.S. military are softly forgotten through a process of minimization: reducing the actual number of years involved and of people killed, and minimizing the significance of the war itself, until virtually the only legacy is people of that country dispersed into diaspora. Thus the war is forgotten and people learn, instead, the cuisine.

The Spanish-American war of 1898 resulted in the United States gaining many of Spain's former colonies, including the Philippine Islands and Guam. In 1898, Guam was captured by the United States during the Spanish-American war to be used, in part, for its access to the Philippines. By 1899, the Philippine-American War ensued between the United States and the Philippine revolutionaries. The United States proclaimed the war ended when Aguinaldo was captured by American troops in 1901, but the rebellion by Filipino independence fighters continued until 1913. This war is often called The Forgotten War, as even many Filipinos and Filipino Americans are unaware of this history.

In the Korean War, which lasted from 1950 to 1953, and later in the war in Vietnam, not all Asian soldiers were the enemy. South Koreans, like South Vietnamese, were U.S. allies. Like the U.S.-Philippine War, the Korean War is also often called, with great bitterness at the lack of recognition for the many lives lost and destroyed, The Forgotten War.

VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

War, with its languages of domination, penetration, and exploitation, is always sexualized, and combatants, then, are always gendered. The sexualization of Asian women as spoils of war parallels the image of Asia itself, in Orientalist terms, as a supine, feminine figure, ripe for the taking.

Korean "Comfort Women," Filipina "Comfort Women," and the Chinese women victims of the "Rape of Nanking" have survived the literal brutalities of the Japanese military and have spoken out against the denials of the Japanese government. In doing so, they opened the dialogue about the ongoing pervasive international sex trade in Asian women's bodies. This directly or indirectly state-supported sex-work/rape continues around U.S. military bases in Korea and Okinawa, where reports of gang rapes of schoolgirls are paralleled by the institutionalization of prostitution in these areas. The phrase "Subic Bay"

conjures years of U.S. military occupation in the Philippines and a parasitic thriving sex industry. The Vietnam War established the internationally known sex industry in Thailand, which is now a significant component of the Thai tourist economy. For example, the small oceanside village of Pattaya in Thailand, once a rest and recreation layover for the U.S. Navy, is now a hot spot of bars and nightlife with high levels of prostitution. Older men from Europe often retire there and find a local "wives" or girlfriends, and the streets are filled with men walking with women half their age pushing baby carriages.

Representations of Asian women in popular media have followed U.S. wars in Asia, introducing the image of the geisha during the U.S. occupation of Japan and the bargirl/whore of Vietnam War movies. The ever-popular Asian peasant girl may be less refined than her "China doll" counterpart, but she similarly exists largely to be saved by the white male hero. The concomitant portrayal of Asian men as evil and simultaneously weak reinforces the nobility of the white male savior in these media images (books, movies, video games, etc.) of Asian women. A resulting fetishization of Asian women makes them preferred as sexual partners, especially for European and African American men, as demonstrated through personal ads and the thriving "mail order bride" industry that has largely moved onto the Internet. These images may also increase sexual violence against Asian American women of any class, background, and sexuality, as they are assumed to be passively waiting for sexual attention from men of the dominant culture, but they are also seen as victimizable representatives of the enemy culture.

Whether in Internet porn, Internet "mail-order bride sites," dating and personals, massage parlors, or in both the intra- and international sex trade, images of Asian women have at their root a sexualization tied to the Orientalist construction of Asia itself as "sexually" available for the macho, virile "West."

REFUGEES AND EXILES

North Korean refugees, and Vietnamese and other Southeast Asian refugees, such as the Khmer (Cambodian), Lao, Hmong, Iu-Mien, Lahu, Kmhmu, and others, face issues different from those of other Asian ethnic groups that migrated to the United States as immigrants rather than as refugees. Immigrants, in general, are able to plan their departure from their homeland. They may be able to bring family members, material wealth, and family treasures. They are also more likely to immigrate into a more stable situation, supported by family and extended ethnic enclaves. Refugees, in contrast, are often torn apart from family members in the process of departure and may bring very little in the way of resources.

Vietnamese and other Southeast Asian refugees of the late 1970s and the 1980s did not come into long-established ethnic enclaves such as those set up by Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino Americans a century before. Because of government policies of dispersal, they were not able to bring material wealth with them, and because of other factors contributing to their ongoing economic

fragility, refugees from the Vietnam War have often ended up living in impoverished areas. This has led to the irony of Vietnamese war refugees who had settled in and near New Orleans becoming refugees again in the wake of Hurricane Katrina. Many of the Southeast Asian ethnic groups also struggled with coming from cultures with no written language, little formal education, and few skills other than subsistence farming and soldiering. This has lead to an uncomfortable shift in gender roles, as the women in these communities have become the breadwinners, often taking jobs in factories and as garment factory workers, while the men have struggled to adjust culturally and deal with the psychological damage of PTSD. This may be particularly difficult for Southeast Asian refugees of the Vietnam War, who went from being seen as valued allies of U.S. forces during the "Secret War" in Southeast Asia, to being forced to rely on government assistance and Christian church group sponsors. This indignity compounds other issues related to the refugee experience.

Like Vietnamese and Southeast Asian refugees, North Korean refugees often find themselves beholden to the Christian church groups that sponsor their relocation. They also face issues relating to other Korean American groups because of resentment over their years of deprivation under North Korea's regimes, their inability to go home to see friends and family, and suspicions of their loyalties.

The history of Asian America has been told largely as an immigration story, and refugees disturb this narrative. Frictions with established Asian American communities add to the difficulties faced by refugees.

PTSD AND OTHER VETERANS' RIGHTS ISSUES

After annexing the Philippines, the U.S. government embarked upon a re-education scheme to indoctrinate Filipinos according to a U.S.-centric educational system. Filipinos were U.S. "nationals" and many therefore believed they would be treated in the United States according to the values of equality and freedom that they had been taught to associate with the United States. Thus, when Filipinos were called to serve in the U.S. military against Japan during World War II, they had every expectation that the promises made to them would be honored. The Philippines, it was thought, had a special relationship with the United States, which makes the rescission of their veterans benefits by the U.S. Congress passing of the Rescission Act of 1946 even more difficult to understand. The Filipino *veteranos*—who have still not yet received their promised benefits from their service in World War II—continue to struggle daily with this betrayal. This situation has affected subsequent generations of Filipinos and Filipino Americans. First affected have been the many families that were broken when the *veteranos* came to the United States to try to claim their benefits. And many of the *veteranos* simply could not have families because they did not receive their due. Younger generations of Filipino Americans have been affected as they have learned of the *veteranos*' more than sixty-year struggle to receive fair treatment—they have learned through these stories that their elders were not respected because of their race, and therefore that they, as Filipino

Americans, are in many ways second-class citizens. This is particularly brought home by the fact that the extremely small number of *veteranos* living today have only recently won some degree of remedy for their years of discriminatory treatment as veterans who served in the U.S. military, even at a time of war when our government's treatment of its veterans is a politically sensitive issue.

Other Asian American veterans may not face the extreme injustice of the rescission of their veterans benefits, but they do face the effects of racism while in service, compounding PTSD issues.

Civilians may also experience PTSD because of bearing witness to the horrors of war, survival of torture and extreme political repression, and the terrors inherent in the process of fleeing their homelands as refugees. The effects of these psychological traumas are often aggravated because cultural reasons may discourage both veteran and civilian Asian American sufferers of PTSD from seeking psychological services.

CONFLICTS WITHIN COMMUNITIES IN DIASPORA

War often continues in immigrant and refugee communities through contentions over political differences that arise between the immigrant/refugee generations and those generations raised in the United States. The strong emotions and political ideologies of the first generation are not necessarily shared by younger generations, and this causes the community to be fractured along age and generational lines. This generation gap has been expressed, for example, in Vietnamese American communities that struggle with political perspectives that have divided this diasporic community between hyper-U.S. nationalism and centrist or even leftist perspectives. Either of the last two might be grounds for being labeled "communist." These community discords create complicated relationships with homelands that are controlled by communist governments.

REPARATIONS

Within the United States, the issue of reparations for Japanese American internment took many years to develop. Inspired by the civil rights movement, Japanese Americans began to seek reparations for the many losses they experienced—both of property and opportunity. Starting in 1980, a congressional Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians began to investigate the issues, eventually holding hearings that were integral in the process of Japanese Americans breaking their silence on this issue. In 1988, President Ronald Reagan signed the Civil Liberties Act. This began the process of healing for Japanese Americans.

Japanese Latin Americans, who had been seized by the U.S. government from Latin America to be used as hostages to exchange for U.S. prisoners of war, were not U.S. citizens at the time of their relocation and incarceration, so they were left out of the 1988 Civil Liberties Act. A lawsuit against the U.S. government to include the Japanese Latin Americans in the Civil Liberties Act

resulted in a controversial settlement that gave only one-fourth of the redress to Japanese Latin Americans ($5,000) as was given to Japanese Americans ($20,000). The redress struggle for Japanese Latin American internees has subsequently taken two routes: legislation in Congress and international redress through the Organization of American States. Japanese Latin Americans are also working in coalition with German and Italian Americans and other Latin Americans who were interned as "enemy aliens" during World War II to get redress.

A related contemporary issue is recognition that patterns of rendition that were established by the United States entering Latin American countries during World War II and rounding up Japanese Latin Americans in the name of military necessity are currently being used in the case of Muslims and Muslim Americans being sent to Guantanamo Bay. Japanese Latin American activism lays the ground work for coalition with other social justice struggles by holding the United States accountable for not only civil rights of U.S. citizens, but also for the human rights of people beyond the borders of the United States.

LEGISLATIVE ACTIVISM

U.S. Congressman Mike Honda (D-CA) is well known as a "legislative activist" who has supported Filipino *veteranos* seeking the reinstatement of their promised benefits, Japanese Latin Americans seeking redress equity, and comfort women demanding an apology from the Japanese government. Latino Congressman Rep. Xavier Becerra (D-CA) and Senator Daniel Inouye (D-HI) introduced the Commission Hearing Bill (HR 662, S381), which will allow for congressional commission hearings on the Japanese Latin American redress issues, while the Wartime Parity and Justice Act introduced by Congressman Becerra, would, if passed, provide comprehensive redress legislation for Japanese and Japanese Latin Americans who have not received proper reparations, as well as providing the $45 million to fulfill the original educational mandate of the Civil Liberties Act of 1988.

Significantly, the legislators who support these issues are exercising the rights for which their own parents had to struggle as immigrants of color.

IRAQ/AFGHAN WAR RESISTANCE

Lt. Ehren Watada has become a leader among military personnel refusing to serve in the war in Iraq. Such Asian American war resisters are in a difficult position; they have a fragile status as Asian Americans because they will always be seen as being somewhere between being "enemy others" and "loyal citizens." Watada's criticism of U.S. military action is seen as "un-American" by many Asian Americans and non-Asian Americans, while others see it as the ultimate expression of loyalty to America.

Similar to conflicts that have split Vietnamese American communities over communism, the question of Iraq War resistance often polarizes Asian American communities. Japanese Americans may be, on the whole, more antiwar than other Asian American ethnic groups, especially where their war

resistance might be informed by their awareness of wartime racial profiling. There is no monolithic Chinese or Korean or Filipino or Indian or Pakistani or Iranian or Vietnamese American perspective on the Iraq War. There are, however, extreme feelings on either side of the question; there is little complacency in Asian American communities when it comes to the War in Iraq and the military action in Afghanistan.

POST-9/11 "ARAB/MUSLIM" RACIAL PROFILING

After the events of September 11, 2001, there were immediate assumptions played out in the media that the perpetrators had been Muslims. In the days following, Americans engaged all of their media-fed assumptions and stereotypes about Muslims and Arabs, and hate crimes began to be perpetrated on South Asian Americans, especially Sikhs, as well as Muslims of various ethnic backgrounds, and Arabs, Arab Americans, non-Arab West Asians and North Africans. Even Latinos and African Americans who appeared to fit the Arab/Muslim stereotype were threatened. A particularly gendered aspect of this profiling is because of the high visibility of women and girls wearing the hijab or abaya. Even the young had epithets hurled at them on the street in the first days and even months following 9/11. "No-fly" lists, rumors of FBI internment lists, and other abrogations of civil liberties have brought back chilling memories for Japanese Americans, for whom 12-07-41 will forever be marked in the same way that 9-11-01 is now marked for West Asian and North African Americans, Muslim Americans, and South Asian Americans.

Because of the strong parallels, many Asian American—especially Japanese American—activists have come out and organized in support of Muslim Americans and other groups affected by the racial profiling of Arab and Muslim Americans. This movement offers some hope, as it brings together coalitions between people separated by different cultures, religions, and racialized experiences. For example, the annual Japanese American community Day of Remembrance celebrations and pilgrimages to internment camps now regularly involve participation of Arab and Muslim and other West Asian Americans. More significantly, Asian American activists and community leaders have stood shoulder to shoulder with those groups affected most deeply by the current wave of "anti-terrorist" racial profiling; they have promoted anti-hate crime activities and legislation; they have devoted community resources such as newspapers and well-established community events; and they have shared strategies and techniques learned form their own struggles.

OUTLOOK

Some other war-related issues with which Asian Americans are concerned that are not covered in the following entries include the development of larger coalitions around social justice issues, the "war baby" phenomenon, ongoing conflicts between U.S. military bases and local communities in East and West Asia and the Pacific, and the ways in which continued anti-terrorist legislation leads to deportation for some Asian American immigrants.

On the Bases: U.S. Military Occupation and the Future

What happens after a war? If the United States wins a war, then it establishes bases of military occupation. Some of these bases have been in operation for more than half a century and show no signs of being dismantled. The social fabric of the communities around the bases becomes weighted by the gravitational pull of objects heavy in capital and power. Profound issues endemic to these bases include prostitution, the sexualization of Asian women, rape, illegitimate pregnancy, and mixed race children left at the bottom of the social order. U.S. military bombing ranges in all of these locations, combined with chemical waste from military activities, mean that U.S. military bases cause environmental degradation—and related health crises—to local communities. High percentages of Asian Americans from these countries are directly affected by these military bases. In many ways, Asian American diasporas follow similar contours as the global U.S. military base network, further complicating the definition of "Asian American."

Philippines

For nearly a century, Clark Air Force Base and Subic Naval Station were used by the U.S. military. Decades of protests by activists for environmental justice and for rights for Filipina women subjected to sex work finally ended the long U.S. military occupation in 1991.

Korea

The South Korean government and the U.S. military have been accused of colluding in developing the sex trade around U.S. military bases in Korea. Bombing ranges have also caused public outcry, including riots by villagers affected by the use of their land for target practice.

Okinawa, Japan

Okinawan bases are used as staging and training grounds for U.S. wars in West Asia and North Africa. Okinawans have no say in how their land is being used to stage U.S. forces in Iraq and Afghanistan. The social effects of this in Okinawa and for Okinawan Americans have been all-encompassing; for example, the Okinawan diaspora in the United States is largely composed of Okinawan women married to U.S. servicemen and their mixed-heritage children.

—Wei Ming Dariotis and Wesley Ueunten

Social justice includes the environmental justice issue of cleanup around former U.S. military bases—an issue shared with many communities of color in the United States. (For example, San Francisco's former Hunter's Point Shipyard is still years away from full environmental remediation; meanwhile generations of mostly African American children are growing up among toxic levels of military-related chemicals).

Another generation of war also means another generation of mixed-race Asian Americans confronting their image of being "war babies." This image has been so strong in the past that Asian Americans of mixed heritage have been assumed to be the products of wars that were ended years before they were born. And those who are born directly as a result of war or of subsequent military occupation have to negotiate the difficult terrain of enmity—members of their Asian country of origin may see in their faces the face of the enemy. Those born in Asian countries, with fathers of other nationalities, may not have citizenship because nationality in the country of their birth was determined by paternity. In the context of the United States, those born in Asia may have come here as children or young adults, culturally Asian, but expected, again because of their phenotypes, to be more "American" than other Asian immigrants. Those whose parentage may be related to U.S. military bases in Asia also face stigmas associated with presumptions about their mother's professions and social status.

The maintenance of U.S. military bases and occupying military forces is an ongoing and often critical issue for Asian countries and for Asian American communities. Since the Spanish American war ended in 1898, the U.S. has maintained a military base in Cuba: Guantanamo Bay. Since World War II ended in 1945, the U.S. has continued to keep military bases throughout Japan and Okinawa, and the Visiting Forces Agreement continues to allow U.S. military to dock in the Philippines. Since the Korean War, which ended in 1953, the United States has continued to maintain military bases in South Korea. Will these bases continue to be maintained? What new bases might be opened and maintained indefinitely in Iraq and Afghanistan? Asian Americans, particularly those with ancestry from these Asian countries, will continue to question the validity of this U.S. military presence, particularly when conflicts erupt with local communities.

Ironically, this presence of the United States within the territories of other nations is not comfortably balanced by the presence of Asian nationals within the body of the United States. Some Asian immigrants to the United States either chose to not attain citizenship, or they do not have the means to do so; thus, when 9/11 was followed by anti-terrorist legislation that clamped down on immigrants with criminal records, some Asian immigrants have been placed in a position of being deported to countries from which they may have left as children and which they may barely remember.

Asian America, or rather, many diverse Asian Americas, will continue to develop multiple axes through which to understand war-related issues in Asian American communities. Just as some issues have taken years to surface and have yet to be resolved even decades later, new issues will arise as new wars

begin. One thing that may hold Asian Americans together in future responses to war-related issues is a refusal to remain silent for generations, as has happened in the past. Asian Americans will not forget lessons of wartime experiences; they will work to heal these open wounds. Now that war issues are collectively remembered, Asian Americans will continue *re-membering*, as in putting themselves and their communities back together, and as in claiming membership within the larger political and social community of the United States. Part of the process of Asian American re-membering is understanding that the term "Asian American" partially emerged from the anti-war movement; it was constructed in 1968 as a rejection of the term "Oriental," and as a way to recognize both Asia and America as influences in the construction of complex identities and communities.

COMFORT WOMEN

Annie Fukushima

The "Comfort Women" have multiple names: *Jūgunianfu* translates to "comfort women" in Japanese, and, in Korean, *Chǒngshindae* translates to "Women's Volunteer Labor Corps," conveying the different understandings the women had when they went abroad to "work" for the Japanese military. In the Philippines they are referred to as Lolas, signifying their respected status (the term means "grandmother"). By the 1940s, in a piece of Japanese correspondence, the women were referred to as "Special Service Personnel Group," suggesting that the women and girls were recruited in a highly systematic manner.[1]

Despite these various names, "Comfort Women" is the term most commonly used in international discussions because of the diversity of Asians that were "recruited." It is estimated that 80,000 to 200,000 women and girls were recruited as "Comfort Women."[2] Women and girls recruited as comfort women were told that they would work in factories or hospitals; they were told that they would do manufacturing or service jobs. However, they found themselves instead trapped in a system of normalized sexual violence, or, rather, institutionalized rape. Comfort women were recruited from Japanese-occupied territories, including China, Okinawa, East Timor, and Guam, to serve as comfort women or prostitutes/sex slaves at Japanese military "comfort stations."

The comfort women movement exposes the "dirty" secret of war, especially in the Asia-Pacific region: the use of rape as a weapon.[3] It also articulates the need for redress and reconciliation. While no nation's hands are clean from human rights violations, the unveiling of the role of rape as torture committed

as part of systemic militarized operations has been highly documented by the comfort women movement that, for some scholars and activists, is also considered the most organized movement to raise awareness on military rape and torture.[4] Such mass mobilization in the United States is because of the numerous Asian Americans who identify with the issues directly affecting 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 issue of the comfort women is a reminder of how wars affect civilian lives, particularly those of women and children. The comfort women movement illuminates how women and children experience war during times of a "hot war," as well as during militarized peace. The movement also documents the long-term effects of sexual violence against women. The development of the comfort women movement has occurred largely through the work of survivors who testified to their experience. This showcases the need to center testimonies in Asian American history. Testimonials by surviving comfort women have shifted the paradigm of what counts as truth in Asian American history because the movement is defined by the voices of the comfort women, who suggest that there is a need to tell stories from the "ground up" and to hear the words of those who directly experience struggle. Testimonies convey that there are no words that can easily describe what the women went through.[5] Such testimonies have proved valuable to the work of historians. Testimonies also proved critical for conveying to the Asian American movement what the comfort women experienced.

In January 1992, Japanese historian Yoshiaki Yoshimi found direct evidence of Japan's military's role in managing the "comfort stations" or brothels in spite of Japan's continued silence concerning wartime atrocities.[6] Yoshimi's work made its way through Asian American networks and fueled the ongoing global movement seeking redress for comfort women. While there remains a struggle to confront Japan's denial continuing well into the twenty-first century, the comfort women movement is one of the most visible global initiatives to break the silence surrounding wartime atrocities and sexual violence.

The reasons Asian Americans have joined this international movement are diverse. Many Asian Americans themselves are not comfort women survivors nor are they directly related to survivors, but the comfort women movement has been popularized in the United States partly because of the Japanese American redress movement, which provides a model for the seeking of redress on behalf of the remaining comfort women. The passage of the Civil Liberties Act of 1988, an apology, and economic retribution for the more than 120,000 internees have led many Asian Americans to understand the need for acts of reconciliation for wartime crimes.[7] While the U.S. Congress pushes for policies that address wartime crimes by the Japanese government and military during and before World War II, ongoing Asian

American activism through the arts, writing, scholarship, films, student organizations, and policies suggest that there is still a need for further gestures of reconciliation.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Innumerable news reports, personal accounts, photographs, films and physical remains have helped shape twenty-first century Asian American and global popular conceptions of the comfort women.[8] The comfort women experience is the militarized prostitution of thousands of women and girls from military-occupied zones by the Japanese government. Early recruiting by the Japanese began during the Russo and Sino Japanese Wars (1894–1895 and 1904–1905), but the comfort woman system would not become a full-scale operation until the Nanjing Massacre of December 1937. In Shanxi, China, testimonies indicate that women and girls were both randomly raped as well as systematically prostituted in Japanese comfort stations or brothels.[9] Women were recruited to prevent the Japanese soldiers from gang-raping women in the occupied territories in Manchuria. Thus, it was ostensibly in an attempt to "control" rape that the Japanese government set up "comfort stations."

Comfort women became known as a Korean issue because Korean Americans have heavily mobilized in the United States because of the sheer number of Korean women who were used as comfort women. It is estimated that Korean women and girls comprised 80 percent to 90 percent of those recruited primarily from Kyongsang and Cholla Provinces, although not exclusively these regions, to be comfort women. Stereotypes of Korean values surrounding chastity and Confucianism led the Japanese government to believe that Korean women were ideal prostitutes for the Japanese military. The Japanese government hesitated using Japanese prostitutes for military use in large numbers because of fear of spreading venereal diseases. Japanese and Korean women were not the only ethnic groups affected. Starting in 1938, Taiwanese women and girls were recruited, and 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.[10] 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.[11]

The experiences for comfort women were diverse; they varied from complete isolation to less isolation, but violence was normalized 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.[12] It is estimated that 25–35 percent of the comfort women survived.[13] For those who 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 post-traumatic stress disorder and other

mental disorders from rape and head traumas that they accrued as military comfort women.

RESPONSES OF ASIAN AMERICANS

During the 1980s and 1990s the comfort women movement progressed with only a few hundred survivors coming forward.[14] It is a credit to Korean mobilizations that began in Korea that the comfort women movement became global. In 1990, the Korean Council supported surviving comfort women. With the support of the council, two important events would take place: 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.[15] These events suggest that at the core of the beginnings of the comfort women movement was an impetus for redress and visibility. In 1992, surviving comfort women in Korea organized by protesting every Wednesday in front of the Japanese Embassy, requesting that the Japanese government formally apologize. And in 1993, eighteen Filipina former comfort women filed lawsuits against Japan.

The public protests, testimonials by survivors, and lawsuits made visible to the United States and to the world Japan's war atrocities of sexual violence in spite of their abbreviated treatment in Japanese textbooks. This increasing visibility also led to other survivors coming forward with governmental and organizational support and the development of organizations to address these issues, including: Taipei Women's Rescue Foundation (Taiwan, 1992); Asia Center for Human Rights (Philippines, 1990s); the Task Force on Filipino Comfort Women (Philippines, 1992); the Washington Coalition for Comfort Women Issues (USA, 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 Lorosa'e, or the East Timor Women's Communication Forum (East Timor, 2000).[16]

The international organizing would lead to the creation of the Asian Women's Fund (1995) in Tokyo by a private group with heavy government support, which was to make cash payments to surviving wartime sex slaves. The fund only compensated 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 assistance.[17] Many victims rejected aid from the Asian Women's Fund because it had not come directly from the government nor was it accompanied by an official apology. As the debates surrounding redress boiled in Asia, it was clear that by 1996, the movement was no longer confined to the Asia-Pacific region.

In 1996, the comfort women movement became visible in the United States through an international conference titled, "The 'Comfort Women' of World War II: Legacy and Lessons," which was held at Georgetown University from September 30 to October 2, 1996.[18] Not only would this conference bring together

students, scholars, and survivors' testimonies, but it would also inspire creative writers, such as mixed heritage Asian American author Nora Okja Keller, to write about the comfort woman experience in fictionalized form in her novel, *Comfort Woman*. Comfort women's struggles for redress and reparations have captured widespread sympathies that have inspired a range of creative, scholarly, and activist works by Asian/Americans in the United States. These 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 Web sites. Asian Americans are creatively writing about the comfort women, making art, and portraying this complex history through film and other visual media.[19] In 2001, in response to the lack of representation of the comfort women in Japan's high school textbooks, Gabriela Network (a Filipina/o network against sex-trafficking of Filipinas), Okinawa Peace Network of Los Angeles, and Young Koreans United of Los Angeles held a joint press conference and rally.[20] Producers of the internationally acclaimed play *The Vagina Monologues* have also joined the international comfort women movement with the launch of the Global V-Day Campaign for Justice to comfort women (February 28, 2005). While 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.

MOBILIZING THROUGH POLICY

Former comfort women are increasingly seeking political support from the international community as their lawsuits against the Japanese government continue to fail. In the United States, the 121 Coalition worked to mobilize the Asian American community and the larger U.S. community through policy. On January 31, 2007, Michael Honda 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 who experienced Japanese internment for fourteen months in a Colorado camp, when asked in a 2007 interview about spearheading HR 121, invoked the idea of a multicultural coalition in his response.[21] Honda's identification as a Japanese American and the survivors being women and children from the Asia-Pacific region and Europe illustrates the need for solidarity within the Asian American community when calling for a redress for violence that affects Asian Americans. This would be most apparent in the mobilization of a coalition to support the passage of HR 121, the HR 121 Coalition.

Bringing Public Recognition to War and Asian Americans: Mike Honda

Born in California, Mike Honda spent his early childhood during World War II in the Granada internment camp in Colorado. His family returned to California, working as strawberry sharecroppers in San Jose. After two years of serving in the Peace Corps in El Salvador, Honda embarked on a career in education. In 1981, he joined the San José Unified School Board, and in 1990, he was elected to the Santa Clara County Board of Supervisors. He served on the California State Assembly from 1996 to 2000. Since 2001, Honda has represented the 15th Congressional District of California in the U.S. House of Representatives. As the chair of the Congressional Asian Pacific American Caucus, Honda coordinates with Congressional Black Caucus and the Congressional Hispanic Caucuses to fight for social justice, racial tolerance, and civil rights—all of which connect Asian Americans and war. In 2005, Honda was elected vice chair of the Democratic National Committee, and, in 2007, he was appointed House Democratic senior whip. Congressman Honda has been a legislative leader in the following specific issues related to Asian Americans and war:

On July 30, 2008, Honda's five-year struggle to recognize significant service by hundreds of soldiers of Asian and Pacific Islander heritage during the Civil War met success as the House passed a resolution honoring them.

Under Honda's guidance, the Appropriations Committee recently garnered a one-time payment of $198 million for Filipino veterans.

In 2007, Honda proposed House Resolution 121, requesting that the Japanese government formally acknowledge, apologize, and accept historical responsibility for the comfort women, and educate current and future generations.

Honda has supported community efforts to educate the public about government violations experienced by immigrants of Italian, German, and Japanese ancestry in the United States who were abducted from Latin America during World War II.

Honda has spoken and acted publicly to condemn the scapegoating of Muslim Americans in the aftermath of the September 11 attacks.

—Wei Ming Dariotis and
Wesley Ueunten

Asian Americans have participated in linking comfort women to the United States through the national campaign of Asian Americans titled 121 Coalition. It is creating mass visibility and participation by Asian Americans, despite beginning with just a small listserv of friends.[22] House Resolution 121 is a national U.S. campaign led by filmmaker and national coordinator for House Resolution 121, Annabel Park. In support of the coalition, Asian American film director and screenwriter Eric Byler created YouTube videos to help mobilize the international movement via the Internet. As the organizers made progress through community educational forums and campus visits across the United States, the movement took a quick turn on March 2007.

On March 1, 2007, Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe stated that there was "no evidence" of the prostitution of thousands of women in Japanese military camptowns. Abe said there would be nothing to apologize for, even if the U.S. House passed the resolution. Abe's statement was accompanied by the placement of an ad in the *Washington Post* by forty-five Japanese lawmakers and a number of intellectuals saying the resolution distorted the truth, making clear the need for international support. This ad reportedly worsened American sentiment toward Japan's handling of the issue because two weeks earlier Asian and European women had offered vivid testimony before a House hearing on comfort Women. Major news outlets, including the *New York Times,* criticized Abe's comments, which in turn solidified international support for the comfort women. The nonbinding resolution was soon approved 39 to 2 by the House of Representatives' International Relations Committee and passed the full House on July 30, 2007. The passage of U.S. House Resolution 121 in December 2007 would lead to similar adoptions in the European Parliament, Canada, and the Netherlands. While redress has been important to the comfort women movement, what exactly the resolution will look like in practice continues to be in question.[23]

During March 2008, HR 121 Coalition coordinator Park and mixed heritage Asian American filmmaker Eric Byler visited Japanese activists advocating for the rights of comfort women. Park recalls in the piece "Justice for 'Comfort Women,' Our Trip to Asia, and Pulling the Rope" (published in *Asian Week: The Voice of Asian America*) that during the March 2008 conversations with Japanese advocates she thought of the image of a tug-of-war. Tugging on one side were those who struggled for reconciliation for comfort women; on the other side were those who wished to forget. For Park, it was imperative for her to join the tug-of-war for justice, peace, human rights, and dignity. In this struggle she was joined by survivors of many nationalities, activists from all around the world, scholars, teachers, and students, members of the U.S. Congress, Japanese Diet members, Japanese citizens, Dutch women, feminists, and ordinary people who belonged to none of these categories.[24] The coalition that Park heads is reflective of the larger movement in the United States; the comfort women issue has transitioned from being "just" an older-generation Korean issue to one that is multigenerational and pan-Asian in the United States and globally.[25] Redress and a formal apology by the Japanese government for

the militarized prostitution of thousands of women and children during World War II became urgent at the turn of the twenty-first century, as many of the surviving comfort women are now in their seventies and eighties and in failing health. Also other similar abuses of women by military occupiers are coming to light.[26]

In part, the comfort women movement for Asian Americans during the twenty-first century has been fueled by the long history of the movement to end violence against Asian American women that took on force during the 1980s. The first Asian women's shelter to open in San Francisco in 1992 was inspired by the organizing of Becki Masaki and other Asian American activists during the 1980s to respond to the silences surrounding violence against women in the domestic sphere. Since the United States passed the Violence Against Women Act in 1992, the anti-violence against women movement has broadened understandings of violence against Asian Americans in the United States to conceptualizations that draw upon how Asians experience violence and trauma in their countries of origin. Such a shift has also impacted twenty-first-century mobilization surrounding the comfort women experience.

LINKING THE "PAST" TO THE PRESENT

Sixty-plus years after the violence was committed, the comfort women have yet to hear an official apology from the Japanese government. Some survivors believe that the Japanese government assumes that when all of the survivors die, the past will be forgotten.[27] But, because the comfort women will soon die, does this mean that so will their stories? The project of the comfort women movement in the twenty-first century will continue through the efforts of student organizations such as Babae in California, public displays such as the Asian American Women's Coalition exhibit "Comfort Women—Now and Then—From Exploration to Empowerment" (2008), public education forums, and other modes for the passing on of stories. But such mobilizations are not just about memorializing the situation. U.S. social services such as the Polaris Project, which is a federally funded comprehensive social service for trafficked people, have found that comfort woman history is also a part of the present. For example, the U.S. military presence in Korea has led to high levels of prostitution, sexual violence, and rape around U.S. military bases.[28] While Asian Americans have mobilized to call for reconciliation for the comfort women and to remember it through continued initiatives to raise awareness, they have also moved toward making other connections to enable an understanding of how the comfort women history connects to the present-day understanding of "Modern Day Slavery," or the trafficking of people into prostitution. It is most evident in cases such as the 2005 "Operation Gilded Cage," when the Federal Bureau of Investigation found more than one hundred Korean women trafficked into San Francisco brothels living in slave-like conditions. Groups such as the Asian

Women's Shelter and the *SAGE Project* (Standing Against Global Exploitation) work to ameliorate such situations.[29] This and similar cases have illustrated the need for coalitions not only within the Asian American community but also internationally.[30] What the comfort women movement means for Asian Americans in the twenty-first century is re-memory, recovery, and making deeper connections that continue to sustain coalitions that are not only local, but are also global in scope.

FURTHER READING

Babae. http://babaesf.blogspot.com/.

Comfort Women: A Cry for Justice. Directed by Celso Ad. Castillo. Philippines: Alyssa Films, 1989.

Comfort Women: A Web Reference. http://online.sfsu.edu/~soh/cw-links.htm.

Henson, Maria Rosa. *Comfort Woman: A Filipina's Story of Prostitution and Slavery under the Japanese Military.* Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 1999.

Hicks, George. *The Comfort Women: Japan's Brutal Regime of Enforced Prostitution in the Second World War*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1994.

The House of Sharing. Directed by Hein Sook. Korea: 2007.

The House of Sharing Web site. http://www.nanum.org/eng/.

Keith, Howard. *True Stories of the Korean Comfort Women: Testimonies.* New York: Continuum International Publishing Group, 1995.

Kim-Gibson, Dai Sil. *Silence Broken: Korean Comfort Women*. Iowa: Mid-Prairie Books, 1999.

San Francisco State University Web Reference. http://online.sfsu.edu/~soh/cw-links.htm.

Silence Broken: *Korean Comfort Women.* Directed by Dai-Sil Kim Gibson. USA: NAATA, 2000.

Stetz, Margaret, and Bonnie B. C. Oh. *Legacies of the Comfort Women of World War II.* Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 2001.

Taipei Women's Rescue Foundation. http://www.wiserearth.org/organization/view/c50bf390aa44e7485824be5f3f454fbc.

Tanaka, Yuki. *Japan's Comfort Women: Sexual Slavery and Prostitution during World War II and the U.S. Occupation.* London and New York: Routledge, 2002.

Violence Against Women in War Net-Japan. http://www1.jca.apc.org/vaww-net-japan/english/.

Washington Coalition for Comfort Women Issues. http://www.comfort-women.org/history.html.

NOTES

1. Ustinia Dolgopol, "Women's Voices, Women's Pain," *Human Rights Quarterly* 17, no. 1 (1995): 133.

2. Alice Yun Chai, "Asian-Pacific Feminist Coalitions Politics: The Chonghindae/Jugunianfu ("Comfort Women") Movement," *Korean Studies* 17 (1993): 70.

3. Anne Llewellyn Barstow, ed., *War's Dirty Little Secret: Rape, Prostitution, and Other Crimes Against Women.* Edited by The Asian Center for Women's Human Rights (ASCENT) (Cleveland, OH: Pilgrim Press, 2000).

4. Congresswoman Diane E. Watson, "Congresswoman Watson Cosponsors 'Comfort Women' Legislation—Delivers Remarks." Feb. 15, 2007, press release, http://www.house.gov/list/press/ca33_watson/070215.html; Rochelle Jones, "Gender and Reparations: An Interview with Ruth Rubio-Marin," *AWID—Association for Women's Rights in Development*, Aug. 17, 2007, http://www.awid.org/eng/Issues-and-Analysis/Library/Gender-and-reparations-An-interview-with-Ruth-Rubio-Marin-Editor-of/(language)/eng-GB.

5. Dai Sil Kim-Gibson, *Silence Broken: Korean Comfort Women* (Parkersburg, IA: Mid-Prairie Books, 1999); George Hicks, *The Comfort Women: Japan's Brutal Regime of Enforced Prostitution in the Second World War* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1994); Howard Keith, *True Stories of the Korean Comfort Women: Testimonies* (New York: Continuum International Publishing Group, 1995).

6. Norimitsu Onishi, "Historian Documents Japan's Role in Sex Slavery," International Herald Tribune Asia-Pacific, March 30, 2007, http://www.iht.com/articles/2007/03/30/asia/japan.php.

7. Alice Yang Murray, "Military Necessity, World War II Internment, and Japanese American History," *Reviews in American History* 25, no. 2 (1997): 319.

8. Jordan Sand, "Historians and Public Memory in Japan: The 'Comfort Women' Controversy: Introduction," *History & Memory* 11, no. 2 (1999): 123.

9. Kandice Huh, "Discomforting Knowledge: Or, Korean 'Comfort Women' and Asian Americanist Critical Practice," *Journal of Asian American Studies* 6, no. 1 (2003): 33.

10. Dolgopol, "Women's Voices, Women's Pain," 127.

11. Dolgopol, "Women's Voices, Women's Pain," 129.

12. Dolgopol, "Women's Voices, Women's Pain," 137.

13. Civil Action 00-02233 (HHK). Oct. 4, 2001. U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia. Hwang Geum Joo et al., versus Japan. Decision: Ordered and Adjudged, Complaint Dismissed.

14. Kandice Huh, "Discomforting Knowledge," 5; Dolgopol, "Women's Voices, Women's Pain," 138.

15. Sarah Soh, "Japan's Responsibility Toward Comfort Women Survivors," *Japanese Policy Research Institute* JPRI Working Paper No. 77 (2001): http://www.jpri.org/publications/workingpapers/wp77.html.

16. A tribunal was originally proposed by VAWW-NET Japan at the Asian Women's Solidarity Conference in Seoul. Kim Puja, "Global Civil Society Remakes History: "The Women's International War Crimes Tribunal 2000," *positions: east asia cultures critique* 9, no. 3 (2001): 611–620.

17. CNN, "Documents: U.S. Troops Used 'Comfort Women' after WWII." Posted April 25, 2007, http://www.cnn.com/2007/US/04/25/comfort.women.ap/index. html.

18. Margaret Stetz and Bonnie B. C. Oh, *Legacies of the Comfort Women of World War II* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 2001).

19. See, for example, Duk-Kyung Kang et al., "Quest for Justice: The Story of Korean 'Comfort Women,' As Told Through Their Art," September–December 2000, http://www.museology.org/final.swf; Koon Ja Kim, Former Comfort Woman, House of Sharing and NAKASEC. Feb. 15, 2007. Testimonial. U.S. House Committee on Foreign Affairs, Subcommittee on Asia, the Pacific and the Global Environment; Duk-Kyung Kang et al., "Quest for Justice"; "The 'Comfort Women' of World War II: Legacy and Lessons," Sept. 30 to Oct. 2, 1996. Georgetown University. See note 21; Jerry D. Boucher

and Chunghee Sarah Soh. June 13, 2002. "Comfort Women: A Web Reference," http://online.sfsu.edu/~soh/cw-links.htm. Also, Washington Coalition for Comfort Women Issues, 2008, http://www.comfort-women.org; Chang-rae Lee, *A Gesture Life* (New York: Riverhead, 1999); Therese Park, *A Gift of the Emperor* (Duluth, MN: Spinsters Ink, 1997); Nora Okja Keller, *Comfort Woman* (New York: Viking Penguin, 1997); Ishle Park, "House of Sharing Comfort Women," *Manoa* 13, no. 2 (2001): 51–53; Bino A. Realuyo, "Pantoum: The Comfort Woman," *In Spite of Open Eyes,* was selected for the Poetry Society of America's Lucille Medwick Memorial Award in 1998; Miran Kim's paintings, the sculpture and installation works by Yong Soon Min and Mona Higuchi, the photo-based work of Sasha Y. Lee, the issue of "Comfort Women; Celso Ad. Castillo's Comfort Women: A Cry for Justice (1989), Soo Jin Kim "Comfort Me" (1993), Dai-Sil Kim Gibson's documentary film *Silence Broken: Korean Comfort Women* (2000), Hein Sook's documentary film *The House of Sharing* (2007), and *63 Years On* (2008).

20. Young Koreans United of Los Angeles, "Los Angeles Organizations Protest Legacy of Japanese Militarism," Press Release. Contact: Haena Cho, April 17, 2001: http://www.uchinanchu.org/about/comfort_women_press_release.htm.

21. During an interview, Congressman Honda, when asked how he could support a resolution when he has a "Japanese face," responded, "I told her I could have a black face, a brown face, a white face—I could be Mexican, I could be Indian—it doesn't matter." Norimitsu Onishi, "A Congressman Faces Foes in Japan As He Seeks an Apology," *New York Times,* May 12, 2007, http://www.nytimes.com/2007/05/12/world/asia/12honda.html?pagewanted=print.

22. "USA-California: Breaking the Silence: Truth and Reconciliation for Comfort Women," conference, April 8, 2008, University of California Berkeley, guest speakers Annabel Park and Eric Byler.

23. "A Woman's Plight: Comfort Women of WWII." *Manila Town Heritage,* March 28, 2008, I-Hotel Manila Town Center, speakers Marissa Mariano and Elaine Villasper of Babae, Evelina Galang and Annie Fukushima.

24. Annabel Park, "Justice for 'Comfort Women,' Our Trip to Asia, and Pulling the Rope," *AsianWeek: Through Our Lens. Eric Byler & Annabel Park*, March 18, 2008: http://throughourlens.asianweek.com/?p=4.

25. Jean Han, "Sex Slaves Resolution Expected to Reach Floor Vote in Congress," *AsianWeek*, June 22, 2007: http://www.asianweek.com/2007/06/22/sex-slaves-resolution-expected-to-reach-floor-vote-in-congress/.

26. The Korea Society, "The Long March for Justice: Comfort Women v. Japan," 1957–2007: The Korea Society 50th Anniversary. http://www.koreasociety.org/contemporary_issues/contemporary_issues/the_long_march_for_justice_comfort_women_v._japan.html Heisoo Shin, vice-chair person, Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women, Office of the High Commissioner of Human Rights, the United Nations is quoted.

27. Amnesty International, "'Comfort Women': Waiting for Justice After 62 Years," July 5, 2008, Appeals for Action, http://www.amnesty.org/en/appeals-for-action/comfort-women-waiting-justice.

28. Katherine Chon and Derek Ellerman, "Modern-Day Comfort Women: The U.S. Military, Transnational Crime, and the Trafficking of Women," *Violence against Women* (forthcoming), http://www.uri.edu/artsci/wms/hughes/pubtrfrep.htm.

29. Jaxon Ban Derbeken and Ryan Kim, "Alleged Sex-Trade Ring Broken Up in the Bay Area: Police Say Koreans in Massage Parlors were Smuggled in," *San Francisco*

Chronicle, July 2, 2005, http://www.sfgate.com/cgi-bin/article.cgi?file=/c/a/2005/07/02/MNGDLDIDVD1.DTL.

30. Ellen-Rae Cachola, Lizelle Festejo, Annie Fukushima, Gwyn Kirk, and Sabina Perez, "Gender and U.S. Bases in Asia-Pacific," March 14, 2008 (Washington, DC: Foreign Policy in Focus).

CONTINUING IMPACT OF GENOCIDE ON CAMBODIAN AMERICANS

Cathy J. Schlund-Vials

Cambodian American activism in the twenty-first century reflects a larger Asian American movement focused on antiracism, cultural reclamation, and community formation. The first documented Cambodian American demonstration occurred in 1986 in Chicago, where more than 200 Cambodian and Lao Americans gathered to protest evictions resulting from a planned building sale.[1] The following year, in Lowell, MA, Cambodian Americans worked with Latinos to push for bilingual education in public schools. Nineteen eight-seven also witnessed a Cambodian American protest against racially motivated arson in Revere, MA.[2] Following the September 11 attacks, the planned deportation of more than one thousand Cambodian Americans fomented a series of community protests. In November 2002, Cambodian American community members, leaders, parents, and students publicly protested the deportations in Long Beach, CA, and Lowell, MA. Alongside these antiracist and communally focused efforts, Cambodian Americans have organized efforts to build temples within communities and fund efforts to retain Khmer culture in the country of settlement through sponsorships of traditional art forms. In March 2008, an international conference was held at California State University in Long Beach to facilitate through panel discussions and presentations the gathering of refugee testimony for the current United Nations/Cambodian War Crimes Tribunal. The effort to collect testimony from Cambodian Americans in the United States is manifest in oral history projects like the one launched by Mardine Mao, the current president of the Cambodian American Community of

Oregon, in the summer of 2008, in which second-generation Cambodian Americans record the experiences of first-generation Cambodian survivors of the Cambodia Civil War and Khmer Rouge "killing fields."[3]

What connects these Cambodian American activist moments and movements is a sustained, albeit at times implicit, cultural, political, and social engagement with an unreconciled genocidal past that collides with dominant U.S. racial hierarchies. It is this past that makes Cambodian American activism transnational in scope, for the events in the country of origin continue to have an impact on experiences and movements in the country of settlement. Specifically, contemporary Cambodian American identity is shaped by the three-year, eight-month, twenty-day period of Democratic Kampuchea, during which an estimated 1.7 million Cambodians (roughly 21% of the extant population) died as a result of execution, starvation, disease, and forced labor.[4] Between 1975 and 1979, the communist Khmer Rouge–run Democratic Kampuchean government enforced a series of totalitarian policies meant to eliminate Western and prerevolutionary influence from all facets of Cambodian life. Labeled by Cambodian journalist and activist Dith Pran as the time of "the Killing Fields," the reign of the Khmer Rouge ended with the 1979 Vietnamese invasion. To date, no Khmer Rouge official has been successfully tried for war crimes and crimes against humanity, although five former leaders of the regime are currently in custody and slated to stand trial as part of the UN/Cambodian War Crimes Tribunal.[5] The leader of the regime, Saloth Sar (Pol Pot), died under house arrest in 1998 without ever standing trial in an international court. Similarly, Ta Mok, the person in charge of Khmer Rouge military forces, passed away in 2006.

The brutal policies of Democratic Kampuchea and the subsequent occupation of the nation by the Vietnamese caused the migration of Cambodian refugees to the United States, and memories of genocide and the absence of international forms of justice continue to have an impact on experiences in the country of asylum. From 1975 to 1992, an estimated 145,000 Cambodian refugees came to the United States; the majority of these refugees arrived after the passage of the 1980 Refugee Act, which further expanded U.S. immigration law to accommodate individuals seeking asylum for humanitarian reasons.[6] Hence, genocidal experiences immediately circumscribed the formation of Cambodian American identity in the United States. Furthermore, relocation to the United States has not been a seamless process for the majority of Cambodians and Cambodian Americans. According to the 2000 U.S. Census, the average per capita income for Cambodian Americans was $10,215 in 1999, and 29.3 percent lived below the poverty line. Twenty-two percent of Cambodian American households relied on public assistance income, and only 6 percent of Cambodian Americans graduated with a college degree.[7] Crime among Cambodian Americans is higher than among most other Asian American groups, as is the 7.3 percent rate of incarceration for native-born Laotian and Cambodian American males.[8]

Such statistics highlight the extent to which Cambodian Americans and other Southeast Asian Americans fall outside the rubric of the "model minority

stereotype," which is partially grounded in the dominant, monolithic assumption that all Asian Americans have achieved a high degree of socioeconomic success. Cambodian refugee survivors also suffer from higher rates of post-traumatic stress disorder than any other Asian American group. Within Democratic Kampuchea, silence was fundamental to survival, and as a consequence, many first-generation Cambodians and Cambodian Americans are often unwilling to talk about the past, which partially impedes contemporary attempts to collect survivor testimonials for the current war crimes tribunal. Moreover, the task of developing and maintaining Cambodian American communities becomes even more difficult given the host of economic and psychological obstacles that face first-generation and 1.5-generation Cambodian Americans. Political activism in these communities is often necessarily focused on the implementation and facilitation of social service programs. In 2005, The National Cambodian American Health Initiative (NCAHI), a wide-ranging consortium of community-based organizations and mental health activists, noted that Cambodian American mortality rates due to diabetes, heart disease, post-traumatic stress disorder, and depression were higher than any other ethnic American group, and the organization has continued to examine the connection between the genocide and contemporary Cambodian American health.[9]

Responding more generally to the influx of Southeast Asian refugees and the emergence of Southeast Asian American communities following the conclusion of both the Vietnam conflict and the dissolution of Democratic Kampuchea, the Southeast Asia Resource Action Center (SEARAC) was founded in 1979 to assist in the resettling of refugees from Indonesia in the United States.[10] Initially named the Indochina Refugee Action Center (IRAC), SEARAC has developed into a national organization that advocates on the national stage for specific economic and political needs of Southeast Asian American communities. Working closely with local and state mutual aid associations (MAAs) and faith-based organizations (FBOs), SEARAC provides leadership training, sponsors community development workshops, and facilitates program evaluation. Though admittedly more focused on pan-Southeast Asian American issues, SEARAC was nevertheless heavily involved in raising awareness about and advocating against the post–September 11th deportations of an estimated 1,200–1,500 Cambodian Americans, which represents one of the major issues facing contemporary Cambodian American communities.

The 1996 Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRAIRA) and the Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act (AEDPA) expanded the definition of "aggravated felony," so minor crimes such as shoplifting were included among more major crimes such as murder and assault. Touted by proimmigrant advocacy groups as a "one–size–fits–all" approach, the punishment of deportation was retroactively applied to crimes committed before 1996.[11] Individuals could face deportation whether or not time had been served for the crime. Moreover, fairness hearings—which would enable judges to apply a case-by-case standard in the review of deportation cases—were prohibited. This particular provision was initially enabled by a

bilateral agreement between the U.S. and Cambodia in March 2001 to regulate deportation and enforced by the October 2001 passage of the Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism Act (USA PATRIOT Act). Cambodian Americans were not the only group targeted by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), but this deportation is noteworthy given the actuality of the Cambodian genocide and the continuing legacy of this past on current sociopolitical dynamics in Cambodia. The amnesia over the very conditions that brought Cambodians to the United States, coupled with the refugee political status of those slated for deportation, is inextricably tied to a narrative of asylum from the Khmer Rouge as well as a tenuous connection to contemporary Cambodia.

Culturally, the majority of Cambodian American subjects facing deportation had been born in refugee camps, had spent most of their lives in the United States, and were predominately 1.5-generation men in their twenties and thirties. Disconnected from Cambodia with no guarantee that their human rights would be protected, those slated for deportation would be forced to return to a nation they sought refuge from as a consequence of genocidal policies and practices. Economically, as former SEARAC director KaYing Yang asserted, Cambodian American families would potentially be devastated by the deportations because deportees were often primary wage-earners within households.[12] The threat of deportation and its possible repercussions promulgated the formation of the Southeast Asian Freedom Network, a conglomeration of Southeast Asian American activists and activist organizations who opposed the proposed deportations.[13] The Committee Against Anti-Asian Violence (CAAV) responded with the formation of both the Khmer Freedom Committee and the more expansive Southeast Asian Freedom Network, which, in conjunction with non-Asian American groups, organized a "Day of Action against Deportation" on November 8, 2002, to protest deportations.[14] As of 2008, more than 1,500 Cambodian Americans were still awaiting deportation, and between 2002 and 2008, a total of 169 Cambodian Americans had been deported.[15] Fundamental to antideportation efforts within various Cambodian American communities are narratives about life under the Khmer Rouge, which are more striking given that former members of the Khmer Rouge still occupy positions of power in the Cambodian government.[16]

Cambodian American community organizations reflect the demographic realities of particular locations and often engage both business and cultural interests. The majority of Cambodian Americans live in Long Beach, CA, which contains the largest concentration of Cambodians outside of Cambodia.[17] In 2001, Cambodian American community organizers pushed to rename a one-mile section of the city—Anaheim Street—"Cambodia Town," to further highlight the many Cambodian and Cambodian American–owned businesses in the district, and this request was granted on July 3, 2007.[18] Lowell, MA, is home to the second largest population of Cambodians and Cambodian Americans. These refugees initially came in the 1980s to fill positions in the then-thriving computer parts industry, though refugee sponsorships also brought individuals to other

places in the United States.[19] The Cambodian American League of Lowell was formed in 1993 to promote Cambodian American entrepreneurship, community engagement, and awareness through local programs and sponsored arts events related to traditional Khmer forms and remembering the genocide.[20] The communal support of traditional Khmer musical and dance arts is especially important because such forms were almost lost because of the systematic suppression and execution of an estimated 90 percent of classically trained musicians and dancers affiliated with the Royal Cambodian Classical Ballet.[21] Thus, arts organizations dedicated to the preservation of traditional Khmer forms culturally reclaim what has been lost as a result of the genocide.

The collapsing of space between social justice initiatives and arts activism is apparent in other Cambodian American organizations in the United States. For example, the Chicago-based Cambodian Association of Illinois (CAI), founded in 1976, is a nonprofit group dedicated to working with the resettlement of Cambodian refugees who have survived the genocide, and their mission of community development in many ways echoes the efforts of SEARAC, the work of mutual aid associations in Lowell and analogous organizations in Long Beach.[22] The Cambodian Association of Illinois offers bilingual education programs, health initiatives, and social service assistance to an estimated 5,000 Cambodian Americans at the state level. The Cambodian Association of Illinois directly addresses the issue of genocidal remembrance in its fund-raising campaigns, which allow donors to contribute money toward scholarships for Cambodian American students, aid in the promotion of education about the genocide, and facilitate the preservation and ongoing production of Khmer arts in the United States as part of a national campaign, titled the "Cambodian Killing Fields Endowment."

Moreover, in 2004, the Cambodian Association of Illinois opened the Cambodian American Heritage Museum and Killing Fields Memorial, which includes traveling and permanent exhibits focused on Cambodian history, Khmer culture, images from the genocide, and experiences of Cambodian Americans. In a similar vein, Cambodian American Dara Duong, who was a child during the reign of the Khmer Rouge, founded the Cambodian American Cultural Museum and Killing Fields Memorial in Seattle, WA. This museum is dedicated to educating subsequent generations of Cambodian Americans about the genocide through the revelation of survivor accounts and the promulgation of Khmer arts and culture.[23] The reclamation of artistic forms operates in tandem with genocidal remembrance, and such exhibits are marked by the question of justice, which remains unanswered until the completion of the current war crimes tribunal. Therefore, rooted in a genocidal past and guided by a refugee present, Cambodian American arts and activism implicitly and explicitly engage with issues of memorialization, notions of cultural reclamation, calls for political justice, and questions of sociopolitical reconciliation within the country of origin and the country of settlement.

As individuals who grew up under the Khmer Rouge or who were born in refugee camps, contemporary Cambodian American activists, writers, filmmakers,

and artists foreground the actuality and continuing impact of the genocide in community organizing efforts, memoirs, documentaries, musical productions, and dance. Cambodian American hip-hop artist praCh (Prach Ly) incorporates familial stories about surviving under the Khmer Rouge in his *three-part Dalama* album series. The artist juxtaposes lyrical memorials with a more contemporary consideration of how the genocide continues to impact his experiences in the United States. In this regard, praCh's work is connected to Cambodian American literary production, which characterized by a similar bifurcated sensibility. Two full-length memoirs of the killing fields have also been published in the United States—Chanrithy Him's *When Broken Glass Floats: Growing Up Under the Khmer Rouge* (2000) and Loung Ung's *First They Killed My Father: A Daughter of Cambodia Remembers* (2000). Each full-length autobiography recounts the story of life in Cambodia's killing fields from the perspective of one who had experienced the Khmer Rouge regime as a child and who had also grown up as a refugee in the United States. Imbued with the task of commemorating those who were lost under the regime, constituted by testimonial narration, and dominated by repeated calls for justice, Him and Ung engage in a form of literary activism that reminds readers of both the genocide and the degree to which those responsible have yet to be prosecuted.[24]

This form of activism is mirrored by each author's work outside of literary production. Chanrithy Him foregrounds this other role in the introduction of the memoir, in which she writes about her experiences working with Cambodian refugees suffering from post-traumatic stress disorder as part of the Khmer Adolescent Project in Eugene, Oregon.[25] Ung's work as a Cambodian genocide activist, author, and lecturer is prominently featured on her Web site. From 1997 to 2003, Ung worked for the Vietnam Veterans of America Foundation's (VVAF) Campaign for a Landmine-Free World from 1997–2003, served as a community educator for the Abused Women's Advocacy Project of the Maine Coalition Against Domestic Violence, and is currently a national spokesperson for the Campaign for a Landmine-Free World.[26] Ung's second memoir, *Lucky Child: A Daughter of Cambodia Reunites with the Sister She Left Behind* (2005) centers on Ung and her sister, Chou. The autobiography is divided equally between Ung's recollections of growing up in the United States and Chou's experiences in Cambodia after the fall of the Khmer Rouge. In this regard, Ung's *Lucky Child* represents the first Cambodian American work largely focused on life after the Khmer Rouge. Also in 2005, Cambodian American Theary C. Seng, executive director of the Center for Social Development, a human rights organization located in Phnom Penh that monitors contemporary Cambodian and global politics, published *Daughter of the Killing Fields*. Seng, who received a law degree in 2000 from the University of Michigan, serves as a tribunal representative for victims in Cambodia.[27]

Cambodian American documentary filmmaker Socheata Poeuv takes a similar trajectory in her cinematic negotiations of the Cambodian genocide. Embedded in documentary, travel narrative, and memoir, Poeuv's debut production, *New Year Baby* (2006), returns the discussion of remembrance back to

Cambodia with a narrative about what it means to return to a country that has forever been changed as a result of the Khmer Rouge. *New Year Baby* follows the filmmaker as she returns to the various labor camps and villages that marked her parents' experiences during the Democratic Kampuchean regime. Grounded firmly in the question of what it means to be Cambodian and American, Poeuv's narrative brings the issue of genocidal remembrance full circle by returning the displaced Cambodian refugees to the country of origin. In this regard, her work is emblematic of Cambodian American activism and art, which continues to remember the genocidal past while simultaneously acknowledging what it means to be a refugee in the United States. Poeuv's current archival video project, *Khmer Legacies*, includes interviews of Democratic Kampuchean survivors conducted by the children of survivors and is part of a larger nonprofit organization headed by the filmmaker.[28] Such a project continues the memory work of Cambodian American organizations, activists, and artists who continue to push for remembrance and justice.

FURTHER READING

Cambodian Association of Illinois. http://www.cambodian-association.org.

Chan, Sucheng, ed. "Introduction." *Not Just Victims: Conversations with Cambodian Community Leaders in the United States*. Interviews conducted by Audrey U. Kim. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003.

Chan, Sucheng. *Survivors: Cambodian Refugees in the United States*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004.

Etcheson, Craig. *After the Killing Fields: Lessons from the Cambodian Genocide.* Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 2005.

Shaffer, Teri Yamada. "Cambodian American Autobiography" *Form and Transformation in Asian American Literature*. Zhou Xiaojing and Samina Najimi, eds. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005.

Smith-Hefner, Nancy J. *Khmer American: Identity and Moral Education in a Diasporic Community.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.

Southeast Asian American Resource Center. http://www.searac.org/resourcectr.html.

Yale Cambodian Genocide Program. http://www.yale.edu/cgp/.

NOTES

1. Christine Su, "Cambodian-Americans and Political Empowerment," Cambodian Community of Hawai'i Web site, 2006, http:/Hawaii.cambodiaworldwide.com/poelm power3.html/.

2. Su, "Cambodian-Americans and Political Empowerment."

3. Erin Hoover Barnett, "Recovered Identity: Cambodian Community in Portland Moves Beyond the Horror of Khmer Rouge Killing Fields," *The Oregonian,* "Metro Portland Neighbors," Oct. 2, 2008, 8, http://www.oregonlive.com/clackamascounty/index.ssf/2008/11/recovered_identity_cambodian_c.html.

4. Yale Cambodian Genocide Program, "Introduction," 2008, http://www.yale.edu/cgp/.

5. Currently, the UN Cambodian War Crimes Tribunal has five Khmer Rouge officials in custody: Kaing Guek Eav ("Duch") (the person in charge of S-21), Khieu Samphan (Democratic Kampuchean Prime Minister), Nuon Chea (Brother No. 2, the

Khmer Rouge's chief ideologist), Ieng Sary (Deputy Prime Minister/Foreign Minister/Democratic Kampuchea), and his wife, Ieng Thirith (Minister for Social Affairs/Democratic Kampuchea). However, the tribunals have been plagued by accusations of corruption, contestations over the nature of genocide (including the assertion that claims of genocide are not substantiated), and fears of funding.

6. Sucheng Chan, ed. "Introduction," *Not Just Victims: Conversations with Cambodian Community Leaders in the United States*. Interviews conducted by Audrey U. Kim. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003), 29–31.

7. Max Niedzwiecki and T. C. Duong, "Southeast Asian American Statistical Profile" (Washington, DC: Southeast Asia Resource Action Center, 2004), http://www.searac.org/seastatprofilemay04.pdf.

8. Rubén G. Rumbaut and Walter A. Ewing, "The Myth of Immigrant Criminality," *Border Battles: The U.S. Immigration Debates, Social Science Research Council,* May 23, 2007, http://borderbattles.ssrc.org/Rumbault_Ewing/index1.html.

9. "Cambodian Refugees Gripped by Severe Depression in the U.S," Agence France-Presse, Aug. 3, 2005; and "Webcast Examines Cambodian-American Health Emergency," press release, 2006, http://www.uchc.edu/ocomm/newsreleases06/apr06/webcast.html.

10. Southeast Asian Resource Action Center, 2008, http://www.searac.org/.

11. Melissa Hung, "One Way Ticket to Cambodia," *East Bay Express*, Nov. 20, 2002, http://www.modelminority.com/article358.html.

12. Sophia Hanifah, "A New Nightmare: Cambodian American Deportations Carries History's Weight," *AsianWeek* Nov. 22–28, 2002, http://asianweek.com/2002_11_22/feature.html#TOP.

13. Southeast Asian Freedom Network, 2003, http://www.caaav.org/coalitions/seafn.

14. Quoted in Sophia Hanifah, "A New Nightmare: Cambodian American Deportations Carries History's Weight," *AsianWeek* November 22–28, 2002, http://asianweek.com/2002_11_22/feature.html#TOP.

15. Robynn Takayama, "Cambodian Refugee Faces Return Home," Day to Day: NPR, Jan. 10, 2006; Dori Chan and John Stansall, "U.S. and Vietnam Need to Rethink Deportation," *International Examiner*, Feb. 16, 2008, http://news.newamericamedia.org/news/view_article.html?article_id=d4ae7849572770c46e0f3d0fc33a7007.

16. A former Khmer Rouge soldier, current Prime Minister Hun Sen continues to hold power in Cambodia, along with many other former Khmer Rouge members and officials.

17. Anna Gorman, "Cambodia Town on the Map," *Los Angeles Times,* July 18, 2007, http://articles.latimes.com/2007/jul/18/local/me-cambodian18.

18. Nuch Sarita, "Long Beach 'Cambodia Town' Approved," *Voice of America Khmer*, July 20, 2007. http://www.voanews.com/Khmer/archive/2007-07/2007-07-20-voa4.cfm.

19. Suzanne Presto, "Cambodian Immigrants Make Impact on City in US Northeast," *Voice of America*, May 4, 2005, http://www.voanews.com/english/archive/2005-05/2005-05-04-voa72.cfm.

20. Cambodian American League of Lowell, Inc., 2008, http://www.cambodianamerican.net/.

21. Deborah Jowitt, "True Love Triumphs, Gently in Cambodian Classical Dance," *The Village Voice*, Jan. 22, 2008. http://www.villagevoice.com/2007-10-09/dance/true-love-triumphs-gently-in-cambodian-classical-dance/.

22. Cambodian Association of Illinois, 2008, http://www.cambodian-association.org/.

23. Cambodian Cultural Museum and Killing Fields Memorial, 2008, http://www.killingfieldsmuseum.com/.

24. Soon after the publication of the memoir by W. W. Norton, Eugene, OR, reporter Kimber Williams claimed that she and Him worked together on the manuscript and that Williams was responsible for crafting the majority of the text. Williams was not named as a contributor, nor was she acknowledged within the text. Sydney Schanberg, the well-known journalist whose experiences in Cambodia provided a partial foundation for the film, *The Killing Fields*, sided with Williams. Initially Schanberg had written a blurb that praised *When Broken Glass Floats* but later asked to be disassociated with Him's memoir. The controversy over authorship was resolved through an out-of-court settlement in 2001, and Him later acknowledged Williams as a contributor in subsequent printings of the book. Nonetheless, no clear verdict has been rendered with regard to authorship, although the shifts in acknowledgement support Williams's allegation; The recently defunct online Cambodian American site, the Khmer Institute, put forth the following proclamation against Loung Ung: "We are not engaged in a crusade against the author; our crusade, if it can be described as such, is to expose the truth so that people may know what the Killing Fields really meant for Cambodians who lived through it. Although Ung's book is sub-entitled 'A Daughter of Cambodia Remembers,' it is apparent that she neither truly considers herself a "daughter of Cambodia" (except for the purpose of publicity) nor does she with any kind of accuracy "remember." Unlike the acclaim and support given to the movie "The Killing Fields," many survivors of the Democratic Kampuchea regime find this book inaccurate, distasteful, and insulting. We believe in this case that misinformation is more dangerous than no information. It is sad that a person would distort and sensationalize such a tragic experience for personal gain. It dishonors the memory of the 1.7 million people who died and the legitimate stories of countless others who have and still suffer because of the Khmer Rouge." The Khmer Institute, "First They Killed My Father reviews," 2001, http://www.khmerinstitute.org.

25. Chanrithy Him, 2008, http://www.chanrithyhim.com/.

26. Loung Ung, 2008, http://www.luongung.com/.

27. Theary Seng, 2008, http://www.thearyseng.com/.

28. Khmer Legacies, 2008, http://www.khmerlegacies.org/.

This page intentionally left blank

CONTINUING IMPACT OF THE KOREAN WAR ON KOREAN AMERICANS

Raina Han

The Korean War took place from June 25, 1950, when the North attacked the South, until July 27, 1953, when an official armistice was signed by the United Nations, the North, and China. To this date, the South has not signed the armistice, and because a peace treaty has not been signed, the communist North and democratic South are still at war, at least in principle.

After the armistice was signed, the Korean peninsula's official demilitarized zone (DMZ) came into place and this 2-mile-wide zone has separated families and communities ever since. Many of those that either escaped to one side or the other during the war would never see their families again. During the Korean War, the 1.2 million people who fled the North came to comprise at least 15 percent of the South Korean population.[1] As of 2008, the war's impact in the region still resounds, with 28,500 U.S. troops continuing to reside in South Korea as the South is still technically considered a combat zone.[2]

Of the more than 1.2 million Korean Americans (per the 2000 U.S. Census), anywhere from 200,000 to 500,000 have direct ties to family in North Korea, but as of 2006, only 80 Korean Americans have been reunited with family members in the North under government-sanctioned arrangements versus the approximately 1,000 family reunifications between South Koreans and North Koreans.[3] As North Korea is careful in its interactions with the United States, Korean Americans are less likely to be chosen for reunification meetings, while South Koreans are chosen by their government's lottery to reunite with North Korean family members.[4]

The Korean War has a continuing presence in the lives of Korean Americans due to the struggle over reuniting with family members, the plight of North Korean refugees, and how ongoing tensions between the United States and North Korea shape the daily lives of Korean Americans. This war is a contemporary issue for Korean Americans because so many are affected by these ongoing legacies.

The impact of a civil war on its people can have drastic long-term consequences, especially when the war has never officially ended. More than fifty years after the Korean War, the Korean American reaction to issues related to the war include mixed feelings between generations, specifically between the older Koreans who lived through the Korean War and immigrated to the United States, and the younger generations, those who are ethnically Korean but either U.S.-born or immigrated as children. Older generations recall and continue to comprehend the long-time U.S. military presence in South Korea. On the opposite end, younger generations have expressed concern that the Bush administration, especially when initially applying the "axis of evil" term to North Korea in 2002, did not attempt meaningful discourse to prevent the possibilities of war. There was widespread sentiment throughout the Korean American community that such a negative designation would only hurt relations between the two countries. Also at this time, younger generations felt that until verbal communication occurred between the United States and North Korea about the situation on hand, there would continue to be a likelihood that North Korea would engage in more nuclear activities, thus causing a likely arms marathon and making the DMZ separating the two Koreas an even more complicated and fragile area.[5]

Beginning in 2003, dialogue in the form of "Six Party Talks" (both Koreas, the United States, China, Russia, and Japan) began, and there have been signals that North Korea has begun cooperating in slowly retiring its nuclear activities. Overall, while the nuclear weapons issue still plays a more visible role in the media, the other major international issues—reunification, North Korean refugees and human rights, and family separation—continue to be significant, multifaceted concerns that directly affect the Korean American population, regardless of generation or nationality. Current events on the peninsula affect all Korean Americans as this community's roots—and many family members—still reside in both Koreas. The first decade of the twenty-first century has highlighted these issues—increasingly attracting U.S. congressional attention—and they will only become more prominent in the next decade, as the divisions of families and a country continue to exist.

IMPACT ON FIRST-GENERATION KOREAN AMERICANS

The Korean War is considered "forgotten" for several reasons. In the American psyche, it is often overlooked and not easily recognized as the start of the Cold War. Additionally, few Koreans in America have publicly addressed the war and its continuing impact on Koreans who have survived the war and moved to the United States. The lingering impact on Korean families and the effect on

second and third generations of these Korean American families also are not extensively covered by the popular media or even in much scholarly research.

In recent years, scholars have begun to address the issues facing the Korean American community. A professor at Boston College, Ramsay Liem, has conducted significant research into the impact of the Korean War on Korean Americans through interviews and oral surveys. Additionally, his research was included in the only art and multimedia exhibition of its kind known to date, called "Still Present Pasts: Korean Americans and the 'Forgotten War'" (2006–2008), which chronicles first-person oral-testimony accounts of Korean Americans who have survived the war. Liem's research has uncovered the war as a reverberating theme among Korean Americans. Primarily, especially for first-generation Korean Americans, there is still the pain from either having lost a family member during the war or being permanently split from family in the North. Another consistent theme is that many immigrants to the United States left directly because of the war and continue to feel the war's devastating impact on the peninsula. Many were seeking better opportunities and livelihoods in emigrating to the United States during the postwar period when the South was slowly developing as a struggling economy during the 1960s and 1970s.[6] The population who survived the war had also just lived through Japan's colonization of Korea (1910–1945). These Korean American war survivors' existence in and memory of Korea have constantly been filled with domestic turmoil and political strife.

IMPACT ON SECOND-GENERATION KOREAN AMERICANS

Older relatives' feelings of insecurity about the future and a constant search for stability for themselves and the younger generations in their families can be traced to first-generation Korean Americans' experiences during and after the war, yet these feelings are often not well understood by younger generations. For second-generation Korean Americans, being able to hear their parents' and grandparents' experiences during the war and later reflections may address a lot of questions concerning behavior, reactions, and thought processes of their elders. There is a notable misunderstanding and a silence of the unspoken between generations that continues. Some younger generations may think that their elders' particular behaviors and mindsets are because of a cultural frame of mind without realizing that these might be side effects of war. Sometimes they may misinterpret their elders as being or acting "Korean" when in actuality, the demonstrated behavior might be of someone scarred with the emotional remains of surviving a civil war. Often, many younger generations simply are not informed of their family's history or trauma during the war, aside from what they may have briefly learned in a formal school setting. Some younger generations may simply not be interested, or some may have parents or relatives who are not comfortable sharing their stories. There is a need to discuss these experiences more openly within families, and to understand the impact on the generations, given that the older generations are aging and time is limited.[7]

INTERGENERATIONAL DIFFERENCES

There is a significant difference between how first-generation Korean Americans and second-generation Korean Americans view the impact of the war on the Korean American population and collective experience. Even among second-generation Korean Americans, opinions differ, as some younger generations feel that the United States should take a tougher stance on the North's nuclear activities and reneged promise to halt such activities. Other second-generation Korean Americans feel that the United States must be careful not to pursue a military approach in dealing with the North.[8]

From Washington to Southern California, from Wisconsin to New Jersey, from Minnesota to Georgia, throughout the large clusters of Korean American populations, there are sharply conflicting feelings among Korean Americans: some feel that the Bush Administration should have engaged in more dialogue instead of increasing sanctions on the "axis of evil" member state, North Korea. At the same time, many Korean Americans of all generations were disappointed with the North for retracting from a previous commitment to stop nuclear involvement and for continuing to take and expect international aid despite such actions. Across the country, Korean Americans reacted sharply when the North carried out its nuclear weapons test in 2006. On the international scale, North Korea's nuclear weapons testing is a threat to global security and peace; however, to Korean Americans, it is personal. Some Korean Americans were dismissive of the threat, but many were concerned. Some Korean Americans believe that there is much more concern among the Korean American population than among South Koreans. Most of the Korean American population has family on the peninsula. Not only are Korean Americans concerned about family members in North Korea, they are also deeply concerned about family in South Korea and especially in Seoul, where 25 percent of the South Korean population lives and which is close to the DMZ.

At the same time, many Korean Americans were distressed with the anti-American sentiment in South Korea during Roh Moo-Hyun's presidency. During President Roh's administration, his Sunshine Policy (which included more interactions and dialogue with the North) led some South Koreans to develop anti-American feelings, which were further fueled by the death of two young Korean girls who had been run over by a U.S. military tank around this time. In the United States, many first-generation Korean Americans were not supportive of President Roh's policies, which they viewed as liberal and left-leaning. Younger generations were less critical of his Sunshine Policy.

THE 2002 STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS AND THE "AXIS OF EVIL"

In his 2002 State of the Union address, President George W. Bush came up with the encompassing term "axis of evil" for Iran, Iraq, and North Korea, based on these countries' presumed nuclear weapons ownership or production. At the time, this designation became a prominent issue for the Koreans in America and

for the larger Asian American population, which constituted 4.2 percent of the overall U.S. population in 2000.[9] The "axis of evil" label raised concerns for Korean and Asian Americans about the potential for discrimination, racial profiling, and terrorist association. In the immediate post-9/11 world, this designation raised specters of racial profiling cases of Muslim Americans, as well as of the xenophobic suspicion of Japanese Americans and other Asian Americans right after the Pearl Harbor bombing. And when North Korea's leader, Kim Jong Il, announced in December 2002 that he was going to reactivate the country's nuclear reactor to produce weapons-grade plutonium, and when he then actually carried out tests, this caused far-reaching concern for not just South Koreans but also for immigrant Koreans and Korean Americans in the United States. These moves toward nuclear armament raised concerns about other issues that hit closer to home—about the future potential for the peninsula's reunification, about the health and well-being of North Korean refugees (starvation was still an issue even after the more widespread famine of the 1990s), and about family separation.

September 11th and the "axis of evil" designation have only made anti-immigrant and antiforeigner laws and sentiments increase. Since the establishment of the Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act (AEDPA) and the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act, which were both passed by President Clinton in 1996, more than 1 million people have been deported by the United States. The Bush administration's USA PATRIOT Act of 2001, which permits law enforcement officials to execute surveillance techniques and hold suspicious persons in custody, is a descendant of the AEDPA. These laws affected the law of habeas corpus, and many immigrants and foreigners have seen their rights threatened by this law. Noncitizens who commit or are convicted of a minor crime, including petty theft, could face deportation retroactively, even after serving their sentences. These laws have, in effect, made it easier for law officials to process deportations.

According to Families for Freedom, a New York–based defense network for immigrants, since 1996, 1,148 Korean Americans have been deported. In comparison, 2,621 Filipino Americans have been deported; 1,975 Indian Americans have been deported; 1,841 Pakistani Americans have been deported.[10] One notable cause Korean American permanent resident Hyung Joon Kim, who immigrated to the United States at age six, was arrested without due process of law and faced deportation under the Illegal Immigration Reform and Responsibility Act, which constrained his rights as a noncitizen. His ruling was protested by the executive director of the National Korean American Service and Education Consortium (NAKASEC), a civil and immigrant rights support group based in New York.[11]

IMPACT OF NORTH KOREA'S ACTIONS ON THE KOREAN AMERICAN COMMUNITY

For many Korean Americans, the initial prospect of and then eventual war with Iraq made war with North Korea a real possibility. In 2002 and 2003, prior to the invasion of Iraq, many Korean Americans became concerned

when North Korea test-fired missiles and the tensions between the United States and the North escalated. In areas where a large Korean American population conducts business with South Korea, such as southern California, Korean Americans grew worried about the impact on businesses and also an increase in racial discrimination. During this time, Koreans in America were concerned that they would be treated similarly to how Arab Americans were shortly after 9/11.[12]

It is an ongoing fear that a war with North Korea will follow the war with Iraq, especially with North Korea's nuclear activities, both suspected and actual. With such a possibility, the Korean American community faces multiple fears, including the threat of North Korea attacking South Korea with weapons. Koreans in America are concerned that their families in both Koreas will be hurt if any belligerence were to occur on the peninsula, and they are also concerned about the growing tensions between the United States and North Korea. Throughout the United States in various Korean American enclaves, there are generational clashes in viewpoints as some first-generation Korean Americans expect the United States to take a hard stance with the North, while younger second-generation Korean Americans want more dialogue.[13]

When the nuclear threats and active nuclear program in North Korea became clear in late 2002, despite North Korea's previous agreement to disband its nuclear activities, many Korean Americans grew concerned that their chances for family reunification were even more diminished. Hundreds of thousands of Korean Americans continue to wait for the day when reunification will be feasible, and many families continue to be dispirited by the uncertainty of the peninsula's future.[14] Despite Korean Americans' mixed feelings toward the Sunshine Policy, there was some hope with such efforts; however, when North Korea openly announced its once-covert nuclear programs, Korean Americans' hopes were again diminished.

OTHER CHALLENGES IN THE KOREAN AMERICAN COMMUNITY

A common ongoing concern is that Korean Americans feel that many non-Koreans do not comprehend the difference between South and North Koreans; hence, they do not realize that a majority of Korean Americans did not recently come from the North nor are they communists. Additionally, Korean Americans do not want to be associated with any Korean American spy cases. There have been cases of Korean Americans suspected of being spies for North Korea. In early 2003, a Santa Monica Korean American shop owner named John Yai was indicted by a grand jury for not registering as a foreign government agent. He was arrested on charges of espionage for the North Korean government. His wife, Susan Yai, a bank employee, was also indicted. Those who knew Yai were suspicious of the timing of his arrest, which occurred when tensions were elevated between the United States and North Korea, as he had already been under surveillance by the FBI for seven years.[15]

FAMILY SEPARATION

After the U.S. Immigration Act was signed in 1965 and as postwar South Korea slowly recovered economically, many Koreans emigrated from the 1960s to the 1980s. Thirty-five thousand emigrated per year from 1985–1987, the height of Korean immigration to the United States.[16] Perhaps up to 40 percent of the Koreans who arrived after 1965 were from the northern region of Korea.[17]

As it has been more than fifty years since the war, for those who have family members in the North, with the population aging for those who have survived through the war, it is becoming a frantic concern to find out whether a family member is alive or dead. The first cross-border reunion occurred in 1985, but more significantly, since 2000, there have been more than thirteen reunions for divided family members; at least 13,600 Koreans from both Koreas have been reunited.[18] However, few of these were Korean Americans, as these arrangements occurred between the two Koreas and not North Korea and the United States. In May 2007, the first family reunion for Koreans living in the United States occurred, as a group of fifteen went to Pyongyang, the capital of North Korea. The group went with the help of the Los Angeles branch of South Korea's National Unification Advisory Council.[19]

Structured organizations to assist with reunification are necessary for these efforts. A number of Korean Americans have been able to reunify with relatives in the North through an organization called the Overseas Compatriot Protection Committee; however, such rare arrangements generally were possible for those with money or connections. A majority of older first-generation Korean Americans do not have such access.[20]

Another organization, Saemsori, which is based in Washington, DC, and Seoul, has been playing a pivotal role in family reunification efforts for Korean Americans. As of March 2006, 1,300 people from the United States (including Hawai'i) have signed up with Saemsori, seeking the organization's help in reuniting divided families. Therefore, organizations such as Saemsori, one of the few of its kind, help Korean Americans seek reunification with the help of a U.S. congressperson.[21]

Notably, one prominent Korean American author, Helie Lee, brought much U.S. media attention to the war's impact on her immediate family and by extension, the Korean American community. Her nationally best-selling book, *In the Absence of Sun* (2002), garnered her much attention in the media for illustrating the story of reuniting her family with her long-lost uncle in North Korea. The book also shares how her family rescued her uncle and the rest of his family from North Korea in a dangerous attempt. The footage and story have been shared in the media, including on CNN, *Nightline*, and *Oprah*. Lee has since been a vocal advocate for North Korean refugees and human rights.[22]

In 2001, the Korean American community garnered 20,000 signatures for a petition to send to the U.S. State Department so that North Korea could address the family reunification issue.

KOREAN AMERICAN REACTION TO THE NORTH KOREAN FAMINE AND FLOODS OF THE 1990s

While the "Great Famine" of the mid-1990s in which more than 2 million North Koreans died from starvation and crop-destroying floods has passed, but most North Koreans continue to endure hardships from lack of food and agricultural resources. Previously, North Korea had received significant support, especially during the 1960s, from the Soviet Union, a fellow communist ally. The Soviet Union's collapse drastically affected the North, as the region no longer received the aid that had helped them thrive so rapidly after the war. With less financial support from North Korea's communist ally and in need of assistance, the United Nations World Food Program entered the North. This support was not sufficient for all, however, especially those in the more rustic regions of the northern part of the peninsula. Therefore, many North Koreans, including hundreds of thousands of political prisoners, seek refuge in China, and of these refugees, many attempt the trek to South Korea. The U.S. State Department estimates that between 30,000 and 50,000 North Korean refugees live in China, while some nongovernmental organizations approximate the number at 300,000.

The Korean American community provides significant financial support to North Koreans in need. As of 2001, it was reported that Korean Americans had provided the North with $46 million in assistance.[23] When news and photographs of the famine in North Korea reached Korea Americans, the Korean American community collectively reacted by gathering funds to help support those facing starvation. The community is also supportive of survivors of other tragedies. For instance, when a train crash killed 161 people and thousands became homeless in 2004 in a North Korean city bordering China, called Ryongchon, Korean Americans also collected funds to help the victims.[24]

Korean American activists continue to believe that more of the Korean American community needs to raise a voice in shaping the U.S. foreign policy regarding the Korean peninsula; however, in recent years, although the Korean American community as a whole provided community and financial support during the famine in the 1990s, after the North's nuclear activities were discovered, some Korean Americans became reluctant to provide food and humanitarian aid to the North, presuming that such support might be sent to the military instead.

NORTH KOREAN REFUGEE MIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES

In 2004, the U.S. Congress passed and President Bush signed the North Korean Human Rights Act of 2004 (NKHRA). Among other items, the act authorized up to $20 million per fiscal year from 2005 to 2008 to be used to aid North Korean refugees. The act also permitted North Koreans to be considered eligible for refugee status in the United States, allowing the State Department

to accept applications by North Korean refugees seeking asylum. As a result of the act, in 2006 the first six North Korean refugees received asylum in the United States. From 2006 to 2008, forty-three refugees have arrived in the United States.[25] Overall, there are few documented North Korean refugees, and the history of their acceptance into the United States is brief. When refugees do give interviews, it is usually under a pseudonym in order to protect their family members in North Korea. Those that have emigrated to the United States may not realize that their experience may be similar to North Korean refugees in South Korea. That is, these refugees find it difficult to assimilate because of the cultural and language barriers and their poor educational background. The Korean dialect that North Koreans speak varies greatly from the dialect of the South Koreans; hence, even in the United States, North Koreans would find it difficult to communicate with the Korean American population. In addition, their limited education backgrounds make it difficult to move beyond menial occupations.

KOREAN AMERICAN GROUPS RAISING AWARENESS

Many Korean American North Korean refugee or reunification advocacy groups are Christian in nature. These groups include the aforementioned Saemsori, founded by the Eugene Bell Foundation, a Christian organization. One of the more prominent organizations with a nationwide network in the United States, the Irvine, CA–based Korean Church Coalition for North Korea Freedom (KCC), includes three thousand Korean American pastors and millions of congregation members. The organization works to liberate North Korean refugees in China and also actively raises awareness throughout the United States. This group regularly holds candlelight vigils across the nation. Leaders and members also effectively assisted the integration process when the first six North Korean refugees were accepted by the United States in 2006. The KCC's "Let My People Go" campaign, launched in 2007 prior to the 2008 Summer Olympics in Beijing, was intended to raise awareness in providing refugee protection and status to the North Korean refugees currently residing in China.

Another prominent organization, the Washington, DC–based U.S. Committee for Human Rights in North Korea, is a group of foreign policy and human rights experts that aim to promote human rights in North Korea. Prominent Korean Americans on this board include Helie Lee, the aforementioned Korean American author, who also lectures about human rights for North Korean refugees.

Some Korean Americans are concerned with ensuring that they do not come across as anti-American and do not want their U.S. loyalties to be doubted, especially when there was a period of strong anti-American and anti-Bush sentiment in South Korea. For instance, when a New York–based fifty-member North Korea advocacy group that provides social services to immigrants, called Nodutdol for Korean Community Development, organized an antiwar gathering

in 2003 in reaction to the war in Iraq, some other Korean Americans felt that the action seemed anti-American. Some Korean Americans feel that the group is pro–North Korean, and they do not want to be associated with the "enemy." This kind of reaction is common among immigrant groups in the United States. [26]

Alliance of Scholars Concerned About Korea (ASCK) was started by a group of scholars in the United States and a group of Korea Studies experts, including Korean American scholars, to raise awareness about North Korea and its surrounding issues. This group feared that the Bush administration would take bellicose actions toward the North. This group has started efforts such as "Peace Day," which is meant to explore peaceful solutions.[27]

REUNIFICATION EFFORTS BY KOREAN AMERICANS

There are several active Korean American–run or –supported North Korean refugee support and advocacy organizations in the United States. Many of these organizations, including nongovernmental organizations, are Christian groups or missionary organizations and may operate under secretive methods to avoid detection from both the Chinese and North Korean governments. The Korean American Sharing Movement is a NGO that gives humanitarian aid to North Koreans and is managed by a Korean American reverend. Exodus 21, also led by a Korean American reverend, is a group that helps North Koreans escape.

Chun Ki Won, a well-known Seoul-based pastor helped the first group of North Korean refugees into the United States. He received help from Korean American churches and has become well known for his work helping refugees. These refugees have an opportunity to receive shelter and work from one of the 2,300 churches of the Korean American Church Coalition. These refugees have sought occupations in nail salons and construction sites.[28]

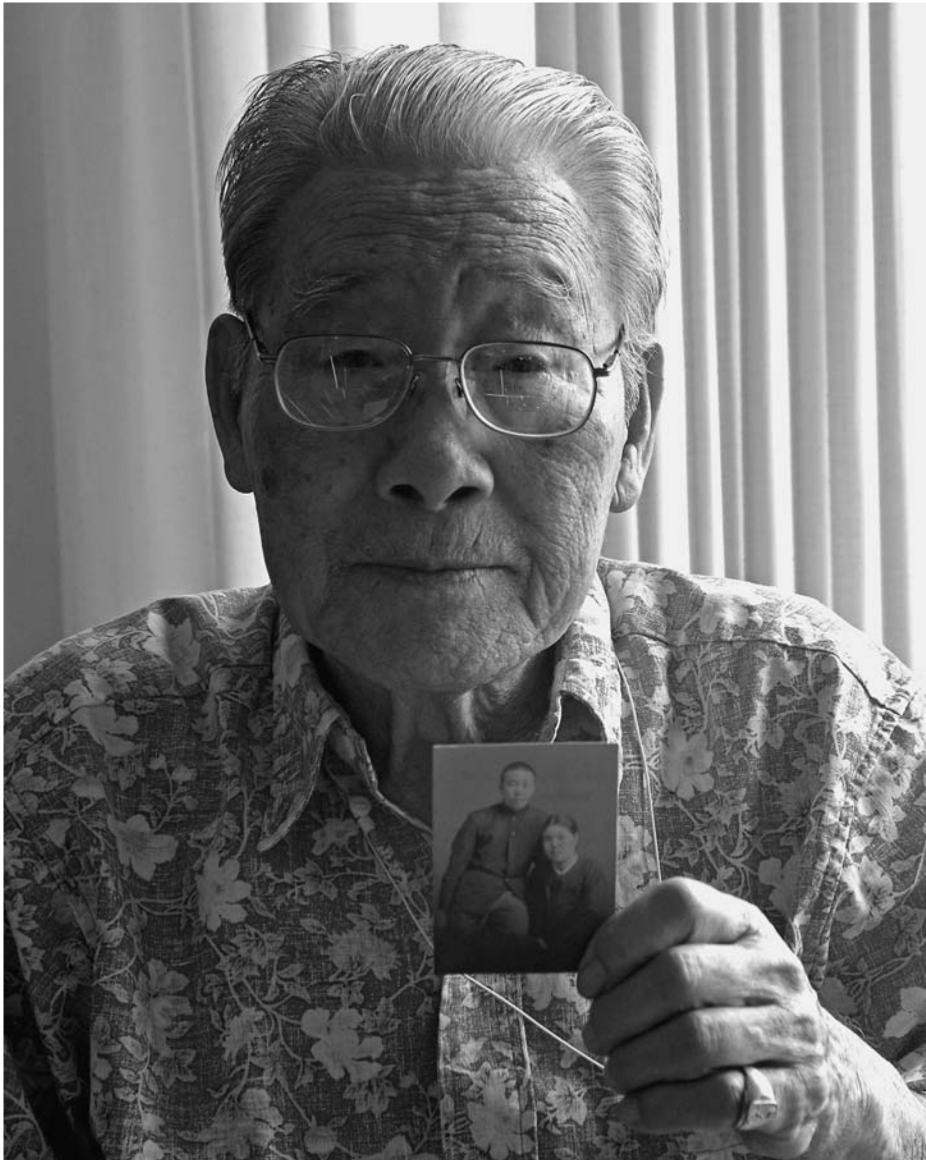
In April 2004, "North Korea Freedom Day" took place on Capitol Hill, drawing younger generation Korean Americans, including the founder of an organization called Liberty in North Korea (LiNK), and twenty North Korean refugees to the Hill's steps. And on the same day, across the country in Los Angeles, a group of young Korean Americans organized a concert to bring more attention to the issue of North Korean refugees.[29]

KOREAN AMERICANS VISITING NORTH KOREA

In July 2008, five Korean American university students (as part of a group of nine American university students) from International Strategy and Reconciliation (ISR), a group that has given medical supplies valued at $32 million to North Korea, visited North Korea for twelve days to teach English to middle- and high-school students. Supposedly, it was the first such visit to teach American English in Pyongyang, North Korea. This project, called a "Global Research Internship," was meant to provide U.S. college students with an opportunity to go to North Korea.[30]

LiNK is one of the few non-Christian nonprofit groups to address human rights issues for North Koreans. Based in Washington, DC, the group has

attempted to unify the efforts of young Korean Americans nationally. In 2008, LiNK went to Seoul, South Korea, to meet with North Korean refugees, defectors, and officials from North Korean resettlement agencies, and to learn more about awareness of North Korean rights and issues in South Korea.



Tongjin Samuel Lee, 90, holds an old photograph of his sister, Hwasil, and her husband, in 2006 in Honolulu. Lee, a retired Christian minister, is originally from North Korea. He emigrated from what was then Japanese-occupied Korea in the 1940s to the United States to continue his theological studies. Lee lost contact with his family when the Korean Conflict began. He has no knowledge of his younger sister since he immigrated to the U.S. and wishes to make contact with her. (AP Photo/Marco Garcia)

OUTLOOK FOR KOREAN AMERICANS

The status of North Korea and the U.S. foreign policy regarding the peninsula will continue to affect the Korean American community. While the media and the government approach the situation solely from a political standpoint, for Korean Americans, the division is also significantly about the split of families. The intergenerational differences and perspectives will continue to challenge the community, while views on issues concerning the peninsula can even differ between members of the same generation. Within the Korean American community, various internal dialogues are taking place, often through local roundtables. These kinds of events help encourage younger generations to vote and share their opinions with the public and their congressional representatives.

For many Korean Americans, a chief concern is the possible future threat of war on the peninsula, especially with the past Bush administration's preemptive war doctrine. Another major concern is that reunification will be delayed, and that the aging first-generation Korean American population will not have an opportunity to be reconnected with lost family members. Future concerns and mutual desires include a peaceful reunification. More than anything, it is the not knowing—whether family members survived or died—that is of much torment to Korean American families. If there is a reunification, however, the challenges that come with how the two regions would be integrated will be unique and complex. Other fears include an implosion of North Korea. In the interim, an ongoing hope for the Korean American community will be that bilateral talks sustain between the United States and the North. The year 2003 marked the fiftieth anniversary of the war. Overall, moving forward, to effect change, it will continue to be important for Korean Americans to make their voices heard on the political stage. One recurring issue in studies and interviews of Korean Americans is that Korean Americans do not have a major impact in effecting change on Korea-related issues in Congress, other than, most prominently, the North Korean Human Rights Act of 2004.[31] Korean Americans are still a minority in the United States, but their population and economic pull is increasing, while the time left to reunite families is only diminishing.

FURTHER READING

Liem, Ramsey. "History, Trauma, and Identity: The Legacy of the Korean War for Korean Americans," *Amerasia Journal*, 29, no. 3 (2003): 111–129.

Save North Korean Refugees. http://www.snkr.org/.

Still Present Pasts: Korean Americans and "the Forgotten War." http://www.stillpresentpasts.org/spp/home/home.html.

Stories Untold: Memories of Korean War Survivors. http://userwww.sfsu.edu/~gracey/films.htm.

Yoo, Grace. "The Not So Forgotten War," *Peace Review* 16, no. 2 (2004): 169–179.

NOTES

1. Bay Fang, "Talk of Kith and Kims," *U.S. News & World Report* 128, no. 25 (June 26, 2000): 9.

2. Eric Schmitt, "Gates Approves of 3-Year Tours for U.S. Troops in South Korea," *New York Times*, June 4, 2008, http://www.nytimes.com/2008/06/04/washington/04gates.html?_r=1&fta=y&oref=slogin.

3. Audrey McAvoy, "Korean-Americans Seeking to Reunite with Family in North Korea," *The America's Intelligence Wire*, March 28 2006, http://www.saemsori.org/press/2006-03/20060328-Hawaii-AP.htm.

4. Sang Lee, "Brother, Where Art Thou?" *San Gabriel Valley Tribune*, July 19, 2006.

5. Calvin Sims, "A Nation at War: An Immigrant Community; for Korean-Americans, Concerns for a New War," *New York Times*, April 16, 2003, http://www.nytimes.com/2003/04/16/us/nation-war-immigrant-community-for-korean-americans-concerns-for-new-war.html?pagewanted=2.

6. Ramsay Liem, "History, Trauma, and Identity: The Legacy of the Korean War for Korean Americans," *Amerasia Journal* 29, no. 3 (2003–2004), 111–129.

7. Ramsay Liem, "History, Trauma, and Identity: The Legacy of the Korean War for Korean Americans," *Amerasia Journal* 29, no. 3 (2003–2004), 111–129.

8. Sun Hung Lee, "Uniting Hearts and Minds over Korea," *AsianWeek*, Oct. 21–27, 2004, http://www.asianweek.com/2004/10/22/uniting-hearts-and-minds-over-korea/.

9. Jessica S. Barnes and Claudette E. Bennett, "The Asian Population: 2000," U.S. Census 2000 Brief, U.S. Census Bureau, U.S. Department of Commerce, 2002.

10. Neela Banerjee, Shirley Lin, "Tearing Us Apart," *AsianWeek*, May 21, 2003, 21.

11. Julie Ha, "Court Says Yes to Detention: A KA Who Challenged a Controversial 1996 Immigration Law Loses in the U.S. Supreme Court," *KoreAm Journal*, June 2003.

12. Kate Berry, "Korean Businesses Brace for Losses as Diplomacy Falters," *Los Angeles Business Journal,* 25, no. 11, March 17, 2003.

13. Louise Roug, "A House Divided by War's Specter: With Trouble Brewing in the Koreas, Immigrants Here—Even Families—Are Split over a Solution," *Los Angeles Times*, April 9, 2003.

14. Catherine Holahan, "New Jersey's Koreans not Surprised; Many Saddened by North's Nuclear Revelation," *The Record*, Oct. 20, 2002.

15. Julie Ha, "The United States Vs. John Yai," *KoreAm Journal*, March 2003.

16. Bruce Cumings, *Korea's Place in the Sun* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2005).

17. Bong-Youn Choy, *Koreans in America* (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1979).

18. Yonhap News Agency of Korea, "First Group of Korean-Americans Heads to North Korea for Family Reunion," *Yonhap News Agency of Korea*, May 17, 2007.

19. Audrey McAvoy, "Korean-Americans Seeking to Reunite with Family in North Korea," *The America's Intelligence Wire*, March 26, 2006, http://www.saemsori.org/press/2006-03/20060328-Hawaii-AP.htm.

20. Barbara Demick, "Korean Reunion Project Aimed at Americans: Many Don't Know Whether Relatives in the North Survived the War," *Los Angeles Times*, Feb. 9, 2006, http://articles.latimes.com/2006/feb/09/world/fg-families9.

21. Audrey McAvoy, "Korean-Americans Seeking to Reunite with Family in North Korea," *The America's Intelligence Wire*, March 28 2006, http://www.saemsori.org/press/2006-03/20060328-Hawaii-AP.htm.

22. Kate McLaughlin, "Journey to Freedom: Author Recounts North Korean Ancestors' Struggles in Hopes of Raising Awareness," *Daily Breeze*, Feb. 6, 2003.

23. "Korean Americans' Assistance to North Korea Tops $46 Million," *Korea Herald,* Feb. 7, 2001.

24. "Korean Americans in New York Aid North Korea Train Blast Victims," *Yonhap News Agency of Korea*, April 28, 2004.

25. "Seven N. Korean Asylum Seekers Arrive in U.S.," *Yonhap News Agency of Korea*, March 23, 2008.

26. Denny Lee, "In Search of a Delicate Balance, Koreans Clash Over an Antiwar Protest," *New York Times*, March 23, 2003, http://www.nytimes.com/2003/03/23/nyregion/neighborhood-report-chelsea-search-delicate-balance-koreans-clash-over-antiwar.html.

27. Jimmy Lee, Ki-Min Sung, Charse Yun, "All They are saying . . .," *KoreAm Journal*, January 2004.

28. Valerie Reitman, "Defecting from Despair: A Perilous Odyssey Aided by the Internet Gives N. Korean Refugees a Chance to Settle in the U.S." *Los Angeles Times*, Oct. 16, 2006, http://fairuse.100webcustomers.com/fuj/latimes96.htm.

29. K. Connie Kang, "Southlanders Join Capitol Hill Rally for Rights in North Korea," *Los Angeles Times*, April 28, 2004, http://articles.latimes.com/2004/apr/28/local/me-gulag28.

30. "US College Students Visited N. Korea to Teach English," *Yonhap News Agency of Korea*, July 24, 2008.

31. Bo Kyung Choi, Daniel Lim, and Jeffrey Mitchell, "The K Factor: Korean-American Attitudes Towards and Impact on U.S.-Korea Policy," Center for Strategic and International Studies, March 25, 2008.

FILIPINO WORLD WAR II VETERANS

Ben de Guzman

One of the recurring themes of any discussion concerning the Philippines and the United States is the "special relationship" between the two nations. As the first subject of the U.S. colonial imperial project, the Philippines has been inextricably intertwined with the United States since Admiral Dewey first sailed into Manila Harbor in 1898. The unequal power dynamic between the colonial "master" and "subject" has affected many aspects of Philippine culture and society; Filipino migration to the United States has re-enacted this dynamic in their new land. One of the longstanding examples of how this power imbalance has played itself out through the "special relationship" between the United States and the Philippines has been the unequal treatment of Filipino World War II veterans and their quest for treatment equitable to that of the other soldiers with whom they fought side by side. During the sixty-three years of this longstanding inequity, it has evolved from a specific issue for a relatively small group of aggrieved individuals and their advocates into the largest legislative campaign ever undertaken by the Filipino American community. This issue has also leveraged support from broader range of allies and supporters. With a recent victory that provides official recognition of the service of Filipino World War II veterans by the U.S. military as well as a monetary benefit, the campaign now takes a new turn.

During World War II, the proximity of Japan to the Philippines made it a strategically important location. At that time, the Philippines was in the process of transitioning from being a U.S. territory to being an independent nation, as set forth in the Tydings-McDuffie Act (PL 73-127), which governed procedures around military bases and personnel in the Philippines. Based on his authority through that act, on July 26, 1941, President Franklin D. Roosevelt called the

Philippine Commonwealth Army into service under the command of the newly formed United States Armed Forces of the Far East. In total, approximately 300,000 Filipinos fought in the Pacific theater during the war.[1]

Some of the most enduring images of the war anywhere come from the Philippines and the battles waged there. General Douglas MacArthur's iconic, "I Shall Return!" was uttered as he left the Philippines for a strategic retreat. The Bataan Death March, in which more than 75,000 American and Filipino soldiers were forcibly marched 90 miles in the tropical heat, continues to live in infamy. The Raid at Cabanatuan, in which five hundred soldiers were liberated from a Japanese prison camp, is called the most successful of its kind in U.S. military history.[2] These events are indelibly inked in the American psyche and are evidence of the key role played by the Philippines and the Filipinos who fought there in World War II.

After the war, the U.S. Congress took proactive steps against these very soldiers. On February 18, 1946, the First Supplemental Appropriations Rescission Act of 1946 (PL 79-301) struck the first blow, stating that these soldiers' service "shall not be deemed . . . active military, naval, or air service for the purposes of conferring rights, privileges, or benefits" (PL 79-301, sec. 107). A Second Supplementary Rescission Act (PL-79-391) further restricted access to U.S. veterans benefits for these soldiers. These acts were opposed by President Harry S. Truman. In a signing statement to the First Rescission Act, he wrote that despite this legislation, the U.S. government has a "moral obligation to provide for the heroic Philippine veterans who sacrificed so much for the common cause during the war."[3]

The U.S. Congress' passing of the 1946 Rescission Acts denied U.S. veteran status for these soldiers. In the years since, the U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs has reported disbursement of payments to veterans in sixty-six countries, both U.S. citizens and noncitizens, as well as dependents and spouses.[4] In essence, it is by virtue of the passage of the Rescission Acts that veterans from the Philippines were proactively singled out for unequal treatment and inequitable access to benefits based on service in the U.S. Armed Forces. The U.S. government took advantage of the changing status of the Philippines from U.S. territory to independent nation as an opportunity to remove them from the rosters of U.S. veterans. Ironically, the "special relationship" between the U.S. and the Philippines becomes the basis of and justification for the discriminatory treatment.

UNDERLYING FRAMEWORK FOR VETERANS CAMPAIGN

In the years since, Filipino World War II veterans and their advocates have fought for redress of what they perceive to be discriminatory treatment. For them, the quest for "full equity" means equal treatment for their service on par with other veterans who served under U.S. command during World War II.

Following the war, the struggle for equitable treatment of Filipino World War II veterans focused on eligibility for naturalization by virtue of military

service. Despite passage of the wartime legislation that allowed for naturalization of noncitizens during wartime, efforts were made to discourage Filipino veterans from achieving U.S. citizen status. Court cases throughout the 1960s and 1970s went back and forth on the issue of naturalization for Filipino World War II veterans until the Supreme Court held in favor of the INS that the courts had no power to circumvent congressional limitations on citizenship.[5] This case, in effect, placed the equity struggle out of the purview of the judicial branch and into the legislative branch, where it has remained since.

Generally speaking, there are four groupings of Filipino World War II veterans, classifications on which benefits are based. These groupings refer to specific military units in which Filipinos served and are also determined in part by the time they joined.

1. Regular Philippine Scouts (also referred to as "Old Philippine Scouts"): Soldiers who enlisted as Philippine Scouts before October 6, 1945. These scouts were part of a regular component of the U.S. Army considered to be regular active service. Generally, they are entitled to all benefits administered by the Department of Veterans Affairs.
2. Commonwealth Army of the Philippines: Soldiers enlisted in the organized military forces of the Government of the Philippines per the Philippine Independence Act of 1934. They were called into service per the order of President Roosevelt on July 26, 1941.
3. Recognized Guerrilla Forces: Individuals who served in units recognized by the U.S. Armed forces during the Japanese occupation. After the war, they became part of the Commonwealth Army of the Philippines.
4. New Philippine Scouts: These Philippine citizens served with the U.S. Armed Forces between October 6, 1945, and June 30, 1947. They served through the Armed Forces Voluntary Recruitment Act of 1945 (PL 79-190) and were primarily involved in "mop-up" work in Japan and the Pacific theater.[6]

These categories and the Filipinos' pursuit of full equity have evolved over the years. The categories have achieved a number of adjustments to eligibility for benefits and access to services for Filipino World War II veterans, and in general, these adjustments have increased access to benefits and services for Filipino World War II veterans.

EVOLVING EQUITY STRUGGLE

If the basis of the quest for full equity lies in the power imbalance of the "special relationship" between the United States and the Philippines, it is perhaps no mistake that the Filipino American community's emerging political clout has coincided with progress of the Filipino World War II Equity campaign. The signing of the 1990 Immigration and Naturalization Act (PL 101-649) and subsequent influx of immigration by Filipino veterans to the United States was

originally perceived to be a legislative victory. By 1998, about 20,000 Filipino veterans had naturalized and 17,000 came to the United States.[7] Upon their arrival, however, it quickly became evident that in some ways their problems had only increased. As citizens, they were eligible for certain benefits such as Medicare and Social Security; however, they continued to be denied status as U.S. veterans and remained largely ineligible for programs administered by the U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs. The unsuccessful efforts to achieve equity through the judicial system moved veterans and advocates to more fully pursue redress through the legislative process.

The equity campaign hit full stride in the mid- to late 1990s, when it became a signature issue for emerging national networks of Filipino Americans. The movement for Veterans' Equity became national in scope through efforts of groups such as the National Network for Veterans Equity (NNVE) and the American Coalition of Filipino Veterans (ACFV). These organizations and networks emerged from the work of the veterans themselves and of the locally based organizations and agencies that served them.

Perhaps the main impetus for the exponential growth the movement experienced in this time is the evolution of the issue beyond the immediate scope of the veterans and their direct advocates. At this stage of the campaign, the Filipino American community as a whole began to embrace the Filipino World War II Veterans Equity struggle and positioned it as a key priority issue. This coincided with the emergence of national Filipino American networks that took on broader sets of issues, including that of the veterans. Filipino Civil Rights Advocates (FilCRA) was formed in 1994 and at national conventions in 1994 and 1997, the Veterans Equity Campaign was discussed. In 1997, the National Federation of Filipino American Associations (NaFFAA) was formed and positioned itself as an "umbrella group" for Filipino American organizations of all types around the country. At its Founding Convention, the Filipino World War II veterans campaign emerged as its top legislative priority and has been a key area of concern for the organization since.

By moving the issue beyond the scope of the veterans themselves and positioning it as a self-consciously unifying issue that all Filipino Americans could ostensibly support, the campaign was better able to leverage the resources of the entire community to the effort. This move toward unanimity has experienced its own ups and downs, and in many ways has served as the Filipino American community's version of the internal dialogues that all advocacy campaigns have around strategies and tactics. For the Filipino veterans, this dialogue generally revolved around the notions of "piecemeal" versus "full equity" approaches during this time. Advocates of a more piecemeal approach argued that it was more realistic to pursue incremental advances in the struggle for equitable treatment of Filipino World War II veterans and that other strategies were unrealistic "all or nothing" gambits. Supporters of full equity, on the other hand, maintained that it was necessary to articulate their perceived goals of full and equitable treatment of Filipino World War II veterans and eschewed strategies that favored watering down these goals.

These at times conflicting strategies have played a role in the introduction of a multiplicity of pieces of legislation in the U.S. Congress since the late 1990s. While bills providing for full equity for Filipino World War II veterans have been introduced in every Congress since 1990, bills containing smaller, more limited provisions for Filipino veterans have also moved. With different bills covering varying ranges of benefits, it muddied the waters and made a more coherent legislative strategy more difficult. Thus, for almost twenty years, these bills languished in Congress, with only limited fixes able to pass. The progress until this point only served to create a web of eligibilities and benefits structures for Filipino WII veterans based on a variety of variables, including military unit of service, citizenship and health status or nature of war-related injuries.[8]

POLITICS AND PROGRESS

This issue has come to a head in recent years. After almost twenty years of piecemeal achievements for the veterans and little to no progress in the underlying question of full and equitable status for Filipino World War II veterans, legislation restoring U.S. veteran status to these veterans experienced exponential progress starting with the 110th Congress. The Democratic takeover of the Congress in 2006 laid the groundwork for this progress, when many of the key champions for this legislation rose from minority status to leadership positions in key committees. The House Veterans Affairs Committee became chaired by Bob Filner (D-CA) who had been involved with this issue since his arrival to Congress in 1993, and Senator Daniel Akaka (D-HI), whose home state of Hawai‘i is home to a large Filipino American population, became chairman of the Senate Veterans Affairs Committee. These champions were aided by members of the House and Senate on both sides of the aisle.

With a coordinated, national campaign from the community and unprecedented levels of support from the Congress, Filipino World War II veterans legislation moved quickly and was voted out of the House and Senate Veterans Affairs Committees. Despite opposition from Senate Veterans Affairs Ranking Member Larry Craig (R-ID), until scandal removed him from his leadership post, and then Senator Richard Burr (R-NC), the Senate voted down an unfriendly amendment 56 to 41 and took an historic and resounding 96-1 vote in favor of Filipino World War II veterans equity legislation. Unfortunately, opposition in the House led by Veterans Affairs Ranking Member Steve Buyer (R-IN) was able to block a floor vote and wait out the clock until Congress convened in the fall of 2008. In the closing days of the 110th Congress, Senator Inouye worked with Congressman Bob Filner to lay the groundwork for the 111th Congress by appropriating a $198 million Filipino World War II Veterans Compensation Fund.

Increased majorities in the House and Senate after the 2008 elections, along with the election of President Barack Obama (who had cosponsored the Senate bill when he was a member of the Veterans Affairs Committee) brought momentum into the 111th Congress. Senator Inouye moved forcefully to

include Filipino World War II veterans legislation in the economic stimulus package, which was the first moving bill in the new Congress. The bill authorized spending the Filipino World War II Veterans Compensation Fund they had created in the previous Congress in the amount of $15,000 for U.S. citizen veterans and $9,000 for noncitizens. On February 13, 2008, the Congress finally passed Filipino World War II veterans legislation that provides a payment to Filipino World War II veterans and recognizes their service by the U.S. military. In a moment ripe with symbolic meaning for the Filipino American community, President Barack Obama signed this bill into law on February 17, 2008, one day shy of the sixty-third anniversary of the 1946 Rescission Act that took away their status in the first place.

FILIPINO AMERICANS FINDING THEIR PLACE

One of the notable advancements of the Filipino Veterans Equity movement starting in the 110th Congress has been the more direct engagement of allied, non-Filipino communities and organizations in coalition-building efforts. While such groups have always shown support, strategies in the 110th Congress intentionally included efforts to garner direct support and partnership of other communities. In December of 2006, the Philippine Embassy convened all the currently existing organizations leading the efforts on the Filipino veterans' campaign to plot strategy for the 110th Congress, resulting in the establishment of the National Alliance for Filipino Veterans Equity (NAFVE). NAFVE's leadership structure leveraged its relationships with Asian Pacific American and civil rights organizations to bring them on board. Organizations such as the National Council of Asian Pacific Americans—the leading coalition of national Asian Pacific American organizations—and its members issued letters of support and actively participated in the campaign. Several leading national civil rights and Latino organizations issued a letter of support calling for Filipino World War II veterans legislation as well.

Veterans Service Organization (VSOs) also played a key role in the campaign. Initially, several key VSOs actively supported passage of this legislation. The American Legion, one of the nation's largest veterans' groups, testified in support of the bill and included it in its list of legislative priorities for 2007. Other VSOs also lined up in support. Unfortunately, the budget offset to pay for the bill proved to be a challenge for VSOs. The offset was presented by the opposition in the House as a wedge that would take money away from old, disabled veterans in the United States and send it abroad. Despite efforts by the bill's champions, including a public statement by Senator Daniel Akaka to clarify the offset, some VSOs backed off.[9] The American Legion stated that while they support Filipino World War II veterans legislation, they were opposed to the budget offset. Other VSOs, most notably Vietnam Veterans of America (VVA), Jewish War Veterans, and Catholic War Veterans, continued to support the bill and raised concerns that the opposition to the offset was not based on substantive issues related to the bill, but on procedural matters.

Jose V. Juachon wears his favorite military cap, adorned with medals from the U.S. and Philippine governments, at his home in Chicago, 2005. The eighty-six-year-old veteran was inducted into the U.S. Armed Forces in 1941, when his country was under American control and the United Stated promised Filipino fighters the same benefits as American soldiers in return for their service. (AP Photo/Nam Y. Huh)

During the 2008 election year, Filipino Americans and Asian Pacific Americans made this issue a key component in its political and civic engagement work. Along with broader issues such as immigration and education, the Filipino World War II veterans issue was the highest profile ethnic specific issue discussed in Asian Pacific American political discussions.[10] With the passage of Filipino World War II veterans legislation, the journey of these veterans takes a new turn. While by and large, the Filipino American community recognizes the magnitude of the victory this bill represents, many recognize the limitations of the legislation. Since the bill's passage, advocates in the short term are focused on implementation and making sure that every eligible veteran is able to take advantage of the benefit they have secured. In the long run, advocates will face larger questions of how they can turn the political capital won by this battle into more legislative victories not just for veterans specifically, but on the broader set of issues of concern for all Filipino Americans.

FURTHER READING

American Coalition for Filipino Veterans. http://usfilvets.tripod.com/.

APIA Vote YouTube Video Clips from Presidential Town Hall. http://www.apiavote.org/newsroom/press-releases/2008/historic-presidential-town-hall-availabl.

Filipinos for Affirmative Action (FAA). http://www.filipinos4action.org.
House Veterans Affairs Committee (HCVA) 1998. Hearings on Benefits for Filipino Veterans. Serial No. 105-44.
National Alliance for Filipino Veterans Equity (NAFVE). http://www.nafve.org.
Panangala, Sidath Viranga, Christine Scott, and Carol D. Davis. "Overview of Filipino Veterans' Benefits." Congressional Research Service (CRS). Updated Oct. 10, 2008.
San Francisco Veterans Equity Center (VEC). http://home.att.net/~smpch/index.html.
Sides, Hampton. *Ghost Soldiers: The Forgotten Epic Story of World War II's Most Dramatic Mission*. New York: Doubleday, 2001.
Vergara, Vanessa. "Broken Promises and Aging Patriots: An Assessment of US Veteran Benefits Policy for Filipino World War II Veterans." *Asian American Policy Review* VII (1997): 163–182.

NOTES

1. Vanessa Vergara, "Broken Promises and Aging Patriots: An Assessment of US Veteran Benefits Policy for Filipino World War II Veterans," *Asian American Policy Review* VII (1997): 163.

2. Hampton Sides, *Ghost Soldiers: The Forgotten Epic Story of World War II's Most Dramatic Mission* (New York: Doubleday, 2001).

3. Harry Truman, *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States, Harry S. Truman, Containing the Public Messages, Speeches, and Statements of the President*, vol. 2 (Washington, DC, Government Printing Office, 1962).

4. U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs, *1967 Annual Report of the Administrator of Veterans Affairs,* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1968), 122. cited in Vergara, p. 171.

5. *INS v. Pangilinan,* 486 U.S. 875 (1988).

6. Sidath Viranga Panangala et al., *Overview of Filipino Veterans' Benefits* (Congressional Research Service: Updated October 10, 2008), 1–2.

7. House Veterans Affairs Committee (HCVA) 1998, *Hearings on Benefits for Filipino Veterans,* Serial No. 105-44.

8. Panangala et al., *Overview of Filipino Veterans' Benefits,* 12.

9. U.S. Senate Committee on Veterans' Affairs Press Release, http://veterans.senate.gov/public/index.cfm?pageid=12&release_id=11734.

10. APIA Vote YouTube Video Clips from Presidential Town Hall, http://www.apiavote.org/newsroom/press-releases/2008/historic-presidential-town-hall-available.

HMONG AND LAO AMERICAN VIETNAM VETERANS

Davorn Sisavath

The United States entered the war in Vietnam as part of the Cold War containment strategy and to prevent a communist takeover of South Vietnam. The Vietnam War was highly publicized, but the "Secret War" in Laos (1961–1973) was a clandestine operation. The U.S. government feared that if Laos fell to communism, it would create a domino effect on other Southeast Asian countries.[1] Without direct military involvement, the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency hired local Hmong and Lao to support U.S. interests in the war. Despite these aids, the United States' failure to achieve its objective in Vietnam and Laos had a major impact on U.S. politics and foreign relations. After several decades and only in the late 1990s, the U.S. government finally acknowledged its involvement in Laos. In 1997, national recognition was bestowed upon the Lao Veterans of America by members of Congress, and by representatives of the U.S. intelligence, military and diplomat communities. On October 10, 2002, under the House Concurrent Resolution 406, the House of Representatives honored and commended the Lao Veterans of America, Lao and Hmong veterans of the Vietnam War, and the families of the Lao and Hmong veterans.[2] This was an important signal for Lao and Hmong veterans because they have fought for a long time to be recognized and honored. The end of the Vietnam War changed and diversified the demographics of the Asian American population because it brought an influx of refugees to the United States from Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. With this influx, it has also reshaped the concept of a monolithic Asian American community and raised awareness of contemporary issues surrounding immigration laws, welfare policy reforms, mental health, and the myth of the model minority.

LAOTIAN CIVIL WAR

After Laos gained independence in 1953 through the Franco-Lao Treaty, the United States feared the spread of communism and, therefore, conducted a covert operation in the country during the Vietnam War. From 1960 through 1975, the Central Intelligence Agency and the U.S. Armed Forces recruited, organized, trained, and assisted more than 30,000 Hmong and Lao guerrilla units known collectively as the Special Guerrilla Unit. The unit was also composed of Khmu, Mien, Lahu, and other diverse ethnic groups. Under the command of Royal Lao Army General Vang Pao, a Hmong military leader, the guerrilla units were used to block the Ho Chi Minh Trail, which was the main military supply route for the North Vietnamese army. Lao and Hmong veterans risked their lives to block the supply line and to rescue American pilots and aircrews who were shot down over Laos and North Vietnam. They also blocked and helped to destroy enemy units. By 1969, Lao and Hmong veterans had already fought for more than twelve years in the Secret War. It was in 1970 that the war in Laos became public to the Americans; however, the United States continued to deny any involvement because it would have meant admitting it had broken the signed agreement at the Geneva Conference in 1962, which called for the neutrality of Laos. In 1973, the Paris Peace Accord was signed that stipulated the United States was to pull out of Laos; however, under the treaty, North Vietnam was not required to remove its forces.[3] This forced Laos' national government to accept the communist Pathet Lao regime into the government because Vietnamese and Pathet Lao forces attacked the government. An agreement was then signed that gave power to the Pathet Lao in order to save the government from destruction. Once in power, the Pathet Lao cut all economic ties with its neighbors. Many members of the Lao and Hmong guerrilla units and their families who were trapped in Laos were persecuted, imprisoned, or killed because of their roles during the Secret War. It is estimated that more than 40,000 Hmong and Lao were killed and many more are missing in action, injured, or disabled.[4] Although many Hmongs and Laotians have found new homes in the United States, some of their family members remain stranded in their home country and in refugee camps. Consequently, a multinational tie has been strengthened within the Southeast Asian and Asian American communities in Asia. This connection has led to strong political and cultural ties to Asia and creating a bridge between Asian Americans and Asians.

IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES

After the communist Pathet Lao regime took over the country in 1975, more than 300,000 Hmongs and Laotians fled the country to refugee camps in Thailand in fear of retaliation and persecution. Their immigration to and resettlement in the United States were facilitated by the following acts: Indochina Migration and Refugee Assistance Act (1975), Refugee Act (1980), Immigrant Reform and Control Act (1986), and Immigration Act (1990). In 1976, the first wave of immigrants was primarily made up of individuals directly associated

with Vang Pao's guerilla units. The second-wave of Hmong and Lao immigration to the United States began in 1980 with the passage of the Refugee Act. For humanitarian reasons, family members of members of the Special Guerrilla Unit were permitted to immigrate into the United States, as were other refugees from Southeast Asia. Specifically, Hmongs and Laotians were unable to return to Laos because of fear of persecution from the communist Pathet Lao government. Despite the federal government's plan to widely disperse Southeast Asian refugees throughout the fifty states, many refugees have resettled in California (137,000), Minnesota (57,000), and Wisconsin (42,000).[5] In California, the presence of a Southeast Asian community, sponsoring relatives, and tropical climate made the transition less difficult. The United States is home to significant communities of Lao and Hmong veterans and their families.

Southeast Asians have played a significant role in refocusing attention on Asian American issues, especially across racial and class lines. Their impact is not limited to demographic statistics; Southeast Asian Americans have reshaped how Asian Americans are perceived by others and themselves. Many Southeast Asian refugees are undereducated and live below the poverty line, which counters the model minority myth and how most Asian Americans perceive themselves. This has led Asian American leaders and Asian American communities to work with each other to address issues of poverty, mental illness, crime, and education. For example, the impact on this community of the Welfare Reform Act in 1996, also known as the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act, brought Asian Americans together to work and act as a cohesive group.

LAO VETERANS OF AMERICA

After a decade of resettling in the United States, the Lao Veterans of America, a nonprofit veteran organization headquartered in Fresno, CA, was established in 1990 to honor and assist Lao and Hmong veterans who served or assisted the U.S. Armed Forces during the Vietnam War. The organization has chapters throughout the United States such as in California, Hawai'i, Minnesota, North Carolina, Washington, Wisconsin, and many other states. Its objectives are to serve the Lao and Hmong communities and to educate the public about the historic contribution made by Lao and Hmong veterans during the Vietnam War. According to the organization, it is estimated that there are about 12,000 Lao and Hmong veterans in the United States. The organization also led national efforts to lobby Congress to provide citizenship for elderly Lao and Hmong veterans, their spouses or widows.

LAOS MEMORIAL

On May 15, 1997, the Laos Memorial was dedicated in the Arlington National Cemetery in Arlington, VA. The memorial was approved by the U.S. Department of Defense but fully paid for by Lao and Hmong veterans. The commemoration of the memorial represented the first time the U.S. government

officially and publicly recognized the contributions of Hmong and Lao veterans who fought alongside the United States during the Vietnam War. The following words appear on the Laos Memorial:[6]

> Dedicated To The U.S. Secret Army In The Kingdom Of Laos (1961–1973)
>
> In Memory Of the Hmong And Lao Combat Veterans And Their American Advisors Who Served Freedom's Cause In Southeast Asia. Their Patriotic Valor And Loyalty In The Defense Of Liberty And Democracy Will Never Be Forgotten
>
> YOV TSHU TXOG NEJ MUS IB TXHIS
> LAOS VETERANS OF AMERICA
> May 15, 1997

The Laos Memorial is located on the grounds of the Arlington Cemetery between the John F. Kennedy Eternal Flame and the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier.

Other memorials include the Lao Hmong American War Memorial in Fresno, CA, which was unveiled in December 2005. The memorial stands 16 feet tall and weighs 14 tons. It depicts heroic Hmong and Lao veterans coming to the aid of a downed American military pilot in Laos. In Wisconsin, where more than 42,000 Hmong and Lao reside, the Lao, Hmong and American Veterans Memorial is commemorated in Sheboygan. The circular memorial is 44 feet in diameter and made of black granite, and it tells the story of Hmong and Lao veterans who fought in the Secret War. In addition, the granite panels bear the names of the hundreds of soldiers who fought in the war.

BILLS PASSED

On May 26, 2000, the Hmong Veterans' Naturalization Act of 2000 became law. The law provides an exemption from the English language requirement and special consideration for civics testing for certain refugees from Laos applying for naturalization. It does, however, place a cap: the benefit is limited to no more than 45,000 eligible refugees from Laos applying for naturalization.[7] Furthermore, in 2001, Congress passed a resolution honoring and commending the Lao Veterans of America, Laotian and Hmong veterans of the Vietnam War, and their families, for their contributions to the United States during the Vietnam War. In California, Assembly Bill AB 78 was approved. The Bill's purpose is to introduce the "Secret War" (1961–1973) in Laos as a part of the curriculum in social sciences or in history at California public schools.

OUTLOOK

The outlook is bright for Lao and Hmong veterans as they are being increasingly recognized and honored. Organizations in local communities have formed to assist the veterans, and the public has taken interest to learn about their contribution to the U.S. government during the Vietnam War. For Lao and Hmong veterans who have recently immigrated to the United States, their

transition to American culture is assisted by the abundance of social services provided throughout various communities. These services were created by Lao and Hmong who had immigrated as refugees in the late 1970s and early 1980s, by religious organizations, and by local and national governments. Many continue to suffer, however, from mental health issues related to the war. Studies have shown many refugees living in the United States have symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder and depression after their exposure to war trauma. The trauma they live with affects their health mentally and physically; elders are at the highest risk. As human assistance and social services have become increasingly accessible, many Southeast Asian refugees have become more willing to seek and receive medical help. Lastly, for the younger generation, the legacy of the Secret War is their continued struggle for recognition. Their adaptation to United States' society means their social roles and values are evolving. Their contributions as productive citizens have brought awareness to a diversity of Asian American communities in transition.

FURTHER READING

Hamilton-Merritt, Jane. *Tragic Mountains: The Hmong, the Americans, and the Secret Wars for Laos, 1942–1992.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993.

Hmong National Development. http://www.hndinc.org.

Lao Veterans of America. http://www.laoveterans.com.

Minnesota Lao Veterans of America. (MLVA). http://minnesotalaoveteransofamerica.org.

Morrison, Gayle. *Sky is falling: An oral history of the CIA's evacuation of the Hmong from Laos*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 1999.

Quincy, Keith. *Harvesting Pa Chay's Wheat: The Hmong and America's Secret War in Laos.* Spokane: Eastern Washington University Press, 2000.

NOTES

1. Arthur J. Dommen, *Conflict in Laos: The Policy of Neutralization* (New York: Praeger, 1065).

2. *U.S. Government Printing Office, 107th Congress, 2D Session,* http://frwebgate.access.gpo.gov/cgi-bin/getdoc.cgi?dbname=107_cong_bills&docid=f:hc406ih.txt.pdf, accessed 02 December 2008.

3. Joshua Castellino, "The Hmong Struggle in Laos: Freedom Fighters or Terrorists?" American Chronicle, posted June 8, 2007, http://www.americanchronicle.com/articles/29164.

4. Paris Peace Accords, http://www.aiipowmia.com/sea/ppa1973.html, accessed Dec. 3, 2008.

5. Southeast Asia Resource Action Center, "Southeast Asian American Statistical Profile 2004," http://www.searac.org/seastatprofilemay04.pdf.

6. Laos Memorial Arlington National Cemetery, http://www.arlingtoncemetery.net/laosmem.htm (accessed Dec. 2, 2008).

7. U.S. Department of Justice, "'Hmong Veterans' Naturalization Act of 2000," Immigration and Naturalization Service, http://www.uscis.gov/propub/ProPubVAP.jsp?dockey=2aae2d001699aac96aa3f0f5c5c732a1 (accessed Dec. 3, 2008).

THE IRAQ WAR

Wei Ming Dariotis, Wesley Ueunten, and Kathy Masaoka

The U.S.-Iraq War started on March 20, 2003, when the U.S. military invaded Iraq under the pretext of searching for weapons of mass destruction and under the assumption that Iraqi President Saddam Hussein was harboring members of al-Qaeda, the terrorist group responsible for the attacks on the World Trade Center of September 11, 2001. Eventually, no weapons of mass destruction were found.

However, thousands of Americans have been serving in this war. Many Asian Americans serve in the U.S. military at every rank, as well as those who are veterans and casualties of the Iraq War. About sixty-four Asian Americans have died during service in the Iraq War, comprising about 1.55 percent of those killed as of February 2009.[1] This number is difficult to calculate, however, particularly given the fifty-nine deaths attributed as "multiple races, pending, or unknown" and the large percentage of mixed race Asian Americans in this age range. Many more Asian Americans are still serving in the military and many others have returned as veterans and are reintegrating into U.S. society. There are also some individual Asian American members of the U.S. military who have dedicated themselves to protesting against the war, as well as Asian American groups that have organized antiwar activities.

ISSUES FOR ASIAN AMERICAN VETERANS OF THE IRAQ WAR

The public account of issues faced by Asian American veterans returning from Iraq remains limited. This may reflect the positive image of Asian American military service that overshadows those issues, yet there is the ongoing invisibility of Asian American veterans.

Joining the ranks of those who served valiantly before them, many Asian American Iraq War veterans generally receive heroes' welcomes and recognition for their military service. Many Asian American veterans point out the positive aspects of military service. For example, Matthew Inchun Briaiotta, despite being badly wounded in Iraq, credits his military experience with giving his life direction and purpose.[2]

Even when reporting difficulties that Asian American Iraq War veterans face in transitioning back to civilian life, the issue of being Asian American is downplayed. For some, the issues are similar to those experienced by veterans—of any race—of the Vietnam War: the war in Iraq has become very unpopular, and there is a great deal of public censure about the war. Others are just struggling because veterans' benefits have dwindled in the face of inflation and a poor economy. For example, Thomas Sim, a twenty-four-year-old Korean American senior at the University of California–Irvine, has been facing the difficult task of transitioning back into civilian life after serving in the Iraq war. One difficulty has been the limited provisions of the GI Bill, which pays at most $9,600 per year for college, even though the average cost of a public university runs more than $16,000 per year.[3]

Thai American Iraq War veteran Tammy Duckworth, director of the Illinois Department of Veterans Affairs and former Democratic candidate for Congress, lost both her legs in November 2004, when the Blackhawk helicopter she was copiloting was struck by a rocket-propelled grenade. Duckworth, who identifies as an Asian American, as well as being both a daughter of the American Revolution and the daughter of an immigrant, spoke before the 2008 Democratic National Convention to argue against the Bush Administration's decision to fight the war in Iraq. She argued that the U.S. military should focus on Afghanistan rather than Iraq. She has also been a strong advocate for veterans' care through the Veterans' Administration, of which she notes returning wounded veterans are faced with many obstacles in attaining service and benefits. Duckworth is one of many Asian American veterans who has been disillusioned by the war in Iraq.[4]

While Asian Americans serving in the military have had experiences particular to being Asian American in the post-9/11 period, particularly racism, a hopeful attitude regarding the acceptance of Asian American veterans as "American" is evident. An article about a meeting of Chinatown's American Legion Post 1291 in New York describes the anti-Asian racism that Chinese veterans faced in the military in earlier wars, but quotes Kingston Lam, a twenty-eight-year-old veteran of the Iraq War, as saying that his Chinese American identity was not a factor in his military experience. Lam says that being an American soldier is primary during his service in Iraq—he feels his uniform overrides his ethnicity.[5]

ASIAN AMERICAN ORGANIZATIONS RESPONDING TO WAR

Across the country, Asian American community organizations have responded to the war by organizing events, programs, marches, and educational forums. Asian and Pacific Islanders for Community Empowerment (APIFORCE), an

Oakland, CA–based organization, was part of the larger coalition called Southeast Asian Freedom Network (SEAFN), which is a national campaign to stop the deportation of Southeast Asians in the post-9/11 period. An intergenerational alliance of people of Taiwanese, Chinese and Hong Kong heritage, Moving Forward for Peace (CJWP, *Chin Jurn Wor Ping/Chien Jin He Ping*) works in the San Francisco Bay Area for peace and social justice, which they interpret as ranging from local issues like housing rights to global issues such as the Iraq War, engaged from a specifically Chinese American perspective. The Alliance of South Asians Taking Action (ASATA) educates, organizes, and empowers Bay Area South Asian American communities to end violence, oppression, racism, and exploitation. ASATA is a member of the United Response Collaborative, which formed to address the backlash of anti-Asian hate, violence, and discrimination that surfaced after 9/11, specifically targeting South Asian Americans. Also in the Bay Area, Filipino Coalition for Global Justice, Not War (FilsGLOBE) facilitates educational discussions on issues related to U.S. militarism, especially related to the continuing presence of the U.S. military in the Philippines, but also related to the Iraq War. Filipinos for Global Justice, Not War is a coalition of organizations and individuals that brings the Filipino community together to call for an end to the cycle of violence brought on by retaliatory war, racism, and state repression. Member organizations include: Committee for Human Rights in the Philippines, Filipinos for Affirmative Action, Filipino Left Network, Gabriela Network/SF Bay Area, Lakas Diwa Kapatid, League of Filipino Students, Philip Vera Cruz Justice Project, PEACE/City College, Solid Thoughts, 8th Wonder, and Kappa Psi Epsilon.

The organization Korean Americans Against War and Neoliberalism (KAAWAN) is a coalition group working with approximately 280 national groups in Korea that was organized in opposition to free trade talks between South Korea and the United States and against war.

In New York City, Organizing Asian Communities, also known as Committee Against Anti-Asian Violence (CAAAV), was founded in 1986 to mobilize Asian American communities to counter anti-Asian violence. CAAAV organizes diverse poor Asian communities in New York City to develop self-determination, and this has involved antiwar activism. Desis Rising Up and Moving (DRUM) is an organization of South Asian immigrants in New York City, including people of South Asian descent, to identify as people from Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Nepal, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, and parts of the diaspora, including Africa, England, Fiji, Guyana, and Trinidad. Founded in 2000, DRUM organizes for immigrant rights, racial, economic, and social justice, including legalization for immigrants and ending deportation policies. DRUM views justice for immigrants in the United States as it relates to foreign policy issues, such as the Iraq War. Boston's Asian American Resource Workshop (AARW) promotes community, identity, and social justice through education, advocacy, and arts and culture. In addition to cultural activities, the Asian American Resource Workshop advocates for an end to the Iraq War.

Like these other organizations, Nikkei for Civil Rights and Redress (NCRR) has developed a strong antiwar stance, which is, in this case, especially

connected to the history of Japanese Americans and that community's memories of World War II. As during that war, the war in Iraq has been a locus for debates within Asian American communities about what it means to be truly "American." One side argues that to be "American" means to be loyal to the U.S. government and especially to show that loyalty through military service. Another side argues that the ultimate demonstration of "Americanness" is to question the government through the processes of free speech and to protest against military actions that are deemed to be unjustified. NCRR was formed in 1980 during the struggle for redress for Japanese Americans interned during World War II. NCRR was a major force in pushing for the passage of the Civil Liberties Act of 1988, which gave redress and an apology to former Japanese American interns. NCRR organized a contingent in the early marches against the war and joined with other Asian Pacific Islander organizations to build opposition to the war.

As concern for Asian American civil liberties increased, so too did concern regarding the continued abuses of military prisoners and the innocent people of Iraq. In October 2005, the NCCR September 11 Committee organized a week-long speaking tour for Chaplain James Yee, the Chinese American Muslim who had been charged with spying and possession of pornography after serving at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba. His duties were not only to minister to the religious needs of the detainees but also to recommend changes that would help the prison run more smoothly. He worked with the high command, including Major General Geoffrey Miller of Abu Ghraib fame, and was given high evaluations, yet he was charged with espionage and thrown into prison for seventy-six days. Eventually all the charges were dropped but his military career was destroyed. Chaplain Yee spoke on college campuses and to an overflow crowd in Little Tokyo, which learned about the abuses at Guantanamo and the fact that many of these prisoners had committed no crimes yet were being held without the right to an attorney or a trial.

Lt. Ehren Watada, a commissioned officer and a mixed Japanese and Chinese American, had refused to go to Iraq because he believed that the war was illegal and immoral. Charged with missing a movement and conduct unbecoming an officer, Watada faces up to eight years in prison and a dishonorable discharge. A Southern California speaking tour for Lt. Watada's father and stepmother, Bob Watada and Rosa Sakanishi, was organized by NCRR and the Asian American Vietnam Veterans Organization, which, composed of former Vietnam veterans and their families, opposes the U.S. government's policies in Iraq but supports unconditionally the fighting men and women stationed in Iraq. Japanese American and Asian American activists and organizations, including Nikkei for Civil Rights and Redress, continued to build support for Watada by circulating petitions, setting up tables for letter writing in Little Tokyo, and organizing an educational program about the effect of the war on Iraqi veterans. At this program, Helga Aguayo eloquently explained how her husband, a Filipino American medic, had served in Iraq but could no longer participate in the war in good conscience. In preparation for the court martial of Watada in

February 2007, NCRR and AAVV organized the largest march of youth, Nisei, Latino, and Asian Americans in Little Tokyo since the 1970s. With Helga Aguayo and Carolyn Ho, Ehren Watada's mother, in the lead, the marchers chanted "Drop the Charges Now" and "Free Aguayo" all the way to Higashi Hongwanji Temple.

As of February 2008, Lt. Ehren Watada was awaiting a second court martial under the objection of his attorneys who argue that this constitutes "double jeopardy" or trying a person twice for the same offense. NCRR and the Asian American Vietnam Veterans Organization continue to support Watada with weekly vigils in Little Tokyo and a petition calling for the military to drop the charges against him and for the district courts to uphold his Fifth Amendment protections against "double jeopardy." This coalition and many of Watada's other supporters also oppose any retrial for Watada and any persecution of other military war resisters. After news of renditions and torture, and with almost 4,000 U.S. soldiers killed and more than 1 million Iraqis dead, the majority of the United States population, including a significant portion of the Asian American population, now agrees that this war is immoral and illegal, or at the very least ill-advised.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF ASIAN AMERICANS AND THE IRAQ WAR

Exemplary Asian American military service in the Iraq War follows a tradition of Asian American contributions to earlier wars. For example, Lt. Gen. Eric Shinseki, a Japanese American from Hawai'i, is the highest-ranking Asian American in the active military, and Major Gen. Edward Soriano, a Filipino American is the second-highest-ranking Asian American on active duty. Soriano is director of operations, readiness, and mobilization at the Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations and Plans, and he is responsible for the mobilization of U.S. forces in Haiti, Bosnia, Somalia, Europe, and the United States. Soriano is a veteran of the Gulf War, and his work demonstrates the drive and loyalty of Asian Americans serving in the U.S. military during the era of the Iraq War.[6] These contributions are an important part of the Asian American story—then and now. Asian American responses to the Iraq War also highlight the diversity of Asian American communities. Service to the United States through the military continues to be an important part of the Asian American experience, as does grassroots, antiwar activism. Consequently, not only have Asian Americans defined themselves as American through acts of perceived loyalty to the U.S. government, but also by being willing to challenge the United States' record on domestic and international human rights. As the Iraq War continues, Asian Americans will continue to have complex, diverse reactions, including serving in the military and protesting against the war.

FURTHER READING

Leong, Russell C. *World, War, Watada* (Los Angeles: *Amerasia Journal,* UCLA Asian American Studies Center, 2007).

Nikkei for Civil Rights and Redress (NCRR).http://www.ncrr-la.org/.
Thank You Lt. Ehren Watada Web site. http://www.thankyoult.org/.
Yee, James. *For God and Country: Faith and Patriotism Under Fire*. New York: Public Affairs, 2005.

NOTES

1. iCasulaties.org, "Iraq Coalition Casualty Report," http://icasualties.org/oif/Ethnicity.aspx.
2. The Library of Congress, "Matthew Inchun Braiotta: Veterans History Project," http://lcweb2.loc.gov/diglib/vhp-stories/loc.natlib.afc2001001.43113/.
3. Thomas Sim and Alex Cohen, "Making the Transition from Serviceman to Student," Day to Day: NPR, http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=88402838.
4. Hokubei.com, "Asian American Veteran of Iraq War Addresses DNC," http://www.hokubei.com/en/news/2008/08/Asian-American-Veteran-Iraq-War-Addresses-DNC.
5. Victoria Moy, "Chinese Vets Reflect on Iraq, Racism and Serving 2 Cultures," *Downtown Express*, http://www.downtownexpress.com/de_251/chinesevets.html.
6. Bert Eljera, "Joining the Highest-Ranking APAs in Active-Duty Military Service," *AsianWeek*, http://www.asianweek.com/082297/newsmaker.html.

JAPANESE LATIN AMERICAN REDRESS FOR WORLD WAR II INTERNMENT

Grace Shimizu and Wesley Ueunten

The passage of the Civil Liberties Act of 1988 by the U.S. Congress was a historic achievement in the struggle of Japanese Americans for redress of government violations during World War II. This hard-fought legislation established a ten-year redress program whereby the majority of former internees of Japanese ancestry, both U.S. citizens and legal permanent residents, received an apology letter and symbolic compensation, and a public education fund was created. The U.S. Office of Redress Administration denied redress to internees of Japanese ancestry abducted from Latin America. The struggle for government accountability for constitutional and human rights violations in the name of "national security" during World War II continues today and has gained additional relevance in the aftermath of the 9/11 tragedies.

It is not well known that the World War II incarceration of "nonaliens" (a euphemism for U.S. citizens) and "enemy aliens" of Japanese ancestry in the ten War Relocation Authority camps was part of a larger plan of how the U.S. government dealt with "the enemy." The World War II Enemy Alien Program affected nearly 1 million noncitizen immigrants and their families from the Italian, German, and Japanese communities in the United States. The U.S. government also went outside its borders to Latin America and apprehended more than 8,000 men, women, and children of Italian, German, and Japanese ancestry under the Latin American rendition scheme. More than 31,000 of these "enemy aliens" in the United States and from Latin America were interned in U.S. Department of Justice camps and Army facilities on the basis of being

"potentially dangerous." More than 4,800 (including U.S.–born children) were traded for U.S. citizens held in the war zones of Europe and the Far East.[1]

Discussions and planning for the treatment of "enemies" began before the attack on Pearl Harbor. By the mid-1930s as war spread in Europe, the United States had become concerned with Axis influence in Latin America. By the end of the 1930s, U.S. officials suspected that the Japanese, German, and Italian communities in Latin America would engage in subversive activities (i.e. espionage, sabotage, and pro-Axis propaganda). In 1940, U.S. diplomats and intelligence agents began preparing lists of "dangerous enemy aliens" residing in Latin America. In October 1941, the U.S. ambassador and Panamanian foreign minister secretly agreed on plans for the wartime detention of persons of Japanese, German, and Italian ancestry in Panama, with the United States assuming all expenses and responsibility.[2]

With the Japanese military attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, President Franklin D. Roosevelt authorized the FBI to arrest without warrant any Japanese citizen fourteen years or older in the United States. The next day this was applied against German and Italian aliens as well. Overnight 1 million law-abiding immigrants were transformed into "enemy aliens." No distinction was made between resident immigrants and aliens in the United States on a temporary basis.[3] Local police in Latin America began arresting "potential subversives," which included businessmen, teachers, priests, journalists, and leaders of community and cultural organizations. No search warrants were issued, no charges of crimes were filed, and no hearings were given.[4]

The rendition of Japanese Latin Americans occurred from December 1941 to 1945. The U.S. government orchestrated the forcible deportation of 2,264 men, women, and children of Japanese ancestry—both citizens and immigrant residents—from thirteen Latin American countries, in the name of national security and to be used as hostages in exchange for U.S. citizens held by Japan.[5] Of these, about 1,800 (80%) were abducted from Peru.[6] The U.S. government financed their transportation over international borders and their internment in U.S. Department of Justice camps and Army facilities, separate from the ten War Relocation Authority camps that held Japanese Americans.[7] The government justified its control over the Japanese Latin Americans by confiscating their passports upon entry to the United States and then labeling them as "illegal aliens."[8]

More than 800 Japanese Latin Americans were included in the two prisoner exchanges that took place in 1942 and 1943 between the U.S. and Japan.[9] This left about fourteen hundred Japanese Latin Americans who continued to be interned in the United States. Their ordeal did not end with the close of World War II in 1945. Classified as "illegal aliens," the remaining Japanese Latin Americans were told that they would be deported from the U.S. to Japan.[10] At first, the Peruvian government refused to readmit any Japanese Peruvians, even those who were Peruvian citizens or married to Peruvian citizens.[11] As a result, between November 1945 and June 1946, more than nine hundred Japanese

Peruvians and more than one hundred other Japanese Latin Americans were deported to war-devastated Japan.[12] More than three hundred Japanese Peruvians remained in the United States and fought deportation through the courts.[13] More than two-thirds were paroled by the U.S. government, placed under the sponsorship of Seabrook Farms in New Jersey, and used as cheap labor.[14] Eventually fewer than one hundred Japanese Peruvians were able to return to Peru.[15] In 1954, the Refugee Relief Act of 1953 was amended so that the former internees from Latin America who resided in the United States could begin the process of becoming permanent residents. Many became U.S. citizens.[16]

The experiences of Japanese Americans and Japanese Latin Americans have been integrally related through internment in the Department of Justice camps, the wartime prisoner exchanges, and later through the process of resettlement and the redress struggle for acknowledgment, empowerment, and justice. Japanese Latin Americans gave testimony at the Congressional Commission Hearings in 1981 and shared in celebration when the Civil Liberties Act of 1988 was passed. Japanese Latin Americans were informed that they were ineligible for redress, however, because the U.S. government considered them "illegal aliens" at the time of their internment, despite the fact that the U.S. government forcibly brought them to the United States. In 1991, the Japanese Peruvian Oral History Project was founded by former Japanese Peruvian internees and their families. During the 1990s, Japanese Latin American internees joined with Japanese Americans in several community delegations to Washington, DC, to seek redress for hundreds of Japanese Americans and Japanese Latin Americans who were being denied redress. In 1996, the Campaign For Justice: Redress NOW For Japanese Latin Americans! was founded. Also that year, the *Mochizuki* lawsuit was filed on behalf of the Japanese Latin American internees. The lawsuit ended in 1999 with a controversial settlement agreement whereby eligible Japanese Latin American internees received apology letters and compensation payments (one-quarter of that granted to Japanese American internees) and pursuit of legislative relief from the U.S. Congress was not prohibited. Seventeen Japanese Latin American internees rejected the *Mochizuki* settlement. Four additional lawsuits were filed, all dismissed at the lower courts; one reached the U.S. Supreme Court but was denied a hearing.[17]

Feeling that justice could not be attained through U.S. courts, three former Japanese Peruvian internees and the Japanese Peruvian Oral History Project filed a petition in 2003 at the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (IACHR), a body of the Organization of American States. This *Shibayama* petition seeks to hold the U.S. government accountable for the ongoing failure to provide redress for war crimes and crimes against humanity perpetrated against the Japanese Latin Americans during World War II. The merit of the Japanese Latin American cause was affirmed when the IACHR accepted the Japanese Latin American petition and rejected efforts by the U.S. government to prevent review of the human rights violations on technical grounds.[18] A decision on the *Shibayama* petition is pending.

Legislation has also been introduced on the behalf of Japanese Latin Americans. In 2000 and three subsequent sessions of Congress, the Wartime Parity and Justice Act was introduced by Rep. Xavier Becerra, a Latino congressman from California. This act sought comprehensive redress legislation for hundreds of Japanese Americans and Japanese Latin Americans who had been denied proper redress as well as reestablishment of $45 million to fulfill the original education mandate of the Civil Liberties Act.

In 2006, Rep. Becerra and Sen. Daniel Inouye (D-HI) introduced legislation, the "Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Latin Americans of Japanese Descent Act," to investigate the treatment of Japanese Latin Americans during World War II and make appropriate recommendations (HR662, S381).[19] This commission would build on a similar fact-finding study authorized by Congress in 1980, which examined the treatment of Japanese Americans during World War II. The recommendations from that study led to the passage of the Civil Liberties Act of 1988. During the course of that study, information began to be uncovered about the treatment of the Japanese Latin Americans. It was found significant enough to be included in the published study and noted to warrant deeper investigation. The Japanese Latin American commission bill would extend the study of the 1980 Commission.[20]

In addition to legislative and litigation efforts, former Japanese Latin American internees, their families, and supporters have engaged in efforts to educate the public, in the United States and internationally, about their little-known wartime history and the ongoing struggle for government accountability and redress. Since 2000, Japanese Latin American internees have worked with Japanese, Italian, German American, and Latin American internees and scholars, as well as with Muslim, Arab, and South Asian community members, to promote dialogue and draw lessons from the World War II and post-9/11 experiences. In 2001, ten days after the 9/11 tragedies, a ground- breaking traveling exhibit, "The Enemy Alien Files: Hidden Stories of WWII," opened. In 2005, a two-day public event, "Here, In America? The Assembly of Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians (AWRIC)," was organized to take testimony from former World War II internees of Japanese, Italian, German, and Latin American ancestry, along with Middle Eastern/South Asians and Muslims in the post-9/11 period. There were also a variety of panel discussions on topics related to relocation and internment. In 2006, a community delegation delivered the AWRIC Report and DVD to members of the U.S. Congress and Inter-American Commission on Human Rights. In 2008, a ground-breaking, cross-cultural educational event, "Inalienable Immigrant Rights—Youth Voices from WWII and Post 9/11," was organized as a step toward understanding the immediate and long-term human impact of policies such as restrictions, special registration, detention, incarceration, deportation, and rendition on diverse youth, families, and communities during World War II and today.

FURTHER READING

Campaign for Justice Web site. http://www.campaignforjusticejla.org/.

Donald, Heidi Gurcke. *We Were Not the Enemy: Remembering the United States' Latin-American Civilian Internment Program of World War II*. iUniverse.com, 2006.

Gardiner, C. Harvey. "The Latin American Japanese and WWII." In *Japanese Americans: From Relocation to Redress*, eds. Roger Daniels et al. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983.

Gardiner, C. Harvey. *Pawns in a Triangle of Hate: The Peruvian Japanese and the United States*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1981.

Hidden Internment: the Art Shibayama Story. Directed by Casey Peek and Irum Shiekh. Peek Media in association with the Japanese Peruvian Oral History Project, 2004. (English, Japanese, available soon in Spanish).

Higashide, Seiichi. *Adios to Tears: The Memoirs of a Japanese-Peruvian Internee in U.S. Concentration Camps*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000.

Masterson, Daniel M., and Sayaka Funada-Classen. *The Japanese in Latin America*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004.

Ueunten, Wesley. "Japanese Latin American Internment from an Okinawan Perspective." *Okinawan Diaspora*, Ronald Y. Nakasone, ed. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002).

NOTES

1. Enemy Alien Files Consortium, *Here, In America? Immigrants as 'The Enemy' During WWII and Today. Report of the Assembly on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, April 8–9, 2005* (San Francisco: National Japanese American Historical Society, 2006).

2. P. Scott Corbett, *Quiet Passages: The Exchange Of Civilians Between the United States and Japan* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1987).

3. Michi Weglyn, *Years of Infamy: The Untold Story of America's Concentration Camps* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1976, 1996).

4. Enemy Alien Files Consortium, *Here In America?* 19.

5. C. Harvey Gardiner, "The Latin American Japanese and WWII," in *Japanese Americans: From Relocation to Redress*, edited by Roger Daniels et al. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983), 142. The 13 nations are Bolivia, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Panama, Peru, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, and Nicaragua.

6. C. Harvey Gardiner, *Pawns in a Triangle of Hate: The Peruvian Japanese and the United States* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1981) 7; Joan Z. Bernstein (chair), *Personal Justice Denied—Report of Commission on Wartime Relocation & Internment of Civilians* (Seattle: Civil Liberties Public Education Fund and University of Washington Press, 1997), 305.

7. Gardiner, "The Latin American Japanese and WWII," 143; Weglyn, *Years of Infamy,* 58–59.

8. Gardiner, *Pawns in a Triangle of Hate*, 290.

9. Gardiner, *Pawns in a Triangle of Hate*, 48, 84–85.

10. Gardiner, *Pawns in a Triangle of Hate*, 115; Personal Justice Denied, 311.

11. Weglyn, *Years of Infamy,* 64.

12. Gardiner, *Pawns in a Triangle of Hate*, 124–125, 127, 130.
13. Bernstein, *Personal Justice Denied*, 313.
14. Gardiner, *Pawns in a Triangle of Hate*, 155.
15. Bernstein, *Personal Justice Denied,* 313.
16. Gardiner, *Pawns in a Triangle of Hate*, 170–171.
17. Campaign for Justice, "What We Do," http://www.campaignforjusticejla.org/whatwedo/index.html.
18. Campaign for Justice, "What We Do."
19. Campaign for Justice, "What We Do."
20. Bernstein, *Personal Justice Denied*, 493.

POST-TRAUMATIC STRESS DISORDER IN REFUGEES AND WAR VETERANS

Meekyung Han and Julian Chun-Chung Chow

The study of war trauma and its important role in mental health problems among Southeast Asian refugee populations and Asian American Vietnam War veterans has received considerable attention in the past three decades to the point that there is now substantial knowledge about rates of trauma and associated problems. More specifically, extensive empirical studies have found high rates of both trauma and post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) in community samples, as would be expected given the brutal circumstances faced by many of the Vietnamese, Cambodians, Hmong, and Laos who migrated to the United States during and after the Vietnam War era.[1] Studies also find high rates of PTSD among Asian American Vietnam veterans.[2] In both cases, it is increasingly recognized that adaptation to war trauma is a complex process and should be viewed within a broader context, i.e., not only of the direct effect of trauma itself but also of the situational factors surrounding the event, including the race and ethnicity of the person experiencing the trauma.[3] Indeed, studies of PTSD in general show that race and ethnicity are critical factors in furthering the understanding of PTSD in relation to the diagnosis and to treatment.[4] In order to better understand how “being Asian American,” including not only racialization but also issues of culture, gender roles, and class, affects war-related psychiatric distress such as PTSD, this discussion presents a brief overview of the PTSD diagnosis, a contextual framework for perspectives on PTSD, a survey of the prevalence of PTSD among Southeast Asian refugee populations and Asian American Vietnam veterans, and suggestions related to mental health service delivery for Asian Americans with PTSD.

DIAGNOSIS

Post-traumatic stress disorder is related to war trauma in the American Psychiatric Association's Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM-III).[5] A unique psychiatric diagnostic category, PTSD is kind of "survivor syndrome." The significance of the PTSD diagnosis in DSM-III is that it is the first mental illness recognized as requiring an initiating external event—in this case, war.[6] By specifying that such events would evoke "significant symptoms of distress in almost everyone," the American Psychiatric Association's DSM-III implicitly includes subjective perception as well as environmental objectivity within the PTSD construct. The diagnosis listed in DSM-III was modified in DSM-IV to suggest that the event needed to be "outside the range of usual human experience." Additionally, in order to clarify the difference between the subjective (i.e., perception) and objective (i.e., event) components, DSM-IV broke the stressor criterion into two parts, where the first criterion offers the objective description of the event and the second criterion describes the subjective reactions, such as intense fear, terror, and helplessness.[7] Thus, PTSD is defined as encompassing the historical syndromes known as "shell shock," "war neurosis," and "combat fatigue."

REFUGEES

Following traumatic exposure during war, escape, re-education camps, refugee camps, and resettlement in the United States, many Southeast Asian refugees still experience mental health problems. In a psychiatric clinic population, PTSD represents the most common psychiatric disorder, affecting perhaps 50–70 percent of the Southeast Asian refugees.[8] Indeed, despite almost three decades having passed since the end of the Cambodian war, a randomly selected group of Cambodians in Long Beach, CA, still suffered a high rate of PTSD (62%) and major depression (51%).[9] Also, there appears to be a gender difference with mental health problems among Southeast Asian refugees. Researchers have found that Southeast Asian refugee women reported significantly higher levels of distress than their male counterparts.[10]

While relatively few empirical studies have examined the psychological adjustment of refugee children, those that have been conducted found that the enduring nature of PTSD was also evident with children and youths. For example, a twelve-year longitudinal study (beginning at the time of arrival, and returning three years later, six years later, and twelve years later) was conducted using interviews with Cambodian refugee children. This study found that 35 percent of the sample suffered PTSD for twelve years, and about 18 percent of subjects developed PTSD at least five years after resettlement. Despite the persistence of PTSD over time, however, the study also found that these children appeared to make the transition into American culture quite well, for instance, by pursuing either occupational or educational goals.[11]

For Southeast Asian refugees, their subjective perception of trauma should be viewed within a cultural context because, as refugees, their decision to leave

was often a forced option for survival purposes rather than being a personal choice to make a new home in a foreign land. Southeast Asians began arriving in the United States in large numbers at the conclusion of the Southeast Asian wars in 1975, and according to the U.S. Census (2002), an estimated 2 million are living in the country, with the largest proportion from Vietnam.[12]

Of the estimated 2 million who fled Vietnam, more than 500,000 died attempting to flee, mostly by small boats. Their mass exodus was filled with horrors, including brutal attacks by pirates, rape, torture, and cannibalism because of the lack of food. Cambodians suffered the worst ordeal of all refugees, even before their exodus. Almost all educated people were killed during the Cambodian genocide. Those who escaped successfully were mostly illiterate, making the adjustment to a new life extremely difficult. Similarly, at the fall of Laos, like other Southeast Asians, many Laotians fled their country, crossed the Mekong River, and entered Thailand. Also, the Laotian Hmong fought the "secret war" for the U.S. government in Laos and suffered severe casualties.[13]

Southeast Asian refugees have to face many challenges due to cultural differences after resettlement in the United States. As a result, they experience additional perceived traumas associated with their acculturation and have thus developed ongoing PTSD long after their settlement in the host country. Family is the primary social unit in many Asian cultures and the most important source of identity for its members. Roles and positions of hierarchy are apparent in many traditional Asian families so that adults are placed in roles of authority over children. However, these traditional values of Southeast Asian refugee families have been affected by war trauma. Parents whose daily functioning has been negatively impacted by the trauma endured at home and during the migration may cede more power and authority to their children. In addition, because of difficulties of acculturation such as language barriers and cultural differences, adults often lose their status within the family. Children, who usually acculturate faster than their parents, become communication facilitators between their parents and the mainstream society, thereby reversing the traditional parent-child relationship and disrupting cultural roles within the family structure.[14]

Men are considered to be higher in the hierarchy than women in some traditional Asian cultures. Southeast Asian refugee women's status has also been altered, as their male counterparts became unemployed or underemployed, which results in women needing to find work to support their families. Indeed, while Southeast Asian men faced downward mobility in employment, women have generally experienced increased occupational opportunities following migration to the United States.[15] These challenges in gender roles have created conflicts between familial values and have placed severe pressure on traditional marriage and family relationships. This shift in gender roles often compounds trauma experienced during war and migration.

Research shows that financial difficulties and economic disadvantages are strongly associated with acculturative stress among Southeast Asian refugees.[16]

Southeast Asian refugees have lower social and economic status than the average American. Because of language and cultural barriers, they also face difficulties in the areas of bilingual education, job training, business development, representation in government, as well as access to technology and social services.[17] In addition, more than 21 percent of Southeast Asian families were living below the poverty line compared to 13 percent of the U.S. population. A higher proportion of Southeast Asians held minimum-wage occupations (21% among Vietnamese, 31% among Cambodians, 44% among Laotians, and 33% among Hmong, compared with 15% for the general population) and a disproportionate segment of Southeast Asians has to rely on public assistance for survival (25% of Vietnamese, 51% of Cambodian, 35% of Laotian, and 32% of Hmong, compared with 8% of the general population).[18]

Southeast Asian refugees have suffered from manifold losses: material losses, physical losses, spiritual losses, loss of community support and cultural milieu, and loss of family members. These losses exacerbate their vulnerability and prolong the impact of the traumatic event. Similarly, factors such as poverty and cultural conflicts in the host country may additionally influence their daily functioning as they experience persistent intrusions of memories related to the trauma, which in turn prevent them from healing psychological and emotional wounds, such that they continue to be subjected to repeated post-traumatic syndrome.[19]

VIETNAM VETERANS

In comparison with the Southeast Asian refugee population, very few empirical studies have been conducted with veterans of Asian ancestry. This may be due to the small number of Asian American veterans (1.2%) in the 2002 U.S. veteran population compared with European Americans (85.5%), African Americans (9.75%), and Latinos/Hispanics (4.3%).[20] The existing studies, however, clearly show that race-related stressors are important predictors of PTSD symptoms among Asian American veterans. Asian Americans fighting a war in Asia or the Pacific might be at greater risk for developing PTSD symptoms and other psychiatric sufferings because of experience with negative race-related events associated with appearing racially similar to the Asian “enemy.” The level of reported PTSD among Asian American Vietnam veterans in a national study was comparable to or higher than that of the European American population. In other words, 13 percent of Chinese American veterans, 29 percent of the Native Hawaiian veterans, and 40 percent of “other” Asian American veteran groups met PTSD criteria, compared with 24 percent of European American veterans. Another study found that 37 percent of Asian American veterans suffered from PTSD.[21] While it is too early to know whether Asian American veterans disproportionately suffer PTSD from the war in Iraq, they are vulnerable because of the persistence of racial and religious stereotypes, particularly for Asian American Muslim populations.

Asian American veterans experience unique issues because of race-related stress in addition to all the other stressors experienced by veterans in general. In particular, Asian American soldiers serving in the Vietnam War—during the time of the development of the Asian American Movement—were exposed to violence, suffered terror and horror because of the war itself, and also experienced psychological conflicts that arose because of their ethnic and racialized identities.

In a survey of Asian American Vietnam veterans conducted by the U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs, the majority of Asian American soldiers felt they were similar or very similar to the Vietnamese in terms of physical characteristics, which increased perceived terror about being shot at by fellow U.S. soldiers when mistaken for the enemy, being harassed and physically injured because of being perceived as resembling or symbolizing the enemy, and being captured and abandoned because they would not be recognized as American.[22] They also felt their ethnicity affected how the Vietnamese people treated them; their increased connection with local Vietnamese populations may have made it more difficult to carry out orders that they knew would cause harm to people with whom they identified racially or ethnically (for example, in the case of Chinese American soldiers meeting ethnic Chinese in Vietnam). The combination of the combat experience and psychological distress related to ethnicity and racialization appear to magnify the trauma among Asian American veterans.

Research has revealed that failure to assess race-related stressor experiences of Asian American and Pacific Islander veterans could result in missing as much as 20 percent of veterans' PTSD symptoms.[23] This means that 20 percent of Asian American veterans who need to be treated might not receive the appropriate disability assessment, compensation, and/or mental health services. Simply put, it is the professional's responsibility to accurately assess and treat the full range of problems faced by Asian Americans experiencing PTSD.

Empirical studies that have investigated readjustment problems of ethnic minority Vietnam veterans have mostly focused on African Americans or Latinos/Hispanics. Not unlike African Americans and Latinos/Hispanics whose rate of PTSD tends to be higher than European Americans, as shown above, a few existing empirical studies with Asian American and Pacific Islander veterans also show the high rate of PTSD, but the record remains relatively silent on Asian American and Pacific Islander Vietnam veterans. Even the National Vietnam Veterans Readjustment Survey limits their definition of "ethnic minority" to African Americans and Latinos/Hispanics.[24] Larger scale studies with full inclusion of Asian American and Pacific Islander veterans are needed.

OUTLOOK

Since the phenomenon of transgenerational traumatization was first noted in 1966 among Nazi Holocaust survivor families, there has been significant evidence showing a strong association between parental trauma and children's psychological dysfunction.[25] However, very little research has been conducted

on this issue in Asian American communities. Indeed, Southeast Asian refugees and their children are a potentially high-risk population for the intergenerational transmission of trauma because many Southeast Asian refugees were highly traumatized in their homeland, and parents' trauma was related to psychological distress in their children. To address the needs, there have been efforts of healing and recovery from war trauma in Asian American communities. As suggested by researchers, clinical interventions with Southeast Asian populations have focused on parents' mental health (with emphasis on PTSD), resolution of trauma and mourning, and parenting effectiveness, with cultural and contextual issues included in treatment plans.[26]

For example, many community-based social service agencies have been working diligently to create an innovative, culturally sensitive, and culturally specific model for intervention with Southeast Asian refugee populations. Some agencies provide group intervention, which has combined cultural traditions, spirituality (e.g., meditation), and religious (Buddhist) philosophy with standard Western mental health techniques for treatment of Southeast Asian people with PTSD. No studies have yet been conducted on the children of Asian American Vietnam veterans, but this work would help develop a fuller picture of the mental health of Asian American populations. In sum, mental health practitioners working with Asian Americans suffering with PTSD are trying to help bring about a change in the meaning that has been assigned by patients to these traumatizing war events, and are working to change that way PTSD is viewed in order to encompass the significance of race and ethnicity in diagnosing and treating patients.

FURTHER READING

Danieli, Yael. *International Handbook of Multigenerational Legacies of Trauma*. New York: Plenum Press, 1998.

National Center for Posttraumatic Stress Disorder. http://www.ncptsd.va.gov/ncmain/index.jsp.

Southeast Asian Resource Center. http://www.searac.org/.

NOTES

1. Richard F. Mollica, "Invisible Wounds: Waging a New Kind of War," *Scientific American* 282, no. 6 (2000): 54–57; Richard F. Mollica, *Healing Invisible Wounds: Paths to Hope and Recovery in a Violent World* (New York: Harcourt Press, 2007); Ruben Rumbaut, "Vietnamese, Laotian, and Cambodian Americans" in *Asian Americans*, ed. Pyung Gap (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 1995), 232–270; Yu-Wen Ying, "Psychotherapy with Traumatized Southeast Asian Refugees," *Clinical Social Work Journal* 29, no. 1 (2001): 65–78.

2. Chalsa Loo et al., "Measuring Exposure to Racism: Developing and Validation of a Race-Related Stressor Scale (RRSS) for Asian American Vietnam Veterans," *Psychological Assessment* 13, no. 4 (2001): 503–520.

3. Yu-Wen Ying, "Psychotherapy with Traumatized Southeast Asian Refugees," 65–78.

4. Eugenia Hsu, Corrie Davies, and David Hansen, "Understanding Mental Health Needs of Southeast Asian Refugees: Historical, Cultural, and Contextual Challenges," *Clinical Psychology Review* 24, no. 2 (2004): 193–213; Grant Marshall, et al., "Mental Health of Cambodian Refugees 2 Decades after Resettlement in the United States," *Journal of American Medical Association* 294, no. 5 (2005): 571–579; Barbara Nicholson, "The Influence of Pre-Emigration and Postemigration Stressors on Mental Health: A Study of Southeast Asian Refugees," *Social Work Research* 21, no.1 (1997): 19–31; Barbara Nicholson and Tali K. Walters, "The Effects of Trauma on Acculturative Stress: A Study of Cambodian Refugees," *Journal of Multicultural Social Work* 6, no. 3/4 (1997): 27–46.

5. Loo et al., "Measuring Exposure to Racism," 503–520; Chalsa Loo and Peter Nien-chu Kiang, "Race-Related Stressors and Psychological Trauma: Contributions of Asian American Vietnam Veterans," in *Asian Americans: Vulnerable Populations, Model Interventions and Clarifying Agendas*, ed. Lin. Zhan (Sudbury, MA: Jones and Barlette Publishers Inc., 2003), 19–42.

6. John Marsh, "What Constitutes a Stressor? The Criterion A Issue," in *Posttraumatic Stress Disorder: DSM-IV and Beyond,* ed. Jonathan Davidson and Edna Foa (Washington, DC: American Psychiatric Press, 1993).

7. American Psychiatric Association, *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* 4th ed. (Washington, DC: American Psychiatric Association, 2000).

8. Grant Marshall et al., "Mental health of Cambodian Refugees," 571–579; Richard F. Mollica et al., "Dose-Effect Relationships of Trauma to Symptoms of Depression and Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder among Cambodian Survivors of Mass Violence," *The British Journal of Psychiatry* 173 (1998): 482–488; J. D. Kinzie, P. K. Leung, and J. Boehnlein, "Treatment of Depressive Disorders in Refugees," in *Working with Asian Americans: A guide for Clinicians*, ed. Evelyn Lee (New York: Guilford Press, 1997).

9. Marshall et al., "Mental Health of Cambodian Refugees," 571–579.

10. Rita Chi-Ying Chung, Fred Bemak, and Marjorie Kagawa-Singer, "Gender Difference in Psychological Distress among Southeast Refugees," *Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease* 186, no. 2 (1998): 112–119.

11. William H. Sack, Chanrithy Him, and Dan Dickason, "Twelve-Year Follow-Up Study of Khmer Youths Who Suffered Massive War Trauma as Children," *Journal of American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry* 38, no. 9 (1999): 1173–1179.

12. Sucheng Chan, *Survivors: Cambodian Refugees in the United States* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2004); Southeast Asian Reaction Center, *Southeast Asian American Statistical Profile,* 2000, Retrieved from http://www.searac.org/seastat profilemay04.pdf; U.S. Census Bureau, *The Foreign-Born Population in the United States* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Commerce, March 2002), P20-539, http://www.eric.ed.gov/ERICWebPortal/contentdelivery/servlet/ERICServlet?accno =ED478282.

13. Chan, *Survivors: Cambodian Refugees in the United States*; Southeast Asian Reaction Center, "Southeast Asian American Statistical Profile"; Pho, Gerson, and Cowan, *Southeast Asian Refugees and Immigrants in the Mill City.*

14. Hsu, Davies, and Hansen, "Understanding Mental Health Needs of Southeast Asian refugees," 193–213; Chung, Bemak, and Kagawa-Singer, "Gender Difference in Psychological Distress," 112–119.

15. Chung, Bemak, and Kagawa-Singer, "Gender Difference in Psychological Distress," 112–119.

16. Hsu, Davies, and Hansen, "Understanding Mental Health Needs of Southeast Asian Refugees," 193–213.

17. Chan, *Survivors: Cambodian Refugees in the United States*; Southeast Asian Reaction Center, "Southeast Asian American Statistical Profile," 1-30; Pho, Gerson, and Cowan, *Southeast Asian Refugees and Immigrants in the Mill City;* Theresa Liu and Chieh Li, "Psychological Interventions with Southeast Asian Students: An Ecological Approach," *Special Services in the Schools* 13, no. 1/2 (1998): 129–148; Leng Mouanoutoua Vang, "Depression and Posttraumatic Stress Disorder: Prevailing Causes and Therapeutic Strategies with Hmong Clients," in *Healing by Heart: Clinical and Ethical Case Studies of Hmong Families and Western Providers*, ed. Culhane-Pera, Kathleen Vawter, Dorothy. E and Xiong, Phua (Vanderbilt University Press. 2003), 216–221.

18. Southeast Asian Reaction Center, "Southeast Asian American Statistical Profile," 1–30.

19. Devon Hinton et al., "Panic Disorder among Cambodian Refugees Attending a Psychiatric Clinic: Prevalence and Subtypes," *General Hospital Psychiatr*y 22 (2000): 437–444; R. Jay Turner and Donald Lloyd, "The Stress Process and the Social Distribution of Depression," *Journal of Health and Social Behavior* 40, no. 4 (1999): 374–404.

20. U.S. Department of Veterans Affair, *Veterans of Culturally Diverse Populations*, 2002, http://www1.va.gov/centerforminorityveterans/.

21. Chalsa Loo et al., "Race-Related Stress among Asian American Veterans: A Model to Enhance Diagnosis and Treatment," *Cultural Diversity and Mental Health* 4 (1998): 75–90.

22. U.S. Department of Veterans Affair, *Veterans of Culturally Diverse Populations.*

23. Turner and Lloyd, "The Stress Process and the Social Distribution of Depression," 374–404.

24. Loo et al., "Measuring Exposure to Racism," 503–520; Loo and Kiang, "Race-Related Stressors and Psychological Trauma," 19–42; Chalsa et al., "Race-Related Stress Among Asian American Veterans," 75–90.

25. Rachel Yehuda et al., "Vulnerability to Posttraumatic Stress Disorder in Adult Offspring of Holocaust Survivors," *American Journal of Psychiatry* 155 (1998): 1163–1171.

26. Hsu, Davies, and Hansen, "Understanding Mental Health Needs of Southeast Asian Refugees," 193–213; Meekyung Han, "Relationship among Perceived Parental Trauma, Attachment, and Sense of Coherence in Southeast Asian Late Adolescents," *Journal of Family Social Work* 9 (2006): 25–45.

POST–VIETNAM WAR TENSIONS IN THE VIETNAMESE AMERICAN COMMUNITY

C. N. Le

The Vietnamese American community contains a complex mix of many seemingly contradictory elements. On the one hand, Vietnamese Americans tend to be one of the youngest Asian ethnic groups on average, with a fast-growing second generation. On the other hand, many are still firmly focused on what happened more than thirty years ago and the ongoing legacy of the Vietnam War. These two elements form the basis for much of the tension among Vietnamese Americans today, which is the topic of this entry.

Based on their hatred of the communist regime in Vietnam and the communists' status as "the enemy" who drove them from their homeland and brutalized their family members, relatives, and friends, many Vietnamese Americans continue to have very strong emotions regarding the communist government. Since Vietnamese Americans' departure after the fall of Saigon in 1975, their goal has been to overthrow the regime and restore democracy and individual freedoms for all Vietnamese. To achieve such goals, Vietnamese Americans have been willing to do basically anything—overt and covert, legal and illegal. Within this historical and social environment, any suggestion that the overseas Vietnamese population (popularly referred to as the *Viet Kieu*) should learn to accept the current situation as permanent, or to consider the communist government in their homeland as legitimate by advocating normalized relations between the United States and Vietnam has provoked much outcry, anger, and resentment.[1]

Since their resettlement into the United States, and particularly once a critical mass of Vietnamese converged on Westminster, CA, to form their own

enclave that became known as Little Saigon, any Vietnamese American who dared to make such a statement or engage in any activity that was perceived to be legitimizing or strengthening the communist regime back in Vietnam was immediately, loudly, and publicly denounced as a traitor or a *Viet Cong* (the term for a South Vietnamese communist). Starting in the early 1980s, individuals perceived to be sympathetic to the communists—many of whom were journalists—were harassed, physically assaulted, had their property vandalized, and in some extreme instances, were kidnapped, murdered, or just disappeared. Between 1980 and 1992, at least a dozen such disappearances occurred, mostly in California.[2] One of the most highly publicized deaths was that of Tap Van Pham, who, at the time, was editor of *Mai*, a Vietnamese-language entertainment magazine. In the early hours of August 9, 1987, Pham died of smoke inhalation when his office in Little Saigon was firebombed, apparently for running advertisements for companies that did business with the communist government. (To this day, and despite FBI involvement, the case remains unsolved.) It has been documented that "Liberal Vietnamese community leaders" were so threatened they had to take extreme measures to protect themselves, including wearing bulletproof vests. Some also used ads in Vietnamese-language newspapers to deny rumors that they sympathized with the communist regime.[3]

However, in 1994, President Bill Clinton lifted the trade embargo against Vietnam that had existed since the communists unified the country in 1975. A 1994 *Los Angeles Times* survey of Vietnamese in southern California showed that 54 percent of respondents approved of the action, with a similar proportion favoring full normalized relations between the United States and Vietnam, which occurred the following year.[4] Nonetheless, while Vietnamese Americans may be moderating their strategies on how to best deal with the communist government in their homeland, many remain very sensitive to perceived expressions of communist sympathy within their own community. No other incident illustrates this continuing sentiment and the still-fresh wounds of war more than the Ho Chi Minh portrait incident in Little Saigon in 1999.

OPENING FRESH WOUNDS

In January 1999, after returning from a tourist trip to northern Vietnam, Truong Van Tran, a video store owner in Southern California's Little Saigon, put up a poster of Ho Chi Minh, along with the flag of the current Vietnamese communist government, inside his store. In subsequent interviews, Tran claimed that he felt Ho Chi Minh had some beneficial impact on Vietnam, that the portrait was meant to provoke discussion among the Vietnamese American community, and that ultimately, as a resident of the United States, he had the right to freely express himself. The community reaction was swift and massive. Almost immediately, Tran's store was beset with daily protests, with many enraged protesters coming from San Jose and other locations outside of Southern California to participate. At the height of the protests, approximately

15,000 demonstrators gathered outside his store, shouting insults such as "Viet Cong!" and carrying signs that read, "Our Wounds Will Never Heal!" and "Be Aware! Communists are Invading America!" At times, the crowd became so large and agitated that police in riot gear had to be called in; hundreds of demonstrators were ultimately arrested throughout the course of the protests.

After two months of continuous protests outside Tran's store, his business was eventually evicted by its corporate landlord for unpaid rent and insurance violations. With his store gone, the offending display was removed and soon afterward, thousands of Vietnamese Americans gathered in and around the location of the former store for a candlelight "healing" ceremony and gathering. For many Vietnamese, especially the older and first generation who had a direct connection to the events that led to their exile, Tran had a right to personally believe whatever he wanted to believe. Nonetheless, many felt that he had crossed the line by publicizing his beliefs, and, by praising Ho Chi Minh, being blatantly disrespectful of the painful memories that so many members of his own community have of the legacy of the Vietnam War. Many likened Tran's act of provocation to displaying a portrait of Hitler in a Jewish community or Fidel Castro in a U.S. Cuban community. As a *Time* magazine article from March 8, 1999, described, Vietnamese American protesters argued that they respected his freedom of speech but felt he abused that freedom by causing dissension in his community.[5]

Many protesters said that they were exercising their own freedom of expression to denounce Tran as a communist traitor. Others said that, at best, Tran was rather naïve and perhaps even crazy in thinking that he could put up a picture of Ho Chi Minh in public view without provoking anger in Little Saigon and as such, he deserved the scorn leveled at him. On the other side, other Vietnamese Americans, more likely to be younger and/or 1.5 generation or later, felt that Tran had a right to express his opinion and that protesters overreacted to a simple picture. Many noted in their efforts to squelch dissent, anticommunist Vietnamese Americans were replicating the same form of oppression that they consistently condemn the communists for and that further, living in the United States means that they need to be more tolerant of dissenting views.

CONTINUING TENSIONS AND PROTESTS

More than 30 years after the end of the Vietnam War, many Vietnamese Americans are still very sensitive to any public display that is perceived to legitimize the communist regime back in Vietnam. In recent years, many local and state government offices and educational institutions around the country have displayed flags from countries all around the world. However, in displaying the current flag of Vietnam, many have encountered fierce protests from Vietnamese American community members and students. In a recent incident, officials at Irvine Valley Community College in California, located only a few miles from Little Saigon, chose to take down an entire display of 144 international flags in their student center after receiving numerous calls

and threats of a large-scale demonstration from leaders of the Vietnamese American community.[6]

Even more interpretive displays such as works of art have not escaped scrutiny and protests. In early 2008, a Vietnamese American graduate student displayed an art installation that included a yellow-and-red foot-spa tub, meant as a tribute to Vietnamese refugees like her mother-in-law who toiled in a nail salon after the family came to America. But once word spread of the exhibit, many Vietnamese Americans criticized the imagery as disrespectful of the old flag of South Vietnam and therefore implicitly supportive of the communist regime. In further escalation of this incident, after one of the longest-running the Vietnamese language newspapers in Little Saigon, *Nguoi Viet*, published a story and picture of the art display, its offices were besieged by protesters. In one incident, protesters stormed and blocked the newspaper's office lobby, and one protester urinated on a mural dedicated to freedom of speech and the Bill of Rights. After numerous other acts of vandalism, threats of physical violence and of bombing its office, the newspaper ultimately fired two of its editors, hoping to alleviate the tensions.[7]

While many tensions within the Vietnamese American community center around public images and symbols related to the communist government, other controversies involve perceived loyalty among its leaders. Specifically, in 2005, with the enthusiastic and overwhelming support of the Vietnamese American community, Madison Nguyen became the first Vietnamese American elected to the city council of San Jose, CA, home to the second largest Vietnamese community in the U.S. But in late 2007, a deep split developed within San Jose's Vietnamese American community over whether to name its distinctive enclave "Little Saigon" or "Saigon Business District." Amid accusations that she secretly worked on behalf of businesses sympathetic to the Vietnamese government in support of the "Saigon Business District" name, protests eventually denounced Nguyen as a traitor. Even after the initial decision in favor of "Saigon Business District" was reversed and private "Little Saigon" banners were allowed to be hung, protesters launched an unsuccessful recall campaign against her, garnering only 44 percent of voters.[8]

ASSIMILATION VERSUS ETHNIC SOLIDARITY

Until the ultimate goal of overthrowing the communist government is achieved, it is unlikely that anticommunist fervor within the Vietnamese American community will subside significantly. Two other developments, however, are likely to complicate the nature of tensions among Vietnamese Americans. The first is Vietnam's economic emergence in the global economy. In the last twenty years or so and following the lead of China, Vietnam has developed its own mix of capitalist development with communist oversight, and also like China, the economic results have been remarkable. Vietnam's economy has averaged around 10 percent gross domestic product (GDP) growth each year and is the second-fastest growing economy in the world (after China).

Along with joining the World Trade Organization in 2006, Vietnam currently has an unemployment rate of only 2 percent, one of the lowest in the world, and its GDP per capita has increased almost sixfold since the late 1980s. Perhaps its most notable accomplishment is that its level of "deep poverty" (percent of the population living under $1 per day) has declined significantly (down to 8% in 2006, from 51% in 1990) and is now smaller than that of China, India, and the Philippines.

Such economic advancements have led to a growing number of Vietnamese Americans who have returned to their homeland to start their own businesses to try to cash in on the economic prosperity inside Vietnam. While Vietnamese American–owned businesses have had financial ties to their homeland for decades (i.e., money transfer services, typically in small local shops located in Little Saigon, to send remittances to family, relatives, and friends who stayed back in Vietnam), recent years have seen much larger and more frequent business ventures into Vietnam led by *Viet Kieu*, whether they involve Vietnamese Americans being the owners and direct proprietors of their ventures, or as leaders and managers of large-scale corporate expansion ventures into the country involving corporations from all virtually industries of the Fortune 500.[9] In this context of Vietnam's rising economic power, the gradually improving quality of life for its citizens, and the trend of Vietnamese Americans returning to their homeland to do business, the question that emerges is: will these developments improve or worsen ideological tensions within the Vietnamese American community?

To complicate this question further, the second emerging trend is the growing numbers of U.S.-raised Vietnamese Americans—those who were either born in the United States or the 1.5 generation who immigrated when they were young children. These U.S.-raised Vietnamese Americans tend to be much more assimilated and integrated into mainstream America, and just as important, are more likely to have moderate, liberal, or even apathetic views toward the Vietnamese government and communism in general. Among younger Vietnamese Americans, "opposing communism" is not the "top priority" it is to those in the older generation. Only one in five of those aged 25–34 consider "opposing communism" to be a critical issue; this group feels similarly to the issue of "encouraging Vietnam to improve its policy on human rights"—while both of these issues are significant to those over the age of 45.[10]

The general consensus among observers and scholars is that, all other things being equal, as the U.S.-raised Vietnamese American generation becomes more prominent, the community's anticommunist stance is likely to gradually moderate or at the least become less confrontational. Nonetheless, scholars argue that based largely on their wartime and refugee experiences, Vietnamese Americans tend to exhibit the highest levels of ethnic solidarity among all Asian American ethnic groups.[11] Further, Vietnamese American political participation has always been more about quality and intensity, rather than quantity, as exemplified by studies that show that while Vietnamese Americans have lower voter registration rates than most other Asian American ethnic groups, among those

who are registered, Vietnamese Americans are near the top in terms of actual voting rates.[12] Therefore, even though U.S.-raised Vietnamese Americans may not have the same level of attachment to the events and trauma surrounding the Vietnam War, nonetheless they are likely to still feel the influence and sentiments of anticommunism in their community.

Anticommunist activism can easily be reignited and re-energized if the communist government continues to crackdown on prodemocracy dissidents or if its human rights abuses become even more egregious. The memories of the Vietnam War, the re-education camps, and their refugee experiences are still powerful influences for many Vietnamese Americans, and their high levels of ethnic solidarity likely mean that parents will continue to exert influence over their children and grandchildren for the foreseeable future. With that in mind, younger Vietnamese Americans are not likely to completely reject or ignore their history, as may have been more common among Asian immigrant groups in the past. Rather, as Vietnam continues to emerge as an economic power, as U.S. companies increasingly look to countries such as Vietnam as partners in capitalism, as global "quality of life" issues such as human rights continue to grow in prominence, as Vietnamese Americans continue on their path of political activism and influence, and as the communist regime in Vietnam continues to squelch dissent, anticommunism among Vietnamese Americans may not necessarily die out so quickly after all.

While the social forces of assimilation are undeniable, so too are the human rights abuses that Vietnam's government commits. Even while the communists modernize their economy and strive to elevate their status on the international stage, they continue to deny many basic human rights, individual liberties, and social freedoms to large numbers of their citizens. As long as these abuses exist, Vietnamese Americans will continue to criticize, condemn, and try to undermine the legitimacy of Vietnam's government by using their own personal experiences as inspiration and their developing political power at the state and national levels as ammunition. While the tactics of anticommunist resistance might change and become focused more on humanitarian efforts to improve the lives of ordinary Vietnamese citizens, the wish to restore democracy in their homeland is likely to continue to unite Vietnamese Americans for years to come.

FURTHER READING

Lam, Andrew. "U.S.-Vietnam Thaw Hazardous to Dissidents." *New America Media.* 2007.

Le, C. N. "'Better Dead Than Red': Anti-Communist Politics Among Vietnamese Americans" in *Anti-Communist Minorities in the US: The Political Activism of Ethnic Refugees*, ed. Ieva Zake. New York: Palgrave-MacMillan, 2009.

Nguoi Viet 2 (English language version). http://www.nguoi-viet.com/nv2_default.asp.

Texeira, Erin. "The Vietnamese American Community." *Asian-Nation: The Landscape of Asian America*. 2005. http://www.asian-nation.org/vietnamese-community.shtml.

"U.S.-Vietnam Thaw Hazardous to Dissidents." http://news.newamericamedia.org/news/view_article.html?article_id=e4468651bad0af6f2eddd02e5fbddb96.

Zhou, Min, and Carl L. Bankston. *Growing Up American: How Vietnamese Children Adapt to Life in the United States*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1998.

NOTES

1. Min Zhou and Carl L. Bankston, *Growing Up American: How Vietnamese Children Adapt to Life in the United States* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1998).
2. Zhou and Bankston, *Growing Up American.*
3. Zhou and Bankston, *Growing Up American*, 86.
4. Zhou and Bankston, *Growing Up American.*
5. Jeffery Ressner, "The Man Who Brought Back Ho Chi Minh," *Time*, March, 8, 1999, http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,990385,00.html (accessed August 2008).
6. Marla Jo. Fisher, "Vietnamese Flag Removed at Irvine Valley College," *Orange County Registe*r, Feb. 25, 2008, http://www.ocregister.com/news/flag-college-flags-1987450-vietnamese-student (accessed August 2008).
7. Kenneth Kim, "Fired Vietnamese Editor Launches Blog," *New America Media*, May 27, 2008, http://news.ncmonline.com/news/view_article.html?article_id=a92925856d7d969bb895f3ab851311e8 (accessed August 2008).
8. John Vu, "Vietnamese Americans Thirst for Blood Over A Name," *New America Media* Web site, Online August 2008, http://news.newamericamedia.org/news/view_article.html?article_id=97b3bcdd0aaa74a5a4bc148d0674c8c4.
9. James Flanagan, "Little Saigon Exports Its Prosperity," New York Times Website, Online August 2008, http://www.nytimes.com/2006/01/19/business/19sbiz.html; "Nguyen Beats Back Recall Effort," NBC Bay Area Web site, March 4, 2008, http://www.nbcbayarea.com/news/local/A-Win-for-Nguyen-Councilmember-Beating-Recall-Effort.html.
10. Christian Collet and Nadine Selden, "Separate Ways. Worlds Apart? The 'Generation Gap' in Vietnamese America as Seen Through The San Jose Mercury News Poll," *Amerasia Journal* 29 (2003): 199–217.
11. C. N. Le, *Asian American Assimilation: Ethnicity, Immigration, and Socioeconomic Attainment* (New York: LFB Scholarly Publishing, 2007).
12. Pei-Te Lien, M. Margaret Conway, and Janelle S. Wong, *The Politics of Asian Americans: Diversity & Community* (New York: Routledge, 2004).

RESOURCE GUIDE

Suggested Readings

Chan, Sucheng. *Survivors: Cambodian Refugees in the United States*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004.

Enloe, Cynthia. *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics.* New York: HarperCollins, 1989.

Enloe, Cynthia. *Maneuvers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000.

del Rosario, Carina A., Ken Mochizuki, and Dean Wong, eds. *A Different Battle: Stories of Asian Pacific American Veterans*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000.

Etcheson, Craig. *After the Killing Fields: Lessons from the Cambodian Genocide*. Greenwood, CT: Praeger Publishers, 2005.

Gardiner, C. Harvey. *Pawns in a Triangle of Hate: The Peruvian Japanese and the United States*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1981.

Henson, Maria Rosa. *Comfort Woman: A Filipina's Story of Prostitution and Slavery under the Japanese Military.* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 1999).

Ignacio, Abraham, Enrique de la Cruz, Jorge Emmanuel, and Helen Toribio. *The Forbidden Book: The Philippine-American War in Political Cartoons*. San Francisco: T'Boli Publishing, 2004.

Kiang, Peter. "About Face: Recognizing Asian and Pacific American Vietnam Veterans in Asian American Studies." *Amerasia Journal* 17, no. 3 (1991).

Kim-Gibson, Dai Sil. *Silence Broken: Korean Comfort Women*. Iowa: Mid-Prairie Books, 1999.

Masterson, Daniel M., and Sayaka Funada-Classen. *The Japanese in Latin America*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003.

United States Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians. *Personal Justice Denied: Report of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians:* Report for the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs by George Miller, chairman. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1992.

Films/Videos

Air America: The CIA's Secret Airline, DVD, directed by Jason Markham and Arthur Kent. A&E Home Video. 2000. (50 min.). Examines the history of this airline, how it began and its key role throughout the Vietnam War and Southeast Asian conflicts. Pilots of Air America and military historians recount their operations in Laos, from transporting personnel to delivering humanitarian aid.

New Year Baby, DVD, directed by Socheata Poeuv. Film-Baby. 2006. (80 min.). Embedded in documentary, travel narrative, and memoir, Socheata Poeuv, a Cambodian American, goes back to visit the genocide, including visiting labor camps and revisiting lost family members.

Regret to Inform, DVD, directed by Barbara Sonneborn. New York Films. 1998. (72 min.) The widow of a U.S. soldier in the Vietnam War, Sonneborn's very personal documentary traces her journey to Vietnam, where she talks with widows of Vietnamese soldiers who died during the conflict.

Second Class Veterans, DVD, directed by Donald Young. Asian American Media. 2002 (27 min.). Documentary that reveals the little-known story of Filipino World War II veterans who have been struggling to receive the military benefits promised by the U.S. government but never delivered.

Sentenced Home, DVD, directed by David Grabias and Nicole Newnham. Independent Lens. 2005 (76 min.). Documentary featuring three Cambodian men who face deportation to Cambodia. The three escaped the violence of the Khmer Rouge in the 1980s and came to the United States, where they joined street gangs as part of their response to a new and unfamiliar environment. As teenagers, they were found guilty of serious crimes and served sentences in the United States; however, under a new agreement between Cambodia and the United States, all three men face deportation to Cambodia, which would in effect punish them for crimes for which they have already served.

Silence Broken: Korean Comfort Women, DVD, directed by Dai-Sil Kim Gibson. Asian American Media. 2000 (88 min.). A combination of historical footage, interviews, and dramatic reenactments that portrays the story of Korean women who were forced into sexual labor during World War II by the Japanese Army. The first part of the film

features interviews with several survivors of this experience, while the second part is a dramatic reenactment of three of the survivors.

Stories Untold: Memories of Korean War Survivors, Video, directed by Sulgi Kim. San Francisco State University, Asian American Studies, 2001. (53 min.). A documentary exploring the memories of older Korean immigrants who have lived through the Korean War.

The House of Sharing, directed by Hein Seok. Two Fish Pictures. 2007 (84 min.). A documentary that features eight elderly Korean women living at the House of Sharing in Korea. While the women are lively and humorous, the pain and anguish from their experiences as comfort women forced into sexual slavery by the Japanese Army during World War II are expressed in their words, paintings, and songs.

The Last Ghost of War, directed by Janet Gardner. PBS 2006 (54 min.). A look at the lasting effects of Agent Orange on the Vietnamese decades after the Vietnam War. It asks whether Agent Orange herbicides were chemical weapons. And if so, who should be held accountable for what could be the largest chemical warfare operation in history?

The Story of Vinh, DVD, directed by Keiko Tsuno. Asian American Media. 1990 (60 min.).This documentary follows Vinh, a Vietnamese Amerasian, during his failed struggle to find his identity after coming to America.

Voices of Challenge: Hmong Women in Transition, DVD, directed by Candace Lee Egan. Asian American Media. 1996 (39 min.) A documentary that features candid discussions by several women who share their experiences of fleeing Laos in the wake of Vietnam War and the challenging resettlement process in the United States.

Whose Children Are These? DVD, directed by Theresa Thanjan. Asian American Media. 2004 (27 min.). A documentary that raises the issues surrounding America's treatment of immigrants, particularly South Asian, Muslim and Arab immigrants, since the September 11 attacks. The three teenagers featured in the film talk about the impact of immigration policies that have separated their families through detentions and deportations.

Organizations

Hmong National Development. http://www.hndinc.org. National nonprofit organization that works to promote educational opportunities, increase community capacity, and develop resources for Hmong in U.S. society.

Lao Veterans of America. http://www.laoveterans.com. Nonprofit organized headquartered in Fresno, CA, that serves the general needs of former soldiers who served with the CIA during the "Secret War" in Laos during the Southeast Asian Conflict.

Minnesota Lao Veterans of America (MLVA). http://minnesotalaoveteransofamerica.org. Community-based nonprofit organization founded in 1991. The organization's mission is "to facilitate and promote the success of Hmong and Laotian Veterans and their families in Minnesota, while also recognizing and supporting other immigrant and refugee populations."

National Alliance for Filipino Veterans Equity (NAFVE). http://www.nafve.org. Coalition of local, national and international organizations and individuals that are working toward securing justice for Filipino World War II Veterans through restoration of U.S. veterans status for purposes of benefits.

Save North Korean Refugees. http://www.snkr.org/. Devoted to bringing to attention the continuing issues facing North Korean refugees.

South East Asian Resource Action Center. http://www.searac.org. Founded in 1979 as the Indochina Refugee Action Center to assist the relocation of Southeast Asian refugees into American society. The center serves as a coalition builder and leader to advance the interests of Southeast Asian Americans.

Violence Against Women in War—Network Japan. http://www1.jca.apc.org/vaww-net-japan/english/. Committed to eliminate violence against women in war and armed conflicts.

Washington Coalition for Comfort Women Issues. http://www.comfort-women.org/history.html.

Yale Cambodian Genocide Program. http://www.yale.edu/cgp/. Tribunal news, photographs, maps of Cambodia, databases.

Web Sites

Asian-Nation. http://www.asian-nation.org/index.shtml. Founded by Vietnamese American Asian American Studies professor C. N. Le, the Vietnam section of this site covers the history of Vietnam, the war and the subsequent refugee exodus, as well as other related topics, in useful detail.

Asian/Pacific Americans in the U.S. Army. http://www.army.mil/asianpacificsoldiers/.

Covering the U.S. Civil War, World War I, World War II, the Korean War, the Vietnam War, the Gulf War and the Iraq War, this site provides basic information about Asian and Pacific Islander American service in these wars through short articles and video clips.

Babae Blog (Filipina Women). http://babaesf.blogspot.com/. Women's organization that serves to address the rights and welfare of Filipinas in the San Francisco Bay Area. It includes frequently updated blogs and YouTube videos.

Conscience and the Constitution. http://www.pbs.org/itvs/conscience/index.html. PBS site for the film *Conscience and the Constitution* that provides links to organizations, a list of texts for further reading, and a viewers guide.

JARDA: Japanese American Relocation Digital Archives. http://www.calisphere.universityofcalifornia.edu/jarda/. Provides primary sources and historical context for the Japanese American Relocation and Internment including photographs, letters and diaries, oral histories (transcribed), and art.

Still present pasts: Korean Americans and "the forgotten war." http://www.stillpresentpasts.org/spp/home/home.htm. Chronicling a multimedia exhibit on Korean Americans and their memories of the Korean War, this site includes a brief history of the Korean War and a study guide to accompany the exhibit.

The House of Sharing (Comfort Women). http://www.nanum.org/eng/. Focuses on the women who live in The House of Sharing, a home for living survivors of the Korean Comfort Women experience. It includes the history and profiles of comfort women, information about The Museum of Sexual Slavery by Japanese Military, and a bulletin board.

The Vietnam Center and Archive. http://www.vietnam.ttu.edu/. Vietnam Archive at Texas Tech University provides information on the "American Vietnam experience" through, among other supports, a virtual resource archive, teaching guides, an oral history project, the Vietnam Graffiti Project, news, and updates.

Section 11:

YOUTH, FAMILY, AND THE AGED

Section Editors: Alan Y. Oda and Grace J. Yoo

This page intentionally left blank

OVERVIEW: UNDERSTANDING GENERATIONS

Alan Y. Oda and Grace J. Yoo

Unlike the model minority myth, Asian Americans throughout their lives have had critical issues affect their sense of selves, their families and their communities. Generation, region, ethnicity, culture, and class all have an impact on the life course for Asian Americans. This diversity encompasses ethnic Japanese, many who are now four or more generations removed from the early immigrants. Stories of *Baachan* and *Jiichan* (Grandma and Grandpa) and other *Issei* (first immigrant generation) being forced into World War II Relocation Centers are still being told to children born to one Japanese parent and one non-Japanese or even non-Asian parent. It includes ethnic Cambodians, who found refuge in the United States from the murder and the forced labor of the Khmer Rouge. Ethnic Koreans made their presence known on the West Coast during the 1980s, becoming small business owners throughout Los Angeles, then found themselves later targeted during Sa-I-Gu (4/29), the start date of the 1992 L.A. riots. Within the diversity there are shared stories of struggle, racism, successes, and achievements, as well as shortcomings and frustrations. The entries through this section focus on the critical issues facing Asian Americans throughout the life course. This overview elaborates and identifies trends affecting the young, old, and families in Asian America today.

YOUTH AND FAMILY

An individual's understanding of cultural traditions, practices, behaviors, expectations, and history is introduced through family. In other words, a child initially learns about of what it means to be Chinese, Japanese, Korean,

Filipino, Vietnamese, or a member of any other group based on their interaction with parents, and further supported by other family members. In the past, the successful Asian American family has been defined as one able to adapt and accept Westernized cultural standards, including preferring to communicate in English, read and view less foreign media, veer away from traditional diet, and appear less ethnic in dress and appearance. Current research questions these standards, sometimes emphatically.

Part of this is because of the shift and general acceptance toward multiculturalism and away from a dominant—and often exclusive—Euro-American perspective about children and families. Much of the literature has been from Euro-American researchers who view development from their own cultural perspective. Put simply, whether intended or not, a primary developmental goal has been the acquisition of American culture.[1] More recent theories about child development are beginning to reflect greater diversity in childrearing practices and families from a cross-cultural viewpoint.

Another notable shift involves viewing minority American children as doing more than adapting to discrimination. Much of the scholarship on Asian Americans and other minorities has been focused on how families respond to racism, poverty, and/or other stresses that impede progress toward assimilation into the mainstream culture. Lost in the discussion until recently were the positive characteristics associated with becoming Asian American.[2] Rather than viewing development simply as progress in acculturating to mainstream culture, a more constructive view of development can be viewed from criteria determined by standards and values important—and perhaps distinctive—to Asian Americans.

One corollary to consider is that Asian Americans may experience stressors unique to their culture, irrelevant to acculturation and other processes. The same cultural values that encourage educational achievement can also cause tensions and conflict between parents and children. The strong support resulting from the extended family can also grate against a desire for greater independence and freedom for Asian American youth. And sometimes, the younger generation more strongly identifies with cultural roots compared with their parents who made acculturation and acceptance into mainstream society their priority. The third generation often addresses the issues forgotten in the second generation.[3]

Much of the current literature on the effects of family on the developing child addresses issues of mainstream individuals, with an inadequate breadth of studies on the uniqueness of minority American populations and in particular, Asian Americans.[4] Theories of youth development are either extrapolated from Western developmental models or from the problematic "deficit" models of Asian Americans described earlier.[5] One common characteristic observed in many Asian American populations is filial piety, which defines the relationship between the young and elderly. Children are expected to have a life-long respect of the authority of one's parents and the family name. Filial piety also emphasizes an interdependence and loyalty between children and parents, as the actions of a child can bring either honor or shame to the entire family, not just

the individual. The concept of filial piety is linked with the Confucian origins of many Asian philosophies and cultures. This contrasts with the Western emphasis on parents fostering independence and individualism in their children.

Another commonality is the extended family. This family structure offers one of the more conspicuous differences of Asian American families. Specifically, Westernized cultures largely emphasize the nuclear family, stressing the importance of independence, individual achievement and individuation. By contrast, the extended family fosters interdependence, group identity, and shared achievement. To illustrate, the success of a child reflects well on the parents and other family members. Beyond the nuclear family, the extended family can incorporate grandparents, aunts, uncles, and even close family friends.

The prominence of the extended family assists in facilitating the maintenance of certain values and traditions. For example, it is widely accepted among Asian cultures that education and respect for ones' parents are valued principles. These values are often shared by parents and reinforced by other family members within the extended family structure. Accordingly, there is evidence that high standards of children's educational achievement and respect for authority are indeed values commonly retained by Asian American families. One other possibility as to why Asian cultural beliefs are retained is because of the reticence of Asian Americans to seek assistance from nonfamily members and instead rely upon family members.

Besides the processes of acculturation, enculturation is another process affecting the cultural development of youth. It is common to confuse acculturation and enculturation in the study of Asian Americans and other minority Americans.[6] However, enculturation is defined separately as learning without specific teaching.[7] Certain values and beliefs are not deliberately taught but instead are "absorbed" in a sometimes unintentional and nonevaluative manner. Arguably such beliefs become embedded into youth and are not easily changed or challenged. From a developmental perspective, enculturation is a powerful conduit for familiarizing children with traditions and culture-based behaviors.

There are also more deliberate behaviors observed between parents and children which help convey traditional family practices and values. Infants commonly sleep with their mothers, and later may prefer to share the bedroom with their parents versus their own individual bedroom, a physical demonstration of the bonds and interdependence between parent and child. When children begin school in middle childhood, parents teach their children to respect and obey their teachers, again highlighting the significance of youth submitting to their elders, be it teachers or parents. Older siblings are expected to take on the responsibility of caring for their younger brothers and sisters, encouraging the belief of family before individuality. The adolescent is expected to continue to assist in caring for siblings, plus make other contributions to the well-being of the family, underpinning the prioritization of family and collectivistic community.[8] By middle childhood, children are reminded about

respecting parents as authority. Another prominent trait of Asian American families is parent-centered (authoritarian) childrearing, differing from child-centered parenting practices observed in Westernized families.[9] Parental authority is largely unqualified and dominant.[10] Authoritarian practices helps reinforce the respect that children are expected to have toward their parents.

At the same time, the parental role in filial piety is also demanding. Compared to other ethnicities, American families of Asian origin are more aggressive in providing financial, human, and within-family social capital for their children.[11] Because there is a shared concern for the success of the group, there is mutual support offered between family members.[12] Both parents and children are expected to make personal sacrifices to benefit each other and the group as a whole.

Yet the description of Asian American parenting as "authoritarian" has its own hazards, a lucid example of the shortcomings of the scholarship on Asian Americans. Ruth Chao, a developmental psychologist, has stated that the concept of authoritarian parenting is based on an ethnocentric perspective that is inadequate to capture distinctive features of Asian American parenting. The Western labels used to describe parenting practices miss the unique nuances and idiosyncrasies of non-mainstream cultures. For example, the Chinese term *chiao shun* help describes a mother's "training" of children, involving more strict and deliberate teaching and educating of their daughters and sons. This may sound militaristic and rigid compared with Western parenting practices emphasizing the "nurturance" of children. Another unique term is *guan*, which is literally translated as "to govern" but can also mean "to care for." Chinese American mothers believe they must be strict to protect and enhance—and not inhibit—their children's successful growth.[13]

A related cultural distinction is observed in Japanese culture. *Amae* is at least partly defined as indulgent dependence between mother and child.[14] Like the Chinese terms of *chiao shun* and *guan*, the Japanese term *amae* lacks a precise or even adequate English translation, and may be disdained by Western standards, particularly in its perceived pampering and coddling. An example of *amae* is given where a six-year-old child climbs on the knees of her mother and expects to be read a storybook while the mother is busy with another task.[15] The authority of the parent is respected, yet the child also expects that his mother will fulfill and even indulge her needs. Again, describing such a relationship as "authoritarian" would be severely limiting.

The complex inimitability of Asian parenting traits may help explain how such practices persist throughout generations even within the mainstream culture. First, Asian childrearing practices can reinforce the traditional collectivistic, extended family system. Second, the strength of the parent-child relationship may lie in the variety of ways parents demonstrate their commitment to their children, while in return, children are expected to meet their parents' numerous expectations. Such intricate and subtle relationships, while potentially beneficial to both sides, can also be the source of stressors and challenges on both sides of childrearing. Contrasted with Westernized expectations of

children's individuation and independence, the possibility of conflict between parents and children may be further aggravated.

Consequently, the parent-child relationship has evolved over many years. Changes have been noted as early as the 1930s, with the Americanization of traditions raising the concerns of early immigrant families. First-generation Japanese parents (*Issei*) lamented the dissolution of filial piety and respect for patriarchal authority in the behaviors of their American-born, second-generation (*Nisei*) children.[16]

Among Chinese families, it is expected—by both recent immigrant Chinese (from Taiwan) and Chinese American mothers—that their children will revere their parents; however, it is noted that Chinese American mothers, as a likely influence of mainstream culture, tended to be a bit less restrictive than more recent Chinese immigrant mothers. Similar observations have been observed for Japanese American mothers and other Chinese American mothers.[17]

Likewise, traditional beliefs among Korean immigrant families include their children's expected obedience to their parents and an emphasis on high educational achievement. One mediating factor observed among Korean families is language assimilation, whether or not Korean-speaking parents and their English-speaking children can communicate effectively in spite of language barriers.[18]

The experience of Vietnamese and Cambodian immigrant families has been further exacerbated by their migratory status. One observation is that as parents make the difficult transition into mainstream society with varying degrees of success, parental authority may be compromised.[19] Of particular interest is the effect of cultural discrepancy between the more tradition-bound parents and the more rapidly acculturating children, specifically a decline in the affective relationship between generations which can predict future problem behaviors in youth.[20]

One illustration of this discrepancy—and a largely unexplored question—is whether the eventual loss of native language reflects differing educational levels between parents and children; in other words, advice offered in the "mother tongue" of the parents may be dismissed by children as being naive or irrelevant. Nonetheless, this may instead reflect a consequence of language barriers, as children lose their family's native language, more complex thoughts and emotions become harder to express. Further, some research links language loss as being detrimental to parent-child bonding. Psychological barriers and language barriers in Chinese American families may be enmeshed.[21]

INTERGENERATIONAL TENSIONS

The common assumption in American families—particularly during the adolescent years—is that concerns, conflicts, and even clashes are normal. For Asian American families, the standard of "normal" is much more variable. The mainstream society stresses the importance of forming an independent identity, emphasizing individualism. Yet the collectivistic Asian traditions not only

accentuate group identity, an important value is harmonious dependence.[22] Therein exists a further complication, that any desire to establish individualism is stifled by both the traditional value of group identity but also group harmony.

Thus, there is a competition of values within an Asian American family. This is likely most pronounced for children who are either U.S.-born or who arrived in the States at a young age. Besides the growing pains associated with the childhood-to-teen transition, an Asian American youth must somehow resolve the obvious conflict between traditional family, group interdependence and mainstream individualism, all within the context of a culture that stresses harmony within the family.

It prompts another review of the childrearing practices of Asian Americans. It was stated previously that many Asian Americans, across all ethnic groups, exercise strong parental control, expect respect for the elderly and other adults, and emphasize the importance of family. Although these ideals are prevalent, these same ideals can be inappropriately used to negate the tensions, stresses, and differences that Asian Americans experience throughout the life course. The same ties that promote family cohesion can also be the ties that bind.

Complicating this dilemma even further is the reticence of Asian Americans to seek counseling or other help resources. Once again, traditional Asian values can strongly influence such behaviors. Discussing family issues with outsiders is considered to be disloyal and can adversely affect the family's reputation ("family shame"). Additionally, one's own resources and inner strength should suffice in resolving personal distress; psychological help is a sign of weakness.[23]

One illustration of this phenomenon is observed among Vietnamese immigrant families and their America-born children. More than half of children of Vietnamese immigrants find it difficult to discuss their problems with their parents, as the latter are often non-English speaking laborers engaged in low-wage arduous work.[24] However, discussing either personal or family issues with an outsider may be viewed as disloyalty to the family ties. Help is sought only when the family is in some sort of psychosocial crisis.[25]

There are other sources of stressors for Asian American youth. What could be characterized as "violation of personal boundaries" in Western psychology instead may be considered normal behaviors in Asian American families. Chinese American mothers, whether recent immigrants to the United States or mothers more established in mainstream culture, agree that children should not challenge their parents, that parents can and should have the power to approve (and disapprove) children's activities, and that active intrusion by parents into their children's lives is not just acceptable, but desirable.[26] Higher expectations and participation from parents with their children's education are associated with better educational achievement in Chinese and Korean immigrant families, again noting that parents are often actively involved in their children's lives. Interestingly, one study of Korean American adolescents viewed parental control as being associated with parental warmth and caring, a sharp contrast to data obtained from North American youth.[27] Asian immigrant parents are also more demanding, expecting high achievement in many areas of academic

activity, while white parents were satisfied if children excelled in at least one area (school, athletics, music, among others).[28]

So in addition to high parental involvement based on fostering interdependence—conflicting with the individualistic emphasis of mainstream culture—Asian American youth also must answer to high demands for academic excellence. Adolescents in particular may resist such demands derived from cultural values, traditions, and lifestyles imposed by parents, particularly when such expectations diverge with the Western-oriented values that the Asian American adolescent is exposed to on a daily basis. Compared with other ethnic groups, Asian Americans reported the highest likelihood of family conflict.[29] Although it was difficult to distinguish whether minor and severe psychopathology was related to cultural conflicts or acculturation stress, studies have documented that Asian Americans have at least the same incidence of personal and emotional issues when compared to white and other ethnic students, challenging the assumptions of the "model minority" stereotype. Another complication is the observation—for numerous reasons—that Asian Americans are least likely to seek counseling and psychological help compared with any other American ethnic group, although differences between different ethnic subgroups has been noted.[30] Interestingly, there appears to be no significant relationship between values acculturation and professional help-seeking attitudes.[31]

Several topics having an impact on Asian American youth and families require more discussion and scholarship. Not all Asian Americans are successful in education. It is true that a large percentage of Asian Americans are successful academically, yet many students are not at the top of their class. Economic class of an Asian American family can make a difference between a mother who can devote much of her time supporting her children's education versus a mother who must engage in long hours of low-wage labor to support her family. The educational background of the parents can also make a significant impact, as many recent Asian immigrants, such as Cambodian, Hmong, Laotian, and Vietnamese parents, have less than a high school education, a stark contrast to more acculturated Filipino, Japanese, Asian Indian, and Korean immigrant parents.[32] A comparable study assessed the difference between academically successful Korean Americans students versus dropouts. Class differences, educational resources, and social networks were all implicated in predicting student achievement.[33]

Another topic of interest is Asian American at-risk youth. Already there is scholarship discussing gang activity, yet there is little consensus as to the etiology or the nature of such gangs.[34] Still, there is little doubt that economic and social divides will continue to exacerbate delinquency and other antisocial behaviors among Asian American youth. Conflict within and between generations is probable.[35]

In general, one wonders whether or not the future of Asian America will be viewed in a bimodal manner, a bifurcated population. There continue to be examples of Asian American youth who appear to fulfill the stereotype of the

"model minority." In 2006, Asian Americans surpassed whites as the largest ethnic group admitted to the University of California.[36] Yet the number of Asian American youth who are neither academically nor economically successful is likely to continue to grow. In both situations, the reticence of Asian Americans to engage in support services and assistance can only aggravate the divide.

CARING ACROSS GENERATIONS

Many of the different entries in this section focus on caring within families. Asian American families are unique in that they wrestle between the values of filial piety and family interdependence. Yet the concept of family interdependence is worth review as a separate characteristic as it further elucidates the collectivistic nature of Asian cultures. Such interdependence emphasizes in-group goals and prioritizing of the group over personal agendas, versus Western cultures, which emphasize independence and the importance of personal achievement over group achievement and success. Generally, Asian American families assume members can rely on, assist, and provide resources for one another, yet as stated earlier, such family ties can also be the ties that bind.

There is a widespread assumption within and outside the Asian American community that Asian American families take care of their own—more specifically that they take care of their aging and sick family members. The literature on Asian American ethnic families furthermore promotes this common assumption that there is a willingness of adult children to care for their aging parent and an expectation of the old to be cared by them. Although the traditional Asian family is seen as strong with filial ties, there is lack of critical discussion of how adult children in a new country who are overworked, lack resources, and lack time and money can provide the emotional, social, and financial needs of their aging parents.[37] Despite this common assumption that Asian Americans can "take care of their own," not all Asian Americans have the capacity and ability to care for aging relatives. Not all Asian Americans are considered to be financially successful—there is a greater percentage of Asian Americans below the poverty line compared to whites, plus the median income is lower for Asian Americans compared to whites with similar academic degrees and experience. At the same time, Asian Americans who are caring for their parents are often "sandwiched" between caring for aging parents and young children. Asian Americans who are sandwiched experience more guilt compared with other racial/ethnic groups about not doing enough for their aging parent.[38] In fact, two out of five Asian Americans caring for an aging parent have taken time off work to help care for an aging parent and one in two regularly accompany their parents on doctor's visits.[39] Caring for the older generation comes at a cost, including caregiver stress. One in three Asian Americans providing care to an aging parent experiences caregiver-related stress, such as exhaustion, lacking concentration, and feeling of being overwhelmed.

Despite the difficulties of caring for an aging family member, many younger, American-born Asians still cling to the ideal that they plan to take care of their parents.[40] Asian Americans, especially those with immigrant parents, are socialized to think about caring for their parents because they have a better English ability and understanding of cultural American norms. Even though Asian Americans may cling to the ideals that they will care for their parents in old age, many adult Asian Americans have not discussed issues such as wills, advance directives, and other important legal and health matters with their aging parents, and they are often unprepared when an aging family member needs care.[41] At the same time, there are changes in the beliefs and expectations among Asian Americans and their aging parents about caregiving and living independently. Researchers have found that for many Asian immigrant elderly living independently is often more preferred that residing with adult children. Beliefs about who is supposed to care for an aging family member and how to provide that care are changing with time and with generation. For example, older Korean immigrants are caught between two different traditions: one that is strongly collective-oriented, where the interests of the family are primary, and an American tradition of independence and individuality. Migrating to the United States many older Koreans immigrants strive to continue to maintain their independence and do not want to depend on their children for financial or tangible support.[42] Rather they would rather rely on more formal support for assistant. At the same time, with increasing acculturation and subsequent generations of Asian Americans, ideals of filial piety are changing.

Social service providers may not have the knowledge and the wherewithal to provide culturally appropriate and helpful services, which are often lacking for Asian American populations. Children can provide a valuable bridge in navigating through complicated and convoluted processes in order to secure needed aid and programs, though the adequate fulfillment of such responsibilities has been historically variable at best. Aging, frail family members may face burn out and exhaustion.[43] Previous research has shown that Asian Americans have avoided use of long-term care facilities, such as skilled nursing facilities, because of costs, stigma of family abandonment, fear of social isolation, and low quality of care.[44] For Asian immigrant elderly, three significant losses occur for those entering into a nursing home: loss of family, loss of culture, and loss of community.[45] Throughout the United States, there are innovative programs that service Asian immigrant families around long-term care. Unique programs include the Keiro Services in the Los Angeles area and the Asian community nursing home in Sacramento. Started in 1961, Keiro Services is the largest eldercare provider for the Japanese American community in the nation. Started by community members, the Asian community nursing home in Sacramento provides a 24-hour skilled nursing facility as well as drop-in respite care for care providers. Both of these eldercare services provide care in a culturally sensitive environment with close attention food, language and values.

EVER-CHANGING FAMILIES

What will be of interest to both scholars and families alike will be the persistence of distinctive behaviors singular to Asian American families. More and more common are mixed marriages, defined as an individual marrying someone of a different ethnicity or race. The trend was first documented in the 1980s, when it was noted that almost two-thirds of Japanese Americans and half of Chinese Americans in Los Angeles County were marrying someone of differ-

Increases in the Divorce Rate

Like other populations, Asian Americans are seeing an increase in the divorce rate. Yet unlike other communities, the impact of divorce may be more convoluted for Asian Americans. The number of divorces, though increasing, is still less than other American ethnic groups. Consequently, there are few available resources for divorcees for support and recovery within the Asian American community. Making it more difficult is the perception of failure and shame associated with the dissolved marriage, which can affect the response and encouragement offered by the extended family.

In addition, the extended family can become the "ties that bind," making a tenuous situation more exigent. Many are largely unfamiliar with divorce, and are often confused at best. What happens to the relationship between uncles, aunties, cousins, grandparents, and other family members with the divorced couple and their children is potentially perplexing. It is not just about whom to visit during the holidays, it is also about sorting out loyalties and penchants for all parties involved throughout the entire year.

The patriarchical nature of Asian American families can also become a stressor, particularly in shared custody arrangements. Traditionally, the mother is responsible for the day-to-day care of children, making sure homework is completed, chores are fulfilled, and other tasks are accomplished. Time spent with Dad often ranges from unfulfilling and boring to being totally entertained and pampered because the maternal parent is responsible for the "business" of childrearing.

With successive generations of Asian Americans, differences with the mainstream population may become attenuated, yet the question is whether or not the multigenerational structure of extended Asian American families will maintain and perhaps continue to complicate the already unfortunate conditions surrounding divorce.

—Alan Y. Oda

ent ethnic or racial heritage.[46] Whereas some theorists view this as a sign of successful assimilation by Asian Americans into the mainstream culture, at least one author has challenged this assumption, stating that racial inequality is a more appropriate explanatory construct.[47] As far as the children of mixed-raced marriages, one study stated that more than 40 percent these children identify with their Asian heritage.[48]

Asian Americans are also experiencing higher divorce rates than a decade ago. These changes are attributed to acculturation to more American norms regarding marriage and divorce.[49] Divorce tends to be less culturally acceptable in Asian countries, but with the increasing numbers of Asians born in this country, divorces have increased. Nonetheless, U.S. Census figures state that the divorce rate among Asian Americans is roughly half of whites. There is very little scholarship addressing any unique facets of Asian Americans and divorce.

Another trend of note is the continued entry of Asians into the United States via adoptions. While overall adoption rates tripled between 1990 and 2005, more than four out of every ten children adopted was from an Asian country. This is another topic not widely discussed in the literature, although there appears to be far less controversy about transnational Asian adoptions compared with children from Africa and Native American populations, considered by some to be a form of "cultural genocide."[50] Anecdotally, it has been observed that many of the adoptees from China, Korea, and other Asian countries are being placed in Asian American families.

The configuration of Asian American families is also changing as well as the support for such families. In California, 57 percent of Asian Americans opposed Proposition 8, which would recognize marriage between men and women and not same-sex couples. Also in California, one in ten same-sex couples is an Asian American.[51] At the same time, more than 50 percent of these couples are raising children. Asian American same-sex couples with children have a lower average household income and rate of home ownership than non–same-sex Asian American households with children.[52] Researchers and practitioners have stated that Asian American same-sex families face "triple minority" status because of racial and sexual orientation discrimination, as well as inadequate support from community, institutions, and their own families.[53]

Researchers have indicated that different ethnic groups under the umbrella of Asian American cannot and should not be viewed as part of one homogeneous group. Aside from different characteristics of each ethnic community, diverse emigration histories factor into any discussion of whether distinguishing practices will be passed down from generation to generation. Still, Asian Americans continue to stand out as a distinct population demonstrating at least some similar characteristics. Many of these distinctions have been, and continue to be, idealized, as in the model minority stereotype, which despite challenges by scholars and other authors, continues to persist. Such stereotypes affect public policy, where Asian American communities are deprived of resources and needed funding to assist both recent immigrants and later

generations, who require at least the same level of services as other ethnic communities.

Much of the past scholarship on Asian America has been focused on Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Filipino populations. Studies of Southeast Asian communities have largely focused on the immigrant experience. Just recently, findings about second-generation Southeast Asian Americans have become available, stating that Vietnamese have appeared to find success in mainstream culture, yet Cambodians, Hmong, and Laotians have not yet attained similar measures of achievement.[54]

Another question not explored here is whether the persistence of culturally based behaviors among Asian American families is a testimony to the strength and the advantageous nature offered by certain traditions and practices, or whether such behaviors are a reaction to continued racism and stereotyping. Such far-reaching questions will require a multidisciplinary view to better understand the current and future of Asian America.

NOTES

1. P. M. Greenfield and R. R. Cocking, *Cross-Cultural Roots of Minority Child Development* (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1994).
2. Greenfield and Cocking, *Cross-Cultural Roots*, 11.
3. D. Montrero, *Japanese Americans: Changing Patterns of Ethnic Affiliation over Three Generations* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1980).
4. D. B. Qin, N. Way, and P. Mukherjee, "The Other Side of the Model Minority Story: The Familial and Peer Challenges Faced by Chinese American Adolescents," *Youth and Society* 39 (2008): 480–506.
5. Greenfield and Cocking, *Cross-Cultural Roots.*
6. B. S. K. Kim, "Adherence to Asian and European American Cultural Values and Attitudes Toward Seeking Professional Psychological Help among Asian American College Students," *Journal of Counseling Psychology* 54 (2007): 474–480.
7. U. Kim and S. Choi, "Individualism, Collectivism, and Child Development: A Korean Perspective," in *Cross Cultural Roots of Minority Child Development,* ed. P. Greenfield and R. Cocking (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1994), 259–274.
8. A. Lau, "Family Therapy and Ethnic Minorities," in *Meeting the Needs of Ethnic Minority Children*, 2nd ed., ed. K. N. Dwivedi (London: Jessica Kingsley, 2002), 91–107.
9. J. Steinberg, S. M. Dornbusch, and B. B. Brown, "Ethnic Differences in Adolescent Achievement. An Ecological Perspective," *American Psychologist* 47 (1992): 723–729.
10. D. Baumrind, "The Influence of Parenting Style on Adolescent Competence and Substance Use," *The Journal of Early Adolescence* 11 (1991): 56–95.
11. Y. Su, "The Academic Success of East-Asian-American Students—An Investment Model," *Social Science Research* 27 (1998): 432–456.
12. A. J. Fuligni, V. Tseng, and M. Lam, "Attitudes toward Family Obligations among American Adolescents with Asian, Latin American, and European Background," *Child Development* 70 (1999): 1030–1044.
13. R. Chao, "Beyond Parental Control and Authoritarian Parenting Style: Understanding Chinese Parenting through the Cultural Notion of Training," *Child Development* 65 (1994): 1111–1119.

14. T. Matsudaira, T. Fukuhara, and T. Kitamura, "Factor Structure of the Japanese Interpersonal Competence Scale," *Psychiatry and Clinical Neurosciences* 62 (2008): 142–151. Retrieved Nov. 29, 2008, from MEDLINE.

15. Y. Niiya, P. C. Ellsworth, and S. Yamaguchi, "Amae in Japan and the United States: An Exploration of a 'Culturally Unique' Phenomenon," *Emotion* 6 (2006): 279–205.

16. E. H. Tamura, *Americanization, Acculturation, and Ethnic Identity: The Nisei Generation in Hawaii* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994).

17. H. L. Chiu, "Child-Rearing Attitudes of Chinese, Chinese-American, and Anglo-American Mothers," *International Journal of Psychology* 22 (1987): 409–419.

18. E. Kim and S. W. Wolpin, "The Korean American Family: Adolescents versus Parents Acculturation to American Culture," *Journal of Cultural Diversity* 15 (2008): 108–116.

19. N. Foner and P. Kasinitz, "The Second Generation," in *The New Americans: A Guide to Immigration since 1965*, eds. M. C. Waters, R. Ueba, and H. B. Marrow (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), 270–282.

20. Qin, et al., "The Other Side," 483.

21. Qin, et al., "The Other Side," 480–506.

22. R. Fan, "Self-Determination vs. Family-Determination: Two Incommensurable Principles of Autonomy: A Report from East Asia," *Bioethics* 11 (1997): 309–322.

23. S. K. Kim, D. R. Atkinson, and D. Umemoto, "Asian Cultural Values and the Counseling Process: Current Knowledge and Directions for Future Research," *The Counseling Psychologist* 29 (2001): 570–603.

24. Maria Cramer, "Disconnected: The City's Vietnamese Population is Turning to Harvard for Help in Understanding the Problems Its Youth Are Facing—Problems that Are Often Manifested through Violence," *The Boston Globe,* May 27, 2008. Retrieved on Dec. 15, 2008 http://www.boston.com/news/local/articles/2008/05/27/disconnected/.

25. S. C. Kim, "Family Therapy for Asian Americans: A Strategic-Structural Framework," *Psychotherapy* 22 (1985): 342–348.

26. L. Hao and M. Bonstead-Burns, "Parent-Child Differences in Educational Expectations and the Academic Achievement of Immigrant and Native Students," *Sociology of Education* 71 (1998): 175–198; R. P. Rohner and S. M. Pettengill, "Perceived Parental Acceptance-Rejection and Parental Control among Korean Adolescents," *Child Development* 56 (1985): 524–528.

27. Rohner and Pettengill, "Perceived Parental Acceptance," 524–528.

28. B. Schneider and Y. Lee, "A Model for Academic Success: The School and Home Environment of East Asian Students," *Anthropology and Education Quarterly* 21 (1990): 358–377; G. Kao, "Asian Americans as Model Minorities? A Look at Their Academic Performance," *American Journal of Education* (1995): 121–159.

29. University of California–Davis, "Suicide In Asian Americans: Family Conflict Increases Risk Of Suicide Attempts," Science Daily, Aug. 20, 2008, http://www.sciencedaily.com/releases/2008/08/080817223446.htm (accessed Nov. 11, 2008).

30. S. Sue et al., "Mental Health Research on Asian Americans," *Journal of Community Psychology* 22 (1994): 61–67; F. T. L. Leong, "Asian Americans' Differential Patterns of Utilization of Inpatient and Outpatient Public Mental Health Services in Hawaii," *Journal of Community Psychology* 22 (1994): 82–96.

31. Kim, "Adherence to Asian and European American Cultural Values," 474–480.

32. W. Au and Benji Chang, "You're Asian, How Could You Fail Math?" *Rethinking Schools* 22 (2007), http://www.rethinkingschools.org/archive/22_02/math222.shtml

(accessed Dec. 6, 2008); J. Lew, *Asian Americans in Class: Charting the Achievement Gap among Korean American Youth* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2006).

33. Lew, *Asian Americans in Class.*

34. G. T. Tsunokai and A. J. Kposowa, "Asian Gangs in the United States: The Current State of the Research Literature," *Crime, Law, and Social Change* 37 (2002): 37–50.

35. E. T. Trueba et al., *Myth or Reality: Adaptive Strategies of Asian American* (New York: Routledge, 1992).

36. L. M. Krieger and L. Fernandez, "Asians Surpass Mark at UC: White Admissions Fall to Second Place for the First Time," *San Jose Mercury News* 4 (2006), http://www.accessmylibrary.com/coms2/summary_0286-14943001_ITM (accessed on July 24, 2009).

37. Grace Yoo and Barbara Kim, "Remembering Sacrifices, Negotiating Cultures and Institutions: Second-Generation Korean Americans and Their Caregiving Expectations and Responsibilities to Aging Immigrant Parents," unpublished paper (2008), 1–25.

38. Belden, Russolleno, and Stewart Research, Strategy, and Management, AARP Report: "In the Middle: A Report on Multicultural Boomers Coping with Family and Aging Issues," July 2001, http://assets.aarp.org/rgcenter/il/in_the_middle.pdf (accessed on Dec. 15, 2008).

39. Belden, Russolleno, and Stewart, "In the Middle: A Report on Multicultural Boomers."

40. Yoo and Kim, "Remembering Sacrifices.

41. Yoo and Kim, "Remembering Sacrifices.

42. Sabrina Wong, Grace Yoo & Anita Stewart, "An Empirical Evaluation of Social Support and Psychological Well-Being in Older Chinese and Korean Immigrants," *Ethnicity and Health* 12, no.1 (2007): 43–67.

43. Belden, Russolleno, and Stewart "In the Middle: A Report on Multicultural Boomers,"

44. Nancy Hikoyeda and Steven Wallace, "Do Ethnic-Specific Long Term Care Facilities Improve Resident Quality of Life? Findings from the Japanese American Community," in *Social Work Practice with the Asian American Elderly*, ed. Namkee Choi (New York: Haworth Press, 2002).

45. Michael Maclean and Rita Bonar, "Ethnic Elderly People in Long Term Care Facilities of the Dominant Culture: Implications for Social Work Practice and Education," *International Social Work* 2 (1986): 227–236.

46. H. Kitano et al., "Asian-American Interracial Marriage," *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 46 (1984): 179–190.

47. S. Chow, "The Significance of Race in the Private Sphere: Asian Americans and Spousal Preferences," *Sociological Inquiry* 70 (2000): 1–29.

48. R. Saenz et al., "Persistence and Change in Asian Identity among Children of Intermarried Couples. Identity among Children of Intermarried Couples," *Sociological Perspectives* 38 (1995): 175–194.

49. The Associated Press, "Census: Divorce Rate Up among Asians," *USA Today*, posted May 28, 2003, http://www.usatoday.com/news/nation/census/2003-05-28-asians-census_x.htm (accessed Dec. 15, 2008).

50. K. Condit, "Familial Legacies: Rethinking Transnational Asian Adoption in the 21st Century," Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Studies Association, Oct 12, 2006, http://www.allacademic.com/meta/p113665_index.html (accessed Dec. 7, 2008).

51. UCLA Williams Institute, "Asian and Pacific Islanders in Same Sex Couples in California: Data from the 2000 Census," http://www.law.ucla.edu/williamsinstitute/publications/API_Report.pdf (accessed Dec. 15, 2008).

52. UCLA Williams Institute, "Asian and Pacific Islanders."

53. Diane Hayashino and Sapna Batra Chopra, "Parenting and Raising Families," in *Asian American Psychology,* ed. Nita Tewari and Alvin Alvarez (New York: Taylor and Francisco, 2008), 317–336.

54. A. Sakamoto and H. Woo, "The Socioeconomic Attainments of Second-Generation Cambodian, Hmong, Laotian, and Vietnamese Americans," *Sociological Inquiry 77* (2007): 44–75.

This page intentionally left blank

AT-RISK YOUTH

Roderick Daus-Magbual and Jonell Molina

In January 2008, a Vietnamese gang in the south Boston neighborhood of Dorchester was caught on video beating a 14-year-old girl and 15-year-old boy into bloodied oblivion.[1] A report on teen pregnancy showed a higher percentage of teenage pregnancy among Cambodian and Laotian teenagers than any other Asian American subgroup.[2] These stories represent the issues and challenges that at-risk Asian American youth face in the United States. Historically, Asian American youth have often been depicted as "whiz kids," but these stories demonstrate that Asian Americans also face issues that put them at risk.[3] Although the definition of the term "at-risk" varies and stigmatizes particular groups, the term is nonetheless widely used in schools and among service providers, funders, policy makers, scholars, and media.[4] Being at-risk means events, relationships, circumstances, or conditions that influences and/or limits an individual's access to succeed.[5] At-risk youth often face more issues, such as a higher high school dropout rate, gangs, suicide, teenage pregnancy, drugs, and substance abuse.

Being Asian American brings into focus the delicate balance of traditional values, customs, and the pressure to assimilate to American norms.[6] Asian American youth face the challenge to "fit in" within educational institutions, among peers, and social networks.[7] A common stereotype of Asian American youth as the whiz kid continues a pattern that is harmful and threatens the relationships between youths and their families, as well as how youths understand their identity.[8] An example of this phenomenon is the depiction of Asian American youth as academic achievers who rarely get in trouble, which keeps many immigrant parents complacent about the dangers their children face.[9]

One of the many challenges Asian American families face is the disappearing family unit in America.[10] This disruption of the Asian American family is creating a generation of Asian American youth who are lacking a social support unit. Like many Latino immigrant families, Asian American families are finding it tough to connect to their children.[11] Many Asian American youth find direction and their sense of identity from peers and messages in popular culture. With no place to turn but the environment and influences in their neighborhood, youth may feel the anxiety and pressure of being misunderstood. To make up for the absence of family and parental guidance, Asian American youth begin to model behavior from their peers or completely withdraw.[12]

For Asian American youth who struggle, at-risk indicators can include: declining academic performance, such as poor grades, truancy, and expulsion; the lack of friends; mental health issues; and experimentation and use of substances such alcohol, tobacco, and other drugs.[13] Vietnamese, Cambodia, Laotian, Hmong, and Mien are more at risk than other Asian American subgroups because of academic performance issues that include language backgrounds and abilities, history of schooling, reasons of migrating to America, trauma, issues of identity, and sense of self-efficacy.[14]

Commonly overlooked in Asian American youth experiences is the wide array of societal and local community problems that they face in their communities. Issues of poverty, immigration, the pressure to assimilate, the failure of urban schools, and the lack of a cultural identity are various factors that can contribute to Asian American youth in becoming at risk.[15] For example, at-risk Southeast Asian youth face cultural differences and hardships often attributed to their relocation and settlement in America.[16] Similar to these experiences, many Asian immigrant groups share experiences of overcrowded households and immigrant parents working longer hours.[17] In order to survive, families are left to assimilate and acculturate themselves into new environments and surroundings. These factors contribute to Asian American youth feeling isolated, depressed, and helpless, and lead to generational conflicts between parents and children.

GANGS

Racial tension and violence are concerns for many Asian American youth.[18] Connie Vang, a Hmong American high school sophomore, described in 2005 the tension between African Americans and Asian Americans at her Central Valley high school in California. A simple food fight at the high school between Asian and African American students escalated into a near riot, and almost 600 students did not attend school because of fears of continued violence.[19] Many Asian American youth reported staying home from school because they were afraid for their safety.[20] Racial conflict and tensions remain present in many school sites that instill a sense of fear to attend school.

Like many youth of color growing up in communities of failing schools and high rates of violence and murder, Asian American youth choose to align and

involve themselves with gangs for safety, community, and camaraderie.[21] For many Asian American youth who feel disenfranchised not only from their parents but also from school, street gangs serve as familial unit that offer youth a sense of ethnic pride.[22] As a response to being neglected in school, threats from other racial groups and street gangs, and the deterioration of the immigrant family, street gangs provide security, confidence, and social networks for these at-risk youth. [23] Asian American street gangs also instill a sense of cultural pride that is rooted within maintaining language and history, and producing youth culture through party culture.[24] Gangs provide safety, protection, recognition, and a sense of power that Asian American youth find themselves unable to acquire individually.

Many parents of at-risk Asian American youth are unaware that their child might be involved in gang activities because of the generational conflicts and language barriers.[25] Asian American youth involved in gangs may keep their "gang lifestyle" a secret from their home life.[26] Many Asian Americans who join street gangs start as early as eleven years old, when they are impressionable and older teenage gang members can offer a sense of belonging.[27] Asian American adolescents that were in California Youth Authority (CYA) wards were often identified as having the highest percentages of gang membership.[28] The leaders of the Asian American street gangs are generally older youth ranging from eighteen and twenty-four years of age who can serve as an older brother/sister or father/mother figure and can use the insecurity, the little parental supervision, and the allure of drugs in their recruitment practices.

As Asian American youth become more involved in gangs, their association, allegiance, and responsibility to the gang become more dangerous by engaging and/or witnessing violence, robbery, drugs, sex, and gambling.[29] These actions are seen as acceptable ways of behavior and success in their new "family." Youth copy and embody these lifestyles to make up for what has been missing at home and at school, a development of confidence in their identity. Their involvement in gang activity leads to more aggressive and daring acts of crime.

Asian American street gangs have captured the attention of local and national media through their highly documented rap sheet of violence, theft, drug trafficking, and murder. Shows such as "Gangland," featured on the History Channel, have highlighted such gangs as the Joe Boys, Wah Ching, Wo Hop To, Tiny Rascal Gang, and Asian Boyz.[30] Other Asian American street gangs that have gained notoriety are the Filipino gangs Bahala Na Gang and Satanas.[31] Such gangs have had roots that started in the mother country, street gangs that have started locally and expanded their gangs internationally.[32]

TEENAGE PREGNANCY

The perception of teenage pregnancy is that it solely lies within African American or Latino communities, but Asian American youth also face this issue.[33] When the teenage birthrate numbers are examined, sorted by different Asian American subgroups, certain communities bear much of the cost and

burden of teen pregnancy.[34] Asian American teen birthrates in certain subgroups rank among the highest compared with any other major racial/ethnic groups in the United States.[35] In California, Cambodians represent one-tenth and Laotians one-fifth of all teen births.[36] In Minnesota, Asian American represent one-third of all births to teens.[37] As the number of Asian American teenagers continue to grow, teen pregnancy is expected to be a long-term problem.[38]

Although Cambodian and Laotians comprise some of the highest birthrates, other Asian ethnic groups such as Chinese, Korean, and Asian Indian groups represent some of the lowest.[39] Exploring beyond the numbers of Asian American teenage pregnancy, issues of cultural traditions versus American norms present challenges. Some of these challenges include: lack of communication between immigrant parents and bi-cultural teenagers about sex and sexuality, generally a culturally taboo topic; diminished communication between parent and child because of both parents working long hours; and in some cases, teens becoming pregnant as an act of rebellion.[40] Teenage pregnancy among the Cambodian and Laotian communities is also related to issues of poverty, lack of educational access, and strict traditional family values.[41] There are also specific cultural issues unique to different Asian American subgroups, where Hmong teenage girls are bound by cultural tradition. Cultural and gender expectations of teenage Hmong girls are that they are expected to be married and pregnant before their twenties.[42]

The rate of acculturation of second-generation teenage Asian Americans compared to their immigrant parents also presents challenges. Within the Filipino American community, some Filipina Americans perceive pregnancy as a form of rebellion to the strong Roman Catholic beliefs and strict parental upbringing common in their families.[43] Teenage issues such as dating, sex, and abortion are difficult subjects to talk about with their parents. Many young Filipina Americans keep these issues to themselves out fear of rejection, shame, or anger from their parents.[44] These are issues that keep Asian American teens at risk become contributing factors to the high numbers of dropouts in high school and suicides.[45]

OUTLOOK

Although considerable research has focused on factors associated with becoming an at-risk Asian American youth, little has been written on programs that offer effective intervention strategies. Nationally, there are many Asian American community-based organizations that provide services to ethnic-specific Asian communities as well as panethnic Asian American youth. In Los Angeles there are ethnic specific agencies such as Search to Involve Pilipino Americans (SIPA), which has served the historic Filipinotown neighborhood for the past thirty-six years.[46] SIPA continues to work with at-risk youth, engaging them in programs that deal with teen pregnancy, tobacco prevention, and gang prevention.[47] In San Francisco, the Asian Youth

Prevention Services (AYPS) is represented by a consortium of Asian and Pacific Islander community-based organizations that assist both the larger panethnic population of Asian Americans as well as ethnic-specific groups.[48] The consortium is composed of Asian American Recovery Services (AARS), Community Youth Center (formerly the Chinatown Community Center), Filipino Community Center (FCC), Japanese Community Youth Council (JCYC), Korean Center (KCI), Samoan Community Development Center (SCDC), and the Vietnamese Youth Development Center (VYDC). The goal of AYPS is to reduce or delay the use and abuse of alcohol, tobacco, and other drugs among Asian and Pacific Islander youth. These agencies provide mental health and drug education services to middle and high school youth. Youth participants identified as "at-risk" are provided with in-depth case management or referred to professional social workers.

Addressing the need for ethnic specific services, the Pin@y Educational Partnerships (PEP), a program of San Francisco State University's Asian American Studies Department in the College of Ethnic Studies, partners with San Francisco public schools and the Filipino Community Center located in the Excelsior neighborhood of San Francisco to address the issues of Filipina/o immigrant and Filipina/o American youth.[49] Filipina/o American urban youth face issues of poverty, immigration issues, gangs, drugs, racial confusion, and the alarming rates of Filipina suicide.[50] Using education as a tool for social justice, PEP integrates the experiences of Filipina/o and Filipina/o American youth within the classroom to address their social and personal issues. PEP addresses the issues of colonization, immigration, and contemporary social issues and helps students understand the historical and cultural impact of their identities and behaviors. PEP also addresses the lack of Filipina/o teachers by recruiting undergraduate and graduate students, who serve as mentors and role models. Through a critical, cultural, and creative curriculum, PEP engages students to learn about the root causes of racism, sexism, and poverty through a yearlong class that allow students to voice their issues and take action in their own lives, as well as in their communities. Involvement in programs such as these serves as an alternative to gangs, drugs, and violence by providing students the academic, personal, and transformative space needed to change their lives, as well as their communities.

FURTHER READING

Alsaybar, B. D. "Filipino American Youth Gangs, 'Party Culture,' and Ethnic identity in Los Angeles." In *Second Generation: Ethnic Identity among Asian Americans,* ed. P.G. Min. Lanham, MD: Altamira Press, 2002, 129–152.

Le, T. N., and J. L. Wallen. "Youth Delinquency: Self-Reported Rates and Risk Factors of Cambodian, Chinese, Lao/Mien, and Vietnamese Youth." *aapi nexus* 4, no. 2 (2006): 15–44.

Services and Advocacy for Asian Youth Consortium. *Moving Beyond Exclusion: Focusing on the Needs of Asian/Pacific Islander Youth in San Francisco.* http://www.yvpcenter.org/media/docs/4608_moving_beyond_exclusion.pdf.

Siu, S. F. *Asian American Students At-Risk: A Literature Review.* (Center for Research on the Education of Students Paced at Risk, 1996), 8.

Umemoto, K., and P. Ong. "Asian American Pacific Islander Youth: Risks, Challenges, and Opportunities." *aapi nexus* 4, no.2 (2006): v–ix.

NOTES

1. Maria Cramer, "Viet-American Gangs Stir Worry in Dorchester," *Boston Globe*, Jan. 31, 2008, http://www.boston.com/news/local/articles/2008/01/31/viet_american_gangs_stir_worry_in_dorchester/.

2. Tracy A. Weitz, "Asian Pacific Islander Subpopulations: A True Look at Teen Pregnancy," *SIECUS US Report* 30, no. 3 (2002): 16–20.

3. Kim Doan, "A Sociocultural Perspective on At-Risk Asian American Students," *Teacher Education and Special Education* 29, no. 3 (2005): 157–167; Sau-Fon Siu, "Asian American Students At Risk: A Literature Review," *Center for Research on the Education of Students Placed at Risk* 8 (CRESPAR, 1996); Bob Suzuki, "Education and the Socialization of Asian Americans: A Revisionist Analysis of the 'Model Minority' Thesis," *Amerasia Journal* 4, no. 2 (1977): 23–51.

4. Karen Umemoto and Paul Ong, "Asian American Pacific Islander Youth: Risks, Challenges, and Opportunities," *aapi nexus* 4, no. 2 (2006): v–ix; Richard R. Valencia and Daniel G. Solorzano, "Contemporary Deficit Thinking" in *The Evolution of Deficit Thinking: Educational Thought and Practice,* ed. Richard R. Valencia (New York: Routledge, 1997), 160–210.

5. Nicole Robinson, "Redefining 'At-Risk' to Meet the Needs of the Contemporary Classroom," *Action, Criticism, & Theory for Music Education* 3, no.3 (2004): 2–12; Robert C. Pianta and Daniel J. Walsh, *High Risk Children in Schools* (New York: Routledge, 1996); Valencia and Solorzano, "Contemporary Deficit Thinking."

6. Stacey J. Lee, *Up against Whiteness: Race, School, and Immigrant Youth* (New York: Teachers College Columbia University, 2005).

7. Sara Exposito and Alejandra Favela, "Reflective Voices: Valuing Immigrant Students and Teaching with Ideological Clarity," *The Urban Review* 35, no. 1 (2003): 73–91.

8. Doan, "A Sociocultural Perspective on At-Risk Asian American Students."

9. Miriam Camar, "Viet-American Gangs Stir Worry in Dorchester." *The Boston Globe*, 31 January 2008, http://www.boston.com/news/local/articles/2008/01/31/viet_american_gangs_stir_ (accessed Oct. 30, 2008).

10. Lee, *Up against Whiteness.*

11. Carola Suárez-Orozco and Irina L. G. Todorova, "The Social Worlds of Immigrant Youth," *New Directions for Youth Development* 100 (2003): 15–24.

12. Suárez-Orozco and Todorova, "The Social Worlds of Immigrant Youth."

13. *Moving beyond Exclusion: Focusing on the Needs of Asian/Pacific Islander Youth in San Francisco* (Services and Advocacy for Asian Youth (SAAY) Consortium, 2004).

14. Siu, "Asian American Students At Risk."

15. Stacey J. Lee, *Up against Whiteness*; Thao N. Le and Judy L. Wallen, "Youth Delinquency: Self-Reported Rates and Risk Factors of Cambodian, Chinese, Lao/Mien, and Vietnamese Youth," *aapi nexus* 4, no. 2 (2006): 15–44; Kevin L. Nadal, "A Culturally Competent Classroom for Filipino Americans," *Multicultural Perspectives* 10, no. 3 (2008): 155–161.

16. Stacey J. Lee, *Up against Whiteness*; Thao N. Le and Judy L. Wallen, "Youth Delinquency; Kevin L. Nadal, "A Culturally Competent Classroom for Filipino Americans."

17. Lee, *Up against Whiteness.*

18. "Statewide Dialogue on Asian & Pacific Islander Youth Violence," Aug. 17, 2005, Sacramento Convention Center, Cycle of Violence. Asian and Pacific Islander (API) Youth Victimization, General Workshop, Session 1.

19. "Statewide Dialogue on Asian & Pacific Islander Youth Violence."

20. *Moving Beyond Exclusion.*

21. Suárez-Orozco and Todorova, "The Social Worlds of Immigrant Youth."

22. Bangele D. Alsaybar, "Filipino American Youth Gangs, 'Party Culture,' and Ethnic Identity in Los Angeles" in *Second Generation: Ethnic Identity Among Asian Americans,* ed. Pyong Gap Min (Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2002), 129–152.

23. Alsaybar, "Filipino American Youth Gangs," 134–140.

24. Alsaybar, "Filipino American Youth Gangs," 143–146.

25. David Castellion, "Asian Gangs amongst the Bloodiest," *Visalia Times-Delta*, July 14, 2008, http://www.visaliatimesdelta.com/apps/pbcs.dll/article?AID=/20070714/NEWS01/707140329 (accessed Oct. 30, 2008).

26. Jason B. Johnson, "From Southeast Asia to a Violent East Bay: Gang Rivalries Turn Immigrants' Hopes into Urban Miseries," *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 13, 2004; accessed Oct. 30 2008. http://www.sfgate.com/cgi-bin/article.cgi?file=/c/a/2004/06/13/MNGBH75IGB1.DTL 27; Alsaybar, "Filipino American Youth Gangs."

28. National Council on Crime & Delinquency, "Juvenile Justice Fast Facts," http://www.nccd-crc.org. Several API ethnicities have the highest levels of gang membership, Cambodian youth (91%), Laotian (88%), and Thai (87%) had the highest levels of gang membership in 2002.

29. Douglas R. Kent and George T. Felkenes, *Cultural Explanations for Vietnamese Youth Involvement in Street Gangs* (Westminster, CA: Westminster Police Department, Office of Research and Planning, 1998), 1–92.

30. A&E Television Networks, History.com, "Gangland," http://www.history.com/minisites/gangland, accessed Nov. 18, 2008; "State Department Release on Chile Shows Suspicions of CIA Involvement in Charles Horman 'Missing' Case," http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/news/19991008/, Dec. 12, 2003.

31. Shannon Sims, "Va. Beach Teen's Arm Nearly Cut Off in Sword Attack," WVEC.Com, http://www.wvec.com/news/vabeach/stories/wvec_local_072407_sword_.a921429f.html, accessed Nov. 18, 2008; Pasckie Pascua, "FilAms In Crossfire as L.A. Gang Violence Rages," *Philippine News*, April 11, 2008, http://www.philippinenews.com/article.php?id=2204&catId=1 (accessed Nov. 18, 2008).

32. Alsaybar, "Filipino American Youth Gangs."

33. Ray Kim, "Asian Teen Mothers a Quiet State Crisis: Problem Will Be Addressed in Oakland Tonight," *SFGate,* June 7, 2001, A17, http://www.sfgate.com/cgi-bin/article.cgi?f=/c/a/2001/06/07/MNL198711.DTL.

34. Weitz, "Asian Pacific Islander Subpopulations."

35. U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), National Vital Statistics Reports (55) 1, *Births: Final Data for 2004,* data from CDC, National Center for Health Statistics.

36. Weitz, "Asian Pacific Islander Subpopulations."

37. Laurie Meschke, "Hmong Pregnancy Planning Grant" (unpublished document). St. Paul, MN: Lao Family Community of Minnesota, 2003.

38. Tom Lee, "Some Groups See Rise in Teen Pregnancy," *AsianWeek*, June 8, 2000. http://asianweek.com/2000_06_08/news_teenpregnancy.html; Tracy A. Weitz, "Asian Pacific Islander Subpopulations."

39. Weitz, "Asian Pacific Islander Subpopulations."

40. Margaret Magat, "Teenage and Pregnant: Despite the Statistics and Stereotypes, Teen Pregnancy Among Asian Americans is a Very Real Problem" *a Magazine*, March 31, 2001, 55.

41. Kim, "Asian Teen Mothers a Quiet State Crisis."

42. Ji Hyun Lim, "Teen Pregnancy a Tradition," AsianWeek.com, March 2–8, 2001, http://asianweek.com/2001_03_02/bay2_hmongteenpregnancy.html.

43. Magat, "Teenage and Pregnant."

44. Barbara Posadas, *The New Americans: The Filipino Americans* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1999).

45. A. Barretto Ogilvie, ed., *Filipino American K-12 Pubic School Students: A National Survey* (Washington, DC: National Federation of Filipino American Federations, January 2008).

46. Pascua, "FilAms In Crossfire as L.A. Gang Violence Rages."

47. Search to Involve Pilipino Americans Web site, SIPA, "Search to Involve Pilipino Americans," October 2008, http://www.esipa.org.

48. Japanese Community Youth Council (JCYC), "Asian Youth Prevention Services," http://www.jcyc.org/programs/ayps.htm, accessed Nov. 18, 2008.

49. Gender-neutral term representing Filipino and Filipina American experiences that was popularized by Filipina/o American college students at UC–Berkeley in the 1990s; Allyson Tintiangco-Cubales, *Pin@y Educational Partnerships, A Filipina/o American Studies Sourcebook Series, Volume 1: Philippine History and Filipina/o American History*. (Santa Clara, CA: Phoenix Publishing House International, 2007).

50. Allyson Tintiangco-Cubales and Jeffrey C. Ponferrada, "Filipina/o Students in San Francisco Student Survey Project," *Filipino American K-12 Public Schools: A National Survey*, A national report from the National Federation of Filipino American Associations (Washington, DC, 2008); Kevin L. Nadal, "A Culturally Competent Classroom for Filipino Americans." 155–161; A. Barretto Ogilvie, ed., *Filipino American K-12 Pubic School Students.*

CHILDREN AS LANGUAGE AND CULTURAL BROKERS

Nina H. Wu and Su Yeong Kim

For many Asian immigrants, their arrival in the United States gives them hopes for a new beginning and a brighter future. However, as much as some Asian immigrants want to thrive quickly in the host country, they can face many challenges. For those with limited English proficiency, simply communicating in and understanding the new language and culture may be one of the greatest of these challenges. Encounters in the educational, administrative, economic, social, and many other aspects of life in the United States may require Asian immigrants to have interactions with others who do not speak or write their heritage languages. These situations can occur in places where Asian immigrants go to apply for legal documentations (e.g., Social Security), register children to attend school, obtain health insurance and receive health care, apply for government assistance, look for employment, or shop. Asian immigrants can also face language and cultural challenges at home when letters, notices, and documents are sent to them written in English. With more than 10 million Asians living in the United States, and about 40 percent of them aged five and older who speak English less than "very well," the survival and success of this group depends on having someone trustworthy to help them with translation and interpretation.

Research on Asian immigrant families shows that many adults in these families (usually the parents) involve the children to assist with translation and interpretation. Children of Asian immigrants who take on the role in their families as designated translators and interpreters are known as language or cultural brokers.[1] Here, the term "language broker" is used to represent both terms. Some children of Asian immigrants find themselves performing language and

cultural brokering tasks for their families even as they themselves are learning the new language and culture.[2] They are usually the first in their families to gain exposure to the English language. This often happens in school, where children of Asian immigrants are also immersed in U.S. culture.

In addition to helping their family members and relatives accomplish simple everyday tasks, many children of Asian immigrants become an important bridge between their families' heritage cultural identity and the U.S. culture and institutions. These children use their newly acquired bilingual and bicultural knowledge to help their families gain access to opportunities, resources and information. They negotiate between two cultural environments: one within their families where their heritage languages are spoken and the world outside the family, where the dominant language is English.

As the percentage of foreign-born Asians arriving in the United States continues to increase, child language brokers are becoming even more important in the Asian communities, as they use their bilingual and bicultural knowledge to help others in their communities to adapt to and succeed in the host country. According to the Census 2000, about 24.1 percent of Asians living in the United States were foreign-born before 1980; nearly 32.4 percent were foreign-born in the years 1980 and 1990; and 43.5 percent were foreign-born in the years 1990 to year 2000. Inevitably, many children in Asian immigrant families find themselves translating and interpreting not only for their parents, but also for other family members, friends, and community members who are not familiar with the English language.

The literature on language brokering suggests that perceptions of the language broker by children of immigrants vary greatly: from feeling a sense of efficacy (e.g., feeling proud, helpful, and useful) to feeling a sense of burden (e.g., feeling embarrassed, burdened, and uncomfortable). For example, some children who language broker demonstrate more symptoms of depression, withdrawal, and sadness.[3] Other children are also likely to perceive more conflicts with their parents.[4] Collectively, studies have shown that some children of immigrants are negatively affected by the language brokering experience, while others benefit. As such, research on language brokering and its potential consequences on children of Asian immigrants might help those whose work is related to these children to better understand this special group of population, not only for their current circumstances and future prospects but also for the important role that they will take part in determining the fate of the United States economy in the future.

CHARACTERISTICS

Child language brokers share some similar characteristics. First, they have acquired some knowledge of the English language and the U.S. culture. Second, they have familiarity with their heritage language and culture.

Prevalence

Child language brokering is very common in many Asian immigrant families. Adult Chinese, Vietnamese, Cambodian, and Korean immigrant study

participants recalled performing language brokering tasks when they were younger. Many children of Asian immigrants begin performing brokering tasks within three years of arrival in the United States. Some begin performing language brokering tasks in the early grade school years, the youngest being five years old. Two studies of high school participants from Vietnamese and Chinese backgrounds found that at least 90 percent took on the role as language brokers.[5] In one study, 52 percent of the participants began brokering within a year of arrival in the United States and 62 percent began brokering within two years of arrival.[6] Similarly, another study reported that almost 70 percent of the 1,000 Chinese and Korean high school students studied performed language brokering tasks.[7]

Where Language Brokering Occurs

Language brokering frequently occurs in the home and school. A study reported that 80 percent of their participants brokered at home and 65 percent brokered at school.[8] Study participants frequently filled out school forms, wrote notes, and translated school letters and notices for their parents. Many participants also recalled having to perform language brokering tasks among parents, teachers, and school staff. Language brokering is not limited to the home and school contexts. It can also occur at government offices, hospitals/clinics, banks, grocery stores, restaurants, on the street, and in post offices.

Child language brokers primarily broker for their parents, siblings, relatives, and friends. Other people involved in language brokering, both oral and written, could be neighbors, teachers, school officials, peers in school, clerks, and parents' acquaintances. One study found that the most frequent language brokering tasks performed by children were translating for their parents (86%) and answering the phone (85%), followed by answering the door (78%) and scheduling or accompanying parents on appointments (73%). In addition, participants reported frequently interacting with institutional and government officials (46%).[9]

Process

Language brokering is a complex phenomenon that entails more than simply the act of translation and interpretation on the part of the broker. In a typical child language brokering event, the child has to actively engage one or more people (often adults) to convey messages between two different languages. While doing so, the child language broker assumes the role of a mediator to facilitate communication and linguistic translation for other participants in the language brokering event. The child usually has to interact with adults in many different settings.[10] Therefore, it is common for the child to find himself or herself in situations where complex social relationships are involved. The child language broker often has to acquire sophisticated vocabulary and knowledge to perform language brokering tasks.[11] The child must also understand complex aspects of the adult world in order to competently and accurately convey messages between the parties involved.

To become more competent performing language brokering tasks, many children are motivated to seek knowledge and information to help provide assistance for their families. Many Asian children use dictionaries, search for information, involve their parents and siblings, and develop wide personal networks when performing language and cultural brokering tasks.[12] Far from being passive translators, these children are active in acquiring the skills, information and connections they needed to accomplish brokering tasks.

Benefits and Challenges

The existing research on Asian American children's language brokering has reported inconsistent findings on how these children are being affected by language brokering. For example, children believe that brokering helps them learn more about their heritage languages and culture and increases their English proficiency.[13] Some also feel pride in being language brokers.[14] In a 1995 study, most participants enjoyed and benefited from language brokering.[15] Those participants recounted that language brokering gave them opportunities to learn, to become more independent, and to broaden their knowledge of both their heritage and host cultures. By taking advantage of the learning opportunities that brokering tasks provided, many participants reported that language brokering enhanced their cognitive skills, increased their comprehension of adult-level texts, helped them gain the trust of their parents, and helped them become more bicultural. As a result of performing language brokering tasks for their parents, many child language brokers also reported that language brokering provided them the opportunities to learn about and become more aware of their parents' life experiences in the host country.[16] Language brokering also helped many to increase their sense of maturity and self-esteem.

However, some participants in the same study disliked performing language brokering tasks. Those participants felt a sense of stress, burden, frustration, and embarrassment when performing brokering tasks. In addition, participants believed that assuming the role of language broker required them to take on too many responsibilities, and that taking on such responsibilities interfered with their schoolwork and left them little time to socialize with peers. Other studies also reported detrimental consequences for immigrant children who performed language brokering. For example, a 2007 study found that the Vietnamese language brokers in their studies reported high levels of emotional distresses and disagreements with parents.[17] In another study, the Chinese and Korean language brokers reported symptoms of depression, anxiety, and withdrawal.[18] The Korean participants in this study also exhibited more aggressive and delinquency behavior as the number of language brokering tasks they perform for parents increased. For some children of Asian immigrants, the negative psychological experiences associated with language brokering can put them in a vulnerable position for a host of risky health and social problems.

A 2007 study provides some insights into why language brokering poses an immense burden on some children.[19] Many of the children often had to assume

responsibilities on behalf of their parents that affected the welfare and safety of the whole family. For example, participants reported that they had to translate and interpret legal letters (e.g., contracts), fill out business and administrative forms, write legal letters and notes, accompany their parents to doctors' offices to interpret medical information, and interact with government officials and others (e.g., lawyers, doctors) who were in authority and power. Taking on such a responsibility may put child language brokers in states of fear and uncertainty.[20] In circumstances where child language brokers have limited knowledge to deal with complex adult matters, they can find themselves experiencing high levels of stress. Additionally, some children might feel discomfort when their parents have to depend on them to language broker and where children must make decisions on behalf of their parents. In traditional Asian families, parents wield great authority and power, and children are expected to defer to their parents. However, role reversal may occur when children language broker for their parents. Thus, children's language brokering may undermine the traditional power relationship between parents and children in Asian families. Consequently, such discomfort between parents and children can put strains on the family relationship.

Role of Cultural Orientation

As there are both positive and negative consequences for children of Asian immigrants who are language brokers, what remains unanswered in the literature is why the psychological meaning of language brokering differs so greatly for these children. In addition, the potential mechanisms and processes that may be responsible for the variations in their perceptions of the language brokering experience, such as perceiving a sense or burden or efficacy, are relatively unknown. In order to understand how and why some children of Asian immigrants become negatively affected as language brokers while others benefit, researchers tested potential mechanisms that lead to a sense of efficacy and a sense of burden in children's psychological experiences as language brokers.[21] Using data from two waves of a prospective longitudinal study of Chinese American adolescents, researchers examined the role of the adolescents' orientation toward the Chinese culture and family mediators (sense of family obligation and the quality of perceived relationships with parents) both in middle school and high school as potential mechanisms that might help in understanding the variations in the adolescents' perceptions of the language brokering experience while in high school.

Data from more than 200 Chinese American adolescents demonstrated that adolescents were more likely to feel a sense of efficacy in their experiences as language brokers when language brokering for their parents if they were more Chinese oriented, and that these relations were partially explained by the importance they placed on family obligation and the perceptions that they mattered to their parents. On the other hand, adolescents were more likely to feel a sense of burden as language brokers if they had a weak sense of family obligation and

felt alienated from their parents. It appears that the adolescents' Chinese orientation sets in motion a family process that helps to understand the variations in the perceptions of their language brokering experience.

The results of this study provided supporting evidence that categorizing Chinese American adolescents' perceptions of the language brokering experience into two types (one to capture the positive feelings, and the other the negative) is a useful way to capture the psychological meaning of language brokering in this sample of adolescents and to use it as a future tool for understanding their language brokering experiences. Such a finding is important for school psychologists and clinical practitioners who work directly with children language brokers of Asian immigrants. Language brokering for such children is an experience that can have psychological consequences for these children, which in turn can affect their general well-being and daily functioning, both at home and in school.

OUTLOOK

As the influx of Asian immigrants continues, many more children of Asian immigrants will inevitably have to become their families' designated language brokers. As language brokers, these children will be put in positions and situations where they may have to perform tasks and take on responsibilities that are beyond their cognitive and language abilities. These children, however, may not have the skills, knowledge, or sense of maturity to carry out their responsibilities. A number of these children might take the initiatives to seek out and acquire the resources, knowledge, and skills to help themselves become more competent as language brokers in order to contribute to the success of their families in the host country. In the process, these children will likely acquire valuable skills and knowledge that can be beneficial and useful to them in other areas (e.g., school achievement and competence in social and cognitive areas of development). At the same time, the demanding and challenging aspects of language brokering might also put some children at risk for a host of health, personal, and psychological problems. Perhaps focusing on the role of heritage cultural orientation and family-related variables as modifiable mediators for intervention may be particularly useful for school psychologists and practitioners who work with children of Asian immigrants.[22]

FURTHER READING

Chao, Ruth. "The Prevalence and Consequences of Adolescents' Language Brokering for Their Immigrant Parents." In *Acculturation and Parent-Child Relationships: Measurement and Development,* ed. Marc Bornstein and Linda Cote. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2006, 271–296.

Trickett, Edison, and Curtis Jones. "Adolescent Culture Brokering and Family Functioning: A Study of Families from Vietnam." *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology* 13 (2007): 143–150

Tse, Lucy. "Language Brokering in Linguistic Minority Communities: The Case of Chinese- and Vietnamese-American Students." *The Bilingual Research Journal* 20 (1996): 485–498.

YouTube. "Childhood in Translation." http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HfLH-Z71diA&feature=related. Provides a clip of Asian child language brokers; explores how the child felt during the brokering event.

NOTES

1. Jeffrey McQuillan and Lucy Tse, "Child Language Brokering in Linguistic Minority Communities: Effects on Cultural Interaction, Cognition, and Literacy," *Language and Education* 9 (1995): 195–215.

2. Nigel Hall, and Sylvia Sham, "Language Brokering as Young People's Work: Evidence from Chinese Adolescents in England," *Language and Education* 21 (2007): 16–30.

3. Ruth Chao, "The Prevalence and Consequences of Adolescents' Language Brokering for Their Immigrant Parents," in *Acculturation and Parent-Child Relationships: Measurement and Development,* eds. Marc Bornstein and Linda Cote (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2006), 271–296.

4. Edison Trickett and Curtis Jones, "Adolescent Culture Brokering and Family Functioning: A Study of Families from Vietnam," *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology* 13 (2007): 143–150; Curtis Jones and Edison Trickett, "Immigrant Adolescents Behaving as Culture Brokers: A Study of Families from Former Soviet Union," *The Journal of Social Psychology* 4 (2005): 405–427.

5. Lucy Tse, "Language Brokering in Linguistic Minority Communities: The Case of Chinese- and Vietnamese-American Students," *The Bilingual Research Journal* 20 (1996): 485–498; Trickett and Jones, "Adolescent Culture Brokering and Family Functioning," 143–150.

6. Tse, "Language Brokering in Linguistic Minority Communities," 485–498.

7. Chao, "The Prevalence and Consequences of Adolescents' Language," 271–296.

8. Jeffrey McQuillan and Lucy Tse, "Child Language Brokering in Linguistic Minority Communities: Effects on Cultural Interaction, Cognition, and Literacy," *Language and Education* 9 (1995): 195–215.

9. Trickett and Jones, "Adolescent Culture Brokering and Family Functioning," 143–150.

10. Hall and Sham, "Language Brokering as Young People's Work," 16–30

11. McQuillan and Tse, "Child Language Brokering in Linguistic Minority Communities," 195–215.

12. Hall and Sham, "Language Brokering as Young People's Work," 16–30; McQuillan and Tse, "Child Language Brokering in Linguistic Minority Communities," 195–215.

13. Tse, "Language Brokering in Linguistic Minority Communities," 485–498.

14. Tse, "Language Brokering in Linguistic Minority Communities," 485–498.

15. McQuillan and Tse, "Child Language Brokering in Linguistic Minority Communities," 195–215.

16. McQuillan and Tse, "Child Language Brokering in Linguistic Minority Communities," 195–215.

17. Trickett and Jones, "Adolescent Culture Brokering and Family Functioning," 143–150.

18. Chao, "The Prevalence and Consequences of Adolescents' Language Brokering," 271–296.

19. Hall and Sham, "Language Brokering as Young People's Work," 16–30.

20. Hall and Sham, "Language Brokering as Young People's Work," 16–30.

21. Nina Wu and Su Yeong Kim, "Chinese American Adolescents' Perception of the Lanugage Brokering Experience as a Sense of Burden and Sense of Efficacy," *Journal of Youth and Adolescence* 38(2009): 703–718.

22. Wu and Kim, "Chinese American adolescents' perception of the lanugage brokering experience as a sense of burden and sense of efficacy," 703–718.

DISABILITIES WITHIN FAMILIES

Rooshey Hasnain

Asian Americans have historically been overlooked in discussions pertaining to individuals with disabilities. Today, approximately 54 million Americans, one in six, have some form of disability—sensory, physical, cognitive, developmental, emotional/ behavioral, or mental illness.[1]

Despite their increasing visibility in the United States, Asian Americans with disabilities, along with their families, have remained the most poorly understood and underserviced racial group. These individuals are largely overlooked, both in their communities and in mainstream American social and educational systems, including mental health systems, vocational rehabilitation, and special education. In fact, because of the traditional stigma of disability as well as various cultural factors, Asian Americans with disabilities often find limited or no opportunities in society, and thus maintain an invisible presence. In addition, because of inadequate data and research, state and federal disability programs in special education and rehabilitation have traditionally underexamined the needs and challenges of Asian Americans and their families.

INCIDENCE, PREVALENCE, AND CENSUS DATA

In the past few decades, the number of native and foreign-born Asian Americans in the United States has increased significantly, with many families living with disabilities. Asian Americans, the fastest growing racial group in the United States, report 26.5 percent of families have at least one member with a disability. This compares with 38.5 percent of American Indian/Alaska Native, 35.7 percent of blacks, 33.2 percent of Latinos, 31.6 percent of Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islanders, and 27.5 percent of whites.[2] Based on this percentage,

Asians have the lowest disability rate of any other racial and ethnic groups in the country. It is questioned whether these statistics—along with related findings—provide an accurate report of disabilities among Asian Americans.

Asian Americans with disabilities encounter social, attitudinal and environmental barriers both in their own ethnic communities as well as the mainstream culture-at-large.[3] For example, stigma, racism, and injustice toward Asian Americans in general make it harder for Asian Americans with disabilities to access opportunities. In many cases, such factors can lead to injustices in all aspects of life: employment, education, recreation, housing, travel, and religion.[4] For example, like other ethnic groups, Asian Americans with disabilities who receive Social Security benefits may find it difficult to decide to seek work. However, fear of losing their Social Security checks or their medical benefits may cause many Asian Americans with disabilities to not pursue well-paying and meaningful work, a phenomenon seen in many different populations. But an additional consideration is few working-age Asian Americans with disabilities know about various government work incentive programs that give them the option of gradually working their way off Social Security benefits into a full-time or part-time job.[5]

Another issue for Asian American families is they can be denied their rights and entitlements by school districts regarding their child's education. Some educators have told Asian American families not to bother showing up for their children's educational plan meeting because the school system lacks the linguistic capacity to translate. After these families were denied the opportunity to meet with their child's teacher, these parents were nonetheless instructed to sign and mail in the educational plan, thereby restricting or denying parental participation in the process.[6] Despite various laws and rights, some Asian American parents are discouraged from offering their input in their child's future educational planning process and placements, adversely affecting their children's opportunity to receive a free and appropriate education.

IMPACT

Asian Americans with a disability may rely on family supports or other resources in their Asian American community before seeking "outside" professional help.[7] In fact, members of large Asian American families may use fewer resources or may not seek any assistance from disability programs, such as independent living centers or vocational rehabilitation agencies, because they mistrust the social service system and government bureaucracy.[8] In addition, the complex bureaucratic structure (e.g., federal, state, county, and local) of disability services and the fragmented organization of U.S. disability service programs and supports, as well as the seemingly endless paperwork—often offered only in English or Spanish—adds to the confusion and frustration experienced by Asian American families, reinforcing their tendency to seek support within their native communities.[9]

Furthermore, like many other ethnic minority and mainstream families, many Asian Americans dealing with disability issues for the first time simply do not know where to go for services or support. Lack of knowledge and little trust in available resources, as well as access issues, can adversely affect how Asian Americans use social services available for individuals with disabilities.[10] This distrust may also be related to a family's fear of compromising their immigration status and/or the concern that the system could even remove their child from the family. It also suggests that the U.S. disability and rehabilitation systems provide inadequate outreach to Asian American communities.

Other characteristics associated with the insular nature of Asian American communities can make access to disability services difficult. In some situations, Asian American families choose to bring their family member to their family physician instead of a neurologist, psychologist, psychiatrist, or mental health counselor who could provide professional insight and information. This is likely because of the perceived stigma associated with seeking mental health counseling from such professionals.[11]

The aforementioned lack of information about services and supports can lead to poorer social, economic, and quality-of-life outcomes for Asian Americans with disabilities. Given this reality, it helps clarify why Asian Americans have been underserved for decades in the disability system. Additionally, little research has been conducted on various Asian American subgroups with disabilities that depict their overall status, needs and strengths.

Difficulties related to language and communication are other significant matters. More than one out of three Asian Americans are classified as living in households that primarily speak their culture's native language. Moreover, more than 80 percent of Cambodian, Hmong, Laotian, and Vietnamese Americans, ages 65 and older are limited English proficient (LEP) and live in linguistically isolated households.[12] Since English language proficiency is critical to accessing disability and rehabilitation services, one probable reason Asian Americans access available disability services is such language barriers. This is further exacerbated because of the dearth of translation and interpretation services for Asian American clients in disability and rehabilitation service agencies.

With the large variety of Asian languages and cultures comes an array of cultural perspectives of the various disabilities and attributions that Asian Americans use to describe and depict Western-constructed definitions of disabilities and related terminology. Specifically, labels such as developmental disability, mental retardation, autism, and mental illness are subject to culturally based nuances in translation and understanding. A disability may be attributed to specific metaphysical, cultural, or spiritual factors in some Asian American cultures. To illustrate, a Korean mother of a child with autism reported that "she attributed her child's inconsolable crying to having attended a funeral when she was pregnant; she also indicated that her son's condition was compounded by her frequent mood swings and temper outbursts during her pregnancy and that she had failed in her duty to counsel her unborn in physical, intellectual, and moral ways and to act as a positive role model during her pregnancy."[13]

In general, how Asian American families recognize disability is largely based on cultural, personal, and societal beliefs. Asian American families customarily tend to associate greater stigma with visible physical and developmental disabilities, especially cognitive impairments, rather than less apparent or invisible conditions such as dyslexia or various forms of learning disabilities.

It is important to reiterate that Asian Americans' cultural perception of "disability" may differ greatly from the mainstream American (i.e., white middle-class) notion of disability. Similarly, within the community, Asian Americans hold varying definitions and views of disability. The degree to which Asian Americans are acculturated to American culture is positively correlated with the degree to which they seek help for a disability. For example, some families attribute disabilities as a punishment for their disobedience to a higher power (God) or to the work of evil spirits. Similarly, among various ethnic/racial groups worldwide, disability may be looked upon as bad luck or misfortune.[14] In one study (2002), many Asian Americans viewed traumatic brain injury as bringing shame to the entire family, reflecting the emphasis on family over individuals in their cultures. Such differing perceptions and cultural beliefs may strongly influence a family's decision to seek services for their family member with a disability.[15]

Another dynamic influencing the use of public disability services is that Asian American families tend to be more involved in direct care for their relatives with disabilities compared with other cultural groups. Specifically, Asian Americans are more likely to accompany a family member with a disability to medical clinic visits and to actively participate in decisions associated with the individual's use of disability services. For example, a study of forty Korean-American patients with schizophrenia in the Los Angeles area found that 65 percent lived with their parents, other relatives, or both.[16] Yet the advantages of a family-centered approach may also deprive the person with a disability from seeking beneficial support services and accommodations from outside resources. Such resources could provide access to assistive technology or adaptive equipment such as personal digital gadgets, electronic book player, or Braille printers, for example, to support a person who is blind to pursue work or go to school.

CONTEXTUAL BARRIERS TO RECEIVING APPROPRIATE CARE

Asian Americans with disabilities and their families often experience more discrimination and social disadvantages than mainstream groups, resulting in decreased access to disability services and supports programs. Many factors contribute to this underrepresentation, including discrimination because of race/ethnicity, low income, and educational levels, and refugee/immigrant status.[17] Certain Asian American groups are more likely to be poor, undereducated, and underemployed, and have fewer opportunities to succeed in mainstream American life. This further restricts the ability of the family to seek and provide

services to disabled family members. Other considerations making an Asian American less likely to seek mainstream disability services include geographic isolation or—for children with disabilities—having parents unfamiliar with the U.S. social service system, a by-product of their limited education, immigration status (especially illegal immigrants), and limited English language skills. Both institutional bias (because of race/ethnicity, gender, and/or social class) and the aforementioned inadequate number of trained bilingual, bicultural professionals can result in decreased access to resources or support for members of these cultural groups.

Socioenvironmental factors also contribute to underuse of disability services by Asian Americans. Like many other ethnic groups and mainstream families, disabilities are disproportionately concentrated in vulnerable Asian American populations, including those living in poor housing conditions, those who lack access to resources, and those who experience and observe difficult lifestyles because of financial problems. Many lack health insurance and its related benefits, such as medicine and adaptive equipment. [18] Higher exposure to crime and lack of transportation may also place Asian American consumers at a disadvantage, restricting either their desire or ability to consider appropriate resources. Furthermore, many Asian Americans with disabilities, because of a variety of mitigating reasons, are judged ineligible for services, and those who are accepted into the system are often not adequately served.[19] Again, as a consequence, Asian Americans with disabilities, especially those who are minority and low-income, are often denied complete access to helpful services.

Complex acculturation factors, such as time spent in the United States, proximity to traditional and native culture, degree of adherence to ethnic customs, and social class, can also influence access to or help-seeking behaviors for disability services by Asian Americans. There is also the issue of preserving family pride. Seeking assistance outside of the family and Asian American community may be seen by both as a signal of the family's inability to care for its own and supposed inadequacy to function well. Studies have also shown that the combined effects of poverty and high rates of disability in some ethnic groups, compounded by language and communication barriers, are associated with lower levels of disability service use.[20]

Given the limited resources and linguistic capacity of a significant number of Asian Americans, those with disabilities and their families continue to underutilize critical programs in education, rehabilitation, and training. Currently, community-based disability groups are forming partnerships with grassroots organizations to improve policies and service delivery practices for Asian American families. These agencies, such as the Boston Chinatown Neighborhood Center in Boston and Great Wall Center in Malden, MA, have started Asian American–specific parent support groups for parents and family members who are caring for a child or other family member with a disability. Such groups have served a number of Chinese American and Vietnamese American families who have children with developmental disabilities and special needs, providing parents with a forum for networking, socializing and support.

FURTHER READING

Fanlight.com. "The Eyes of Raymond Hu." http://www.fanlight.com/eyesofraymondhu.php.

National Disability Council on Disability. "Lift Every Voice: Modernizing Disability Policies and Programs to Serve a Diverse Nation," http://www.ncd.gov/newsroom/publications/ 1999/lift_report.htm.

National Technical Assistance Center (NTAC)-AAPI Information Brief Series. "Outreach Brief: Effective Community Outreach Strategies for Service Providers to Increase Delivery to Services to Asian Americans and Asian Pacific Islanders" 3(1). http://www.ntac.hawaii.edu/downloads/products/briefs/outreach/pdf/OB-Vol3-Iss01-Providers.pdf.

NOTES

1. "Barack Obama and Joe Biden's Plan to Empower Americans with Disabilities," BarackObama.com, July 1, 2008. http://www.barackobama.com/pdf/DisabilityPlanFactSheet.pdf.

2. Keh-Ming Lin, and Freda Cheung, "Mental Health Issues for Asian Americans," *Psychiatric Services* 50, no. 6 (1999): 774–780.

3. U. S. Census Bureau. Disability and American Families: 2000, July 2005, http://www.census.gov/prod/2005pubs/censr-23.pdf.

4. President's Advisory Commission on Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders. Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders: A people Looking Forward—Action for Access and Partnerships in the 21st Century. Interim Report to the President and the Nation, Jan. 30, 2001.

5. Jean Chin, Jeffery Mio, and Gayle Iwamasa, "Ethical Conduct of Research in with Asian and Pacific Islander American Populations," in *The Handbook of Ethical Research with Ethnocultural Populations and Communities,* eds. Joseph Trimble and Celia Fisher (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 2006), 117–137.

6. Nan Hampton, "Access to Education, Health Care, and Rehabilitation Services," in *Asian Americans: Vulnerable Populations, Model Interventions, and Clarifying Agendas*, ed. Lin Zhan (Sudbury, MA: Jones and Bartlett Publishers, 2003), 69–77.

7. Willie Bryan, *Multicultural Aspects of Disabilities: A Guide to Understanding and Assisting Minorities in the Rehabilitation Process (*Springfield, IL: Charles C. Thomas Publisher, 2007).

8. Research Exchange, "Disability, Diversity, and Dissemination: A Review of the Literature on Topics Related to Increasing the Utilization of Rehabilitation Research Outcomes among Diverse Consumer Groups," *National Center for the Dissemination of Disability Research* 4, no. 2 (1999): 2–15.

9. Hampton, "Access to Education, Health Care, and Rehabilitation Services," 69–77.

10. Lin and Cheung, "Mental Health Issues for Asian Americans," 774–780.

11. Sam Chan and Evelyn Lee, "Families with Asian Roots," in *Developing Cross-Cultural Competence*: 3rd ed., eds. Eleanor Lynch and Marci Hanson (Paul H. Brookes Publishing Company, 2004), 219–299.

12. National Council for Asian Pacific Americans, "Call to Action: National Council of Asian American and Pacific Islander National Policy Priorities," http://www.apiahf.org /downloads/NCAPA2008Platform.pdf.

13. Chan and Lee, “Families with Asian Roots,” 219–299.

14. Lin Zhan, *Asian Americans: Vulnerable Populations, Model Interventions, and Clarifying Agendas* (Sudbury, MA: Jones and Bartlett Publishers, 2003).

15. Grahame Simpson, Richard Mohr, and Anne Redman, “Cultural Variations in the Understanding of Traumatic Brain Injury and Brain Injury Rehabilitation,” *Brain Injury* 14, no. 2 (2002): 125–140.

16. S. Bae and W. W. Kung, “Family Interventions for Asian Americans with a Schizophrenic Patient in the Family,” *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* 70, no. 4 (2000): 532–541.

17. Thomas LaVeist, *Minority Populations and Health: An Introduction to Health Disparities in the United States* (Hoboken, NJ: Jossey-Bass, 2006).

18. LaVeist, *Minority Populations and Health.*

19. Hampton, “Access to Education, Health Care, and Rehabilitation Services,” 69–77; Research Exchange, “Disability, Diversity, and Dissemination,” 2–15

20. Research Exchange, “Disability, Diversity, and Dissemination,” 2–15; Zhan, *Asian Americans*; LaVeist, *Minority Populations and Health.*

This page intentionally left blank

ELDERLY POOR

Barbara W. Kim

In 2006, more than 35 million or 12 percent of the U.S. population was sixty-five and older; this population is projected to grow as the first of the cohort known as the "baby boomers"—about 78 million people born between 1946 and 1964— reach retirement age (65) in 2011.[1] Older people are also living longer into retirement. While many in their sixties are healthy, financially sound, and enjoying a leisurely period of their lives, the "oldest old" population—those eighty-five and older—are divided into those who are healthy and living independently and those who have serious and often multiple chronic health problems and need extensive health services and benefits.[2] The population in the United States and other nations is aging, accompanied by a diverse and complex array of social and economic needs of the elderly. These profound demographic shifts are affecting cultural values, informal and formal institutions, and social and economic policies.

The Asian American population is one of the fastest growing and socioeconomically heterogeneous racial groups in the United States. Further, the number and proportion of its elders (age 65 and older) are projected to increase at faster rates than the general Asian American population. Older Asian Americans, who comprised 1.8 percent of the total elderly U.S. population in 1995, is projected to make up 6.3 percent of the total of older Americans by 2050, which will also be 9.3 percent African American and 17.5 percent Latino.[3]

Older people exhibit the most diversity within the Asian American population with respect to ethnicity, immigration history, language, religion, and other cultural and socioeconomic characteristics. They are also likely to be foreign-born individuals who immigrated as parents of U.S. citizens, resident aliens, or

refugees. Generally, they emigrated later in their lives because of a series of exclusionary and discriminatory legal acts, laws, and policies that limited Asian immigration and civil rights for much of U.S. history.[4]

While there are older Asian Americans who were born in the United States or arrived in the first half of the twentieth century, most did not arrive in the United States until after post-1960s immigration law reforms and refugee resettlement acts. The majority of Asian immigrant elders came to accompany or reunite with their children and to provide intergenerational support as a part of immigration and adaptation to American life. Many Asian elders, especially those who live in urban ethnic enclaves, are living independently but are, in general, less likely to speak and comprehend English or have years of formal education. They are often not culturally and structurally integrated into the dominant American society.[5] Combined with a lack of formal work history in the United States, it is not surprising that compared with their U.S.-born counterparts, Asian immigrant elders are more likely to be poorer because they are not eligible for Social Security and pension benefits.[6] The higher rates of poverty among Asian American elders are significant because they are less likely to use formal support systems such as services, programs, and facilities because of language barriers and cultural differences.[7]

The aging population is affecting all aspects of American society. All elderly groups face economic disadvantages compared with the general population as they exit the labor market, but black, Latino, and Asian American elderly exhibit higher poverty rates compared to their non-Latino white counterparts.[8] Combined with their diverse immigration history and demographic and cultural diversity, the rapid growth of Asian American elderly poses a number of challenges for families, researchers, practitioners, and policy makers.

DEMOGRAPHICS

In 2006, Asian Americans as a group had a larger percentage of older people than blacks and Latinos. Asian American elders exhibit bifurcated patterns of education, occupation, and income distributions.[9] A 2000 study of 407 Chinese, Filipino, Indian, Japanese, Korean, and Vietnamese immigrant elders age sixty-five and older in New York City, one of the few studies to use a representative sample of the six largest Asian ethnic groups for elders, found significant demographic variations among ethnic groups in gender, marital status, education levels, religiosity, and English fluency.[10] Chinese and Japanese elders had, on average, lived in the United States longest but Chinese elders, followed by Vietnamese, had the highest percentage of people who could not read or write in English. Filipino, Japanese, and Indian elders reported the highest percentage of people who could speak and read English very well or at least somewhat well.

Overall, 13 percent of Asian elders reported that "could not get by" economically, with variations in income amount and sources by ethnicity, with Vietnamese elders reporting the highest percentage (24%). More than one-third

of the respondents reported receiving Supplemental Security Income (SSI) or food stamps. Vietnamese (79%) and Korean (64%) elders reported the highest usage of SSI compared with Chinese (36%), Filipino (27%), Japanese (13%) and Asian Indian (8%) elders. Vietnamese elders reported receiving food stamps (84%) and Medicaid (91%) at much higher rates than other groups (34% and 37% for all groups, respectively).

Less than half (48%) of the sample received Social Security, but the percentages also varied greatly by ethnicity. While Japanese (78%), Koreans (67%), Filipino (53%) and Asian Indians received Social Security, none of the Vietnamese and 29 percent of the Chinese elders received such payments. Similarly, just more than half (51%) of respondents received Medicare Part A, and two-thirds (66%) had Medicare Part B insurance coverage. More than a quarter of Filipino (27%) and Indian (25%) elders did not have any health insurance.[11]

The 2006 Current Population Survey showed that elderly Asians have lower poverty rates than band a Latino elderly, but slightly higher rates than non-Latino whites. It is also interesting that by race/ethnicity, poverty rates were higher for all age groups compared to the elderly population only, with the exception noted for Asian Americans; specifically, Asian American elders were more likely to be poorer than those under sixty-five years of age. Foreign-born noncitizens, 7.7 percent of the U.S. population, had the highest poverty rates when compared with native-born and naturalized citizens (comprising 87.4% and 4.9% of the population, respectively).[12] Asian American elderly, especially those who came to the United States later in their lives, tend to be designated as foreign-born noncitizens for a variety of reasons, such as choosing to remain a citizen of their home country or failing citizenship tests administered in English. Their lack of U.S. citizenship had a significant effect on their economic condition during the welfare reform of the late 1990s.

WELFARE REFORM

In 1996, President Bill Clinton signed the Personal Responsibility and Work Obligations Reconciliation Act (PRWORA), a welfare reform act, into law.[13] The new law cut off public funds from all immigrants including legal permanent residents and refugees, such as elderly immigrants from East Asia and Southeast Asian families (who had been largely admitted as refugees in the aftermath of the Vietnam War) who collected SSI. In this backlash against immigrants, stereotypes of wealthy Asian Americans and cultural values of filial piety portrayed all elderly Asian immigrants as those supported "in reality" by their wealthy children while receiving assistance that they did not need.[14]

Welfare reform denied noncitizens and new immigrants access to SSI—for many, their only source of income—for the first five years of U.S. residency. Distressed older and disabled immigrants and refugees contacted community-based organizations, which met with representatives and coordinated demonstrations at state and national capitals with Asian and Latina/o immigrants and

refugees. Elderly, disabled, and war/genocide survivors overcame their language barriers and fear of public attention and repercussions to give testimonies and speak out about their plight.[15]

As a result of these collective efforts, Congress reinstated SSI eligibility to noncitizens who were receiving benefits as of August 22, 1996, under the 1997 Balanced Budget Act. Without it, many Asian and Latino elders would have lost their sole source of income. Such public assistance is crucial to the livelihood of elderly poor, such as Southeast Asian survivors of war and trauma. The 2000 Census revealed that in California, high percentages of Cambodian (24.8%), Hmong (33.5%), and Laotian (21.6%) elders live in poverty, compared with Vietnamese (11.7%). Cambodian, Hmong, and Laotian elders, who also have higher rates of disability compared with other elders, received SSI and other public assistance at higher rates than Vietnamese, Asians, and Californians.[16]

Elderly, disabled refugees and other humanitarian immigrants who arrived after August 22, 1996, remained SSI-eligible for seven years but lost their benefits if they did not become U.S. citizens during that period. The collective efforts of national advocacy organizations, local community organizations, and congressional offices resulted in the Supplemental Security Income Extension for Elderly and Disabled Refugees Act, which extends SSI eligibility to nine years for elderly and disabled refugees, asylees, and other humanitarian immigrants. The law, effective October 1, 2008, also provided an additional two years of retroactive provisions for those who lost their SSI benefits because of their inability to become citizens within the time limit and an additional third year for those who have applied for U.S. citizenship. Still, the two-year extension is set to expire in 2011. While this amendment of the 1996 welfare reform will restore the only source of income for many elderly and disabled refugees, community members and advocates are concerned about those who will not be able to become naturalized citizens because of factors such as increased fees, increased length of application processing, and the difficulty of learning English.

ACCESS TO SUPPORT, SERVICES, AND PROGRAMS

As a group, Asian American elders have longer life expectancy and better health than their racial counterparts but exhibit significant differences by nativity, ethnicity, and gender.[17] However, a study of Asian American seniors in New York City found that 40 percent reported symptoms of depression and Asian Americans had the highest suicide rate of all elderly women. Another study of Asian Indian elders found that higher body mass index, longer residence in the United States, being older, and being female were associated with poorer health.[18] Asian American elders experience stressful life events associated with aging (e.g., widowhood, death of friends and relatives, physical illnesses and declining health, loss of income and livelihood) and immigration (e.g., adjusting to a new country, culture, and/or language). Immigrant elders in

particular may have been cut off from the familiarity, networks, resources, and knowledge that formed their identity, influence, and activities in their home country. Social, economic, and emotional support from family and friends, religion and faith communities, and ethnic communities helped alleviate stress, anxiety, and depression.

Older Asian Americans, especially those who do not have or live near close family members and coethnics, also need access to formal health and social services. Factors such as language barriers, cultural incompatibility, lack of service providers with cultural sensitivity and competence, lack of recognition of Asian American elders' unique and diverse needs, and public assistance eligibility based on citizenship contribute to their underutilization of existing services and programs for the aging population. These programs include recreational activities, home-delivered meal programs, adult day care and assisted-living facilities, and assistance with activities of daily living (ADL).[19]

OUTLOOK

The Asian American elderly population is projected to grow dramatically, as those who arrived after 1965 through immigration reforms and refugee acts enter this age group. There is a lack of research and data that could provide an overview, as well ethnically and geographically disaggregated socioeconomic and demographic profiles. Compared with data sets for other racial groups, existing data sets for Asian American elders are not large enough to provide accurate portraits of this heterogeneous group. Most research has focused on one or two ethnic groups residing in specific geographic locations, so that while they provide rich details and needed discussions of elder issues, needs, and care, findings may not be generalizable to other ethnic groups and/or elders residing in different geographic locations in the United States.[20] Such research and findings will be useful for elders, family members, service providers, and policy makers to address the needs of a national population growing older and more diverse.

Asian American families and communities are often viewed to practice filial piety, thus adult children are expected—by themselves and the dominant community—to financially, physically, and emotionally take care of aging family members. While research has shown that filial piety—values such as respecting the elderly and obeying the wishes of one's parents—remains a core value especially for first-generation immigrants and their children, this family value is not a culturally unique one; research on the general U.S. population demonstrates that the elderly obtain as much as 80 percent of their care from private, informal sources such as family, friends, and neighbors.[21] More significantly, Asian American elderly face significant linguistic and cultural barriers to accessing social services, programs, and facilities. National organizations, local community-based and faith-based organizations, and other advocates are working to ease or remove such barriers. In one example that sought to increase access to health care and social services, the National Asian Pacific Center on

Aging (NAPCA), a national advocacy group based in Seattle, WA, partnered with twenty-five local organizations in targeted communities across the United States to provide information about Medicare prescription drug coverage to low-income and limited–English-fluent Asian American and Pacific Islander seniors in 2005–2006. Their outreach strategies included developing simplified, senior-friendly, bilingual materials and establishing national language-specific toll-free numbers that provided direct assistance and information in Chinese, Korean, and Vietnamese, the three Asian ethnic communities with the highest percentages of seniors who do not speak English fluently.

Many Asian American elders are economically and politically vulnerable. Their lack of access to traditional retirement savings, such as Social Security and pension benefits, means that older Asian immigrants rely on SSI for their primary source of income. As the 1996 PRWORA example has shown, Asian American elderly, majority first-generation immigrants are subject to changing policies that threaten to withhold services and programs from noncitizens, even legal permanent residents. The 2008 annual report estimates that U.S. Social Security trust funds will run out of money by 2041, and the Medicare trust fund by 2019, because of rising health costs. Many scholars agree that a shift in policy is necessary to address socioeconomic, psychological, and health needs of the aging population.

FURTHER READING

Choi, Namkee G. "Diversity within Diversity: Research and Social Work Practice Issues with Asian American Elders." *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment* 3 (2001): 301–319.

Choi, Namkee G., ed. *Social Work Practice with the Asian American Elderly*. Binghamton, NY: Haworth Press, 2001.

Mui, Ada C., Duy D. Nguyen, Dooyeon Kang, and Margaret Dietz Domanski. "Demographic Profiles of Asian Immigrant Elderly Residing in Metropolitan Ethnic Enclave Communities." *Journal of Ethnic & Cultural Diversity in Social Work* 15 (2006): 193–214.

National Asian Pacific Center on Aging (NAPCA). www.napca.org.

National Indo-American Association for Senior Citizens (NIAASC). www.niaasc.org.

Niedzwiecki, Max, KaYing Yang, and Saroeun Earm. *Southeast Asian American Elders in California: Demographics and Service Priorities Revealed by the 2000 Census and a Survey of Mutual Assistance Associations (MAAs) and Faith-Based Organizations (FBOs)*. Washington, DC: Southeast Asia Resource Action Center, 2003. http://www.searac.org/sea-eldersrpt-fin.pdf.

NOTES

1. Carmen DeNavas-Walt et al., "Income, Poverty, and Health Insurance Coverage in the United States: 2006," U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Reports, P60-233 (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, DC, 2007), http://www.census.gov/prod/2007pubs/p60-233.pdf.

2. Tonya M. Parrott et al., "The United States: Population Demographics, Changes in the Family, and Social Policy Challenges," in *Aging in East and West: Families,*

States, and the Elderly, ed. Vern L. Bengtson, Kyong-Dong Kim, George. C. Myers, and Ki-Soo Eun (New York: Springer, 2000), 193.

3. Namkee G. Choi, "Diversity within Diversity: Research and Social Work Practices Issues with Asian American Elders," *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment* 3 (2001): 302.

4. Choi, "Diversity within Diversity," 305–306.

5. Ada C. Mui et al., "Demographic Profiles of Asian Immigrant Elderly Residing in Metropolitan Ethnic Enclave Communities," *Journal of Ethnic & Cultural Diversity in Social Work* 15 (2006): 193.

6. Choi, "Diversity within Diversity," 306.

7. Angela Shen Ryan, Ada C. Mui, and Peter Cross, *Asian American Elders in New York City: A Study to Assess Health, Social Needs, Quality of Life and Quality of Care* (New York: The Asian American Federation of New York, 2003).

8. DeNavas-Walt et al., "Income, Poverty, and Health Insurance Coverage in the United States," 11.

9. Namkee G. Choi, "Diversity within Diversity," 302.

10. Choi, "Diversity within Diversity," 306.

11. Mui et al., "Demographic Profiles of Asian Immigrant Elderly," 193.

12. Mui et al., "Demographic Profiles of Asian Immigrant Elderly," 211.

13. DeNavas-Walt et al., "Income, Poverty, and Health Insurance Coverage in the United States," 11–13.

14. Lynn Fujiwara, *Mothers without Citizenship: Asian Immigrant Families and the Consequences of Welfare Reform* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), 9.

15. Choi, "Diversity within Diversity," 311.

16. Fujiwara, *Mothers without Citizenship*, 75–80.

17. Max Niedzwiecki, KaYing Yang, and Saroeun Earm, *Southeast Asian American Elders in California: Demographics and Service Priorities Revealed by the 2000 Census and a Survey of Mutual Assistance Associations (MAAs) and Faith-Based Organizations (FBOs).* (Washington, DC: Southeast Asia Resource Action Center, 2003). http://www.searac.org/sea-eldersrpt-fin.pdf.

18. Choi, "Diversity within Diversity," 307.

19. Ryan, Mui, and Cross, *Asian American Elders in New York City: A Study to Assess Health, Social Needs, Quality of Life and Quality of Care*, 28; Choi, "Diversity within Diversity," 309; Sadhna Diwan and Satya S. Jonnalagadda, "Social Integration and Health among Asian Indian Immigrants in the United States," in *Social Work Practice with the Asian American Elderly*, ed. Namhee G. Choi (Binghamton, NY: Haworth Press, 2001), 45–62.

20. Choi, "Diversity within Diversity," 313.

21. Parrott et al., "The United States," 191.

This page intentionally left blank

FAMILY VIOLENCE

Hee Yun Lee

Family violence is generally considered to encompass child abuse, intimate partner violence (IPV), and elder mistreatment. Family violence is a universal experience crossing all racial/ethnic communities, so that no group is immune to this type of violence here in the United States. It is often reported that cultural beliefs and social contexts in which an individual lives permeate relationships regardless of the individual's ethnic or racial group, but they are especially evident in an individual's interactions with his/her family, whether these interactions are healthy or abusive. As a result, to some extent, culture and social contexts inform family structure, roles, child-rearing practices, and violence among family members.

Among Asian Americans, accounts of family violence are occurring with disturbing frequency, yet such incidents appear to be underreported. Consequently, the response of the Asian American community has been limited at best. There is also a paucity of empirical evidence available that examines the phenomenon of family violence among Asian Americans; however, available studies suggest the risk factors associated with this experience may differ from those typically attributed to the majority culture.[1] The findings suggest that socially and culturally determined relationships with parents, children, or a spouse are significant variables in understanding this phenomenon. Therefore, it may be useful to examine family violence in Asian Americans in terms of traditions and immigration experience, along with other factors.

There are several dynamics that merit consideration. Confucian ethics are an example of a cultural belief that can shape the definition, perception, and help-seeking behavior in cases of family violence for Asian Americans. Confucianism has been frequently revisited as a conceptual framework in comprehending the

dynamics of family violence. Specifically, these ethics can contribute as a risk factor in preventing, detecting, and intervening in family violence among Asian Americans. One feature is the consideration of family well-being as a priority over individual welfare. Asian American women experiencing abuse may delay or avoid seeking help for the sake of keeping the family unit intact. The experience of immigration can compound the circumstances because of language issues and unfamiliarity with social service resources or other aid. In general, the characteristics of immigrants often present barriers in seeking access to appropriate services, further impeding immigrants' understanding of the family violence laws in their new country. Similarly, acculturative stress has also been identified as a risk factor for family violence in Asian Americans.[2]

While the Asian American community shares many cultural values, traditions, and beliefs, as well as many commonalities in their immigration experiences, it is important to recognize that the Asian American community is a diverse group. The 2000 Census data counted twenty-four racial/ethnic groups in the Asian American communities, with each Asian American group having its own cultural belief, language, immigration background, length of time since arrival to the United States, and socioeconomic status.[3] These differing characteristics that are unique and distinct to each Asian American subgroup, as well as shared traditions and cultural values of Asian Americans, can contribute to each population's unique experience with family violence.

CHILD ABUSE

The Federal Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act defines child abuse and neglect as "at a minimum, any recent act or failure to act on the part of a parent or caretaker which results in death, serious physical or emotional harm, sexual abuse or exploitation; or an act or failure to act which presents an imminent risk of serious harm." This definition represents a minimum national standard, leaving each state in the United States to set its own definition.[4] Consequently, in many states, child abuse is not merely physical abuse but also includes psychological abuse, and neglect.

While there are no reliable population-based estimates of prevalence of child abuse in Asian Americans or other racial/ethnic groups, every year 3 million children in the United States are estimated to be victims of child abuse and neglect.[5] Most of these child victims were white (67%) and African American children (30%), while Hispanic and Asian American and Pacific Islander children represented 13 percent and 1 percent of victims respectively.[6] These statistics may help explain why Asian Americans are not typically identified as a community at risk of such abuse; however, it is hard to say that the low percentage of child abuse victims among Asian Americans equates to a low number of actual incidents of child abuse and neglect. A recent investigation examining family violence among Cambodian, Chinese, Korean, South Asian, and Vietnamese reported that 69 percent of these children experienced being hit by their parents.[7] Another study reported that known child abuse cases were not

reported to child protective services (CPS) by Korean immigrant ministers.[8] These findings suggest that Asian Americans have a low reporting pattern to authorities of known child abuse incidents.

Other factors that may contribute to low reporting rates include a victim's sense of shame about the mistreatment or a concern about involving CPS.[9] In addition, the child may be more reticent to report abuse out of fear that the report will not seem credible or a belief that the child is responsible for or deserving of parental abuse.[10] Many Asian Americans perceive child maltreatment to be extreme physical torture exerted on a child.[11] Consequently, more modest cases are less likely to be recognized than blatantly abusive ones. For many Asian American families, the general assumption is that physical punishment or discipline by striking a child does not qualify as abuse.

Cultural Views on Child Rearing and Risk for Child Abuse

Certain traditional values in Asian cultures have been implicated in assessing the risk of parent-to-child aggression and abuse.[12] For example, the emphasis on filial piety in Confucian ethics—which stress children's absolute obedience to parents' rules—has led children to heed and follow the authority of the parents, whether abusive or not.[13] Consequently, corporal punishment is not regarded as abuse, but necessary for discipline. For example, in Korean culture, physical punishment is interpreted as the "whip of love" and frequently viewed as a tool used to educate children.[14] Chinese parents promote filial piety both by enhancing physical and emotional closeness and by establishing parental authority and child obedience through harsh discipline.[15] It is not unusual for Asian parents—for whom Confucian tradition is a central part of their culture—to experience and accept ambiguity as they strive to find the right harmony in their roles as strong disciplinarian and primary nurturer of their children.[16] Indeed, parental use of force may be seen as reflecting parental dedication.

Impact of Immigration Experience

There are numerous stressors related to the experience of immigration, including downward social mobility, differing rates of acculturation between parents and children, and unfamiliarity with Western cultural norms. Such stressors can contribute to the occurrence of child abuse. In general, when parents are experiencing extreme and difficult challenges, the role of parenting can be particularly taxing. Parents may be more susceptible to behaviors associated with child abuse or neglect. One study found that factors associated with immigrant status, such as perceived discrimination and a reduced social standing, were more reliable predictors of parent-child aggression in Asian American families than level of education and income, the latter risk factors often attributed to the majority culture in the United States.[17] Moreover, in Asian Americans as with other minority American populations, intergenerational conflict resulting from different rates of acculturation has also been identified as a risk factor for physical aggression toward children and in turn elevated risk of child abuse.[18]

The circumstances surrounding immigration are possible contributors to the level and type of abuse perpetrated on children. For example, Cambodian parents, who arrive in the United States having experienced war trauma, can later encounter post-traumatic stress disorder or depression. Because of inappropriate coping behaviors such as alcohol or drug abuse, there is a greater risk for the parent to compromise childrearing responsibilities. There are reports that the majority of child abuse incidents reported to CPS agencies were child neglect cases in Cambodian refugee families. In these instances, a frequently cited circumstance under which the child neglect occurred was parental substance abuse and mental health problems.[19]

Children's Experience of Witnessing Domestic Violence

Aside from direct child abuse, children's witnessing domestic violence is another important issue in Asian American families. According to the Children's Defense Fund, millions of children witness domestic violence annually, and exposure to such violence elevates a child's risk of being victimized themselves.[20] A recent investigation found that 27 percent of Vietnamese children and 30 percent of Korean children had witnessed their mothers being struck by their fathers on a regular basis.[21] This abuse can also take the form of emotional abuse. For example, emotional abuse to children among Korean families occurs mainly under circumstances in which children witness domestic violence.[22] This phenomenon reflects the prevalence of domestic violence incidents in Asian American families and its negative ramifications on children in the form of emotional trauma.[23]

INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE

The Centers for Disease Control defines intimate partner violence (IPV) as "abuse that occurs between two people in a close relationship."[24] Like child abuse, IPV can include psychological or emotional abuse (intimidation, isolating from other relationships, or name-calling), sexual abuse, and physical abuse between spouses (current or former) or a dating partner. Until the late 1990s, there was a general lack of understanding of the prevalence of IPV. Most recently, the CDC estimates nearly 5.3 million incidents occur annually among women age eighteen and older in the United States.[25]

To date, while there are no population-based estimates of IPV in Asian Americans, there have been some small-scale studies estimating the IPV prevalence rate in Asian Americans that have emerged in the past decade. In one study, 80 percent of Chinese Americans in Los Angeles County disclosed an experience of a sustained form of verbal aggression by a spouse or partner in the last twelve months and 85 percent during their lifetime.[26] An Asian Task Force study found between 44–47 percent of Cambodians reported knowing a woman who had been the victim of domestic violence.[27] Japanese American women have reported experiencing physical violence during their lifetime at rates as high as 52 percent, while South Asian American women have reported

rates as high as 40.8 percent.[28] Another study reported that about 19 percent of Korean couples experienced at least one incident of physical violence during the year.[29] After categorizing types of marriages, the same study reported that male-dominant marriages had higher levels of violence, with 33 percent experiencing at least one type of physical violence during the year compared with more egalitarian marriages (12%).[30] Such reports of IPV in the Asian American community are deemed alarming to both researchers and service providers.

Cultural Gender Role and Perception of IPV

Although there is an increased awareness that IPV exists among Asian American families, there is a lack of understanding about how IPV is manifested within the unique cultural values of Asian women. Recent studies indicate cultural differences that affect the perception of IPV and employment of help-seeking behaviors, potentially increasing the vulnerability of Asian American women.[31] For example, one of the core ethics of Confucianism is patriarchal values. Such values can pervade the attitudes and awareness of IPV.[32] Traditional gender roles, where men have power and control over women, are related to high levels of violence against women. Accordingly, an Asian American may regard an IPV incident as a normal aspect of marital relations.[33] The prevalence of IPV in one's country of origin also may play a role in viewing these behaviors as a marital norm.[34]

Similarly, the inability to recognize an IPV incident as abuse can, in turn, decrease the likelihood that these women would seek help for themselves.[35] If Asian American women live in a community where marital violence is accepted and not challenged by the community members, it would follow that women may believe that IPV is part of their everyday life. The belief that these issues should not be discussed outside the family also reduces the likelihood that an Asian American woman would seek help or report an incident to the authorities.[36] Because these women often experience pressure by their immigrant community to keep the family together, keeping shameful family incidents within the family is highly valued, hence seeking outside help is considered breaking close family ties and losing family face in the Asian American community.

The results of the Project AWARE study revealed that 35 percent of the women who reported IPV felt ashamed. Furthermore, these women were more likely to seek informal sources of help from a family member or friend rather than seek help from an agency or the police.[37] Interestingly, another study found heterogeneity in the rate that Asian American women sought help from a friend as the result of experiencing IPV. Specifically, 82 percent of South Asian women indicated a belief that a woman should seek such help compared with 44 percent of Cambodian women, 37 percent of Chinese women, 41 percent of Korean women, and 29 percent of Vietnamese women.[38]

One population-based study of Japanese American women in Los Angeles revealed that 71 percent of the respondents linked their experiences with IPV to their Japanese heritage. Moreover, culturally related beliefs contributed to their

reaction to IPV, including highly valuing the ability to endure such treatment, prioritizing family welfare over individual welfare, and believing in male dominance.[39] The belief that women play a subservient role in a marital relationship is not unique to the Japanese community. Research has also found that 71 percent of Vietnamese American women state that their husbands believe that men have the dominant role in the relationship.[40]

Immigration Experience and Help-Seeking

In addition to the cultural barriers, the immigration status of an Asian American woman can affect her reaction to IPV. Fear of deportation was identified as a common theme for deciding not to seek help, particularly among Asian women immigrants who are in the United States on temporary papers.[41] Another recurrent theme is a sense of isolation likely associated with their lack of English speaking ability.[42] The language challenges likely affect Chinese, Vietnamese, Laotian, and many other ethnic subgroups in accessing related resources and domestic violence services, including shelter and legal services.[43] Combined with the aforementioned lack of awareness of resources and other protective services, immigrant woman who seek help for abuse are more likely to seek informal sources of support.[44]

Whether an Asian American couple came to the United States as immigrants or refugees contributes to their risk of IPV. In a study proposing an explanatory model of domestic violence among the refugee community, several characteristics are regarded as unique to refugee domestic violence cases.[45] Key among such characteristics are the individual's sense of powerlessness to control his or her own destiny, stemming from the involuntary nature of the journey to the United States.[46] This loss of intellectual and social competence as refugees can exacerbate marital conflict, a potential source of marital violence.

ELDER ABUSE

Similar to definitions of child abuse and IPV, elder mistreatment is characterized by physical abuse, psychological abuse, or neglect that results in the bodily harm, emotional suffering, or financial exploitation of a person over the age of sixty, regardless of whether that harm is intentional or unintentional.[47] Like child abuse, a specific definition of elder mistreatment is defined by each individual state. Elder mistreatment is a rapidly growing and pervasive social problem in the United States, as well as in the Asian American community. It is estimated that anywhere from 1 to 10 percent of the elderly population becomes a victim of elder mistreatment annually.[48] Along with the rapid aging of the population, there is a potential for elder mistreatment to increase simultaneously. One estimate states there will be more than 2.2 million mistreated and abused older adults in 2030 based on the current, widely reported prevalence rate of 3.2 percent.[49] The potential for "an epidemic" has been posited by scholars in the field.[50]

Among most of the prevalent studies, it is likely that Asian elders have been underrepresented because of their tendency to underreport elder mistreatment

incidents to authorities.[51] For example, the 1998 NCEA report indicated that the proportion of Asian American elders as victims of all types of mistreatment was only 2.1 percent of all substantiated elder abuse and neglect cases in 1996, while white and African American elders accounted for more than 92 percent.[52] Such reports could lead to the conclusion that elder mistreatment is not an important social issue in the Asian American community.

Research on elder mistreatment among Asian American elders, however, revealed elder mistreatment as a growing social problem. About 34 percent of one hundred Korean elderly respondents in one study indicated knowledge of at least one incident of elder abuse and neglect that had occurred in their community.[53] A review of active cases of elder mistreatment by the San Francisco Protective Services found that Asian Americans were involved in 10.6 percent of those cases.[54] Disaggregation of those cases revealed that 6.81 percent were Chinese Americans, 2.7 percent were Southeast Asian Americans, .57 percent were Korean Americans, and .09% were Japanese Americans.[55]

Despite the fact that a considerable number of minority elderly may experience various forms of elder abuse and neglect, research on this topic among Asian American elders, as is the case with other family violence issues, is extremely limited, and most studies have focused on Korean elderly immigrants. Studies that do exist have asserted that culture plays a critical role in an Asian American elder's perception and response to elder mistreatment. In cross-cultural comparisons, elderly Korean immigrants were identified to be significantly less sensitive and more tolerant of potential elder mistreatment scenarios, and more likely to blame the victims for the occurrence of abuse, compared to African American and white elderly.[56] A recent investigation found that elderly Chinese participants were more likely to not only tolerate but also justify a husband's abusive behavior toward his wife.[57]

Likewise, as with other forms of family violence, Confucian values undergird elder mistreatment in the Asian American community. Confucian ethics, such as saving a family's face, are well ingrained in elderly Asian Americans' response, or lack thereof, to the problem of elder mistreatment. One study found that help-seeking intentions among Korean elderly were less likely than among Caucasian and African American elders, citing cultural expectations, including reluctance to reveal family shame.[58] They further explain Korean elderly concerns for keeping problems to oneself, maintaining family harmony, and assigning virtue to a certain amount of human suffering.[59]

While little attention has been given to the immigration experience in the research about elder mistreatment, a review of elder mistreatment research asserts that level of acculturation among Asian elderly immigrants affects how elder mistreatment is manifested, perceived, and reported.[60] Differing perceptions of elder mistreatment associated with acculturation have been captured in previous studies. Filipino and Korean respondents in Honolulu, who were mostly born in Hawai'i, provided answers that were more similar to the responses of Caucasians residing in Minnesota, more so than Korean elderly immigrants also living in Minnesota.[61] Such findings indicate that cultural

norms or values may be diluted as Asian American elderly immigrants acculturate into American culture and lifestyles.

Elderly Asian immigrants are also reported to have very limited knowledge of formal services related to elder mistreatment. In one study, only a small portion of Korean elderly immigrants knew about Adult Protective Services (21%) and the Elder Abuse Hotline (12%).[62] In the same study, only 28 percent of Korean respondents, compared with 62 percent of the Caucasian sample, knew of an organization or a professional person to assist them in a case of elder mistreatment.[63]

Furthermore, elderly Asian immigrants who recently immigrated to the United States are more liable to hold negative attitudes toward the involvement of people outside of the family in elder mistreatment incidents. In a study focused on four Asian American elderly groups, it was found that the American-born Chinese, Japanese, and Taiwanese groups were more likely to favor reporting elder abuse to the authorities, while Korean elderly immigrants were less likely to favor such reporting.[64]

OUTLOOK

Researchers and practitioners refer to the model minority myth as a possible reason why abuse within Asian American families has been inadequately identified and researched. Researchers and practitioners have generally believed the myth that Asian American families are more successful and well adjusted than other minority groups, and this belies the reality that family violence does occur in this community. Additionally, scholars and service providers appear to concur on the premise that increasing understanding of family violence in all of its forms among Asian Americans is critical to promoting a more a realistic portrayal of Asian American family life.

Accordingly, cultural competency is an important issue for social service providers in the detection, prevention, and intervention of family violence in Asian Americans. The sensitive nature of family violence and its occurrence in private situations necessitates a culturally sophisticated approach by service providers when working with the Asian American community. Research or documentation of a standardized culturally sensitive method for assessing and detecting family violence and developing service intervention programs for culturally diverse Asian Americans is sparse.

In addition, little is known about how the social and cultural background of Asian Americans influences their definition, perception, and help-seeking with respect to child abuse, IPV, and elder mistreatment. Early research indicates that while there are many shared family violence characteristics among this population, there are marked differences as well. Some of these differences may be embedded in cultural beliefs or traditions that are unique to a specific Asian American subgroup. Certain immigration factors, such as a family's migration experience, may also affect the level or type of violence in a family.

Experts agree that more investigation in this arena is needed, particularly research that disaggregates the Asian American population into more culturally

relevant subgroups. Gaining a more complete understanding of how different Asian American subgroups experience family violence will encourage the development of more culture- and ethnic-specific family violence prevention and intervention programs and policies.

FURTHER READING

Asian and Pacific Islander Institute on Domestic Violence. http://www.apiahf.org.

Asian Task Force on Domestic Violence. http://www.atask.org.

Bui, Hoan, and Merry Morash. *In the Adopted Land: Abused Immigrant Women and the Criminal Justice System.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004.

Child Welfare Information Gateway. http://www.childwelfare.gov.

DasGupta, Shamita, ed. *Body of Evidence: Intimate Violence Against South Asian Women in America.* New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2007.

Nguyen, Tuyen. *Domestic Violence in Asian American Communities.* Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005.

NOTES

1. A. Lau, D. Takeuchi, and M. Alegria, "Parent-to-Child Aggression among Asian American Parents: Culture, Context, and Vulnerability," *Journal of Marriage and Family* 86 (2006): 1261–1278.
2. Lau, Takeuchi, and Alegria, "Parent-to-Child Aggression among Asian American Parents."
3. U.S. Census Bureau, 2002, "The Asian Population: Census 2000 Brief," http://www.census.gov/prod/2002pubs/c2kbr01-16.pdf (accessed Dec. 7, 2007).
4. Child Welfare Information Gateway, "Definitions in Federal Law," http//www.childwelfare.gov/can/defining/federal.cfm (accessed Oct. 27, 2008).
5. Children's Defense Fund, "The State of America's Children 2005," http://www.childrensdefense.org/child-research-data-publications/data/state-of-americas-children-2005-report.pdf (accessed Sept. 8, 2008).
6. R. E. Clark, J. F. Clark, and C. Adamec, *The Encyclopedia of Child Abuse, Second Edition* (New York: Facts on File, 2001).
7. M. R. Yoshioka and Q. Dang, *Asian Family Violence Report: A Study of the Cambodian, Chinese, Korean, South Asian, and Vietnamese Communities in Massachusetts* (Boston: Asian Task Force Against Domestic Violence, 2000). Available at www.atask.org (accessed Oct. 24, 2008).
8. S. Rhee, J. Chang, and S. Youn, "Korean American Ministers' Perceptions and Attitudes toward Child Abuse," *Journal of Ethnic & Cultural Diversity in Social Work* 12, no. 3 (2003): 27–46.
9. Yoshioka and Dang, *Asian Family Violence Report.*
10. Yoshioka and Dang, *Asian Family Violence Report.*
11. S. WuDunn, "Japan Admitting, and Fighting, Child Abuse," *New York Times*, 1999, http://www.nytimes.com/1999/08/15/world/japan-admitting-and-fighting-child-abuse.html?pagewanted=3 (accessed July 2, 2003).
12. J. Chang, S. Rhee, and D. Weaver, "Characteristics of Child Abuse in Immigrant Korean Families and Correlates of Placement Decisions," *Child Abuse & Neglect* 30, no. 8 (2006): 881–891.
13. Chang, "Characteristics of Child Abuse," 881–891.

14. Chang, "Characteristics of Child Abuse," 881–891.

15. C. K. Ho, "An Analysis of Domestic Violence in Asian American Communities: A Multicultural Approach to Counseling," *Women & Therapy* 9, no. 1–2 (1987): 129–150.

16. S. Chan, "Families with Asian Roots," *Developing Cross-Cultural Competence: A Guide for Working with Young Children and Their Families,* eds. E. Lynch and M. Hanson (Baltimore, MD: Paul H. Brookes Publishing, 1992), 181–250.

17. Lau, Takeuchi, and Alegria, "Parent-to-Child Aggression," 1261–1278.

18. M. S. Park, "The Factors of Child Physical Abuse in Korean Immigrant Families," *Child Abuse and Neglect* 25, no. 7 (2001): 945–953.

19. J. Chang, S. Rhee, and M. Berthold, "Child Abuse and Neglect in Cambodian Refugee Families: Characteristics and Implications for Practice," *Child Welfare* (2008): 141–160.

20. Children's Defense Fund, "The State of America's Children."

21. Yoshioka and Dang, "Asian Family Violence Report."

22. S. Rhee, J. Chang, and S. Youn, "Korean American Ministers' Perceptions" 27–46.

23. A. Mullender and R. Morley, *Children Living with Domestic Violence: Putting Men's Abuse of Women on the Child Care Agenda* (London: Whiting & Birch, 1994).

24. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention and National Center for Injury Prevention and Control, "Understanding Intimate Partner Violence, Fact Sheet," http://www.cdc.gov/ncipc/dvp/ipv_factsheet.pdf (accessed Oct. 29, 2008).

25. Centers for Disease Control, "Morbidity & Mortality Weekly Reports," 55, no. 19: 532–535, http://www.cdc.gov/mmwr/preview/mmwrhtml/mm5519a3.htm (accessed Aug. 27 2008).

26. A. G. Yick, T. Shibusawa, and P. Agbayani-Siewert, "Partner Violence, Depression, and Practice Implications with Families of Chinese Descent," *Journal of Cultural Diversity* 10, no. 3 (2003): 96–104.

27. Yoshioka and Dang, *Asian Family Violence Report.*

28. M. Yoshihama and B. Gillespiel, "Age Adjustment and Recall Bias in the Analysis of Domestic Violence Data: Methodological Improvement through the Application of Survival Analysis Methods," *Journal of Family Violence* 17, no. 3 (2002): 199–221; A. Raj and J. G. Silverman, "South-Asian Women in Greater Boston," *Journal of American Medical Women's Association* 57, no. 2 (2002): 111–114.

29. J. Y. Kim and K. T. Sung, "Conjugal Violence in Korean American Families: A Residue of the Cultural Tradition," *Journal of Family Violence* 15, no. 4 (2000): 331–347.

30. Kim and Sung, "Conjugal Violence in Korean American Families."

31. A. Raj and J. G. Silverman, "Intimate Partner Violence against Immigrant Women: The Roles of Immigrant Culture, Context, and Legal Status," *Violence Against Women* 8, no. 3 (2002): 367–398; Ahmad et al., "Patriarchal Beliefs and Perceptions of Abuse among South Asian Immigrant Women," *Violence Against Women* 10, no. 3 (2004): 262–282; Fugate et al., "Barriers to Domestic Violence Help Seeking: Implications for Intervention," *Violence Against Women* 11 (2005): 290–310; R. E. Latta and L. A. Goodman, "Gaining Access: An Assessment of Community Responsiveness to the Needs of Haitian Immigrant Women Who Are Survivors of Intimate Partner Violence," *Violence Against Women* 11 (2005): 1441–1464; Sullivan et al., "Participatory Action Research in Practice: A Case Study in Addressing Domestic Violence in Nine Cultural Communities," *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 20 (2005): 977–995.

32. Kim and Sung, “Conjugal Violence in Korean American Families,” 331–347; A. G. Yick, “Domestic Violence Beliefs and Attitudes in the Chinese American Community,” *Journal of Social Service Research* 27, no. 1 (2000): 29–51.

33. S. Bhanot and C. Y. Senn, “Attitudes towards Violence against Women in Men of South Asian Ancestry: Are Acculturation and Gender Role Attitudes Important Factors?” *Journal of Family Violence* 22, no. 1 (2007): 25–31; S. K. Murnen, C. Wright, and G. Kaluzny, “If ‘Boys Will Be Boys,’ Then Girls Will Be Victims? A Meta-Analytic Review of the Research that Relates Masculine Ideology to Sexual Aggression,” *Sex Roles* 46 (2006): 359–375; Bhuyan et al., “Women Must Endure According to Their Karma: Cambodian Immigrant Women Talk About Domestic Violence,” *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 20 (2005): 902–921.

34. T. D. Nguyen, “Prevalence of Male Intimate Partner Abuse in Vietnam,” *Violence Against Women* 12, no. 8 (2006): 732–739.

35. S. K. Shiu-Thornton and M. S. Senturia, “‘Like a Bird in a Cage’: Vietnamese Women Survivors Talk about Domestic Violence,” *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 20 (2005): 959–976.

36. Bhuyan et al., “Women Must Endure According to Their Karma,” 902–921.

37. K. McDonnell and S. Abdulla, *Project AWARE.* Washington, DC: Asian/Pacific Islander Domestic Violence Resource Project, 2001, www.DVRP.org accessed Oct. 24, 2008.

38. Yoshioka and Dang, *Asian Family Violence Report.*

39. Yick and Agbayani-Siewert, “Perceptions of Domestic,” 832–846.

40. H. Bui and M. Morash, “Domestic Violence in the Vietnamese Immigrant Community: An Exploratory Study,” *Violence Against Women* 5, no. 7 (1999): 769–795.

41. Sullivan et al., “Participatory Action Research in Practice,” 977–995; Fugate et al., “Barriers to Domestic Violence Help Seeking: Implications for Intervention,” *Violence Against Women* 11 (2005): 290–310.

42. Crandall et al., “No Way Out”: Russian-Speaking Women’s Experiences with Domestic Violence,” *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 20 (2005): 941–958; Bhuyan et al., “Women Must Endure According to Their Karma,” 902–921; Fugate et al., “Barriers to Domestic Violence,” 290–310; Sullivan et al., “Participatory Action Research in Practice,” 977–995; E. M. Ingram, “A Comparison of Help Seeking Between Latino and Non-Latino Victims of Intimate Partner Violence,” *Violence Against Women* 13 (2007): 159–171.

43. A. Raj and J. G. Silverman, “Immigrant South Asian Women at Greater Risk for Injury from Intimate Partner Violence,” *American Journal of Public Health* 93, no. 3 (2003): 435–437; Bhuyan et al., “Women Must Endure According to Their Karma,” 902–921.

44. McDonnell and Abdulla, *Project AWARE.*

45. W. Judith, “Refugees and Domestic Violence: Model-Building as a Prelude to Services Research,” *Journal of Social Work Research* 2, no. 2 (2001): 237–245.

46. Judith, “Refugees and Domestic Violence,” 237–245.

47. Lawyers.com, “Elder Abuse,” http://elder-law.lawyers.com/Elder-Abuse.html. Accessed Oct. 29, 2008; Violence Affecting Asian-American and Pacific Islander Communities, “Definitions,” http://www.sph.umich.edu/apihealth/2006/childelder.htm (accessed Oct. 24, 2008).

48. P. Brownell and I. Abelman, “Elder Abuse: Protective and Empowerment Strategies for Crisis Intervention,” in *Battered Women and their Families,* ed. A. R. Roberts (New York: Springer, 1998); K. A. Pillmer and D. Finkelhor, “The Prevalence of Elder

Abuse: A Random Sample Survey. *The Gerontologist* 28 (1988): 51–57; M. Young, "Recognizing the Signs of Elder Abuse," *Patient Care* 34 no. 20 (2000): 56–62.

49. Pillmer and Finkelhor, "The Prevalence of Elder Abuse," 51–57.

50. Mouton, C. P., et al., "Multiethnic Perspectives on Elder Mistreatment," *Journal of Elder Abuse and Neglect* 17, no. 2 (2005): 21–44.

51. T. Tatara, *Understanding Elder Abuse in Minority Populations* (Philadelphia: Brunner/Mazel, 1999).

52. National Center on Elder Abuse, 1998, *Final Report*. Prepared for the Administration for Children and Families, and the Administration on Aging in the U.S., Department of Health and Human Services. Washington, DC: National Center on Elder Abuse.

53. J. Chang and A. Moon, "Korean American Elderly's Knowledge and Perceptions of Elder Abuse: A Qualitative Analysis of Cultural Factors," *Journal of Multicultural Social Work* 6, no. 1/2 (1997): 139–154.

54. Violence Affecting Asian-American and Pacific Islander Communities, "Definitions."

55. Violence Affecting Asian-American and Pacific Islander Communities, "Definitions."

56. Perceptions of Elder Abuse and Help-Seeking Patterns among African-American, Caucasian American, and Korean American Elderly Women, *The Gerontologist* 33, no. 4: 386–395; A. Moon and D. Benton, "Tolerance of Elder Abuse and Attitudes toward Third-Party Intervention among African American, Korean American, and White Elderly," *Journal of Multicultural Social Work* 8, no. 3/4 (2000): 283–303.

57. Yoshioka and Dang, "*Asian Family Violence Report.*"

58. A. Moon and O. J. Williams, "Perceptions of Elder Abuse and Help Seeking Patterns among African American, Caucasian American and Korean American Elderly Women," *The Gerontologist* 33, no. 3 (1993): 386–395.

59. Moon and Williams, "Perceptions of Elder Abuse," 386–395.

60. Moon and Benton, "Tolerance of Elder Abuse," 283–303; A. Moon and T. Evans-Campbell, "Awareness of Formal and Informal Sources of Help for Victims of Elder Abuse Among Korean American and Non-Hispanic White Elders in Los Angeles," *Journal of Elder Abuse and Neglect* 11, no. 3 (1999): 1–23.

61. S. Pablo and K. L. Braun, "Perceptions of Elder Abuse and Neglect and Help-Seeking Patterns among Filipino and Korean Elderly Women in Honolulu," *Journal of Elder Abuse & Neglect* 9, no. 2 (1997): 63–76.

62. Moon and Evans-Campbell, "Awareness of Formal and Informal Sources of Help," 1–23.

63. Moon and Evans-Campbell, "Awareness of Formal and Informal Sources of Help," 1–23.

64. A. Moon, S. K. Tomita and S. Jung Kamei, "Elder Mistreatment among Four Asian American Groups: An Exploratory Study on Tolerance, Victim Blaming and Attitudes toward Third Party Intervention," *Journal of Gerontological Social Work 36* (2001): 153–169.

FILIAL PIETY AND CAREGIVING

Grace J. Yoo and Barbara W. Kim

Filial piety remains an important value that defines and regulates appropriate attitudes and behaviors toward parents and elderly in Asian societies; however, rapid industrialization, urbanization, internal migration, and demographic changes in marriage and childbearing in nations such as China, Korea, and Japan have redefined the meanings, duties, and arrangements of respecting and supporting aging parents.[1] As earlier generations of Asian Americans age, Asian American families are also negotiating ways to modify yet uphold the meanings and intergenerational expectations and practices around filial piety and caregiving. Physical, emotional, and social work of caregiving significantly affect women who make up the majority of informal (unpaid) and formal (paid) caregivers. The impact of cultural values, resources, and social policies around caregiving within and beyond Asian American families will be discussed in this entry.

FILIAL PIETY

The value of filial piety in the context of Confucianism has guided traditions, intergenerational relations and the treatment of elderly for centuries in many Asian societies—in particular, China, Japan, the Philippines, and Korea. While other societies also value filial obligation, they may attribute its basis to other religions and philosophies such as Christianity and Buddhism. By contrast, as an ideal virtue of moral behavior, filial piety stresses that children obey and care for their parents as they age. It is often demonstrated through responsibility, respect, sacrifice, and family harmony.[2] Adult children are to be attentive to their parents' desires and are expected to set aside their own

interests for the well-being of their elderly parents. According to the practice of primogeniture that has accompanied the value of filial piety in traditional China, Japan, and Korea, the oldest son and his wife would live with and take care of his parents, inherit family properties, and continue to honor family ancestors as the rightful heir. Younger generations of Asians, however, define relationships with parents using concepts of affection and reciprocity in addition to duty and obligation.

Filial piety remains a core social value for Asian Americans of different ethnic groups and generations. As U.S.-born and/or raised children of Asian ethnicity continue to adapt and participate in mainstream American culture, conflicts with their immigrant parents, who cling to the values and cultures of the home country, are often inevitable. Yet the younger generation of Asian Americans still report feelings of duty and emphasize caring for their parents and other family members into old age.[3] The concept of filial piety has been especially important to first-generation Asian immigrants—especially those who are aging themselves and taking care of elderly parents—but the concepts of filial piety are modified even within these later intergenerational relationships, influencing expectations, practices, and types of caregiving.[4]

CAREGIVING

The definition of caregiver is anyone who provides assistance to an older adult or someone with a disability. Caregiving is the help provided to someone—generally a senior—who is unable to live independently and who needs assistance with eating, bathing, or dressing. It is estimated that informal caregivers, unpaid individuals who care for a family member, friend, or a neighbor provide up to 80 percent of care for frail elders in the United States, and caregivers tend to be middle-aged women across all ethnicities who are already juggling a combination of occupational, marital, childcare, and/or social obligations. Worldwide, spouses, adult daughters, and daughters-in-law are among the women who serve as the primary caregivers to the aged and those in frail health.

As the global economy changes and as more women enter the labor markets, informal caregiving for the growing aging population becomes more of a challenge in nations around the world. For example, in the United States, the economic burden and costs have fallen harder on the shoulders of women who provide the majority of the care to older family members. Those who decide to cut back hours, take time off without pay, or retire early in order to take care of an elderly or sick family member lose their earnings and benefits in the present and the future because Social Security benefits are based on years in the labor force multiplied by annual wages.[5] Caregivers may also experience chronic fatigue, anger, depression, frustration, stress, and worsening of their own health as a consequence of their duties especially as demands of the tasks grow.[6] Caregivers undergo many different encounters in caring for an ailing family member, including identifying a diagnosis, finding support, decision-making

about treatment, and determining long-term care done at home or in a formal care setting.

Support that meets the multiple demands of caregiving plays an imperative role in community education, prevention, and treatment of senior health issues. For Asian immigrant families, barriers to support are compounded by significant language barriers. Elderly immigrants often encounter language and cultural barriers and often do not receive the services and support they need, placing additional burdens on the caregivers as well as their English-speaking children.

Moreover, concerns regarding shame and concerns about encumbering the family may prevent seeking out and accepting support both within and outside their families. Examining caregiving cross-culturally has shown that the meaning and process of caregiving is heavily influenced by cultural norms; however, cultural norms, such as filial piety and family expectations, can also produce barriers for support for both the caregiver and the frail relative. A recent study of Asian American caregivers found that personal issues of the caregivers, such as feeling too proud or unwilling to accept outsiders coming in to help, created barriers to accessing services as much as the lack of services that met diverse linguistic and cultural needs.[7] In another example, foreign-born Vietnamese caregivers did not access formal services for family members experiencing dementia because of concerns about shame and "loss of face." Understanding cultural conceptualizations of certain medical and health conditions could assist burdened caregivers to find appropriate help and for agencies to outreach sensitively and effectively to first-generation ethnic communities.[8]

FILIAL PIETY ACROSS GENERATIONS

Certain Asian American groups retain filial piety as a cultural tradition, demonstrated through intergenerational coresidence. An analysis of 1980 U.S. Census data found that despite differences in personal reasons for immigration and ethnic immigration history, elderly Chinese and Japanese were more likely to live in extended family households than non-Hispanic white elders, regardless of the elderly person's marital status, the state of residence, and gender.[9] In a 2001 survey of 2,300 baby boomers between ages forty-five and fifty-five, Asian American respondents (Japanese, Korean, Chinese, Filipino, Vietnamese, and Asian Indian) were most likely to care for their parents and older relatives (whether they lived in or outside the United States) and also were the most likely to say they had adjusted their lives and plans around their family responsibilities compared to other racial/ethnic groups. Almost half of Asian Americans reported providing care for an aging parent or relative, which was higher than other racial/ethnic groups. Foreign-born individuals were also more likely to provide care than native-born individuals, and those with lower incomes reported feeling more overwhelmed by caregiving responsibilities. Despite providing the most care to their aging relatives, Asian Americans also

expressed the most guilt that they were not providing enough care. Almost three-fourths of Asian American adults said they should do more for their parents, compared with two-thirds of Latinos, slightly more than half of the African Americans, and fewer than half of the whites. Foreign-born Asian Americans were much more likely to feel guilt than U.S.-born Asians.[10]

There were racial/ethnic differences in caregiving as well as with attitudes about and perception of caregiving. For example, the majority (73%) of Asian Americans believed that the children in their families should care for elderly parents, compared with less than half (49%) of all respondents, and they were more likely to agree that their children should plan to care of them (38% compared to 22% of total respondents). However, factors such as income and foreign birth also determined personal caregiving and financial support behaviors.

At the same time, notions regarding the expectations of support from adult children are also changing and evolving among Asian immigrants who arrived later in their lives. Given the norm of dual-income families and increased mobility for educational and occupational reasons, traditional beliefs about filial piety are often challenged and altered upon immigrating to the United States. Studies of Korean American families have found that a major shift in filial piety expectations stems from the fact that many older immigrants find that their adult children fall short of their expectations.[11] They find that soliciting support from adult children often creates friction between themselves and their adult children's spouses.[12] As a result of these unexpected alterations (often downward) in their roles and status within the family, older Korean immigrants prefer to live independently from their adult children, valuing their independence and freedom. Many elders also do not wish to burden their children.[13]

Many studies that emphasize strength of cultural values without a social context ignore how the cultural concept of filial obligation interacts with financial and structural factors—such as proximity in residence, financial resources, parent need variables, and availability of other sibling or other kin/friend support—in influencing an adult child's support for his/her elderly parents. In a comparison of Chinese, Japanese, and Korean Americans, Korean American respondents were most likely to provide various types of support, such as financial assistance. Factors associated with this finding may include shorter years of residency in the United States, younger mean age, and the fact that Korean Americans are most likely to have younger children, which may result in more frequent reciprocal exchanges between parents and children. Proximity in residence, adult children's financial resources, and parental needs for assistance resulted in different fulfillment of filial obligations, dispelling the idea that all Asian Americans are rooted in traditional Asian culture.[14] Adult children may not always feel the affection or duty to care for their aging parents, or they may be geographically or financially unable to do so because of other multiple obligations.

Taking Care of Elders

The decision for a family to place a frail loved one in a nursing home can often be one of the most difficult decisions. Many Asian Americans are socialized to care for family members, but often they are saddled with work and care of young children. Over the last four decades, various Asian American communities in different part of the United States have organized to create nonprofit, community-based long-term care facilities that are linguistically and culturally familiar. These long-term care facilities include assisted living facilities, which are homes to assist elderly with activities of daily living, such as eating, bathing and taking medication. Others include nursing homes for frail elderly who need 24-hour nursing care and assistance with activities of daily living.

These nonprofit long-term care facilities often have been developed, in part, by an intergenerational coalition of concerned community members, advocates, and health and social service providers. In 1998, the Legacy House in Seattle's Chinatown opened its doors for assisted living to low-income Asian immigrant elderly. Developed in the 1980s in Sacramento, CA, the Asian Community Center of Sacramento nursing home has served as a model for culturally and linguistically competent care for Asian American elders. In the Japanese American community, throughout the United States in cities such as Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Seattle, there are assisted-living facilities and nursing homes like Keiro Homes and Nikkei Manor, long-term care facilities often started by third-generation Japanese Americans, who saw language and cultural barriers their immigrant grandparents were facing.

—Grace J. Yoo

CULTURAL VALUES, FAMILY SUPPORT, AND SOCIAL POLICIES

As in many industrialized nations around the world, the U.S. population is aging and living longer. The growth and diversity of the aging population have implications for social structures, relationships, and policies that can meet the rising needs of the elderly. The establishment and expansion in the 1950s through the 1970s of federal programs to address economic, health, and housing needs of the elderly slowed in the 1980s. In this new "renegotiation of the contract across generations" in the twenty-first century, politicians and researchers are reevaluating Medicare, Social Security, and other programs for the elderly so that caregiving responsibilities for older persons may shift from the public (government) to the private (family). The current U.S. long-term care system is built on the premise that the elderly will be cared for by their younger

family members—most likely a daughter or a daughter-in-law—with other jobs. As more older people are living longer, current caregiving policies do not meet the available realities and resources of the elderly and their families.[15]

Asian American families may express respect for parents and desire to take care of aging adults, but they may not always be able to provide it. In time, the burdens of caregiving negatively affect the physical, mental, and emotional well-being of the caregiver (and family), who often need additional help. Although many Asian Americans see the traditional concept of filial piety as a core value of their ethnic group, the ideal that Asian Americans will take care of their own have been used by U.S. policy makers to assume that families could do even more to meet the needs of their aging family members. Various bills in past sessions in the U.S. Congress have proposed that Asian American family members, especially adult children, should be held fiscally responsible for the financial obligations of their aging immigrant parents.[16]

The first of the 78 million baby boomers will turn sixty-five in 2011, and some have already become eligible for Social Security benefits. The Medicare and Social Security trust funds are estimated to run out of money by 2019 and 2041, respectively, especially because of rising health costs. While the federal government seeks to find solutions to the rising needs of an aging population, shifting even more responsibility to the family alone will not address the dramatic population aging and its implications.

According to social scientists, expressions and practices of filial piety are changing in Asian societies as family members adapt to rapid industrialization, urbanization, rising female labor participation, family structures, and changing intergenerational relations. At the same time, social service providers are noting that Asian American adult children of different ethnic backgrounds, nativity, income, occupations, and English fluency need outside services to take care of their elderly parents. Despite a general view that Asian Americans are strongly influenced by and abide by traditional Asian values and practices, such as filial piety, economic and social factors are significantly interrelated with cultural factors in determining what types of financial, social, and emotional support adult children provide for their elderly parents.

Seniors who live in or near ethnic communities have been fortunate to have access to health care, ethnic senior centers, meal programs, religious services, leisure and recreational activities, assisted living centers, respite care, adult day care, and nursing homes that cater to characteristics and needs of particular ethnic backgrounds. Independent and home-bound older individuals have also been able to receive assistance with activities of daily living (ADL) from bilingual caregivers who can communicate with and interpret for them. To meet the diverse needs of the rapidly growing, Asian American older population, family members, mainstream and ethnic community providers, agencies, and institutions are continually working and advocating for linguistically and culturally appropriate programs and services. As the need for caregiving often comes unexpectedly, health and social service providers have noted that older and younger family members should

discuss the process and economic feasibility of formal long-term care that families and friends are unable to provide.

FURTHER READING

Li, Hong. "Barriers to and Unmet Needs for Supportive Services: Experiences of Asian-American Caregivers." *Journal of Cross-Cultural Gerontology* 19, no. 3 (2004): 241–260.

Navaie-Waliser, Maryam, et al. "When the Caregiver Needs Care: The Plight of Vulnerable Caregivers." *American Journal of Public Health* 92 (2002): 409–413.

Wong, Sabrina T., Grace Yoo, and Anita Stewart. "The Changing Meaning of Family Support among Older Chinese and Korean Immigrants." *Journals of Gerontology Series B: Psychological Sciences and Social Sciences* 61 (2006): S4–S9.

NOTES

1. Kyu-taik Sung, "An Asian Perspective on Aging East and West: Filial Piety and Changing Families," in *Aging in East and West: Families, States, and the Elderly*, ed. Vern L. Bengtson, Kyong-Dong Kim, George. C. Myers and Ki-Soo Eun (New York: Springer Publishing Company, 2000), 41–56.

2. Sung, "An Asian Perspective on Aging East and West," 45.

3. Masako Ishii-Kuntz, "Intergenerational Relationships among Chinese, Japanese, and Korean Americans," *Family Relations 46* (1997): 24.

4. Sabrina T. Wong, Grace J. Yoo, and Anita L. Stewart, "The Changing Meaning of Family Support among Older Chinese and Korean Immigrants," *Journals of Gerontology Series B: Psychological Sciences and Social Sciences* 61 (2006): S4–S9.

5. Tonya M. Parrott et al., "The United States: Population Demographics, Changes in the Family, and Social Policy Challenges," in *Aging in East and West: Families, States, and the Elderly*, ed. Vern L. Bengtson, Kyong-Dong Kim, George C. Myers, and Ki-Soo Eun (New York: Springer Publishing Company, 2000), 193.

6. Ada C. Mui, Namkee G. Choi, and Abraham Monk, *Long-Term Care and Ethnicity* (Westport, CT: Auburn House, 1998), 171; Maryam Navaie-Waliser, et al., "When the Caregiver Needs Care: The Plight of Vulnerable Caregivers," *American Journal of Public Health* 92 (2002): 409–413.

7. Hong Li, "Barriers to and Unmet Needs for Supportive Services: Experiences of Asian-American Caregivers," *Journal of Cross-Cultural Gerontology* 19 (2004): 241–260.

8. Gwen Yeo et al., "Conceptions of Dementia among Vietnamese American Caregivers," in *Social Work Practice with the Asian American Elderly*, ed. Namhee G. Choi (Binghamton, NY: Haworth Press, 2001), 131–152.

9. Yoshinori Kamo and Min Zhou, "Living Arrangements of Elderly Chinese and Japanese in the United States," *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 56 (1994): 544–558.

10. AARP, *In the Middle: A Report on Multicultural Boomers Coping with Family and Aging Issues* (Washington DC: AARP, 2001), http://assets.aarp.org/rgcenter/il/in_the_middle.pdf.

11. Kwang Chung Kim, Shin Kim, and Won Moo Hurh, "Filial Piety and Intergenerational Relationships in Korean Immigrant Families," *International Journal of Aging and Human Development* 33 (1991): 233–245; Judith Treas and Shampa Mazumdar,

"Older People in America's Immigrant Families: Dilemmas of Dependence, Integration and Isolation," *Journal of Aging Studies* 16 (2002): 243–258.

12. Kwang Chung Kim, Won Moo Hurh, and Shin Kim, "Generational Differences in Korean Immigrants' Life Conditions in the United States," *Sociological Perspectives* 36 (1993): 257–270.

13. Tae-Ock Kauh, "Changing Status and Roles of Older Korean Immigrants in the United States," *International Journal of Aging and Human Development* 49 (1999): 213–229.

14. Ishii-Kuntz, "Intergenerational Relationships among Chinese, Japanese, and Korean Americans," 30.

15. Tonya M. Parrott et al., "The United States: Population Demographics, Changes in the Family, and Social Policy Challenges," 208.

16. Grace Yoo and Barbara Kim, "Remembering Sacrifices, Negotiating Cultures and Institutions: Second-Generation Korean Americans and Their Caregiving Expectations and Responsibilities to Aging Immigrant Parents," Unpublished paper, 2008.

INTERGENERATIONAL RELATIONS

Linda P. Juang

Asian American immigrant parents and their children face challenges, losses, opportunities, and complex relationships. On the one hand, many children deeply appreciate their parents' sacrifices for a better life. Yet on the other hand, many children experience an immense and sometimes distressing pressure to live up to those high hopes and expectations. Prior to 1965, there were very few psychological studies that involved ethnic minority Americans, including Asians.[1] In 1965, a major amendment to the Immigration and Nationality Act was approved. This amendment stimulated a new wave of immigrants—including many from Asian countries—to the United States. Notably, this new wave of immigrants was much more culturally, linguistically, educationally, and economically diverse than previous waves.[2] Concurrent with this increase in immigrants of Asian origin was the increasing appreciation and use of the term "Asian American" as a label and as an identity. These two factors stimulated a growing interest in understanding the dynamics of Asian American families. Thus, the focus here is on studies conducted with post-1965 Asian Americans.

Scholars of various disciplines—psychologists, sociologists, and anthropologists—have long emphasized the important role of the family, and especially parents, to child and adolescent development. For families of many different ethnicities and backgrounds, children who experience more positive relationships with their parents generally experience better mental health and greater well-being. The growing body of research on Asian American families supports this robust finding. Specifically, Asian American parent-child relationships that are cohesive and supportive are associated with better child and adolescent adjustment in numerous ways: better academic achievement, less depression, higher self-esteem, less loneliness, and more positive social adjustment. In

contrast, negative parent-child relationships, such as those characterized by high parent-child conflict, have been associated with poorer adjustment in terms of greater depression, feelings of alienation, and poorer academic achievement. Indeed, family conflict and disagreement may be detrimental to Asian American families in particular, as there is a cultural emphasis on family interdependence, obligation, and cohesion.[3]

PARENTING STYLES

There is a long-standing history of exploring the style of parenting that encourages positive parent-child relationships and child outcomes. Four broad styles of parenting have been identified: authoritative, authoritarian, permissive, and uninvolved.[4] *Authoritative* parents are sensitive to the child's maturity level and are firm, fair, and warm. *Authoritarian* parents expect unquestioned obedience and view the child as needing to be controlled. *Permissive* parents are warm and nurturing to their children; however, they allow their children to regulate their own lives and provide few firm guidelines. *Uninvolved* parents are often too absorbed in their own lives to respond appropriately to their children and may seem indifferent to them. In general, research indicates that children benefit the most from the authoritative parenting style. Compared with children of other parenting styles, children of authoritative parents tend to have high self-esteem, do well in school, and get along well with their peers and family.[5] The benefits of authoritative parenting, however, differ depending on the particular ethnic group. For example, in a study comparing several thousand U.S. adolescents from four ethnic groups (European American, African American, Asian American, and Latino American), results show that authoritative parenting significantly predicted higher school achievement for European American, African American, and Latino American adolescents, but not for Asian Americans.[6] Further, European American adolescents were the most likely, and Asian American adolescents the least likely, to report that their parents were authoritative.

These findings (that Asian American adolescents seemed to benefit the least from authoritative parenting and were the least likely to report their parents as being authoritative) led some scholars, such as Ruth Chao of the University of California–Riverside, to challenge the notion that these particular styles adequately describe parenting across various ethnic groups. For example, Asian American parents have been thought to be more authoritarian than European American parents. However, the significance and meaning attached to this parenting style originates from a set of cultural beliefs that differ from the European American cultural belief system.[7] For example, for many Asian American families, there is a heavy emphasis on family interdependence and obligation to parents. As such, parental control (an aspect of authoritarian parenting) may be seen as a very positive and caring aspect of parenting. In contrast, for many European American families there is less emphasis on family interdependence and obligation to parents, thus, parental control may be seen as a negative, or even

hostile, aspect of parenting. Consequently, the meaning and outcomes associated with the original four parenting styles may differ depending on the ethnic group. Chao has identified a type of parenting characteristic of Chinese parents, called *training*, that emphasizes close supervision in order to promote children to become disciplined and adherent to family obligation. Chao's work with Asian American parents underscores the need to understand parenting, parent-child relationships, and child adjustment within the particular cultural context.

FAMILY ISSUES

Several issues salient to Asian American families have consequences for the parent-child relationship: a high emphasis on achievement, less emphasis on independence, and high emphasis on family obligations. Many Asian American families are characterized by a strong parental emphasis on academic achievement. Ethnographies of Punjabi Sikh and Vietnamese families show that many parents believe that poor school performance reflects negatively on the entire family. Research has shown both positive and negative consequences to this strong emphasis on achievement. Positively, many parents are eager to support and provide numerous resources for education and learning (e.g., after-school programs, tutoring, music lessons) even in the face of economic hardship. Negatively, there can be immense pressure for children to succeed academically. This can be problematic in several ways. For example, studies have found that Asian American children often interpret high parental expectations for academic achievement negatively, believing their parents expect impossibly much or that their parents are never satisfied with their academic performance.[8] These pressures may result in excessive anxiety, self-doubt, and resentment, leaving some children with an overwhelming sense of alienation from their achievement-oriented parent, and vice versa.

Nonetheless, research has also shown that many Asian American children share the belief that doing well in school is an important way of repaying their parents' efforts and sacrifices. In one large-scale study of second-generation adolescents (including Asian American participants), one resounding theme appeared frequently in the interviews: the indebtedness the adolescents felt to their parents. Many adolescents understood the many hardships and sacrifices their parents endured to ensure they (the children) would have a better life.[9] One way Asian American youth cope with demanding expectations is by turning to their siblings and same-ethnic peers who may share the same pressures to succeed. Same-ethnic youth gatherings, facilitated by community or religious organizations, are important contexts for this type of support to emerge.[10]

Another issue salient for Asian American families is the cultural de-emphasis on independence (e.g., making independent decisions, focusing on individual needs over the needs of the family) in a culture where independence is promoted and encouraged. For European American (and other Western/mainstream culture) families, this independence is demonstrated in the fact that as children get older, much less time is spent with the family and greater time is spent with

peers. As a result, parent-child relationships become more distant, at least for this period of time. This gradual separation from parents may signify the adolescent's developing sense of self and identity in preparation for adulthood, a process described by Erik Erikson as *identity formation*. Because of a cultural emphasis on family *interdependence,* however, research shows that Asian American parents tend to allow less independence and supervise their children more than other parents. For example, European and African American parents tend to allow their children to date, go to mixed-gender parties at night, spend time with friends rather than family, and choose their own friends, at earlier ages than Asian American parents.[11] Also important to note, however, are differences between different generational statuses. For example, Asian American adolescents born in the United States tend to look more similar to their European American counterparts in expectations for behavioral independence compared with Asian American adolescents born outside the United States. One study found that the age at which Hong Kong adolescents expected to go to boy-girl parties at night was 16–17 years, similar to Chinese American foreign-born adolescents. In contrast, Chinese American U.S.-born adolescents expected to go to boy-girl parties around 15 years and European American adolescents even earlier, around 14–15 years. These findings show that one important variation within Asian American families is generational status of the parent and child (foreign-born vs. U.S.-born).

Another salient issue for Asian American families is the strong role of family obligation. Family obligation refers to a set of behaviors and attitudes involving the support, assistance, and respect that children provide to their family. It is a key cultural value of many Asian cultures. Family obligation assigns great importance to the roles and duties of the child to the parents and family. There is a strong emphasis on respect for elders, obedience to parents, and putting the needs of the family before individual needs. Importantly, conciliation rather than disagreement in the home is encouraged, and different views within the family, particularly between children and parents, are discouraged. Studies have shown that Chinese and Filipino American adolescents report the highest levels of family obligation attitudes compared with their European American and Mexican American peers. For example, they report greater assistance to the family (e.g., help out around the house, run errands for the family), greater respect (e.g., treating parents with great respect, doing well for the sake of the family) and greater sense of future obligation (e.g., having parents live with you when older, helping out parents financially in the future) compared to European American and Mexican American adolescents. European American adolescents reported the lowest levels of family obligation on the three dimensions, reflecting the cultural emphasis on independence and less orientation to the family.[12]

Asian American adolescents who strongly endorse family obligation benefit in multiple ways; they derive a sense of pride by contributing to the family and enjoy more positive family relationships. Importantly, studies have found that many Asian American adolescents fulfill their obligations to the family without experiencing psychological distress.[13] Indeed, studies have found that Asian

American adolescents with a greater sense of family obligation report closer family relationships, greater academic motivation and achievement, and lower levels of behavioral misconduct.[14] Prevention programs that reinforce youths' collective identity, that strengthen their ties to their family and culture, and that remind youth of their family obligation may be particularly effective for Asian Americans.

IMMIGRATION

A majority of Asian Americans (88%) are immigrants or have at least one immigrant parent. As such, issues related to immigration are important considerations for understanding parent-child relations. Parents and children of immigrant families have unique difficulties not shared by nonimmigrant families, in part because family relationships are undergoing the process of acculturation. Acculturation refers to the changes in values, attitudes, and behaviors when individuals come into prolonged contact with one or more cultures.[15] Some important issues include adapting to a new language and culture while maintaining one's heritage culture, dealing with the loss of leaving family and friends behind, experiencing discrimination as an ethnic minority in the new culture, and struggling to navigate through unfamiliar job markets and education systems.

With respect to families, one of the greatest acculturation challenges is the growing differences between parents and children in values and behaviors. Because Asian American children from immigrant families tend to acquire the values and behaviors of the new culture at a faster rate than their parents, a large difference in values and behaviors (i.e., "acculturation gap") may result.[16] Researchers have hypothesized that the greater the acculturation gap, the greater potential for parent-child conflict. The acculturation gap has been highlighted in the popular and news media as the classic cultural clash between the Americanized, rebellious teen and the traditional, strict parent. For example, a story in *The New York Times* in 2002 focused on the cultural clash that arose with high school prom night. In one New York high school, teens of immigrant families expressed a strong desire to participate in this American rite of passage, but were forbidden by their immigrant parents to do so.[17]

The acculturation gap may be expressed in various family issues sensitive to the acculturation process, such as family obligation and autonomy expectations. For example, differences concerning family obligation grow larger with time in the United States among Asian American families. More specifically, Asian American parents endorse higher levels of family obligation than their adolescents, and this difference widens over time. Furthermore, and perhaps more importantly, parent-child differences in family obligation are associated with lower levels of life satisfaction for Asian American adolescents. Greater parent-child differences concerning autonomy expectations are also associated with more depressive symptoms, lower self-esteem, and greater conflicts with parents among Asian American youth.[18] For example, adolescents who desire

independence at an earlier age in areas such as dating, choosing their own friends, or being able to attend parties, but whose parents do not allow their adolescents to engage in these behaviors, report engaging in greater conflict with parents. And greater conflict with parents has been found to be one of the strongest predictors of poor adolescent mental health in terms of depression and self-esteem.

Having different views from parents concerning values and attitudes is normal for almost all adolescents, not just those from Asian American families; however, because many Asian cultures greatly emphasize respect for parents and family harmony, these differences may be less acceptable and more disturbing to Asian American adolescents, especially if these differences erupt into family conflict. Indeed, parent-adolescent conflicts are more highly correlated with problem behavior (e.g., antisocial behavior, cigarette smoking, alcohol use, school misconduct) among Chinese American adolescents compared to European American adolescents.[19]

Another challenge for Asian American immigrant families is language differences. Often, parents and children speak different languages in the home. The majority of Asian American children (with the exception of Filipino and Japanese children) speak a language other than English in the home. English monolinguals (those who speak English only) are most common among Filipinos and Japanese and least common among Vietnamese and other Southeast Asians. Language is important for understanding the quality of parent-child relationships. In families where parents have difficulty speaking English and children lose their heritage language, effective communication is compromised and may only occur on a superficial level. More meaningful communication may be lost.[20] Over time, parent-child relationships may become impaired, as the language to convey complex thoughts and emotions is limited. In contrast, for parents and children who manage to maintain a common language (either both fluent in English, or both fluent in the heritage language), communication and quality of parent-child relationships become more positive over time.

In addition to differences in language spoken, there may be differences in expectations for ways of communicating. Asian parents may expect children to obey their words without talking back. Parents may also focus more on issues such as school and studying, and less on other areas such as social relationships and emotional well-being. Children, on the other hand, may desire more open communication (e.g., being able to share their thoughts honestly and freely) and to discuss not only school performance, but also their feelings and ideas. These differences in ways of communicating set the stage for parent-child conflict that may intensify.

However, although it is assumed that Asian American parents are acculturating at a slower rate than their children, and therefore embody more traditional cultural ideals, this is not always the case. Some parents are less traditional than their children, and some children are more traditional than their parents. As such, there may be much greater variation in rates of acculturation within Asian

American families than commonly assumed. Asian American children who are more traditional than their parents may experience different challenges compared with children who are just as or less traditional than their parents. Among Chinese Americans, the first generation immigrants are more likely to identify themselves with Chinese cultural values while the second and third generation are more likely to identify themselves with both American and Chinese values. On the other hand, fourth-generation Chinese Americans often identify with Chinese values rather than American values.[21] Members of the later generation often realize they have lost a great deal of their cultural heritage, and begin to reach back to their cultural roots to regain what was lost. It could be, then, that children who are more culturally traditional than their parents feel the need to accentuate and maintain their culture in the context of a family that did not emphasize their cultural heritage. Attention to such variations provides a richer, more accurate picture of how Asian American family members are adapting to the new culture in relation to one another.

Although there are many challenges for Asian American families, it is also important to highlight that parents are an essential source of comfort and identity for children and adolescents. Parents provide the link between the child and broader society. Parents can help their children and adolescents adjust to and navigate the new culture while providing a connection to the heritage culture. Parents who instill a sense of cultural pride in their children contribute to their children's resilience in situations such as facing racial or ethnic discrimination.[22] Asian American children and adolescents who maintain strong heritage cultural ties (e.g., through language, adopting heritage culture values and beliefs, identifying with and being proud of their culture) experience better adjustment in terms of greater self-esteem, lower depression, and higher academic achievement.[23]

To understand Asian American parent-child relations one must also go beyond the individual relationships to consider the broader contexts in which they live.[24] Some Asian American families live in a strong, cohesive, and robust ethnic community, while others live in a community that is ethnically isolated. Community-based ethnic institutions that provide opportunities for parents, children, and families to connect with one another, reinforce cultural traditions and in turn, promote positive youth development.[25]

To address the challenges faced by Asian American families, community advocates and scholars have created programs geared toward supporting Asian American families. One such program, developed specifically for Chinese American immigrant parents but intended for expansion to immigrant parents in general, was developed by community psychologist Yu-Wen Ying of the University of California–Berkeley. The goal of Ying's parenting program is to prevent and reduce parent-child conflict that may arise because of acculturation challenges and, further, to strengthen parent-child relationships. In this eight-week program, parents gather to discuss issues such as understanding cultural differences in notions of ideal parent-child relationships (between mainstream vs. heritage culture), and the challenges Asian American children face (e.g.,

balancing two cultures, experiencing racial discrimination in school, developing a strong ethnic identity). Three months after the intervention, the parents reported greater confidence in their parenting skills and, importantly, also reported an improvement in their relationships with their children. These preliminary findings are a promising start. Another community advocate and scholar, clinical psychologist Anna Lau of UCLA, is also designing a prevention program aimed at Asian American parents. Based on a national data set of Asian American adults, Lau reports that almost one-third of Asian American parents reported minor parent-to-child assault, and 2 percent reported major assault. She argues these numbers may be an underrepresentation because of cultural pressures against disclosing family problems. Lau seeks to uncover and address culturally salient factors (such as acculturative stress, acculturation gaps, culturally based child-rearing values) that would place Asian American families at risk for abuse. The goal of her program is to prevent parent-child conflict from evolving into abusive violence.

An understanding of intergenerational relations between Asian American parents and children is still far from complete. Future work should focus on including more various Asian groups. To date, most of the research on Asian American families has focused on Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino parents and children. Less is known about family processes among Southeast Asian and Asian Indian parents and children. It is believed that future research on intergenerational relations should also focus on subgroups that have been, until recently, invisible in discussions of Asian American families. Some examples are low-achieving Asian American students, Asian American families in poverty, and families with sexual minority adolescents.

FURTHER READING

Garrod, Andrew and Robert Kilkenny. *Balancing Two Worlds: Asian American College Students Tell Their Life Stories.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005.

Portes, Alejandro and Ruben Rumbaut. *Legacies: The Story of the Second Generation.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001.

Tewari, Nita and Alvin Alvarez. *Asian American Psychology: Current Perspectives.* Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2008.

NOTES

1. Laura Uba, *Asian Americans: Personality Patterns, Identity, and Mental Health* (New York: Guilford Press, 1994).

2. Alejandro Portes and Ruben Rumbaut, *Legacies: The Story of the Immigrant Second Generation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).

3. Andrew Fuligni, "Authority, Autonomy, and Parent-Adolescent Conflict and Cohesion: A Study of Adolescents from Mexican, Chinese, Filipino, and European Backgrounds," *Developmental Psychology* 34, no. 4 (July 1998): 782–792; Uba, *Asian Americans*.

4. Diana Baumrind, "Current Patterns of Parental Authority," *Developmental Psychology Monographs* 4, no. 1 (1971): 1–103; Eleanor Maccoby and John Martin,

"Socialization in the Context of the Family: Parent-Child Interaction," in *Handbook of Child Psychology: Vol. 4. Socialization, Personality, and Social Development,* 4th ed., ed. E. M. Hetherington (New York: Wiley, 1983), 1–101.

5. Andrew Collins and Lawrence Steinberg, "Adolescent Development in Interpersonal Context," in *Handbook of Child Psychology,* 6th ed., ed. W. Damon and R. Lerner (New York: Wiley, 2006).

6. Lawrence Steinberg, et al., "Impact of Parenting Practices on Adolescent Achievement: Authoritative Parenting, School Involvement, and Encouragement to Succeed," *Child Development* 63, no. 5 (Oct. 1992): 1266–1281.

7. Ruth K. Chao, "Beyond Parental Control and Authoritarian Parenting Style: Understanding Chinese Parenting through the Cultural Notion of Training," *Child Development* 65, no. 4 (Aug. 1994): 1111–1120; Ruth K. Chao, "Cultural Explanations for the Role of Parenting in the School Success of Asian-American Children," in *Resilience across Contexts: Family, Work, Culture, and Community*, ed. M. C. Wang and R. D. Taylor (New York: Routledge, 2000), 333–363.

8. Desiree Qin, "'Our Child Doesn't Talk to Us Anymore': Alienation in Immigrant Chinese Families," *Anthropology & Education Quarterly* 37, no. 2 (June 2006): 162–179.

9. Alejandro Portes and Ruben Rumbaut, *Legacies: The Story of the Second Generation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).

10. Min Zhou and Carl Bankston, *Growing up American: How Vietnamese Children Adapt to Life in the United States* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1998).

11. Christopher Daddis and Judith Smetana, "Middle-Class African American Families' Expectations For Adolescents' Behavioural Autonomy," *International Journal of Behavioral Development* 29, no. 5 (2005): 371–381; Shirley S. Feldman and Doreen A. Rosenthal, "Age Expectations of Behavioral Autonomy in Hong Kong, Australian, and American Youths: The Influence of Family Variables and Adolescent Values," *International Journal of Psychology* 26, no. 1 (1991): 1–23.

12. Andrew Fuligni, Vivian Tseng, and May Lam, "Attitudes toward Family Obligations among American Adolescents with Asian, Latin American, and European Backgrounds," *Child Development* 70, no. 4 (July–Aug. 1999): 1030–1044.

13. Andrew J. Fuligni, Tiffany Yip, and Vivian Tseng, "The Impact of Family Obligation on the Daily Activities and Psychological Well-Being of Chinese American Adolescents," *Child Development* 73, no. 1 (Jan.–Feb. 2002): 302–314.

14. Fuligni, Tseng, and Lam, "Attitudes toward Family Obligations," 1030–1044; Linda Juang and Huong Nguyen, "Misconduct among Chinese American Adolescents: The Role of Acculturation, Family Obligation and Autonomy Expectations," *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 40, no. 4 (July 2009): 649–666.

15. John Berry, "Conceptual Approaches to Acculturation," in *Acculturation: Advances in Theory, Measurement, and Applied Research,* ed. K. Chun, P. Balls-Organista, and G. Martin (Washington, DC: American Psychological Association Press, 2003), 17–37.

16. Kyunghwa Kwak, "Adolescents and their Parents: A Review of Intergenerational Family Relations for Immigrant and Non-Immigrant Families," *Human Development* 46, nos. 2–3 (2003): 115–136.

17. Susan Sachs, "Prom Night, Lost in Translation: Teenagers Want to Go but Immigrant Parents Frown," *New York Times,* B1, June 13, 2002, http://www.nytimes.com/2002/06/13/nyregion/prom-night-lost-in-translation-teenagers-want-to-go-but-immigrant-parents-frown.html?pagewanted=1.

18. Jean S. Phinney, Anthony Ong, and Tanya Madden, "Cultural Values and Intergenerational Value Discrepancies in Immigrant and Non-Immigrant Families," *Child Development* 71, no. 2 (April–May 2000): 528–539; Linda Juang et al., "The Goodness of Fit of Autonomy Expectations between Asian American Late Adolescents and their Parents," *International Journal of Behavioral Development* 23, no. 4 (Dec. 1999): 1023–1048.

19. Chuansheng Chen et al., "A Cross-Cultural Study of Family and Peer Correlates of Adolescent Misconduct," *Developmental Psychology* 34, no. 4 (July 1998): 770–781.

20. Qin, "Our Child Doesn't Talk to Us Anymore," 162–179.

21. Stella Ting-Toomey, "Ethnic Identity and Close Friendships in Chinese American College Students," *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 5 (1981): 383–406.

22. Richard Lee, "Resilience Against Discrimination: Ethnic Identity and Other-Group Orientation as Protective Factors for Korean Americans," *Journal of Counseling Psychology* 52, no. 1 (Jan. 2005): 36–44.

23. Lisa Kiang et al., "Ethnic Identity and the Daily Psychological Well-Being of Adolescents from Mexican and Chinese Backgrounds," *Child Development* 77, no. 5 (Sept.–Oct. 2006): 1338–1350; Richard Lee and Hyung Chol Yoo, "Structure and Measurement of Ethnic Identity for Asian American College Students," *Journal of Counseling Psychology* 51, no. 2 (Apr. 2004): 263–269; Jeanne L. Tsai, Yu-Wen Ying, and Peter A. Lee, "Cultural Predictors of Self-Esteem: A Study of Chinese American Female and Male Young Adults," *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology* 7, no. 3 (Aug. 2001): 284–297.

24. Kwak, "Adolescents and Their Parents," 115–136.

25. Min Zhou and Carl Bankston, *Growing Up American: How Vietnamese Children Adapt to Life in the United States* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1998).

INTERRACIAL AND INTERETHNIC DATING AND MARRIAGE

Sachiko K. Wood

Interracial or interethnic marriages occur between individuals who marry someone of a different ethnicity or race. The phenomenon is so common that the late Japanese American scholar Harry Kitano stated that well more than 50 percent of Japanese Americans married someone of a different ethnicity.[1] According to a study, 43 percent of second-generation Asian women and 35 percent of second-generation Asian men marry outside their respective Asian ancestry.[2] This is important to Asian America as identity and family structure (e.g. traditions, values and cultures) are constantly evolving. Growing numbers of interracial and interethnic couples in Asian communities means the merging of not only the couple but of their respective families and friends. This in turn, creates more alliances and bridges among different racial and ethnic groups that might not otherwise be formed. In the twenty-first century, one begins to see a new generation of Asian Americans and a constant blurring of ethnic and racial boundaries. Interracial relationships include two people who have different racial origins from each other (e.g., one partner might be Asian and the other might be white), whereas interethnic relationships might include a couple of the same race (e.g., Asian) and of different ethnic background (e.g., Korean and Vietnamese). The U.S. Census in 2000 estimated that 1.5 million marriages were interracial, which is an increase since 1970.[1] In 2005, more than 7 percent of the United States' 59 million married couples were interracial.[2]

ANTIMISCEGENATION LAWS

In the 1700s and 1800s, Asian immigrant workers at the time—mainly Chinese and Filipino men—arrived onto the U.S. mainland. Over time, more and more Asian men courted—and eventually married—white American women. White Americans viewed Asians as a threat to society, so consequently, antimiscegenation laws were passed to illegalize marriages between Asians and whites. However, these laws were not new to the United States; the first antimiscegenation laws were passed in the 1600s to prevent black slaves from marrying whites. These laws were only part of the anti-Asian movement; later, the Page Law of 1875 prevented Chinese women from immigrating to the United States. Shortly afterward, the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882 prevented naturalization of any Chinese people in the United States and banned the immigration of all Chinese to America, including the wives and children of those already residing within the country. The trend however, of Asian men marrying non-Asian women turned around after World War I and World War II. Servicemen, mainly but not exclusively whites, began marrying Asian women from countries overseas, such as Japan, Korea, and Vietnam. These women were often referred to as *war brides.*

Antimiscegenation laws did not illegalize all interracial marriages, only marriages of people of color to white people (i.e., Asians could marry blacks, Latinos could marry American Indians, etc.). The 1924 legislation defined a white person as one "who has no trace whatsoever of any blood other than Caucasian."[3] These laws were designed to protect and maintain white supremacy (e.g., protecting voting rights, property rights), establishing people of color as inferior to whites. Nonwhites marrying whites meant the possibility of producing mixed race children and losing one's power and position in the family and/or society. This racial caste system meant that white women served as producers of white children thereby securing those rights. It took forty-three years before *Loving v. Virginia*, a landmark civil rights case, to end all race-based legal restrictions on marriage in the United States.

Since the Supreme Court decision in *Loving v. Virginia* set the federal precedent, interracial dating and marriages have increased each year. The U.S. Census Bureau stated that interracial marriages doubled between 1970 to 1980 and again doubled in the 1990s.[4] In 2003, according to the Pew Research Survey, more than 77 percent of randomly polled Americans (compared to 48 percent in 1987) thought interracial relationships were socially acceptable.[5] There is more dialogue and attention paid to racial mixture in America than ever before.[6]

Asian Americans have one of the highest out-marriage rates to whites (second only to Hispanic and white couples). Some argue that Asians marrying whites can be seen as moving up the social or economic ladder, and they are integrating into white neighborhoods faster than any other group.[7] Research shows that it is more common for Asian women to marry white men than Asian men to marry white women. In the majority of Asian-white marriages, the husband is white.[8]

This phenomenon is more complex than it reads. White men might date or marry Asian and Asian American women for various reasons, including having grown up in or with an Asian community, or having interest or curiosity in a different culture. Some argue that misguided media images and stereotypes of Asian women being more domesticated, submissive, and erotic make Asian women more desirable. On the other hand, possible reasons for Asian women marrying whites (rather than Asians) might be their perception white men tend to be more culturally liberated while often (mis)perceiving Asian and Asian American men to be more traditional and patriarchal about gender roles.[9] There are stereotypes of Asian men not being "Americanized" enough, not being masculine enough, or being too sexist which can contribute to Asian women marrying out.

INTERETHNIC RELATIONSHIPS

Interethnic relationships refers to couples that share a common racial group (i.e. Asian American) but who also belong to different ethnic groups (e.g., Japanese, Korean, Vietnamese, etc.) For example, a Japanese American dating a Korean American would be considered an interethnic relationship.

The odds of having an interethnic relationship increase if the individual has a ethnically diverse friendship network and supports interethnic dating.[10] Asians who are born or raised in the United States are more likely to date or marry outside their ethnic group.[11] This may be attributed to the fact that those who are raised in the United States are more likely to interact with members of different racial and ethnic groups than Asian immigrants who come to the United States already married or who have not interacted with different racial and ethnic groups prior to immigrating.

Cultural assimilation through marriage is historically an important part of Asian American communities adapting and acculturating to U.S. society.[12] Assimilation refers to the multitude of social processes that bring ethnic minorities into mainstream U.S. society, including economic, political, and family life.[13] To individuals belonging to an ethnic minority group, marrying a white American signifies cultural assimilation and the attainment of higher socioeconomic status.[14]

The 2000 Census reported that among the largest Asian American groups (i.e., Asian Indian, Chinese, Filipino, Japanese, Korean, and Vietnamese Americans), Japanese Americans had the highest out-marriage rates, with another Asian ethnic group (e.g., Japanese-Chinese) or another race (e.g., Japanese-white) at 31 percent.[15] Conversely, Vietnamese Americans had the lowest rates (8.3 percent), which might be because of their more recent immigration patterns and being less assimilated to U.S. culture.[16]

CRITICAL ISSUES

There has been a long history of debates regarding the idea of miscegenation, as some biologists, anthropologists, historians and sociologists viewed racial mixing as "social pathology."[17] One of the reasons this taboo of interracial

dating subsists is that there is still a racial caste system in the United States. Whites have historically been on the top of this racial hierarchy, followed by Asians and Hispanics, and with American Indians and blacks on the bottom. This caste system can cause tension in interracial and interethnic relations.

One of the most common challenges for interethnic or interracial couples is dealing with opposition from family, friends, and/or society. Past taboos of interracial dating and marriages, as well as stereotypes of racial groups, are still prevalent in society and experienced by those involved in interracial relationships. Maria Root, a clinical psychologist, interviewed some two hundred people from different ethnic and racial backgrounds to discuss their experiences. While some respondents in the study shared that they felt barriers and discriminatory attitudes toward interracial couples were declining, others felt that there remains opposition from family and society.[18] For example, some interracial couples were upset or hurt when strangers in their community might look at them disapprovingly.[19] Some report that family would be insulted by dating someone outside of their ethnicity and that the union would not be respected by immediate or extended family.[20] A Korean college student explained in one study, that being a firstborn son of a Korean family, there is pressure to marry a Korean, or at least another Asian.[21]

Interracial and interethnic couples who do not live in urban areas or who do live in areas where racial and ethnic diversity are lacking might deal with this community's resistance toward interracial and even interethnic dating and marriages. These couples, then, might face some issues dealing with the social images and stereotypes that society still holds and perpetuates in mainstream media.

Language barriers, communication style, and/or conflicting childrearing perspectives are some other factors that can complicate interracial and interethnic relationships.[22] Different upbringings and cultural backgrounds might make it difficult for a couple to understand where one is coming from. These factors are not limited, however, to just interracial/interethnic relationships and can actually serve to strengthen and build strong relationships.

BENEFITS

An empirical study, comparing thirty-two interracially dating couples with eighty-six intraracially dating couples, disproved the notion that interracial relationships are aberrant or dysfunctional compared with intraracial relationships.[23] There is no research that proves interracial and/or interethnic couples have higher divorce rates; in fact, divorce rates and divorce factors are comparable for both interracial and same race couples.[24] Furthermore, interracial couples appear to have similar levels of satisfaction as same-race couples.[25]

Learning about and being exposed to another culture than one's own can be an enriching experience that can benefit the relationship as well as enrich family and friends of the couple. Learning a new language, eating new foods, celebrating different traditions, learning about new religions and observing different

holidays can be positive and eye-opening for both partners and their families. Successful interethnic couples see past ethnicity and race and appreciate one another as loving partners who they mutually respect and benefit from sharing with one another.

OUTLOOK

Growing numbers of interethnic marriages have blurred traditional Asian ethnic boundaries and have created an emerging pan-Asian American identity.[26] Like white ethnics during the twentieth century, this process of intermarriage among diverse Asian ethnic groups resembles this similar phenomenon. Current demographics illustrate that there will be a continual increase in interracial and interethnic dating and marriages as the U.S. population continues to grow more diverse. In the 2000 Census, more than 6 million individuals reported that they have more than one race. By the year 2020, one in five Asian Americans will be multiracial.[27]

In the twenty-first century, it is not only legal to interracially and interethnically marry, but it is also somewhat probable—especially among younger generations.[28] One in five Americans have a family member married to someone of another race, and almost all of Generation Y-ers say, "Interracial dating is perfectly normal."[29] The movement of interracial and interethnic marriages and dating also reflects the growing social acceptance of interethnic and interracial relations.[30] The increase in interethnic and interracial dating and marriages will lead to a more diverse society and culturally rich country.

FURTHER READING

iPride: Interracial, Intercultural Pride Web site. http://www.ipride.org/.

Kennedy, Randall. *Interracial Intimacies: Sex, Marriage, Identity, and Adoption*. New York: Pantheon Books. 2003.

Koshy, Susan. *Sexual Naturalization: Asian Americans and Miscegenation*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2004.

New Demographic—Better than Diversity Training Web site. http://www.newdemographic.com/.

Root, Maria P., and M. Kelley, eds. *The Multiracial Child Resource Book.* Seattle, WA: Mavin Foundation, 2003.

Root, Maria. *Love's Revolution: Racial Intermarriage*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001.

NOTES

1. David R. Harris and Hiromi Ono, "How Many Interracial Marriages Would There Be If All Groups Were of Equal Size in All Places? A New Look at National Estimates of Interracial Marriage," *Social Science Research* 34 (2005) 236–251.

2. The Associated Press, "Interracial Marriage Flourished in U.S.: Since Landmark 1967 Ruling, Unions Have Moved from Radical to Everyday," *MSNBC*, http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/18090277/.

3. Walter Wadlington, “The Loving Case: Virginia’s Anti-Miscegenation Statute in Historical Perspective,” in *Mixed Race American and the Law*, ed. Ken Johnson (New York: New York University Press. 2003).

4. Zhenchao Qian, “Who Intermarries? Education, Nativity, Region, and Interracial Marriage, 1980 and 1990,” *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* 34 (1999): 263–276.

5. Paul Taylor, Cary Funk, and Peyton Craighill, “Guess Who’s Coming to Dinner,” Pew Research Center Publications, posted March 14, 2006, http://pewresearch.org/pubs/304/guess-whos-coming-to-dinner.

6. Kim Williams, *Mark One or More: Civil Rights in Multiracial America* (Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 2006).

7. Zhenchao Qian, “Breaking the Last Taboo: Interracial Marriage in America,” *The American Sociological Association* 4, no. 4 (2005): 33–37.

8. Paulette Chu Miniter, “New Generation Navigates Interracial Marriage,” *New American Media*, May 23, 2007, http://news.newamericamedia.org/news/view_article.html?article_id=ea125ffa1a0aadaec58bd953b2e0585e.

9. Qian, “Breaking the Last Taboo: Interracial Marriage in America,” 33–37.

10. Clark-Ianez and Diane Felmlee, “Interethnic Relationships: The Role of Social Network Diversity,” *Journal of Marriage and Family* 66 (2004): 293–305.

11. C. N. Le, “Interracial Dating & Marriage,” *Asian-Nation: The Landscape of Asian America*, http://www.asian-nation.org/interracial.shtml.

12. Zhenchao Qian and Daniel T. Lichter, “Measuring Marital Assimilation: Intermarriage among Natives and Immigrants” *Social Science Research* 30 (2001): 289–312.

13. Qian and Lichter, “Measuring Marital Assimilation,” 289–312.

14. S. Hwang, R. Saenz, and B. E. Aguirre, “Structural and Assimilationist Explanations of Asian-American Intermarriage,” *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 59 (1997): 758–772.

15. Le, “Interracial Dating & Marriage.”

16. Le, “Interracial Dating & Marriage.”

17. Jayne Ifekwunigwe, “Rethinking ‘Mixed Race’ Studies,” in *‘Mixed Race’ Studies: A Reader*, ed. Jayne Ifekwunigwe (2003), 53–55.

18. Maria Root, *Love’s Revolution: Interracial Marriage (*Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001).

19. Root, *Love’s Revolution: Interracial Marriage.*

20. Rahwa Ghebre, “Interracial Dating Has Benefits for Students,” *The Michigan Daily*, Feb. 13, 2003, http://www.michigandaily.com/content/interracial-dating-has-benefits-students.

21. Keramet Reiter, “AAA Hosts Panel On Interracial Dating,” *The Harvard Crimson,* March 9, 2000, http://www.thecrimson.com/article.aspx?ref=99835.

22. P. M. Usita and S. Poulsen, “Interracial Relationships in Hawaii: Issues, Benefits, and Therapeutic Interventions,” *Journal of Couple and Relationship Therapy* 2 (2003): 73–83.

23. Adam B. Troy, Lewis-Smith, Jamie and Jean-Philippe Laurenceau, “Interracial and Intraracial Romantic Relationships: The Search for Differences in Satisfaction, Conflict, and Attachment Style,” *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships* 23, no. 1 (2006): 65–80.

24. Maria Root, *Love’s Revolution: Interracial Marriage.*

25. Marina Lanstman, “Relationship Satisfaction as Function of Congruence of Acculturation Levels and Ethnic Identification in Interracial Couples,” PhD dissertation, Hofstra University, 2003.

26. Qian and Lichter, “Measuring Marital Assimilation,” 289–312.

27. Le, “Interracial Dating & Marriage.”

28. Taylor, Funk and Craighill, “Guess Who’s Coming to Dinner.”

29. Taylor, Funk and Craighill, “Guess Who’s Coming to Dinner.”

30. Martin Fiebert et al., “Dating and Commitment Choices as a Function of Ethnicity Among American College Students in California,” presented at Western Psychological Association convention in Phoenix, Arizona (April 23, 2004).

This page intentionally left blank

LGBTIQ PEOPLE COMING OUT

Anneliese A. Singh

"Coming out" is an important issue for Asian Americans who are lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, intersex, and/or queer (LGBTIQ). The term refers to a process where LGBTIQ people share their sexual orientation or gender identity with others in their lives—from friends and family to coworkers and employers.[1] Although there are no specific numbers of how many LGBTIQ people of Asian/Pacific Islander heritage there are in the United States, general statistics estimate that between 6–16 percent of the general population claim an LGBTIQ identity.[2]

Regardless of the actual number of LGBTIQ Asian Americans, there is ample evidence of their presence in the organizations around the United States, such as Trikone and GAPA, that have focused on Asian Americans LGBTIQ, providing opportunities for support, networking, and friendship in a safe environment that respects the racial/ethnic, sexual orientation, and gender identity of this group. In fact, a National Queer Asian American/Pacific Islander Association (NQAAPA) has been proposed by national and community Asian American LGBTIQ leaders to organize these social organizations nationally into a coalition of groups that advocates for the rights of LGBTIQ Asian Americans.[3] As LGBTIQ issues in general become more visible in the United States through the media and other institutions, the visibility of Asian American LGBTIQ issues will continue to grow.[4]

There are some specific terms that help individuals familiarize themselves with the LGBTIQ community. *Sexual orientation* refers to one's affectional attractions to either same-sex or opposite sex partners.[5] *Lesbians* are women who are attracted to female-identified partners, while *gay* is a term acknowledging men's attractions to male-identified partners. *Bisexual* refers to people

who have attractions to both women and men. *Queer* is a term acknowledging the broad array of sexual and gender identities that are nonheteronormative.[6]

Sexual orientation is often confused with gender identity, the latter term defined as an individual's internal understanding of personal gender and/or gender expression.[7] Some lesbian, gay, bisexual, or queer Asian Americans may also identify their gender identity as *transgender* or *intersex*. Transgender Asian Americans have been assigned "male" or "female" at birth, yet this sex assignment may not be congruent with their internal understanding of their own self. Further, intersex Asian Americans are those people born with reproductive and/or sexual anatomy atypical of what society generally defines as "male" or "female."[8] Having a strong grasp of appropriate terms that are affirmative is a critically important aspect of working with LGBTIQ Asian Americans and their issues.

INTERSECTION OF MULTIPLE IDENTITIES

There are many barriers, challenges, and benefits associated with LGBTIQ Asian Americans. The National Gay and Lesbian Task Force conducted the largest national survey on LGBTIQ Asian Americans in 2007.[9] The results of this survey illustrated the complexity of LGBTIQ Asian Americans' lives, including the impact of both racism and homophobia. Almost all participants reported one or more experiences of discrimination based on race/ethnicity or sexual orientation; 75 percent of participants shared they experienced discrimination based on their sexual orientation. Eighty-nine percent of the participants reported that homophobia was a significant challenge in their Asian American/Pacific Islander community, while 78 percent of participants reported they experienced racism from the larger white LGBTIQ community.

These statistics portray the stark challenges that exist for Asian American LGBTIQ people. These individuals experience marginalization from their own ethnic community because of their sexual orientation and/or gender identity, yet they experience further prejudice attributed to their ethnic identity within white LGBTIQ communities.

There are additional barriers and challenges to coming out and embracing both their racial/ethnic and LGBTIQ identities. There are very few empirical studies examining the lives of LGBTIQ Asian Americans. One of the first studies to examine the intersection of Asian American and LGBTIQ identities suggested that LGBTIQ Asian Americans want affirmation and validation of both their racial/ethnic identity and their sexual orientation; however, the participants reported they were often perceived and/or treated *as either* LGBTIQ or an Asian American.[10] The result of this "splitting" of identities can produce mental health stressors for this group resulting in depression, anxiety, and even suicide.

Coming out is a process that has been traditionally defined as occurring in stages across the lifespan of LGBTIQ people. There are six stages of coming out: confusion, comparison, tolerance, acceptance, pride, and synthesis.[11] The first stage of confusion refers to the recognition of one's same-sex attractions,

searching for information on LGBTIQ issues, and experiences of shame as a result of such attractions. In the second stage of comparison, a person begins to accept the possibility of being LGBTIQ —rejecting typical LGBTIQ labels, but acknowledging LGBTIQ behaviors. The third stage of tolerance refers to the acknowledgement of emotional needs for sexual intimacy and social networks in the LGBTIQ community, including both positive and negative experiences involved in establishing community. In the fourth stage of acceptance, the person begins to accept—not just tolerate—the LGBTIQ identity, spending more time in LGBTIQ community and less time in heterosexual spaces. The fifth stage of pride involves being immersed in LGBTIQ community and making distinctions between LGBTIQ or heterosexual culture—with greater acceptance of being LGBTIQ and more rejection of the heterosexual paradigm. In the sixth stage of synthesis, one's LGBTIQ identity becomes merely one aspect of identity along with other salient components of identity, and there is increased acceptance of both LGBTIQ and heterosexual people.

Because the research is so nascent with LGBTIQ Asian Americans, it is challenging to make broad generalizations about how relevant the traditional coming out model applies to LGBTIQ Asian Americans. Interestingly, there have been some areas of contradiction in the literature. In a national study examining the relationship between lesbian and bisexual women and psychological health, the study found three predictors of being out as LGBTIQ, which also predicted fewer levels of mental health stress and were consistent with the subsample of Asian American participants.[12] The three factors were lesbian or bisexual sexual orientation, number of years identifying as a lesbian or bisexual, and participation in LGBTIQ communities. The authors also found lower rates of suicidal ideation were predicted as well.

Other findings indicate resilience in managing multiple identities of race/ethnicity and sexual orientation. The present research proposes that the coming out process is a predominantly white construct that may not be one that is best suited to discussing and evaluating LGBTIQ Asian Americans racial/ethnic and sexual orientation identities. Rather, this research has suggested, LGBTIQ people have parallel and interactive identity process development of their sexual orientation and race/ethnicity.[13] The parallel processes include identifying with either whites in the United States or heterosexual people in the United States; discovering feelings of conflict resulting to an enhanced awareness of one's cultural identification as Asian American or as LGBTIQ; immersing in one's Asian American or LGBTIQ group; and then integrating both one's racial/ethnic and sexual orientation and/or gender identity.

There are other considerations applicable to the conceptual model of dual identity development of Asian American LGBTIQ people. A recent study with Asian American lesbian and bisexual women suggests that Asian-identified participants had lower levels of internalized homophobia than their Western-identified counterparts.[14] These findings are interesting on several levels. It is hypothesized that Asian American LGBTIQ people may be able to dissociate

their racial/ethnic and sexual orientation identities from one another when necessary. It could also be that as Asian American LGBTIQ people become more acculturated to Western values, they are exposed to increased LGBTIQ resources that may, in turn, increase their discomfort with both their racial/ethnic and sexual orientation identities. Although the research is limited, it nonetheless suggests that the concept of coming out may be too Western a construct to fully capture the complexities of Asian Americans LGBTIQ people's multiple identities.

FAMILY

For many Asian American LGBTIQ people, coming out about one's sexual and/or gender identity includes negotiating some complex family issues. Because many Asian American families might equate being LGBTIQ with adopting Western values, many family members may feel that their LGBTIQ family members are rejecting their Asian culture. Depending on acculturation status and primary language spoken, there even may be difficulty communicating with family members what being LGBTIQ means because many Asian languages have few words describing LGBTIQ identity.

Another major issue for families is the lack of support in Asian American communities for families with LGBTIQ members. Family support organizations that do exist in the United States—such as PFLAG (Parents, Friends, Families, and Loved Ones of Lesbians and Gays) and Colage (support network for children of LGBTIQ parents)—may not feel like culturally responsive spaces for Asian American family members.

Asian American LGBTIQ groups such as Trikone and Asians and Friends are offered as a potential place for establishing support for family members. Commonly, a family member of an Asian American LGBTIQ person may be willing to talk individually with the family of a person who has more recently come out. In these instances, supportive family members can address typical concerns such as potential loss of face, confusion about what being LGBTIQ means, denial of family member's LGBTIQ identity, and provision of resources for family members. Because younger generations appear to be more accepting of LGBTIQ people, there may also be very different types of support in both their family of origin and their extended family, who may potentially be supportive or offer assistance to resource providers and other sources of support.

IMAGES IN THE MEDIA

Typically when Asian Americans are portrayed in the media, there has been a demasculinization of Asian American men, while Asian American women are exoticized.[15] A similar situation exists in the portrayal of LGBTIQ Asian Americans. Recently there have been more positive portrayals of LGBTIQ Asian Americans in mainstream media. In particular, *Saving Face*, a film by Alice Wu, highlighted not only the romance of a Asian American lesbian couple but also the cultural intricacies involved with coming out in both Asian and

white communities. The main character, a Chinese American surgeon, negotiates both fear and excitement in her coming out process, so the title referencing "loss of face" is an appropriate one. There have also been many independent Asian American LGBTIQ film festivals around the country. *A Jihad for Love* is a documentary film that is commonly featured. In this film by Parvez Sharma, the documentary follows the lives of LGBTIQ Muslim South Asians in eleven different countries who share their stories as LGBTIQ Asian Americans managing the extensive homophobia of their culture, while also negotiating Islamophobia as well.

Media portrayals highlighting the strength and resilience of LGBTIQ Asian Americans do not appear solely limited to cinema. There are several books and magazines that also seek to depict the lives of LGBTIQ Asian Americans in all their complexity. *Trikone* magazine is a bimonthly publication focused on the lives of LGBTIQ South Asian Americans. In the book, *Asian American X*, there is a poignant chapter written by gay Korean American Christian Michael Kim entitled "Out and About: Coming of Age in a Straight White World."[16] In this chapter, Kim discusses the joys and hardships of his intersecting identities of race/ethnicity, religion, and sexual orientation, identifying the salient forces (e.g., family, church, political environment, immigration) shaping his multiple identities as he came out and embraced all of these identities.

RELIGION AND COMMUNITY

Although little research exists on the importance of religion and community for LGBTIQ Asian Americans, these constructs merit consideration.[17] There is an immense diversity of religious and spiritual beliefs, practices, and worldviews within the Asian American community. For LGBTIQ Asian Americans this is also true. Buddhism, Confucianism, Islam, Sikhism, Christianity, Judaism, and Hinduism are only a few of the major strains of religions that may have special importance to LGBTIQ Asian Americans. In fact, many of these religions—especially the Eastern practices—have worldviews that portray a belief in the balance of the masculine and feminine in all people, or these religions may be silent on issues of LGBTIQ people. In addition, the non-Western religions may be an alternative to the heterosexism embedded in Judeo-Christian religious views as well as Asian cultural worldviews. Regardless, religious and spiritual worldviews of LGBTIQ Asian Americans can be an avenue to affirm salient aspects of their identity that do not solely relate to their racial/ethnic, sexual orientation, and/or gender identities, particularly because religion can also be the source of condemnation for one's sexual identity.

OUTLOOK

With the turbulent state legislation on national LGBTIQ issues such as gay marriage and the absence of federal employment discrimination for LGBTIQ people, there remain considerable challenges for LGBTIQ Asian Americans in the United States. When coming out, the negotiation of multiple identities will

continue to be a salient issue for this group. Coming out as LGBTIQ in general U.S. society still has consequences, including be fired solely for being LGBTIQ. This is a difficult challenge especially for LGBTIQ Asian Americans, who may be involved with supporting extended family members both in the United States and in their country of origin. Coming out in white LGBTIQ communities may entail managing racism, exotification, and other experiences that minimize the value of LGBTIQ Asian Americans.

Most importantly for some, just coming out within Asian communities may be the most challenging for this group. There remains a lack of understanding of LGBTIQ identities in Asian groups, despite the numerous references in the history of LGBTIQ (e.g., Hijra of India, Mahu of Hawai'i, Kathooey of Thailand) experiences in countries of Asian origin.[18] The future of LGBTIQ Asian Americans likely rests on a continuum. There will be activists and community organizers who will continue to work on creating safe, positive spaces and images of LGBTIQ Asian Americans, while demanding respect and rights for their communities. Simultaneously, there will be LGBTIQ Asian Americans who quietly live in the "in-between" spaces between their race/ethnicity and sexual orientation and/or gender identity. Regardless, for service providers and supporters of LGBTIQ Asian Americans, the future issues will likely be the consideration and evaluation of ways to respect and affirm the choices, decisions, and experiences of this group as they create lives meaningful to them.

FURTHER READING

Asian and Friends Chicago. http://www.afchicago.org/.

Asian and Pacific Islander Family Pride. http://www.apifamilypride.org.

Gay Asian Pacific Alliance. http://www.gapa.org.

Gay Asian Pacific Support Network. http://www.gapsn.org/.

Kim, Michael. "Out and About: Coming of Age in a Straight, White World." In *Asian American X: An Intersection of Twenty-First Century Asian American Voices.* Eds. Arar Han and John Hsu. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2004.

Kumashiro, Kevin. *Restoried Selves. Autobiographies of Queer Asian American activists.* Binghamton, NY: Harrington Park Press, 2004.

Leng, David M., and Alice Hom. *Q & A: Queer in Asian America.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998.

Leong, Russell. *Asian American Sexualities: Dimensions of the Gay and Lesbian Experience.* New York: Routledge, 1996.

Nishioka, Joyce, and AsianWeek Magazine. "Young, Gay, and APA." *Asian-Nation: The Landscape of Asian America.* 1999. http://www.asian-nation.org/gay.shtml, Dec. 21, 2008.

San Francisco Bay Area Lesbian, Gay and Transgender South Asians. http://trikone.org.

NOTES

1. Vivian C. Cass, "Homosexual Identity Formation: A Theoretical Model," *Journal of Homosexuality* 4 (1979): 219–235.

2. National Gay and Lesbian Task Force. http://ngltf.org.

3. Personal correspondence with Deepali Gokhali of Trikone-Atlanta, Oct. 25, 2008.

4. Yiu-man B. Chung and Anneliese A. Singh, "Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Asian Americans," in *Asian American Psychology: Current Perspectives*, eds. N. Tewari and A. Alvarez (New York: Taylor & Francis, 2009), 223–246.

5. Yiu-man B. Chung and Motoni Katayama, "Ethnic and Sexual Identity Development of Asian-American Lesbian and Gay Adolescents," *Professional School Counseling* 1 (1998): 21–25.

6. Asian Pacific Islander Health Forum. http://www.apiahf.org.

7. Lynn Carroll and Paula J. Gilroy, "Transgender issues in counselor preparation," *Counselor Education and Supervision* 41 (2002): 233–242.

8. Intersex Society of North America. http://www.isna.org.

9. National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, "Living in the Margins: A National Survey of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Asian and Pacific Islander American. http://www.ngltf.org.

10. Connie S. Chan, "Issues of Identity Development among Asian-American Lesbians and Gay Men," *Journal of Counseling and Development* 68 (1997): 16–20.

11. Vivian C. Cass, "Homosexual Identity Formation: A Theoretical Model," *Journal of Homosexuality* 4 (1979): 219–235.

12. Jessica F. Morris, Craig R. Waldo, and Esther D. Rothblum, "A Model of Predictors of Outness among Lesbian and Bisexual Women," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* 71 (2001): 61–71.

13. Yiu-man Chung and Dawn M. Szymanski, "Racial and Sexual Identities of Asian American Gay Men," *Journal of LGBT Issues in Counseling* 1 (2006): 67–93.

14. Anneliese A. Singh and Yiu-man B. Chung, "Acculturation Level and Internalized Homophobia of Asian American Lesbian and Bisexual Women: An Exploratory Analysis," *Journal of LGBT Issues in Counseling* 1 (2006): 3–19.

15. Anneliese A. Singh and Arpana Inman, "Beyond Geishas and the Kama Sutra: AAPI Women and Sexuality," Paper presented to the Asian American Psychological Association, Boston, MA, August 2008.

16. Michael Kim, "Out and About: Coming of Age in a Straight, White World," in *Asian American X: An Intersection of Twenty-First Century Asian American Voices.* Eds. Arar Han and John Hsu. (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2004), 139–148.

17. Yiu-man B. Chung and Anneliese A. Singh, "Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Asian Americans," in *Asian American Psychology: Current Perspectives*, ed. N. Tewari and A. Alvarez (New York: Taylor & Francis, 2009), 223–246.

18. Michael G. Peletz, "Transgenderism and Gender Pluralism in Southeast Asian since Early Modern Times," *Current Anthropology*, 47 (2006): 309–325.

This page intentionally left blank

SAME-SEX MARRIAGES

Raymond San Diego and Margaret Rhee

While rarely studied within the context of the Asian American community, same-sex marriage remains critical for various reasons. In particular, the issue of marriage equality is pressing for Asian Americans in same-sex partnerships. Although relatively invisible within mainstream media, a 2005 UCLA Williams Institute study reported that there were more than 38,000 Asian American and Pacific Islanders living with a same-sex partner, which is 3 percent of all individuals in same-sex couples in the United States.[1] Moreover, nearly one in ten same-sex couples in California (8,854 couples) includes an Asian Pacific Islander partner.[2] Federal recognition of same-sex marriage would grant full rights as citizens for Asian American and Pacific Islanders around immigration, health, and parenting issues. In particular, debates for and against same-sex marriage within the Asian American community remain pressing and contested. As the issue of marriage equality retains political currency within our public sphere, understanding same-sex marriage and the Asian American community is vital, as governmental restrictions on marriage have historically affected and been contested by the Asian American community.[3] The various debates and legal stakes for civil rights remain a crucial issue for Asian Americans, who have been historically subjugated and silenced. As Russell C. Leong notes, by speaking out on same-sex marriage Asian Americans provide insights to the important struggle of the first decade of the twenty-first century.[4]

LEGAL PROTECTIONS, SECURITY, AND MARRIAGE

Recognition of same-sex marriage may provide legal protections, civil security, and financial support for Asian American same-sex partnerships. Home

ownership, cohabitation for a period of time, or parenting may indicate partners are pooling resources and making long-term decisions together. As reported in the UCLA Williams Institute Report on Asian American and Pacific Islander same-sex partnerships, there is a relatively small difference between homeownership rates of Asian American and Pacific Islander same-sex couples and heterosexual counterparts. Asian American and Pacific Islander same-sex couples are actually more likely to have lived together for at least five years (59%) than both Asian American and Pacific Islander (52%) and non-Asian American and Pacific Islander (55%) different-sex couples.[5] However, Asian American and Pacific Islander same-sex couples may face considerable economic disparities. Same-sex couples have substantially lower incomes than non-Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders in same-sex couples ($34,869 vs. $42,532) and individuals in Asian American and Pacific Islander heterosexual couples ($36,283).[6] Despite these income and employment disparities, Asian American same-sex couples often make decisions without the protections that marriage provides.

Issues of marriage, health, and parenting are vital for Asian American same-sex couples to be recognized fully as partners. Most same-sex couples cannot subscribe to health care plans, as domestic partnerships are not recognized for benefits.[7] While most employers provide health care coverage to heterosexual couples, same-sex couples in domestic partnerships and/or non-legally recognized same-sex marriage are not recognized.[8] As many Asian American same-sex individuals struggle with the cost of living and make less than their heterosexual counterparts, partners have to go without health insurance at times because of the lack of legal recognition.[9] Additionally, taking time to take care of a sick spouse and other benefits of marriage that heterosexual partners enjoy are rights that same-sex partners do not have access to.[10]

In particular, Asian American same-sex partners also have higher rates of parenting than white same-sex partners.[11] For Asian American same-sex couples, rights such as legally filing taxes together, legal rights as parents, issues of inheritances and wills, and the subtle discrimination of recognition as dual parents of a child at school remain vital issues. Many Asian American same-sex parents have created various organizations, media publications, and books to shed light on same-sex parenting and families. The organization Asian and Pacific Islander Family Pride serve API families with lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender members, while Angeline Acain, a Filipino American, started "Gay Parent" magazine in September 1998 to dispel the stereotypes and empower LGBT families.[12] Asian American public figures also are involved. Actor B. D. Wong, for example, published a book, *Following Foo: The Electronic Adventures of the Chestnut Man,* which chronicles his family's journey of same-sex parenting.[13] Asian Americans have continued to create resources and networks of support around same-sex parenting and families.

IMMIGRATION

In 1996, Congress enacted the Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA), which denies federal recognition of same-sex marriages and allows individual states to do the same.[14] Same-sex couples do not have federal recognition for their marriages and are unable to sponsor a same-sex partner for immigration benefits. Moreover Asian Americans who are members of the transgender community face considerable challenges. While legal documents such as a driver's license and passport can be changed to reflect proper gender, immigration authorities can reject validity of marriage between transgender partnerships.[15] The rights of the transgender community are compromised within same-sex marriage issues, and some would argue the right to determine one's identity takes precedent over the right to marry. Moreover, for Asian immigrants living with HIV/AIDS, the opportunity to become a citizen and the benefits of a legalized same-sex marriage is not an option. Under the Immigration and Nationality Act, HIV-positive diagnosed immigrants could be denied permanent residence or green card status and are subjected to mandatory HIV testing.[16] A barrier to receiving permanent residency status, government officials deny HIV-positive immigrants with a place to live, and thus are choosing who is eligible for marriage.[17] Moreover, the right of hospital visitation is a marriage protection that does not extend to same-sex partners. For Asian American sexual health advocates, removing the stigma of HIV and AIDS from the immigration process may be a more pressing issue than marriage equality.

POLITICAL OPPOSITION FROM ASIAN AMERICANS

In 2004, Korean American churches organized rallies in Southern California, while 7,000 Chinese American Christians marched against same-sex marriages in San Francisco.[18] The Asian American religious community largely voices sentiments against same-sex marriage, mainly those of Christian denominations, as the dominant Religious Right remain the largest opponent of same-sex marriage.[19] Much of Asian American opposition may stem from religious and cultural values. The notion of a normative heterosexual family also extends to various ethnic groups in the Asian American community. For many Asian Americans, maintaining marriage as a heterosexual practice may maintain their culture and normative values. However, while Asian Americans are depicted in mainstream media as opponents to same sex marriage, there is evidence of complicated negotiations being made in respective ethnic communities.[20]

RADICAL LEFT CRITIQUES

Radical left responses from LGBTQ Asian Americans are critical of the same-sex marriage debate. Many LGBTQ Asian Americans do not want to participate in this issue because they do not believe in the heterosexist institution of marriage.[21] It has been noted that many critics of same-sex marriage argue

that marriage ideologically goes against the very core of gay and lesbian identity and lifestyle: its acceptance and validation of multiple forms of relationships.[22]

Marginalized sectors of the LGBTQ community, such as homeless LGBTQ youth of color, may have pressing issues of survival rather than same-sex marriage as a necessary issue. For radical LGBTQ Asian Americans, political campaign funding toward same-sex marriage may take away from issues that LGBTQ of color may face, which is illustrated in day-to-day survival.[23] For LGBTQ radical left Asian American critics, same-sex marriage may be a movement that privileges a particular group: white middle class LGBTQ .[24]

SUPPORT FROM ASIAN AMERICANS

On February 12, 2005, Assessor-Recorder Mabel Teng officiated the wedding of Phyllis Lyon and Del Martin, the first same-sex people to get married.[25] Asian Americans served as plaintiffs, lawyers, organizers, and allies in efforts to secure marriage equality. Despite the variety of neutral to negative messages circulating around Asian Americans and marriage equality, there is a large and powerful contingent dedicated to ensuring the right to marry freely for all. For many Asian Americans, the fight for full-fledged marriage equality is grounded in social justice grassroots effort for human rights. The Japanese American Citizens League became one of the first civil rights organizations to support same-sex marriage in 1994, when then Congressman Norman Mineta (D-CA) spoke out for the need for all citizens in the country to have equal rights.[26] The case for marriage equality takes steps beyond tolerance and moves toward the validation and acceptance of same sex sexuality and marriage.

The Asian American community has been pivotal in galvanizing the marriage equality movement. With two headquarters located in San Francisco and Los Angeles, the nonprofit organization API Equality has spearheaded numerous efforts to gain support for the legalization of same-sex marriage in California. Formed in 2004 following the demonstrations by Asian American Christian churches against same-sex marriage, API Equality has since dedicated itself to providing advocacy and education in both English and API languages. API Equality has worked collaboratively with many organizations and institutions, including National Council of Asian Pacific Americans, Gay Asian Pacific Alliance (GAPA), and the Family Acceptance Project at San Francisco State University. One of their greatest hurdles overcome in mobilizing the community to support same-sex marriage was the formation of a coalition of API faith leaders who supported LGBT families and equality.[27] Their perseverance in raising support and awareness around this issue has been key in the struggle to legalize marriage.

In September of 2007, led by the Asian Pacific American Legal Center in Los Angeles, more than sixty Asian American organizations signed on to file an amicus brief with the California Supreme Court in support of same-sex marriage.[28] This was one of many briefs in support of same-sex marriage, which ultimately led to marriage equality in the state of California. On May 15, 2008,

the California Supreme Court in a 4–3 ruling declared that denying same-sex couples the right to marry was unconstitutional, and that equality for all will be granted.[29] Organizations such as API Equality, Let California Ring, and Lambda Legal plan on continuing the fight for the legalization of same-sex marriages federally. Many countries around the world such as the Netherlands, Belgium, Canada, Spain, and South Africa have already legalized same-sex marriage.[30] With the momentum in California and other states growing stronger every day, it may not be too unrealistic to believe that marriage for all will become a reality not only in the United States, but internationally as well.

PROPOSITION 8

A hot ticket issue during the 2008 election season concerned Proposition 8 in California, which proposed amending the constitution of California to state that marriage is to be defined as only between a man and woman.[31] Social justice organizations such as API Equality were a huge part of the campaign against this discriminatory proposition. Before the election, a poll was conducted about Asian American perceptions of this initiative and found that 57 percent of the population had planned on voting against the passage of Proposition 8.[32]

Despite the strong opposition from multiple communities that strive to provide and protect civil rights, Proposition 8 passed 52 to 48 percent.[33] As people began to search for explanations as to how it was passed, the Latino and African American communities were held responsible, even though they only make up 26 percent of California's voting population.[34] Asian Americans, who make up 6 percent of the voting bloc, maintained their same view before the election and voted against the passage of Prop 8 at 51 to 49 percent.[35]

The fight was not yet over. Although Proposition 8 was based in California, its effects reached far and wide. Communities throughout the nation and all over the world continued their resistance against Proposition 8 with massive protests and demonstrations.[36] Legally, the Asian Pacific Legal Center, Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund, Equal Justice Society, California NAACP and the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund Inc. filed a petition to the California Supreme Court to prevent the enactment of Proposition 8.[37] In May 2009, the California Supreme Court upheld Prop 8; efforts are now underway to get another California ballot initiative to overturn Proposition 8 in the 2010 election.[38]

FURTHER READING

API Equality. http://www.apiequality.org/getinformed/articles.php.

Asian Pacific Family Pride. http://www.apifamilypride.org/resources.html.

Eng, David, and Alice Hom. *Q & A: Queer in Asian America*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998.

Leong, Russell, ed. *Asian American Sexualities: Dimensions of the Gay and Lesbian Experience.* New York: Routledge, 1996.

Sueyoshi, Amy, and Russell Leong, eds. "Asian Americans on the Marriage Equality Debate," *Amerasia Journal*. University of California Press, 2006.

NOTES

1. Gary Gates, Holing Lau, and R. Bradley Sears, "Asian and Pacific Islanders in Same Sex Couples in the United States: Data from Census 2000," *Amerasia Journal* 32, no. 1 (2006): 16.

2. Gates, Lau, and Sears, "Asian and Pacific Islanders," 16.

3. Bryant Yang, "Seeing *Loving* in Gay Marriages: Parallels of Asian American History and the Same-Sex Marriage Debates," *Amerasia Journal* 32, no. 1 (2006): 33.

4. Russell Leong, "Sister Subject: In the Marriage Equality Debate," *Amerasia Journal* 32, no. 1 (2006): 3–9.

5. Gary Gates and R. Bradley Sears, "Asian and Pacific Islanders in Same-Sex Couples in California: Data from Census 2000" (Los Angeles: The Williams Project on Sexual Orientation Law and Public Policy, 2005), http://www.law.ucla.edu/williamsinstitute/publications/API_Report.pdf.

6. Gates and Sears, "Asian and Pacific Islanders," 8.

7. Than Ngo, "Why We Got Married," *Amerasia Journal* 32, no. 1 (2006): 119–122.

8. "Our Stories," API Equality, http://www.apiequality.org.

9. Ela Dutt, "Thousands of Same-Sex Couples Struggling to Get Marriage Licenses around Country," *New India Times.com*, 2004, http://www.newsindia-times.com/nit/2004/04/16/tow-top23.html.

10. Margot and Koko, "7 Months Pregnant . . . We Were Spouses for Life! At Last . . . ," Let California Ring, http://www.letcaliforniaring.org/site/apps/nl/content2.asp?c=ltJTJ6MQIuE&b=3389649&ct=4477713 (accessed Dec. 10, 2008).

11. "Asian Pacific American Same-Sex Households: A Census Report on New York, San Francisco, and Los Angeles," Asian American Federation of New York, March 22, 2004, http://www.aafny.org/cic/report/GLReport.pdf.

12. Lynda Lin, "LGBT APA Family Portraits," *IMDiversity.com*, Oct. 15, 2004, http://www.imdiversity.com/villages/asian/family_lifestyle_traditions/paccit_lgbt_families_1004.asp; Asian Pacific Islander Family Pride home page, 2008, http://www.apifamilypride.org/ (accessed Dec. 29, 2008).

13. Christopher Stone, "B. D. Wong: Out Author, Actor and Parent," *AfterElton.com*, Nov. 16, 2005, http://www.afterelton.com/archive/elton/people/2005/11/bdwong.html.

14. "Same Sex Marriage, Civil Unions and Domestic Partnerships," National Conference of State Legislatures, http://www.ncsl.org/programs/cyf/samesex.htm (accessed November 2008).

15. Pauline Park, Willy Wilkinson, and Jessi Gan, "Pauline Park and Willy Wilkinson: A Conversation about Same-Sex Marriage," *Amerasia Journal* 32, no. 1 (2006): 89.

16. Jih-Fei Cheng, "HIV, Immigrant Rights, and Same-Sex Marriage," *Amerasia Journal* 32, no. 1 (2006): 99–107

17. Cheng, "HIV, Immigrants," 99–107.

18. Elena Shore, "Ethnic Communities Speak Out against Same Sex Marriage," June 8, 2004, http://news.newamericamedia.org/news/view_article.html?article_id=c76120f9bd844ba78ddab4e4f327992a.

19. Corina Knoll, "The Right to Say, 'I Do'," *KoreAm Journal* 19, no. 5 (2008): 46–50.

20. Margaret Rhee, "Towards Community: KoreAm Journal and Korean American Cultural Attitudes on Same-Sex Marriage," *Amerasia Journal* 32, no.1 (2006): 75–86.

21. Amy Sueyoshi, "Friday the Thirteenth—Love, Commitment, and then Catastrophe: Personal Reflections on the Marriage Equality Movement," *Amerasia Journal* 32, no. 1 (2006): xi–xvii.

22. Glenn D. Magpantay, "The Ambivalence of Queer Asian Pacific Americans Towards Same-Sex Marriage," *Amerasia Journal* 32, no. 1 (2006): 109–117.

23. Mala Nagarajan and Vega Subramaniam, "Plaintiff's Plight: Joining the Washington State Lawsuit for Marriage Equality," *Amerasia Journal* 32, no.1 (2006): 67–73; Magpantay, "The Ambivalence of Queer Asian Pacific Americans," 109–118.

24. Sueyoshi, "Friday the Thirteenth."

25. Mabel Teng, "The Right Place at the Right Time: Cultural and Political Controversy of San Francisco's Gay Marriage," *Amerasia Journal* 32, no. 1 (2006): 63–66; Wyatt Buchanan, "S. F. Same-Sex Couple Ready To Be First Again," *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 10, 2008, http://www.sfgate.com/cgi-bin/article.cgi?f=/c/a/2008/06/09/MN51116A6H.DTL.

26. Helen Zia, *Asian American Dreams: The Emergence of an American People* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2000).

27. "API Equality What We Do," AP Equality, http://www.apiequality.org (accessed Dec. 10, 2008).

28. "The Power of Allies," National Center for Lesbian Rights Newsletter (Fall 2007): 5, http://www.nclrights.org/site/DocServer/Newsletter_Fall_Web.pdf?docID=2421.

29. "Let California Ring Facts," National Center for Lesbian Rights Newsletter, http://www.letcaliforniaring.org/site/c.ltJTJ6MQIuE/b.3348081/k.B080/Facts.htm (accessed Dec. 10, 2008).

30. Ivan Natividad, "Survey Indicates Asian American Opposition to Gay Marriage Ban," *AsianWeek*, Oct. 18, 2008, http://www.asianweek.com/2008/10/18/survey-indicates-asian-american-opposition-to-gay-marriage-ban/#more-8913.

31. John Wildermuth, "Many Obama Supporters also Backed Prop. 8," *San Francisco Chronicle*, Nov. 6, 2008, http://www.sfgate.com/cgi-bin/article.cgi?f=/c/a/2008/11/06/MNH413UTUS.DTL&hw=prop&sn=019&sc=408.

32. "Civil Rights Groups Petition California Supreme Court to Stop Enactment of Proposition 8," API Equality Press Release issued on Nov. 14, 2008, 1–2, http://apiequality.org/about/PressRelease-CivilRightsGp20081114.pdf (accessed Dec. 10, 2008).

33. Bob Egelko, "State Supreme Court Rejoins Prop. 8 battle" *San Francisco Chronicle,* Nov. 20, 2008, http://www.sfgate.com/cgi-bin/article.cgi?f=/c/a/2008/11/20/MNJC147QAJ.DTL&type=.

34. "Exit Polls," *CNN Politics.com*, http://www.cnn.com/ELECTION/2008/results/polls/#val=CAI01p1 (accessed Dec. 10, 2008).

35. "Exit Polls," *CNN Politics.com.*

36. "Ban on Gay Marriage Protests Go Global," *The California Chronicle* Nov. 17, 2008, http://www.californiachronicle.com/articles/81841.

37. API Equality Press Release.

38. Egelko, "State Supreme Court rejoins Prop. 8 battle."

This page intentionally left blank

TRANSNATIONAL FAMILIES

Yeon-Shim Lee and Melissa-Ann Nievera

A dramatic increase in globalization and migration in recent years has created a growing number of transnational families. Transnational families are families in which one or more core members live their lives across two or more nation states, yet continue to maintain a sense of collective welfare and unity.[1] According to a 2000 United Nations report, an estimated 90 million women live outside their countries of origin, constituting 49 percent of international migration.[2] Transnational families are in stark contrast to conventional family households. While the latter is shaped by the idea of coresidency and physical unity of family members, "in transnational households, one parent, both parents, or adult children may produce income abroad while other family members carry out the functions of reproduction, socialization, and consumption in the country of origin.[3] Despite different cultural, social, economic, and political contexts, many countries worldwide observe the basic pattern of transnational families—frequent movement from Asia and Latin America (e.g., China, Korea, the Philippines, or Mexico) to more advanced industrialized countries (e.g., United States, United Kingdom, or Australia).

Current research on transnational families focuses on the economic structural context, accounting for an increase in private domestic employment in many advanced industrialized countries.[4] Like many immigrants of color, Asian immigrants are often employed for cheap domestic labor, including child care, caregiving for elderly persons, or house cleaning.[5] A considerable amount of research uncovers the multifaceted nature of global transfer of care work, citing a global shift from poor countries to rich ones, and its impact on care arrangements in geographically distant families.[6] Still, more research is needed to help

develop policies and service programs that can adequately address the specific needs of Asian transnational families.

CAUSES

Transnational family forms can be better understood in the context of shifting patterns of immigration and economic integration across a fluid global market.[7] With the rise of communication and transportation technologies, transnational families are becoming more common. Additionally, those who provide sustenance for the family find work in a wide range of occupational fields, from day laborers to overseas contract workers, as well as professional elites.

Asians frequently migrate particularly to the United States to pursue better opportunities in education and employment; however, Asian families often cannot afford to leave their home country as an entire unit. Thus many Asian families opt to split so that some family members leave, while others stay behind. Sacrificing the traditional home in one geographical location, these families acquire and secure education, economic resources, and status in the United States, in hopes of enhancing the overall well-being of the family.[8] As a result, the transnational Asian family recognizes multiple locations they can call home, acknowledging identities and relationships linked between their country of origin and the new country to which some members relocate for work.[9] The majority of Asian migrants sustain ties to their home country through financial remittances (sending money home), correspondence via telephone and the Internet, and travel to their homeland. In fact, financial remittance serves as the key source of income for many poor and working class families, providing a substantial share of family earnings.[10] Financial remittance also plays a significant role in strengthening notions of shared responsibility and strong bonds with family members in the home country, hence developing and maintaining transnational family ties and networks.[11]

New developing scholarship examines multiple dimensions of transnationality, focusing not only on the migration, but also the familial, psychological, cultural, political, economic, and social dimensions of living transnationally.[12] Prior studies also emphasize the substantial differences in the motives for migration. Some migrants are pressured to leave the poverty of their homelands, whereas others migrate for educational or professional growth.[13] These differences are likely to be related to their socioeconomic and demographic conditions, and ethnic identity, as well as adaptive strategies to maintain transnational family relations (e.g., frequency and duration of visiting home countries). This description may be appropriate for many Asian transnational migrants.

STRUGGLES AND CHALLENGES

"Parachute Kids" and Education

A growing phenomenon that has emerged with the existence of split-household transnational families is the migration of Asian children with or without parents

to the United States, largely to obtain education: so-called “parachute kids” (e.g., high school or college students staying with an alternate caregiver/guardian). During the early 1990s, some nonworking Asian families with economic means sent children to the United States to attend school and advance to U.S. colleges or universities.[14] The influx of children, particularly from South Korea, Hong Kong, and Taiwan, is driven by this desire to provide children educational opportunities. They are frequently accompanied by their mothers, while their fathers remain working in the home country to finance the families’ living and educational expenses in the United States.[15] Some mothers even attend school with a student visa and later seek employment in order to ease the financial burdens for the family.[16]

In 1990, there were 40,000 Taiwanese parachute children ages eight to eighteen residing in the United States without their parents; smaller numbers came from Hong Kong and South Korea.[17] About a billion dollars was sent from fathers in Korea to their separated families every year. Korean officials estimated that approximately 10,000 school-age children left to study overseas in 2002, an increase from 4,400 in 2000.[18] In Korean culture, these families are referred to as “*kirogi kajok”* (wild geese families). *Kirogis,* well known for their dedication to their offspring, travel long distances to bring back food for their young. The *kirogi kajok* phenomenon demonstrates how South Koreans are becoming global consumers of educational services, immersing their children in a foreign language, thereby obtaining educational achievement as a dominant source of upward mobility.[19] Such a trend is located at the nexus of rapid globalization, English as the hegemonic language in the global economy, and ever-changing local and global relationships.[20] The migration of parachute kids is part of a family’s long-term survival including increasing social networks and options in the United States.[21]

Despite a paucity of scientific inquiry, the work on *kirogi kajok* and parachute children stresses the hardships and adverse affects some of these families experience, such as intergenerational clashes, suicide, and divorce. Newspapers report that some fathers living apart from their wives and children for years on end are struggling with emotional and financial difficulties.[22] Family separation is intensely challenging to children. They have to cope with the stress of learning the language and adapting to the environment of the new country. These children often suffer from feeling caught between two nations and marginalized in both.[23] Behavioral and psychological problems are frequently found among parachute children, more than among their immigrant counterparts. These include depression, cigarette and alcohol use, gang involvement, and sexual behavior.[24] Adolescent boys are particularly at high risk for these problems, not only because of the absence of adult supervision, but more so to the lack of father figures in their lives.[25] While some parachute children successfully adjust to mainstream American culture, some may begin failing school, and a few give up entirely and return to their home country. Cases in which the youth become targets of racism and anti-immigration sentiments also occur.[26]

Transnational Parenthood

Recent studies examine how transnational families negotiate with networks of care—performing responsibilities of childcare in local and transnational contexts.[27] Since the early migration years of the mid-1800s and 1900s, numerous Asian populations made their way to the United States in pursuit of better-paying jobs or better education, leaving their families behind. Many Asian migrant women used their extended family and kinship networks to look after their children in their countries of origin, while employed in the United States as childcare providers for white, middle-class families. This practice is still common today.

Research on women and caregiving continues to examine social norms and cultural values pertaining to gender.[28] One of the key issues on transnational motherhood is the traditional gender role attitude toward mothers as primary providers of the family in terms of child rearing and nourishment.[29] The challenges and struggles related to shifting family structures are particularly pronounced for Asian migrant mothers, in which gender roles and divisions of labor are clearly predefined.[30] In a study of Sri Lankan migrants, the painful process of negotiations in relation to changing gender norms and family dynamics is a result of female migration.[31] When transfers of care occur from a mother to other family members, the mother becomes subject to "social disapproval and stigmatization."[32] A study of Philippine transnational mothers highlights the significant cultural and ideological components to the representation of "good mothering"—that is, "the gender-based expectations of children for mothers to nurture them."[33] The culturally and ideologically inscribed duties and self-imposed expectations of mothers aggravate the difficult experiences of separation and feelings of pain in transnational families.[34] Similar to other migrant women of color, Asian transnational mothers in their new economic role face the dual demands of breadwinning for their distant families, as well as parenting for children in other families.

Particular attention is paid to the impacts of separation on children left behind in the home country.[35] In a study of recently arrived children of immigrants (including newcomers from China, Central America, the Dominican Republican, Mexico, and Haiti) in the areas of Boston and San Francisco, most children in this study were separated from one or both parents for a few months to a few years, including children who stayed in their country of origin with one parent (33%); children who stayed in their country of origin with relatives (29%); family who came to the United States together (20%); children who came to United States with one parent (15%); and children who came to the United States and stayed with relatives (3%). Based on their cultural socialization, children respond to such separations based on their family socialization.[36] For example, separation may not be detrimental if the arrangement is considered normal in the child's native culture and if healthy relationships thrive among children, parents, and other family members providing care. On the other hand, there is documentation covering the adverse effects of separation on

children.[37] During the separation-reunification process, children suffer a sense of anger and abandonment by their mothers. When reunification takes place, children often become distant from their mothers, particularly after lengthy separations. The negative effects on transnational mothers who live apart from their children include guilt, anger, depression, and hopelessness. Although such studies concern primarily non-Asian transnational families, the findings are still indicative for Asian transnational families.

Kin relationships have been pivotal to family care, provision, and maintenance of transnational families.[38] Particularly, grandparents are a crucial resource of financial, emotional, and social support for children while parents work.[39] Intergenerational interaction is critical in sustaining kinship ties and family networks. In many Asian transnational families where parents migrate to the U.S. without their children, grandparents often serve as primary childcare providers. The "flyer grandmothers" phenomenon is present in some transnational families, in which grandparents living in the home country frequently travel to care for their grandchildren in the United States.[40]

Another prominent factor of care in Asian transnational families is informal care provision within the community, wherein churches or a variety of associations look after children. The research on Asian migrants emphasizes the influential role of religion and spiritual leaders, a salient element in social support. A strong sense of responsibility for caring for members of the community has been a critical component of religious practice in most Asian immigrant communities. As a result, many Asian migrants are involved in a range of religious activities not only to seek faith, but also to establish social networks in a new country through which they can receive formal and informal services.[41] Catholic churches, Buddhist temples, or Islamic mosques are powerful religious and social institutions, playing the alternative role of extended families for many Asian ethnic immigrant groups.[42]

ELDER CARE: MAINTAINING FAMILY TIES

There is little scholarship or any other information about the impact transnational families has on either the family itself or its individual members. Arguably, such arrangements should have profound effects on youth and elderly left behind in the home country, but the lack of research allows only speculation. Although caring relationships lie at the heart of all families and communities, the ability for members to support one another in Asian American transnational families would likely be challenging, yet this phenomenon is rarely studied.

The traditional notion of intergenerational caregiving practices (given by adult children to aging parents) is based on a significantly close connection between caring relations requiring geographic proximity.[43] Yet despite changes because of migration that affect social networks, resources, and support, families find ways to stay in touch and care and often find that "adaptive strategy enables emotional and financial support for members."[44]

Sustaining family connections and participating in caregiving involves a multitude of emotional and practical tasks. This includes regular return visits to the home country to care for aging parents; remittances in money and gifts; letters, phone calls, and e-mails of support; and engagement in decisions about matters of health, finance, and housing. Research frequently points to "a strong sense of family obligation" and particularly "a sense of guilt toward the parents" for not being in close proximity.[45] Consequently, the obligations and responsibilities for care appear to be mixed with a sense of burden and conflict involving the time and expenses spent on each visit. Additionally, the existence of transnational families commonly relies on siblings, cousins, extended relatives, or well-established networks of neighbors who are able to care for aging parents.[46] Research on the transnational family means looking at the wider definition of care and kin networks including "non-blood, fictive kin."[47]

Transnational families test the strengths and limitations of the loyalty of family members to each other, as well as the support of the extended family. The continuance of the phenomenon of transnational families will be defined by a complex dynamic of changing economic realities and changes in the structure of these Asian American families.

FURTHER READING

Chee, Maria W. L. *Taiwanese American Transnational Families: Women and Kin Work.* New York: Routledge, 2005.

Ong, Aihwa. *Flexible Citizenship: The Cultural Logics of Transnationality.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999.

Orellana, Marjorie F., Barrie Thorne, Wan S. E. Lam, and Anna Chee. "Transnational Childhoods: The Participation of Children in Processes of Family Migration." *Social Problems* 48 (2001): 572–591.

Parreñas, Rhacel S. *Children of Global Migration: Transnational Families and Gendered Woes.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University, 2005.

Tsong, Yuying, and Yuli Liu. "Parachute Kids and Astronaut Families." In *Asian American Psychology: Current Perspectives*, eds. Nita Tewari and Alvin N Alvarez. Boca Raton, FL: CRC Press, 2008. 365–381.

NOTES

1. Linda G. Basch, Nina G. Schiller, and Cristina S. Blanc, eds., *Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments, and Deterritorialized Nation-States* (Langhorne, PA: Gordon and Breach, 1994); Shirlena Huang and Brenda Yeoh, "Transnational Families and their Children's Education: China's "Study Mothers" in Singapore," *Global Networks* 5, no. 4 (2005): 379–400; Elisabetta Zontini, *Encyclopedia: Transnational Families*, http://wfnetwork.bc.edu/encyclopedia_entry.php?id=6361andarea=All (accessed Sept. 14, 2008); Deborah Bryceson and Ulla Vuorela, *The Transnational Family: New European Frontiers and Global Networks*, ed. (Oxford: Berg, 2002).

2. Department of Economic and Social Affairs: Division for the Advancement of Women, *2004 World Survey on the Role of Women in Development: Women and International Migration.* (New York: United Nations, 2006).

3. Zontini, *Encyclopedia: Transnational Families*, 1.

4. Grace Chang, *Disposable Domestics: Immigrant Women Workers in the Global Economy*. (London: South End Press, 2000); Maria de la Luz Ibarra, “Transnational Identity Formation and. Mexican Immigrant Women’s Ethics of Elder Care.” *Anthropology of Work Review* 23*,* no. 3–4, (2002): 16–20.

5. The most commonly used definition of “Asians” is derived from the U.S. Census Bureau’s (2003) definition of Asian, “a person having origins in any of the original peoples of the Far East, Southeast Asia, or the Indian subcontinent including, for example, Cambodia, China, India, Japan, Korea, Malaysia, Pakistan, the Philippine Islands, Thailand, and Vietnam.” However, the U.S. Census Bureau acknowledged that the Asian and/or Pacific Islanders are not a homogeneous group. Instead, it constitutes many groups who differ in language, culture, and length of residence in the United States. For example, some of the Asian groups (e.g., the Japanese and Chinese) have been in the United States for several generations whereas others (e.g., the Hmong, Vietnamese, Laotians, and Cambodians) are relatively recent immigrants (U.S. Census Bureau, 2003).

6. Barbara Ehrenreich and Arlie R. Hochschild, eds., *Global Woman: Nannies, Maids, and Sex Workers in the New Economy.* (London: Granta Books, 2003); Rhacel S. Parreñas, *Children of Global Migration: Transnational Families and Gendered Woes.* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University, 2005); Rhacel S. Parreñas, *Servants of Globalization: Women, Migration and Domestic Work. (*Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001).

7. Brenda Yeoh, “Report on International Workshop on Asian Transnational Families” (paper presented at the Asian MetaCentre for Population and Sustainable Development Analysis, Singapore, February 2–4, 2005).

8. Brenda Yeoh, Elspeth Graham and Paul J. Boyle, “Migration and Family Relations in the Asia Pacific Region,” *Journal of Asian and Pacific Migration* 11, no. 1 (2002): 1–12; Bryceson and Vuorela, *The Transnational Family*.

9. Diane L. Wolf, “Family Secrets: Transnational Struggles Among Children of Filipino Immigrants,” *Sociological Perspectives* 40, no. 3, (1997): 457–482.

10. Holger Henke, *The West Indian Americans*. (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2001); Tracey Reynolds and Elisabetta Zontini, “A Comparative Study of Care and Provision Across Caribbean and Italian Transnational Families,” *Families and Social Capital ESRC Research Group Working Paper* 16 (London: London South Bank University, 2006).

11. Reynolds and Zontini, “A Comparative Study of Care and Provision.”

12. Yeoh, “Report on International Workshop on Asian Transnational Families.”

13. Loretta Baldassar and Cora Vellekoop Baldock, “Linking Migration and Family Studies: Transnational Migrants and the Care of Ageing Parents,” in *Theoretical and Methodological Issues in Migration Research: Interdisciplinary and International Perspectives,* ed. Biko Agozino (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2000), 61–89.

14. Marjorie F. Orellana et al., “Transnational Childhoods: The Participation of Children in Processes of Family Migration,” *Social Problems* 48 (2001): 572–591.

15. Michael Ha, “‘Kirogi’ Families Weigh Risks and Rewards,” *Korea Times*, Oct. 31, 2007, http://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/news/special/2008/06/229_12942.html.

16. Ha, “‘Kirogi’ Families Weigh Risks and Rewards.”

17. H. T. Hwang and T. Watanabe, “Little Overseas Students from Taiwan: A Look at the Psychological Adjustment Issues” (Master’s thesis, University of California–Los Angeles, 1990), quoted in Yuying Tsong and Yuli Liu, “Parachute Kids and Astronaut

Families," in *Asian American Psychology: Current Perspectives, ed.* Nita Tewari and Alvin N. Alvarez (Boca Raton, FL: CRC Press, 2008), 365–381.

18. Phuong Ly, "A Wrenching Choice," *Washington Post*, Jan. 9, 2005, A01, http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A59355-2005Jan8.html.

19. Anna Fifield, "S. Koreans Make Big Sacrifices to Study Overseas," *Los Angeles Times,* Jan. 16, 2006, C-4, http://articles.latimes.com/2006/jan/16/business/ft-korea16; Aihwa Ong, *Flexible Citizenship: The Cultural Logics of Transnationality* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999).

20. Seung-Kyung Kim, "Globalization and Transnational Korean Families: '*Kirogi Kajok*'" (paper presented at the annual meeting for the Association for Asian Studies, San Francisco, CA, April 6–9, 2006).

21. Orellana et al., "Transnational Childhoods," 576.

22. Ha, " 'Kirogi' Families Weigh Risks and Rewards."

23. Orellana et al., "Transnational Childhoods."

24. Chien-hung Cheng, "Assessment of Depression among Young Students from Taiwan and Hong Kong: A Comparative Study of Accompanied and Unaccompanied Minors," in *In Pursuit of Education: Young Asian Students in the United States,* ed. Josh C. H. Lin (El Monte, CA: Pacific Asian Press, 1998), 95–112; Christy Chiang-Hom, "Transnational Cultural Practices of Chinese Immigrant Youth and Parachute," in *Asian American Youth: Culture, Identity and Ethnicity*, eds. Jennifer Lee and Min Zhou (New York: Routledge, 2004), 143–339.

25. Ha, "'Kirogi' Families Weigh Risks and Rewards."

26. Ha, "'Kirogi' Families Weigh Risks and Rewards"; S. C. Kim, "Young Korean Students in the United States," *In Pursuit of Education: Young Asian Students in the United States,* ed. Josh C. H. Lin (El Monte, CA: Pacific Asian Press, 1998), 44–54.

27. Reynolds and Zontini, "A Comparative Study of Care and Provision."

28. Maria W. L. Chee, *Taiwanese American Transnational Families: Women and Kin Work* (New York: Routledge, 2005); Sheba M. George, *When Women Come First: Gender and Class in Transnational Migration* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).

29. Judith Bernhard, Patricia Landolt, and Luin Goldring, "Transnational, Multi-Local Motherhood: Experiences of Separation and Reunification among Latin American Families in Canada" (Toronto: Joint Centre of Excellence for Research on Immigration and Settlement, 2005), http://www.yorku.ca/cohesion/LARG/PDF/Transantional_Families_LARG_May_05.pdf.

30. Evelyn Lee, "Asian American Families: An Overview," in *Ethnicity and Family Therapy,* eds. Monica McGoldrick, Joseph Giordano, and John K. Pearce, (New York: Guilford, 1996); Chang-sik Shin and Ian Shaw, "Social Policy in South Korea: Cultural and Structural Factors in the Emergence of Welfare." *Social Policy and Administration* 4, no. 37, (2003): 328–341; R. Story and E. Park, *Korea* (Melbourne, Australia: Lonely Planet Publications, 2001).

31. Michele R. Gambaurd, *The Kitchen Spoon's Handle: Transnationalism and Sri Lanka's Migrant Housemaids* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000).

32. Bernhard, Landolt, and Goldring, *Transnational, Multi-Local Motherhood,* 5.

33. Parreñas, *Servants of Globalization*.

34. Parreñas, *Servants of Globalization,* 387; Bernhard, Landolt, and Goldring, *Transnational, Multi-Local Motherhood.*

35. Parreñas, *Children of Global Migration*.

36. Carola Suárez-Orozco and Marcelo M. Suárez-Orozco, *Children of Immigration.* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001).

37. Bernhard, Landolt, and Goldring, "Transnational, Multilocal Motherhood."

38. Bryceson and Vourela (2002) have advanced two useful concepts in understanding transnational family in relation to kin ties being sustained: frontiering and relativizing. "Frontiering" is defined as "the ways and means transnational family members use to create familial space and network ties in a terrain where affinal connections are relatively sparse" (p. 11). "Relativizing" is referred to the ways "individuals establish, maintain, or curtail relational ties with specific family members" (p. 42).

39. Anne Gray, "The Changing Availability of Grandparents as Carers and its Implications for Childcare policy in the UK," *Journal of Social Policy* 34, no. 4 (2005): 557–577; Diane L. Wolf, "Valuing Informal Elder Care," in *Family Time: The Social Organization of Care*, eds. Nancy Folbre and Michael Bittman (London: Routledge, 2004); Reynolds and Zontini, "A Comparative Study of Care and Provision."

40. Wai H. M. Leung, "*Who Cares? Managing the Family in Transnational/Transborder Space: Stories from Migrants in Hong Kong*" (paper presented at the International Workshop on Asian Transnational Families, Singapore, Feb. 2, 2005); Reynolds and Zontini, "A Comparative Study of Care and Provision."

41. Eunju Lee, "Domestic Violence and Risk Factors among Korean Immigrant Women in the United States," *Journal of Family Violence* 22, no. 3 (2007): 141–149.

42. Jung Ha Kim, *Bridge-makers and Cross-bearers: Korean-American Women and the Church*. (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1997).

43. Baldassar and Baldock, "Linking Migration and Family Studies"; Vern L. Bengtson and Robert A. Harootyan, *Intergenerational Linkages: Hidden Connections in American Society* (New York: Springer Publishing Company and AARP, 1994); Ge Lin and Peter A. Rogerson, "Elderly Parents and the Geographic Availability of their Adult Children," *Research on Ageing* 17, no. 3 (1995): 303–331.

44. James Coleman, *Foundations of Social Theory* (London: Harvard University Press, 1990); Robert D. Putnam, "The Decline of Civil Society: How Come? So What?" (John L. Manion Lecture presented at the Canadian Centre for Management Development, Ottawa, Ontario, Feb. 22, 1996); Zontini, "Italian Families and Social Capital," 2.

45. Baldassar and Baldock, "Linking Migration and Family Studies," 79.

46. Mand, "Social Capital and Transnational South Asian Families."

47. Rogers, "Transnational Families: Bridging into Family Support"; Mand, "Social Capital and Transnational South Asian Families"; Zontini, "Italian Families and Social Capital."

This page intentionally left blank

TRANSRACIAL ADOPTION

Mia H. Tuan, Elizabeth S. Rienzi, and Jiannbin Lee Shiao

Adoptions have occurred throughout history and among all cultures, but transracial adoptions involving the permanent and legal union of racially different children and parents are a relatively recent phenomenon in the United States. Strict legal and social prohibitions such as Jim Crow laws restricted intimate relations across racial lines. The first significant effort to encourage transracial placements did not take place until the aftermath of World War II when white American families adopted orphaned children from Japan and China.[1] Since then, transracial adoption has increasingly become a socially accepted means for individuals and couples seeking to create families, although some racial combinations remain much more controversial than others. In recent decades, researchers and some adoption agencies such as Holt International Children's Services have uncovered the significant yet often unrecognized role of Asian adoptees, specifically international transracial adoptees from Asia and the Pacific, within the history of transracial adoption.

In addition, the growing numbers of Asian transracial adoptees in the United States have increased their unique influence in the constantly changing history and character of Asian America. As first-generation immigrants, Asian transracial adoptees represent a slice of a long history of Asian American immigration influenced by global political relations and exchange. There has been an increased interest in the flow of people and ideas across and between national boundaries: how people's understanding of themselves and the group they identify with is influenced from both within and outside of an imagined "homeland." This is evident in both new research and resources available on the Internet, such as international chat rooms and media outlets. In this way, Asian adoptees represent "particular cases of Asian American identity formation in a transnational context."[2]

With their integration into American families, Chinese transracial adoptees have been poised as cultural and national ambassadors for China and Chinese culture and representations of racial harmony in the United States.[3] However, Asian-white transracial adoptees' acceptance is often formed in relation to black adoptees' undesirability rather than a "true" colorblindness.[4] Asian American cultures are often presented as admirable and savable, the model minority, in contrast to a deficient, irredeemable African American culture. Representations of China-U.S. transracial adoptees in pop culture have often relied on images of "exotic" female Asianness. Some adoption agencies use pictures of beautiful little girls dressed up to attract adoptive families.[5]

Scholarship on Chinese adoption is an example of emerging cultural socialization studies that explore how racial and cultural differences are addressed within families.[6] A new trend in international adoption, an emerging belief in bicultural socialization among adoptive parents, has been noted.[7] Compared with earlier waves of white families raising Asian adoptees, current families adopting Chinese babies embrace a bicultural identity as American and Chinese. That is, the identity of the family, as a whole, shifts as a result of adopting across racial and cultural lines. This shift stands in marked contrast to parents of earlier cohorts of adoptees, who were more inclined to focus on the assimilation of their children to their American family. As such, Chinese adoptive families have been more likely to seek, employ, and even create resources for their children to develop their racial and ethnic identities and to celebrate their birth cultures. These resources, however, often represent Chinese culture, along with other ethnic groups' cultures, as monolithic, abstracted from everyday life, and grounded in some ancient past.[8] As a result, these resources have become a concern for nonadopted ethnic communities as well.

Data on transracial adoptions are woefully inadequate because of inconsistent and incomplete data collection.[9] Adoption experts still rely on a foundational 1993 publication that used data collected in 1987 to estimate that 8 percent of all adoptions are interracial, with 1 percent involving the adoption of black children by white parents, 2 percent involving parents of color adopting white children, and approximately 5 percent involving the adoption of other children of color by white parents, the majority of whom are Asian children.[10] With the rapid expansion of international adoptions especially from Asia (most notably China, Korea, India, and Vietnam) and Latin America (Guatemala and Columbia) starting in the 1990s, 8 percent is likely too low a figure to capture the reality of transracial placements today. Nearly one out of every six children adopted annually in the United States, roughly 20,000 out of 125,000, is an international adoptee.[11] For children under the age of two, that figure doubles to nearly two out of every five adoptions. As the availability of healthy white babies has declined in response to rising infertility, growing birth control options, and greater acceptance of single parenthood, more prospective parents have looked abroad and across racial and cultural lines to adopt healthy children.[12]

While an African American child adopted by an Asian American family (or any other combination) is a transracial adoption, commonly associated images

and notions almost always presumes a more restricted cast of characters. The term "transracial adoption" is typically reserved for those adoptions involving the domestic placement of African American children with white American parents while "international adoption" or "intercountry adoption" refers to foreign-born Asian or Latin American children adopted by white American parents. Scholars suggest that the typicality of the above usual suspects in discussions and representations arises from their association with commonly held notions of transracial adoption and international adoption: racial difference and national difference, respectively.[13] Blacks and whites dominate U.S. discourse about racial differences and therefore dominate transracial adoption discussions as well. The reality, however, is that international transracial adoptions outnumber domestic transracial adoptions by a significant margin, with Asian-white adoptions comprising the largest proportion of all transracial placements, domestic or international.

SCOPE

Figures vary from year to year in response to modifications each country makes to its policies, but in the last ten years, the majority of international adoptees coming to the United States have originated from three countries: China, Guatemala, and South Korea.[14] China, a relatively recent addition to the international adoption world, has dominated since 1995, and was responsible for sending approximately 58,000 children between 1995 and 2006, the vast majority of whom were girls. In contrast, Guatemala and South Korea sent approximately 23,000 and 21,000 children, respectively, during the same period.

Scholars have noted China's rapid rise in the international adoption scene and have speculated on the reasons behind the phenomenon. Some argue that China's "one child policy," changes in the country's adoption law that took place in 1991, and a general cultural preference for sons have combined to make international adoption an attractive solution for dealing with China's increasing numbers of abandoned children.[15] Others have pointed to the role of interest groups in China and abroad who are invested in international adoption as playing a key role in institutionalizing the practice.[16]

South Korea currently ranks third among countries with adoptions to the United States, but for decades it dominated the international adoption picture; today, the country still accounts for the largest cumulative number of international adoptees living in the United States. Placements stretch back to 1955 when Henry and Bertha Holt, an evangelical couple from Oregon, first adopted eight children whose lives were devastated by the Korean War. The Holts went on to found the first and largest international adoption agency in the United States.[17] Since that time approximately 103,000 Korean children have been adopted by American families.[18]

Given how long Korean adoption has been taking place, there are now several waves or cohorts of adoptees living in the United States ranging in age from

infancy to their fifties. These cohorts differ by their parents' orientations to "difference" (adoptive, racial, and ethnic), the social climate and historic period in which the adoptees came of age, the resources and social networks available to them, and the adoptees' orientations in adulthood to the "differences" they embody.[19] Older cohorts were encouraged to deny differences and assimilate into their white families and communities. Younger cohorts, in contrast, have come of age in a very different social climate characterized by the availability of social and material resources such as parent support groups, adoptee play groups, Asian adoptee Web sites, heritage camps, motherland tours, and consumer items (e.g. "culturally appropriate" books and dolls).

CHALLENGES

Most transracial adoptive families overtly recognize their racial and ethnic differences because of their inability to "pass" as racially homogeneous non-adoptive families. As a result, adoptive parents have the dual responsibilities of incorporating adoptees into their new family while simultaneously addressing their different racial statuses. Controversy arose in the 1970s when the National Association of Black Social Workers (NABSW) vehemently opposed transracial adoption. They questioned whether white parents could prepare children of color for "survival in a racist society." Transracial placements, the NABSW argued, left children in a racial and cultural "no man's land," neither fully accepted by white majority society nor the cultural/racial community from which they originated.[20] In response to such concerns, some parents may alter the ways they deal with family differences in order to better meet their children's needs at particular moments in their lives as they mature.

Typical issues that adoptive families have to address include having to tell the child they are adopted, helping adoptees deal with the loss of biological ties, and supporting adoptees' desires to search for their biological families, to name a few. Additionally, adoptees and adoptive parents must face cultural challenges to their statuses as legitimate or "real" families, even though adoption has entered the mainstream to a higher degree. Additionally, adoptees may experience various forms of discrimination and racism. Adoptive parents will have to address such events even though they may lack personal knowledge of such experiences. How families deal with others' evaluations and expectations provides the social environment in which adoptees develop their sense of family belonging. Parents usually use a combination of strategies rather than relying on just one method to accomplish all these tasks.

Transracial adoptees, like other people of color in general, have to face cultural expectations from the society that are based on their racial and ethnic identities. For example, Asian Americans are often perceived as "forever foreigners" and are expected to have strong and ongoing ties to ethnic communities based outside the United States regardless of generational status.[21] In this way, both nonadopted and adopted Asian Americans often occupy an "in between" position concerning citizenship and foreigner/immigrant.[22] Because many

adolescents desire acceptance, want to conform to mainstream white culture, and minimize a "foreigner" label, they often withdraw from participating in adoptee programs, groups, networks, and so on, in an attempt to distance themselves from such images.[23] Yet, Asian Americans also receive messages from both within and outside Asian American communities that they are expected to have an in-depth knowledge on all Asian cultural practices and to act a certain way, like speaking Korean or Chinese fluently. And while many later-generation Asian Americans cannot fulfill these expectations, Asian transracial adoptees are seen to represent a more "authentic" culture because they were born in China, Korea, and so on.[24] Thus, they, along with other people of color in general, often experience a resurgence of ethnic identity and cultural interest as adults. College experiences often introduce both adoptees and nonadopted Asian Americans to larger populations of acculturated Asian Americans like themselves for the first time.

OUTLOOK

While most parents who adopt transracially are white, middle-class heterosexual couples, Chinese transracial adoptions allowed other groups to participate in family building: gay and lesbian couples and single parents. For many gay and lesbian couples and singles, Chinese adoptions were the only viable option; however, China has recently enacted new restrictive legislation against placements with gay and lesbian couples and single parents.[25]

In contrast to such restricted options, Asian Americans have increasingly become China-U.S. adoptive parents in part because of an ethnic or racial connection to adoptees. One researcher found that in the San Francisco Bay area one-fourth to one-third of the families who adopted from China in her study included one Asian American parent, usually Chinese American.[26] This picture contrasts to earlier Korean transracial adoptive families who lacked such demographic variation.

As Asian transracial adoptees mature and increasingly participate in adoption research, practice, and policy formation as adults, they have stressed the need to shift the focus of pre- and postadoption services to race, discrimination, and racism in the United States. Some international adoption agencies such as Holt International require prospective transracial adoptive parents to attend a minimum number of preadoption course hours. Rather than postadoption services focusing on adoptee birth culture and "cultural activities," adult adoptees have called for services that directly relate to the experiences in their everyday lives at different developmental stages. Future research will show how newly enacted restrictive legislation and increased preadoption requirements affect the nature of international transracial adoption, in particular China-U.S. adoptions. The extent of Asian transracial adoptees' abilities to cross borders, both physical and ideological, will become evident as these younger adoptee populations, such Chinese adoptees, mature into adulthood.

Jenn Suomi and her five-year-old daughter Olivia share a laugh in their New York apartment, 2008. Suomi and her husband applied to adopt a second child to become a sister for Olivia. China remains the country of choice for thousands of Americans seeking to adopt a child, but the time frame for new applications is now often triple what it was a few years ago and many families are enduring uncertain, emotionally draining waits. (AP Photo/Richard Drew)

FURTHER READING

Bergquist, Kathleen, M. Elizabeth Vonk, Dong Soo Kim, and Marvin Feit, eds. *International Korean Adoption: A Fifty-Year History and Policy and Practice.* New York: Haworth Press, 2007.

Herman, Ellen. 2008. *Adoption History Project*, http://www.uoregon.edu/~adoption/.

Holt International Children's Services. Families with Children from China. http://www.fwcc.org/.

Korean American Adoptee Adoptive Family Network. http://www.kaanet.com/http://www.uoregon.edu/~adoption/

Ngabonziza, Damien. "Intercountry Adoption: In Whose Best Interest?" *Adoption and Fostering* 12, no. 1 (1988): 35–40.

NOTES

1. Richard H. Weil, "International Adoptions: The Quiet Migration," *International Migration Review* 18 (1994): 276–293.
2. Sara K. Dorow, *Transnational Adoption: A Cultural Economy of Race, Gender, and Kinship (*New York: New York University, 2006), 25.
3. Dorow, *Transnational Adoption*, 25.
4. Jiannbin Lee Shiao et. al, "Shifting the Spotlight: Exploring Race and Culture in Korean-White Adoptive Families," *Race and Society* 7, no. 1 (2004): 1–16.
5. Dorow, *Transnational Adoption,* 25.
6. Richard Lee et al., "Cultural Socialization in Families with Internationally Adopted Children." *Journal of Family Psychology* 20 (2006): 571–580.
7. Richard Tessler et al., *West Meets East: Americans Adopt Chinese Children* (Westport, CT: Bergin & Garvey, 1999).
8. Dorow, *Transnational Adoption,* 25.
9. Peter Selman, "Trends in Intercountry Adoption: Analysis of Data from 20 Receiving Countries, 1998-2004." *Journal of Population Research,* http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m0PCG/is_2_23/ai_n21053961/pg_1 (accessed Jan. 9, 2008).
10. Kathy Stolley, "Statistics on Adoption in the United States," *Future of Children: Adoption* 3 (1993): 26–42.
11. Paul Placek, "National Adoption Data" in *Adoption Factbook III,* eds. Connaught Marshner and William Pierce (Washington, DC: National Council for Adoption, 1993), 24–69.
12. Wun Jung Kim, "International Adoption: A Case Review of Korean Children," *Child Psychiatry and Human Development* 25 (1995): 141–154.
13. Jiannbin Shiao and Mia Tuan, "A Sociological Approach to Race, Identity and Asian Adoption," 155–170 in K. Berquist, B. Vonk, D.S. Kim, and M. Feit, eds. *International Korean Adoption: A Fifty-Year History and Policy and Practice* (New York: Haworth Press, 2007), 155–170.
14. Ellen Herman, "Hague Convention on Intercountry Adoption, 1993," *Adoption History Project*, http://www.uoregon.edu/~adoption/topics/AfricanAmerican.htm (accessed Jan. 4, 2008); U.S. State Department, "Hague Convention on Intercountry Adoption and the Intercountry Adoption Act of 2000: Background," U.S. State Department, http://travel.state.gov/orphan_numbers.html (retrieved Jan. 10, 2008); U.S. State Department 2008. "Immigrant Visas Issued to Orphans Coming to the U.S.:

Top Countries of Origin." http://travel.state.gov/orphan_numbers.html (accessed Jan. 1, 2008).

15. Eliza Poncz, "China's Proposed International Adoption Law: The Likely Impact on Single U.S. Citizens Seeking to Adopt from China and the Available Alternatives," *Harvard International Law Journal Online*, April 27, 2007, http://www.harvardilj.org/online/112 (accessed Jan. 14, 2008).

16. Kay A. Johnson, *Wanting a Daughter, Needing a Son: Abandonment, Adoption, and Orphanage Care in China*, (St. Paul, MN: Yeong and Yeong Book Company, 2004).

17. Shiao and Tuan, *A Sociological Approach to Race, Identity and Asian Adoption,* 155–170.

18. U.S. State Department, "Immigrant Visas."

19. Shiao and Tuan, *A Sociological Approach to Race, Identity and Asian Adoption,* 155–170.

20. Mark Courtney, "The Politics and Realities of Transracial Adoption," *Child Welfare* 126, no. 6 (Nov.–Dec. 1997): 749–779.

21. Mia Tuan, *Forever Foreigners or Honorary Whites?: The Asian Ethnic Experience Today* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1998); Miri Song, *Choosing Ethnic Identity* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2003).

22. Dorow, *Transnational Adoption,* 25.

23. Jiannbin Lee Shiao et al., "Shifting the Spotlight: Exploring Race and Culture in Korean-White Adoptive Families," *Race and Society* 7 (2004): 1–16.

24. Mia Tuan, *Forever Foreigners or Honorary Whites*.

25. Dorow, *Transnational Adoption,* 25.

26. Dorow, *Transnational Adoption,* 25.

RESOURCE GUIDE

Suggested Reading

Espiritu, Yen Le. *Homebound: Filipino American Lives across Cultures, Communities and Countries*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003.

Gates, Gary, and R. Bradley Sear. *Asian and Pacific Islanders in Same Sex Couples in California: Data from Census 2000*. http://www.law.ucla.edu/williamsinstitute/publications/API_Report.pdf.

Lee, William Poy. *The Eighth Promise: An American Son's Tribute to His Toisanese Mother*. New York: Rodale, 2007.

Leong, Fredrick T. L., Arapana G. Inman; Angela Ebreo, Lawrence Hsin Yang, Lisa Marie Kinoshita, Michi Fu, eds. *Handbook of Asian American Psychology,* 2nd ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 2006.

Nguyen, Tuyen. *Domestic Violence in Asian American Communities.* Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005.

Niedzwiecki, Max, KaYing Yang, and Saroeun Earm. *Southeast Asian American Elders in California: Demographics and Service Priorities Revealed by the 2000 Census and a Survey of Mutual Assistance Associations (MAAs) and Faith-Based Organizations (FBOs)*. http://www.searac.org/sea-eldersrpt-fin.pdf.

Park, Lisa Sun-Hee. *Consuming Citizenship: Children of Asian Immigrant Entrepreneurs*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 2005.

Services and Advocacy for Asian Youth Consortium. *Moving beyond Exclusion: Focusing on the Needs of Asian/Pacific Islander Youth in San Francisco.* http://www.yvpcenter.org/media/docs/4608_moving_beyond_exclusion.pdf, 2008.

Sueyoshi, Amy, and Russell Leong, eds. *Asian Americans on the Marriage Equality Debate*, *Amerasia Journal*. University of California Press, 2006.

Tewari, Nita, and Alvin N. Alvarez. *Asian American Psychology: Current Perspectives*. New York: Psychology Press. 2008.

Trickett, Edison, and Curtis Jones. "Adolescent Culture Brokering and Family Functioning: A Study of Families from Vietnam." *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology* 13 (2007): 143–50.

Uba, Laura. *A Postmodern Psychology of Asian Americans: Creating Knowledge of a Racial Minority.* Albany: State University of New York Press. 2002.

Umemoto, K., and P. Ong. "Asian American Pacific Islander Youth: Risks, Challenges, and Opportunities." *aapi nexus* 4, no. 2 (2006): v–ix.

Films

Coming Out, Coming Home, Asian and Pacific Islander Family Stories. VHS. Directed by Hima B. A/PI-PFLAG Family Project, 1996 (44 minutes). Documentary focuses on the coming out process for Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders. It also is a discussion of how families communicate with each other and come to accept a son or daughter who is lesbian or gay.

First Person Plural. DVD. Directed by Deann Borshay Liem. Distributed by PBS and Center for Asian American Media, 2000 (59 minutes). Documentary chronicles journey in locating her birth mother and family in Korea. It also documents her adoptive family's journey in adoption, but also race and identity. Liem brings these two families together to help her reconcile her Korean and American identities.

Silent Sacrifices: Voices of the Filipino American Family. Directed by Patricia Heras, Dist. Center for Asian American Media, 2001 (25 minutes). Documentary explores the intergenerational tensions within Filipino American families. It focuses on relationships between Filipino immigrants and their American-born children and the misunderstandings and conflicts that often accompany these relationships.

Organizations

API Equality. http://www.apiequality.org/getinformed/articles.php. Working on Asian American same sex marriage issues nationally.

Asian American Pacific Islander Youth Development and Violence Prevention Programs. http://gucchd.georgetown.edu/programs/aapi/object_view.html?objectID=2554. Directory of Asian American/Pacific Islander programs throughout the United States that focus on Asian American youth development and at-risk youth.

Families with Children from China. http://www.fwcc.org/. Devoted to families that have adopted a child from China.

Korean American Adoptees Adoptive Family Network. http://www.kaanet.com/. An online community of Korean American adoptees and their families.

Mavin. http://www.mavin.net/. Online community for support focused on mixed heritage and transracial adoptees.

National Asian Pacific Center on Aging (NAPCA). http://www.napca.org. Working nationally and locally on aging.

South Asian Youth Action. http://www.saya.org/index.html. Founded in 1996 and focused on working with South Asian youth in New York City.

Web Sites

Adoptive Families. http://www.adoptivefamilies.com/. Comprehensive site on adoption with information on adoption and the experiences of those adopted from Asian countries such as China, Korea, and Philippines.

API Family Acceptance Pride Project. http://www.lyric.org/apifamilyproject/lyc_pgs/s01/01_index.html. Sharing stories of Asian American families coming to acceptance of a gay son or lesbian daughter. It includes audio of young adults sharing their stories.

Center for Pacific Asian Families. http://www.cpaf.info/index.html. Particularly useful for individuals and families experiencing crisis. Provides information to a crisis hotline and other resources.

Maria P. P. Root, http://www.drmariaroot.com/. Features the publications and references of Maria Root, a clinical psychologist, who has done extensive research and therapy with mixed raced Asian American families. Features downloadable articles.

Model Minority.Com. http://www.modelminority.com. Variety of different topics are offered, including family issues and other contemporary topics related to Asian ethnic identity.

National Asian American Pacific Islander Mental Health Association. http://www.naapimha.org/. Has a variety of different resources in English and other Asian languages.

National Asian Pacific Families Against Substance Abuse. http://www.napafasa.org/. Los Angeles-based nonprofit organization providing resources for both the public as well as for professionals, discussing issues related to all age levels.

Online Relationship Assistance for Asian Pacific Islander Youth. http://www.thatsnotlove.org/index.html. Interactive site for Asian American and Pacific Islander youth focused on dating, relationships with family, and violence. Includes weekly chatroom discussions and bulletin boards.

Violence Impacting the Asian American and Pacific Islander Communities. http://www.sph.umich.edu/apihealth/2006/index.htm. Informational site focusing on the issues of family violence facing Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders, including suicide, domestic violence, and elder abuse.

INDEX

Note: Page numbers followed by *f* indicate figures, by *s* indicate sidebars, and by *t* indicate tables.

AAPI Nexus: Policy, Practice, and Community, 186
Abe, Shinzo, 765
Abercrombie and Fitch, boycott of, 462
Absconder Apprehension Initiative (2002), 570
Accent discrimination
  cultural bias and, 100–101
  definition, 99
  economic outcomes, and, 103–104
  lawsuits, 101–102, 606–607
  remedies, 103
Accidental Asian, The (Liu), 399
Acculturation
  complementary and alternative medicine use, 303
  definition, 267
  diabetes risk, and, 310
  families and, 913–916
  health attitudes, predictor of, 267–268
  lifestyle changes, 268
  sexual behavior, influence on, 362–363
  stress factors, 823–824
  substance abuse, and service access for, 369
  suicide risk, and, 377
  tobacco use and, 290, 389
Additive bilingualism, 191
Adoption, international. *See* International adoption
Adoption, transracial, 953–958
Advanced directives, 318
  negative attitudes toward, 319
Advertising revenue, shortage of, 670
Affirmative action
  class-based, versus race-conscious, 577
  coalition building, impact on, 710
  debate, on impact of, 573, 576–577
  history of, 181–182
  legal limits, 574
  minority businesses, for, 160
  opposition to, 183
  support for, 182
  underrepresentation, remedy for, 575–576

African Americans
  blackface, 636
  Freedom School model, 217, 218
  Korean Americans, tensions with, 45, 46, 624, 728–729
  race relations, perceptions of, 726
  race relations with, 698–699, 709–710
  See also Black Power
Afro Samurai: Resurrection (2009), 644
Age distribution, 9
Aggravated felonies, changes to classification, 485
AIDS. *See* HIV/AIDS risk
AION (magazine), 735
AKA Don Bonus (1993), 658–659
Akiyoshi, Toshiko, 38*s*
Alcohol use
  depression and, 374
  targeted marketing, 270–271
Alien Land Laws
  California, 565–566, 567, 568, 691
  Oregon, 568
Alien Prostitution Importation Act (1875), 471, 548
All American Girl, 646
Allen, George, 59
Alliance of Scholars Concerned About Korea, 790
Alliance of South Asians Taking Action, 811
Ally McBeal, 644
Alternative medicine. *See* Complementary and alternative medicine
Alzheimer's disease, 347
Ambition (1991), 643
Amerasia Journal, 186
American Cancer Society, community outreach initiatives, 282
American Community Survey, data accuracy, 13*s*
American Competitiveness and Workforce Improvement Act (1998), 117–118
American Dream, 726
American Federation of Teachers, 137
American Idol star, William Hung, 640*s*–641*s*
American Psychiatric Association, Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, 822
Ancestors in America (film), 658
AngryAsianMan.com, 648–649
Animal cruelty law enforcement, cultural conflicts in, 586
Anna and the King (2000), 539, 642
Annapolis (2006), 653
Antimiscegenation laws, 437–438, 566
Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act, 536
  deportation, policy changes, 785
Aoki, Richard, 704
apl.de.ap, 30*s,* 678
Arab Americans
  profiling of, 569–570, 756
  Special Registration policy, 530–531
Aratani, George, 38*s*
Areca nut use, 387
Ariyoshi, George, 38*s*
Arizona
  bilingual education, curtailment of, 195
  English law, unconstitutionality of, 605
  language immersion programs, 604
Aryan Nations, violence against Filipino Americans, 29
Asia
  beauty pageants, impact of, 422
  political power of, 96
  racialization, as enemy, 748
Asian American activism. *See* Asian American Movement
Asian American Business Group v. City of Pomona, 606
Asian American Feminists, 739
Asian American Journalists Association, 666
  recruitment efforts, 667
Asian American Justice Center, 583
  coalition building, 708–709
Asian American Legal Defense and Education Fund, 2008 Presidential election exit poll, 721*s*
Asian American Movement
  cultural productions, 705, 734
  emergence, timing of, 703–704
  I-Hotel campaign, 705
  immigration reform and, 692–693
  LGBTQ movement within, 739–740
  See also Women's Movement
Asian American Network for Cancer Awareness, Research and Training, 274

Asian American Political Alliance
formation of, 703, 736
Asian American Political Education Institute, 696, 697
Asian American Psychological Association, 351
Asian American Resource Workshop, 811
Asian American Silicon Valley Democratic Club, 698
Asian American Studies
academic programs, 185–186
Asian American women's courses, 736
development of field, 186–187
Freedom Schools, influence of, 217–219
scholarship, trends in, 187–188
student activism for, 173, 186–187
women of color feminism, scholarship on, 740
Asian American women's courses, 736
Asian Americanists, 187
Asian Americans
classification policies, 51
umbrella term, 170, 223
Asian Americans for Community Involvement Organization (Santa Clara County), 352
Asian Americans United, 708
Asian and Pacific Islander Serving Institutions, designation, 146, 177
provisions of, 537
Asian Cinevision, 661
Asian Hardcore, 736
Asian Immigrant Women Advocates, 155
Asian Immigrant Workers Association, 140
Asian Indians. *See* Indian Americans
Asian Law Caucus, hate crime report, 622*s*–623*s*
Asian Pacific America, lack of identification in Hawai'i, 414
Asian Pacific American Labor Alliance, 140
Asian Pacific American Legal Center of Southern California, 580
Asian Pacific American Media Coalition, 648
Asian Pacific Islander Institute on Domestic Violence, recommended strategies, 595
Asian Pacific Islander National Cancer Survivors Network, 282*s,* 283, 284
Asian Pacific Lesbian Bisexual Transgender movement, 739–740
Asian/Pacific Lesbian Network, 740
Asian Sisters, 736
Asian Woman (journal), 736
Asian Women's Center, 736
Asian Women's Fund, 762
Asiatic barred zone, 564
Assimilation, Asian ethnic groups, of, 18. *See also* Acculturation
Association for Asian American Studies
East of California caucus, 188
purposes, 186
Asylees, application time limits, 552
At-risk youth
gang violence, 859–860
intervention programs, 860–861
issues facing, 857–858
Audrey (magazine), 271
Auyeung, Jin, 678
Avatar: The Last Airbender (2010), 637–638

Bacillus Calmette-Guérin (BCG) vaccination, 339–340
Balikbayan program, 28
Bangladeshi Americans, 55, 56*t*
Barney Miller (1975–1982), 641
Baseball, Japanese American identity in, 37
Basketball, Japanese American identity in, 37
Bataan, Joe, 677
Batman Begins (2005), 643
Beauty industry
nail salon workers, 272
targeted marking in, 271
Beauty pageants
components, 422
cultural pageants, casting as, 422–423
Japanese American identity in, 37, 421, 422–423
racial identity, 423
Becerra, Xavier, 754
redress legislative activism, 818
Better Luck Tomorrow (2002), 653
Bilingual education policy
Bilingual Education Act, 192–193, 194

Bilingual education policy (*continued*)
classroom-teaching positions, access to, 103
English Language Learner students, 191–192
history of, 192–193
identity development, and, 196–197
lawsuits, 173, 191, 193
models of, 191
opposition to, 193–196
Black Eyed Peas, 678
Black feminism, influence on Asian American feminism, 735
Black Panther Party, Asian American Movement, influence on, 704
Black Power, Asian American Movement, influence on, 704, 736–737
Blackface, 636
Boat people, 16, 65
Body mass index, 309–310
Body shops, vulnerability of skilled workers, 118, 119
Boggs, Grace Lee, 737
Bonanza (1959–1973), 641
Bonus, Don, 658–659
Bose, Amar, 60
Breakfast at Tiffany's (1961), 637
Breast cancer
diagnosis, delayed, 278
screening, differences in, 279, 280
Bringing Down the House, 637
Brokeback Mountain (2005), 652
Brown, Lee, 709
Brown University, admissions practices biases, 222
Brown v. Board of Education (1954), 172, 568
impact of, 566
Buddhist temple, opposition to, 462
Burmese refugees, material support admission bar, 553–554
Bush, George W.
axis of evil presidential speech, 782, 785–786
North Korean Human Rights Act (2004), 788–789
Business ownership
growth in, 11
Korean Americans, of, 44–45,159*s*
Byler, Eric, 765

Cable Act (1922), 563
California
Alien Land Law (1913), 29, 565–566, 567, 568, 691
anti-Asian laws, 565–566, 567
anti-Filipino violence, 29
Asian American population in, 8–9
Asian American Studies programs, 185–186
Cambodian American community in, 774
Chinese American communities in, 19
community groups, responding to war, 810–811
elected officials, increase in representation, 694
ELL students, 192, 193
English, as official language, 194, 605
English-mandated signage laws, 606
foreign miners' license tax, 565
health advocacy groups, 273–274
incarceration, age at, 612–613
Japanese American institutions, 35, 36
legal organizations, 583
Little Saigon, Ho Chi Minh portrait incident, 829–830
mental health care organizations, 352
political candidate recruitment, 696
political participation, 686–687, 689
prison population, 611
prison population, offense types of, 613–614
Proposition 8, 851
Proposition 187, 132, 193–194, 542–543, 570
Proposition 209, 181
Proposition 227, 194, 195, 604
riots, 624 (*see also* Los Angeles Riots)
sanctuary cities, for undocumented immigrants, 543
school shooting, 623–624
Silicon Valley (*see* Silicon Valley)
State Children's Health Insurance Program, 331, 332
Stay Safe Youth Coalition, 370
suicide prevention, service centers, 379
Tuberculosis Prevention Partnership, 342
undocumented college students, support for, 255–256
women politicians, 738–739

See also individual cities
California Alien Land Acts, 29, 565–566, 567, 568, 691
California Dream Act, 255–256
California Work Opportunity and Responsibility to Kids, 153–154
Call center workers, 100
Cambodia
- educational access, limitations of, 70
- genocide, during Khmer Rouge reign, 772, 823
- refugees from, 65, 66, 69
- repatriation memorandum of understanding, 473–474, 497, 536, 773–774

Cambodian American Association, Lowell (MA), 127
Cambodian American Cultural Museum and Killing Fields Memorial, 775
Cambodian Americans
- activism, 771–772
- animal cruelty charges, cultural defense against, 587–588
- arts activism, 775–777
- cultural transition, sensitivity to, 151
- deportation of, 473–474, 599, 773–774
- domestic violence among, 75
- educational challenges, 70, 71, 224–225
- filial piety, 845
- health issues, 773
- housing issues, 127
- independent films on, 658–659
- post-traumatic stress disorder among, 822
- refugees, arrival as, 69, 773
- statistics, basic, 67*t*

Cambodian Association of Illinois, 775
Cambodian Network Council, 76
Cancer
- awareness and research, 274
- incidence, 277–278
- screening for, 279–280
- support services, 280–281, 282–283

Cao, Anh Joseph, 77*s*
Cardiovascular disease
- biological factors, 293–294
- health system factors, influence of, 294–295
- lifestyle factors, 290–293
- research on, 269

Carino v. University of Oklahoma Board of Regents (1984), 101, 606–607
Carradine, David, 637
Cascade (high-tech firm), 113
Catamaran, 61
Caucasian, classification and citizenship rights, 560
Cayetano, Benjamin, 30*s*
Census data. *See under* U.S. Census Bureau
Center for Asian American Media, 661–662
Center for Pan Asian Community Services, Inc., 282
Central Intelligence Agency, support of Laos war, 803, 804
Cervical cancer
- incidence, 277, 278
- Pap screening, 279–280

Chadha, Gurinder, 653
Chae Chan Ping v. United States (The Chinese Exclusion Case), 563
Chakravorty Spivak, Gayatri, 60*s*
Chan, Charlie, 636, 637
- role characteristics, 638–639

Chan Is Missing (1982), 658
Chan, Jackie, 639
- career, 642
- Jet Li, co-starring role with, 643

Chan, Wilma, 739
Chang, David, 47*s*
Chang, Sarah, 47*s*
Chao, Elaine, 183, 739
Chao, Rosalind, 645
Charlie Chan films, 636, 637
- men, representation of, 638–639

Charoen, Gorpat Henry, 86*s*
Chen, Steve, 21*s*
Chen, Winston, 113
Chicago Japanese American Historical Society, 35
Chicana feminism, influence on Asian American women, 733
Child Status Protection Act (2002), 508
Children's issues
- child abuse, 890–892
- healthcare for, 267, 331, 332
- physical inactivity, effects of, 292
- poverty, among Southeast Asian Americans, 72–73

Children's issues (*continued*)
See also Youth issues
Chin, Vincent, 401, 623
Who Killed Vincent Chin? (1988), 658
China
alcohol, marketing of, 270–271
cosmetic surgery industry, 453
immigrant centers, 16
United States, relationship with, 20
China connection, to the Donorgate scandal, 714, 715
China doll stereotype, 644, 751
Chinatowns, 19
news media coverage, lack of, 663
Chinese American Coalition for Compassionate Care, 320
Chinese Americans
accent discrimination against, 101–102
Alzheimer's disease, misconception about, 347
bilingual education, lawsuits, 173, 193, 195
business discrimination against, 690–691
cancer support groups, 281, 282
childhood obesity, 292
communities of, 19
complementary and alternative medicine use, 302
cultural defense, use in courts, 586, 587
deportation, of senior citizens, 494–495
end-of-life care, organization for, 320
English-mandated signage laws against, 606
exclusionary immigration laws, 563
exclusionary immigration laws, reversal of, 563
filial piety, 845
film directors, 653
gambling addition, 353
generation and identity, 409*s*
Hawai'i, identity in, 415, 416–417
historical images of, 635–636
historical treatment, in U.S., 20–21
immigration history, 15–16
income disparity, compared to whites, 152
independent films on, 658, 660
language discrimination case, 102
mental health care, access of, 349
model minority image of, 17–18
notable persons, 21*s*
parenting style, 845
political invisibility of, 20
popular music artists, 674
poverty among, 18–19
racial violence against, 625
second-generation, 20–21
snakeheads, 542
statistics, basic, 17*t*
supplemental education programs, 174
tenants, issues for, 127
unionization of, 137, 140
Chinese Exclusion Act (1882), 15, 563
Chinese Staff and Workers Association, 140
Chinese Women's Cancer Support Group (San Francisco), 281
Chinese Workers Mutual Aid Association of San Francisco Chinatown, 218
Cho, John, 644
Cho, Margaret, 47*s*–48*s*, 646–647
Gay Pride Parade, participation, 647
Cho, Seung-Hui, 665
Cho Show, The, 647
Choi, Jun, 46
Chong, Rev. Frank, 283
Chow, Carmen, 737
Choy, Herbert Young Cho, 47*s*
Christianization, Southeast Asian Americans, 74
Chu, Judy, 21, 739
Chu, Steven, 21
Citizenship
birth, by, 560
civil rights advocacy, 580
geographical dispersion, 718–719
naturalization (*see* Naturalization)
Citizenship USA initiative (1995), 486
City of Richmond v. J.A. Croson Co., 160
Civil Liberties Act (1988), 35, 567, 581, 691
Japanese Latin Americans, exclusion of, 754–755
Civil Rights Act (1964)
bilingual education implications, 193
Title VII, 99, 101
Civil rights advocacy
issues addressed by, 580

legal organizations, 583
models of, 581
Civil Rights Movement, solidarity among minority groups, 401
Clay, Bryan, 38*s*
Cleveland Elementary School, California, 623–624
Clinton, Hillary Rodham, 738
Clinton, William Jefferson, 604
Coalition building
challenges to, 709–711
comfort women movement, 763
cross-racial coalitions, 698–699, 708–709
Filipino Veterans Equity movement, 800
Japanese Latin American internees, 818
mass electoral coalitions, 709–710
panethnic coalitions and, 698, 707–708
Cobalt Networks, 113
Cognac, marketing of, 270–271
Cognitive Behavioral Therapy, 370
Cognitive frame switching, model of identity, 407
College Cost Reduction and Access Act (2007), 146, 177
College students
counterspaces for, 251
ethnic-specific organizations, 249–250
media representation of, 169
North Korea, travel to, 790
1.5-generation, 241
religious organizations, 250
retention of (*see* Retention in higher education)
sexual behavior, 358
South Asian student organizations, 58–59, 447
Southeast Asian Americans, community activities, 537
student-initiated organizations, 250–251
Colma: The Musical (2006), 660
Colorado, English-only initiative rejection, 195
Color-blindness, 728
Colorectal cancer, 278
screening for, 280
Comerford, Criseto, 30*s*
Comfort Woman (Okja Keller), 48*s,* 763
Comfort women
comfort women movement, 760, 762–763, 765–766
historical context, 761–762
121 Coalition, mobilization, 763, 765
overview, 759
Comic strips, Chinese American caricatures, 635, 636
Coming out process, 426–427
Committee Against Anti-Asian Violence, 811
Community colleges
attendance, trends in, 176, 207
immigrant status, challenges due to, 208–209
missions, 207
support mechanisms at, 209–210
Community legal organizations, 580
Community-based organizations, political mobilization role, 695–698
Compelling interest, in race-conscious affirmative action, 574
Complementary and alternative medicine
definition, 301
mental health care, in, 349, 826
research data, caveats of, 304
types of, 301, 302*t*
usage patterns, 302–303
usage, reasons for, 303–304
Co-occurring disorders, 369
Cordova, Dorothy, 30*s*
Cordova, Fred, 404*s*
Corrupter (1999), 642
Cosmetic surgery
colonialism, and expansion in Asia, 453–454
growth in, 451
plastic surgery, shift from, 452
racialized versus medical reasoning for, 453–454
targeted marking of, 269
Counterspaces, 251
Courvoisier cognac, 271
Cram schools
critique of, 213
definition, 211
non-Asian American participation, 213–214

Cram schools (*continued*)
origins, 211–212
participation, reasons for, 212–213
Criminal law, cultural defense use in. *See* Cultural defense
Criterion-referenced test, 245
Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon (2000), 652
Cuevas, Delfin, 544
Cultural competency, of health care providers, 350–351
Cultural defense
debate, on use of, 585, 588
legal cases, 586, 587–588
Cultural identity formation
Iu Mien, of, 480–481
youth, of, 841–842
Cultural racism, 348
Culture-specific syndromes, 346–347
Customs and Border Protection, 492

Data sources, disaggregation of, 172
Days of Remembrance, 36
Arab and Muslim participation, 755
Days of Waiting: The Life and Art of Estelle Ishigo (1990), 658
Death. *See* End-of-life care issues
Debut, The (2000), 660–661
Defense of Marriage Act (1996), 429
Democratic National Committee, Donorgate controversy, 713–715
Demographic composition, 3–5
citizens versus immigrants, 718–719
See also individual groups
Densho, 35
Department of Homeland Security, 492
Deportation
Cambodian refugees, former, 485, 497, 599, 773–774
cases of, 543–544
Filipino healthcare workers, 493
legal basis (*see* Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act)
overview, 492
post-9/11 era, 498
rallies against, 500, 774
reasons for, 495–498
repatriation agreements, 473–474, 497, 536
Southeast Asian Americans, concern of, 536–537
statistics, 785
women, of, 552–553
Depression, alcohol abuse, and, 376. *See also* Mental health issues
Desai, Bhairavi, 138*s*
Deshpande, Desh, 113
Desi culture, 59, 446
Desis Rising Up and Moving, 811
Details magazine, homophobic feature in, 429, 430–431
Detention
detention centers, growth of, 499
length of, 500
raids, 544
reasons for, 499, 500
South Asian Americans, 529–530
women, of, 552–553
Detroit (Michigan)
anti-Asian violence (*see* Chin, Vincent)
Freedom Schools, approach of, 218
Deuce Bigalow: European Gigolo (2005), 639
Development, Relief and Education for Alien Minors (D.R.E.A.M.) Act, 256, 544–545
Dewey, John, 218
Diabetes
body mass index, and risk of, 309–310
insulin resistance, 309
lifestyle intervention resources, 311–312
prevalence, 292, 307–308
risk factors, 308–309
Diabetes Food Pyramid, 310
Diasporas
Filipinos, 28, 417
Okinawan, 756*s*
South Asian communities, 445, 448
Dietary habits
acculturation, effect of, 268–269
cardiovascular health, effect on, 293
diabetes risk, 310
toxicity risk, 271
Digby, Marié, 674
Dimaranan v. Pomona Valley Hospital Medical Center, 606
Ding, Loni, 658

Disabilities
barriers to receiving care, 876–877
prevalence, 873–874
services, access to, 874–876
Disco Mix Club competition, 678
Diversity visas, South Asian immigration and, 52
Divorce rates, 850–851. *See also* Marriage
Document fraud, 496
Domestic abuse, barriers to seeking assistance, 592–593
Domestic violence
barriers, to seeking assistance, 592–593
Cambodian Americans, among, 75
immigration status, influence of, 593–594
prevalence, 591–592
strategies, to overcome, 594–595
women's activist groups, 739–740
Donorgate controversy, 713–715
Downtown Chinese
political interests of, 20
poverty among, 18–19
See also Chinese Americans
Dr. Play Children's Support Group, 281
Dragon lady stereotype, 644
Dragon Seed (1941), 636–637
D.R.E.A.M. Act. *See* Development, Relief and Education for Alien Minors Act
Drug use. *See* Substance abuse
Dry cleaning business, chemical exposure, 272
D'Souza, Dinesh, 59–60
Dual citizenship, of Filipino Americans, 28
Duckworth, Tammy, 810
Dyslipidemia, 294

East Asia, cram schools, 211–212
East of California caucus (AAAS), 188
Eastwood, Clint, 647
Eat Drink Man Woman (1994), 652
Ebens, Ronald, 623
Economic impact, of immigrants, 131–133
Education
attainment level disparities, 6*s,* 9–10, 170–172
bilingual education policy (*see* Bilingual education policy)
devaluation, of non-U.S. education, 150
Filipino Americans, 28
Freedom Schools, 217–219
health care access, links to, 264, 266–267
higher education (*see* Higher education)
K–12 system (*see* K–12 education)
model minority myth, effect of, 224–225
overrepresentation, perception of, 170
parental involvement (*see* Parenting styles)
segregated schooling, 172, 566, 568
Southeast Asian Americans, challenges for, 69–71, 537–538
standardized testing, 174
subgroup disparity, 150
supplementary schools (*see* Cram schools)
undocumented student issues (*see* Undocumented students)
El Monte sweatshop, 84, 136, 512–513, 515
Elderly populations
abuse of, 894–896
advocacy groups, 885–886
care-giving for, 848–849, 905*s*–906*s*
poverty among, 881–883
suicide in, 374, 376–377
support services for, 884–885
welfare reform, effect of, 883–884
Electoral power, factors contributing to, 717. *See also* Political participation
Emcees, 678
Employment
accent discrimination, 101–102, 103–104, 606–607
affirmative action policies (*see* Affirmative action)
call center workers, 100
earnings (*see* Wages)
English-only rules, 606
glass ceiling effect (*see* Glass ceiling)
job discrimination, 152–153
job training programs, limitations of, 151

Employment (*continued*)
low-income workers (*see* Low-income workers)
parental expectations, impact of, 233–234
self-employment (*see* Self-employment)
Southeast Asian American populations, in, 71
sweatshops (*see* Sweatshops)
Thai Americans, disparity among, 83–84
unemployment (*see* Unemployment)
unionization (*see* Labor unions)
women immigrants, of, 550–551
work visas (*see* H-1B visas; L-1 visas)
Enculturation, 843
End-of-life care issues, cultural influence in, 318–319
Eng, Michael, 686
English Immersion programs, 195
English Language Learner students, 191–192
English-only laws, 571, 605
English-only movement, 102–103
Chinese cultural symbols, and, 19
effect on Asian Americans, 192
re-emergence of, 194–195
Enter the Dragon (1972), 639
Environmental justice, around military bases, 756*s,* 757
Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, workplace unfairness suits, 104
Eskrima/Arnis, 29
Ethnic identity
beauty pageants, in, 423
definition, 399–400
generational effects, 409*s*
Hawai'i, in (*see under* Hawai'i)
historical context, 400–402
Japanese Americans, 37, 38
LGBTQ Asian Americans, 401–402
multiracial APIs, 439–440
one drop rule, 439
pan-South Asian, 446–447
religion, in formation of, 408, 460–461
struggle for, 407–410
theoretical models, 402–403, 405–407
See also Identity development
Ethnic language schools, 192
Ethnic press, 668*s*
Ethnic studies, birth of, 704. *See also* Asian American Studies
Ethnoburbs, Chinese, 19
Ethnocentrism, 462
Eu, March Fong, 738–739
European immigrants, identity development, 409*s*
Evangelical Christianity, development of, 461
Ex Parte Endo (1944), 567
Exchange Visitors Program, 550–551
Executive Order 9066, 34, 401, 566
Executive Order 11246, 181
Executive Order 13166, 604

Fall of the I-Hotel, The (1984), 658
FAME (television talent show), 640*s*
Families, transnational, 943–948
Family relationships
adoption (*see* International adoption)
behavioral patterns, 843–845
divorce rates, 850–851
extended family, 843
filial piety (*see* Filial piety)
intergenerational tensions, 845–848
parent-child relations, 911–913 (*see also* Parenting styles)
Family reunification immigration policy
family preference categories, elimination proposals, 505, 506
overview, 481–482
quota, 52, 505–508
Family violence
child abuse, 890–892
elder abuse, 894–896
intimate partner violence, 892–894
Fargo (1996), 639
The Fast and the Furious: Tokyo Drift (2006), 653
Federal means-tested public benefits, 521
Feminism, mainstream
women of color, alienation of, 735
Feminist consciousness, in women's movement development, 734–735
Fiancé visas, 549
Filial piety, 318–319, 901–902
care-giving and, 902–903
cultural tradition, as, 903–905

expectations, 845
parental role, 844
Western child developmental models, contrast to, 843–844
Filipino Americans
accent discrimination against, 101–102
comedians, 649
community groups, 811
curricula on, 175
discrimination of, 29–30
domestic workers, 136
education of, 28
Hawai'i, local identity and stereotyping in, 415, 417
health advocacy groups, 273*s*
health of, 29
Hollywood actors, 643
household income, 10
hypertension among, 293, 294
immigration, contemporary, 27–28
immigration history, 25–27
immigration preference categories, 507, 508
income disparity, compared to whites, 152
independent films on, 660
language use laws, 606–607
LGBTQ identity construction, 429
mental health care, access of, 349
notable persons, 30*s*
nurses' unions, 137–138
occupational downgrade, of nurses, 150
parental influence, on child sexual behavior, 363
Pilipino versus Filipino, use of, 404*s*–405*s*
popular music artists, 673–674
post-9/11 removal of, 597–600
reality show winner, 649
sports, 29
statistics, basic, 26*t*
veterans (*see* Filipino war veterans)
white supremacist violence against, 624
youth issues, 226*s*–227*s*
Filipino Civil Rights Advocates, 798
Filipino Coalition for Global Justice, Not War, 811
Filipino martial arts, 29
Filipino war veterans, 29
classification of, 797
coalition building, 800
equity campaign, 798–799
immigration influx, 797–798
legislation, 799–800, 801
rescission of benefits, 752–753, 796
service of, 795–796
Filipino World War II Veterans Compensation Fund, 799–800
Film
Asian actors, in Hollywood, 642–643
Asian American actors, in Hollywood, 643–644
Asian American women, representation of, 644–645
directors, in Hollywood, 651
historical portrayal, of Asian Americans, 636
independent productions (*see* Independent films)
Indian diaspora, directors, 653, 654*s*–655*s*
male actors, representation of, 638–641
model minority stereotype, 646
perpetual foreigner stereotype, 645
representations, progress in, 646
war films, depiction of Asians, 749, 751
Yellowface in, 636–638
Financial aid
student retention, role in, 239–240
undocumented students, issues of, 254–255
Financing, for small businesses, 160
Finishing the Game (2007), 653, 655
First generation Asian Americans, definition, 409*s*
First Person Plural (2000), 659
First They Killed My Father: A Daughter of Cambodia Remembers (Ung), 776
Flipside, The (2000), 659
Fong, Matt, 697
Fong, Paul, 686, 698
Fong Yue Ting v. United States, 563
Forbidden Kingdom, The (2008), 643
Foreigner, perception of
film representations, 645

Foreigner, perception of (*continued*)
identity, struggle for, 407
South Asian Americans, of, 59
Forgotten War. *See* Korean War; Philippine American War
Fort Wayne (Indiana), opposition to Buddhist temple, 462
Fragante case (1989), 101–102
Frame-switching, 407
Freedom Schools, 217–219
Freire, Paulo, 218
Fresh Kid Ice, 678
Friends (1994–2004), 645
Fu Manchu films, 636
men, representation of, 638
Fujita, Scott, 38
Fung, Lei-Chun, 281
Furrow, Buford, 29

Gamblers Anonymous meetings, 326
Gambling
emergence, in America, 324
forms of, 323
pathological gambling, 324, 325–326
targeted marketing of, 270
Gang violence
at-risk youth issue, 858–859
Southeast Asian American communities, in, 72
Garment industry, human trafficking and, 475–476
Gay Asian Americans. *See* Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Queer Asian Americans
Geary Act (1892), 563
Gee, Emma, 703, 736
Geisha girl stereotype, 644, 651
Gender issues
cancer, among women, 277, 278
college retention concerns, 239
higher education, participation disparities, 176
immigration restrictions, on women, 52
Korean Americans, among, 43, 44
Muslim American females, health care of, 266
racial profiling, of Muslim Americans, 754
sexually transmitted diseases, 358–359
suicide patterns, 375–376
Gender variant individuals, 428. *See also* Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Queer Asian Americans
Gentleman's Agreement, 564
Geographic concentration, 6*s,* 7–9
Gestational diabetes, 308
Giant Robot, 670
Gidra, women's liberation issue, 734
Glass ceiling, 152–153
accent discrimination and, 104
Chinese American professionals, for, 18
civil rights advocacy against, 580
definition, 108
intergroup disparity, 107–108, 136
policy remedies, 109–110
social biases, effect of, 108–109
Global V-Day Campaign for Justice, 763
Globalization
diaspora and transnationalism studies, 188
effect of, 94, 96
low-income jobs and, 144
outsourcing, 111–112
start-up companies, impact of, 112–114
Go For Broke National Education Center, 35
Golden Venture incident, 542
Gong Lum v. Rice (1927), 566
Good Earth, The (Buck), 636
Grain of Sand, A (1973), 673
Gran Torino (2008), 647
Grand Wizard Theodore, 677
Gratz v. Bollinger (2003), 574
Green Hornet, The (1966–1967), 641
Grey's Anatomy, 646
Grutter v. Bollinger (2003), 182, 574
Guam, capture of, 750
Gunawardena, Ananda, 120
Gupta, Sanjay, 60*s*

H-1B Visas
discrimination, of workers, 119
immigrant characteristics, 117
program expansion, 94, 117–118
worker rights, need for, 120–121
Hagedorn, Jessica, 30*s*
Hammett, Kirk, 673

Hapa, 437. *See also* Multiracial Asian and Pacific Islanders
Hapa Issues Forum, 442
Harold and Kumar Go to White Castle (2004), 646
Hart-Celler Act. *See* Immigration and Naturalization Act (1965)
Hassan, Fred, 60*s*
Hassan, Waquar, 528
Hate crimes
documenting of, 624–626, 627
Filipino Americans, against, 29
legal issues, unaddressed, 625–627
post-9/11 era, 472–473
Wisconsin laws, 622*s*
See also Racial violence
Hate Crimes Statistics Act (1990), 625–626
Hawaii (television show), 648
Hawai'i
Cherry Blossom Queen Pageant, 421, 422
Chinese Americans, 416–417
coalition building, challenges, 709–711
elected officials, increase in representation, 694
ethnic identity development in, 406, 413–414
Filipino Americans, stereotyping of, 415
Japanese workers, migration of, 33, 34
Korean laborers in, 42
labor strikes, 733–734
local identity, 414–415
Okinawan Americans, 415–416
1.5 generation identity, 416
plantation unions, 414
prison population, 610, 611
prison population, offense types of, 613
sovereignty movement, 415–416, 692
Hawaii Five-O (1968–1980), 641
Hays Code, 636
Health
advocacy groups, 273–274
body mass index, 309–310
complementary and alternative medicine (*see* Complementary and alternative medicine)
data, lack of, 274
environmental issues, 271–272
factors affecting, 266–268
Filipino Americans, of, 29
intergroup disparities, 263–265
medical insurance (*see* Health insurance)
primary issues, 265–266, 268–269 (*see also individual diseases*)
targeted marketing, effect of, 269–271
Health care
access barriers, 333
dissatisfaction of, 332–333
end-of-life care issues (*see* End-of-life care issues; Hospice care)
homecare (*see* Homecare industry)
immunization programs (*see* Immunization programs)
infectious diseases, coverage for, 340
labor unions, 138–139
local providers, 334
Health insurance
complementary and alternative medicine use, 303–304
coverage issues, 280, 331–332
lack of, 520
Medicaid policies, changes to, 331–332
Hemorrhagic stroke, incidence, 289, 293–294
Hepatitis B
intervention programs, 339–340
overview, 337–338
perceptions of, 340, 341
Hepatocellular carcinoma, incidence of, 339*f*
Herald Cancer Association, 282
Heroes (2006–present), 646
High-stakes tests, 245
Higher education
affirmative action investigations, 576
affirmative action lawsuits, 182, 183, 574, 577
Asian and Pacific Islander Serving Institutions, designation, 146, 177, 537
aspirations, of students, 239
attainment levels, 171*f*
campus climate, 201–202, 240
curricular focus (*see* Asian American Studies)
enrollment, diversity in, 201–202

Higher education (*continued*)
ethnic studies, struggle to establish, 704
faculty representation, 204*s*
funding sources, 537–538
Greek organizations, participation in, 202
Hmong Americans, of, 76
institutional policies, 203
inter-group dynamics, 202–203
law school enrollment, 582*s*
leadership roles, under-representation in, 204*s*
model minority myth, and enrollment policy, 222
retention of students (*see* Retention in higher education)
Southeast Asian American populations, of, 70–71
student activism, 173
student aspirations, 239
tenure cases, 173
Thai Americans, of, 83
trends in, 176–177
undocumented students, of, 254–255
See also Community colleges; College students
Higher Education Opportunity Act (2008), 537–538
Highly skilled category, of labor, 53
Him, Chanrithy, 776
Hinduism, diversity of, 58
Hip-hop culture
Cambodian American artist, 776
early recordings, 677
emcees, 678
turntablists, 678–679
Hirabayashi v. United States (1943), 567
Hirono, Mazie, 38*s,* 739
Historic Filipinotown, 28
Hito Hata: Raise the Banner (1970), 657–658
HIV/AIDS risk, 357–358, 359–360, 362, 427–428
Hmong, role in Laos civil war, 804
Hmong Americans
Cha Vang killing, 620*s*–623*s*, 624
educational challenges, 70, 71
film, portrayal in, 647
fish consumption and toxicity risk, 271
higher education of, 76
household composition, 124
hypertension care regimes, 294–295
integration, and refugee identity, 478–479, 480–481
Laos war memorial, Arlington National Cemetery, 805–806
marriage by capture, cultural defense of, 587
Pao, General Vang, 804
racism, in schools, 175
romanization of writing, 70
statistics, basic, 69*t*
U.S. military connections, 69
Vang, Chai Soua, 620*s*, 627
veterans organization, 805, 807
Hmong National Development Inc., 76
Hmong Veterans' Naturalization Act (2000), 806
Ho vs. SFUSD (1994), 183
Ho Chi Minh portrait incident, in Little Saigon, 830–831
Hollywood Chinese (2007), 659
Hollywood productions. *See* Film
Home ownership, 95
status, 123, 125–126
Homecare industry, undocumented Filipino workers, 493
Homecoming Act (1988), 438
Homeland security racism
context of, 597–598
practices of, 598–600
Homicides, domestic violence-related, 592
Homosexuality. *See* Lesbian, Bisexual, Gay, and Transgender (LBGT) Asian Americans
Honda, Mike, 694, 695
legislative activism, 754, 764*s*–765*s*
Hong Kong, Hollywood film directors and, 651
Honolulu, language discrimination case against, 101–102
Honor killings, 592
Hoo, Annie Soo, 506*s*
Horton, Myles, 218
Hospice care, 317–318
Medicare benefits, 320
palliative benefits, 319
House Veterans Affairs Committee, Filipino World War II veterans legislation, 799

Housing
employment, effect on, 145
environmental issues, 271–272
household characteristics, 9, 123–124
monster houses, 19
mortgages, and, 126–127
organizations, assistance from, 127
overcrowding, 124–125
residential segregation, 132–133
See also Home ownership
Huang, John, illegal fund-raising charges, 714, 715
Hugo, Chad, 675
Hulk, The (2003), 652
Human trafficking
definitions, 511
immigration law and, 475–476
legal cases (*see* El Monte sweatshop)
sex trafficking, 513–514, 766–767
victim advocacy, 514–516
Victims of Trafficking and Violence Prevention Act (2000), 594
Humanitarian immigrants, public benefits to, 521
Hung, William, 640*s*–641*s*
Hypercholesterolemia, 294
Hysterical Blindness (television film), 654*s*

I Now Pronounce You Chuck and Larry (2007), 645
I Wor Kuen, formation of, 705
Ichioka, Yuji, 703
Identity. *See* Ethnic identity
Identity development
bilingual education and, 196–197
See also Ethnic identity
Iglesias, Enrique, 643
Iha, James, 674
Iijima, Kazu, 703, 736
Ileto, Joseph, 29, 624
Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (1996), 484
deportation and detention provisions, 496, 497, 536, 773–774
enforcement agencies, 492
impact of, 491, 598
Immigration Act (1917), 564
Immigration Act (1924), 564
Immigration and Customs Enforcement, 492
detention system, 499
immigration raids, 492–493, 544
Immigration and Nationality Act (The McCarran-Walter Act, 1952), 484
Immigration and Nationality Act (1990)
diversity visas, 52
Filipino World War II veterans and, 29
Immigration and Naturalization Act (1965)
and Chinese American population growth, 15, 16
Filipino immigration, effect on, 27
immediate relatives, 504–505
increased immigration due to, 503–504
political participation, effect on, 692–693
preference categories, 505, 506
Immigration laws
discriminatory laws, reversal of, 568
economic issues, and, 95
enforcement mechanisms (*see* Detention; Deportation)
family immigration (*see* Family reunification immigration policy)
gender discriminatory laws, 548
H-1B Visas (*see* H-1B Visas)
human trafficking and, 475–476
ICE raids, 492–493
inadmissibility, 599
and labor market theories, 131–132
national origins quota system, 503
naturalization, restrictions on, 562–563, 564
Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act, effect of, 476–478
and population growth, 11–12
priority dates, for visas, 507
public benefits, perceptions of use, 522
race-based exclusionary laws, 563–564
South Asian immigration, effect on, 52–53
Southeast Asian Americans, effect on, 536–537
state and local laws, 564–566
T-1 visa, 514
U-visa, 594

Immigration laws (*continued*)
V-visa program, 507, 508
Violence Against Women Act, effect of, 594
See also specific laws
Immigration Marriage Fraud Amendment Act (1986), 548
Immigration, of women. *See* Women immigrants
Immigration Reform and Control Act (1986), 570
Immunization programs
BCG vaccination, 339–340
for hepatitis B, 338
In the Absence of Sun (Lee), 787
Incarceration. *See* Prison population
Income levels, 9
inequality, growth of, 95
See also Median household income; Per capita income
Independent films
organizational support for, 661–662
productions, 657–661
India
diasporic filmmakers, 653
immigration from, 52–53
outsourcing, gains from, 111, 112
See also Indian Americans
Indian Americans
cardiovascular disease among, 269
current status, 53–54
exclusionary immigration laws, 564
filmmakers, 653
population growth, 5, 6*s,* 7*f*
skilled worker migration, 118
Individual racism, 347
Indoor air ordinances, 390–391
Information Group for Asian American Rights, 154
Inouye, Daniel K., 38*s,* 694
Japanese Latin American redress issues, 754, 818
Inspiration (CD), 641*s*
Institutional racism, 347
Insulin resistance, 309
Intergroup relations, racial attitudes and, 728–729
International adoption
and Chinese immigration, 16
female babies, predominance of, 551
of Korean children, 41, 48
literature and media on, 48
International Hotel, campaign to save, 705
International Ladies Garment Workers Union, 137
International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, 414
International Marriage Brokers Regulation Act (2005), 549–550
International marriages, 549–550
International students
suicide, risk for, 377
visa restrictions, noncompliance, 495
Internet
gambling, 324 (*see also* Gambling)
information distribution, in, 670–671
mail order bride industry, 751
Internment camps
education, disruption of, 172–173
Enemy Alien Program, 815
establishment, 34
Executive Order 9066, 34, 401
Japanese Latin American internees (*see* Japanese Latin American internees)
legal cases, 566–567
remembrance activities, 36–37
reparations, 35, 581, 691, 753–754, 760
women's activism in, 734
Interpreter of Maladies (Lahiri), 60*s*
Interracial relations, civil rights advocacy for, 580
Intimate partner violence, 892–894. *See also* Domestic abuse; Domestic violence
Introducing Harlemm Lee (album), 640
Iraq War
civil liberties issues, in the military, 812–813
community organizations, response by, 810–813
military leaders, 813
resistance to, 754–755
veterans issues, 809–810, 812–813
Iu Mien Americans, integration and refugee identity, 478–481

JabbaWockeeZ, 410–411, 649

Japan
  comfort stations, during war, 760 (*see also* Comfort women)
  cram schools, 212
  migration from, limits on, 564
Japanese American Historical Society (San Diego), 35
Japanese American Museum (San Jose), 35
Japanese American National Library (San Francisco), 35
Japanese American National Museum (Los Angeles), 35
Japanese Americans
  beauty pageants, 37, 421, 422
  child endangerment, cultural defense of, 587
  community issues, 37–38
  early immigration, 33, 34
  filial piety, 845
  generation and identity, 409*s*
  Hawai'i, local identity of, 413, 416
  health studies, in, 267–268, 269
  household composition, 124
  independent films on, 658
  in-group discrimination, 37
  internment of (*see* Internment camps)
  multiracial population, 441
  nontraditional political participation, 691
  notable persons, 38*s*
  Okinawan Americans, separate identity from, 415–416
  1.5 generation identity, 416
  organizations, 35–36
  outmarriage rates, 37
  parenting style, 845
  political candidate recruitment, 696
  popular music artists, 673, 675
  property rights limitations, 565–566, 567
  racial violence against, 625
  religious oppression, 463
  reparation for, 581
  second generation, growth in, 691
  statistics, basic, 34*t*
  women's movement, role in, 736
Japanese Cultural Center (Hawai'i), 35
Japanese Investigation, The (1909), 636
Japanese Latin American internees
  legal cases, 817
  legislation, 818
  redress struggle for, 753–754, 817
  World War II Enemy Alien Program, 816–817
Japanese Peruvian Oral History Project, 817
Jayasinghe, DeLon, 60*s*
Jin, 678
Jindal, Bobby, 59–60
Job discrimination, 152–153
  South Asian Americans, against, 528–529
Johnson, Dwayne "The Rock", 644
Johnson, Lyndon B.
  affirmative action policy, 181
  Bilingual Education Act (1968), 192–193
Journal of Asian American Studies, 186
Journalists, Asian American, 666–667. *See also* News media
Journey (rock band), 675
Journey from the Fall (2007), 659–660
Joy Luck Club, The (1993), 651
Juachon, Jose V., 801
Jundis, Orvy, 404*s*
Juno (2007), 645

K–12 education
  affirmative action lawsuits, 183, 184
  curriculum, lack of multicultural perspectives, 175
  ELL students (*see* English Language Learner students)
  issues in, 174–175
  model minority myth, effect of, 223
Kaba Modern, 649
Kali, 29
Kama Sutra: A Tale of Love (1996), 654*s*
Kang, Eugene, 46
Karim, Jawed, 60*s*
Karma of Brown Folk, The (Prashad), 61
Katrina, Hurricane, news coverage of, 664*s*–665*s*
Katyal, Neal, 60*s*
Keiro Services, 849
Kenjinkai, 35–36
Kennedy, John F., 181
Kennedy, Ted, immigration support of, 503–504

Khmer Rouge reign, 772
Kholsa Ventures, 114
Kholsa, Vinod, 114
Kim Ark, Wong, 560
Kim, Harry, 46
Kim, Hyung Joon, 785
Kim, Jay, 46
Kito, Shima, 453
Kochiyama, Yuri, 704, 737
Korea. *See* South Korea
Korean American Coalition, 696
Korean American Manufacturers Association, 155
Korean Americans
  actors, 644
  African Americans, tensions with, 45, 46, 728–729
  axis of evil presidential speech, reaction to, 782, 785–786
  church, role of, 43–44
  dry cleaning business, chemical exposure issues, 272
  early immigration, 41–42
  end-of-life care, lack of knowledge, 319
  entrepreneurship of ,44–45
  espionage, charges of, 787
  exclusionary immigration laws, 564
  family reunion, with North Korean relatives, 787
  generation and identity, 409*s*
  generational differences, related to Korean War, 782, 784
  Hawai'i, local identity of, 415, 416
  health insurance, lack of, 330
  heterogeneity of, 42–43
  Hurricane Katrina, effect of, 664*s*
  hwabyung (illness), 346–347
  hypertension in, 293
  income disparity, compared to whites, 152
  independent films on, 659, 660
  K–12 education research, 174
  North Korean refugees, awareness groups, 789–790
  North Koreans, humanitarian assistance to, 788
  notable persons, 46, 47*s,* 48
  1.5 generation identity, 416
  organizations, 48
  parental expectations, of success, 232
  political mobilization, 696
  racial violence against, 625 (*see also* Sa-ee-Gu)
  Sa-ee-Gu, 46
  second generation, impact of Korean War on, 783
  small business ownership, 161*s*
  statistics, basic, 43*t*
  suicide prevention, social support for, 379
  Survivor winner, 649
  unionization of, 140
  war brides, 549
  war survivors, impact on, 782–783
Korean Americans Against War and Neoliberalism, 811
Korean Church Coalition for North Korea Freedom, 789
Korean Immigrant Workers Alliance, 140
Korean War (1950–53), 42, 750
  family separations, 781, 787
  future threat, 781, 792
  Six Party Talks, 782
Korematsu v. United States (1944), 567, 691
Koy, Jo, 649
Kung Fu (1972–1975), 637
Kwan, Michelle Wingshan, 21*s*
Kwon, Yul, 649

L-1 visas, 118
Labbe, Richard, 73
Labor market theories, and immigration policy, 131–132
Labor unions
  community-based organizing, 140–141
  in Hawai'i, 414
  membership data, 139
  multiethnic industries, recruiting in, 137–139
  nonimmigrants, bias against, 119
  in public sector, 137
  representation in, 135
  women's participation, 733–734
Lahiri, Jhumpa, 60*s*
Language brokers, children as
  characteristics of, 866–870
  perceptions of children, 865–866

Language discrimination, 571
accent discrimination, 606–607
civil rights advocacy against, 580
English-mandated laws, in businesses, 605–606
Official English laws, 605
See also Language rights
Language proficiency
accent discrimination (*see* Accent discrimination)
domestic violence, role in seeking support, 593
employment opportunities, effect on, 150–151
hate crime law enforcement, problems in, 626
health care access, role in, 333
intergroup differences, 93
Korean Americans, of, 42
language brokering (*see* Language brokers, children as)
school dropout rates, and, 225
Southeast Asians, challenges of, 70
standardized test scores and, 246
2007 rates, 6*s,* 12
voter assistance and, 604, 721
Language retention, importance of, 196–197. *See also* Bilingual education policy.
Language rights, access issues, 603–604
Language schools. *See* Ethnic language schools
Lao Veterans of America, 805
Laos
civil war, 803, 804
educational access, limitations of, 70
refugees from, 65, 68–69
Laos war memorial, Arlington National Cemetery, 805–806
Laotian American National Association, 76
Laotian Americans
deportation orders, 497–498
educational challenges, 70, 71
fish consumption, toxicity risk, 271
housing, in toxic areas, 271–272
refugees, arrival as, 68–69
refugees, veteran families, 804–805
statistics, basic, 68*t*
war memorial, Arlington National Cemetery, 805–806
Last Comic Standing, winner of, 649
Latin America, Japanese Latin Americans, rendition of, 816
Latino communities
National Latino and Asian American Study, 348
overcrowding, of housing, 124
political coalitions with, 710
self-employment rates, compared to, 157
Lau v. Nichols (1974), 173, 193, 571, 603–604
Leadership Academy for Asian American Elected Officials, 696, 697
League of Revolutionary Struggle, 737
Lee, Ang, 21*s,* 652–653
Lee, Bruce, 637
Kato, role of, 641
sexually chaste character roles, 639
Lee, Chol Soo, 47*s*
Lee, Harlemm, 640*s*
Lee, Helie, 787
Lee, Jason Scott, 643–644
Lee, John K. H., 714
Lee, K. W., 47*s*
Lee, Sammy, 47*s*
Lee, Tongjin Samuel, 791
Lee, Wen Ho, 20, 407, 569
prosecution of, 715
Legal organizations
civil rights advocacy groups, 583
domestic violence victims, support for, 593
Legal profession, Asian American representation, 582*s*
Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Queer (LGBTQ) Asian Americans
anthologies on, 425–426
Asian Pacific Lesbian Bisexual Transgender movement, 739–740
coming out process, 426–427, 927–932
HIV risk, 359–360, 362
homophobia, within activist organizations, 425
identity development, 401–402
identity politics, 427–428
independent film on, 659
media representation of, 427–429

Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Queer (LGBTQ) Asian Americans (*continued*)
popular culture and, 425–426, 429–431
same-sex marriages, 428–429
Stonewell rebellion, 739
suicide rates among, 374–375
transnationalism and immigration, 429
Letters to Montgomery Clift (Alumit), 431
Li, Jet, 638, 642–643
Li, Jian, 183
Liberty in North Korea, 790–791
Liem, Deann Borshay, 48
Liem, Ramsay, 783
Life expectancy, 317
Limited English proficiency
discrimination against, 571
educational rights, for students, 581 (*see also Lau v. Nichols*)
and employment opportunities, 150–151
Executive Order 13166, 604
public assistance, access barriers to, 523
2007 rates, 6*s,* 12
welfare-to-work programs, limitations, 153–154
Lin, Justin, 653, 655
Lin, Maya Ying, 21*s*
Lippo Group, 714
Little Manila, 28
Little Saigon
establishment, 829–830
public backlash, against legitimizing Vietnamese government, 830–831, 832
Liu, Carol, 739
Liu, Eric, 399
Liu, Lucy, 644
Liver cancer, 278, 338, 339*f*
Locke, Gary, 21
Loo, Ming Hai, 623
Los Alamos National Laboratory, in Donorgate scandal, 715
Los Angeles (California)
Asian Women's Center, 736
Freedom Schools, approach of, 218
Korean-black tension, 45, 46
Thai American community in, 83
Los Angeles riots, race relations in, 698–699
Lotus blossom stereotype, 644
Loving v. Virginia (1967), 438
Low-income workers
challenges facing, 144–145
characteristics of, 143–144
organizational support for, 144–146
Lucky Child: A Daughter of Cambodia Reunites with the Sister She Left Behind (Ung), 776
Lung cancer, 277, 278
Lust, Caution (2005), 652–653
Ly, Prach, 776

Ma, Kim Ho, 473–474
Ma, Yo-Yo, 21*s*
Maisha Film Lab, 654*s*
Makibaka: The Pilipino American Struggle (Morales), 404*s*
Makki, Hind, 487
Manavi (women's organization), 738, 739
Mariano, Eleanor, 30*s*
Marketing, targeted. *See* Targeted marketing
Marriage
antimiscegenation laws, 437–438, 566, 920–921
Cambodian American girls, pressure on, 225
divorce rates, 850–851
fiancé visas, 549
immigration fraud and, 496
Immigration Marriage Fraud Amendment Act (1986), 548
interethnic, 921
International Marriage Brokers Regulation Act (2005), 549–550
interracial, 919–921, 922–923
Japanese American outmarriage, 37
Loving v. Virginia (1967), 438
outmarriage rates, 37, 439
picture brides (*see* Picture brides)
Punjabi-Mexicans, 52
same-sex marriages, 428–429, 935–939
sexual assault, effect of, 362
in Southeast Asian American populations, 70–71
women, loss of citizenship, 563

Martell Cognac, 270–271
Martial arts
Bruce Lee films (*see* Bruce Lee)
film roles, 641–643
Jet Li films (*see* Li, Jet,)
Martial Law (1998–2000), 641
M*A*S*H (1972–1983), 645
Mass electoral coalitions, 709–710
Mass shootings, media coverage of, 665–666
Massachusetts
bilingual education, curtailment of, 195
Cambodian American community, 774–775
language immersion programs, 604
Massachusetts Comprehensive Assessment System, 247
Matsuda, Minn, 703
Matsui, Doris, 739, 739
Matsui, Robert, 694
Matsunaga, Spark, 694
May, Corinne, 674
McCarran-Walter Act (1952), 484, 564
reversal of discrimination, 568
McLaughlin v. State Board of Education (2000), 195
The Medallion (2003), 639
Media Action Network for Asian Americans, 648
Media representation
activism for change, 648–649
Asian men, of, 641*s,* 751
Back to School: The American Student (CNN feature), 169
cram schools, of, 212
fetishization, of Asian women 751
LGBTW Asian Americans, of, 429–431
model minority myth, and, 221–222
Median household income, 9
Chinese Americans, 18
Southeast Asian Americans, 72
Thai Americans, 83
2007 data, 92
Medicaid program
coverage issues, 331–332
immigrants, eligibility restrictions, 521
Medical insurance. *See* Health insurance
Medical tourism, in Philippines, 454–455
Medicare Hospice Benefit, 320
Mehra, Vivek, 113
Mehta, Deepa, 653
Mental health care
access barriers, 348–349
advocacy groups, 351–352
culturally competent care, 350–351
Mental health issues
cultural factor affecting, 346–347
incidence of, 345
of multiracial APIs, 441–442
racism, effect of, 346
research, need of, 265
and substance abuse disorders, 369–370
youth and, 227*s*
See also Post-traumatic stress disorder; Suicide
Metabolic syndrome, 294
definition, 209
Metallica, 673
Mexican communities, South Asian outmarriage to, 52
Michigan, affirmative action cases, 182, 574, 577
Midnight Caller (1988–1991), 641
Min, Soo Ji, 487
Mineta, Norman, 694
Ming-Na, 645
Mink, Patsy Takemoto, 694, 738
Minnesota, cancer support groups, 282
Minority Identity Development Model, 403, 405–406
Mirikitani, Janice, 735–736
Miss Saigon, protests against, 740
Mississippi Masala (Nair), 60*s,* 654*s*
Mixed race Asian Americans. *See* Multiracial Asian and Pacific Islanders
Mochizuki lawsuit (1996), 817
Model minority stereotype
Chinese Americans, and, 17–18
education, effect on, 222–224
ethnic identity formation issues, 407–408
Japanese Americans as, 35
origins of, 221–222
overlooked issues, 224–225
racial/ethnic tensions, creation of, 223, 729–730

Model minority stereotype (*continued*)
sexual health, impact on, 361
suicidal thinking, effect on, 378
whiz kid image, 858
Monsoon Wedding (2001), 654*s*
Monster houses, 19
Mortgages, 126–127
Mosobbir, Abdul, 532
Motel, The (2005), 660
Motivational Interviewing, 370
Moua, Mee, 77*s*
Movies. *See* Films
Moving Forward for Peace, 811
Multicultural education, lack in curriculum, 175
Multiracial Asian and Pacific Islanders
demographics, 438–439, 442*s*
hapa, 437
Hines Ward Helping Hands Foundation, 47*s*
history of, 437–438
identity, factors affecting, 440–441
identity formation, 439–440
mental health issues, 439
notable persons (*see* Iglesias, Enrique; Johnson, Dwayne "The Rock"; Reeves, Keanu; Woods, Eldrick "Tiger")
organizations, 442
racial and ethnic tables, 4
war babies, issues faced by, 757
Multiracial census category, 4–5
Mummy, The: Tomb of the Dragon Emperor (2008), 638
Muni to the Marriage (20054), 659
Music. *See* Popular music
Muslim Americans
hate crimes, 472–473
health concerns, 266
post-9/11 backlash against, 528
profiling of, 569–570, 754
South Asian Americans, 58
Special Registration policy, 530–531
My America, or Honk If You Love Buddha (1997), 659
My Own Country (television film), 654*s*

N. Y. Coalition for Asian American Mental Health, 352
Nail salons, chemical exposure in, 272
Nair, Mira, 60*s*, 653, 654*s*–655*s*
Nakatsu, Penny, 735
Namesake, The (Lahiri), 61*s*, 654*s*
Narasaki, Karen, 182
Nash Bridges (1996–2001), 641
National Alliance for Filipino Veterans Equity, 800
National Alliance of Vietnamese American Social Service Agencies, 76
National Alliance on Mental Illness, 351
National Asian American Pacific Islander Mental Health Association, 351
National Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium, 583
television representation of APAs, report on, 647–648
National Cancer Institute, research initiative, 274
National Coalition for Asian Pacific American Community Development, 127
partnerships, with other groups, 146
National Council on Asian Pacific Americans, 146
National Diabetes Education Program, 311–312
National Dollar Stores, women's strikes against, 734
National Education Association, 137
National Federation of Filipino American Associations, 798
National Japanese American Historical Society, 35
National Japanese American Memorial Foundation (Washington, D.C.), 35
National Latino and Asian American Study, 346
National origin discrimination, 101
National Origins Act (1924), 691
National Park Service, preservation of World War II detention camp sites, 37
National security
civil rights advocacy, against discrimination, 580
National Security Exit-Entry Registration System, 498, 530
racial profiling and, 569–570
National Vietnam Veterans Readjustment Survey, 825

Nationality Act (1790), 560
Native Americans
hunting rights in Wisconsin, 620
Red Power Movement, 692
Native Hawaiians
coalition building, challenges, 709–711
incarceration of, 610
indigenous people, identity assertion as, 417–418
sovereignty movement, 415–416, 692
Naturalization
applicants, increase of, 484–485, 486
challenges to, 486–488, 533–536
Hmong Veterans' Naturalization Act (2000), 806
legal cases, by Asian Americans, 401, 560, 561
1996, prior to, 484
1996 welfare policy changes, effect of, 485
rates of, 483–484, 485–486, 718–719
reasons for, 488
service fee increases, 486
Naturalization Act (1790), 546, 560
Negative action, 183. *See also* Affirmative action
Nepali Americans, 55–56
Neptunes, The, 675
New American Media survey
interracial understanding, 709, 710
New Fist of Fury, The (1976), 642
New Jersey
South Asian women's organizations, 739
New Year Baby (2007), 659, 776–777
New York (city)
Asian American Hepatitis B program, 341
Chinese American communities in, 19
class differences, effect on education, 225
community groups, responding to war, 811
desi organizations, 446
Korean-black tension, 45
legal organizations, 583
mental health advocacy group, 352
turban branding policy, by Metropolitan Transit Authority, 600
New York Taxi Workers Alliance, 138*s,* 448
New York University School of Medicine
Center for the Study of Asian American Health, 273*s*
hepatitis B health program, 342
News media
Asian American journalists, 666–667
Asian American outlets, 668*s*–669*s,* 669–671
distributional channels, 670
Hurricane Katrina, coverage of, 664*s*–665*s*
mainstream representation, of Asian Americans, 663–666
political outreach through, 697
Newspapers, ethnic press, 668*s*
Ng, Hui Lui, 543–544
Nguoi Viet, community backlash against, 832
Nguyen, Dat Tan, 77*s*
Nguyen, Linda, 687
Nguyen, Madison, 687
community backlash against, 832
Nguyen, Tia, 430, 431
Nichols, James A., 620*s*, 621*s*, 622*s*
Nikkei for Civil Rights and Redress, 811–812
9/11, effects of. *See* Post-9/11 climate
Nitz, Michael, 623
No Child Left Behind policy
California language classification, 196
Nodutdol for Korean Community Development, 789–790
Nooyi, Indra, 60*s*
Norm-referenced test, 245
North Carolina, anti-Asian violence, 623
North Korea
family reunification, 787–790
famine in, 788
Korean Americans, effect on, 786
Korean War (*see* Korean War)
nuclear armament, moves toward, 785, 786
refugees, 752, 788–789
North Korean Human Rights Act (2004), 788–789
North Shore (television show), 648
Nuclear arms miniaturization technology, 715

Ny, Sokly, 658–659
NYU South Asian Health Initiative, 273*s*

Obama, Barack
  Asian American vote for, 721*s*
  ethnic identity, 440
Obesity levels, 268–269
  cardiovascular risk and, 291–292
O'Connor, Sandra Day, 183
O'Donnell, Rosie,670
Oh, Angela, 46
Oh, Sandra, 646
Ohara (1987–1988), 641
Okazaki, Steven, 658
Okinawa, military bases, 756*s*
Okinawan Americans, 415–416, 756*s*
Okja Keller, Nora, 47*s*
Oklahoma (state), undocumented students, 255
Old immigrants, 15
One drop rule, 439
1.5-generation
  college students, 239
  definition, 409*s*
Operation COACH, 154–155
Oregon Nikkei Legacy Center, 35
Orientalism, 461, 748
Our Feet Walk the Sky, 61
Outsourcing, 111–112
Overseas Compatriot Protection Committee, 787
Oyako shinju, parent-child suicide, 587
Oyama v. California (1948), 567
Ozawa v. United States (1922), 401, 560

Pacific Islanders
  cancer support services, 283–284
  coalition building with, 710
  health advocacy groups, 273–274
  multiracial groups (*see* Multiracial Asian and Pacific Islanders)
  umbrella term, 170
  youth, mental health issues, 227*s*
Page Law. *See* Alien Prostitution Importation Act (1875)
Pakistani Americans, 54, 55*t*
  honor killings, 592
Pan-South Asian American identity, 445. *See also* South Asian Americans
Panethnic identity
  emergence of, 708
  political success and, 698
Panichgul, Thakoon, 86*s*
Pao, Vang, 69
Pap screening, 279–280
Parachute children, 19
Parent-child suicide, 587
Parental expectations, 233–234
Parenting styles, 910–911
  cultural explanations, 231–232
  structural explanations, 232–233
Parents Involved in Community Schools v. Seattle School District No. 1 (2006), 184
Parents v. Seattle (2006), 184
Paris Peace Accord, 804
Park, Annabel, 765
Park, Charles, 161
Parsis, 445
Patchwork Shawl, 61
Pathological gambling, 324, 325–326
Pearl Harbor
  attack on, 34
  religious oppression, following attack, 463
Peiris, Jina, 282
Pennsylvania, Buddhist monastery, 460
Pensionado Act (1903), 26. *See also* Filipino Americans; The Philippines
People v. Chen, 586
People v. Hall (1854), 565
People v. Kimura, 587
People v. Moua, 587
People v. Wu, 587
Per capita income, 6*s,* 10, 11*f*
  Chinese Americans, 18
  Southeast Asian Americans, 72
  Thai Americans, 83
  2007 data, 92
Perchloroethylene, 272
Perez Family, The (1995), 654*s*
Perez v. Sharp (1948), 568
Permanent residence, public charge doctrine and, 522
Perpetual foreigner, perception of. *See* Foreigner, perception of
Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (1996), 132, 476–478, 484, 485

eligibility restrictions, 521–522, 542–543
financial sponsor obligations, 508, 522–523
permanent residents, effect on, 570
public benefits, changes to, 519
Peru, World War II Enemy Alien Program participation, 816–817
Pham, Tap Van, 830
Phan, Dat, 649
Phetakoune, Tung, 73
Philadelphia
Folk Arts-Cultural Treasures Charter School, 218
panethnic coalition building, 708
Philanthropy, by Asian American entrepreneurs, 113
Philippine American War, 26, 748, 750
Philippines
Citizenship Retention and Re-Acquisition Act (2003), 28
colonial history, 26–27
commonwealth status, and immigration implications, 564
cosmetic surgery industry, 454–455
deportation to, 544
female nurses, immigration of, 550–551
military bases, 756*s*
U.S. military presence, 27
veterans benefits, rescission of, 752–753
See also Filipino Americans
Phillips, Lou Diamond, 30*s,* 643–644, 649
Physical inactivity
cardiovascular risk and, 291–292
health risks of, 311
Piche, Robert, 623
Picture brides
internet mail order brides, 751
Korean women, 42
The Piklz, 678–679
Pilgrimage (2006), 659
Pilot National Asian American Political Survey, 708
Pin@y Educational Partnerships, 175
Pineda, Allan, 30*s*
Pineda, Arnel, 674–675
Pinoy, as identity marker, 404*s*–405*s*
Pipeline issues, and glass ceiling effect, 109
Pirates of the Caribbean 3: At World's End (2007), 638
Pixies, The (alternative rock band), 673–674
Place-based perspective, of identity construction, 406
Plastic surgery
health risks, 454
history of, 451–452
See also Cosmetic surgery
Poeuv, Socheata , 776–777
Polaris Project, 766
Political acculturation, 718
Political participation
California voters, 686–687
campaign contribution scandal, 695
challenges to, 693
Chinese Americans, by, 20
civil rights advocacy for, 580
coalition building, 698–699
cross-ethnic giving, 708
Donorgate controversy, 713–715
early forms of, 690–692
elected representatives, emergence of, 693–695
electoral power, factors contributing to, 717
future growth, 699
grassroots level interest, 722–723
mass electoral coalitions, 709–710
panethnic coalitions and, 698
partisanship, of voters, 685
Southeast Asian Americans, by, 77
structural barriers to, 722
suburbanization, effect of, 688–689
2008 Presidential election, 721*s*
voter registration, 719–720
women's 738–739
Popular music
early themes, 673
online distribution, 674
Population growth, 5, 6*s,* 7*f*
immigration and, 11–12
Post-9/11 climate
call-in registration program, 472
community group activism, 811
deportations, 472, 473–474

Post-9/11 climate (*continued*)
educational activities, by Japanese Latin American internees, 818
government-sponsored actions, 529–531
hate crimes, 472–473
Muslim Americans in, 58, 59
National Security Exit-Entry Registration System, 498
religious oppression, 463
South Asian Americans, backlash against, 528–529
South Asian Americans, identity of, 445
women immigrants, effect on, 553–554
Post-traumatic stress disorder
diagnosis, 822
effect of, 753
research on, 821
Southeast Asian refugees, among, 822–824
Vietnam veterans, among, 824–825
Poverty
causes of, 149–150
children, among (*see* Child poverty)
Chinese Americans, among, 18–19
elderly, among, 881–883
incidence, 520
new immigrants, 136
organizations, active, 154–155
in Southeast Asian American communities, 71–73, 538
2007 data, 10–11
See also Job discrimination
praCh (Prach Ly), 776
Prashad, Vijay, 61
Praying with Anger (1992), 653
Princeton University, affirmative action lawsuit, 183
Prison population
estimates of, 609–610
incarceration, age at, 612–613
offenses, types of, 613–614
recidivism rates, 609, 614
youth, 615
Prisoner reentry programs, 614
Prostate cancer, 278
Prostitution, militarized. *See* Comfort women
Psychosocial factors, and cardiovascular health, 292–293
Public benefits
immigration status, perceptions of affecting, 522–523
1996 welfare reform effects, 519, 521–522
Southeast Asian Americans, for, 538–539
undocumented immigrants, restrictions for, 542–543, 570
See also Supplemental Security Income
Public charge doctrine, guidance of, 522
Punjabi settlers, 446
outmarriage, to Mexicans, 52
Purdy, Patrick, 73, 623–624
Pushing Hands (1992), 652

Queer identity, politics of, 427. *See also* Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Queer Asian Americans

Race, social construction of, 437
Race relations
Korean Americans, between African Americans and, 45, 46
model minority myth, effect of, 223
perceptions of, 726–727
prejudices, among minorities, 728
stressor experiences, among veterans, 825
Racial group attachment, 726–727
Racial groups, racial issues, attitudes toward, 726–727
Racial prejudice, among minorities, 728
Racial profiling
national security and, 569–570
post-9/11 era, 472–473, 754
of South Asian Americans, 59, 529
Racial scapegoating, 728–729
Racial violence, 568–569
community groups against, 811
examples of, 619–624
Racism
forms of, 347–348
homeland security (*see* Homeland security racism)
mental health, influence on, 346

religious communities, against, 461–462
in schools, 175
suicidal risk, effect on, 377–378
Radio
Asian American broadcasters, 669*s*
outlets, 670
Rammohan, Seshan, 120
Ranjeet, Bidya, 60*s*
Rap music, popularity of, 678
Realistic group conflict, theory of, 728
Red guard Party, 705
Red Power Movement, 692
Reeves, Keanu, 440
Reformers, versus revolutionaries, 705
Refugee Relief Act (1953), 817
Refugees
arrival trends, 552
ethnic identity development, 410
geographic concentration, 805
post-traumatic stress disorder among, 822–824
Southeast Asians, 65–66, 68–69
Sri Lankans, 53
Supplemental Security Income, coverage changes, 538–539
welfare benefits to, 477–478
Regents of the University of California v. Bakke (1978), 182
Religion
affiliations, 457–458
Christianization, 74
end-of-life care decisions (*see* End-of-life care issues)
ethnic identity formation, role in, 408, 460–461
and ethnic marginalization, 461
immigrant background, effect of, 459
Korean American community, role in, 43–44
Thai Americans, among, 84–85
See also Hinduism; Muslim Americans
Religious oppression, 463
Religious organizations
college campuses, on, 250
North Korean refugee advocacy groups, 789, 790
Removal of persons, forms of, 599
Remy Martin cognac, 270
Repatriation agreements, 473–474, 497, 536
Replacement Killers, The (1998), 639, 642
Residential segregation, 132–133
Restaurant industry, unionizing in, 140
Retention, in higher education
and campus climate, 240
factors affecting, 238
financial aid, role of, 239–240
retention rates, 237–238
strategies for, 240–241
Reverse brain drain, 94
Revolutionaries, versus reformers, 705
Rhee, Michelle, 175
Rice queen phenomenon, 427. *See also* Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Queer Asian Americans
Richmond Area Multi-services Inc., 352
Rights Working Group, 708–709
Robinson, Katy, 48
Rodney King beating, 45, 46*s*
Romeo Must Die (2000), 639
Rooney, Mickey, 637
Roosevelt, Franklin D., Executive Order 9066, 34, 401, 566
Philippine Commonwealth Army, call to service, 795–796
Rumble in the Bronx (1996), 642
Rush Hour (1998), 642

Saath USA, 282
Sa-ee-Gu, 46*s*
Saemsori, 787, 789
Saigon USA (2004), 659
Sakhi for South Asian Women, 739
Salaam Bombay! (1988), 654*s*
Saleh, Asif, 60*s*
Salsoul movement, 677
Samoan Americans, in film, 644
San Francisco (California)
anti-Chinese immigrant laws, 565
Asian Community Mental Health Services, 352
Asian Law Caucus, 545
Asian Pacific Islander American Health Forum, 273–274
Cherry Blossom Festival Queen Pageant, 421

San Francisco (California) (*continued*)
Chinatown Public Health Center, 334
Chinese American poverty in, 18
Chinese Women's Cancer Support Group (San Francisco), 281
Gay Pride Parade, 647, 739–740
hepatitis B prevention program, 341
immigrant worker center, 218
Queer Women of Color Media Arts Project, 431
women's strikes, 734
San Francisco State University
Third World Liberation Front activism, 186–187, 425, 704
women, activism of, 735–736
Sananikone, Puongpun, 77*s*
Sansei, 35
Santiago, Joey, 674
SAT test, cram school preparation, 212, 213, 214
Saving Face (Wu), 431
Schizoaffective disorders, 347
Schizophrenia, 347
Schon, Neal, 675
School segregation, 172, 566, 568
Scott Act (1888), 563
Seattle (Washington State)
affirmative action lawsuits, 184
Cambodian American Cultural Museum and Killing Fields Memorial, 775
Second-generation Asian Americans
Chinese Americans, 20–21
definition, 409*s*
ethnic identity development, 410
labor market conditions for, 96
political participation, 691
religious congregations, formation of, 461
welfare use by, 478
Secularism, among Asian Americans, 459–460
Self-employment
heterogeneity of, 158–159
and low-income status, 93–94
public policy issues, 159–160
rates, 157–158
trends in, 157
Semiconductor industry, chemical exposure, of workers, 272
Sen, Amartya, 60*s*
Seng, Theary C., 776
Sense and Sensibility (1995), 652
Sex trafficking, 513–514
Operation Gilded Cage, 766–767
Sexism, vocabulary, introduction of, 735
Sexual abuse, stigmatization of, 362
Sexual behavior
barriers to openness, 361–362
parental influence on, 360–361
patterns, differences in, 357–358
Sexually transmitted diseases, among youth, 358–359
Shantaram, 654*s*
Sheltered English Immersion program, 195
Shibayama petition, for Japanese Latin American redress, 817
Shieh v. Lyng (1990), 102
Shin, Paull, 46
Shinagawa, Susan M., 282*s,* 283
Shinoda, Mike, 38*s*
Shinseki, Eric, 38*s,* 813
Shopping for Fangs (1997), 653
Shyamalan, M. Night, 653
Sia, Beau, 670
Sikandar, Shaziya, 60*s*
Sikh Americans
identity of, 58
post-9/11 backlash against, 528
religious oppression, 463
turban branding, in New York, 600
Silhouettes, The (garage band), 673
Silicon Valley (California)
assemblers, chemical exposure of, 272
H-1B workers, 120
start-up companies, 113–114
Simon, Porntip "Pui" Nakhirunkanok, 86*s*
Singh, Rajvir, 113
Single Guy, The (1995–1997), 645
Sixteen Candles (1984), 639
Sixth Sense, The (1999), 653
Smashing Pumpkins, lead guitarist for, 674
Smokeless tobacco, 387. *See also* Tobacco use
Smoking. *See* Tobacco use
So, Kevin, 674
Social capital, and parental expectations, 233–234

Social networks, by Silicon Valley entrepreneurs, 113–114
Social welfare programs
California Work Opportunity and Responsibility to Kids, 153–154
immigrants, use by, 132
welfare-to-work programs, limitations, 144–145
Sodhi, Balbir Singh, 528
Solectron Corp., 113
Solomon, Gerald B. H.,714
Soriano, Edward, 813
South Asia, diasporic communities, 445, 448
South Asian Americans
cancer support groups, 282
cardiovascular disease among, 269, 294
categories, 51
community organizations, post-9/11, 531, 811
demographics, 527
desi culture, 59, 446
detention, 529–530
domestic violence among, 592
health advocacy groups, 273*s*
identity, creation of, 59–60
identity, religious and cultural, 57–59
immigration policy, effect on, 52–53
labeling, issues of, 51–52
literature, 61
mental health issues, cultural attitudes, 349
Muslim Americans (*see* Muslim Americans)
notable persons, 59–61
in post-9/11 climate, 447, 528–530
professional differences, 447–448
profiling of, 569–570
Punjabi settlers, 446
racial profiling of, 59, 529
racial violence against, 625
women's organizations, 739–740
See also individual groups
South Asian Women for Action, 739
South Korea
comfort women (*see* Comfort women)
cram schools, 212
female nurses, immigration of, 551
Korean War (*see* Korean War)
military bases, 756*s*
Sunshine Policy, 784
United States, relationship with, 42
women's support, for homeland struggle, 734
Southeast Asia Resource Action Center, 76, 773
Southeast Asian Americans
acculturative stress factors, 823–824
child poverty, 72–73
Christianization of, 74
diversity among, 68
educational challenges, 69–71, 171, 238, 537–538
family institution, effect on, 74–75, 823
household composition, 124
housing issues, 127
Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (1996), effect of, 485, 773–774
immigration policy, effect of, 536–537
institutional development, 75–77
job discrimination, 150
mental health issues, 269
model minority myth, effect of, 224–225
mutual assistance associations, 539
notable persons, 77*s*
post-traumatic stress disorder among, 822–824
poverty among, 71–73, 805, 824
race-based violence against,73
refugee status, 65–66, 68–69
social capital, lack of, 73–74
suicide prevention, social support for, 379
unionization of, 140
women, college retention concerns, 239
See also individual groups
Southeast Asian Freedom Network, 774, 811
Spanish-American War (1898), 750
Special Supplemental Nutrition Program for Women, Infants and Children (WIC), 522
Spoelstra, Erik, 30*s*
Sports
of Filipino Americans, 29
Japanese American identity in, 37

Spousal visas, 53
Sri Lankan Americans, 56, 57*t*
  refugees, migration as, 53
  skilled worker immigrants, 120
Standardized testing
  arguments for, 245
  bilingual education, impact on, 196
  cram schools, role of, 214
  critique of, 246
  in Massachusetts, 247
  performance, intergroup variations in, 246–247
  types of, 245, 247
  See also SAT test
Stanford University, Hepatitis B Prevention and Education Symposium, 341
Star Trek (2009), 644
Star Trek: Deep Space Nine (1993–1999), 645
Star Trek series (1966–1969), 639
Star Trek: The Next Generation (1987–1994), 645
Start-up companies, 112–114
State Children's Health Insurance Program, 331, 332
Stonewell rebellion, 739
Strategic Family Therapy, 370
Student initiated organizations, 250–251
Substance abuse
  costs of, 367
  cultural influence, in service access, 369
  factors affecting, 368
  mental health disorders, co-occurring of, 369–370
  prevalence, 367–368
  treatment models, 370–371
  women's self-help groups, 736
  See also Alcohol use; Tobacco use
Subtractive bilingualism, 191
Suicide
  bimodal phenomenon of, 372
  ethnicity, trends by, 375
  factors contributing to, 375–378
  historical trends, 373–374
  intervention efforts, 379
  LGBT populations, among, 374–375
  See also Mental health issues
Sumi, Pat, 736
Sunshine Policy (South Korea), 784
Supplemental Security Income, immigrants and eligibility restrictions, 521, 538
Suzy Wong stereotype, 644
Sweatshops, Thai immigrant workers in, 84, 136

T-1 visa, 514
Ta, Duc, 474–475
Tagliacozzi, Gasparo, 451–452
Tagore, Rabindranath, 57
Tajima-Pena, Renee, 659
Takei, George, 639
Tanasugarn, Tamarine, 86*s*
Tang, Tommy, 86*s*
Targeted marketing, 269–271
  for cosmetic surgery, 454–455
  by gambling businesses, 325
  of tobacco, 268, 390
Taxi drivers, organizing of, 138*s*, 448
Teachers, low representation of Asian Americans, 175
Teahouse of the August Moon (1956), 637
Teen births
  at-risk youth issue, 859–860
  Southeast Asian American populations, in, 70–71
Television
  Asian American broadcasters, 669*s*
  female roles, 644–645
  Indian diasporic directors, 654*s*–655*s*
  Lt. Sulu, role of, 639
  male roles, 641, 647–648
  model minority stereotype, 646
  newsrooms, Asian American representation in, 667
  reality and talent shows, 640*s*–641*s*, 649
  representations, progress in, 646
  yellowface in, 637
Terrace v. Thompson (1920), 566
Texas
  coalition building, 709
  mental health advocacy groups, 351–352
  undocumented students, support for, 255
Thai Americans
  economic disparity among, 83–84

geographic concentrations, 82
household composition, 124
LGBTQ identity construction, 429
migration patterns, 81–82, 83
notable persons, 86*s*
religion, role of, 84–85
retirement decisions, 85
statistics, basic, 82*t*
sweatshop issues, 84, 136
Thai Dam, 74
Thailand
sex industry, 751
Southeast Asian refugees in, 65
Theory of realistic group conflict, 728
Third World Liberation Front activism, 186–187, 425
student strikes, 704
women's activism, 735–736
Tia Tequila (Tia Nguyen), 430, 431
I Now Pronounce You Chuck and Larry, role in, 645
internet presence, 674
TiE (The Indus Entrepreneurs), 120
Tien, Chang-Lin, 182
Tobacco use, 290
cessation programs, 334, 391
environmental smoke, 390–391
factors affecting, 388–389
Muslim Americans, among, 266
prevalence, 387–388
targeted marketing, 268, 390
by youth, 389–390
Tom, Lauren, 645
Tran, Minh, 507*s*
Tran, Tam, 256–257
Tran, Truong Van, 830–831
Transgender Asian Americans, 428. *See also* Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Queer Asian Americans
Transgenerational traumatization, 825–826
Transnational business networks, advantages of, 113–114
Transnational migration, of Filipinos, 28
Transnationalism, impact on LGBTQ Asian Americans, 429
Trauma-related disorders, in Southeast Asian community, 75
Treaty of Paris (1902), 26
Trenka, Jane Jeong, 48
Trinh, Eugene, 77*s*
Trinidad, Dorothy, 410*s*
Truman, Harry S., 796
Tuberculosis
intervention programs, 342
overview, 338, 339
perceptions of, 340–341
vaccination against, 339–340
Tung, Rosalie, 173
Turntablism, 678–679
21 (2006), 637
2 Live Crew, 678
Tydings-McDuffie Act (1934), 564

U-visa, 594
Uch, Many, 494
Unbound Feet, 739
Undocumented immigrants
advocacy groups for, 545
Chinese, 19
DREAM Act, 544–545
employment potential, 551
Filipino healthcare workers, 493
healthcare for, 267
immigration restrictions against, 570
law enforcement (see Deportation; Detention)
overview, 253–254
sanctuary cities, 543
visa overstay and, 541–542
women, 551
Undocumented students
educational issues, 254–255
experiences of, 256–257
legislation on, 255–256
Unemployment, 2007 data, 91. *See also* Employment
Unionization. *See* Labor unions
United Response Collaborative, 811
United States Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS), redesign of naturalization test, 486
United States Motion Picture Production Code (1930), 636
United States v. Wong Kim Ark (1898), 560
University of California–Berkeley
admissions practices, biases in, 222
discriminatory admissions policies, 576

University of California–Berkeley (*continued*)
Third World Liberation Front activism, 186–187, 425
University of California Los Angeles
Asian American Studies program, 185–186
discriminatory admissions policies, 576
University of Oklahoma, language discrimination case, 101, 606–607
University of Pennsylvania, Tung tenure case, 173
Unz, Ronald, 194–195
Uong, Chanrithy, 77*s*
Uptown Chinese, political interests of, 20. *See also* Chinese Americans
U.S. Census Bureau
data, accuracy of, 13*s*, 580
multiple racial categories, inclusion of, 442
racial and ethnic tables, 4–5
U.S. Committee for Human Rights in North Korea, 789
U.S. Constitution, Fourteenth Amendment, 560, 565
U.S. Department of Justice, public assistance in language access compliance, 523
U.S. PATRIOT Act (2002)
deportation, policy changes, 785
Filipino Americans, effect on, 30
IIRAIRA implementation procedures, 598
material support clause, 553–554
U.S. Postal services, unionization of, 137
U.S. Supreme Court
Asian American representation, 582*s*
legal cases (*see specific cases*)
political participation through, 690–691
U.S. v. Bhagat Sing Thind (1923), 401, 460, 560
Utada, Hikaru, 38*s*

V-visa program, 507, 508
Vagina Monologues, The, 763
Valens, Ritchie, 673
Vang, Cha, 623*s*–625*s*
Vang, Chai Soua, 620*s*, 627
Vanity Fair (2004), 654*s*
Vera Cruz, Philip, 30*s*
Verghese, Abraham, 654*s*
Veterans benefits. *See* Filipino war veterans
Victims of Trafficking and Violence Prevention Act (2000), 594
Vietnam
business venture, by the Viet Kieu, 833
cosmetic surgery, 453
economic growth, 832–833
educational access, limitations of, 70
refugees from, 65, 66, 68, 751–752
repatriation memorandum of understanding, 474, 497, 536
Romanization of writing, 70
Vietnam War
Asian American Movement opposition, 704
ethnic Chinese refugees, 16
Homecoming Act (1988), 438
veterans, PTSD among, 824–825
Vietnamese American opposition to government, 829–830
Vietnamese Americans
anti-communist stand, 829–832
business ventures, in Vietnam, 833
cancer support groups, 282
educational challenges, 70, 71
filial piety, 845
generational gap, war and, 753, 831, 833
health advocacy groups, 273*s*
health insurance, lack of, 330
Hurricane Katrina, effect of, 664*s*–665*s,* 752
independent films on, 659
Last Comic Standing winner, 649
multiracial children, 441
music artists, 674
nail salon workers, environmental effects on, 272
political candidates, 687, 689
political participation, 833–834
refugees, arrival as, 68, 751–752, 823
statistics, basic, 66*t*
Vietnamese Community Health Initiative, 273*s*

Vietnamese Social Services of Minnesota, 282
Vincent Chin case. *See* Chin, Vincent
Violence against women, 750–751
militarized prostitution (*see* Comfort women)
Violence Against Women Act (1994), 594
Virginia Tech shooting, coverage of, 665
Visa Bulletin, 505, 507
Visa violations, 495
Visual Communications, 661
Voter registration, 719–720. *See also* Political participation
Voting rates
2006 data, 720
2008 Presidential election, 721*s*
Vietnamese Americans, 833–834
women's participation, 738
See also Political participation
Voting Rights Act, language assistance provision, 604, 721

Wages
discrimination, in Hawai'i plantations, 42
immigration, impact of, 131–133
for unionized workers, 139
Wang, Wayne, 651–652
War
American identity, questioning of during, 812
collective memories, use of, 750
contemporary concerns, effects on, 747–749
military bases, continued maintenance of, 756*s,* 757
post-traumatic stress disorder (*see* Post-traumatic stress disorder)
sex industry, creation of, 750–751, 756*s* (*see also* Comfort women)
UN/Cambodian War Crimes Tribunal, 772
war babies, effect on, 757
See also specific wars
War Brides Act (1945), 438, 549
War on terrorism, anti-Asian sentiment and, 569–570
Ward, Hines, 47*s*
identity issues, 408
Warlords, The (2008), 643
Washington (State)
Hepatitis B Task Force, 341–342
political candidate recruitment, 696
Washington, DC
legal organizations, 583
political candidate recruitment, 696
Wat, Eric, 426
Watada, Ehren, 38, 754
community organizations, assistance of, 812–813
Watanabe, Gedde, 639
Wedding Banquet, The (1993), 652
Welfare reform. *See* Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (1996)
Welfare services. *See* Social welfare programs
Welfare-to-work programs, limitations, 144–145, 153–154
When Broken Glass Floats: Growing Up Under the Khmer Rouge (Him), 776
White supremacists, anti-Asian crimes by, 29, 624
Whitewashing, 637. *See also* Yellowface
Who Killed Vincent Chin? (1988), 658. *See also* Chin, Vincent
WIC program, 522
Williams, Sunita, 60*s*
Wisconsin
Lao, Hmong and American Veterans Memorial, 806
violence involving Hmong Americans, 620*s*–623*s*, 624, 627
Wisconsin v. Mitchell, 626
Women immigrants
domestic violence against, 593–594
employment-based, 550–561
family sponsorship, through, 549–550
gender discriminatory laws, 548
post-9/11 impact, 553–554
reasons, for immigration, 547–548
trends, 548–549
undocumented, 551
Women's Movement
career and leadership development, organizations, 737–738
early organizing, 733–734
1960s–1970s period, 734–737

Won, Chun Ki, 790
Wong, Eddie, 658
Wong Sinsaang (1971), 658
Woo, Gerry. *See* Lee, Harlemm
Woods, Eldrick "Tiger," 86*s*
 ethnic identity, 408, 440
Workplace discrimination. *See* Job discrimination
World of Suzy Wong, The (1957), 644
World War II
 Filipino American veterans, 29, 752–753, 795–796
 internment (*see* Internment camps)
 prostitution, militarized (*see* Comfort women)
 Rescission Acts, 796
 War Brides Act (1945), 438, 549
Wu, David, 695

Yahoo! Inc., 113
Yamaguchi, Kristi, 38*s*
Yang, Jerry, 113
Yasui v. United States, 567
Year of Living Dangerously, The (1983), 637
Yee, James, 812
Yellow Peril image, 635–636
Yellowface image, 636–638
Yick Wo v. Hopkins (1886), 565, 687–688
Yonsei, 38
Yoo, John, 183
Yoon, Sam, 46
Young, Lucy, 282
Youth issues
 at-risk youth (*see* At-risk youth)
 DREAM Act, 544–545
 Filipino American youth, 226*s*–227*s*
 language brokering (*see* Language brokers, children as)
 parental influence, 360–361, 363
 post-traumatic stress disorder among, 822
 prison population, 615
 school meals programs, immigrant eligibility, 521–522
 sexual behavior, 357–358, 360–361
 sexually transmitted diseases, 358–359
 substance abuse among, 368
 suicide, 374, 375, 376
 teenage pregnancy, 859–860
 tobacco use by, 389–390
 trauma, intergenerational transmission of, 824–825
 undocumented immigrants, 253–254
YouTube
 comfort women movement, support for, 765
 effective use of, 670
 popular music on, 674–675
Yun-Fat, Chow, 642

Zakaria, Fareed, 60*s*
Zia, Helen, 21*s*

About the Editors and Contributors

EDITORS

EDITH WEN-CHU CHEN is an associate professor at the Asian American Studies Department at California State University–Northridge. Her research and teaching interests include Chinese in the Americas, Asian American women, food and culture, and applied research. She was the co-editor of *Teaching about Asian Pacific Americans: Effective Activities, Strategies, and Assignments for Classrooms and Workshops* (2006).

GRACE J. YOO is Professor of Asian American Studies at San Francisco State University. She is an applied sociologist who has done extensive research in the Asian American community on issues related to aging, health, social support, and public policy. Her research has been published in a variety of interdisciplinary scholarly journals.

SECTION EDITORS

ANGELO ANCHETA (Law) is an assistant professor of law at Santa Clara University School of Law.

ANDREW L. AOKI (Politics) is a professor of political science at Augsburg College (Minneapolis) and is the coauthor (with Okiyoshi Takeda) of *Asian American Politics* (2009).

ALLAN AQUINO (Media) is a lecturer in the Asian American Studies Department at California State University–Northridge.

EDITH WEN-CHU CHEN (Diversity and Demographics; Identity; and Media) is an associate professor in the Asian American Studies Department at California State University–Northridge.

WEI MING DARIOTIS (War) is an assistant professor of Asian American studies at San Francisco State University.

BILL ONG HING (Immigrants, Refugees, and Citizenship) is a professor of law at the University of California–Davis.

SHIRLEY HUNE (Education) is professor of educational leadership and policy studies at the University of Washington–Seattle.

KIMIKO KELLY (Diversity and Demographics) is a lecturer in the Asian American Studies Department at California State University–Northridge and research manager at the Orange County Asian and Pacific American Community Alliance.

BARBARA W. KIM (Identity) is an associate professor of Asian and Asian American studies at California State University–Long Beach.

SIMONA C. KWON (Health) is a research scientist at the Center for the Study of Asian American Health, Institute of Community Health and Research of the New York University School of Medicine.

DON MAR (Economy and Work) is a professor in the economics department at San Francisco State University.

RANJITA MISRA (Health) is an associate professor in the School of Allied Medical Professions in the College of Medicine at the Ohio State University.

ALAN Y. ODA (Youth, Family and Aged) is a professor of undergraduate psychology and assistant director of the honors program at the Azusa Pacific University.

JULIE J. PARK (Education) is an assistant professor of educational leadership at Miami University.

VALERIE SOE (Media) is an assistant professor of Asian American studies at San Francisco State University.

WESLEY UEUNTEN (War) is an assistant professor of Asian American studies at San Francisco State University.

GRACE J. YOO (Health; Youth, Family, and Aged) is a professor of Asian American studies at San Francisco State University.

CONTRIBUTORS

JENNIFER S. ABE is an associate professor in the Department of Psychology and associate dean in the Bellarmine College of Liberal Arts at Loyola Marymount University.

GRACE MICHELE V. ALBA is a biological sciences laboratory faculty member at the University of Pittsburgh.

ALVIN ALVAREZ is a professor of Counseling at San Francisco State University.

ANGELO ANCHETA is an assistant professor of law and director of the Katharine and George Alexander Community Law Center at Santa Clara University School of Law.

ALLAN AQUINO is a lecturer in the Asian American Studies Department at California State University–Northridge.

ANDREW L. AOKI is a professor of political science at Augsburg College.

WAYNE AU is an assistant professor in the Department of Secondary Education at California State University–Fullerton.

ROXANNA BAUTISTA is a chronic diseases program manager at the Asian and Pacific Islander American Health Forum.

JONATHAN BLAZER is a public benefits policy attorney at the National Immigration Law Center.

TANYA BRODER is a public benefits policy attorney at the National Immigration Law Center.

TRACY LACHICA BUENAVISTA is an assistant professor of Asian American studies at California State University–Northridge.

MIKE CHAN is an independent scholar in San Francisco.

EDWARD TAEHAN CHANG is a professor of ethnic studies at the University of California–Riverside.

MICHAEL CHANG is a civil rights attorney at the U.S. Department of Education's Office for Civil Rights.

CHRISTINE CHEN is an independent scholar in Washington, DC.

JYU-LIN CHEN is an assistant professor in the Department of Family Health Care Nursing at University of California–San Francisco.

CHWEE-LYE CHNG is Regents Professor of Health Promotion at the University of North Texas, Denton, TX.

JULIAN CHUN-CHUNG CHOW is an associate professor in the School of Social Welfare at the University of California–Berkeley.

PETER CHUA is an associate professor of sociology at San Jose State University.

ARISTEL DE LA CRUZ is an independent scholar in San Francisco.

WEI MING DARIOTIS is an assistant professor in Asian American Studies at San Francisco State University.

RODERICK DAUS-MAGBUAL is a doctoral candidate at the School of Education at the University of San Francisco.

R. BENEDITO FERRAO is a lecturer in the Asian American Studies Department at UCLA.

TIMOTHY FONG is an assistant professor at the David Geffen School of Medicine at University of California–Los Angeles, and codirector of the University of California–Los Angeles Gambling Studies Program.

TIMOTHY P. FONG is the director and a professor of the Asian American Studies Program at Sacramento State University.

DIANE C. FUJINO is an associate professor and chair of the Department of Asian American Studies at the University of California–Santa Barbara.

ANNIE FUKUSHIMA is a doctoral candidate in ethnic studies at the University of California–Berkeley.

JENNIFER GARCIA is a doctoral student at the University of California, Los Angeles School of Public Health.

KIM GERON is an associate professor of political science at California State University–East Bay.

DANIEL PHIL GONZALES is an associate professor of Asian American studies at San Francisco State University.

SHARON G. GOTO is an associate professor of psychology and Asian American Studies at Pomona College.

BEN DE GUZMAN is a national campaign coordinator at the National Alliance for Filipino Veterans Equity in Washington, DC.

MEEKYUNG HAN is an assistant professor at the School of Social Work, College of Applied Sciences and Arts, San Jose State University.

RAINA HAN is an independent scholar in Seoul, Korea.

ROOSHEY HASNAIN is a visiting research assistant professor in the Department of Disability and Human Development at the Center for Capacity Building on Minorities with Disabilities Research at the University of Illinois–Chicago.

BILL ONG HING is a professor of law at the University of California–Davis.

ANDREW HOM is an independent scholar in San Francisco.

LAUREEN D. HOM is project coordinator at the Center for the Study of Asian American Health Institute of Community Health and Research of the New York University School of Medicine.

SHIRLEY HUNE is professor of educational leadership and policy studies at the University of Washington–Seattle.

ANH-LUU T. HUYNH-HOHNBAUM is an associate professor in the School of Social Work at California State University–Los Angeles.

NADIA ISLAM is deputy director for the Center for the Study of Asian American Health at the New York University School of Medicine.

DEEPA IYER is executive director of South Asian American Leading Together, Takoma Park, MD.

DIMPAL JAIN is a doctoral student in the Graduate School of Education and Information Studies at the University of California–Los Angeles.

JOAN JEUNG is a pediatrician in Oakland, CA.

RUSSELL JEUNG is associate professor in Asian American studies at San Francisco State University.

LINDA P. JUANG is an associate professor of psychology at San Francisco State University.

ANGIE JUNCK is a staff attorney at the Immigrant Legal Resource Center in San Francisco.

KIMIKO KELLY is a lecturer in the Asian American Studies Department at California State University–Northridge, and research manager at the Orange County Asian and Pacific American Community Alliance.

BARBARA W. KIM is an associate professor of Asian and Asian American studies at California State University–Long Beach.

MARLENE KIM is an associate professor of economics at the University of Massachusetts–Boston.

SU YEONG KIM is Assistant Professor in the Department of Human Development and Family Sciences at the University of Texas–Austin.

REBECCA CHIYOKO KING-O'RIAIN is senior lecturer in the Department of Sociology at the National University of Ireland, Maynooth.

HYEYOUNG KWON is a lecturer in the Department of Asian American Studies at California State University–Northridge.

SIMONA C. KWON is a research scientist at the Center for the Study of Asian American Health, Institute of Community Health and Research of the New York University School of Medicine.

KAM MAN KENNY KWONG is an assistant professor at the Hunter College School of Social Work of the City University of New York.

PETER KWONG is a professor in the Department of Sociology at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York.

JAMES S. LAI is an associate professor of political science and ethnic studies at Santa Clara University.

SOPHIA LAI is a JD candidate at Harvard Law School.

MABEL LAM is an independent scholar in San Jose, CA.

CHRISSY LAU is a doctoral student in history at the University of California–Santa Barbara.

C. N. LE is a visiting assistant professor of sociology and director of the Asian and Asian American Studies Certificate Program at University of Massachusetts–Amherst.

MAI-NHUNG LE is an associate professor of Asian American studies at San Francisco State University.

AMBROSE H. LEE is an independent scholar in San Francisco.

EUN SOOK LEE is executive director of the National Korean American Service and Education Consortium (NAKASEC) in Los Angeles.

HEE YUN LEE is an assistant professor at the Hartford Geriatric Scholar School of Social Work University of Minnesota, St. Paul, MN.

HELLY LEE is Director of Policy at the Southeast Asian Resource Action Center (SEARAC) in Washington, DC.

KYUNG JIN LEE is an immigration and citizenship program coordinator at the Korean Community Center of the East Bay in Oakland, CA.

MARY S. LEE is a proposal development manager at the Asian American Recovery Services in Daly City, CA.

YEON-SHIM LEE is an assistant professor of social work at San Francisco State University.

JONATHAN W. LEW is a doctoral student in the School of Educational Studies at Claremont Graduate University.

SIN YEN LING is a staff attorney at the Asian Law Caucus in San Francisco.

JOREN LYONS is a staff attorney at the nonprofit Asian Law Caucus in San Francisco.

JAYANTI MALLICK is an independent scholar in San Jose, CA.

DON MAR is professor in the Economics Department at San Francisco State University.

NATALIE MASUOKA is an assistant professor in the Department of Political Science at Tufts University.

KATHY MATSAOKA is co-chair for Nikkei for Civil Rights and Redress in Los Angeles.

DAVID K. MINETA is deputy director at Asian American Recovery Services in Daly City, CA.

RANJITA MISRA is an associate professor in the School of Allied Medical Professions in the College of Medicine at the Ohio State University.

JONELL MOLINA is an independent scholar in San Francisco.

DON T. NAKANISHI is director and professor of the Asian American Studies Center at the University of California–Los Angeles.

JENNIFER NAZARENO is a medical sociology doctoral student at the University of California–San Francisco.

MELISSA-ANN NIEVERA is a doctoral student in education at the University of California–Santa Cruz.

BRIAN NIIYA is a Resource Center Director at the Japanese Cultural Center of Hawai‘i.

MAVIS NITTA is a chronic diseases program coordinator at the Asian and Pacific Islander American Health Forum.

PAUL NIWA is an assistant professor of Journalism at Emerson College.

ELIZA NOH is an assistant professor in the Asian American Studies Program at California State University–Fullerton.

CATHERINA NOU is a California Policy Advocate at the Southeast Asia Resource Action Center in Washington, DC.

ANGELA E. OH is executive director of the Western Justice Center Foundation in Los Angeles.

JONATHAN Y. OKAMURA is an associate professor in the Department of Ethnic Studies at the University of Hawai‘i–Manoa in Honolulu.

GLENN OMATSU is a senior lecturer in the Asian American Studies Department at California State University–Northridge.

JULIE J. PARK is an assistant professor of educational leadership at Miami University.

R. VARISA PATRAPORN is a program officer at First 5 LA in Los Angeles.

HENRY POLLACK is an associate professor of the Saul Krugman Division of Pediatric Infectious Diseases and the Center for the Study of Asian American Health at the New York University School of Medicine, New York.

BANDANA PURKAYASTHA is an associate professor of sociology and Asian American Studies at the University of Connecticut.

RODOLFO-JOSE BLANCO QUIAMBAO is an MA candidate in Asian American studies at San Francisco State University.

RANITA RAY is a doctoral student in the Department of Sociology at the University of Connecticut.

MARGARET RHEE is a doctoral student in ethnic studies at the University of California–Berkeley.

ELIZABETH S. RIENZI is a doctoral candidate in the department of sociology at the University of Oregon.

JOANNE L. RONDILLA is a doctoral candidate of ethnic studies at the University of California–Berkeley.

JOCYL SACRAMENTO is an independent scholar in San Francisco.

RAYMOND SAN DIEGO is an MA candidate in Asian American studies at San Francisco State University.

CATHY J. SCHLUND-VIALS is an assistant professor in the Department of English and Asian American Studies Institutes at the University of Connecticut.

JIANNBIN LEE SHIAO is an associate professor of sociology at Dartmouth College and the University of Oregon and associate director of ethnic studies at the University of Oregon.

GRACE SHIMIZU is director of the Japanese Peruvian Oral History Project and coordinator for the Campaign For Justice: Redress Now for Japanese Latin Americans.

EUNAI SHRAKE is an associate professor in the Department of Asian American Studies at California State University–Northridge.

ANNELIESE A. SINGH is an assistant professor in the Department of Counseling and Human Development Services at the University of Georgia.

DAVORN SISAVATH is a doctoral student in ethnic studies at the University of California–San Diego.

VALERIE SOE is an assistant professor of Asian American studies at San Francisco State University.

PAHOLE YOTIN SOOKKASIKON is an MA candidate in Asian American studies at San Francisco State University.

NAOMI STEINBERG is deputy director at Southeast Asia Resource Action Center (SEARAC) in Washington, DC.

DOUA THOR is executive director of the Southeast Asia Resource Action Center (SEARAC) in Washington, DC.

ALLYSON TINTIANGCO-CUBALES is an associate professor of Asian American Studies at San Francisco State University.

TAM TRAN is a doctoral student in American Civilization at Brown University.

MIA H. TUAN is an associate professor of Teacher Education and Director of the Center on Diversity and Community at the University of Oregon.

WESLEY UEUNTEN is an assistant professor of Asian American studies at San Francisco State University.

KHATHARYA UM is an assistant professor of ethnic studies at the University of California–Berkeley.

KAREN UMEMOTO is a professor in the Department of Urban and Regional Planning at the University of Hawai‘i–Manoa.

KEJIA WAN is project coordinator of the Saul Krugman Division of Pediatric Infectious Diseases and the Center for the Study of Asian American Health at the New York University School of Medicine, New York.

YU WAN is a master's candidate of public health at the New York University.

WINNIE W. WANG is director of sponsored research at Claremont McKenna College.

CANDICE CHIN WONG is associate adjunct professor in the Institute for Health and Aging at the University of California–San Francisco.

IVY WONG is an independent scholar in San Francisco.

SACHIKO WOOD is a doctoral student in sociology at the University of California–Santa Cruz.

MITCHEL WU is a lecturer in Asian American Studies at Hunter College, City University of New York.

NINA H. WU is a doctoral student in the Department of Human Development and Family Sciences at the University of Texas–Austin.

BO HAN YANG is a law student at the University of California–Davis School of Law.

This page intentionally left blank