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9 FOREVER FOREIGNERS? ASIAN AMERICAN ETHNIC GROUPS

SunAh M. Laybourn

LEARNING QUESTIONS

9.1 What is the connection among early Asian immigration, anti-Asian immigration policies, and Asian activism?

9.2 What were key events that shaped an "Asian American" consciousness?

9.3 What are the similarities and differences between the "Yellow Peril" and "model minority" stereotypes?

9.4 How does Asian American–created media challenge stereotypical portrayals of Asians in America?

> I was the only Indian on a ship that was carrying hundreds of Chinese passengers in the third class.... On the August 25, 1949 morning, as the American coastline appeared on the horizon, I and hundreds of others went up on the deck to survey the first glimpse of America. I had read many books dealing with America and its people. I had talked to many Americans who had tried to give me some ideas about things to come. I had listened to "The Voice of America" and had formed a mental picture of America. Yet seeing a country with your own eyes is an entirely new experience. So as our ship approached the Golden Gate Bridge, my pulse rate was quickening as I surveyed the first magnificent work of American labor. I had seen many bridges... but the sight of the Golden Gate Bridge, set against the blue sky over the expansive Pacific Ocean was a stunning experience. The bridge looked like a real gateway to an heaven on earth. (First Days Project n.d.)

We open this chapter with the words of Roshan Sharma, who immigrated from Bhumbli, India, to the United States, arriving in San Francisco when he was 22 years old. He would begin the fall semester at UCLA but not before finding a Sikh temple in Stockton, California, that welcomed him, offering a place to stay, food, and connections in his new country.

Roshan's story is one of many of those who came to the United States for school or work. Other Asians immigrated to the United States for different reasons—some because of war or natural disasters, others as military brides, some as colonial subjects, and still others as adoptees. Currently there are over 20 million Asian Americans with origins tracing to more than 20 countries in East Asia, Southeast Asia, and the Indian subcontinent. Asian Americans comprise about 6% of the total U.S. population and are one of the fastest-growing racial groups in the United States. Despite their long history and contributions to the United States, however, many Americans still see Asian Americans as foreigners. In this chapter, we examine the history of Asian immigration and how Asian American activism and U.S. immigration policies have shaped Asian America.

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HOW I GOT ACTIVE IN SOCIOLOGY

SunAh M. Laybourn

Growing up as one of the few Asian American students in my K–12 classes, I knew that race mattered, even though I often did not know how or why it affected my life and the lives of my classmates in the way that it did. I watched as the racial composition of my neighborhood changed from predominantly White to predominantly Black. I answered questions regarding my racial, ethnic, and national identity more times than I could count. I experienced vastly different educational resources and expectations at my predominantly White (and academically selective) middle school versus my predominately Black local high school. But I didn't have a way to make sense of it all, at least not until I took my first sociology class in undergrad. From those initial courses, it seemed like sociology had the answers to many of my questions about race, ethnicity, and inequality. Of course, sociology does not have all the answers, but it provided me with the tools to critically examine the world we live in and to address inequality.

ASIANS IN AMERICA: EARLY IMMIGRATION, ANTI-ASIAN POLICIES, AND RESISTANCE

Most of the first Asian immigrants to the United States were male laborers enticed by promises of fortune. Although many U.S. businesses actively recruited Asian men, they were often met with hostility and suspicion, which eventually fueled anti-Asian immigration policies. However, at every turn, Asians in America fought for their social and legal citizenship.

Initial Immigration Waves

In 1834, 19-year-old Afong Moy became the first Chinese woman recorded as arriving in the United States. Afong traveled to New York Harbor by way of Nathaniel and Frederick Carne's *Washington*, a trading vessel bringing an array of Chinese goods. Afong was brought to attract buyers to the Carnes' goods and sat on display for 8 hours a day. Paying viewers watched her eat with chopsticks and speak in Chinese. Like other Chinese wares brought from "the Orient," Afong was an "exotic" commodity.

During the 1830s and 1840s most Asian immigrants were crewmembers from transatlantic ships. Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino men served aboard U.S. shipping vessels, and some eventually made their home in cities on the eastern U.S. coast. There were also small numbers of Asians in the South. In the 1840s, about 100 Filipino men resided in a fishing village in St. Malo, Louisiana, and in the 1850s, a number of Filipino men made New Orleans, Louisiana, home.

The largest waves of Asian migration began with news of the California Gold Rush (1848), which lured gold seekers from around the world, including China. Beginning in 1849 Chinese men immigrated to California. While a few hundred came initially, in 1851 over 2,700 arrived and in 1852 over 20,000. "By 1870, there were 63,000 Chinese in the United States, most of them (77 percent) in California" (Lee 2015, 59). Though few struck gold, most continued to stay in the United States finding jobs on the railroads or starting small businesses catering to other Chinese immigrants.

Though we may not think about the importance of railroads much today, in the 1800s and early 1900s railroads were a crucial component of the U.S. economic system and a primary mode of transportation for individuals and families traveling cross-country. Chinese labor was critical to the creation of the railroad system.

After the legal end of slavery, employers looked to China for cheap and exploitable labor. In 1865, the Central Pacific Railroad Co. began recruiting Chinese workers to work on the California Central Railroad, bringing male laborers directly from China. By late winter 1865, approximately 4,000 Chinese men were working around the clock, clearing tunnels through the Sierra Nevada Mountains. This was dangerous work.

As Chinese workers began to comprise the majority of the railroad workforce, White railroad workers became angry. White workers attacked Chinese laborers and set fire to their living quarters.

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In June 1867, two thousand Chinese railroad workers went on strike for a week, demanding an end to beatings by railroad employers, increased wages, and work hours equal with Whites. The Central Pacific Railroad broke the strike by withholding food supplies to the Chinese who were isolated in the high mountains of the Sierras.

During this time, Asians were seen as threats to White labor and, because scientific racism prevailed, as culturally and biologically inferior. Many Whites thought they would cause the degeneration of the "superior" White race through miscegenation (interracial marriage). These fears of a "**Yellow Peril**," a stereotype introduced in the 1870s to describe the threats of Asian immigration, led the government to bar Asians from legal citizenship and any legal protections. Passage of the **Chinese Exclusion Act (1882)** created a moratorium on Chinese labor immigration, effectively banning all Chinese immigration as it was difficult for nonlaborers to prove they were not laborers. The Chinese Exclusion Act was unique in that it engaged in class- and race-based discrimination—something new to U.S. immigration legislation.

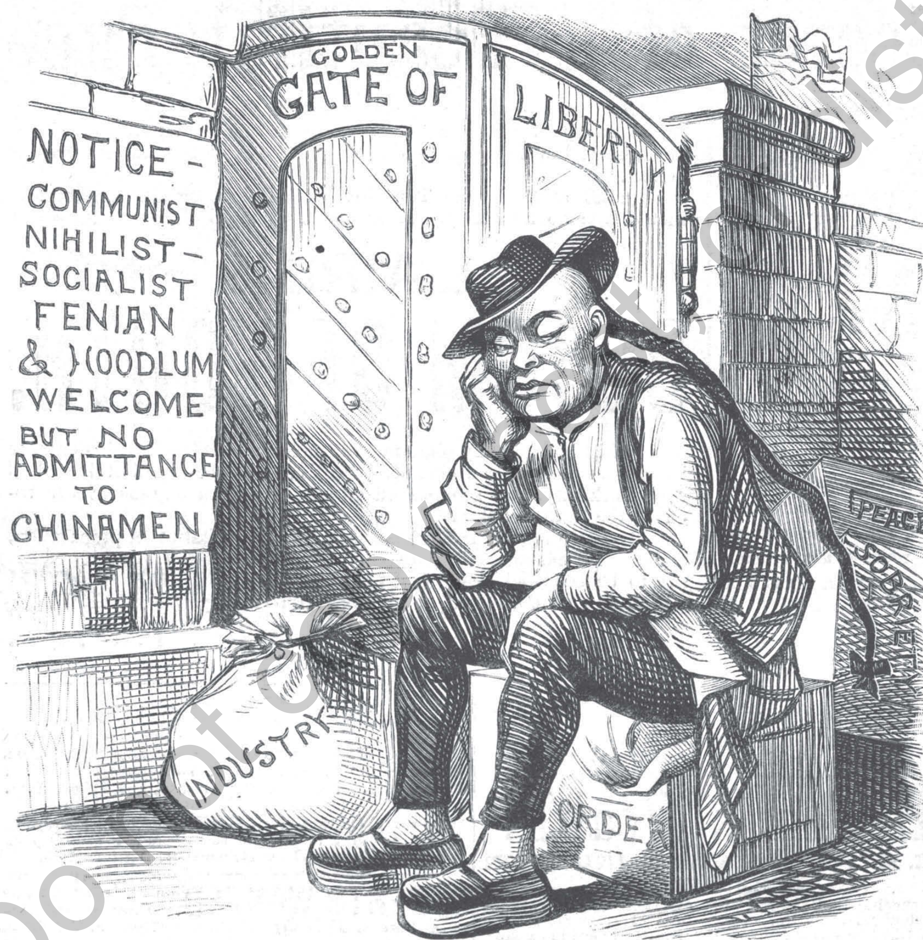

PHOTO 9.1 A political cartoon illustrates anti-Asian attitudes and exclusionary policies aimed at Chinese immigrants.

Interim Archives/Getty Images

Throughout the late 19th century Chinese laborers in America often faced boycotts, intimidation, and violence. The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 sought to prevent them from competing in the U.S. labor force altogether. The Chinese immigrant community fought for their rights, developing organizations such as the Zhonghua Huiguan, which provided financial support and legal defense for Chinese laborers.

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Similar to Chinese immigrants, Japanese migrated to the United States after hearing tales of great fortunes there. U.S. businesses saw them as another exploitable source of labor that could take the place of the banned Chinese. Shortly after the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, Japanese men, and small numbers of women and children, immigrated to the continental United States and Hawai'i, then an independent nation (but controlled by U.S. businesses).

> From 1891 to 1900, 27,440 Japanese, mostly male laborers, were admitted into the United States. Over the next seven years, 53,457 more were admitted.... Japanese filled the jobs that Chinese immigrants once had. Labor contractors sent them to railroads, mines, lumber mills, fish canneries, farms, and orchards throughout the Pacific Coast states. In the cities, Japanese worked as domestic servants. (Lee 2015, 116)

Japanese were a cheap labor source and economically beneficial to West Coast businesses, but most White Americans viewed them as they did the Chinese—threats to White labor. This fear existed even though Asian immigrants could not become citizens and Alien Land Laws prohibited them from owning land.

As Japanese immigrants began to establish themselves in the United States, creating ethnic enclaves in larger cities, like Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Seattle, with thriving businesses and assimilating to Western customs, they faced Whites' increasing resentment and racial discrimination. Japan's victory over Russia in the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905) heightened fears of Japanese immigrants. The *San Francisco Chronicle*'s 1905 headline, "Yellow Peril – How Japanese Crowd Out the White Race" captured White Americans' anxieties (Daniels 1993) and helped spur violent attacks on Japanese and the U.S. government to create policies limiting Japanese immigration. The Gentlemen's Agreement (1907) sharply reduced the number of Japanese immigrants. It did not bar them completely, however, as the Chinese Exclusion Act did to the less militarily powerful Chinese. It prohibited more Japanese laborers from immigrating to the United States, but those already here could move between the nations freely and have family members join them in America.

Due to the gender imbalance among Japanese in the United States and the restrictions on Japanese immigration, with the exception of family members, the next wave of Japanese immigration came in the form of Japanese "picture brides." **Picture brides** were women promised in marriage via matchmakers through a process that included the exchange of pictures between the potential bride and groom. In the early 20th century, about 20,000 picture brides traveled from Japan to the United States and Hawai'i.

PHOTO 9.2 Four Japanese picture brides on their way to arranged marriages in the United States in 1931.

Bettmann/Contributor

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Immigration from East Asia continued as Koreans sought not only riches but to escape Japanese control at home. Japan officially annexed Korea in 1910 after gaining control of it over a decade earlier. The Japanese colonization of Korea continued until 1945. Japanese policies made living conditions harsh for Koreans and included stripping families of their land and homes and promoting religious intolerance and cultural genocide. As a result, many Koreans fled their home country, with some making their way to the United States

Beginning in 1902, Korean men began to immigrate to Hawai'i, finding work on sugar plantations. Koreans were a welcome source of new labor as the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act had cut off immigration from China, and Japanese workers were organizing and demanding increased wages. Most Koreans escaping political persecution were young men who were students. They tended to arrive in the United States through Angel Island in San Francisco. About a thousand Korean women also immigrated to Hawai'i and the continental United States as picture brides.

Although small numbers of Filipinos migrated to the United States earlier, it was not until after the Philippines became a U.S. colony in 1898, after the Spanish–American War, that Filipinos immigrated in higher numbers. Under the Pensionado Act of 1903, elite Filipino students, or "pensionados," were encouraged to attend American universities. The expectation, however, was that they would return home after their studies to become leaders in the Philippines. Hawai'i sugar plantation recruiters drew larger waves of immigration. Beginning in 1906 and continuing through 1929, approximately 60,000 Filipino workers arrived in Hawai'i.

The Johnson-Reed Act (1924) barred "aliens ineligible for citizenship"—basically all Asians except Filipinos. Aa you might expect, farm owners on the West Coast of the United States began to recruit new workers from the Philippines. By 1930, there were 56,000 Filipinos in the United States. Around 60% of the Filipinos in California worked as migrant farmworkers, as did the Chinese, Japanese, and Korean immigrants before them, rotating up and down cities in California, such as Delano, Stockton, and Salinas, following the various harvest seasons. The work was grueling, the conditions hazardous with dust from the fields filling laborers' lungs, and exploitation was rampant. As a result, Filipinos began to organize. In 1928 they created the first formal Filipino American labor organization, Anak ng Bukid, or Children of the Farm. More unions followed as did strikes for higher wages and better working conditions.

Although Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Filipino migrations to the United States were the most significant Asian immigration waves, South Asians came also, though in much smaller numbers, in the early decades of the 1900s. Although fewer than 10,000 South Asians migrated to the United States in the early 20th century, those numbers were still enough to fuel threats of a "Hindu invasion." The Immigration Act of 1917 halted South Asian immigration along with other Asian immigration (aside that from the Philippines, which was then a U.S. colony). The 1924 Immigration Act reaffirmed the inadmissibility of all Asians except for Filipinos.

Although their numbers were low, South Asians created community organizations such as the Pacific Coast Khalsa Diwan Society in Stockton, California; Sikh temples along the Pacific Coast; the Moslem Association of America in 1919 in Sacramento; the Hindustani Welfare and Reform Society of America in 1919 in El Centro; and the Hindu American Conference in 1920 in Sacramento. These organizations provided community support, housing, and employment along with a space to practice their faith. It was one of these Sikh temples where Roshan, from this chapter's opening excerpt, found a welcoming community.

U.S. Territories

Asians in America came by way of migration but also through U.S. colonization and cession. The U.S. annexed Hawai'i in 1898 and made it a territory in 1900 (it became a state in 1959). When Hawai'i became a U.S. territory its population was 154,001, including 37,656 Native Hawaiians, 25,767 Chinese, and 61,111 Japanese (Schmitt 1968).

In April 1898, the United States declared war against Spain, supporting Cubans' and Filipinos' struggle against Spanish colonization. At the time, Spain controlled Cuba, the Philippines, Guam, and Puerto Rico, as well as some smaller islands. When the United States won the war, Spain relinquished sovereignty of its overseas empire. As a result, the Philippines, Guam, and Puerto Rico became U.S. territories (the United States gave Cuba its independence), making their residents U.S. nationals, though not citizens. Woodrow Wilson granted residents of Puerto Rico U.S. citizenship in 1917.

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Due to its location in the Pacific, the Samoa Islands were a desirable and strategic military and trading outpost. In 1857, German trading company J.C. Godeffroy and Son established an outpost on the Samoan island of Upolu, making it one of the most popular trading posts in the Pacific. In 1872, the United States established a naval base in the harbor of the Samoan island of Tutuila and promised to protect the Samoan people from civil war and foreign threats. However, civil wars convulsed the Samoan Islands from the late 1870s through the late 1890s, and Germany and the United States fought over who should control the islands. In 1899, Germany and the United States divided the islands into what is now Samoa and American Samoa.

On February 19, 1900, President Roosevelt signed an executive order that placed American Samoa, the islands of Tutuila and Manu'a, under a U.S. military–controlled government. The Samoans (approximately 5,600 people at the time) became U.S. nationals. Currently, American Samoa is the only territory whose inhabitants are U.S. nationals and not citizens. As U.S. nationals, Samoans have the right to reside and work in the United States without restriction, apply for a U.S. passport, and apply for U.S. citizenship via naturalization under the same regulations as permanent residents. However, U.S. nationals cannot vote in any election or hold an elected office, making some American Samoans feel like second-class citizens (Simmons 2018).

Executive Order 9066

Immigration policies reflected the United States' changing alliances abroad as well as attitudes toward Asians at home. **Executive Order 9066 (1942)**, a legislative response to the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, authorized the internment of American citizens of Japanese descent and resident aliens of Japan. The misguided assumption was that Japanese Americans were enemies of the United States. President Roosevelt signed this order; he also froze Japanese Americans' assets, such as homes, businesses, and property. The **Japanese internment** order entailed the forced removal, relocation, and incarceration of Japanese Americans and Japanese nationals on the West Coast of the United States. Over 117,000 men, women, and children were sent to makeshift facilities, such as converted livestock pavilions and former military camps, across the interior United States. Families remained incarcerated from 1942 to 1945.

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PHOTO 9.3 Newspapers across the United States announced the removal of Japanese Americans and Japanese nationals following the attack on Pearl Harbor.

Buyenlarge/Getty Images

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Early in 1943 the U.S. government, through the War Relocation Authority, released a questionnaire for interned men 17 years old and over. It was titled "Statement of U.S. Citizenship of Japanese American Ancestry." Question #27 asked, "Are you willing to serve in the armed forces of the United States on combat duty, wherever ordered?" Question #28 asked, "Will you swear unqualified allegiance to the United States of America and faithfully defend the United States from any or all attacks by foreign or domestic forces, and forswear any form of allegiance or obedience to the Japanese emperor, or other foreign government, power or organization?" (Nittle 2020).

In response to draft notices, Frank Emi and six other interned men created the Fair Play Committee. In March 1944, they signed a declaration challenging the internment policy and their conscription as shameful affronts to the Constitution and American ideals. They wrote,

> We, the members of the FPC, are not afraid to go to war.... We are not afraid to risk our lives for our country. We would gladly sacrifice our lives to protect and uphold the principles and ideals of our country as set forth in the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, for on its inviolability depends the freedom, liberty, justice, and protection of all people, including Japanese-Americans and all other minority groups. But have we been given such freedom, such liberty, such justice, such protection? NO!!" (Downes 2010)

More than 300 men across 10 camps joined the Fair Play Committee's resistance. They were mocked by other Japanese Americans as "no-no boys," and the Japanese Americans Citizens League denounced them as seditious. All were prosecuted and sentenced to prison (Downes 2010).

The End of Exclusionary Asian Immigration Policies

Individual acts such as the following began dismantling anti-Asian legislation:

- The Magnuson Act (1943) repealed the Chinese Exclusion Acts, made Chinese eligible for U.S. citizenship, and gave China an annual immigration quota of 105. Note that this was after China and the United States became allies during World War II.
- The Luce-Celler Act (1946) ended exclusion and extended immigration and naturalization rights to South Asians and Filipinos in anticipation of their imminent independence from colonial rule: India from Great Britain and the Philippines from the United States (in 1947 and 1946, respectively).
- The McCarran-Walter Immigration Act of 1952 changed exclusionary Asian immigration policies by allowing immigration from China and Japan, albeit in small numbers. Importantly, the McCarran-Walter Act included naturalization rights for Asians, making Asians eligible for citizenship for the first time. More than 40,000 first-generation Japanese Americans became U.S. citizens from 1952 to 1965—many had waited decades to do so.

While the McCarran-Walter Act also introduced preferences for the immigration of highly skilled laborers and family reunification, the **Hart-Celler Immigration and Nationality Act (1965)** solidified changes in immigration policy. Notably, it abolished the national origins quota system that had governed U.S. immigration policy since the 1920s. It prioritized family reunification, encouraged employment-based or skills-based immigration, and welcomed refugees. This legislation drastically changed immigration to the United States with ramifications for the perception of Asians (as we discuss later in this chapter).

CONSIDER THIS

How did perceptions of Asians in America and immigration policy go hand in hand? What are some contemporary examples of attitudes toward specific ethnic groups affecting immigration policies?

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DOING SOCIOLOGY 9.1

Did You Know? Asian American History and Resistance

In this exercise you will examine your prior knowledge of Asian American history and resistance.

Write answers to the following questions and be prepared to share them with your classmates.

1. Prior to this class, what did you know about Asian American history?
2. Did you know much about Asian American resistance to the racism they face(d)? If yes, what are some examples of Asian American resistance that you knew? If not, why do you think that was the case?

Check Your Understanding

1. What spurred early Asian immigration to the United States?
2. Why were Asian immigrants seen as a threat and to whom?
3. What are some examples of Asian American resistance?
4. What made the Chinese Exclusion Act unique from other earlier immigration policies?
5. What was Executive Order 9066?
6. Why did some interned Japanese men create the Fair Play Committee?
7. How did the Hart-Celler Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 change immigration to the United States?

THE BEGINNINGS OF CONTEMPORARY ASIAN AMERICA: BECOMING "ASIAN AMERICAN"

The term *Asian American* may now be part of the everyday lexicon in the United States, but that was not always the case. Up until the 1960s, Asian Americans primarily identified themselves by their particular ethnic group (e.g., Chinese, Korean, Japanese). This makes sense, given the following:

- Many Asian nations held great animus toward one or more other Asian countries.
- U.S. businesses pitted different ethnic Asian laborers against one another.
- Exclusionary U.S. immigration policies distinguished among Asian sending countries.

However, as waves of activism across many marginalized groups transformed U.S. society in the 1960s, a pan-ethnic Asian student movement was also taking shape. This student movement joined other forms of activism, helping shape an "Asian American" consciousness.

Coining the Pan-Ethnic Asian American Race

During the summer of 1968, Japanese American Yuji Ichioka and Chinese American Emma Gee, both student activists at UC Berkeley, created the first interethnic pan-Asian American political group, the Asian American Political Alliance (AAPA), thereby introducing the term **Asian American**. The name not only signified a pan-ethnic Asian unification of traditionally separate groups of Asian students but also challenged the derogatory term *Oriental*. Like **the Orient**, which was a historic Eurocentric term used to describe the "Far East" and implied that people, commodities, and cultures from Asia were exotic and subordinate to "the West," **Oriental** was a pejorative label applied to people from Asia emphasizing their inferiority to and difference from people in Western nations. The term *Asian*

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American was a signal of "**yellow power**," a power for self-determination and a call against racism, imperialism, and inequality.

In fall 1968, AAPA supported the San Francisco student strike (more details in the following section). Shortly thereafter, Ichioka became a founding member of UCLA's Asian American Studies Center and taught the first Asian American studies class at UCLA. In the years that followed, student groups on other college campuses adopted the term *Asian American* to define their own pan-ethnic Asian groups. In 1980, the U.S. census began to use the term, though it was not until 2016 that the U.S. government banned the word *Oriental* and required the use of *Asian American*.

San Francisco State College Strike

"On strike! Shut it down!" was the daily rallying cry across San Francisco State College. From November 1968 through March 1969, a coalition of students of color, including the Black Student Union and the Third World Liberation Front, marched on the college administration building to demand changes to admissions practices that limited the admissions of non-White students and curriculum that minimized the histories and experiences of racial and ethnic minorities. Even set against the backdrop of the wave of student-led anti–Vietnam War protests on college campuses across the United States, the San Francisco State College strike quickly gained national attention. This strike was noteworthy for a number of reasons, including the guerilla tactics students used to disrupt the campus and gain the attention of the administration (e.g., stink bombs, clogging toilets, interrupting classes). The extreme response of the college, which included bringing police tactical units to campus daily, resulted in over 400 arrests during the strike, with the pan-ethnic coalition of students leading the protests (Whitson 1969).

PHOTO 9.4 Student demonstrators march in front of the San Francisco State College (later San Francisco State University) administration building in 1968 to protest the school's lack of minority studies programs, as other students and media, some on the roofs, watch.

Garth Eliassen/Getty Images

The Black Student Union (BSU) at San Francisco State was closely linked to the Black Panther Party, which shaped the community activities and political goals of the BSU. The Third World Liberation Front (TWLF) was an alliance of the Latin American Student Organization (LASO), the Mexican American Student Confederation, the Philipino American College Endeavor (PACE), and the Intercollegiate Chinese for Social Action (ICSA). These students, like most of the San Francisco State students, were primarily commuters from working-class backgrounds and active in their home communities.

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The San Francisco State College strike remains the longest student strike in history and changed the landscape of higher education across the country. The strike resulted in the creation of San Francisco State College's School of Ethnic Studies, including American Indian studies, Asian American studies, Black studies, and La Raza studies (focusing on Chicanos and Latin Americans). Thanks to the strike, ethnic studies programs began to appear not only in the Bay Area but across the United States.

CONSIDER THIS

Would you be willing to participate in a similar strike on your campus? Why? If yes, for what? If no, why not?

DOING SOCIOLOGY 9.2

Pros and Cons of the Term Asian

In this exercise you will think about the pros and cons of the term Asian *for Asian Americans.*

Write answers to the following questions. Then, share your answers with a group of your classmates and work together to make a list of the pros and cons. Prepare yourselves for a class debate on whether the pros outweigh the cons.

1. Are you surprised that the term *Asian American* has activist roots? Why or why not?
2. Which Asian cultures do most people in the United States think of when they hear the word *Asian*? Are there some Asian cultures that are often overlooked?
3. Why do you think some Asian Americans have a complicated relationship with the word *Asian*? What are the pros and cons of the term?

Gidra, "Voice of the Asian American Movement"

In 1969, just around the time of the San Francisco student strikes and the creation of AAPA, five Japanese American UCLA students—Mike Murase, Dinora Gil, Laura Ho, Tracy Okida, and Colin Watanabe—created *Gidra*, a newspaper-magazine. At the time, the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA), did not have an ethnic studies department. It did, however, give students approval to create informal study centers and provided funding for student publications. The students approached the UCLA administration about starting an Asian American community newspaper. However, when they were told that receiving funding from the school required agreeing to give the university final editorial rights, the five students decided to fund the paper themselves and each contributed $100 toward the publication.

Initially, the students located the *Gidra* office in the Asian American Studies Center at UCLA and focused on the fight for ethnic studies programs on college campuses and other local, on-the-ground activism. When they moved *Gidra* off campus to an office in the Crenshaw District of L.A., they broadened its coverage to include international Asian movements as well as the Black Power and Chicano movements. In addition to news coverage, the students also included poetry, art, and political cartoons in the paper.

A volunteer-led paper, *Gidra* was truly a community-based, grassroots, activist-oriented publication. Groundbreaking in its structure and coverage of issues that most mainstream news media ignored, it created a collective identity and sense of community by and for Asian Americans. *Gidra* had neither an editorial board nor a hierarchical structure. As the "voice of the Asian American movement," *Gidra* publicized stories about Asian American activism and reclaimed narratives about Asians in America, particularly Japanese Americans, through refuting the "model minority myth" and putting attention on the long-term detrimental effects of the Japanese internment.

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Gidra had a monthly circulation of about 3,000 and more than 200 Asian American contributors, including students, community organizers, and Vietnam veterans, during its 5-year run from 1969 to 1974. Its reach extended far beyond UCLA and the Bay Area. Asian American activists from New York City and other cities across the United States incorporated *Gidra* into their local activism and teaching. For example, reflecting on the role of *Gidra* at that time, artist and activist Fay Chiang shared, "I had started an Asian American studies course at Hunter College (in New York City) and our friends were pushing for a department at City College, but we had no curriculum.... So I was just collecting all the mimeograph sheets and ditto sheets [of the *Gidra* that] I could get my hands on" (Lee 2018). Although the last published issue came out over 45 years ago, *Gidra*'s reach continues to grow as new readers access its online digitized archives.

International Hotel Protests

The 9-year anti-eviction protest (1968–1977) surrounding the International Hotel (I-Hotel) in Manilatown in San Francisco also played a major role in the emergence of an Asian American consciousness. A 10-block Filipino ethnic enclave located on the edge of Chinatown, I-Hotel provided low-income housing to approximately 150 residents, the majority of whom were elderly Filipino and Chinese men. Because previous immigration policies limited immigration of Asian women and anti-miscegenation laws prevented Asian men from marrying cross-racially, this was a primarily male population.

Urban renewal and an encroaching Financial District threatened the I-Hotel. On November 27, 1968, both the residents and the businesses located on the first floor received eviction notices. The businesses included Everybody's Bookstore, the first Asian American bookstore in the nation, as well as the Asian Community Center, Chinese Progressive Association, and Kearny Street Workshop. The I-Hotel was more than just a home and a refuge to the 150 or so residents. It was a community hub contributing to the social, political, and cultural life of Manilatown and the bordering Chinatown area of San Francisco.

Soon after word of the eviction notices spread, the Third World Liberation Front students from San Francisco State and UC Berkeley, along with other college students and members of activist groups across the Bay Area, participated in I-Hotel protests. *Gidra* covered the events. As Ling-chi Wang, an activist and professor emeritus of Asian American studies at UC Berkeley, notes, "I-Hotel became a symbol of... [the] struggle not only for dignity, [but] for identity, for a community to defend itself and protect its own destiny" (Franko 2007).

On August 4, 1977, police removed the remaining 50 or so tenants. In a demonstration of cross-generational, interracial, and interethnic solidarity, 3,000 nonviolent protesters met the 300 riot police sent to remove the lingering residents. However, the protests did not end there. Tenants and community members continued to lobby for low-income housing and the preservation of the Filipino community for the next two decades. In 2005, a new I-Hotel opened, providing 100 units of low-income housing for seniors, including some original I-Hotel residents, and a museum commemorating the community activism.

Who Was Vincent Chin?

In 1982, the murder of Vincent Chin mobilized Asian American social justice organizations, and Asian pan-ethnic solidarity soared across the United States. It also thrust the term *Asian American* out of the primarily academic and activist circles and into the mainstream. People of all Asian ethnicities realized they all faced racial discrimination aimed at any Asian ethnic group.

On June 19, 1982, 27-year-old Vincent Chin, a Chinese American man, was celebrating at his bachelor party in a local Detroit strip club when he got into an altercation with two White male patrons, Ronald Ebens and his stepson, Michael Nitz (a recently laid off Chrysler automobile worker). At this time, many people blamed the decline of the Detroit auto industry on the rise of Japanese auto imports, including Ebens and Nitz who were both autoworkers. Assuming he was Japanese, Ebens and Nitz saw Chin as a symbol of their economic fears. They exchanged words with Chin and the three started to fight. The club threw all the patrons out of the club. However, Ebens and Nitz were not done. They

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searched the area for Chin, finding him at a nearby McDonald's. While Nitz held him down, Ebens bludgeoned him with a baseball bat, cracking his skull. Chin died 4 days later from the severe head injuries (Asia Society 2017).

In a Michigan county court, the two plead guilty to manslaughter but appealed their sentences. The appeals judge, Charles Kaufmann, sentenced them to just 3 years' probation, a $3,000 fine, and $780 in court fees. Judge Kaufmann explained the light sentence by saying, "These aren't the kind of men you send to jail. You fit the punishment to the criminal, not the crime" (Wang 2010).

The circumstances around Chin's murder made public the type of racism Asian Americans experienced. Asian American activists pushed for the case to be tried by the U.S. Department of Justice as a hate crime, citing racial discrimination as the cause for Chin's murder. It was the first application of hate crime charges against people who committed a crime against an Asian American. Although the courts cleared Ebens and Nitz from the hate crime charge, the case became a rallying cry for stronger hate crime legislation.

Check Your Understanding

1. Who created the term *Asian American* and why?
2. How and why did Asian American students engage in activism?
3. What was an outcome of the San Francisco State College strike?
4. What made the San Francisco State College strike noteworthy?
5. What distinguished *Gidra* from other forms of news coverage at the time?
6. What were the policy implications of the Vincent Chin case?

(MIS)REPRESENTATION

As discussed in Chapter 4, Asian Americans are overrepresented in stories about achieving the American Dream and underrepresented in stories about poverty, educational disparities, health disparities, and other social disparities. However, as the data presented in Chapter 4 show, educational attainment and income vary widely by Asian ethnic group, something the broad umbrella term of *Asian American Pacific Islander* (AAPI) obscures. The census began using the label *Asian and Pacific Islander* in the 1980s, grouping these distinct groups together. However, in the 2000 census, "Asian" and "Native Hawaiian and other Pacific Islander" were listed as two separate racial categories. This change was a response to Native Hawaiians' objections to being grouped under the umbrella category of "Asian and Pacific Islander," as it provided "inadequate data for monitoring the social and economic conditions of Native Hawaiians and other Pacific Islander groups" (Office of Management and Budget 1997, 8). One of the key goals of the census is to provide accurate and comprehensive data on race and ethnicity for statistical purposes and program administration. The separation of "Asian" and "Native Hawaiian and other Pacific Islander" was an important step toward acknowledging the varied histories, socioeconomic conditions, and Indigenous populations of Hawaii and the Pacific islands, such as Guam and Samoa. However, stereotypes that portray Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders as one monolithic group persist.

Media Portrayals

Just as socioeconomic data obscure the realities of many Asian ethnic groups within the United States, so do media representations, both past and present. Some of the United States' earliest depictions of Asians in America (mis)characterized Chinese men as a "Yellow Peril." This stereotype was first deployed in the 1870s, as White men had an economic fear of losing jobs to "filthy yellow hordes." As discussed earlier in this chapter, the Chinese Exclusion Act followed, limiting the immigration of Chinese male laborers. The idea of a "Yellow Peril" or "Asian menace" resurfaced after Japan won the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905) (Tchen and Yeats 2014).

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In the 1930s and 40s, American audiences were introduced to the movie character Fu Manchu. Derived from a series of novels by British writer Sax Rohmer in the early 20th century, Fu Manchu was "the yellow peril incarnate in one man" (Frayling 2014, 9). An evil genius and inexplicably foreign threat, Fu Manchu projected Western fears onto the silver screen. Performed by a rotating cast of European men and written by a man who had never been to China, Fu Manchu movies—five in all—played on Western fears of a Chinese takeover of American society and intermarriage.

PHOTO 9.5 Poster for *The Return of Fu Manchu* (1940), the fourth of five Fu Manchu movies that played on White America's fears of a "Yellow Peril" that threatened Americans' way of life.

LMPC via Getty Images

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After the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941, White Americans immediately viewed Japanese people (and by extension Japanese Americans) as a foreign threat. Similar to how Chinese people were viewed in the 1800s, the media portrayed Japanese people as dangerous and subhuman. However, because China was allied with the United States during WWII, so to, by extension, were Chinese Americans. Popular U.S. magazines like *Time* ("How to Tell" 1941) and *Life* ("How to Tell" 1941) published stories instructing White Americans on "how to tell friend [Chinese] from foe [Japanese]."

After WWII, to diminish White America's fears of Japanese people (Japan was now an ally, not an enemy), the media began to portray Japanese Americans in a positive light. During this time, in the 1950s and 60s, the model minority myth took shape. Newspapers ran stories on Japanese and Chinese Americans' exemplary American values such as family, education, and hard work. Even though internment was only a decade earlier, journalists pointed out how Japanese Americans were able to restart their lives quickly and integrate into (White) America. This was credited to their inherent "cultural values." The implied message was that other racialized minority groups should be able to do what these non-White Americans had done. If they could not, it was due to cultural inferiority or moral failure. These media depictions served not only to craft an image of Asian Americans but of other racialized minority groups as well.

Even after the creation of the model minority myth and its use as a wedge against other racialized groups, however, Asian American acceptance was conditional. While their cultural values made them acceptable enough, their immutable foreignness made Whites reluctant to fully incorporate them into the fabric of U.S. society. Similar to the Yellow Peril stereotype, the model minority myth also emphasized Asian Americans' inherent difference from White Americans. For example, it was not until the mid-1990s that the first television show featuring an Asian American family aired (ABC's *All American Girl*, which ran for 19 episodes from 1994 to 1995). The same decade saw the release of the first Hollywood movie to feature a majority Asian American cast (*The Joy Luck Club* in 1993). A few years later, a MSNBC headline from the 1998 Winter Olympics figure skating competition reminded readers of the assumption that Asian Americans are immigrants. The headline summarized the competition's results as "American beats out Kwan" (Sorensen 1998). Though both were American competitors, the "American" in the headline referred to Tara Lipinski and thereby inferred that Michelle Kwan was not an American.

Stereotypes about Asians' immutable foreignness and distinct cultural values around family and education continue to endure. In 2011, Amy Chua's novel, *Battle Hymn of the Tiger Mother*, garnered the spotlight for its portrayal of Chinese motherhood; tiger moms are overbearing, strict, authoritarian parents with an extreme focus on achievement, have exceedingly high standards, and show no reluctance to use razor-sharp criticism on their children. This portrayal of Chinese mothers exacerbated stereotypes about Asian Americans as emotionless people with little personality and intense educational ambition for their children.

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CONSIDER THIS

How can the model minority myth affect Asian American students?

DOING SOCIOLOGY 9.3

Asian Americans in the Media

In this exercise, you will examine contemporary portrayals of Asian Americans in the media.

Reflect on and write answers to the following questions:

1. Define the Yellow Peril and model minority stereotypes.
2. What was the last television show or movie you watched with Asian Americans represented? If so, what was their role? Were they a main character, minor character, or background actor? Are

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they portrayed as part of a Yellow Peril, model minority, or some other stereotype about Asian Americans? If the only ideas you had about Asian Americans were based on the portrayal, what would you believe about Asians in America (e.g., personality, values, occupation, education)?

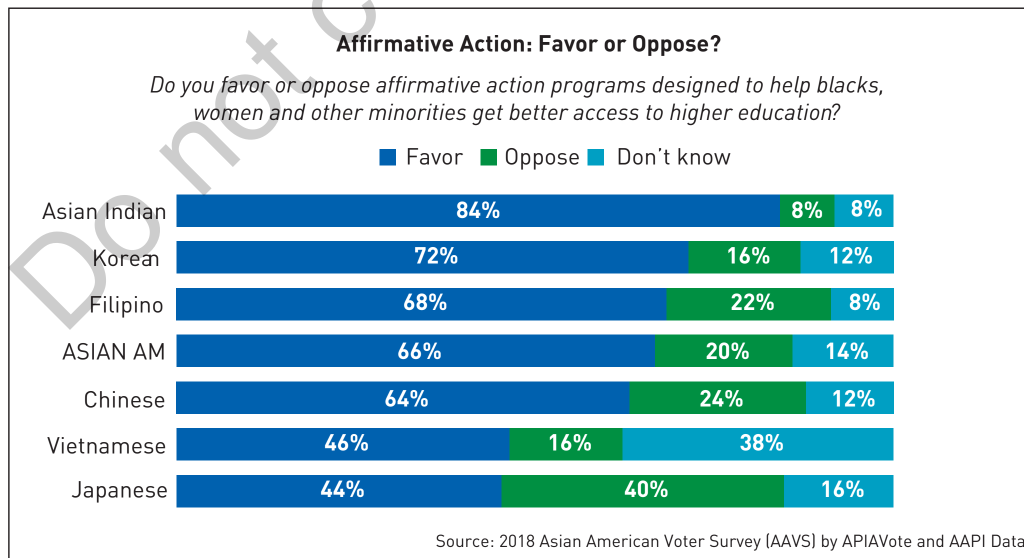
3. How do media portrayals of Asian Americans compare to those of other racial and ethnic groups? Are they similar or different in frequency of portrayals, significance (e.g., main character, minor character, background), and type (e.g., negative, positive, neutral)? Why are they similar or different?
4. Are media representations of Asian Americans stereotypical? Provide an example. Are there mainstream media representations that are not stereotypical? Provide an example.

"Bamboo Ceiling" and Education

The stereotype of Asian Americans as hardworking yet lacking personality is reflected in the idea of the "bamboo ceiling." Coined by Jane Hyun in her 2005 book *Breaking the Bamboo Ceiling*, **bamboo ceiling** refers to the specific obstacles Asian Americans face in attaining senior leadership positions. As mentioned in Chapter 4, these obstacles are often tied to Asian American stereotypes about personality traits and lack of "soft skills," particularly communication styles. Although overrepresented in people with BA degrees, Asian Americans are underrepresented in management positions. In fact, Asian Americans account for just 3.7% of total board seats for *Fortune* 500 companies (Alliance for Board Diversity 2018).

The focus on Asian American educational attainment shows up in how Asian Americans are used in affirmative action debates around college admissions. Even though educational attainment by Asian American ethnic groups is uneven, there are attempts by conservative interest groups to dismantle affirmative action by casting Asian Americans as "victims." In this case, the belief is that elite schools discriminate against Asian American applicants, holding them to higher standards or limiting the numbers admitted. While some Asian Americans, Chinese Americans in particular, have been vocal about their opposition to affirmative action, their objections are not shared across the many Asian American ethnic groups. Research finds that 66% of registered Asian American voters support affirmative action (AAPI Data 2018). Chinese Americans are the only Asian American ethnic group with declining support for affirmative action. Figure 9.1 shows attitudes toward affirmative action programs among various Asian American groups.

FIGURE 9.1 ■ Asian American Attitudes Toward Afirmative Action.



Source: "Infographic – 2018, Affirmative Action Favor" 2018. https://aapidata.com/infographic-2018-affirmative-action-favor/.

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Check Your Understanding

1. What were the effects of the Yellow Peril stereotype?
2. What is the model minority myth?
3. Do Asian Americans support affirmative action?

ASIAN AMERICA ONLINE

More nuanced media portrayals of Asian Americans began in 1980, with the creation of the Center for Asian American Media (CAAM), formerly the National Asian American Telecommunications Association (NAATA), one of the longest-standing Asian American media entities. CAAM (n.d.) "has exposed audiences to new voices and communities, advancing our collective understanding of the American experience through programs specifically designed to engage the Asian American community and the public at large." CAAM worked within mainstream media to create change from the inside out, benefiting from government-funded initiatives meant to increase ethnic media. However, as technological advances made user-generated media more accessible, especially with the rise of the Internet, Asian Americans created alternate forms of media, affecting change from the outside in.

From Print Magazines to Blogs

While Asian American print magazines such as *Jade* (1974–1987), *A.* (1989–2002), and *Yolk* (1994–2004) were unable to sustain themselves due to printing costs and difficulties in attracting advertisers, Internet-based publications have the potential for more widespread distribution without the costs of traditional print media. One of the first Asian American blogs, *AARising* (1990–2015), began from a record label but became the go-to site for Asian American Pacific Islander entertainment news. Then in 2001, Jenn Fang, a Chinese Canadian who lives and works in the United States, founded *Reappropriate.co*, now one of the oldest Asian American and Pacific Islander feminist and race activism blogs.

Around that same time, Phil Yu, cofounder of now-defunct *A.* magazine, began blogging at blog.AngryAsianMan.com. As the "About" section succinctly states, "This is a blog about Asian America." In an interview with the *Huffington Post* (Yam 2019), Yu goes into more detail about Asian America, saying,

> *There is no one way to be Asian American. People try to put you in a box... and unfortunately, the way that that plays out is a lot of us are silenced or made to feel that we need to shut up.... It's OK to speak up and have a voice and say something, even when it goes against the grain and when people tell you to sit down and shut up.... The other side of that is that you don't have to wait for permission to tell your story, and don't let anyone else tell your story.*

Through *AngryAsianMan*, and now a podcast titled *They Call Us Bruce* cohosted with Jeff Yang, Yu and other Asian Americans voice the unique and wide-ranging stories of Asian America. Blogs and other online media are not just for entertainment. Fang, reflecting on the role of these forms of media, shared, "I think Asian American bloggers—like Angry Asian Man, and (hopefully) Reappropriate, as well as others—are a form of activism because we help to foster a diverse, online AAPI voice that I believe has helped to both incite and organize subsequent activism within the AAPI community by fostering greater passion in AAPI readers towards social change" (Angry Asian Man 2014).

Asian America YouTube

While blogs and early social networking sites, like Xanga, were connecting Asian Americans from coast to coast, YouTube provided a unique space for traditionally marginalized communities to create their own programming and see themselves reflected in a way missing from other media. In 2003, three college friends at UC San Diego, Ted Fu (Taiwanese American), Wesley Chan (Chinese American), and Philip Wang (Chinese American), created Wong Fu Productions. The trio began with short skits about

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college life including their popular 2006 15-minute short *Yellow Fever*, a comedic take on interracial dating. They created Wong Fu's YouTube channel in 2007. Soon short films turned into full-length features and a YouTube series on YouTube Red (now YouTube Premium). Wong Fu Productions has become a space to promote other Asian American creatives, redefining and also publicizing the multifaceted experiences of Asian America.

In the early years of YouTube, before commercial musical artists and mainstream television shows began using the platform, Asian Americans were among the top 20 YouTubers. In 2010, comedian Ryan Higa (Japanese American) (YouTube channel: nigahiga) became the first person to reach 3 million YouTube subscribers (VanDeGraph 2016). Other high-ranking Asian American YouTubers included comedian Kevin Wu (Chinese American) (YouTube channel: kevjumba) with 1.2 million subscribers and makeup artist Michelle Phan (Vietnamese American) (YouTube channel: Michelle Phan) with 1 million (VanDeGraph 2016). Although legacy media used to act as a gatekeeper, with YouTube, Asian Americans can sidestep racial barriers and create their own media on their own terms, resulting in wide-ranging portrayals that appeal to both Asian American and non–Asian American audiences. Kevin Wu distills the appeal of Asian American–created media, stating, "I'll talk about things that Asians don't like to talk about. We're a new breed of Asian-American, and I'm a representative of that" (Considine 2011).

Through YouTube, Asian American users contribute to an Asian American *racial* identity, shaping Asian American consciousness alongside the Asian ethnic identities they may have already developed through home, family, and community life. Similar to the origins of the pan-ethnic label of the 60s, more contemporary Asian American identity reflects a shared consciousness around similarities in experiences across Asian ethnic groups while still serving as a rallying point for advocacy.

The effects of YouTube can be seen in the introduction of more mainstream media portrayals. "Today with Wong Fu, traditional media is open to us in a way it wasn't before," Wang says. "It's not like there are green lights everywhere, but we are getting into the room and people are starting to think, 'We should take a meeting with these guys. We should take this seriously'" (Lanyon 2018). Traditional media are taking Asian American stars and stories more seriously as evidenced by prime-time television shows featuring Asian American families. For example, ABC's *Fresh Off the Boat* (2015–2020) is the first network show about an Asian American family since *All American Girl* aired in 1994 and is based on chef Eddie Huang's memoir of the same name. Set in the 1990s, *Fresh Off the Boat* follows an adolescent Eddie and his family as they relocate from Washington, DC's, Chinatown to suburban Orlando. *Kim's Convenience*, a Canadian TV show picked up by Netflix, delves into the complexities of familial relationships across generations and immigration status, presenting three-dimensional characters rather than stereotypes.

Some sociologists have also studied and advocated for more (and better) representations of Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders in the media. Nancy Wang Yuen discusses her findings and accomplishments in the Sociologists in Action feature.

SOCIOLOGISTS IN ACTION

Nancy Wang Yuen

Reel Inequality: Using Sociology to Reveal and Increase the Representation of People of Color in Hollywood

As a sociologist, I want to make the world more just. This desire began in graduate school when I led the team that created the first policy report on Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders (AAPIs) on television, published in 2005. With a team of fellow Asian American graduate students and the support of a national civil rights organization, Asian Americans Advancing Justice (AAJC), we examined prime-time television shows using content analysis. We found that AAPIs were severely underrepresented on screen—just 2.7% of the total number of regular characters. Our research received national media coverage, and AAJC shared the results with television networks. In 2017,

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we published a 10-year follow-up report demonstrating how AAPIs, despite making significant numerical progress, remain tokens on the small screen.

When I wrote my book, *Reel Inequality: Hollywood Actors and Racism*, I wanted to document Hollywood's discriminatory casting practices and dispel the myths that perpetuate its racist system. Based on 100 in-depth interviews I conducted with working actors, *Reel Inequality* was one of the first books to compare the experiences of African American, Asian American, Latinx, and White actors. Since the book's publication in 2016, numerous Hollywood actors have shared with me how *Reel Inequality* gave voice to and clarified their experiences in the industry.

Sociology underpins my public writing and speaking. I appear regularly on radio networks like National Public Radio (NPR) and television networks like the British Broadcast Corporation (BBC) to speak on why Asian American representation in film and television matters. In 2018, I got invited to be a panelist on *Dr. Phil* to speak about racial privilege. In my public writing, I combine critical analysis with personal experience to explore topics like masculinity, cultural norms, and how I felt when seeing an Asian American woman in a romantic comedy for the first time.

I feel especially fulfilled when advocating for the increased representation of people of color in Hollywood. In 2018, I published a *HuffPost* article, "'Fresh Off the Boat' Expanded: What Family Looks Like. Don't Cancel It." I pointed out the significance of *Fresh Off the Boat* as one of the few multigenerational immigrant families on television, and the only family sitcom centered on Asian Americans on the air at the time. I also emphasized how, based on my 2017 study, the cancellation of *Fresh Off the Boat* could decrease the number of Asian American television regulars by 9%. The show was ultimately renewed. To my surprise, one of the show's writers e-mailed me to let me know that my article got circulated around the network and made a difference in saving the show. Words matter. Sociology matters.

Nancy Wang Yuen is associate professor of sociology at Biola University and the author of Reel Inequality: Hollywood Actors and Racism.

Discussion Question

Sociologists are called to notice patterns in society and to help change those that are unjust. Nancy Wang Yuen describes how she does just that with her sociological tools. What unjust social pattern(s) would you like to address? Why?

CONSIDER THIS

Why has the growing number of media outlets led to more Asian Americans appearing on legacy media? How can media portrayals of racially disadvantaged groups both help and hurt them?

There has also been an increase in shows with Asian American leads and costars, such as *Grey's Anatomy* (2005–present) with Sandra Oh (2005–2014), *The Big Bang Theory* (2007–2019) with Kunal Nayyar, *The Mindy Project* (2012–2017) with Mindy Kaling, *Elementary* (2012–2019) with Lucy Liu, *Quantico* (2015–2018) with Priyanka Chopra, *Dr. Ken* (2015–2017) with Ken Jeong, and *Andi Mack* (2017–2019) with Peyton Elizabeth Lee. Asian Americans can be seen on the silver screen in movies like *Crazy Rich Asians* (2018), *Searching* (2018), *The Farewell* (2019), and *Minari* (2021). Asian Americans are not only writing, producing, and starring in more nuanced depictions on YouTube, television, streaming services, and the silver screen, but they are also creating their own production companies (such as Henry Golding's Long House Productions), which means we may expect to see continued Asian American representation and nuanced portrayals in the future.

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PHOTO 9.6 Director and cast members of *Crazy Rich Asians* at Kore Asian Media's 17th Annual Unforgettable Gala held at the Beverly Hilton in Beverly Hills, California, in December 2018.

Sthanlee B. Mirador/Sipa via AP Images

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DOING SOCIOLOGY 9.4

Constance Wu's Reflections on Crazy Rich Asians

In this exercise, you will consider Constance Wu's thoughts on the groundbreaking film Crazy Rich Asians. *Wu, who starred as Rachel Chu in the film, was born in Virginia and is the child of Taiwanese immigrants.*

Write your answers to the following questions:

1. Two weeks before *Crazy Rich Asians* was released in 2018, Wu commented on the significance of the film on Twitter. In her post, she points out that *Crazy Rich Asians* "is the first Hollywood Studio film in over 25 years to center an Asian American's story." What is the difference between a film including an Asian American story and a film centering an Asian American story?
2. Wu explains that she never expected a role like this one: "Before CRA, I hadn't even done a tiny part in a studio film, I never dreamed I would get to *star* in one... because I had never seen that happen to someone who looks like me." Why is it important that people see actors who look like them starring in films? Why does this type of representation matter?
3. At the end of her post, Wu—addressing her Asian American fans—notes that "CRA won't represent every Asian American." Why do you think she includes this acknowledgment?

Check Your Understanding

1. How did the Internet contribute to Asian American community building?
2. How has Asian work on YouTube influenced media portrayals of Asian Americans?

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CONCLUSION

This chapter highlighted Asian Americans' long history of immigration to the United States, activism, and cultural contributions. Though the pan-ethnic label *Asian American* unifies the varied Asian ethnic groups, there remain distinct immigration histories and contemporary experiences of Asians in America that cannot be overlooked. In the next chapter, we examine Hispanic and Latinx groups, another ethnic group with varied immigration histories and a pan-ethnic movement for self-determination.

CHAPTER REVIEW

9.1 What is the connection among early Asian immigration, anti-Asian immigration policies, and Asian activism?

Although U.S. businesses facilitated Asian immigration labor, anti-Asian fears became widespread, often resulting in threats and violence by White Americans. Policies that restricted Asian immigration followed. However, Asians in America engaged in collective action to fight for their rights—socially, politically, culturally, and economically.

9.2 What were key events that shaped an "Asian American" consciousness?

In 1968, when UC Berkeley students Yuji Ichioka and Emma Gee coined the term *Asian American* it signified a pan-ethnic Asian unification of traditionally separate groups of Asian students and challenged the derogatory term *Oriental*. It was a signal of "yellow power," a power for self-determination and a call against racism, imperialism, and inequality. The San Francisco State College strike (1968–1969), International Hotel protests (1968–1977), and Vincent Chin's murder (1982) shaped an Asian American consciousness.

9.3 What are the similarities and differences between the "Yellow Peril" and "model minority" stereotypes?

Both the Yellow Peril and model minority myth stereotypes emphasize Asian Americans' inherent difference from White Americans and immutable foreignness. The Yellow Peril stereotype portrayed Asian Americans as a foreign threat to the American way of life, whereas the model minority myth assumes Asian Americans have inherent cultural values around family, education, and hard work that enable them to assimilate into the United States whereas other racial and ethnic minority groups have not.

9.4 How does Asian American–created media challenge stereotypical portrayals of Asians in America?

Asian American–created media, such as blogs, YouTube channels, television shows, and movies, present a range of Asian American experiences with nuanced and three-dimensional characters. Rather than historic stereotypical portrayals of Asian Americans as a Yellow Peril, exotic, or model minorities, Asian American–created media normalize the presence of Asians in America.

KEY TERMS

Asian American (p. 184)
Bamboo ceiling (p. 191)
Chinese Exclusion Act (1882) (p. 179)
Executive Order 9066 (1942) (p. 182)
Hart-Celler Immigration and Nationality Act (1965) (p. 183)
Japanese internment (p. 182)
The Orient (p. 184)
Oriental (p. 184)
Picture brides (p. 180)
Yellow Peril (p. 179)
Yellow power (p. 185)

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