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Introduction

PYONG GAP MIN

THE PHENOMENAL INCREASE IN THE ASIAN AMERICAN POPULATION

Patricia Smith, who was in her fifties, had spent her first 25 years in Flushing, New York City, before she moved to Columbus, South Carolina upon her marriage in 1968. Her parents, too, had recently left Flushing permanently to spend their retirement years in Miami, Florida. In the summer of 2002, she had a 1-week visit to New York City, her hometown, with her family members. She stayed at Penta Hotel in Manhattan close to Penn Station. She wanted to see, first of all, downtown Flushing, the familiar neighborhood of her childhood years. To visit Flushing, she took the Seven Train at Times Square. She found that more than one third of the passengers on the Seven Train were Asians. She wondered whether the train was heading toward Chinatown in Lower Manhattan. She spoke to an Asian passenger to make sure the train was going to Flushing. The passenger told her that because so many Asians live in Woodside, Elmhurst, Jackson Heights, and Flushing, which the Seven Train passes, the train usually has many Asian passengers.

When Patricia arrived in downtown Flushing, she realized that more than half the people she

encountered were Asians. When she dropped by a City Bank branch on Main Street, she found that six of the ten tellers working there were Asians. To her even greater surprise, she saw that most stores on Main Street had Chinese-language signs, and were apparently owned by Chinese immigrants. When she walked one block north along Roosevelt Avenue, she found hundreds of immigrant-owned stores dotting Union Street. She found that the stores displayed commercial signs of another foreign language but seemed to cater to the same Chinese customers. She later found out, though, that these were Korean-owned stores with Korean customers. She could not believe how Flushing, an all-white, middle-class neighborhood in the 1960s, had turned into an Asian enclave during the intervening 35 years.

This middle-aged white woman's surprising experience in her hometown reflects the rapid growth of the Asian population in New York City in the post-1965 era. When she lived in Flushing in 1968, Asians were almost invisible in the downtown Flushing area, with whites making up 95% of the population. Asians in the pre-1965 era were heavily concentrated in Hawaii, California, and other western states, and thus did not attract

New Yorkers' attention. Only the Chinese population in Chinatown in Manhattan was visible in New York City in the pre-1965 era. The 1960 U.S. Census showed that there were 20,658 Chinese, 3,169 Japanese, and 2,744 Filipino Americans in New York City (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1961, p. 107), but there was no information about Korean Americans and Asian Indians. Before 1965, people of Korean, Indian, Japanese, and Filipino ancestry were certainly not very familiar to most New Yorkers. However, many post-1965 Asian immigrants have flocked to New York City and several suburban counties surrounding the city, including Nassau, Suffolk, Westchester, and Bergen Counties. About half of Asian Americans are concentrated in Queens, with Flushing serving as the center of the Asian American population. In 2000, Asian Americans made up 10% of the population in New York City, 22% of the population in Queens, and the majority (56%) of the population in Flushing (Zhou & Kim, 2003, p. 136).

I introduced Patricia Smith's episode to highlight the astronomical increase in the Asian American population in many American cities and its impact on the cities since the enforcement of the 1965 Immigration Act. Of course, the immigration of Asians to the United States has more than 150 years of history. After the California Gold Rush in 1848, a large number of Chinese workers were brought to California and other western states to meet the need for cheap labor in mining, railroad construction, farming, and other sectors of industry. But white Americans' prejudice against Chinese immigrants in general and white workers' racial antagonism in particular led to the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882. The ensuing rampant racial violence in California pushed most Chinese workers away from California and either to China or to other parts of the United States. After the Chinese were legally barred from immigrating to the United States, plantation and farm owners in Hawaii and California began to bring in Japanese, Filipino, Indian, and Korean workers. But laws passed in the late 1910s and early 1920s barred Asian nationals from entering the United States for about 40 years. Many Japanese and

Korean women came to the United States as wives of American servicemen after World War II and the Korean War (1950–1953). Nevertheless, until 1970, the Asian American population had been kept to a relatively small number.

The liberalization of the U.S. immigration law in 1965; the U.S. government's military, political, and economic connections with many Asian countries; and the population explosion in Asia made possible the mass migration of Asians to the United States. On average, more than 220,000 Asian immigrants have been admitted to the United States annually since 1965, accounting for about 35% of total immigrants to the country. As a result, the Asian American population increased from less than 1.5 million in 1970 to about 11 million in 2000. Before 1970, the Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino people concentrated in the West Coast states and some Chinese immigrants in Chinatowns in the East Coast cities made up the only visible Asian population. However, in addition to these better-known Asian ethnic groups, Koreans, Indians, and Vietnamese have emerged as major Asian ethnic groups in contemporary America. Other, smaller Asian groups, such as Pakistanis, Bangladeshis, Cambodians, and Laotians, have substantially increased in their numbers. Earlier, Asian Americans were heavily concentrated on the West Coast, creating their ethnic enclaves in San Francisco, Los Angeles, Honolulu, and Seattle. Today, large Asian American communities have been established in the New York-New Jersey area, Washington DC, Chicago, Dallas, Houston, and Atlanta, as well as in other West Coast cities, such as San Jose, San Diego, and Tacoma.

The transpacific migration of Asians to American cities has led to significant changes in their lives in terms of their traditional customs, values, jobs, and other elements of life. However, Asian immigrants have also affected the American cities where they settle. The presence of Asian immigrants and their children in large numbers has a significant impact on the economy, politics, education, social services, culture, and, most important, intergroup relations in cities. Tens of thousands of Chinese restaurants serve lunch or

dinner for numerous Americans every day. Thus, should all Chinese restaurants be shut down for even one day, not only three million Chinese Americans but also many other Americans would have difficulty feeding themselves. About 2,000 produce stores in New York City provide fresh vegetables and fruits for more than eight million New Yorkers every day, many stores staying open 24 hours a day. If all Korean green grocery stores should be closed for one day, many New Yorkers as well as 60 wholesalers at Hunts Point Market (the largest produce wholesale market in the world) would be in big trouble.

In the post-1965 era, more immigrants have originated from Latin American countries than from Asian countries. But new Asian immigrants have made a greater contribution to religious diversity in the United States than Latino immigrants. While Latin American countries are predominantly Catholic and partly Protestant, Asian countries are homes to several non-Judeo-Christian religions. More than two million immigrants from India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh have transplanted three of the major non-Christian religions in the world: Hinduism, Sikhism, and Islam. The majority of Indo-Chinese refugees and Thai immigrants, and significant proportions of Chinese, Korean, and Japanese immigrants, are Buddhists. Hundreds of Hindu, Buddhist, and Sikh temples, as well as mosques for South Asians, have mushroomed in Los Angeles, New York City, Houston, Chicago, and many other cities. Filipino, Korean, and Indian immigrants have brought with them Asian versions of Christian religions. Korean Protestant immigrants numbering less than 700,000 have given Americans their clear message of "no Christian life without congregation" by establishing more than 4,000 churches.

The impact of the massive immigration of Asians is most keenly felt in American colleges and universities. Asian immigrants' higher socioeconomic status and emphasis on children's education have enabled them to send their children to prestigious colleges and universities in a much higher proportion than their share of the population. Although Asian Americans account for about

3.5% of the U.S. population, they constitute over 35% of the students at several University of California campuses, including UC Irvine, UC Berkeley, and UCLA, and over 15% in many prestigious private colleges and universities and large state universities. Asian Americans constitute even higher proportions of the students in graduate and professional schools in these private and state universities. In fact, Ph.D. programs in computer science, other basic sciences, and engineering in major universities depend so much on Asian foreign and Asian American students that they may not be able to survive without them.

THE EXPANSION OF ASIAN AMERICAN STUDIES PROGRAMS AND THE NEED FOR A SOCIOLOGICAL ANTHOLOGY ON ASIAN AMERICANS

Asian American students at San Francisco State College in 1968 and the University of California at Berkeley in 1969 first started the pan-Asian movement as a part of the Third World student movements (Omatsu, 2000; Umemoto, 2000). They, along with other Third World students, occupied administrative buildings, demanding curricular changes and a more active role of minority students in the school's decision-making processes. As a result, the two universities established the School of Ethnic Studies or Department of Ethnic Studies. UCLA and other universities on the West Coast followed the two universities in establishing ethnic studies programs in 1969 and the early 1970s to appease militant students (Hu-Dehart, 1995).

Responding to various minority and women's movements and the influx of Third World immigrants, the federal and local governments, along with higher educational institutions, have changed policies toward minority members and immigrants from Anglo conformity to multiculturalism. The governments' and schools' adoption of multiculturalism has further accelerated the development of ethnic studies programs in colleges and universities. Mainly because of the numerical advantage of Asian American students, Asian American studies programs have been far

more active than other ethnic studies programs in major colleges and universities. Under pressure from Asian American students, most of the 20 universities under the University of California System and many other American colleges and universities have established Asian American studies programs and offer many Asian American courses. Many other colleges and universities that have not established Asian American studies programs offer a few or several Asian American courses to meet the growing needs of the Asian American student population.

Asian American studies, like other ethnic studies, have four separate disciplinary components: literature, history, cultural studies, and social sciences. But the historical discipline has had the greatest influence on Asian American studies, while social sciences have had the least influence, especially in the early stage of its development. Even in the early 1990s, when I was preparing the first edition of *Asian Americans*, popular books widely used for Asian American courses were largely historical books. Three popular examples are *Strangers From a Different Shore*, by Ronald Takaki (1989); *Asian Americans: An Interpretive History*, by Suchen Chan (1991); and *Asian Americans: Emerging Minorities*, by Harry Kitano and Roger Daniels (1988). There was no anthology on Asian Americans that provided social science data and discussed contemporary issues. To fill the gap, I started editing a social science anthology that would provide comprehensive information about contemporary Asian immigrant/ethnic communities.

THE NEED FOR THE REVISED EDITION

The first edition of *Asian Americans: Contemporary Trends and Issues*, published in 1995, has been well received; it has been adopted as a textbook in many social science-oriented Asian American studies classes. But we need the revised edition of the book to update social science information based on the 2000 U.S. Census and recently published materials and to include many newly emerging issues, including the adaptation of the

“new second generation.” I asked the contributors to the first edition to cover the following broad categories of topics for each Asian ethnic group: immigration history and trends, settlement patterns, the historical and contemporary experiences with prejudice and discrimination, socioeconomic adjustments, assimilation and ethnicity (ethnic organizations), marriage and the family, and child socialization. In almost all chapters, the information about the Asian Americans’ and/or each Asian group’s socioeconomic adjustments and other relevant topics have been updated using 2000 Census data. By virtue of the expansion of Asian American studies programs and the phenomenal increase in the number of scholars in the field of Asian American studies, numerous books and journal articles focusing on Asian American experiences have been published over the last 10 years or so. Each chapter has incorporated data and discussions included in many studies published since the mid-1990s.

One of the major changes in Asian America over the last ten years is second-generation (and 1.5-generation) Asian American children’s coming of age. As shown in chapter 3, the number of U.S.-born Asian American adults tremendously increased between 1990 and 2000. Research on the so-called new second generation, the children of post-1965 immigrants, has been active since the early 1990s. But second-generation Asian Americans seem to have received greater scholarly attention than second-generation Latinos or blacks (Gibson, 1988; Kibria, 2002; Kwon, Kim, & Warner, 2001; Lee, 1996; Min & Kim, 1999; Min, 2002; Zhou & Bankston, 1998), simply because there are more scholars who study Asian Americans. The first edition of the book, prepared in the early 1990s when materials on the second generation were scarce, did not include much information about second-generation Asian Americans. Yet, given the important role of the second generation in Asian American communities and the plethora of research on second-generation Asian Americans’ experiences during recent years, it is important for the second edition to devote enough space to the second generation. Thus,

every chapter of the second edition has devoted some space to discussing second-generation experiences.

Before I undertook editing the second edition, Sage Publications asked eight social science instructors of Asian American courses to review the first edition and to make suggestions for revisions. The reviewers suggested that the following specific topics be covered in relevant chapters: Asian Americans' experiences with globalization and transnationalism, Asian Americans' positioning toward black-white race relations, gender and domestic violence in Asian America, the effects of colonialism and imperialism in Asian countries on Asians' migration to and adjustments in the United States, the effects of 9/11 on South Asians, interracial marriage and the children of interracial marriage, generational conflicts in Asian immigrant families, and homosexuality in Asian America. In light of contemporary Asian Americans' experiences and recent research trends in Asian American studies, it is important to cover the suggested topics. Thus, most of these topics have been discussed within "Major Issues for Asian American Experiences" in chapter 5 and "Future Prospects of Asian Americans" in chapter 12. One or more of these topics have also been covered in each of the six chapters that treat Asian ethnic groups separately.

The first edition of the book consisted of nine chapters excluding the introductory chapter: three chapters covering the experiences of Asian Americans as a whole and the remaining six chapters covering each of the six major Asian groups. Most reviewers of the first edition suggested that the part covering Asian Americans as a whole by topic should be expanded. Following their suggestions, I have added two additional chapters (chapters 2 and 4) that respectively examine Asian immigration and Asian Americans' socioeconomic attainments comprehensively. I have also expanded the last chapter, "Future Prospects of Asian Americans." I hope these three chapters, along with the two original chapters (chapters 3 and 5), will meet the need of the instructors and researchers who are interested in

looking at Asian American experiences as a whole rather than by the group.

Reflecting racial diversity in the post-1965 era, the 1980 U.S. Census for the first time classified the U.S. population into five categories: non-Hispanic whites, non-Hispanic blacks, Hispanics, Asian and Pacific Islanders, and Native Americans. The 1990 Census continued the same classification system. Other government agencies, school boards, and higher educational institutions followed the U.S. Census Bureau in tabulating populations. The classification of Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders (Hawaiians, Guamians, Samoans, Micronesians, and Fijians) into the same category by the U.S. Census Bureau, other government agencies, and schools, in turn, has led the two groups to interact closely despite their significant differences in physical characteristics, culture, and historical experiences. First of all, Asian American studies programs established in colleges and universities have typically covered not only Asian American groups, but also Pacific Islanders, targeting both groups of students. My review of the list of Asian American programs compiled by the Asian American Program at Cornell University in 1998 revealed that most of the Asian American programs established in the 1980s and after included "Pacific Islanders" in their names. The Association for Asian American Studies, the major professional organization of faculty members involved in Asian American studies, started with the name "The Association of Asian American and Pacific Islander Studies" in 1988. Although the association later dropped "Pacific Islander" from its name for Asian American Studies, it has continuously included Pacific Islanders in the topics of its annual meetings, with scholars involved in Pacific Islander groups actively participating in the meetings. *Amerasia Journal*, the major scholarly journal for Asian American studies, has also covered Pacific Islanders, devoting three special issues to the group, in 1984, 1999, and 2002, respectively.

In the early 1990s, when I was preparing the first edition of *Asian Americans*, I tried to include a chapter focusing on Pacific Islanders in the book. But I could not find anyone interested in writing a

chapter covering all Pacific Islander groups. The 2000 U.S. Census tabulated Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders separately, changing its previous practice of classifying the two groups in the same category. This change in the census classification may lead to a separation of Pacific Islander studies from Asian American studies in the future. Nevertheless, the outside reviewers of the first edition suggested that a chapter focusing on Pacific Islanders be included in the second edition.

Following the reviewers' advice, I tried to find a scholar who was able and willing to write a chapter focusing on Pacific Islander groups or at least a chapter on Hawaiians, but failed. Of course, it is difficult for any scholar to cover all Pacific Islander groups. But I also realized that whether to include a chapter on Pacific Islanders or not in a book exclusively focusing on Asian Americans is an important political issue for some Pacific Islander scholars. A scholar of Hawaiian origin I contacted commented that Pacific Islander groups (Hawaiians, Guamanians, Samoans, Tongans, and Fijians) are so different in historical experiences, not only from Asian Americans, but also among themselves, that each group deserves its own chapter. For her and many other Pacific Islander scholars, devoting a chapter to Pacific Islanders in a 12-chapter book indicates their marginal status in Asian and Pacific American studies programs. I hope this clarification will help readers to understand why I have been unable to include a chapter on Pacific Islanders, although they are still an important component of the Asian and Pacific Islander studies programs.

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