

Asian American Politics

511
F612
303

Asian American Politics

Law, Participation, and Policy



Edited by
Don T. Nakanishi and James S. Lai

ROWMAN & LITTLEFIELD PUBLISHERS, INC.
Lanham • Boulder • New York • Oxford

ROWMAN & LITTLEFIELD PUBLISHERS, INC.

Published in the United States of America
by Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
A Member of the Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group
4720 Boston Way, Lanham, Maryland 20706
www.rowmanlittlefield.com

PO Box 317
Oxford
OX2 9RU, UK

Copyright © 2003 by Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

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, without the prior permission of the publisher.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Information Available

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Asian American politics : law, participation, and policy / edited by Don T. Nakanishi and James S. Lai.

p. cm. — (Spectrum series)

Includes bibliographical references and index.


ISBN 0-7425-1849-3 (cloth : alk. paper) — ISBN 0-7425-1850-7 (pbk : alk. paper)

1. Asian Americans—Politics and government. I. Nakanishi, Don T. II. Lai, James S. III. Series

E184.O6 A84145 2002

2002009334

Printed in the United States of America.

™ The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of American National Standard for Information Sciences—Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI/NISO Z39.48-1992.

Preface



The idea for this volume began eight years ago during a meeting on the campus of the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA). The conversation centered around the need for a book aimed at scholars, students, and community members on Asian American politics in the discipline of American politics. Despite the 150-year history of Asians and Pacific Islanders in the United States, very few compilations existed on their political participation. This volume is an attempt to bring together a wide array of literature on Asian American politics to serve this need.

As the title of this volume suggests, we decided to focus on three areas of Asian American politics: law, participation, and policy. We realize it is impossible to include every topic on Asian American politics, but we felt these three areas would provide readers a solid overview of some of their key political issues and movements. Many of the contributing scholars are renowned or emerging stars in their own respective fields of study. We hope that this volume will provide students, scholars, and community members a better understanding about the complex historical and contemporary phenomena of Asian Americans and American politics.

Our deepest gratitude must first be extended to Paula McClain and Joseph Stewart Jr., the series editors, for their faith and support in compiling a volume on Asian American politics. Special thanks must also be extended to Jennifer Knerr, the political science editor at Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group, and her assistant, Renee Legatt, for their constant support and assistance throughout the manuscript development process. Without Jennifer's professional support during the preliminary stages, we know that this volume would not have become a reality.

Professor James Lai also thanks his wife, Florence, for her steadfast emotional support during the entire publication process. She endured not only morning sickness with their son Ethan but also his many trials and tribulations in putting this manuscript together. Professor Don Nakanishi thanks his wife, Dr. Marsha Hirano-Nakanishi, for her continued commitment to his research and policy interests in relation to Asian American politics. He also thanks his son, Thomas, who achieved in an exemplary and independent manner and is now a student at Yale University.

Many thanks to Lorie Valdez, a Santa Clara University undergraduate, for her assistance with research, manuscript compilation, and photo selection during the production stages, as well as to the staff and faculty of the UCLA Asian American Studies Center. And finally, thanks to all the contributing authors and photographers who helped make this book possible. While the actual void in the American politics literature cannot be filled by this one publication, we hope it will mark the beginning of many publications in the field. Asian American politics is a growing academic discipline. Within these pages, we have assembled some of its brightest shining stars.

THE SPECTRUM SERIES

Race and Ethnicity in National and Global Politics

Series Editors

Paula D. McClain
Duke University

Joseph Stewart Jr.
University of New Mexico

The sociopolitical dynamics of race and ethnicity are apparent everywhere. In the United States, racial politics underlie everything from representation to affirmative action to welfare policymaking. Early in the twenty-first century, Anglos in America will become only a plurality, as Latino and Asian American populations continue to grow. Issues of racial/ethnic conflict and cooperation are prominent across the globe. Diversity, identity, and cultural plurality are watchwords of empowerment as well as of injustice.

This new series offers textbook supplements, readers, and core texts addressing various aspects of race and ethnicity in politics, broadly defined. Meant to be useful in a wide range of courses in all kinds of academic programs, these books will be multidisciplinary as well as multiracial/ethnic in their appeal.

SERIES TITLES INCLUDE

American Indian Politics and the American Political System by David E. Wilkins
Asian American Politics: Law, Participation, and Policy edited by Don T. Nakanishi and James S. Lai

FORTHCOMING TITLES

Latino Politics by John A. Garcia
Media & Minorities by Stephanie Greco Larson

Contents



Figures, Illustrations, and Photographs	ix
Boxes and Tables	xi
Preface	xv
Introduction: Understanding Asian American Politics <i>Don T. Nakanishi and James S. Lai</i>	1
Part I Historical Forms of Civic Engagement and Protest: Selected United States Supreme Court Cases	
Introduction	19
<i>Historical Struggles for Equal Protection Rights</i>	
1.1 <i>Yick Wo v. Hopkins</i> , 118 U.S. 356 (1886)	23
1.2 <i>Korematsu v. United States</i> , 323 U.S. 214 (1944)	29
<i>Historical Struggles for Naturalization Rights</i>	
1.3 <i>Takao Ozawa v. United States</i> , 260 U.S. 178 (1922)	35
1.4 <i>United States v. Bhagat Singh Thind</i> , 261 U.S. 204 (1923)	41
Part II The Impact of Immigration Laws on Asian America	
Introduction	47
2.1 Immigration Act of 1924 <i>Lee A. Makela</i>	51

- 2.2 Making and Remaking Asian Pacific America: Immigration Policy 81
Bill Ong Hing

**Part III The Period of Political Incorporation
 (1965 to Present)**

- Introduction 89

Political Research and Demographic Trends

- 3.1 Asian American Politics: An Agenda for Research 93
Don T. Nakanishi
- 3.2 Becoming Citizens, Becoming Voters: The Naturalization and
 Political Participation of Asian Pacific Immigrants 113
Paul M. Ong and Don T. Nakanishi

The Asian American Movement and Beyond: 1960 to Present

- 3.3 The 'Four Prisons' and the Movements of Liberation:
 Asian American Activism from the 1960s to the 1990s 135
Glenn Omatsu
- 3.4 Serve the People: An Exploration of the Asian
 American Movement 163
Kim Geron

Transnational Politics and Identities

- 3.5 New Immigrants, New Forms of Transnational Community:
 Post-1965 Indian Migrations 181
Sandhya Shukla

Asian Pacific American Voting Behavior

- 3.6 Ethnicity and Political Adaptation: Comparing Filipinos,
 Koreans, and the Vietnamese in Southern California 193
Pei-te Lien
- 3.7 Gender and Political Involvement among Chinese Americans
 in Southern California 211
Janelle S. Wong

Asian Pacific American Non-Voting Behavior

- 3.8 Beyond "Politics by Other Means"? Empowerment Strategies
 for Los Angeles' Asian Pacific Community 231
Harold Brackman and Steven P. Erie

Prospects for Pan-Ethnicity: Coalition or Competition?

- 3.9 Asian Pacific Americans and the Pan-Ethnic Question 247
James S. Lai

Politics, Media, and Racial Profiling

- 3.10 The Backdoor and the Backlash: Campaign Finance and the
Politicization of Chinese Americans 261
Taeku Lee
- 3.11 Race, Class, Citizenship, and Extraterritoriality: Asian
Americans and the 1996 Campaign Finance Scandal 281
L. Ling-chi Wang
- 3.12 Profiling Principle: The Prosecution of Wen Ho Lee and the
Defense of Asian Americans 297
Frank H. Wu
- 3.13 Wen Ho Lee and the Consequences of Enduring Asian
American Stereotypes 303
Spencer K. Turnbull

Elected Leadership

- 3.14 Campaigns, Elections, and Elected Officials 317
*James S. Lai, Wendy K. Tam-Cho, Thomas P. Kim, and
Okuyoshi Takeda*
- 3.15 Transcending the Bamboo and Glass Ceilings:
Defining the Trajectory to Empower Asian Pacific Islander
American Women in Politics 331
Elena Ong
- 3.16 Remarks at the Tenth Annual Conference of the
Committee of 100 355
Elaine L. Chao
- 3.17 The One-Hundred Year Journey: From Houseboy to the
Governor's Office 359
Gary Locke
- 3.18 Remarks at the University of Rochester Annual
Meliora Weekend 365
Norman Y. Mineta
- 3.19 My Story: Being American Means Setting Expectations High 369
David Wu

Part IV Contemporary Public Policy Issues in the New Millennium

Introduction 373

Affirmative Action

- 4.1 The Affirmative Action Divide 377
Paul M. Ong

Japanese American Redress and Reparations

- 4.2 Japanese American Redress: The Proper Alignment Model 407
Harry H. L. Kitano and Mitchell T. Maki

Labor Organizing

- 4.3 Building an Asian Pacific Labor Alliance:
A New Chapter in Our History 421
Kent Wong

Urban Riots: A Case Study of the 1992 Los Angeles Uprising

- 4.4 America's First Multiethnic 'Riots.' 431
Edward T. Chang

Political Redistricting

- 4.5 Asian Pacific Americans and Redistricting Challenges in 2001 441
Leland T. Saito

Index 451

About the Contributors 469

Figures, Illustrations, and Photographs



FIGURES

Figure 3.2a	Naturalization Rates among Asian Pacific Immigrants by Years in the United States	119
Figure 3.14a	Contributions to Democrat and Republican Candidates and PACs	324
Figure 3.14b	Contributions from Asian donors (separated by ethnicity) to Asian American and Non-Asian American Candidates	325

ILLUSTRATIONS AND PHOTOGRAPHS

Secretary of Transportation Norman Y. Mineta Recites His Oath of Office	1
Where Both Platforms Agree	19
Positively No Filipinos Allowed	21
Hard Pushing	47
The Pigtail Has Got to Go	49
Vincent Chin Demonstration, Detroit	89
No Vietnamization!	90

Bill Kochiyama at Redress Meeting, New York City	373
February 19, A Day of Remembrance	375
Stop Deportations	376

Boxes and Tables



BOXES

3.7a	<i>Los Angeles Times</i> Survey #396. Political Participation Question Wording	218
3.10a	Event History of the Campaign Finance Issue	263

TABLES

1	National Immigration of Asian Americans	6
2	Asian Pacific Population for the United States (2000)	7
3	Native Hawaiian and Other Islander Population for the United States (2000)	8
4	Total Number of Asian Pacific Americans Elected Officials in Key Federal, State, and Local Positions	10
3.1a	Aggregate Findings of Political Party Affiliations of Asian Pacific American Registered Voters of the San Francisco and Los Angeles Studies	101
3.2a	Nativity of Asian Americans Eighteen Years and Older	115
3.2b	Naturalization Rates by Years in U.S. and by Race, All Immigrants Eighteen Years and Older	116

3.2c	Naturalization Rates, Asian and Non-Hispanic White Immigrants Eighteen Years and Older	118
3.2d	Estimated Naturalization Rates of Asian Immigrants	120
3.2e	Detailed Naturalization Rates of Asian Immigrants	121
3.2f	Distribution of Naturalized and U.S.-Born Asian American Registered Voters	125
3.2g	Voter Registration and Turnout Rates	126
3.2h	Registration and Voting by Year of Immigration for Naturalized and U.S.-Born Citizens	127
3.2i	Detailed Rates of Voter Registration of Asian American Naturalized and Native-Born Citizens, Eighteen Years and Older	127
3.2j	Asian Pacific American Registered Voters, Monterey Park, California	129
3.6a	Percentage Distribution of Political Adaptation and Its Correlates among Korean, Vietnamese, and Filipino Americans	199
3.6b	Multiple Regression Estimations of the Political Adaptation of Koreans in Los Angeles	203
3.6c	Multiple Regression Estimations of the Political Adaptation of Vietnamese in Southern California	204
3.6d	Multiple Regression Estimations of the Political Adaptation of Filipinos in Southern California	205
3.7a	Chinese American Men and Women in Southern California	217
3.7b	Political Participation among Chinese American Women and Men	219
3.7c	Determinants of Political Participation among Chinese American Women	221
3.7d	Determinants of Political Participation among Chinese American Men: Self-Reported Political Activity in American Politics	224
3.9a	1991 46th Assembly District Primary Election Results	249
3.10a	Are Congressional Investigations Discriminatory?	270
3.10b	Predicted Probabilities: Congress Discriminatory?	271
3.10c	Are the Congressional Investigations Offensive?	272

3.10d	Is Media Coverage on This Issue Unfair?	274
3.14a	Top Ten Congressional Districts with the Largest Percentage of Asian Americans	320
3.14b	Asian Americans Who Have Served in the United States Congress	321
3.14c	Total Number of Asian Pacific American Elected Officials in Key Local, State, and Federal Positions	323
3.15a	Elected Women Firsts and Glass Ceilings to be Transcended in the United States	342
3.15b	Elected Women Firsts and Glass Ceilings to be Transcended in California	343
3.15c	Elected Asian Pacific American Firsts and Bamboo Ceilings to be Transcended in the United States	344
4.1a	Racial/Ethnic Composition of California Schools	382
4.1b	Drop-Out Statistics by Race/Ethnicity	383
4.1c	1998 Fall Enrollment in Elite Universities by Race/Ethnicity	384
4.1d	Education Attainment by Race, Ages 25–64	386
4.1e	Employment Outcomes by Race, Full-Time, Year-Round Workers	386
4.1f	Self-Employment Outcomes by Race/Ethnicity	388
4.1g	Business Characteristics by Race/Ethnicity	389
4.1h	Employment by Race/Ethnicity	392
4.1i	Employment in Protective Services by Race/Ethnicity, Full-Time State and Local Employment	393
4.1j	Participants in Small Business Administration's 8(a) Program by Race	395
4.2a	Kitano-Maki Proper Alignment Model	409
4.4a	Damage to Asian American-Owned Businesses	437

Understanding Asian American Politics

Don T. Nakanishi and James S. Lai



Secretary of Transportation Norman Y. Mineta Recites His Oath of Office. Joined by President George W. Bush, second from left, in the Oval Office at the White House, Secretary of Transportation Norman Y. Mineta, right, recites his oath of office during a ceremonial swearing in, Thursday, February 8, 2001. Vice President Dick Cheney, left, read the oath for the secretary as his wife Danielia Mineta holds the Bible. *Courtesy of AP/Wide World Photos*

THE GROWING ASIAN AND PACIFIC ISLANDER POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Large-scale immigration from Asia and the Pacific Islands since the enactment of the Immigration Act of 1965 has had a dramatic impact on many states and regions across the United States. From a predominantly U.S.-born group of 1.5 million in 1970, this diverse group became a largely immigrant and refugee population of nearly 12 million by 2000. Projections estimate that it will continue to increase to approximately 20 million by 2020 (Ong and Hee 1993). The term "Asian Pacific American" reflects the diversity of this ethnic population, connoting a more contemporary, broader political identity than does "Asian American" by including both Asian and Pacific Islander ethnic groups in the United States. Scholars and activists frequently use the term "Asian Pacific American" interchangeably with or in place of "Asian American," and we follow this convention.

In recent years, a number of political scientists and commentators have speculated about whether Asian Pacific Americans will become an influential new force in American electoral politics, perhaps akin to American Jews, because of their dramatic demographic growth and concentration in certain key electoral states like California, New York, Texas, and New Jersey. Many believe that if Asian Pacific Americans, like American Jewish voters, come to represent a segment of the electorate that is comparable to, if not greater than, their share of the total population, they may become a highly influential "swing vote" in critical local, state, and presidential elections. In California, for example, there are over 4 million Asian Pacific Americans, accounting for one in eight residents of the state. If they also become one in eight California voters—who will continue to control the nation's largest number of congressional seats and Electoral College votes—then they could play a strategically important role in national and local elections. Indeed, their voting potential coupled with other attractive dimensions of their political infrastructure (e.g., their campaign fund-raising capabilities) could elevate Asian Pacific Americans to the status of important new actors in American electoral politics.

During the past two decades, there has been an unmistakable increase in the representation of Asian Pacific Americans in electoral politics. In 1978, for example, when the first edition of the *Asian Pacific American Political Almanac* was published, it listed several hundred elected officials who held offices primarily in Hawaii, California, and Washington (Nakanishi 1978). Almost all were second- and third-generation Asian Pacific Americans, with the vast majority being Japanese Americans. In contrast, the tenth edition of the political almanac, published in 2001, lists over two thousand Asian Pacific American elected and major appointed officials in thirty-three different states and the federal government (Nakanishi and Lai 2001). Although most continue to be of the second or third generation, like Hawaii Governor