ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICANS

Local Lives, Global Ties Phil Tajitsu Nash

The practice of sending messages, money, packages, and photos across thousands of miles did not begin in the twentieth century with the Internet or with global shipping companies. Immigrants to America from Asia and the Pacific Islands—known collectively among themselves as Asian Pacific Americans or APAs—started some of these international business practices in the sixteenth century and perfected them by the second half of the nineteenth century.

Local lives and global ties means that even as these immigrants' boots were muddied in the California lettuce fields by day, their thoughts would fly each night like sparks from a campfire to loved ones across the Pacific. These types of connections provide the focus for the *Asian Pacific American* program at the 2010 Smithsonian Folklife Festival. What does it mean to be a person of Asian or Pacific Island descent living in the United States today? What are the primary strategies for adaptation and change versus sustainability and continuity?

(Left) Japanese American Kenny Endo demonstrates the power and grace of Japanese *taiko* drumming. Trained as a jazz musician, he learned *taiko* in California, studied with master drummers in Japan, and returned to create a style that blends many world drumming traditions. © Courtesy of Lia Chang Archive

(Upper right) Members of a Chinese American honor guard from American Legion Post 1291 in New York's Chinatown prepare to march in a Fourth of July parade. Preceding them is a contingent of young Chinese Americans wearing traditional *cheongsam* dresses. Photo © Corky Lee

(Center right) These Hawaiian girls from the hula school, Ka Hale I o Kahala Halau in Honolulu, show the exuberance and excitement that accompanies performances of traditional arts, especially when one's family and friends are there to watch. © Courtesy of Lia Chang Archive

(Lower right) The Sikh American community suffered many unwarranted and unprovoked incidents of violence and discrimination, ranging from insults to a fatal shooting, following the September 11, 2001, attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon. Maintaining his traditional turban and beard, this man affirms his patriotism by also wearing the American flag. Photo © Corky Lee









Jack Hsu (left) and Hsu-nami rock out at a 2008 Asian Pacific American Heritage Month Festival in New York City. An electric guitar and drums blend with Hsu's amplified erhu, a two-string spike fiddle used in Chinese classical and folk music. Photo © Corky Lee

The Festival program will bring together people from diverse communities in the Washington, D.C., area to highlight the breadth of traditions practiced by APA cultures. It will emphasize the ways in which APAs make connections not only to each other, but also to the broader communities in which they live, work, and play. Through theater, music, dance, and sports performances; demonstrations of language and calligraphy traditions; martial arts, healing arts, and ritual arts; crafts and foodways presentations; and children's activities, Festival visitors will learn about APA identity, history, and culture, and will discover shared and integrated traditions.

The Asian Pacific American program is part of a collaborative research and public presentation project between the Smithsonian Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage and the Smithsonian Asian Pacific American Program. Partnering with the University of Maryland, local APA communities, and other organizations, the project is researching and documenting the cultural heritage of Asian Pacific Americans living in and around the capital region. In addition to the Festival program, the Smithsonian is preserving collected stories, images, video, and audio clips of traditional APA culture in its archives and on the Festival Web site.

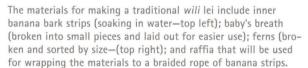
PRESERVATION AND TRANSFORMATION

Living in today's digital age requires a multi-layered consciousness, grounded in one place but with an awareness and concern for others far away. Useful personal tools include fluency in multiple languages, the ability to transact business in several currencies, and an understanding of the laws and customs in several places around the world.

Asian Pacific American immigrants have long been utilizing these tools. As they have adapted to a multilayered "local lives, global ties" lifestyle, APAs have learned to balance the tension between cultural preservation and transformation that affects all immigrant communities. Sometimes, they have adjusted the recipes for traditional dishes to include new ingredients, like the mayonnaise and cream cheese found in some varieties of sushi. In other cases, folk dances might incorporate moves from jazz or tap. Traditional paintings might use themes based on a Manhattan skyline instead of Vietnam's mountainous Halong Bay.

Along with the Internet, another powerful force for cultural change today is the ease and relatively low cost of long-distance travel. In the nineteenth century, travelers leaving China or the Philippines could reasonably assume they would never see their loved ones again. Today, Vietnamese Americans who fled Saigon in 1975 can return to Ho Chi Minh City every year if they have the money and time. Phone and video conferencing also make it possible for immigrants from all nations to chat with family and friends across the sea on a regular basis.







Traditional crafts, such as Hawaiian lei making, are preserved and adapted in the Washington, D.C., area by artists such as Melissa Mokihana Scalph. She uses local materials such as pachysandra, nandina, maple, acuba, statice, and baby's breath. Photos courtesy of Melissa Mokihana Scalph

CELEBRATING THE APA COMMUNITY IN D.C.

APAs in the Washington metropolitan area speak dozens of languages, take classes in the languages of their parents, participate in traditional practices, and contribute to the cultural landscape of our nation's capital and its surroundings. With thirty Asian American and twenty-four Pacific Island American groups in the United States, the more than 350,000 APAs who live in the metropolitan D.C. area represent a microcosm of the cultural, linguistic, and religious diversity found from New York to Hawai'i, and every state in between.

Moving from the local to the global, people of Asian and Pacific Islander ancestry make up more than half the world's population and more than five percent of this country's population. The population of the APA community doubled with every census from 1970 to 2000, and today it stands at fourteen million. That number includes a full spectrum of professionals, from farmers to industrial workers to business executives. In our increasingly interdependent world, all of us interact with APAs as friends, family members, business partners, and professional colleagues. APAs have moved from the margins to the mainstream of our society, yet few understand the very rich diversity of cultures they represent. The Asian Pacific American program at the 44th annual Smithsonian Folklife Festival will help to promote mutual understanding, respect for diverse cultures, and community pride.

The Asian Pacific American population of metropolitan Washington, D.C., provides an excellent cross-section of the national APA community. Moreover, its rapid growth makes

it a good example of the "global/local" and "preservation/transformation" themes that are being celebrated at the Festival. The large number of federal workers and the location of foreign embassies in our nation's capital has brought APAs here from all fifty states and from all Asian countries. While the majority of APAs are foreign-born, those based in D.C. combine both Asian and American influences into many aspects of their lives.

Major immigration law changes in 1965 significantly increased the size of the APA community nationwide. Before then, the APA community in D.C. consisted largely of Chinese and Korean American small business owners; Filipinos, Guamanians, and Hawaiians who came as a result of service in the United States military; and Japanese Americans who were uprooted from the West Coast into World War II-era internment camps and then released at the end of the war. After 1965, Asian Indians, Pakistanis, Chinese, and others came to the United States as part of a "brain drain" that led to many Asian faces at the National Institutes of Health, National Science Foundation, World Bank, and International Monetary Fund. In the 1970s and 80s, companies located in the tech corridors of Northern Virginia and along Interstate 270 in Maryland drew additional immigrants from Asia and the Pacific Islands. Many Southeast Asians arrived as a result of post-1975 refugee programs. A full understanding of the local APA community's growth, however, requires a brief review of national APA history.

"The arc of the moral universe is long, but it bends towards justice."
—Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.







BUILDING COMMUNITIES, BUILDING AMERICA

While some Filipino sailors settled in California in the 1600s and New Orleans, Louisiana, as early as the 1700s, large-scale immigration of Asians and Pacific Islanders did not occur until the late 1800s. At that time, with slavery forbidden in Hawai'i and on the West Coast of the United States, laborers from Asia were recruited to build railroads, plant crops, and serve the needs of factories, canneries, and fishing boats. The U.S. victory in the Spanish-American War in 1898 further expanded the influx of workers from the Philippines.

During the mid-1800s, the establishment of Chinatowns in cities from Seattle to Los Angeles to Boston to New York provided relatively safe havens for Chinese immigrants, who endured intolerance that sometimes escalated into violence. The existence of Chinatowns also fed the popular perception that Chinese and other APAs could never be incorporated into American culture because of their different diets, religions, and customs. This view led to the federal Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, as well as to state laws forbidding land ownership and local ordinances restricting living arrangements, food practices, and funeral customs.

As the late nineteenth century rolled into the early twentieth century, Koreans, Indians, and others arrived in the United States, especially in Hawai'i and on the West Coast. Political unrest in their countries of origin or a desire for work and educational opportunities often played a role. For instance, Hawaiian plantation owners brought Korean laborers to work for them; and some residents of the Punjab state in northwest India moved to this country to pursue their educations.

Dalip Singh Saund is one such Indian American who deserves far wider recognition. He entered the University of California at Berkeley in 1920 to

(Upper left) Ethnic community markets—such as the Suey Sang Lung grocery store, ca. 1970—were the center of an immigrant's "local lives, global ties" lifestyle. They provided places where one could speak a native non–English tongue, hear stories from one's ancestral home, and meet others from one's country of origin.

(Center left) Members of Willy Lin's Kung-fu School loosen up before class at the corner of Sixth and H Streets in Northwest Washington, ca. 1971. At this time, the local Asian Pacific American community was represented by restaurants that spanned more than one nation of origin, with African Americans and APAs participating in joint activities.

(Lower left) Volleyball played an important role in uniting the disparate Chinatowns across the country in the pre-Internet era. Informal games—such as this one, at the corner of Sixth and H Streets in Chinatown, ca. 1972—required minimal equipment and could accommodate a varying number of players of different skill and fitness levels. Photos courtesy of Harry Chow Collection



The mass incarceration of 120,000 Americans of Japanese ancestry during World War II represented one of the most severe group-based deprivations of human rights in American history. Manzanar, in the eastern California desert, was one of ten large camps built to house the Japanese Americans. Photo by Ansel Adams, courtesy of Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, LC-DIG-ppprs-00283

study mathematics. Unable to get a job after earning his Ph.D. in 1922, he went into farming. In 1956 he became the first APA member of Congress as a U.S. Representative from California's Imperial Valley. The APA community there remembers him for his courageous stands opposing discrimination and supporting fair immigration laws.

A low point in APA history came during World War II, when the unjust incarceration of Japanese Americans led to the wholesale denial of human rights to more than 120,000 people, most of them American citizens by birth. Upon leaving the camps, Japanese Americans dispersed to all corners of the nation. By the late 1960s, the movement to redress their losses and use public education to remind all Americans about the dangers of group-based denials of liberties became a rallying cry for the nascent Asian American movement.

African American soldiers coming home from World War II had developed global perspectives that underlined the injustice of their second-class status in America. Similarly, returning APA soldiers helped lead their own community's struggle for equal rights and opportunities. For example, Daniel Inouye and Spark Matsunaga of Hawai'i were two U.S. Army officers who went on to distinguished postwar careers in Congress.

World War II, the Korean War, and the war in Southeast Asia changed the APA community through the addition of war brides, mixed-race children, and Asian refugees. Although a perception of Asians as the perpetual enemy lingered in the United States, valiant soldiers with roots in China, Japan, the Philippines, and other Asian-Pacific nations fought in American uniforms. Their heroism set the stage for a re-evaluation of APA patriotism and made it easier for today's APAs to serve in the American military at the highest levels.

Indeed, Maj. Gen. Anthony Taguba (the officer courageous enough to expose the scandal at Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq) and Maj. Gen. Eric Shinseki (the current Secretary of Veterans Affairs) provide just two examples of outstanding service by APA military officers. Their achievements remind us that, as Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. said, "the arc of the moral universe is long, but it bends towards justice."







(Upper right) Filipino Americans celebrate the fourth anniversary of the Commonwealth of the Philippines in 1939 with a banquet at the National Press Club in Washington, D.C. Courtesy of Cacas Family Archives (Center right) Playing softball and other sports was—and still is—a way to maintain identity and community among APAs. Here Filipino Americans pose following a softball game, ca. 1947. Courtesy of Fran Alayu Womack

(Lower right) A sewing club, probably drawn from members of the Filipino Women's Club of Washington, D.C., provided companionship, skill-building, and relaxation for its members, ca. 1945. Courtesy of Calabia Family

IMPROVING LOCAL LIVES

While global ties hold great importance, local lives are equally essential. Having watched and participated in the liberation struggles of the 1950s and 1960s, the 1960s generation of APAs decided to challenge the vestiges of their second-class status. They involved themselves in social-change activities such as the student strikes in 1968 and 1969 at San Francisco State College that led to the founding of programs in Asian American studies and ethnic studies. This victory inspired more strikes and more challenges, as young APAs worked throughout the 1970s and 80s to create Asian American studies programs on campuses from Seattle to Chicago to Boston.

All across the United States, children of the internment camps joined the children of field laborers and Chinese laundry workers to document the forgotten history of Asian Pacific America. Their efforts led to the founding of health clinics, legal services agencies, and other self-help institutions. The fervor of the civil rights era encouraged APAs to band together with one another as well as with others to support the 1963 March on Washington, the struggle for women's equality, and other social change movements and activities.

In the process of vindicating their own rights, APAs helped to strengthen rights and opportunities for all Americans. For example, Patsy Takemoto Mink, the first female APA member of Congress, was such a strong advocate for the Title IX law that gives women equal educational opportunities in schools that the law was recently renamed the Patsy T. Mink Equal Opportunity in Education Act.

APAS IN THE CAPITAL REGION

Here in the nation's capital, several hundred thousand APAs live within an hour's drive from the Chinatown arch at Seventh and H Streets NW in enclaves such as Gaithersburg, Maryland, and Rosslyn, Virginia. Chinatown was once a much more vibrant ethnic neighborhood, but the development of Gallery Place—including the Verizon Center and many non-Asian restaurants and businesses—led to an exodus in the 1990s that has left very few Chinese living there.

Just north of Chinatown, the local Vietnamese American community includes refugee support groups such as Asian American LEAD (Leadership, Empowerment, and Development), which helps pupils with homework and other academic activities. Based on the migration of APA families from the urban core to the suburbs, AALEAD recently opened an office in Wheaton, Maryland.

Many of today's local APAs did not grow up in the D.C. metro region, and instead relocated from across the country or around the globe. Some, like social worker Cora Yamamoto of McLean, Virginia, came to work on the staff of a Hawaiian legislator and never left. Howard and Harold Koh lived here as the young sons of a Korean diplomat, moved to New England for school and work, and recently returned to D.C. to take high-level jobs in the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services and the U.S. Department of State. In other cases, it was APAs raised in D.C.'s Chinatown who recruited West Coast APAs to work in the nation's capital. Their efforts have significantly affected the lives of all Americans.















THE MAKING OF A CHINATOWN MURAL

In the mid-1970s, local youth from Washington's Chinatown created a mural (shown above) on a building wall at the corner of Seventh and H Streets NW. Like comparable projects in New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, and San Francisco, the mural was designed to celebrate ethnic heritage while also protesting the forces of development breaking up minority communities. The mural illustrates Chinese American interconnectedness through the diversity of workers: in a restaurant, garment factory, laundry, laboratory, railroad, farm, and elsewhere. Seated in the center is a young student, trying to find his place in a world where people of his background have been excluded from the history books. Although this particular mural no longer exists, it created important community bonds that have lasted a lifetime. The young community artists later found careers in social service, law, healthcare, and other professions that focused on the needs of local Chinatown residents. Various stages of the mural's planning and production are shown at left and right. Courtesy of Harry Chow Collection





A multi-ethnic, multi-generational crowd in front of the Lee Association Building in Washington's Chinatown enjoys the lion dance at the 2010 Lunar New Year festivities. Courtesy of Harry Chow Collection

Drums, gongs, clappers, wooden boxes, and cymbals are some of the traditional Korean percussion instruments that continue to play a role in traditional festivals for Korean American audiences. Photo © Corky Lee



For example, locals Frank Lee and Alan Seto convinced other APAs to join them at the U.S. Census Bureau, advocating for a more-inclusive census. Working with the Office of Asian American Affairs at the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, they created the first APA Federal Advisory Committee for the 1980 Census and collaborated with the federal Office of Management and Budget to make changes that reflected more of America's diversity. One of their greatest successes was to include categories for refugee Southeast Asians, Asian Indians and other South Asians, and Pacific Islanders in the 1980 Census.

Wendy Lim represents another local APA success story. A Chinatown native who participated in the struggle to save and preserve the story of her neighborhood, Lim now works at the Smithsonian Institution as a graphics professional. Her skills are used to document and celebrate the stories of all Americans, not just Asian Pacific Americans.

Washington-area Filipino Americans welcomed the publication this year of Filipinos in Washington, D.C., by Rita Cacas and Juanita Tamayo Lott. Based on pictures, interviews, and archival research, the book paints a loving portrait of one hundred years of Filipino American history in the nation's capital. Cacas used her skills as a photographer and staff member at the National Archives to capture her community's past. Lott, a demographer, policy analyst, and longtime civil rights activist who participated in the first strike to create an ethnic studies program at San Francisco State College in 1969, brought her knowledge of history and writing to the project. Their combined talents have resulted in a community snapshot that will be useful for generations to come. But neither author could have received her high level of education and work experience without the accomplishments of the modern women's and minority rights movements.

APAs AT THE SMITHSONIAN

As an assignment in my "Asian American Public Policy" class at the University of Maryland, I ask students to visit the National Museum of American History and find all references to Asian Pacific Americans. Aside from one exhibition case containing kimonos, nineteenth-century passports, and other reminders of community life, they do not find much else. The particularly diligent come across reminders of the Japanese American internment camps, valor by Japanese American soldiers during World War II, and a few other items, but most students express frustration at finding so little.

The minimal representation of APAs in Smithsonian exhibitions is mirrored in many cultural institutions around the country, but the Smithsonian and its staff are now leading efforts to correct this situation. For example, the Smithsonian's Asian Pacific American Heritage Committee, made up of both APA and non-APA staff members, has organized its annual APA Heritage Month activities each May since 1979. And in 1986 Deputy Assistant Secretary James Early reached out to local Filipina American demographer and historian Juanita Tamayo Lott to explore ideas for getting the APA community more involved in all aspects of the Smithsonian experience. As a result, Lott and others made formal recommendations in 1987 for increasing the number of APA visitors, staff, docents, interns, senior management positions, exhibitions, and collections.

The I980s also marked the development of Towards a More Perfect Union, an exhibition at the National Museum of American History about the Japanese American experience that drew unprecedented levels of input from the Japanese American community itself. Their suggestions helped change what was originally conceived as a celebration of Japanese American soldiers in World War II into a far-reaching examination of the Japanese American internment, the struggle to redress that injustice, and the damage to the Constitution that happens when any group is deprived of its human rights.

In the process of donating documents, paintings, and priceless family heirlooms to the Smithsonian for this exhibition, the Asian Pacific American community realized the importance of preserving mementoes and actively participating in the writing of history. Some have evolved into lifelong donors, of both time and money, and others have become docents. Current and retired APA federal employees such as Filipino American Pete Sarmiento have put in countless volunteer hours—in Sarmiento's case, at the National Air and Space Museum, a place he has loved since seeing it as a boy growing up in the local Filipino American community.

By the I990s, pressure from within and without led the Smithsonian to establish a Wider Audience Development office, out of which emerged the Asian Pacific American Program in I999 under the leadership of Franklin Odo, a Japanese American historian. The success of the Smithsonian's APA program is one of the reasons why the 44th annual Smithsonian Folklife Festival is celebrating Asian Pacific Americans today.



Kang Min, a research assistant at the Smithsonian Center for Tropical Forest Science, has installed dendrometer bands to measure tree growth in the Bukit Timah Nature Preserve in Singapore. Photo by Markku Larjavaara, Smithsonian Institution



Korean American calligrapher Myoung–Won Kwon writes words, biblical verses, poems, and good news using various Hangul (Korean alphabet) styles and themes. Born in Korea and schooled in traditional techniques, he also includes English words alongside Hangul characters. Courtesy of Smithsonian Institution

"We are all Americans that have toiled and suffered and know oppression and defeat."—Carlos Bulosan

SYNERGIES: EVEN IN ONE HOUSEHOLD

The APA community here in D.C. distinguishes itself with its high level of internal diversity. In northwest D.C., a wife of Vietnamese heritage and her husband of Indian heritage serve as a perfect example. From the street, their home looks like every other brick-and-wood-frame house on the block. As you step onto the porch, however, it becomes clear that this is an APA home. An image of Ganesha, the Hindu elephant god, greets visitors from a small sign on the front door. Enter the foyer and turn right, and you will notice the candles and incense of a Buddhist family altar next to landscapes from Vietnam and the porcelain figurines of eight Chinese gods.

As a child, the wife escaped from war-torn Vietnam in a flimsy, overcrowded boat. She lived in refugee camps in Asia for several years before relocating with her family to Salt Lake City and then New York City. These harrowing experiences, combined with the kindness she received from many strangers during this time period, convinced her to help other refugee children at a social service agency.

She holds undergraduate and master's degrees from American universities, yet moves effortlessly among conversations in English, Cantonese, and Vietnamese. She enjoys visiting family and friends in Vietnam every year, and might consider a job there if the right position offered itself, but she is an American now in citizenship and sensibility.

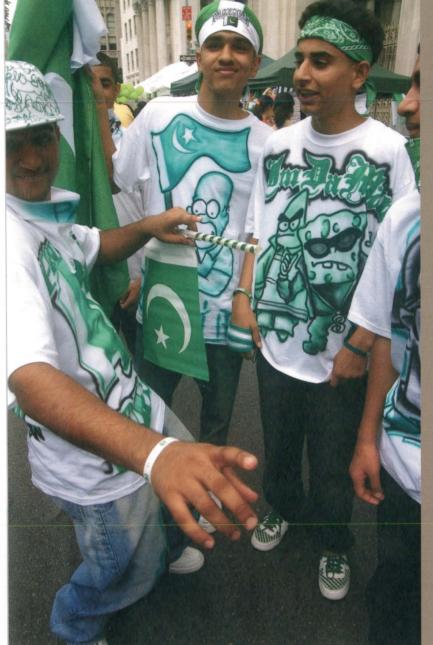
Her Indian American husband has a background in both engineering and marketing and works as a business school professor. When not teaching or attending to professional duties, he mentors young APA students and volunteers at local service organizations. He has a big heart and tries to give back to his adoptive country. As a global business expert who has taught in France and the top business schools in the United States, he is constantly on his laptop analyzing the latest international trends in marketing. On a personal level, he also represents the local lives and global ties that pervade the APA community. His mother lives in Mumbai (Bombay), India, but keeps in touch with him regularly via e-mail and phone. Thanks to the ease of international air travel, she frequently flies to the United States and, like many Asian family members, stays with her American family and friends for extended periods.

This couple is living a personal variant of the universal APA experience, which commonly includes ties to Asia, ties to the United States, and skills at navigating an interconnected world. When APAs are chatting on the phone while standing next to you in a line outside the local movie theater, they could just as easily be talking to a daughter in New Delhi as a colleague in New York. In twenty-first century America, the bonds across the Pacific are stronger and more enduring than ever.

Phil Tajitsu Nash grew up in the New York-New Jersey area, with a Japanese American mom and New Englander dad who had studied Japanese. His lifelong search for identity has led him to write about, litigate on behalf of, and develop community institutions for the Asian Pacific American community. He currently teaches about art, law, history, and public policy in the Asian American Studies Program at the University of Maryland, and runs NashInteractive.com, which develops Web sites and Internet strategies.

Standing by a parade float in New York City, an Indian American shows pride in his Indian origins by wearing the saffron, white, and green tri-colors of the Indian flag. Photo © Corky Lee





AMERICA IS IN THE HEART

The Filipino American community has grown significantly since its beginnings more than four hundred years ago. Its expansion can be measured by the trajectory of *America Is in the Heart*, the novel written by Filipino American laborer and man of letters Carlos Bulosan. After he died in 1956, his poems and fiction were largely forgotten. When the founders of Asian Pacific American studies rediscovered his works in the late 1960s and 70s, new generations of Americans started reading them. Today, *America Is in the Heart* has become so popular that it even has its own on-line study guide.

Although Bulosan never got to live in the America that fulfilled his aspirations, his words still hold great promise. "America is not a land of one race or one class of men," he wrote. "We are all Americans that have toiled and suffered and know oppression and defeat, from the first Indian that offered peace in Manhattan to the last Filipino pea-pickers."

"America is not bound by geographical latitudes," he continued. "America is not merely a land or an institution. America is in the hearts of men that died for freedom; it is also in the eyes of men that are building a new world."

Pakistani American youth in New York proudly display the flag of their ancestral home, intermixed with symbols of American popular culture, at a parade held in New York City, ca. 2008. Photo © Corky Lee

FURTHER READING

If you have time to read only one book on the history of Asian Pacific Americans, try Ronald Takaki's *Strangers* from a Different Shore: A History of Asian Americans (first published in 1989). The Columbia Documentary History of the Asian American Experience (2002) by Franklin S. Odo and Franklin Pilk is a leading scholarly resource. Those who prefer Studs Terkel-style short biographies may enjoy Joann Faung Jean Lee's Asian Americans in the Twenty-First Century: Oral Histories of First- to Fourth-Generation Americans from China, Japan, India, Korea, the Philippines, Vietnam, and Laos (2008).

The Smithsonian *Asian Pacific Americans* Program reviews many APA books on its blog, http://bookdragon.si.edu. Lists of APA studies programs, museums, and cultural organizations are found on the APA Program Web site: http://apa.si.edu/resources.asp.

For more than forty years, the Asian American Curriculum Project has served as a non-profit multimedia resource for teachers, school districts, parents, and interested readers—serving all age groups, levels of education, and APA ethnic groups. See www.asianamericanbooks.com.

To locate APA resources in your area or to consult with representatives of the Association for Asian American Studies, see www.aaastudies.org.