

Chapter I
**A Historical Overview of the Immigration to the United States and
Political Participation of Asian Americans: A Perspective of Korean Americans***

Introduction

1. The history of the United States consists largely of the history of immigration because the land and nature were untouched by external civilization until the first English immigrants settled at Jamestown, Virginia in 1607 and the Dutch settled in Albany, New York in 1618. Since then, western Europeans came to America for economic opportunities, religious freedom, social mobility, and political reasons, importing almost 400,000 African slaves by the end of the Civil War. When the economy began to expand rapidly during the period of industrialization in the mid-nineteenth century, the United States received massive immigrants from eastern and southern Europe, as well as Asian immigrants from China and Japan. But the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 and the Immigration Act of 1924 prohibited Asian immigration because of racial prejudice of Americans. However, the Immigration Act of 1965 reopened Asian immigration to the United States. The United States became a country of immigration for all races to pursue their happiness in peace and prosperity under a system of democratic politics and a market economy. However, different interests between races caused social problems in reality. American Indians were assimilated through forced education and acculturation, and the U.S. Congress passed the laws in 1953 and 1975 to abolish reservations and allow them self-determination as U.S. citizens. European old immigrants considered new immigrants from eastern and southern Europe as an “inbetween” class which was above African and Asian but below white Americans, while those newcomers have been assimilated into the mainstream of America. African Americans started as slaves, and the Civil War brought them freedom but without means. Owing to the civil rights movement and the Civil Rights Act of 1964, their social status has improved tremendously. Accordingly, the status of Hispanic and Asian Americans began to improve.

2. European immigrants experienced different processes of assimilation to the American way of life based on ethnic identities. Irish immigrants moved into the large cities, controlled lower position workers in both private and public sectors, and mobilized urban voters, but their early political success diminished when the relative share of Irish population declined. Italians came to America largely in the early twentieth century with the intention of returning home. They attached family interests in wealth, transplanted a Sicilian criminal society to America, and focused less on education so that their social mobility became slower than others until World War II. Jewish immigrants were young and skilled, and engaged in manufacturing and trade. They focused on education with experiences of historical urbanites, socialization, and marginality so that their economic,

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social, and political mobility became a role model for all immigrants. On the other hand, Asian immigrants had unhappy experiences with discrimination in the past. Chinese immigration was legally prohibited in 1882, which affected Japanese with the same degree although the Gentlemen's Agreement allowed family reunion of Japanese. After the attack on Pearl Harbor, all Japanese residing in the area of Western Defense Command, native-born as well as alien, were separated into the ten War Relocation Centers and contained until December 1944. Aliens of German and Italian nationality were similarly interred, but not native-born, affecting a small part of them, while about 95 percent of Japanese in America were relocated. After the Immigration Act of 1965, the population of Asian Americans increased from 1.4 million in 1970 to 10.0 million in 2000. Asian Americans have been successful in their economic and social mobility, but their political participation lags far behind that of European immigrants.

3. Political participation of Asian Pacific Americans includes electoral engagement, non-electoral political activities for minority group protection, social justice and equal treatment for individuals, friendship development between the United States and their countries of origin, and internal politics within each ethnic community. They have pursued political empowerment by electoral participation, campaign fund raising, publicity promotion, and lobbying activities. However, Asian Americans have not represented themselves in American politics as much as their share of the U.S. population (3.8 percent), while the Jewish Americans represent almost 8 percent of members of the U.S. Congress. What is the problem of Asian Pacific Americans? The majority of Asian immigrants came to America after enactment of the Immigration Act of 1965, so that the first generation of them is the majority of each ethnic community and their children are in college education. They have been busy trying to survive in jobs, as either employees or self-employed in small businesses, while at the same time they face society with a class problem due to language insufficiency, cultural barriers, and discrimination. There have been no aggressive driving forces to organize Asian Americans for political empowerment unlike African Americans, while each ethnic community believes that they are too small in population to influence politics. Recently, the first generation of Asian Americans shows more interest in politics than before, which means that the myth of silent minority of Asian Americans will be gone sooner or later. Since 44 percent of Asian Americans have received a college education in 2000, their political, economic, and social mobility into the mainstream will be inevitable in the future. However, the ethnic diversity of Asian Americans has been a barrier for them to make a united front in politics, but it can be overcome by creating an efficient networking system. If Korean Americans in a city is efficiently organized, for example, this model can be transplanted to the major metropolitan areas where Koreans are intensively concentrated. Those units create an ethnic association for all Koreans in the United States. Each Asian ethnic association in America sends their delegates to the Asian Pacific American Association representing Asian Americans, which can participate in multiracial coalition movements for more political influence if necessary.

4. The purposes of this study is (a) to provide an overview of the history of immigration to the United States and how the different races came to be integrated into

America, (b) to compare the assimilation process of both European and Asian immigrant groups into the mainstream of America, and (c) to analyze political participation of Asian Americans and suggest how to reorganize the Korean American Association for political empowerment by integrating community resources through an efficient networking system. This research intends to provide a theoretical background for Korean Americans to restructure the Korean American Association by integrating community resources for political empowerment. The study consists of six sections excluding introduction and conclusion. The first section overviews the history of immigration to the United States by four stages: colonial, industrial, limited immigration, and post industrial periods. The second section investigates the racial integration in the United States which includes immigration theories and practices of five races. The third section examines assimilation of European immigrant groups of Irish, Italian, Jewish, and Polish and the fourth section does the same of Asian immigrant groups of Chinese, Japanese, and Koreans. The fifth section analyzes political participation of Asian Americans and considers an example of Korean Americans as an ethnic minority. The sixth and final section suggests how to create a new form of the Korean American Association of Greater Washington to integrate community resources for political empowerment. This is a proposal to create a representative model for Korean Americans in other regions. In applying this proposal, proper communications between related parties within the community and between communities would be desirable to avoid unnecessary conflicts. The study applied a systems approach for the last section. Please note that this paper incorporates history, politics, economics, sociology, and management where the author is partially specialized, but he fully accepts his responsibility for any shortcomings in this paper.

Historical Overview of Immigration to the United States

5. The land of North America was open to Europeans in the age of mercantilism – nations pursued economic self sufficiency with export surplus by government control of the economy owing to strong military and naval forces.¹ The European immigration to America in the seventeenth century was caused not by demand of American Indians, but by forced supply or conquest of Europeans due to their political, economic, social, and religious desires.² The Portuguese reached the coast of Brazil in 1500, settled successfully in Sao Paulo and Pernambuco in the Northeast and created a governorship in 1550, and competed with Spain and France until they were ceded to Spain from 1580 to 1640.³ Spain conquered the great Aztec and Incan empires for their mercantilist needs through mining, agriculture, and trade.⁴ European mining methods produced more silver sent to Spain, but killed many Indians so that the population of Peru fell by one half and that of Mexico declined by one-third a century after the Spanish conquest.⁵ The inflow of precious metals into Spain caused inflation for its economy while its government spent more treasure than was supplied for its political and religious ambitions.⁶ However, it was a great benefit that food crops developed by American Indians such as corn, potatoes, and manioc were introduced around the world as a new source of human diet.⁷ Contrasted to this, the Jesuits entered Cordoba of Argentina in 1599,⁸ and non Spanish Europeans began to acquire Caribbean islands after 1600, such as Jamaica, where the Spanish had

not settled. As the Indian population declined rapidly, a new slave trade developed in the Caribbean where the large plantations were established by Europeans demanded cheaper labor forces for sugar exports. Slave traders made high profits by buying slaves from the west coast of Africa and selling them from Brazil to Mexico and later to North America.

6. The European immigration to colonial America began with the Dutch and French pursuing the fur trade with the Indians. The Dutch settled at Fort Orange (Albany, New York) in 1618 and New Amsterdam (New York City) later, but domestic policies discouraged massive settlements so that it was difficult for average citizens to obtain usable land in the colony. In the later period, the expansion of Dutch settlements was restricted by the Yankees moving down from New England. The French settled in the St. Lawrence River valley initially, gained control of the Ohio and Mississippi valleys later, and settled near New Orleans in the eighteenth century, despite the lack of supportive policies from the French government. The French were successful in fur trade in its early stages, and considered Indians as trading partners and potential military allies. The French Huguenots left for the New World in order to get better economic opportunities coupled with religious freedom. They tried to Christianize Indians and treated them as nearly as equals. The desire of acquiring land was another motive for the French to leave their fatherland for America. The population in Europe was 95 million in 1600 but increased to 120 million in 1700, 190 million in 1800, and 400 million in 1900. The rapid growth of population and limited land expedited French and other European immigrants to leave their countries for America. Finally, France had less incentive to hold colony in America, while Britain was concentrating resources on the colonial war by minimizing her efforts in Europe. The British won the Seven Year's War due to her naval superiority, and the Treaty of Paris in 1763 forced France to cede Canada and the lands east of the Mississippi to Britain. Britain also received Florida from Spain, which gained part of the Louisiana territory from France instead.⁹

7. The first English immigrants in America settled at Jamestown, Virginia in 1607 financed by the London Company, and it was organized without women and operated along semi-military lines.¹⁰ Many became seriously ill and died, and their survival was threatened without a continuous supply of tools and manufactured goods from England, although the arrival of women in the later years strengthened the new system because it provides more incentive for the settlers to build families, develop properties, and become permanent immigrants. Since the company failed to finance further, the Crown took over the colony's charter in 1623. As Virginia became successful in producing and exporting tobacco to Europe in huge quantities, more labor was demanded and immigration to the colony was stimulated. The passage cost for an immigrant paid by Virginia planters was the average annual wages of Englishman, and sponsors required three to seven years' labor from the new arrival providing room and board without wages. Although Europeans had employed African slave labor in the Caribbean islands and South America, Virginia initially imported Africans as indentured servants, not slaves, but slavery was declared to be hereditary in 1664. The proportion of slaves was 11 percent of the colonial population in 1700, but the number increased

rapidly. The settlement in New England started from Plymouth in 1620, New Hampshire in 1623, and Massachusetts Bay in 1629 with motives of economic gain, political ambition, and religious colonization.¹¹ Unlike Virginia, where immigration was pushed by investors, the immigrants who came to New England were recruited by promoters who promised them that they would have a better life in America. They were organized into family groups, who were economically secure and socially educated in England, in which the Puritans were a minority.¹² Massachusetts created the two colonies of Rhode Island and Connecticut and established trading posts inland and on the seacoast of Maine. Maryland was founded by George Calvert in 1634, who desired to colonize the land to be a haven for Catholic believers. It was successful economically through planting tobacco.

Table 1. National or Linguistic Stocks in the United States, 1790 (White only)

National & Linguistic	Proportion %	National & Linguistic	Proportion %
English	60.1	French	2.3
Scotch	8.1	Swedish	0.7
Irish-Ulster	5.9	Spanish	0.8
Irish-Others	3.6	Unassigned	6.8
German	8.6		
Dutch	3.1	Total	100.0

Source: *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1931* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1932)

Table 2. Estimated Slave Imports into the Americas: Importing Region 1451-1870 (in Thousand)

Region & Country	1451-1600	1601-1700	1701-1810	1811-1870	Total
British North America			348.0	51.0	399.0
Spanish America	75.0	292.5	1401.3		1552.1
British Caribbean		263.7	1401.3		1665.0
French Caribbean		155.8	1348.4	96.0	1600.2
Dutch Caribbean		40.0	460.0		500.0
Danish Caribbean		4.0	24.0		28.0
Brazil	50.0	560.0	1891.4	1145.4	3646.8
Europe and Old World	149.9	25.1			175.0
Total Number	274.9	1341.1	6051.7	1898.4	9566.1
(Proportion %)	(2.87%)	(14.02%)	(63.26%)	(19.85%)	(100%)

Source: Philip D. Curtin, *The African Slave Trade: A Census* (Madison, WI, 1969)

8. The first census of the United States in 1790 indicated that three-fifth of white Americans were English as shown in Table 1. The Germans were 8.6 percent, in second place. When 13,000 German refugees from Rhineland immigrated to England during the period of 1703-1713, the British government sent 600 to North Carolina and 3,000 to New York.¹³ Some of their descendants moved to Pennsylvania where German immigrants continuously grew. In third place, the Ulster Irish were 5.9 percent, mostly concentrated in Pennsylvania, while the other Irish were 3.6 percent who came to America as indentured servants or well-established Catholic immigrants to New York

and Philadelphia.¹⁴ In fourth place, the Scotch was 8.1 percent who settled in New Jersey and South Carolina, while that of Dutch was 3.1 percent, who largely settled in New York. Finally, 9,566,100 African slaves were imported during the period of 1451-1870, with 63.3 percent were traded between the years of 1701-1810, shown in Table 2, ironically when the Enlightenment was blooming in Europe and its colonies. Considering that all Caribbean islands imported 5,345,399 African slaves (55.9 % of all slaves imported into the Americas) and Brazil accounted for another 3,646,800 (38.1%) during the entire period, the number of slave imports into British North America was only 399,000 (4.2%), which was relatively small. The number of blacks in North America totaled 250,000 in 1750, 750,000 in 1790, and 1,772,000 (899,000 male and 873,000 female) in 1820.¹⁵ Meanwhile, most of early settlers considered Native Americans as uncivilized savages to be conquered by the superior culture of Europe. The population of American Indians was five to six million when Columbus discovered the New World but declined to 237,000 by 1900 when they were assimilated into the western civilization.

Table 3. Immigration to the United States, 1820-1924 (in Thousand)

Year	Total	Rate/1000	Irish	German	Scandinav	Italian	Greeks
1820-30	151.8	1.2	54.3	7.7	0.3	0.4	0.02
1831-40	599.1	3.9	207.4	152.5	2.3	2.3	0.05
1841-50	1,713.2	8.4	780.7	434.6	14.4	1.9	0.02
1851-60	2,598.2	9.3	914.1	951.7	24.7	9.2	0.03
1861-70	2,314.8	6.4	435.8	787.5	126.4	11.7	0.07
1871-80	2,812.2	6.2	436.9	718.2	243.0	55.8	0.21
1881-90	5,246.6	9.2	655.5	1,453.0	656.5	307.3	2.31
1891-00	3,687.6	5.3	388.4	505.2	371.5	651.9	15.98
1901-10	8,795.4	10.4	339.1	341.5	505.3	2,045.9	167.52
1911-20	5,735.8	5.7	146.2	144.0	203.5	1,109.5	184.20
1921-24	2,344.6	5.3	71.9	148.1			
Total	35,999.4		4,578.9	5,907.9	2,147.9	4,195.9	370.41

Source: Roger Daniels, *Coming to America: A History of Immigration and Ethnicity in American Life*, New York: Harper Perennial, 1990, pp. 121-238.

9. The second stage of immigration to the United States began in 1820 when the colonial period in America was terminated. The share of European immigrants to America totaled 95 percent in the period of 1820-1860, but declined gradually to 85 percent in the years of 1900-1920, while the Asian immigrants increased from zero to 4 percent in the same period. Table 3 shows that the total number of immigrants to the United States was 35,999,400 in the period of 1820-1924. In the years 1901-1910, immigrants reached a peak of 8,795,400, an average of 10.4 immigrants in a year per one thousand existing Americans. The proportion of foreign-born population was at 9.7 percent in 1850, but rose to 14.7 percent in 1910 and 13.2 percent in 1920. During the century, 4.6 million Irish moved to the United States to escape from hunger from the famine and to enjoy religious and political freedom. They were able to transform the Roman Catholic Church and politics in America. The 5.9 million Germans migrated to the United States in family groups for economic opportunities, while it was observed that religious and political motivations were much less significant in the nineteenth century.

Also, 4.2 million Italians moved to the United States in this century mainly for economic betterment, although significant numbers moved directly to Argentina and Brazil. The eastern Europeans migrated to the United States in this century from among twenty-six ethnic groups. The foreign-born Polish-speaking population was 0.94 million and its second generation was 1.71 million in 1910. Foreign born Yiddish or Hebrew speaking population was 1.05 million and their second generation was 1.68 million in the same year. Finally, Chinese immigration to the United States began with California gold rush in 1849,¹⁶ and 300,000 Chinese entered until passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882. The Chinese population in America was 63,199 in 1870, rose to 107,488 in 1890, but declined to 74,954 in 1930. Just after the arrival of some political refugees, 150 Japanese immigrants came to Hawaii in 1869 and about 30,000 Japanese were brought there under contract to plantation owners, where a large number of Chinese was already employed. The Japanese population in the United States was 24,326 in 1900 and increased to 138,834 by 1930.

Table 4. Immigration and Emigration by Period, 1921-1945

Period	Number of Immigrants	Number of Emigrants	Net Migration
1921-24	2,344,599	604,699	1,739,930
Annual Average	586,150	151,168	439,982
1925-30	1,762,610	440,377	1,322,233
Annual Average	293,768	73,396	220,372
1931-45	699,283	502,434	196,849
Annual Average	46,619	33,496	13,123
Total	4,806,492	1,547,480	3,259,012
Annual Average	192,260	61,899	130,360

Source: Roger Daniels, *Coming to America: A History of Immigration and Ethnicity in American Life*, New York: Harper Perennial, 1990, p. 289.

Table 5. Immigration by Period and by Region, 1921-1945

Period	Number of Immigrants	Europe %	Americas %	Others %
1921-24	2,344,599	65.7	30.7	3.6
1925-30	1,762,610	53.2	45.2	1.7
1931-45	699,283	57.4	38.8	4.0
Total	4,806,492	59.9	37.2	2.9

Source: Roger Daniels, *Coming to America: A History of Immigration and Ethnicity in American Life*, New York: Harper Perennial, 1990, p. 290.

10. A century of immigration to the United States changed her ethnic composition until 1924 when the U. S. Congress passed the Immigration Act, also known as the National Origins Act, that further reduced quotas for immigrants deemed to be less desirable. Immigrants from northern and western Europe were considered highly adaptable and more likely to “fit in” with Americans than immigrants from southern and eastern Europe. As a result, immigrants from Great Britain, Germany, and Ireland were assigned generous quotas. Quotas for countries such as Russia, the source of most Jewish immigrants, and Italy were cut back. Practically all Asians were barred from entering the United States.¹⁷ In this century of immigration, American nativism was triumphant in

three phases. In the first phase, anti-Catholicism prevailed in America, mainly against the Irish Catholic immigrants, and German Catholic immigrants with a lesser degree during the period between 1830 and 1860. In the second phase, anti-Asian sentiments were triggered by Chinese immigration to the United States from the early 1870s, which forced the U.S. Congress to pass the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882, banning further immigration from China. In the third phase, a broad anti-immigration movement began in the mid-1880s when restricting the movement of immigration was gaining popularity, resulting in the U.S. Congress passing the Immigration Act of 1924.¹⁸ As a result of the restrictive immigration policies of the U.S. government, the total number of immigrants fell to 4,806,492 during the period from 1921-1945. Subtracting the returning immigrants of 1,547,480, net immigration to the United States totaled 3,259,012 during the same period, or 130,360 per year in average as shown in Table 4. In this period, the proportion of European immigrants was 59.9 percent, that of America was 37.2 percent, and others were 2.9 percent shown in Table 5. Although the annual quota was about 150,000 in a year, actual number of total immigrants circumvented this quota because of family unification and need to import skilled labor. But the Great Depression of the 1930s and World War II changed the pattern of immigration. In the period of 1931-1945, 669,283 immigrants came to the United States, but 502,434 (71.8% of them) returned to their home countries.

11. The Immigration Act of 1965 provided “First, that the quota system be phased out over a five-year period, with the released numbers being put into a pool to be distributed on a new basis. Second, that the natives of no one country receive more than 10 percent of the newly authorized quota numbers. Third, a seven-person immigration board be set up to advise the president... After receiving their recommendations the president would be authorized to reserve up to 50 percent of the unallocated numbers to “persons disadvantaged by the change in the quota system and up to 20 percent to refugees...Otherwise, immigrants would be selected under a first-come, first-admitted procedure...subject to the 10 percent limitation noted above.”¹⁹ It provided exemptions from preference requirements and numerical quotas for spouses, unmarried minor children and parents of U.S. citizens. Although the law required a global ceiling of 290,000 annually, recorded legal immigration surpassed it by 88 percent on the average. The Refugee Act of 1980 intended to solve the problem of refugee admissions, while the Immigration Reform Act of 1986 required employers to examine the eligibility of employment by providing amnesty for illegal aliens in the past but imposing sanctions for hiring them in the future. The American economy needs workers, either skilled or unskilled, when the economy is expanded. However, during economic recessions, anti-immigration advocates frequently blame foreign workers for domestic unemployment. Without proper demand from host countries, self-invited immigration faces resistance from domestic interest groups continuously until the labor market adjusts to it.

Table 6. Immigration to the United States by Region, 1941-2000

Year	America	Europe	Asia	Africa	Oceania	Total
1941-1950	354,804	621,147	37,028	7,367	14,551	1,713,251

1951-1960	996,944	1,325,727	153,249	14,029	12,976	2,515,479
1961-1970	1,716,374	1,123,492	427,642	28,954	25,122	3,321,677
1971-1980	1,982,735	800,368	1,588,178	80,799	41,242	4,493,314
1981-1990	3,615,225	465,642	2,738,157	176,893	45,205	7,338,062
1991-2000	4,486,806	1,359,777	2,795,672	354,939	55,845	9,095,419

Source: <http://www.ins.usdoj.gov/graphics/aboutins/statistics/TMM00yrbk/TMM2000list.htm>

Note: The total numbers of the far right includes all immigrants from the world.

12. The number of immigrants to the United States increased rapidly in the second half of the twentieth century owing to the Immigration Act of 1965.²⁰ Their total number was 2,515,479 during the period of 1951-1960, but increased to 9,095,419 in the last decade of the century. In the same period, the number of immigrants from Europe declined or remained unchanged, while that from other regions increased. The European immigrants were 1,335,727 in the 1950s, declined to 465,642 in the 1980s, but recovered to the same level of the 1950s in the next decade. Meanwhile, the immigrants from South and Central America increased rapidly from 996,944 in the 1950s to 4,486,806 in the 1990s. The number of Asian immigrants increased from 153,249 in the decade of 1950s to 2,738,157 in the 1980s, but remained unchanged in the last decade of the century. The number of immigrants from Africa and Oceania increased continuously in the second half of the twentieth century. Thus, we have reviewed the history of immigration to the United States in terms of four periods: colonial period (to 1820), industrial period (1820-1925), limited migration period (1925-1965), and the period of postindustrial migration (after 1965). The disappearance of ideology, revolution of information technology, uninterrupted factor mobility, productivity convergence, and trade liberalization expedited globalization²¹ overcoming time and space in transportation and communications, continuously forcing the world to be integrated in politics, economy, and society. The flow of population has become easier since 1991 owing to less expensive cost and relaxed government intervention, while globalization brought various issues to the world, particularly the need for the balanced economic growth.²² But the war against terrorism since September 11, 2001 has temporarily disturbed the trend of globalization, although it is expected to be recovered sooner or later.

13. The population residing in the United States as of November 1, 2000 was 276.06 million, consisting of 82.2 percent White, 12.8 percent Black, 0.9 percent American Indian, and 4.1 percent Asian and Pacific Islander. The proportion of not Hispanic White was 71.3 percent, not Hispanic Black 12.2 percent, not Hispanic American Indian 0.7 percent, and not Hispanic Asian and Pacific Islander 3.8 percent, and Hispanic origin of all races 11.9 percent as of November 1, 2000 as shown in Table 7. The number of all foreign-born resident population was 25.8 million, consisting of not Hispanic White 25.3 percent, not Hispanic Black 7.0 percent, not Hispanic American Indian 0.2 percent, and not Hispanic Asian and Pacific Islander 24.5 percent, and Hispanic origin of all races 43.0 percent as of July 1, 1999. Notably, the population of not Hispanic Asian and Pacific Islander was 6,333,000, which was only 3.8 percent of the American population. The white population will decline to about one-half of the American population by 2050 due to their lower fertility and high immigration rates of other races.

Table 7. Resident Population (as of November 1, 2000) and Foreign-Born Resident Population (as of July 1, 1999) Estimates of the United States by Race and Hispanic Origin (Thousand)

Classification	Resident Population		Foreign-Born Resident Population	
	Population	Percent	Population	Percent
All Race	276,059	100%	25,831	100%
White Not Hispanic	196,929	71.3%	6,547	25.3%
Black Not Hispanic	33,619	12.2%	1,805	7.0%
American Indian Not Hisp.	2,509	0.7%	43	0.2%
Asian and Pacific Islander	10,620	3.8%	6,333	24.5%
Hispanic Origin Any Race	32,832	11.9%	11,103	43.0%

Source: <http://www.census.gov/population/estimates/nation/intfile3-1.txt> and <http://www.census.gov/population/estimates/nation/nativity/fbt002.txt>

Immigration and Racial Integration in the United States

14. The reasons why international migration occurs are explained by six theories. First, neoclassic economists believe that international immigration is caused by geographic differences in the supply of and demand for labor. Individual actors move from labor-surplus country to the a labor-scarce country, while highly skilled workers (human capital) move from capital-rich to capital-poor countries for high returns on their skills.²³ Migration is decided by not only isolated individual actors, but also families or entire communities to maximize expected income, to upgrade political and social status, and to pursue religious freedom.²⁴ Second, labor market theorists believe that international migration is caused by a permanent labor demand caused by the structure of advanced economies. This demand-pull theory justifies that the new immigrants take jobs of low wage, unstable hours, and unpleasant working conditions because they begin as target earners until they earn money for a specific goal.²⁵ Third, structural theorists argue that global capitalism perpetuates income inequality and reinforces a stratified economic order because political power is unequally distributed across nations.²⁶ This dependency theory prevailed in Latin America in the 1960s and 1970s, which illustrated that international migration inevitably occurs in the process of capitalist development. Fourth, people gain social capital as a system of relationships through membership in networks and social institutions, and then convert it into other forms of capital to improve or maintain their positions in society. Those networks promote international migration.²⁷ Fifth, “cumulative causation” presumes that international migration tends to sustain itself in ways that make additional movement progressively in line with the expansion of networks and various economic and social activities.²⁸ Finally, the role of government is an important element for international migration even in the age of globalization. Since the impact of immigration is wide and deep in both sending and receiving countries, governments change immigration policies from time to time to adjust to environment.²⁹

15. The patterns of assimilation vary. Robert Ezra Park formulated the *race relations cycle* to describe the assimilation process of immigrants: contact, competition, accommodation, and eventual assimilation.³⁰ Milton Gordon introduced *three*

conceptual models of assimilation in America: Anglo-conformity, melting pot, and cultural pluralism.³¹ Anglo-conformity was a center force of Americanization during and after World War I and ignored other assimilation dimensions. The idea of melting pot came from the view that all the races of Europe were melting and reforming, which became popular in the immediate aftermath of World War II. In his cultural pluralism, “once structural assimilation has occurred, either simultaneously with or subsequent to acculturation, all of the other types of assimilation will naturally follow.”³² Gans and Sandberg thought that generations were the engine for ethnic change by introducing the notion of *straight-line assimilation*: “each new generation represents on average a new stage of adjustments to the host society, that is, a further step away from ethnic ground zero, the community and culture established by the immigrants, and a step closer to more complete assimilation.”³³ The *segmented assimilation* explains that immigrants are absorbed by different segments of American society due to external and internal factors of immigrants. The progressive trends of social mobility were observed across generations of immigrants owing to educational attainment, job skills, length of stay, English proficiency, and cultural exposure.³⁴ Meanwhile, *socioeconomic assimilation* is suggested by measuring social mobility and income growth: the former means occupational mobility of immigrants by participating in social activities of the American mainstream through higher education and career management, while the latter follows accordingly.³⁵ Glazer and Moynihan introduced *ethnogenesis* theory: ethnicity is not a fixed form handed down by tradition, but a form continuously regenerated and hence transformed in the process of adjustment to American society.³⁶ Massey and Mullan introduced *spatial assimilation* holding that spatial location of an ethnic group is a crucial variable affecting its socioeconomic position:³⁷ there is close relationship between housing and jobs, educational opportunities, and income growth in socioeconomic assimilation. Finally, *marital assimilation* or amalgamation is another outcome of the assimilation process, where the minority farther loses its ethnic identity. Inter-marriage increased across ethnic lines in America but remained within the three religious communities of Protestants, Catholics, and Jews (triple melting pot)³⁸ although marriage outside ethnic groups was extensive in later generations.³⁹

16. The performance of ethnic groups differs in the process of assimilation due to internal and external causes. Internal causes include intellectual orientation, cultural characteristics, social class, and enclave economy. Herrnstein and Murray insisted that the class structure of contemporary American society reflects the distribution of intelligence, that races differ in intelligence, and “the lower IQ test performance of blacks and Latinos indicates that they are less intelligent than whites and Asians.”⁴⁰ Contrary to this, the American Psychological Association asserted that “early educational interventions are effective in raising performance and achievement levels for disadvantaged groups.”⁴¹ Others believe that cultural characteristics (values, attitudes, beliefs, customs, and habits learned from family and community) make immigrants successful, such as Asians who characterized as industrious, thrifty, and self-reliant with high motivation for education. The social class of immigrants is also essential for their performance: more than two-thirds of Jewish immigrants were skilled workers,

professionals, or merchants, while only one-sixth of southern Italians and one-sixteenth of Polish immigrants belonged to that category. Moreover, the concept of an enclave economy explains that “the immigrant community itself is a major factor influencing the range of opportunities available to individual immigrants.” In contrast to internal causes, external causes are opportunity structure of society and cultural characteristics of a minority. Although different language and culture are barriers in the process of assimilation, the main external barrier for immigrants to overcome is the role of prejudice and discrimination in creating and maintaining racial and ethnic inequality. It is unlikely that “racial inequalities would disappear, primarily because racial discrimination and inequalities are perpetuated by the way in which economic and political institutions are structured and organized in American society.”⁴² But the social class has gradually become more important than race in determining minority access to the privilege and power of the mainstream.

17. The impact of immigrants is broad and deep during their assimilation process. Politically, immigrants can change the composition of voters if a certain race or an ethnic group moves to a certain electoral district. Considering that Hispanic Americans will be 22 percent of the American population by 2050, for example, their concentration in major cities will largely influence future American elections soon after their naturalization. Economically, (a) there is no evidence of significant reduction in native employment,⁴³ and “the immigration surplus might be larger when the immigration flow is composed exclusively of skilled workers...Immigration also generates a sizable redistribution of wealth in the economy, reducing the incomes of natives who are now competing with immigrant workers in the labor market and increasing the incomes of capitalists and other users of immigrant services.”⁴⁴ (b) Contrary to public perception, “when all levels of government are considered together, immigrants generate significantly more in taxes paid than they cost in services received.”⁴⁵ (c) Middle class immigrants in sending countries bring a quite sum of capital to provide a financial foundation in America, which is a kind of capital inflow, while those from the lower class come with empty hands. Moreover, this foreign direct investment contributes to immigration and vice versa. (d) Since self-employed businesses brought more profits and social ascendance, some immigrants became successful in small-scale businesses using their entrepreneurship.⁴⁶ In society and culture, international migration improves mutual understanding and friendly relationships between sending and receiving nations, spreads different cultures, and expedites globalization. The first generation maintains dual lives of *transnationalism*, representing two cultures of their sending and receiving communities.⁴⁷ The social mobility of the second generation immigrants is affected by racial stratification, economic opportunities, spatial segregation, and factors intrinsic to the group such as financial and human capital, family structure, community organization, and cultural patterns of social relations.⁴⁸ Later generations return to *symbolic ethnicity*, which is a nostalgic allegiance to the mother culture, although it usually does not remain permanent.⁴⁹ With regard to religious affiliation, intermarriages between different religions are an increasing trend in America, and immigrants are less predisposed in

religious matters than previous centuries. The United States will have new immigrants continuously, who will create more competitive and diversified ethnic communities.

18. Let's investigate the process of assimilation of five ethnic groups: American Indians, European, African, Hispanic, and Asian Americans. The U.S. government dealt with American Indians or Native Americans in five major historical stages: removal, assimilation, the Indian New Deal, termination and relocation, and self-determination.⁵⁰ The U.S. Congress passed the Indian Removal Act in 1830 which forced them to move west of the Mississippi River to the Indian Territory (later to become the state of Oklahoma). The General Allotment Act of 1887 provided tribal lands to be allotted to individual American Indians and additional legislation created American Indian boarding schools: "many were forcibly taken from their families and enrolled in boarding schools, where they were compelled to adopt white styles of dress and were punished for speaking their own native languages."⁵¹ The Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 was a New Deal program for American Indians, offering some relief from the Great Depression, in which the U.S. government repudiated the allotment policy and acknowledged American Indians to be detribalized. The government created the Indian Claims Commission in 1946 and dissolved in 1978, while the Congress passed the House Concurrent Resolution 108 in 1953 and abolished all reservations although only two were actually terminated because the Indian advocacy groups opposed to take action. The American Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act of 1975 allowed tribal governments to do a larger role in reservation administration of various programs. The social Darwinism of the "survival of fittest" was applied to the American Indians who survived from forced assimilation and became American citizens despite the painful process of assimilation.⁵² The 2000 census estimated the resident population of American Indians to be 2,509,000 or 0.7% of the entire population of the United States. Their average household income became less than two-thirds of that of white Americans until recent years. The Indians were the first Americans in the United States but were forcibly assimilated into European culture and religion, gradually but progressively. Sometimes the history of civilization was too cruel to be praised although civilization itself provides generous benefits to us.

19. Europeans came to the United States almost exclusively from northern and western Europe, consisting of Irish, Germans, and Scandinavians until the 1880s (the old immigration). But the wave of immigration shifted to eastern Europe of Italians, Greeks, and Armenians as well as southern Europe of Poles, Jews, and Hungarians since 1890 (the new immigration). The change in ethnic composition caused nativist whites to fear the cultural impact of new immigrants on American institutions. The ideology of scientific racism that prevailed in period of the turn of the century endorsed Caucasians as nation's social and intellectual elites (the best and brightest) and consequently the U.S. Congress passed the National Origins Quota Act in 1929 giving the highest quotas to nations of northern and western Europe.⁵³ The old immigrants considered the newcomers as an "inbetween" class: above African and Asian Americans but below white Americans. However, the mixture of blood and their voting power pushed them to join the whites.⁵⁴ In the job market, new immigrants competed largely with African Americans, and they

suffered from employment discrimination at least in the defense industry until late World War II. The new immigrants and their descendants had been culturally assimilated into the mainstream of American life, but they were not structurally assimilated by maintaining their ethnic identity in generations. Among the old immigrants, Irish Americans adapted to and changed American urban politics with the Democratic Party. Among the new immigrants, Italian Americans founded relatively few ethnic organizations due to individualism and intense attachment to family, but Jewish Americans from eastern Europe were successful in politics such as by sending six Jewish Representatives to the U.S. House in 1917 from New York, New Jersey, and Chicago. As intermarriage between different ethnic groups of whites prevailed into succeeding generations, the significance of race between the old and the new immigrants was rapidly declined after World War II, while white-black relations were getting worse, particularly after the late 1950s. The United States classifies race by five categories in census as shown in Table 7.

20. African Americans were shaped by the production system with the laws and policies of the state.⁵⁵ First, during the plantation period, although blacks initially possessed a similar legal status with white indentured servants, they fell to slave status by the 1660s to supply free lifetime labor to plantations. The status of slavery forced blacks to be lower-caste members of the American society. Second, former slaves were formally given liberty by passage of the 13th Amendment abolishing slavery, the 14th Amendment providing equal protection under the law, and 15th Amendment guaranteeing the right to vote, but no means were given to realize it. In addition, lack of social mobility meant that 89 percent of emancipated blacks remained in the South as late as 1910. Many southern states enforced racial separation and excluded African Americans from political, economic, social, and educational opportunities available to most other Americans. Third, blacks began to move to urban areas for employment largely after World War II so that 86 percent of its population lived in cities by 1996. For example, the population of blacks in 1990 was 75.7 percent in Detroit, 39.9 percent in Philadelphia, 39.1 percent in Chicago, 28.7 percent in New York, and 29.5 percent in Dallas.⁵⁶ Finally, the urbanization of black population facilitated the civil rights movement during the late 1950s and the 1960s, led by middle class African Americans. Resultingly, the U.S. Congress passed the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. In 1967, President Lyndon Johnson created the National Commission on Civil Disorders (Kerner Commission) to investigate the causes of urban riots. The Commission reported that American institutions were the primary source of the racism that permeates the society. The rise in African American voters increased their representation in politics, and their education and employment opportunities improved tremendously in the next thirty years. As the social status of blacks improved, some lawmakers argued in 2000 that affirmative action to protect minority interests was no longer necessary although it did not attract political support.⁵⁷ This implies that over a generation of affirmative action was enough for disadvantaged races to stand by themselves without blaming others.

21. Hispanic Americans (or Latinos) are fast growing ethnic categories, projected to be 22 percent of the U.S. population by 2050, with great diversity of cultural background. Fully three-fourths of Hispanic Americans are of Mexican, Puerto Rican, and Cuban origins. Initially Mexicans coexisted with Anglos in California, Texas, Arizona, New Mexico, and Colorado.⁵⁸ As the United States annexed these areas under the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo in 1848, most Mexicans fell to a lower-class status of landless laborers and were politically and economically impotent. In the 1920s, Mexican immigrants filled agricultural jobs in southern states when blacks moved to urban areas in the 1920s. During World War II and the Korean War, Mexicans filled American labor shortages as guest workers, and the legal immigration increased after World War II. Some of them remained illegally, and others crossed the border without proper documents. Mexicans were once involved in agricultural labor but the majority moved to urban areas. Urbanization of the Mexican population expedited their assimilation into Anglo society, gradually shifting away from Spanish language and culture for the next generations to become middle class. Puerto Rico was annexed to America in 1898 and its people became American nationals in 1917. Due to unrestricted migration between the mainland and the island, the majority moved to the New York City area. Puerto Ricans have maintained strong ethnic communities with low intermarriage rates. Cuban immigrants were primarily political refugees for whom President Kennedy provided the Cuban Refugee Program to take care of escapees from a neighboring communist dictatorship. The program provided job training, professional recertification, assistance for employment, subsidization of education costs, and funds for research and teaching opportunities. The early exodus included educated professionals having better socioeconomic background, but successive waves were younger and less educated. The Cuban enclave economy with their cohesiveness facilitated initial adjustment and success of Cuban Americans in Miami and New York. Hispanic Americans, in sum, differ from others in terms of race mixture (blacks, Amerindians, and whites) and different history of entrance from various regions having different culture.

22. The major ethnic groups of Asian Americans are Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, Korean, Asian Indian, and Vietnamese as shown in Table 8. The Chinese entered the country as laborers of agriculture, mining, and railroad construction, and their immigration reached its peak from 1873 to 1882 when the U.S. Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act. The Japanese began to enter the country in the mid-1880s and its government won the Gentleman's Agreement with the United States in 1907 to end discrimination against Japanese living in America.⁵⁹ After Japan attacked Hawaii, President Franklin Roosevelt sent Japanese Americans, two-thirds of them native-born American citizens, to ten hurriedly built relocation camps, where some of them remained for almost four years.⁶⁰ In 1988, the U.S. Congress passed and President Ronald Reagan signed a bill providing reparations and a formal apology to Japanese Americans. The Philippines became U.S. territory after the Spanish-American War in 1898, so that Filipinos could enter the country easily, and they replaced the Chinese and Japanese workers after 1924. The major waves of other Asian immigration including Koreans and Asian Indians came after the Immigration Act of 1965.⁶¹ Asian immigration to America

has two negative memories: the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 and the relocation of Japanese Americans in 1942, which have been viewed as a symbol of institutional discrimination against Asian Americans. Because of their yellow skin and almond eyes, they cannot escape from the distinction of race and they are not fully integrated into the mainstream. Since the Confucian culture highly respects scholars, Asian American parents emphasize the importance of education and their descendants prepare for high education with achievement motivation. Asian Americans are described as the Model Minority – a hard working, thrifty, goal-oriented, and self-reliant people. The household income in Asian American families has been higher than in the general population. They have been adjusting constructively to American culture, while they maintain their ethnic identity with cohesiveness of their communities. Their socioeconomic mobility was progressive although their political participation has been slow and less desirable.⁶²

Table 8. Asian American Population by Major Ethnic Group, 1940-2000

Year	Chinese	Japanese	Filipino	Korean	As. Indian	Vietnam	Total
1940	106,334	285,115	98,535				489,984
1950	150,005	326,379	122,707				599,091
1960	237,292	464,332	176,310				877,934
1970	436,062	591,290	343,060	69,150			1,439,561
1980	812,178	716,331	781,894	357,393	387,223	245,025	3,466,421
1990	1,645,472	847,562	1,406,770	798,849	815,447	614,547	7,273,662
2000	2,314,537	796,700	1,850,314	1,076,872	1,678,765	1,122,528	10,019,405

Source: http://factfinder.census.gov/servlet/DTTable?_ts=46704393041 for 1990. U.S. Census Bureau, *The Asian Population 2000: Census 2000 Brief*, Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Commerce, February 2000, p. 9. For the period from 1940-1980, see Roger Daniels, *Coming to America: A History of Immigration and Ethnicity in American Life*, New York: Harper Perennial, 1990, pp. 351, 359, 363. “Total” means all Asian American population.

Assimilation of European Immigrant Groups

23. The ethnic history of immigration to the United States differs from each other due to their intrinsic and extrinsic conditions. This section investigates economic, social, and political mobility of four ethnic immigrant groups into the mainstream of the United States including Irish, Italian, Jewish, and Polish to learn lessons in the process of assimilation. Approximately, 4.58 million Irish immigrated to the United States (12.7 percent of total immigrants) during the period of 1820-1924 as shown in Table 3. Being oppressed by the British rule, they were trained as a disciplined army to fight underground political warfare, and impoverished by the increasing number of landless people in the absence of domestic industries. The emigration was the sole source of relief to escape from the potato famine. The number of Irish immigrants to the United States totaled 780,719 (45.6 percent of total immigrants) during the 1840s and 914,119 (35.2 percent) in the next decade. They were largely unskilled or uneducated workers without capital, and willing to do almost anything to survive. They flocked into the coal mines, the steel mills, and the construction industry competing with blacks for employment. However, they quickly learned skills and gradually moved into skilled blue-collar occupations as the economy rapidly industrialized in the second half of the nineteenth century. Irish

immigrants moved into metropolitan areas because the big cities provided easy-to-get dirty jobs and cheap lodgings for survival. Since the early gangsters were Irish, urban police departments recruited their police forces from the Irish to control gangs, and city fire departments did the same since fire stations were related to Irish gangs. As a result, the Irish people gradually became to control urban police forces and fire fighters as new immigrants increased and the cities were urbanized. Meanwhile, the Irish Americans could control lower position workers in both private and public sectors, which became a power base for political mobilization of the major cities such as Boston, New York, and Chicago in the coming decades.⁶³ Meanwhile, massive migration of Irish Catholics was fearful to America's Protestant majority who wanted to ban aid to Catholic schools.⁶⁴

24. The Irish Americans were easily organized in politics as they were homogeneous in language, religion, land, history, and social structure, and able to maintain ethnic cohesiveness owing to long oppression by external forces. The Irish Immigrant Society and Catholic churches helped immigrants newly coming into the wards, creating an Irish networking system. As the number of Irish immigrants to America rapidly increased and became concentrated in urban areas, they created voting power in local and regional politics. Since the industrialists controlling the GOP were interested in keeping low wages after the Civil War, the Irish as urban proletariat controlled labor unions and joined the Democratic Party. The industrialization and urbanization brought many new opportunities in politics, economy, and society for Irish immigrants to shift upward to the middle class of the mainstream. In fact, "the Irish used a political strategy to move from the working class into the middle class in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries."⁶⁵ They mobilized urban voters, participated in party politics, and held municipal offices, so that the share of public sector resources was disproportionately distributed to Irish Americans, which accelerates the development of an Irish middle class in America. Adult males registered to vote were 70 percent for the Irish, compared to 37 percent for other ethnics in San Francisco in 1900. The proportion of their public employees climbed from 11 percent in 1870 to 30 percent in 1900 for nation's fourteen largest cities, while that of the overall Irish labor forces in those cities remained at 20 percent. The political power generates economic power which regenerates political power, which cycle continues until the system collapses. Since politics only could not make the poor be rich for the Irish working class and the liberal political party could not maintain radical forms of working class politics, early success of the rainbow theory of Irish urban politics became less powerful when the share of Irish population declined, and their next generations were gradually absorbed into white Protestant society through intermarriage.⁶⁶

25. A surprising number of Italian intellectuals came to America in the late seventeenth and early nineteenth centuries, and formed a regular exile community in New York after 1849. In the Civil War, Italian immigrants organized a "Garibaldi Guard" that fought in the Union Army as an International Brigade. As the agricultural conditions of southern Italy became worse, four million migrated from Mezzogiorno and Sicily to America in the years 1880-1924, among which more than three million arrived in the

years 1900-1914. The first generation lived in the years 1900-1930, which characteristics were different from other ethnic groups. First of all, the Mezzogiorno society was a society of family, not individuals. The supremacy of family interests was in the economic value attached to children, and marriage was treated as between families rather than between individuals. Families connected one another to strengthen their position through the institution of godparenthood. Italian Americans founded relatively few communal and fraternal organizations, and regarded themselves as citizens of a village or a town, not of a nation. Second, there was a secret criminal society of ancient origins in Sicily to combat external invaders, and its members lived by violence and extortion as its purposes had been corrupted. Members of the Mafia were among the immigrants and transplanted its criminal society in large cities of the United States. Sometimes, crime had served as a means of upward social mobility for a minority of young immigrants.⁶⁷ Third, southern Italian peasants came to abroad with the intention to work and make enough money to purchase land when they returned home, which made them accept unskilled manual positions for a longer period. They were “birds of passage” or a rootless population that would not be able to assimilate successfully. As a result, Italians did not have a great propensity to be naturalized, their political participation was low, and few Italian Americans won or were appointed to high political office. Despite visible improvement, Italian immigrants remained over 40 percent as non-citizens by 1930, which was the highest proportion among immigrant groups. In addition, they kept the highest percentage of adults who could not speak English. The effect of this trend remained for a while until World War II.

26. Despite their rural origins,⁶⁸ more Italian immigrants moved into large cities such as New York, Boston, Chicago, and Philadelphia. The Italian areas were built by so called “chain migration” where the men came first and their wives and children followed, and that immigrants from the same towns and provinces settled near one another to provide a buffer against the shock of new environment and thereby to arrange their gradual adjustment. As a result, their housing and sanitary conditions with a dense population made the immigrant ghettos horrible, although around a half of Italian immigrant families owned homes by 1930. In New York City in 1905, nearly 60 percent of Italians were unskilled or semiskilled manual laborers, over 20 percent of them were skilled blue-collar workers, 18 percent were low white-collar workers, and only a tiny percentage were in the upper white-collar category. In education, some Italian parents ignored compulsory attendance laws, withdrew their children from school, and sent them to work as soon as the law allowed.⁶⁹ Thus, their ultimate educational attainment was quite low. By 1930, only 11 percent of Italian Americans who entered New York City high schools graduated from them, while 40 percent of other ethnic students who entered the same received diplomas. Their lower educational achievement restricted the occupational mobility of their second generation. Like other ethnics, Italian immigrants experienced prejudice and discrimination from northern and western European Americans who doubted that Italians were whites. This nativism strengthened the restrictionist movement by passing the immigration laws of 1921, 1924, and 1929, limiting the quota of immigration from eastern and southern Europe. However, their

political, economic, and social mobility into the mainstream of America became visible since the World War II owing to more education, career management in white-collar occupations, residential integration and suburbanization, and intermarriage with different ethnics and religions.⁷⁰ Italian Catholicism differs from the Irish one that dominates American Catholic churches. The Italian American held 15 percent of American Catholic population, but held the positions of 12 percent of priests, 5 of 253 bishops, and 1 of 34 archbishops. A considerable number of Italian immigrants fell away from the Church, and some even converted to Protestantism.

27. The American Jewish population was about 150,000 in 1860. A few of them were descended from Jews who came to America as indentured immigrants during the colonial period, but most of them were German Jews and their descendants. The former had settled largely in a few cities but the latter scattered over the frontier for trade. The German Jewish immigrants between 1860 and 1900 were engaged successfully in trade, and the number of Jewish firms worthy of commercial rating rose from 374 to over 2000 in various sectors. Meanwhile, Russian Jews crossed borders illegally to come to the United States seeking economic opportunity and civil liberty based on religious freedom. The number of American Jews increased to about 4 million by 1924, more than 3 million of them were eastern Europeans and their descendants among which 2.16 million were Russian Jews. They were young and skilled: about 70 percent of them were between ages of fourteen and forty, and two-third of them with previous experience in skilled jobs. They showed the greatest propensity to stay in the United States and their proportion of females was 45 percent. The first generation of Russian Jews lived in the years 1900-1930 and about 60 percent of them scattered in the region from Boston through New York to Philadelphia and Baltimore. They largely engaged in the garment industry and retail trade, owned over 95 percent of the clothing manufacturers in New York, with 20 percent of them were employed in retail trade in the 1910s. Their working conditions were miserable and living conditions were not better: the population density rate in the lower East Side of New York was 730 persons per acre in 1910, exceeded only by Bombay, India.⁷¹ The established uptown German Jewish community, supporting capitalism and anti-Zionist movement, created the American Jewish Committee in 1906 to fight a growing the anti-Semitism in America. By contrast, the downtown Russian Jewish workers, supporting socialism and the Zionist movement, created the American Jewish Congress in 1915.⁷² The uptown Jewish factory owners were disturbed by downtown Jewish workers who initially had socialist ideas but eventually adjusted to a reformist track.

28. The economic success of American Jews came from rationality, hard work, savings, and a strong achievement drive. “The sources of this so-called Jewish achievement drive have been attributed to: (1) a religiously inspired emphasis on education, which, secularized, has been linked to disproportionate intellectual preoccupations since the early Middle Ages; (2) a history as urbanites par excellence, which has given Jews an advantage in the centers of business, professional, and intellectual life; (3) a greater socialization in middle-class norms and habits, and a greater

capacity to defer gratification; and (4) long-term experience with marginality, which has taught them how to form new social relations in different class environments.”⁷³ In 1908, more than 8 percent American Jews received higher education compared to 2 percent of Americans. By 1930 in New York City, although Jews comprised one-fourth of the city’s population, they were 55 percent of city’s physicians, 64 percent of its dentists, and 65 percent of its lawyers. In the early 1990s, 87 percent of college-aged American Jews were enrolled in higher education compared to 40 percent of Americans, and per capita Jewish income was almost double that of non-Jews due to accumulated wealth and professional jobs. They were particularly successful in investment banking. During the last three decades, Jews (3 percent of population) are 20 percent of professors in the leading universities, 21 percent of civil servants, 40 percent of partners in the leading law firms in New York and Washington, 26 percent of reporters, editors, and executives of the major print and broadcast media, 59 percent of directors, writers, and producers of the fifty top-grossing motion pictures from 1965 to 1982.⁷⁴ The U.S. Congress had 10 Jewish Senators and 33 Representatives by the 1994 election, comprising 8 percent of the seats. President Clinton appointed five Jewish Cabinet Secretaries, and nominated two Supreme Court Justices who were confirmed.⁷⁵ The political influence of Jews is linked to their financial situations, opinion-making professions such as journalism and academia, activism and voting, networking of organizations, and sizable blocks of Jewish voters in key states.⁷⁶ The Democratic Party has been receptive to Jewish voters favoring political liberalism and defending themselves against anti-Semitism.⁷⁷

29. The Jewish ethnic identity has been diminished by intermarriage, low birthrate, and the trend of liberalism in political activism. First, more than half of Jews were marrying outside the faith in the 1990s, and 7 percent of their children were enrolled in formal Jewish education. The proportion of Jewish intermarriage will increase and the next generations of mixed families will largely lose their Jewish identity. Second, the fertility rate of Jewish women is 20 percent below that of all American white women and 10 percent less than the level needed for death replacement, which will reduce the Jewish population to 2 percent by 2050 despite a continuous inflow of Jewish immigrants.⁷⁸ The decline of population means reduced voting power with fewer numbers of activists. Third, the United States has remained safe and hospitable for Jews since the end of World War II. The Jewish political and economic success and integration into American society will lessened group defensiveness, cohesion, and identity. On the other hand, religious Judaism of the synagogue is central to the tribal durability, while the Jewish community center is a place for social life of children and adults. Jewish education and religious life provide “the strongest deterrent” to dissolution of Jewish identity although the erosion of ethnicity is a natural course of assimilation into the American society. Jewish institutions are “more dedicated to safeguarding the Jewish race than to teaching Judaism.”⁷⁹ But Jewish culture no longer provides the glue that keeps the Jewish community together as much as in previous decades. Finally, the dream of Jewish state became a reality by the declaration of Israel’s statehood in 1948.⁸⁰ The Six Day War in 1967 reminded American Jews the fear of another Holocaust for Israelis, which strengthened their tribal identity.⁸¹ As the economy of Israel grows not to be dependent on American Jewish funds of half

billion dollars per year now, the Israel connections lose much of the strength sustaining its identity. While the cultural distance between Israeli and American Jews becomes wider, the state of Israel is not the core of tribal identity for most American Jews, who believe that the criticism of Israel contributes to the anti-Semitism.⁸²

30. Poland was absorbed by Prussia, Russia, and Austria with three partitions in 1772, 1793, and 1795 until the Treaty of Versailles restored its statehood in 1919. Except for a handful of Poles who immigrated during the colonial period, the first group of about a hundred Poles with military experience came to America to participate in a fight for freedom during the American Revolution.⁸³ Political refugees, after a failed rebellion in 1830 and unsuccessful insurrection in 1863, were exiled to America in later years. The waves of immigration began in the 1870s with German Poles, followed by Russian and Austrian Poles between 1890 and 1914. Although they came from three parts of Poland, common language and religion made them cohesive as Polish Americans, just like German and Russian Jews. By 1910, the population claiming Polish as their mother tongue was 2,651,621 (foreign born was 36.4 percent), among which Russian Poles were 40.9 percent, Austrian Poles 30.1 percent, and German Poles 26.5 percent. By 1920, Polish immigrants numbered about 400,000 in Chicago, 200,000 in New York, 125,000 in Pittsburgh, and about 100,000 in Buffalo or Milwaukee or Detroit.⁸⁴ The majority of Polish immigrants were landless peasants or small peasant landholders who could no longer make a living from the soil. In Chicago in 1911, about two-thirds of Polish were unskilled laborers, 22 percent were skilled traders, and the remainder were equally divided among small businessmen (including 3 percent of saloonkeepers) and the unemployed. They faced the similar problems to other ethnic groups from eastern and southern Europe working in steel mills, coal mines, stockyards, and farms: prejudice and discrimination, hard labor with low wages and long hours, and poor housing. The Polish immigrant community was divided among two forces: (a) the religionists who established the Polish Roman Catholic Union (PRCU) in 1873 to preserve the Catholic faith and Polish heritage, and focused upon immediate religious and educational needs for Polish Americans to elevate the immigrants' intellectual and material existence; (b) the nationalists, who established the Polish National Alliance (PNA) in 1880, believing that it was the community's primary goal to restore Polish independence, and welcomed other religions by separating nationality from faith.⁸⁵ While the conflict between them divided their community, other fraternal organizations attempted to link Polish Americans by offering various programs compromising the two differences.

31. The American Poles involved themselves in three politics of Poland, Polonia, and America. First, the political refugees considered themselves temporary residents of the United States and seldom lived among the mass of Polish immigrants. Some of political refugees was connected with the Polish Socialist Party in Poland, and played a large role in the resurrection of the Polish state during the First World War, after which 96,000 of Polish immigrants returned to an independent Poland. Second, the politics of Polonia was that between PRCU and PNA. Father Vicent Barzynski directed the St. Stanislaus Kostka parish from 1874 to 1899. As a resurrectionist priest, he organized

twenty-five other parishes in Chicago; founded a Polish orphanage, hospital, and secondary school, an order of American-born nuns, a parish savings and loan association, and a Polish publishing company. Participating in PRCU, he considered the “spiritual-cultural unity of all American Poles as a more immediate and attainable goal than the liberation of Poland” and pointed that “the principles guiding us shall be ... to regard highly the Constitution of the United States, as citizens of the country. We must participate actively in the public life of our country ... Specifically, we Poles must not consider ourselves as visitors but as an integral part of this country.”⁸⁶ But the independent church movement demanded that “the owners and administrators of the church’s wealth in America should be the Polish people, and the bishops and priests are custodians of the churches and schools as delegates of the people,” which was opposed by PNA. Third, participation in American politics marked a significant step in the Americanization of Polish community by facilitating economic and social mobility into the mainstream. However, Polish Americans have not been successful in local, state, and national politics. As of 1970, nine congressional districts were represented by Polish Americans, but few political positions went to them since Polish-American leaders were unable to capitalize ethnic on voting power.

Assimilation of Asian Immigrant Groups

32. This section investigates the assimilation process of the three Asian immigrant groups to the United States including Chinese, Japanese, and Korean Americans. The first wave of Chinese immigration began with the California gold rush in 1849 and ended with the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. During that period, near 300,000 Chinese, mostly adult males (the male to female ratio of Chinese population in the United States was 21 to 1 in 1880), entered the United States. Many Chinese borrowed money on a credit ticket system that the loan would be paid back with high interest after employment. Immigration was profitable for both western ship owners and Chinese intermediaries. The majority of Chinese who came to America were sojourners, and many actually returned home. The Chinese population in the United States in 1880 was 105,465, among which 102,102 (96.8%) lived in the West Coast: 72,472 (67.4%) in California, 9,510 in Oregon, 3,186 in Washington, 3,379 in Idaho, and 1,965 in Montana. In 1890, the Chinese population in San Francisco was 21,745, Oakland 1,794, Sacramento 1,781, and Portland 1,668.⁸⁷ The majority were hired in both unskilled and semiskilled jobs difficult for the host society to fill because of physical labor, low wages, irregular hours, and low status. The minority provided services within their community such as labor contracts, restaurant, laundry, and retail services. The Central Pacific Railroad hired up to 10,000 Chinese workers, but most of them were laid off when the railroad was completed in 1869. A census about 75 percent of California’s male Chinese in 1880 showed that one-fifth were miners, one-fifth were common laborers, one-seventh were in agriculture, one-seventh were in labor-intensive manufacturing such as textiles, shoe-making, and cigar-making, one-seventh were domestic servants, and one-tenth were engaged in laundering.⁸⁸ Since most newcomers wanted to live among their own kind like others, Chinese immigrants formed their ethnic

immigrant community in a shabby urban area, Chinatown, which later became attractive to tourists.

33. From the 1850s, both racism and nativism became endemic in the United States, and sudden increase in Chinese immigrants brought anti-Chinese fears of a Yellow Peril. The U.S. Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882, which prohibited Chinese immigration, although employers welcomed the Chinese as cheap and dependable labor. The Geary Act of 1892 required registration of Chinese in the United States, and about 105,000 Chinese registered in 1894. Many Chinese were murdered and brutalized by anti-Chinese rioters, but many criminals were not found or if they were, they were released without proper punishment. Most Chinese immigrants belonged to associations, which were created for self-protection. A family association or a clan system consisted of families with the same last name, which meant that they had the same ancestors. A district association was created by geographic districts such as those from the home province of Guangdong. Those district associations joined the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (CCBA) aligning with merchant groups. The CCBA, also known as Chinese Six Companies headquartered in San Francisco, was a representative organization having two functions: to provide an immigrant mutual protective association and to maintain social and economic control within the Chinese community. The General Chinese Chamber of Commerce was another organization joined by the American Chinatown elite. Outside these legitimate organizations, tongs were secret societies in China, which became criminal organizations linking Chinese Americans to provide prostitution, gambling, and drugs, although they also contributed to patriotic fundraisers for China. In the 1910s, three major Chinese newspapers existed for immigrants concerned about China's future. *Chinese World* kept conservative views favoring reform of the absolute monarchy into a constitutional monarchy for a modern and strong China. *Young China* maintained revolutionary views favoring a radical revolution for China to be a republic towards a modern nation. *Chung Sai Yat Po* held neutral and capitalistic views favoring that the way to build a modern and strong China was to develop its industry and commerce.⁸⁹

34. Shehong Chen views an ideological foundation of the Chinese American identity in the 1920s as follows.⁹⁰ First, the Chinese in the United States had faith in republicanism as a suitable political system for a modern China. The CCBA wrote a letter to President Wilson, on behalf of all Chinese in the United States, asking him to advise Yuan Shikai not to restore monarchism in China⁹¹ Second, they believed that Confucianism and traditional Chinese cultural values provided rich and harmonious life, which should be preserved although intellectuals saw conflicts between democracy and Confucianism, such as in liberation of women. Third, diasporic life in the United States made the Christian church an inevitable part of their emergent identity for Chinese Americans. The Chinatown Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) was established in San Francisco in 1912, New York City in 1916, Oakland in 1921, and Seattle in 1923. The YMCA was a meeting place for the growing second generation, and sponsored lectures and talks on various subjects to educate and broaden visions of the

Chinese American community, which facilitated their social mobility into the mainstream. Fourth, Chinese Americans believed that capitalism was the best economic system for a modern and prosperous China, but were alienated by Sun Yat-sen's alliance and cooperation with communists. Meanwhile, the Immigration Act of 1924 prevented Chinese from bringing their families to the United States. But the Chinese Americans won equal treatment in 1930 allowing that the Chinese wives of American citizens who got married before May 26, 1924 to enter the United States. A California bill to control Chinese herbal medicine was withdrawn from the California legislative agenda in 1925 by efforts of the herb dealers. As Sino-American relations became closer in World War II, a disproportionately large number of Chinese Americans served as liaison officers or interpreters in the U.S. Army or on diplomatic missions in China. The U.S. Congress repealed the Chinese Exclusion Act, and the new law in 1943 provided the token of immigration quota of 100 a year for China owing to extensive lobbying by the Citizens Committee.

35. Chinese Americans are a highly divergent group in terms of places of origin, social and economic status, and political affiliations related to China. The rise of the People's Republic of China in 1949 divided Chinese Americans into two camps supporting either Taiwan or the Mainland, while the Immigration Law of 1965 revitalized Chinese immigration to the United States. The positive development of Sino-American relations since 1972 resulted in the growth of the Chinese American community. First, the increasing number of Chinese immigrants to the United States, particularly from Hong Kong and Taiwan in the last three decades, included many entrepreneurs with capital, so that they could open domestic and transnational businesses creating jobs in both America and China. Second, the Chinese government sent tens of thousands students a year to America since Deng's choosing of the open policy in 1978 for its modernization, which has expedited economic, social, scientific, and cultural exchanges between two countries and contributed to democratization of China. After the 1989 Tiananmen incident, President George Bush allowed over 60,000 Mainland Chinese in the United States between 5 June 1989 and 11 April 1990 to remain legally in the United States. Third, the Chinese government joined the World Trade Organization in 2001 making Chinese markets more attractive to foreigners, so that Chinese Americans benefit by having better opportunities for trans-Pacific business and employment. Fourth, increasing trade and investment between the United States and China expanded transportation and communications for efficient transactions in goods and services as well as money markets, which has formed a Sino-American networking system that expedites globalization. Fifth, the rising number of educated intellectuals and an efficient networking system between trans-Pacific nations made Chinese Americans play a more influential role in shaping U.S. policy toward China and China's policy toward the United States.⁹² Finally, Chinese Americans have contributed to modernization of China particularly in science and technology. Unfortunately, the Clinton Administration inappropriately handled the case of Dr. Wen Ho Lee, reminding Asian Americans of historic racial discrimination in the past.⁹³

36. The large-scale Japanese immigration to Hawaii through labor contracts began in 1884, although about 150 Japanese came to Hawaii to work on sugarcane plantations in 1869. It was an initial step for Japan to send its people to the new world, and Hawaii was a staging point for Japanese to migrate to the United States and Canada. The white Americans in Hawaii wanted to counterbalance the large number of Chinese workers (18,000 in 1884) by partially replacing newcomers from Japan. The Hawaiian authorities reported that 771 Japanese former laborers left for America as of the end of 1894. The Japanese population in the United States was 24,326 in 1900, rising 138,834 by 1930, when 70.2 percent of them lived in California. They competed with Chinese laborers in West Coast farms, but the decline of Chinese work forces from the early 1900s caused employers to raise wages. Anti-Japanese sentiment prevailed on the West Coast, where the American Federation of Labor insisted that “the Pacific coast and intermountain states” were suffered from “Chinese and Japanese cheap coolie labor.” The San Francisco School Board ordered on October 11, 1906 all Japanese pupils to attend the Chinese school, which was reported by newspapers in Tokyo and Washington. Thus, a local discrimination became an international incident that violated the 1894 treaty between the two countries, guaranteeing reciprocal “most favored nation” rights of residence to nationals in each country. President Theodore Roosevelt thought that it might cause “the gravest consequences to the nation” so he promised that the Japanese would be treated just like other civilized peoples and authorized the states to use armed forces to protect Japanese if they were menaced by mobs.⁹⁴ The case settled by the Gentlemen’s Agreement consisted of six notes exchanged between two countries in late 1907 and early 1908. Tokyo agreed not to issue passports to laborers in the future, but to issue passports to the parents, wives, and children of laborers already residing in the United States. Since Japanese immigrants could bring their spouses to America, its population doubled in less than twenty years, and their female ratio became balanced to 46.3 percent by 1930.⁹⁵

37. The Japanese Association of America (JAA) was founded by Japanese-born residents (Issei) in the United States in 1909.⁹⁶ Through its local chapters, the Japanese consulate issued certificates required by the Gentlemen’s Agreement relating to its immigrants traveling outside the country with the right to return and the ability to bring wives, parents, and other relatives into the United States. The associations were not only self-help and protection groups, but “organs of Japanese propaganda” as an invisible government. The JAA established a rule of thumb that anyone who could show a bank account or other assets of \$800 would be eligible to bring his wife. If a local office of JAA certified one’s eligibility to the consulate, a necessary passport and travel documents were issued, which gave controlling power to JAA. The Japanese were gradually moving to farm operators from laborers throughout the west. Japanese labor was crucial in the establishment of sugar beets in Idaho, Colorado, and Utah, but grew other crops in other states. California passed the Alien Land Act in 1913, prohibiting Japanese Americans from owning property, but Japanese land tenure continued to expand. Japanese owned 74,769 acres and leased 383,387 acres of agricultural land in California in 1919. They opened up new lands and introduced new high-yield crops, which supplemented rather

than competed with other western producers. As anti-Japanese tide peaked in American in 1921, Tokyo announced that its government would not issue further passports to picture brides. The U.S. Congress passed the Immigration Act of 1924 that did not exclude Japan, despite prevalent anti-Japanese sentiment in America, although it was successful in reducing the Japanese quota to 100 persons per year. California was the heart of Japanese America, and its population increased to 36,866 in Los Angeles County, 5,000 in San Francisco, and 7,000 in Seattle by 1940. In the same year, Japanese males in California, Oregon, and Washington were employed as follows: 51.4 percent in agriculture, forestry, and fishing; 23.6 percent in wholesale and retail trade; and 17.1 percent in personal services; while 33.4 percent of Japanese females worked for payments. Second generation professionals (Nisei) founded the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) in 1930, which stressed Americanization and the exercise of civil rights.⁹⁷

38. After Japan attacked Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed Executive Order No. 9066 empowering the U.S. Army to designate areas from which “any or all persons may be excluded.” One of the key players was Lt. General John L. DeWitt, the commander of the Western Defense Command and the U.S. 4th Army, who stated that “the Japanese race is an enemy race” and “the very fact that no sabotage has taken place to date is a disturbing and confirming indication that such action will be taken.” It was announced on March 2, 1942, that “Japanese, German, and Italian” aliens and “any person of Japanese ancestry” would be excluded from Military Area No. 1 which was a starting point for the removal of all Japanese, native-born as well as alien, from the entire area lying west of the Sierra Nevada and Cascade Mountains based on military necessity. After reporting to collection points near their homes, each group moved to assembly centers and then to relocation centers. The War Department constructed ten relocation centers in seven states, and created the War Relocation Authority (WRA) as a civilian organization on March 19, 1942. The barracks were designed by standard plans with different-sized apartments to accommodate various families and groups of single people, and empty barracks were used for community activities. Each relocation center operated agricultural enterprises despite standard rationing, and ran war-related industries such as making camouflage nets. The people contained in centers were 120,313, 95 percent of Japanese in America, two-third of whom were native-born. About 1,200 volunteers from relocation centers and later draftees created the 442nd Regimental Combat Team. The combined 442nd and 100th Infantry Battalion of Hawaii National Guard both fought in Italy and France, and became the most decorated unit of its size in American history.⁹⁸ In addition, more than 16,000 Nisei served in the Pacific and in Asia, mainly in intelligence and translation. On December 17, 1944, the War Department lifted relocation, but the Japanese Americans had lost homes and businesses of 4 to 5 billion dollars in 1999 values, and suffered from physical and mental difficulties.

39. The rise of People’s Republic of China in 1949 and the break out of the Korean War in 1950 made Americans recognize the strategic importance of Japan for

U.S. national security, and the U.S.-Japanese relations became warmer in the Cold War period. However, anti-Japanese sentiment continued in America after the war, and equal opportunity under the law and presented in public speeches remained as lip service. The JACL joined the civil rights coalition with others by participating in the National Leadership Conference on Civil Rights. Later the U.S. Congress passed the Japanese American Claims Act in 1948, allowing only for “damage to or loss of real or personal property” but not for economic, legal, and moral shortcomings (which was compensated eventually by the U.S. Congress in 1988) although the Claims Act was a symbol of the improved image of Japanese Americans. In 1950, the Japanese American population was at 141,768, which was dispersed in California 84,956 (59.6%), Illinois 11,646 (8.2%), Washington 9,694, Colorado 5,412 (3.8%), and Utah 4,452 (3.1%). As a result of decentralization, most Japanese Americans were employed in large corporations, although 20.9 percent of those in California were still employed in agriculture. The day of the Issei had passed and the new communities were largely Nisei and Sansei (third generation). “Economically, there was no longer an ethnic economy to shelter Japanese Americans; culturally there were no longer established ethnic institutions to shape their lives. There were neighborhood clusters of Japanese, but no real Japantowns.”⁹⁹ Japanese Americans gradually increased to 847,562 peaked in 1990 and fell to 796,700 in 2000. The image of Japanese Americans positively improved because of followings: ethnic revival of the 1960s and 1970s and increased number of Asian immigrants, the civil rights movement and changing values of equality, increased perception and awareness by the majority society of other ethnic groups, economic and social development and its status, and increased American cosmopolitanism. The 1970 census indicated that 51.5 percent of 25 years and older Japanese Americans received secondary education, and 29.5 percent received college education. Expanded education contributed to their economic and social mobility into the mainstream of America.

40. The first Koreans came to Hawaii in 1903 through labor contracts with sugar planters owing to efforts of Horace Allen, U.S. Ambassador to Korea at the time when plantation owners had labor problems with Chinese and Japanese workers. However, Japan forced Korea to become its protectorate in 1905, and issued a law in the following year that prohibited its immigration permanently. Between 1903 and 1905, about 7,226 Korean immigrants came to Hawaii, among which 2,000 returned home. Most of the Korean immigrants stayed in Hawaii but moved to cities for better jobs or to open small businesses. About 1,000 of them went to California, Oregon, and Washington to be hired in agriculture and to work on railroads. The Koreans in Hawaii formed three types of community organizations: a council based on the traditional Korean village headed by a mayor, church groups, and a self-help financial association or “kye.”¹⁰⁰ The Korean nationalist immigrants formed the Korean National Association (KNA) in 1909 in San Francisco, but its movement faced many problems because of lack of cooperation from quarrels and disputes toward the common goal to free Korea from Japanese rule. An Chang-ho organized the Corps for the Advancement of Individuals in 1913 in San Francisco. He thought that education promoted virtue, intellect, and health, raising the consciousness of all Korean Americans, which would be essential to achieve Korean independence.¹⁰¹ Pak Yong-man believed that Korean independence could be achieved

by defeating Japan militarily. He recruited 300 ex-soldiers of the Korean Army from immigrants in Hawaii and organized them into a military corps in 1914. Syngman Rhee understood that Korean independence could be achieved by diplomatic efforts of turning America and world opinions to the Korean side. He established the Comrade Society in Honolulu in 1920 to compete with the KNA.¹⁰² From the beginning of World War II, Koreans in the United States were very supportive in the fight against Japan for Korea's independence, but they had a difficult time, although they were not contained separately, since Korea was officially part of the Japanese empire. Some even put a little sign of "I'm no Jap" on their clothing.

41. The second wave of Korean immigrants arrived from 1950 to 1965, which consisted of three groups. One group was Korean wives of American servicemen, which number rose to 1,340 in 1964 and 3,000 in 1971. The total immigrants in this category were 53,629 by the end of 1980. Many of them suffered from cultural shock and a language barrier and were isolated from both the American and Korean communities. It has been reported that there were many cases of physical abuse, alcohol abuse, suicide, and a high divorce rate. The second group was Korean orphans adopted by American couples in the United States, which were about 6,203 in the period from 1955 to 1966. Among them, 41 percent were fully Koreans, 46 percent had white fathers, and the rest were Afro-Koreans.¹⁰³ Most adoptive parents were white protestant families living in the rural and small communities. Many adoptees faced the problem of dual identity as they grew older and became conscious: "The older I get, the more I realize I can't avoid being Korean."¹⁰⁴ The third group consisted of students, visitors, businessmen, and others engaged in commerce, whose number exceeded 27,000 in this period. Many of them pursued professional career such as medical doctors, lawyers, and college professors accepted by the white community. They were concerned more about American society than immigrant communities, but now have reached the age of retirement. The third and final wave of Korean immigration came as a result of the Immigration Act of 1965, which removed national origins and allowed 170,000 for each Asian nation a year. Over 30,000 Koreans on average immigrated annually to the United States over the last three decades, and the population of Korean Americans increased from 69,150 in 1970 to 1,076,872 in 2000 shown in Table 8.¹⁰⁵ The population of Korean Americans is only 0.39 percent of the American population, and 10.8 percent of the not-Hispanic Asian and Pacific Islander population in the United States, but their status remains a small ethnic minority. The Census 2000 indicated that Korean Americans lived in large cities divided among several metropolitan areas: Los Angeles (24.0 percent), New York (15.8 percent), Washington (6.9 percent), San Francisco (4.3 percent), and Chicago (4.3 percent) shown in Table 9.

Table 9. Korean American Population in the Selected Areas, 2000

Metropolitan Area	Population	Percent
<i>Korean Population in the United States</i>	<i>1,076,872</i>	<i>100%</i>
Los Angeles Metropolitan Area	257,975	24.0
New York Metropolitan Area	170,509	15.8
Washington Metropolitan Area	74,454	6.9
San Francisco Metropolitan Area	57,386	5.3

Chicago Metropolitan Area	46,256	4.3
Seattle Metropolitan Area	41,189	3.8
<i>Total of above Six Metropolitan Areas</i>	<i>647,769</i>	<i>60.15</i>

Source: Eui-Young Yu, "Korean Population in the United States," *International Journal of Korean Studies*, VI (1) (Spring/Summer 2002), p. 87.

42. The Korean immigrants in the last three decades were young, married, and relatively well educated, while those who came through family reunification were in lower socio-economic status than the general population of Korean immigrants during the same period.¹⁰⁶ Fully 49.2 percent of Korean Americans (KAs) received a BA or BS or higher degree of education according to Census 2000, which was higher than 28.4 percent of white Americans for the same year. The average income of KA was \$32,807 in 2000, being lower than \$36,754 of white Americans.¹⁰⁷ The proportion of managerial jobs for KAs in 1990 was 15 percent for male and 9 percent for female as shown in Table 10. The KA male proportion in managerial jobs was 2 percent higher than that of all Americans, but 5 percent lower than that of Japanese American male workers; while KA female workers in this category were much lower than the proportion of all Americans as well as that of Japanese and Chinese. The proportion of professional jobs for KAs was 16 percent for male and 11 percent for female. It was 4 percent higher than that of all Americans, but 8 and 4 percent lower than that of both Chinese and Japanese male workers. In technical and sales jobs, the proportion of KAs was 29 percent for male and 25 percent for female in the same year. Considering that the proportion for all Americans on technical and sales jobs was 15 percent for male and 16 percent for female (versus 8 and 17 for Chinese, and 17 and 16 for Japanese), the KA proportion was unusually high due to the increasing number self-employed to small business owners. In service jobs, KA male workers had a similar proportion to all Americans. In sum, a large proportion of Koreans Americans resides in urban areas, and engages largely in small businesses as well as managerial and professional jobs. In jobs of production and craft and operators, the proportions of KA male workers were relatively lower than that of all Americans although Chinese and Japanese male workers showed the same low percentages. The occupational data for 2000 will more explain the social mobility of Korean Americans.

Table 10. Occupational Distribution by Sex:
Selected Asian Americans Compared to All U.S. Workers, 1990
Left Male, Right Female in Percent

Occupation Male and Female	All USA		Chinese		Japanese		Filipino		Koreans		Vietnam	
Managerial	13	11	15	15	20	14	10	10	15	9	5	7
Professional	12	17	24	17	20	19	12	20	16	11	13	9
Technical and Sales	15	16	18	17	17	16	15	16	29	25	18	17
Administrative Support	7	28	8	21	9	28	16	25	6	14	8	18
Service	10	17	19	14	9	14	16	17	10	20	12	19
Fish and Forest	4	1	1	1	4	1	2	1	1	1	2	1
Production and Craft	19	2	8	3	12	3	12	3	12	6	19	10
Operators	20	8	9	13	2	5	15	7	12	14	22	20

Sources: U.S. Bureau of Census, *Asian and Pacific Islanders in the United States*, CP-3-5, August 1993 in Norman R. Yetman, *Majority and Minority*, pp. 224 for 1990 data.

43. The number of business firms owned by Korean Americans was 135,571 in 1997 with 339,000 dollars of average sales per firm and 2.46 average employees (for Chinese Americans, 252,577 firms, 420,000 dollars, and 2.74 persons respectively). The total sales by KA firms were over 45.9 billion dollars in the same year, which was 0.25 percent of business sales by all U.S. firms.¹⁰⁸ The Los Angeles Riot in 1992 damaged small businesses owned by Korean Americans. The conflict between Korean business owners and black customers was rooted from expansion of Korean businesses into black communities. First, in the 1940s and 1950s when racial segregation was enforced in America, black entrepreneurs maintained various businesses in their residential areas. But in the 1970s and 1980s when racial integration became a reality, their marginal businesses could not survive in the new environment, so other ethnic groups, particularly Korean Americans gradually took over black neighborhood businesses in free competition. Second, large and well capitalized firms did not want to take risks in the black communities, but new Korean immigrants dared to open businesses in the black areas as middlemen minorities. Third, the newcomers from Korea could not choose attractive and expensive commercial centers for their startup businesses because of lack of language capability and capital availability. They were able to take over small businesses with little capital by taking risks in unattractive areas.¹⁰⁹ The black peoples in the riot area claimed that Korean Americans took over black-owned businesses, and made profits with high prices and took money away from but never returned it to their black communities; and Korean store owners were exploiters with discourteous and rude behavior. But the Korean American community explained that the cause of conflict was a misunderstanding due to the language barrier and cultural differences.¹¹⁰ Increasing communication and cooperative activities between two communities have recently improved relationships. Meanwhile, Korean Americans created various organizations to protect their political and economic interests, to pursue social values with recognition, and to enjoy personal interests, hobbies, and beliefs.¹¹¹

Asian Pacific Americans and Political Participation

44. As reviewed in previous sections, the legal status of Asian Pacific Americans (APAs) has changed through American history. (a) In 1870 the U.S. Congress amended the Naturalization Law of 1790 (granting the right to naturalize only to free white) extending this right to naturalize to “aliens of African nativity or persons of African descent” but forcing Chinese immigrants to remain “aliens ineligible for citizenship.” That Law discriminated against Chinese in America by prohibiting their naturalization although business owners needed their productive labor. (b) The U.S. Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882, which prohibited Chinese immigration to the United States. As a result, the family reunion of adult males (the male to female ratio was 21:1 in 1880) became impossible, so that the population of Chinese Americans began to decline. (c) Japanese immigrants filled the shortage of Chinese labor after 1882, but were classified as Mongolians like Chinese. Anti-Japanese sentiment was similar to anti-Chinese one. But under protest, the Japanese government signed the Gentlemen’s

Agreement with the U.S. government in 1907, which agreed that Japan would not issue passports further to laborers, but would issue them for family unification. (d) The U.S. Congress passed the Immigration Act of 1924, which prohibited Asian immigration to the United States. Since then, the Asian labor shortage was filled by Filipinos after the Spanish-American War in 1898. (e) After Japan’s attack on Pearl Harbor, all Japanese Americans were removed from the region under the control of the Western Defense Command to the ten War Relocation Centers separated in the seven states and released by December 1944. On the other hand, the U.S. Congress repealed the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 and passed the new law of 1943 allowing China to have 100 of annual immigration quota. (f) The U.S. Congress passed the Immigration Act of 1965, which removed the old quota system of 1924 and reopened immigration to Asian countries extensively. As a result, the population of Asian Pacific Americans became politically significant in some areas.

45. The rapid mixture of the melting-pot after World War II, the new development of the Cold War, the human rights movement in 1950s and 1960s, and the recognition of economic and strategic importance of Asian countries contributed to this change. As a result, the population of Asian Americans increased from 878,000 in 1960 to over 10.0 million in 2000, which was still only 3.8 percent of all Americans.¹¹² Meanwhile, legal protection for minorities against discrimination was provided, but Asian Americans have remained in a silent minority in politics. Claire Jean Kim argues the racial position of Asian Americans by triangulation of white-Asians-black with relative valorization and civic ostracism. First, the Model Minority myth “exaggerates Asian American prosperity, homogenizes this extremely diverse population, and obscures discriminatory treatment against it...conservatives embraced formal colorblindness in a strategic effort to delegitimize the emergent Black Power movement and arrest the growth of race-conscious social programs.” Second, she alleges that Affirmative Action intends “to level the playing field between the unfairly advantaged and the unfairly disadvantaged,” but it has discriminated against a small population of Asian Americans by restricting social rewards to competition on the basis of merit. Third, in the Afro-Korean conflict in Los Angeles in 1992, “the media depoliticized the event and used Asian Americans and the norms of colorblindness to protect white privilege from a Black Power challenge.” Finally, although the bar on naturalization was lifted in 1950, she holds that “white opinion makers continue to police the boundary between whites and Asian Americans by imputing permanent foreignness to the latter” as shown in the reports on Kristi Yamaguchi in 1992, the campaign finance scandal with John Hwang in 1996, and the U.S.-Japan trade tensions of the 1980s and early 1990s. In sum, Kim views that the racial triangulation of Asian Americans continues “to protect white privileges from both black and Asian American encroachment today” and Asian Americans have been accepted provisionally for this purpose, but “they have never been embraced as true Americans.”¹¹³

Table 11. Young Population, Education, Income, and Intermarriage by Race, 2000

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Classification	U.S. Total	White (N-H)	Asian	Korean
Population Age 20-49	43.99 %	43.26 %	51.33 %	51.71 %
Sex Ratio Age 20-49: Male/Female	97.38 %	101.31 %	93.28 %	91.53 %
Education: BA/BS or Higher	26.8 %	28.4 %	44.06 %	49.2 %
Household Income /Median	\$43,162	\$46,896	\$57,313	\$42,010
Household Income /Mean	\$58,730	\$62,761	\$74,829	\$62,798
<i>Marital Status</i>				
Married, Spouse Present	56.0 %	59.7 %	57.4 %	59.3 %
Divorced	09.8 %	10.1 %	04.6 %	05.3 %
Never Married	23.9 %	20.6 %	28.5 %	31.1 %
<i>Race of Couples 1990</i>				
Same Race Couples %	97.1 %	97.0 %	70.0 %	NA
Specified Group and White	02.7 %	03.0 %	28.7 %	
Specified Race and other Race	00.2 %	NA	01.3 %	

Source: U.S. Census 2000 and related years.

<http://landview.census.gov/hhes/income/histinc/h05.html>

<http://www.census.gov/population/socdemo/hh-fam/p20-537/2000/tabA1.txt>

<http://www.census.gov/population/socdemo/race/interractab2.txt>

46. The number of Asian Americans has increased rapidly since 1965, and will increase from 3.8 percent in 2000 to about 8.0 percent in 2050, while their ethnic range diversifies widely. Asians came to America overwhelmingly from working-class origins before 1965, but in the later period, they came from the white-collar class with educated backgrounds. As shown in Table 11, they are much younger than the U.S. population: the population share of age from 20 to 49 for Asian Americans was 51.7 percent in 2000, while that for whites was 43.4 percent in the same year. The education attainment of Asian Americans is much higher than that of the U.S. population: 44.1 percent of Asian Americans received the bachelor's degree or higher in 2000, while 28.4 percent of white Americans received the same in that year. The household median income of Asian Americans was \$57,313 in 2000 while that of the white was \$46,896 in the same year.¹¹⁴ The ratio of professional and managerial jobs for Asian Americans was 16 percent of their population in 1990, which surpassed the American average of 12 percent. Asian Americans reside largely in the white suburban areas, and their proportion who married white Americans was 28.7 percent of Asian American couples in 1990. Though their performance has been that of a Model Minority and many of them have participated in the dominant society, they feel themselves marginalized as forever foreigners regardless of their nativity and socioeconomic achievement.¹¹⁵ This feeling of foreignness has following roots. Asian Americans experienced discrimination by white Americans, particularly in California, until 1965. The parents of Asian Americans taught their children to ignore American racism rather than to challenge it, which was their way of survival in foreign countries by hiding their ethnic pride (Confucian passiveness). Asian Americans trained their children to work hard at schools and in jobs, to carry their shares of responsibilities in society, and not to miss coming opportunities for success toward the American dream. The physical distinctions of Asian Americans, which are different from whites, have largely caused them to feel alienated. The population of Asian Americans is too small to influence U.S. politics so that the feeling of minority status remains unchanged. Since the majority of Asian Americans are in first generation of immigration-

age with transnationalism, it is too early to be an American mainstream in feeling as well as reality. However, their mobility into the mainstream in the future would be significantly different from that of previous decades.

47. Asian Americans are gradually increasing their political participations in domestic and non-domestic as well as electoral and non-electoral affairs.¹¹⁶ Despite ethnic diversification, they have created an extensive network of pan-Asian associations as a meaningful means for political empowerment and mobilization into the mainstream of America. First, APAs have tried to increase electoral participation of the naturalized citizens as the number of immigrants has risen since 1965. The various ethnic political organizations have helped qualified residents to apply for naturalization, enhanced electoral registration, and encouraged participation of voters in their immigrant communities.¹¹⁷ This is a starting point of electoral politics from the grass-roots of voters linked to either the Democratic or Republican Party in elections. Second, APAs have engaged in non-electoral political activities to advance or protect their group interests. They have joined group activities by organizing either the working class for labor interests¹¹⁸ or small business owners for their business interests. For example, the Korean Immigrant Workers Advocates is for the former,¹¹⁹ but the Korean Drycleaners Association is for the latter. Third, APAs have sought “social justice and equal treatment by engaging in legal challenges against discriminatory laws and practices in education, employment, housing, land ownership, immigration, and other significant public policy areas.”¹²⁰ The civil rights organizations have been supportive for those challenges. Fourth, like other ethnic groups, APAs have supported political and economic development and friendship relations between the United States and their countries of origin. Chinese Americans, for example, have supported modernization and democratization in China by funding such as for its 1911 revolution or pushing the U.S. foreign policy such as for the democracy movement in 1989. Korean Americans have supported peaceful reunification of the two Koreas and arranged humanitarian aid to the North, and promoted U.S.–Korea friendship relations through organized activities. Finally, APAs have engaged in politics of their internal ethnic communities by joining one or more organizations such as ethnic immigrant associations, small business associations, socio-cultural service groups, religious organizations, and others. The role of ethnic news and media has been essential to improve communications within their communities, particularly for the first generation of immigrants.

Table 12. Citizen Voting-Age Population and Number Voted in 2000 (Thousand)

Classification	18 & Over Citizens	Registered Voters	Number Voted
U.S. Total	202,609 186,366	129,549 (69.5%)	110,826 (59.5%)
White Non-Hispanic	148,035 144,732	103,588 (71.6%)	89,469 (61.8%)
Black	24,132 22,753	15,348 (67.5%)	12,917 (56.8%)

Asian Pacific	8,041 4,718	2,470 (52.4%)	2,045 (43.3%)
Hispanic	21,595 13,158	7,546 (57.3%)	5,934 (45.1%)

Source: <http://landview.census.gov/prod/2002pubs/p20-542.pdf>

Note: (a) White non-Hispanics top citizen voting-age population, (b) women, older people, and married people are more likely to vote, (c) people with more education, higher incomes, and jobs are more likely to vote, (d) home owners and long time residents are more likely to vote, and (e) people in the mid west are most likely to vote.

48. In electoral politics, APAs are “a genuine swing group” unbounded by strong partisan identifications. They are the emerging immigrant majority as a heterogeneous and progressive group in composition and political orientation but without an effective strategy to incorporate their voting power into a specific camp.¹²¹ As shown in Table 12, the number of APA citizens was 4,718,000 or 58.7 percent of their eligible voting-age population in 2000 (compared to 92.0 percent for the U.S. total). The proportion of registered voters of APAs to their eligible voting-age citizens was 52.4 percent (compared to 69.5 percent for the U.S. total), and the proportion of APA voters who actually voted to their voting-age citizens was 43.3 percent (compared to 59.5 percent for the U.S. total). The voting registration and turnout rates of Asians, Blacks, Latinos, and American Indians are all lower than those of whites in 2000 and in previous elections.¹²² APAs should continuously promote naturalization and election participation to increase their influence in American politics. A study showed that California’s Asian American community has relatively positive perceptions of other racial and ethnic groups as neighbors, and it is believed that the problems of discrimination are real and the needs for affirmative action still exist.¹²³

49. The APA communities can achieve political empowerment through electoral votes, campaign funds, publicity, and lobbying. First, APAs can elect their own ethnic representatives to federal, state, and local offices by mobilizing their voters. Since representatives include elected officials and political appointees, APAs can gain a similar effect by supporting representatives from other races who will protect their interests and appoint APAs to available political positions. Because APAs comprise only 2.4 percent of voting-age American citizens, multiracial political coalitions are necessary to win elections, particularly in electoral districts where APAs are concentrated.¹²⁴ But the problems lie in ethnic differences between APAs themselves although campaign efforts for more votes may increase the share of actual votes. Second, APAs can raise campaign funds for electoral candidates at all levels. The more money APAs raise, the larger their political influence will be as long as the supporting candidates are elected. Though money power is not equally transferred to votes, APAs can support elections indirectly. The fundraising activities are helpful in organizing more manpower and mobilizing voters to support designated candidates because real contacts with networking are involved in collecting campaign funds. Advertising expands the visibility of candidates widely and may reach undecided voters at critical moments. Third, APAs can provide publicity to support their ethnic candidates or to convey ethnic interests. The purchase of ownership or domination of management for some news and media companies is also

helpful to improve publicity. It is beneficial for increasing numbers of APAs to join the news and media community as professional journalists or policy contributors from the outside. Ethnic news and media improve communications between the first-generation immigrants and attract ethnic voters. Fourth, lobbying activities are another way to maintain interests of APAs by setting clear objectives in a specific time period. APAs seek out politicians representing their interests in “the corridors of power” in the three levels of governments. Then, policy proposals are provided by think tanks, letters, telephone calls, and visits may follow.¹²⁵

50. The Asian American communities are so diversified that integration for political empowerment will be a long, burdensome process. Therefore, each ethnic group should integrate itself at first, and then send its representatives to an APA Association for pan-Asian American coalition. Korean Americans can be used as a sample case to integrate community resources for political empowerment. Considering that the population of Korean Americans rose from less than 70,000 in 1970 to over 1 million by 2000, the year of 2003 is the immigration age of thirty for their majority, which is more than two generations behind Italian or Jewish Americans in assimilation. The reality of Korean Americans is similar to European immigrants in the 1930s in several respects: (a) The first generation of Korean Americans lives in transnationalism, where they put one leg in America while the other leg remains in Korea, and the weight of life gradually moves from Korea to America as time passes. (b) The assimilation process was slow and painful due to insufficient language abilities and cultural differences with foreignness of the ethnic minority, prejudice and discrimination, and distorted public perceptions. (c) Owing to economic and social development in South Korea, families of Korean immigrants were able to bring capital with entrepreneurship to open small businesses, which expedited them to settle rapidly and secure their economic lives in America. (d) As shown in early Jewish immigration, parents of Korean Americans have emphasized education for their children. As of 2000, almost a half of them received bachelor’s degree in either America or Korea, which secured better jobs and incomes. (e) The majority of the second generation is in college and alternates lifestyles between Korean and American ways of life or to blend the two ways of life. Despite the conflict between cultural differences, they want to work with the first-generation who has dominated community resources. (f) The majority of Korean Americans are Protestants and some are Catholic, and few believe in Buddhism. Religion in addition to benefits from ethnic lifestyle with some racial distinctiveness has largely contributed to maintain ethnic connections for Koreans.¹²⁶

51. The political participation of Korean Americans can be explained by as follows. (a) In electoral politics, the Korean American (KA) community in the Washington metropolitan area has maintained the KA Republicans or Democrats of Virginia or Maryland. The KA Coalition and the League of KAs have been organized and run by youth groups for political participation. They have worked for naturalization, registration, and voting participation of KAs continuously, and participated in campaign fundraising for both parties. But their activities were not successful due to lack of KA

participation and non-existence of an efficient networking system. (b) In business politics, KAs have created associations to protect their business interests, such as the KA Chamber of Commerce, KA Food Business Association, KA Grocery Association, KA Retail Liquor Association, KA Drycleaners Association, and others. The KA business community has tried to widen the market potential not limited to KA customers but to broader customers of the population, transform the business structure toward medium-sized one for better opportunities, maximize its strength and minimize its weakness in business such as trade with and investment in Korea and other Asian countries, and protect KA business interests such as the case against business rezoning for dry cleaning stores in Fairfax County in 2000. (c) In politics of society and culture, KAs have created various organizations such as KA Associations of Korean Home Provinces, Alumni Associations of Korean Schools, Korean Language Schools, KA Scholarship Foundation, Korean Cultural Foundation of USA, Korean Amateur Sports Association, Korean Taekwondo Master's Association, Association of KA Doctors-Lawyers-Professors, Association of KA Political Scientists-Economists-Sociologists, and Council of Korean Churches. They have pursued professional values and provided services to members and their community, but depended on voluntary services and annual fundraisers. Since no organizations can survive without proper funds, it is necessary to integrate community resources, which will provide proper sources of money and manpower for planning and executing their programs.

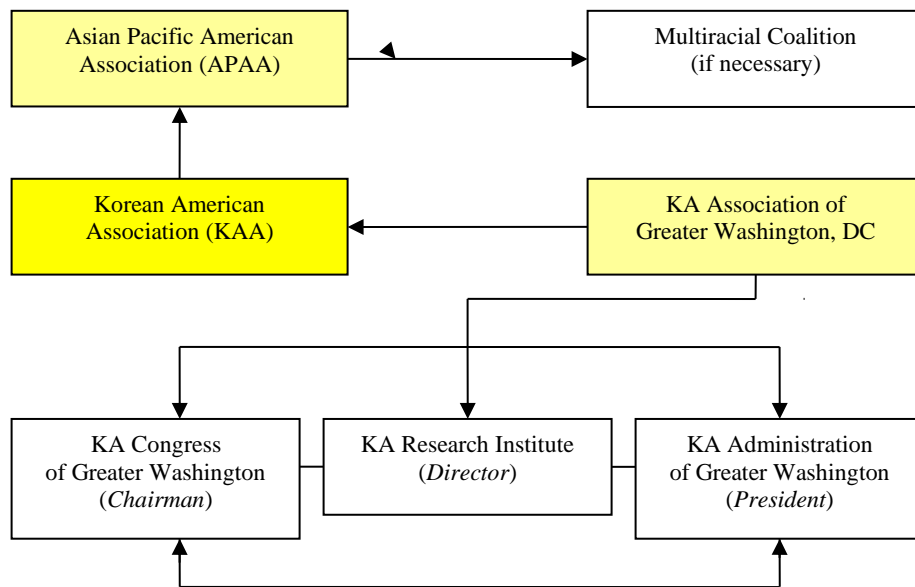
52. Like other ethnic Americans, (d) KAs are still concerned about Korean affairs. In politics concerning the Korean peninsula, KAs can contribute to the reunification of the two Koreas as well as promotion of friendly relations between the United States and the two Koreas (or a unified Korea in the future), both of which are mutually supportive. First, we have expected that the two Koreas will be unified under democratic politics with free-market economy. KAs can make policy inputs into the political process of America or Korea. It is desirable for North Korea to liberalize domestic politics and expedite market openness, followed by dismantling of weapons of mass destruction. It is desirable for the two Koreas to sign a peace treaty mandating disarmament, through which a significant portion of defense expenditures in both sides can be converted into non-defense sectors. As a result, the new investment can absorb manpower released by disarmament. Second, KAs can promote U.S.-Korea relations by increasing mutual understanding through proper communications. KAs speak two languages and understand two different cultures, so that they are familiar with their spheres of interests. (e) KAs have involved in politics within the KA community. The Korean American Association of each region (KAA) has symbolically represented the KA community. But KAA cannot claim represent Korean Americans because of insufficient participation in election. KAA does not have proper fund sources and manpower to pursue its goals and manage community affairs. Major decisions of KAA are made by its Board of Directors, not by voters. KAA cannot integrate community resources because of no power to control conflicts of interest between different organizations of the community. KAA has no capability to pursue pan-Asian Americanism with APA Association as well as multiracial coalition movements. In sum,

KAA is unable to lead politics within the KA community because of non-existence of an efficient networking system led by a dominant power in the community providing fund and manpower. Thus, it is necessary for the KA community to create an efficient networking system or to restructure the existing KAA system to order to integrate their limited resources for political empowerment of Korean Americans.

Korean Americans and Integration of Community Resources

53. We examined political participation of Asian Americans and analyzed that of Korean Americans in the previous section. It is desirable that a representative organization of Korean Americans such as KAA leads their ethnic political empowerment, but most KA organizations in politics, economy, society, culture, and religion are not capable to support organized activities with proper money and manpower. Unlike Jewish Americans, Korean Americans in the past century had no leadership of driving forces to integrate community resources toward political empowerment although the number of KA organizations has increased. It is time to create a new KA Association having an efficient networking system with a representative congress, supportive administration, and research institute as a think tank. This author suggests that Korean Americans in the Washington metropolitan area organize a new system with the KA Association of Greater Washington, DC (KAA-GW) as a regional model, to be transplanted into other KA communities such Los Angeles, New York, and San Francisco. The newly created KAA of each region send their delegates, based on the share of KA population of each region, to the KA Association headquartered in Washington, DC. KAA represents all Korean Americans in the United States, and its organizational structure is similar to the proposed KAA-GW having the above three functions. Similarly, a representative organization of each ethnic Asian Pacific Americans sends proper delegates, based on the population share, to the Asian Pacific American Association (APAA) to integrate their political power. Asian Americans also can join coalition movements with Blacks and Hispanics, if necessary, by sending their delegates to multiracial organizations to strengthen their influence in American politics because they are the minority. Figure 1 shows a line of command from a model unit of KAA-GW upward to KAA to APAA to multiracial coalitions, and downward to its three branches of KA Congress, KA Administration, and KA Research Institute (a think tank).

Figure 1. From Korean Americans to Asian Americans to Multiracial Coalition

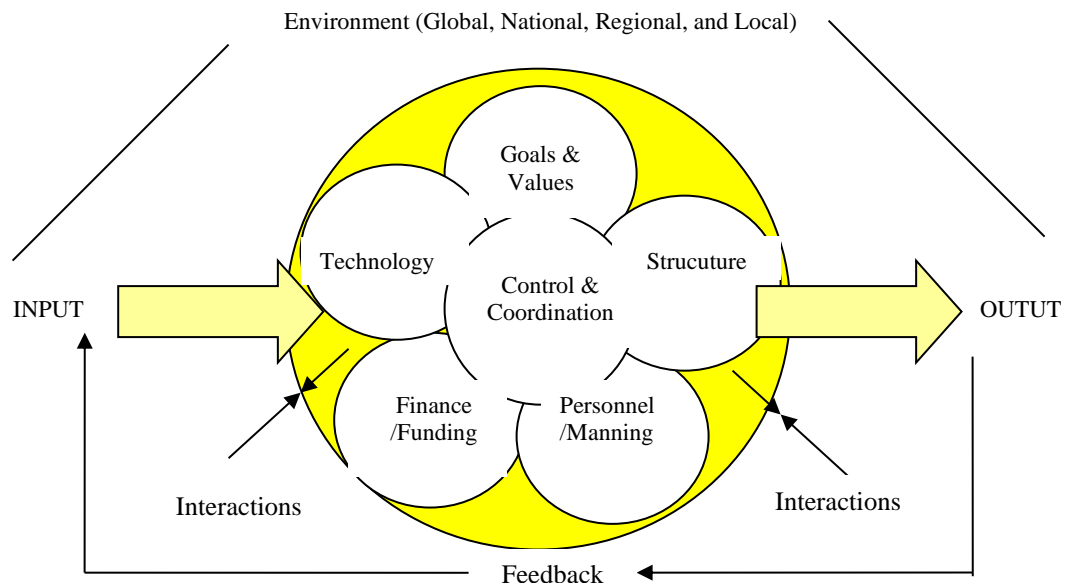


Note: The KA Association of Greater Washington, DC (KAA-GW) as a model unit is transplanted to LA, NY and other regions. The representatives of each unit create a KA Association (KAA), which delegates form an Asian Pacific American Association (APAA). APAA joins the Multiracial Coalition for more political influence. KAA-GW has three functions: KA Congress (Chairman), KA Administration (President), and KA Research Institute (Director).

54. In fact, the weaknesses of the current KAA-GW is significant. First, the President of KAA-GW is directly elected by Korean Americans who register for the election. However, the number of participants is too small to represent the entire Korean American community. Since the election campaigns need a significant amount of financial support, presidential candidates are limited to wealthy self-funded candidates, which force the exclusion of qualified candidates. Second, major decisions of the KA Association are made by the Board of Directors, whose members are not elected by voters. To run for office is one thing, and to run the system is another, which is the other reason for its lack of representativeness. Third, the KAA-GW has no manpower and financial resources to run the system properly. Presidential candidates announce their plans and projects during the campaign period, but they cannot keep the promises because of lack of resources once elected. Fourth, KAA-GW does not have an administrative line of command. The KAA-VA or MD or others do not belong to the KAA-GW so that the activities of the President are limited to ceremonial participation. Finally, the current KAA-GW has no capabilities to integrate organizations in the KA community and to link Korean Americans to the APAA and multiracial or multiethnic coalitions. Those are the reasons to restructure the existing KAA-GW. This can be analyzed by *the systems approach* shown in Figure 2. The proposed system of KAA-GW has six subsystems including goals and values, organizational structure, personnel, finance, technology, and control and coordination. The system interacts with suprasystem of local, regional, national, and global environments, which are usually more powerful than the system,

although the system itself can maintain a leadership in some cases. The subsystems also interact with each other within the system according to external stimulation such as environmental changes or various inputs. A new input enters the system and produces an output, which reenters the system by feedback operations. This process continues until the output satisfies the goals and objectives of the system. It is essential to set specific objectives based on general goals and values although those objectives are modified from time to time according to changes of system's capability and external environment.¹²⁷

Figure 2. A Systems Approach to Create the Korean American Association



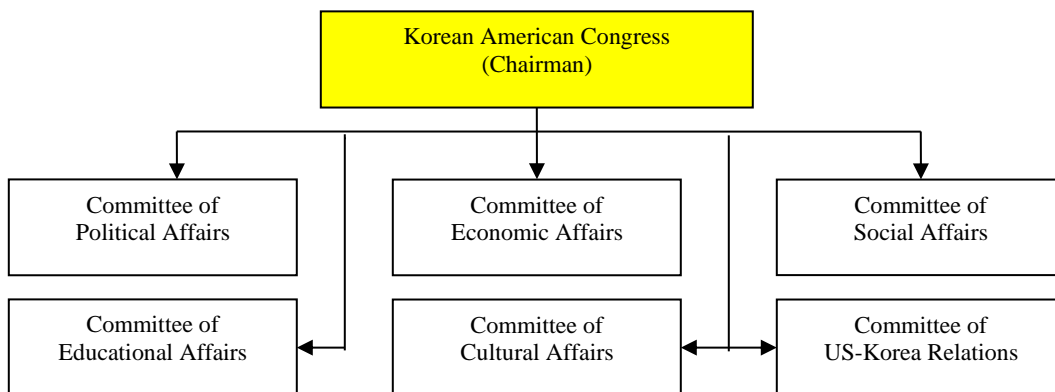
Note: (a) The system is the KA Association of Greater Washington which is the largest circle. (b) The subsystems include six smaller circles within the largest circle, which includes goals and values, organizational structure, personnel, finance, technology, and control and coordination. (c) The suprasystem is global, national, regional, and local environments, which interact with the system.

55. The KA ethnic identity lies in a distinct color line which Korean Americans and their descendants will face continuously in America. Thus, their ethnic interests need to be protected from disadvantages of the minority, while KAs contribute positively to advancement of American civilization. The KAA-GW enables KAs to enjoy happiness by helping themselves to participate actively in politics, economy, society, culture, and religion into the mainstream of America through integration of community resources with an efficient networking system. The goals of KAA-GW include followings: (a) In politics and government, it helps Korean Americans to participate in American politics for their political empowerment through electoral participation, campaign fund raise, publicity supports, and lobbying activities. (b) In economy and business, it helps KA businesses profitable through attraction of more customers, structural transformation, coordination between KA business associations and government regulations, and others. (c) In society and labor, it helps KA workers to receive equal and fair treatment in employment as well as their daily lives by pursuing social justice: watching law enforcement practices or

proposing new laws if necessary. (d) In education and training, it helps KA children to receive higher education in prominent schools based on their capabilities, while it provides job training and English courses for newcomers, and Korean courses for the native-born. (e) In culture and sports, it helps Korean American to join cultural and sport activities in American lives based on individual tastes and to buildup friendships through group activities. (f) In religion, it helps Korean Americans to be harmonious between different religions by supporting interreligious activities between protestant, catholic, and Buddhism. (g) With the Korean peninsula, it helps Korean Americans to contribute to reunification of the two Koreaes under a system of democratic politics and market economy, while it helps them to promote friendly U.S.-Korea relations which is also beneficial for Korean Americans themselves.

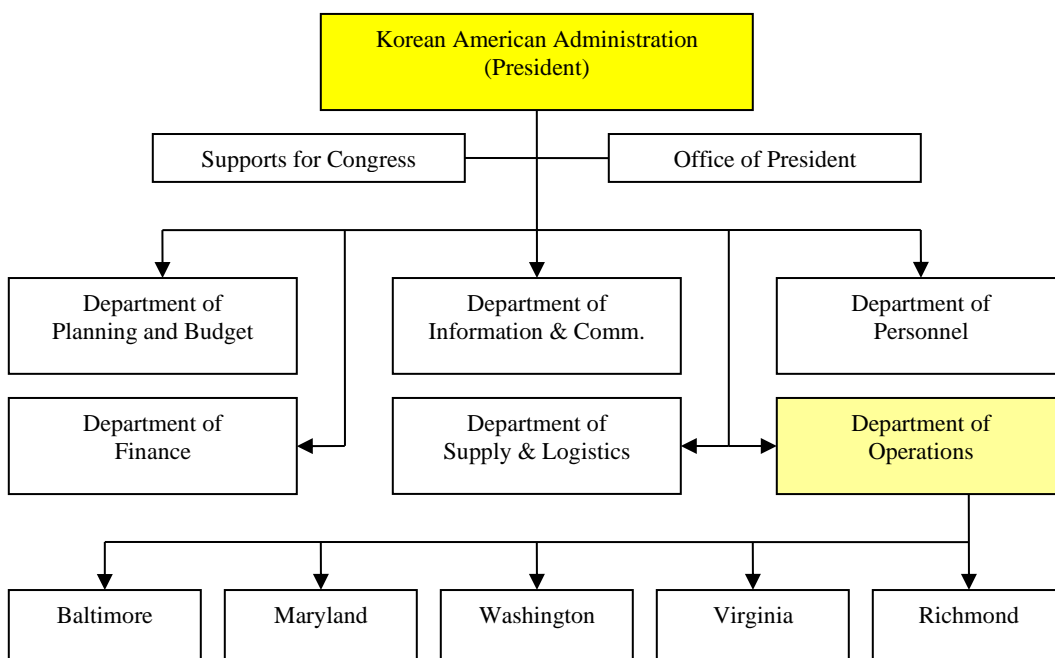
56. The organizational structure of KAA-GW consists of three branches as suggested in Figure 1. First, the KA Congress is formed by KA Congressmen elected by qualified voters, over 18 years old, residing in Virginia, Maryland, and DC, and paying annual dues. The electoral districts are divided into fsix categories: region or politics and government, economy and business, society and labor, education and sciences, culture and sports, and religion. As shown in Figure 3, the KA Congress forms six standing Committees of political, economic, social, educational, cultural, and America-Korea relations affairs, and creates some subcommittees for a certain period of time if necessary. The number of the KA Congressmen depends on the number of participants in KAA elections. If 25,000 voters participate in the first election, the inaugural KA Congress will have 250 Congressmen. The KA Congress elects its Chairman who has an authority to appoint the Committee Chairman of each standing committee and subcommittee. Second, the KA Administration consists of six departments: planning and budget, information and communications, personnel, finance, supply and logistics, and operations as shown in Figure 4. The Director of the Operations Department is not only an administrative staff member, but a commander controlling and coordinating with regional offices: Washington, Virginia, Richmond,

Figure 3. The Korean American Congress: Organizational Structure



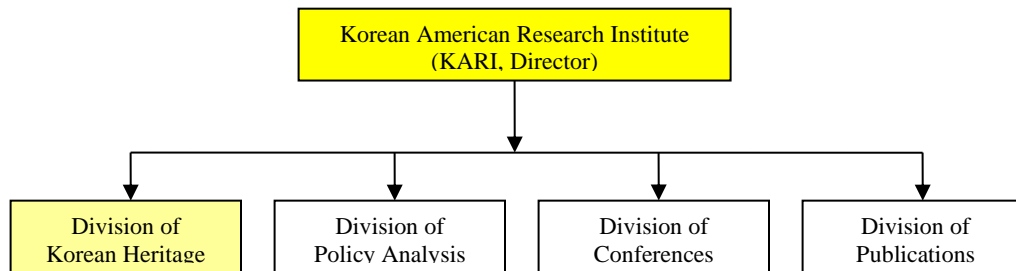
Note: The electoral districts are divided by six categories: politics and government, economy and business, society and labor, education and sciences, culture and sports, and religion.

Figure 4. The Korean American Administration: Organizational Structure



Note: The Director of the Department of Operations is a staff for President of KAA-GW as well as the only commander of its operations by communicating with local offices daily basis.

Figure 5. The Korean American Research Institute: Organizational Structure



Maryland, Baltimore, and some others. The President of the KA Administration is elected by the KA Congress and represents the association externally, while the departmental directors are appointed by the President and confirmed by the Congress. The president of KA local offices are elected under their own rules and work with their local governments, but KAA coordinates their local budget and programs with KAA's annual planning and budget to promote efficiency of KA activities. The KA Administration submits an annual budget with plans to the KA Congress for approval, and budget performance is evaluated by the KA Congress once a year. Third, the KA Research Institute (KARI) provides policy recommendations for KA interests and increase publicity for various KA affairs. KARI consists of four departments of Korean Heritage, Policy Analysis, Conferences, and Publications as shown in Figure 5. The Korean Heritage Division maintains and promotes Korean heritage as a source of Korean American culture, while the Policy Analysis Division forms research teams according to annual projects to reduce the cost of research. The Conference Division prepares conferences, and the Publications Division is in charge of journal and other publications. The Director of KARI is appointed by the President and confirmed by the KA Congress. All positions within the KA Congress, Administration, and Research Institute serve on a voluntary basis except a few secretarial positions.

57. Both personnel and finance for the KA administration is essential to strengthen its capability because qualified manpower provides productive services, which can be continued with proper financial support. The first step in the electoral process is that each candidate must persuade KA voters to join KAA with annual membership fee of a check (the amount is decided by the KA Congress) in a given campaign period. Any Korean Americans who gained 100 votes or more from any category of districts submit the list of voters with collected annual membership fees with his or her candidate fee to be a Congressman in a specified term. The electoral districts are divided by six categories: geography or politics and government, economy and business, society and labor, education and sciences, culture and sports, and religion. The list of voters should included the full name, U.S. social security number, date of birth, home address, telephone number, fax number (option), and e-mail address (option). The election committee checks the accuracy of the list by cross examination to avoid double voting by participants. When the list is cleared, the election committee announces him or her to be a KA Congressman. The *Election Committee* is a standing committee of KAA-GW to

administrate all elections. It consisted of nine members including Chairperson of the Committee, who is nominated by the KA President and confirmed by the KA Congress. In the beginning, the Ad Hoc Committee has the both rights of nomination and confirmation until a new KA Congress is formed and functioning. All decisions regarding elections of KAA-GW are made by the majority votes of the Committee. Any Korean Americans aged 18 or over can vote for a KA Congressman (one person has one vote) by paying a defined membership fee. And any Korean Americans aged 25 or over who has no criminal records are qualified to be a candidate of the KA Congressman by paying a defined amount of the candidate fee. Let's assume that John Kim lives in the County of Fairfax (region or politics and government), runs a restaurant business in DC (economy and business), joins the Home of Seoul Club (society and labor), teaches Korean language on Sunday (education and sciences), joins the Mountain Climbing Club (culture and sports), and attends to the Catholic Church of Virginia (religion). He can vote, according to his preference, for any candidate of six categories with his one vote by paying the membership fee with his personal check which can be substituted by his family members. In the second step, being formed by elected representatives, the KA Congress elects both Chairman of the KA Congress and President of KA Administration, and confirms all Department Heads of the KA Administration and the Director of the KA Research Institute based on recommendations of the KA President. The Division chiefs of the KARI are appointed by its Director without confirmation. Finally, followings need to be considered in manning. First, the KA community has been diversified so rapidly that the problems of classes between white and blue collar workers became deeper and wider, which has been an obstacle to disturb harmony of the community. The KAA-GW leaders should consider this problem seriously in appointing qualified individuals to various positions and working with them in daily operations in terms of efficiency with harmonious participation. Second, the KAA-GW depends largely on voluntary services without material compensation. If the leadership cannot attract personal interest, it is not easy to maintain voluntary services with ethnic cohesiveness. Third, the leadership of the KA should recognize that the generation gap will remain problematic as long as new immigrants come continuously. Thus, the role of the next generations should be increased in the community.

58. The major sources of finance for KAA include followings: (a) a defined amount of annual membership fee from all voters to be collected by each Congressman whom they voted, (b) a defined candidate free from KA Congressmen, (c) personal contributions largely from Korean Americans, (d) contributions by KA profit and non-profit organizations in the region, (e) contributions by Korean businesses in America and American businesses in Korea, (f) matching funds from all levels of governments in America and the Korean government, (g) fundraising banquets and activities, (h) revenues from self generating activities, and (i) others such as contributions of appointees to major positions of KAA-GW. It is necessary to increase the endowment fund of KAA continuously by saving at least a half of annual revenue each year. The annual membership fee is mandatory for each voter, but should not be a burden to KA voters because it is not desirable if the fee prevents electoral participation. It is a good idea to

raise the endowment fund from prominent individuals and successful companies in America. If the existing KA organizations join KAA as its subsystem, the economies of scale for KAA will be improved. For example, the International Council on Korean Studies (ICKS) has held annual conferences since 1996 and published the International Journal of Korean Studies for several years. If KAA is able to include ICKS as its subsystem, it can function as KARI without much change. If the KA Scholarship Foundation joins KAA as its subsystem, KAA will provide administrative supports for KASF, which will improve its efficiency. However, KAA-GW should not centralize all of KA activities because it is not necessary and possible. It is better for KAA-GW to help and encourage each organization to function properly through coordination.

Table 13. Asian and Korean Americans in VA, MD, and DC by County (Census 2000)

Regional Classification		Total Population	Asian Alone	Korean Alone	% to Population	
					Asians	Koreans
VA	Virginia Total	7,078,515	261,025	45,273	3.69	0.64
	Arlington County	189,453	16,327	1,572	8.62	0.83
	Chesterfield County	259,903	6,154	1,237	2.37	0.48
	Fairfax County	969,747	126,038	28,028	13.00	2.89
	Henrico County	262,300	9,451	850	3.60	0.32
	Loudon County	169,599	9,067	883	5.35	0.52
	Montgomery County	83,629	3,320	683	3.97	0.82
	Prince William County	280,813	10,701	1,694	3.81	0.60
	York County	56,297	1,829	540	3.25	0.96
	Alexandria City	128,283	7,249	1,335	5.65	1.04
	Fairfax City	21,498	2,617	615	12.17	2.86
	Newport News City	180,150	4,195	1,210	2.33	0.67
	Richmond City	197,790	2,471	439	1.25	0.22
	Virginia Beach City	425,257	20,869	924	4.91	0.22
Other Areas	3,853,796	40,737	5,263	1.06	0.14	
MD	Maryland Total	5,296,486	210,929	39,155	3.98	0.74
	Anne Arundel County	489,658	11,225	3,603	2.29	0.74
	Baltimore County	754,292	23,947	5,249	3.17	0.70
	Frederick County	195,277	3,269	564	1.67	0.29
	Harford County	218,590	3,313	801	1.52	0.37
	Howard County	247,842	19,037	6,188	7.68	2.50
	Montgomery County	873,341	98,651	15,130	11.30	1.73
	Prince George's County	801,515	31,032	3,843	3.87	0.48
	Wicomico County	84,644	1,478	524	1.75	0.62
	Baltimore City	651,154	9,985	1,826	1.53	0.28
Other Areas	980,173	8,992	1,427	0.92	0.15	
DC	Washington	572,059	15,189	1,095	2.66	0.19
Total Population		12,947,060	487,143	85,523	3.76	0.66

Source: http://factfinder.census.gov/servlet/DTTable?_ts=59386420997
http://factfinder.census.gov/servlet/DTTable?_ts=59389308560
http://factfinder.census.gov/servlet/DTTable?_ts=59386652716

59. The subsystem of technology contributes to communications in operating KAA in the age of globalization. An efficient computer system reduces secretarial work, and expedites their communications for all levels of organizational activities of KAA, so

that a handful of qualified workers can support all of KAA's administration. For example, if all members of KAA provide their e-mail addresses, most messages can be delivered instantly by the e-mail system in both English and Korean. Additionally, the general information about KAA can be posted on its website so that many internal and external telephone calls will be reduced. Finally, the subsystem of control and coordination maximizes the system's efficiency and minimizes operational costs. Control is a function of commanding within the system, while coordination is that of adjustment between subsystems as well as between the system and external forces. KAA controls subsystems and coordinates with them within the system by linking them to each other with proper interactions. For example, when the objectives are set more or less than the system's capability, the system either reduces objectives or expands its capacity, or does both together. This is the function of control and coordination of the system as a result of internal and external interactions. The annual audit evaluates the performance of the system whether KAA achieved the objectives set by the KA Congress. As an example of feedback, suppose that Korean Americans participate in votes by 45 percent of voting-age citizens while the American population participates in votes by 60 percent of the same in average. Setting the objective 60 percent for KA voting-age citizens to go to elections, KAA helps naturalization for more KA citizens, registration for more available voters, and actual voting participation. Those efforts continue until the KA electoral participation reaches at the level of American population. As an example of interactions, KAs were active for humanitarian aid to North Korea during the period of Clinton administration, but became inactive in the Bush's since President Bush declared "axis of evil" in January 2001. This is a result of interactions between the KA community and the changing environment of the United States. If external forces are stronger than internal ones, the system will follow the wind. But the system will not be disturbed by external forces if the case is opposite.

60. Table 13 shows the population of Asian Americans as well as Korean Americans in major counties and cities in Virginia, Maryland, and District of Columbia in 2000. Korean Americans numbered 45,273 in Virginia (0.64 percent) and 39,155 in Maryland (0.74 percent), which was higher than the Koreans' share of the U.S. population (0.39 percent), although those living in Washington, DC (0.19 percent) are far below the national average. The shares of Asian and Korean Americans residing in Fairfax County in Virginia show 13.00 and 2.89 percent respectively, and those in Fairfax City are similar to Fairfax County. Meanwhile, the shares of Asian and Korean Americans in Montgomery County, Maryland were 11.30 and 1.73 percent respectively, and those in Howard County in the same state were 7.68 and 2.50 percent respectively in the same year. Therefore, the Asian and Korean Americans residing in those counties and city have more voting power than other areas if they are naturalized as citizens, fully register to vote, and vote on the election day. If Asian Americans organize a multiracial coalition with African and Hispanic Americans, their political influence would be amplified. The statistics shown above are useful to mobilize electoral participation and to restructure the Korean American Association in those three states. This type of population statistics would be useful in the other metropolitan areas in mobilizing voters for political empowerment if

their share of the ethnic population is considerably higher than their share of the U.S. population nationwide.

Summary and Conclusion

61. *In summary*, this study overviewed the history of immigration to America, racial integration, and the assimilation of European and Asian immigrant groups, and examined political participation of Asian Americans and the integration of Korean Americans. The industrial expansion of the U.S. economy demanded labor forces continually from external sources of Europe, Africa, Asia, and others. Since the late 1960s, when America opened the immigration door, young and skilled immigrants have flown into America, particularly through overseas education and training programs in the United States.¹²⁸ The massive inflow of young educated immigrants made America younger and progressive, which became part of valuable sources for American prosperity. The massive immigration to America in the industrialization period often created racial problems. American Indians were conquered and assimilated by force, while European immigrants struggled but became successful in joining the white mainstream. African Americans were freed by the Civil War, and their status has improved after the civil rights movement. Hispanic and Asian immigrants were considered as “low class” but their economic and social mobility became more visible over the last three decades. Despite continuous efforts toward integration, racial conflicts remain in reality in America.¹²⁹ In the process of assimilation, distinct differences between ethnic groups were observed in the first half of the twentieth century. Irish immigrants were successful in politics, while Italian immigrants were interested in immediate wealth rather than education for the future. Jewish immigrants engaged in various businesses while emphasizing education for the next generation, while Polish immigrants were initially involved in the independence movement in Poland. Meanwhile, Asian immigrants were treated differently by white Americans from the beginning because of racial prejudice against Asians, particularly in the states on West Coast. However, the public perception about Asians in America has been positively changed because of the prevailing reality of the melting-pot in the post-war period, the multiculturalism of the civil rights movement in the 1950s and 1960s, the new development of international relations in the Cold War period, the rising economic and strategic importance of Asian countries, the impact of globalization in the post Cold War period, and the socio-economic success of Asian Americans.

62. The population of Asian Americans was 3.8 percent of the U.S. in 2000, which projected to increase to 8.0 percent by 2050. Asian immigrants after 1965 came from established families with high education in their home countries, and they are much younger than the American population: 51.7 percent of Asian Americans were in the age range from 20 to 49 by 2000, while 43.3 percent of white Americans were in the same. Asian Americans received bachelor’s degrees or higher by 44.1 percent, while white Americans did the same by 28.4 percent in 2000. They are in managerial and professional jobs more than the American average, and their incomes are approaching whites although

most of them remain in disadvantaged positions in jobs with exceptions in highly specialized professional jobs. Many Asian Americans reside in suburban areas, and 28.7 percent married white Americans as of March, 2000. However, many Asian Americans feel themselves marginalized and remain as foreigners. Recently, they are gradually participating in electoral politics, non-electoral politics for protection of ethnic groups, activities for social justice and equal treatment of ethnic individuals, politics related to the United States with countries of origin, and politics within their ethnic communities. Their ways of political participation includes mobilization of votes, fundraising, promotion of publicity, and lobbying activities. But the integration of Asian Americans is not simple because of ethnic diversification. For example, eastern Asian Americans such as Chinese, Japanese, and Koreans have commonalities in history, culture, and religion, but southern Asian Americans such as Asian Indians or Indonesians are different from them, particularly in culture and religion. As a result, the pan-Asianization of Asian Americans is less cohesive for political empowerment. Therefore, the integration of each ethnic group is desirable in the first stage before the integration of Asian Americans. An ethnic group integrates themselves within its ethnic community, and sends a proper number of representatives to an Asian Pacific American Association. The existing pan-Asian organizations will help the integration of Asian Americans. This APA Association can form a multiracial coalition for more influence in American politics, if necessary.

63. It is questionable how to integrate an ethnic community. This study used the Korean American community as an example. The majority of Korean Americans reside in metropolitan areas of large cities such as Los Angeles, New York, and Washington, DC. The study proposes a restructure of the Korean American Association of Greater Washington, DC as an experiment towards the first step. If the experiment is successful, the KAA-GW can be transplanted to other cities, which will restructure the existing KAA of each region. The KAA of each region sends their delegates to the Korean American Association (a new form of federation) to create a representative organization for Korean Americans in the United States. Then, a new KAA-GW will be formed as a model unit in terms of goals and objectives, organizational structure, manning and funding, technological support, and control and coordination. The purposes of the KA Association are to promote KA interests in politics, economy, and society; protect Korean Americans from disadvantages of the ethnic minority; guide them to enhance their roles for American civilization; and promote U.S.-Korea friendship relations. The structure of KAA-GW consists of the KA Congress, Administration, and Research Institute. The KA Congress has six standing committees formed by KA Congressmen who are elected by five categories of electoral districts by gathering 100 votes or more per Congressman. The KA Administration consists of six departments and five regional offices maintaining daily contacts with individuals of Korean Americans in the region. The KA Research Institute consists of four divisions: Korean heritage, policy analysis, conferences, and publications. Manning and funding with technological supports are essential to run the system efficiently. It is important to control subsystems properly and coordinate them to avoid unnecessary conflict each other. An efficient networking system is able to integrate community resources for political empowerment of Korean Americans.

64. *In conclusion*, American civilization has been constructed by immigrants. The early-comers forced later immigrants to assimilate to their culture and system, but the massive inflow of new immigrants until the outbreak of World War I made America a melting-pot of different races and ethnicities.¹³⁰ Since the perfect mixture of different cultures was impossible, the multiculturalism has been accepted since the civil rights movement. Currently, the United States pursues equality in politics, efficiency in economy, and diversification in society and culture. The majority respects interests of the minority in theory, but the power politics dominate the decision making process of all levels of governments in America in reality. Therefore, the political empowerment of the minority is necessary to promote their ethnic interests and protect themselves from possible injustice and inequality in the changing environment.

In this sense, first, all citizens of Asian or Korean Americans should have confidence in American democracy to be part of American power politics. The political empowerment comes from active participation of individual citizens as grass-roots of political power. A political inclination is solely a matter of personal belief. However, a new Korean American Association is worth while to join because it can help Korean Americans to move into the mainstream.

Second, an efficient networking system is important to integrate resources of each ethnic community, which is a basic component of the Asian Pacific American Association leading their communities for political empowerment. The bottom line of political empowerment is to achieve proportional representation of the Asian Pacific American population in local, state, and federal governments of the United States. For example, the proportional share of Asian Americans in the U.S. Congress should be at least 4 Senators and 18 Representatives in the year 2000 when its population share reached near 4 percent of the American population.

Third, the mobility of Asian Americans into the mainstream in politics is not simply limited to the political community. Political affairs require public supports with electoral votes, financial contribution, and social recognition so that the Asian American community should expand and strengthen their potential capabilities in business and finance and overall society. To expand capacity is one thing, and to integrate resources is another.

Fourth, demographic changes can affect domestic politics gradually, while the power of conservative forces remains strong. The appearance of Asian Americans in politics is not as an Asian in America but as an American citizen. Anyone who is ambitious in politics should be qualified to attract general American voters by receiving outstanding education and managing an excellent career with honorable public mind. Asian Americans support Asian candidates not because of one's ethnicity but because of one's qualification to represent themselves.

Finally, Asians or Koreans in America should keep in mind that they are part of America contributing to her civilization. The goals of political empowerment is not only to pursue interests of their racial or ethnic minority but also to make a larger pie for all Americans, who have led the world with great responsibilities in the age of globalization. In other words, it is desirable for Asian Americans or any other ethnic minority groups to think whether their demand and actions for their interests are fair and beneficial to all Americans.

Endnotes

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conditions could be remedied by draining away the excess population, for without such a palliative a dangerous social upheaval might occur.”

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 10. “That the forces driving Puritans overseas were not exclusively religious was clearly demonstrated by John Winthrop, the middle-class Englishman who became the leader and first governor of the Massachusetts Bay colony. His reasons for leaving the homeland resembled those of countless other Britons in their emphasis on economic and imperialistic as well as religious motives.”

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¹³ Louis XIV attacked Germany, which allied with Britain, devastating much of the Rhineland. The British government established a kind of refugee camps around London for Protestants, while sending 3,500 Catholics back to Germany and 3,800 to Ireland, in addition to sending some of them to America. See Roger Daniels, *Coming to America*, pp. 70-71.

¹⁴ Billington, Leowenberg, and Brockunier, ed., *The Making of American Democracy*, pp. 25-29.

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⁹¹ In 1912, the National Council in Nanjing elected Yan Shikai provisional president. In 1915, he declared 1916 the first year of the Hong Xian Empire and prepared himself to be enthroned in 1916.

⁹² Peter H. Hoehn and Xiao-huang Yin, ed., *The Expanding Role of Chinese Americans in U.S.-China Relations: Transnational Networks and Trans-Pacific Interactions*, New York: M. E. Sharpe, 2002.

⁹³ David Johnston, "Clinton Criticizes Officials' Actions against Scientist" and Gish Jen, "For Wen Ho Lee, a Tarnished Freedom," *New York Times*, 15 September 2002, p. A1 & A25; James Glanz, "Asian-American Scholars Call for Boycott of Labs," *New York Times*, 31 May 2000, p. A23.

⁹⁴ The Japanese government signed the Anglo-Japanese Alliance in 1902, and won the Russo-Japanese War in 1905 ten years after the victory of the Sino-Japanese War. The Japanese were proud of themselves to be a first class world power, which was the reason why Washington treated Japan differently from China.

⁹⁵ Roger Daniels, *Coming to America*, pp. 250-8; and Roger Daniels, *Asian America*, pp. 100-28.

⁹⁶ The Japanese created other organizations such as the prefectural associations (ken-jin), which were based on the home prefecture in Japan. They were a kind of village and neighborhood associations.

⁹⁷ Roger Daniels, *Asian America*, pp. 155-85; and Burton and et al, *Confinement and Ethnicity*, p. 27. "I am proud that I am an American citizen of Japanese ancestry, for my very background

makes me appreciate more fully the wonderful advantages of this nation...Because I believe in America, and I trust she believes in me, I pledge myself to do honor to her at all times and all places...to defend her against enemies, foreign and domestic..." which was a JAACL creed written by Mike Masaoka in 1940.

⁹⁸ Burton and et al, *Confinement and Ethnicity*, p. 54.

⁹⁹ Roger Daniels, *Asian America*, p. 286.

¹⁰⁰ For the early period of Korean immigration to Hawaii, see Wayne Patterson and Hyung-Chan Kim, *The Koreans in America*, Minneapolis, MN: Lerner Publications Company, 1977.

¹⁰¹ Han-Kyo Kim, "The Korean Independence Movement in the United States," *International Journal of Korean Studies* VI(1) (Spring/Summer 2002): 1-27. "It is tempting to speculate what the Koreans in America could have accomplished with a more united leadership at the top: Could they have secured a better hearing for their cause in the capitals of the allied powers in World War II and altered the course of history for their homeland after 1954?" Jacqueline Pak, "The An Ch'angho Controversy – Gradualist-Pacifism, Cultural Nationalism, or Revolutionary-Democracy," *International Journal of Korean Studies* VI (1) (Spring/Summer 2002): 109-35. Pak challenged previous conceptions of An Ch'angho as a gradualist-pacifist or cultural nationalist, and viewed him as a militarist strategist and revolutionary.

¹⁰² Sucheng Chan, "European and Asian Immigration into the United States in Comparative Perspective, 1820s-1920s," in *Immigration Reconsidered*, ed., Virginia Yans-McLaughlin, New York: Oxford University Press, 1990, p. 48. Korean immigrants donated their savings for nationalist movement so much that only a small number of them could open business because of lack of accumulated capital.

¹⁰³ Won Moo Hurh, "Marginal Children of War: An Exploratory Study of American-Korean Children," *International Journal of Sociology of the Family* 2 (1972): 10-20.

¹⁰⁴ For an adoptee's story, see Katy Robinson, *A Single Square Picture: A Korean Adoptee's Search for Her Roots*, New York: Berkley Books, 2002.

¹⁰⁵ Won Moo Hur, *The Korea Americans*, Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1998, p. 33. The number of Korean immigrants to the United States increased to over 35,000 in the 1980s but declined to below 20,000 in the 1990s, while their returning migration rose to near 6,500 in 1992.

¹⁰⁶ Moon H. Jo, *Korean Immigrants and the Challenge of Adjustment*, Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1999, p. 13-18.

¹⁰⁷ Eui-Young Yu, "Korean Population in the United States," *International Journal of Korean Studies*, VI (1) (Spring/Summer 2002), p. 104.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

¹⁰⁹ Moon H. Jo, *Korean Immigrants and the Challenge of Adjustment*, pp. 70-75.

¹¹⁰ For the Los Angeles Riot in 1992, see Kwang Chung Kim, ed., *Koreans in the Hood: Conflict with African Americans*, Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999. Molefi Kete Asante and Eungjun Min, ed., *Socio-Cultural Conflict between African American and Korean American*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2000. Nancy Abelmann and John Lie, *Blue Dreams: Korean Americans and the Los Angeles Riots*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995. Claire Jean Kim, *Bitter Fruit: The Politics of Black-Korean Conflict in New York City*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000.

¹¹¹ For religions of Korean Americans, see Ho-Youn Kwon, Kwang Chung Kim, and S. Stephen Warner, *Korean Americans and their Religions: Pilgrims and Missionaries from a Different Shore*, University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001.

¹¹² The population of Asian alone and Asians in combination with one or more other races was 11,898,828, while that for Koreans was 1,288,427 shown in census 2000. See U.S. *Census Bureau, The Asian Population: Census 2000 Brief*, Washington, DC: GPO, 2001, p. 9.

¹¹³ Claire Jean Kim, "The Racial Triangulation of Asian Americans," *Politics and Society* 27 (1) (March 1999): 105-38, in *Asian Americans and Politics: Perspectives, Experiences, Prospects*, ed., Gordon H. Chang, Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2001, pp. 39-78.

¹¹⁴ An Asian household includes more workers than a white American household does.

¹¹⁵ Nazli Kibria, *Becoming Asian American: Second Generation of Chinese and Korean American Identities*, Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University, 2002, pp. 12-3.

¹¹⁶ Don T. Nakanishi, "Beyond Electoral Politics: Renewing a Search for a Paradigm of Asian Pacific American Politics" in *Asian Americans and Politics*, ed., Gordon H. Chang, pp. 102-29.

¹¹⁷ Pei-te Lien, *The Making of Asian America through Political Participation*, Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2001.

¹¹⁸ Kent Wong, "Building an Asian Pacific Labor Alliance: A New Chapter in Our History," in *The State of Asian America: Activism and Resistance in the 1990s*, Karin Aguilar-San Juan, ed., Boston, MA: South End Press, 1994, pp. 335-49.

¹¹⁹ Don T. Nakanishi in *Asian Americans and Politics*, ed., Gordon H. Chang, p. 121.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 122. For laws, see Frank Chuman, *The Bamboo People: Japanese Americans and the Law*, Del Mar, CA: Publisher's Inc., 1976.

¹²¹ Paul M. Ong and David E. Lee, "Changing of the Guard? The Emerging Immigrant Majority in Asian American Politics," in *Asian Americans and Politics*, Chang, p. 170.

¹²² Pei-Te Lien, "Voting Participation: Race, Gender, and the Comparative Status of Asian American Women," in *Asian Americans and Politics*, Chang, p. 187.

¹²³ Wendy K. Tam Cho and Bruce E. Cain, "Asian Americans as the Median Voters: An Exploration of Attitudes and Voting Patterns on Ballot Initiatives," in *Asian Americans and Politics*, Chang, p. 149.

¹²⁴ Leland T Saito, "Asian Americans and Multiracial Political Coalitions: New York City's Chinatown and Redistricting, 1990-1991," in *Asian Americans and Politics*, Chang, p. 383-408.

¹²⁵ Young Whan Kihl, "Korean-American Participation in U.S. Politics: A Contrast in Success and Failure," presented Joint Conference 2002 hosted by the *International Council on Korean Studies and the Centennial Committee of Korean Immigration to the United States* at Fairview Park Marriott Hotel, Falls Church, VA on August 16-18, 2002. For a public policy institute for an ethnic community, Mark L. Keam, "Korean American Empowerment," presented to the same conference as above.

¹²⁶ Kwang Chung Kim and Shin Kim, "Looking at the Future of Korean Americans through Life Experiences of Korean Immigrants and their Children," presented at Joint Conference 2002 above.

¹²⁷ Hugo Wheegook Kim, "A Korean American Heritage Foundation," *The Korea Times* (a Korean version of daily newspaper in Washington, DC), July 21-26, 2001, a four-day series.

¹²⁸ Jagdish Bhagwati, "Borders Beyond Control," *Foreign Affairs* 82 (1) (January/February 2003): 98-104. For example, 62 percent of engineering doctorates and 54 percent doctorates in economics in the United States were given to foreign-born students, mainly Asians in 1990. It has been estimated that more than 70 percent of foreign-born doctorates produced by U.S. educational institutions have remained in America.

¹²⁹ Bob Herbert, "The Other Trent Lotts," *The New York Times*, December 23, 2002, A25. "The Republican Party: Mississippi Burning," *The Economist*, December 21st 2002, pp. 25-6. Recently, Americans having ancestry of the Middle Eastern origin have faced difficulties after September 11, 2001.

¹³⁰ The concept of melting-pot meant the mixture of ethnic Europeans before World War I, but since then, its meaning became changed to the mixture of all races in America, particularly after World War II.